CHAPTER 1

DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES

Summary

In Chapter 1, the authors explain the theme that ties the textbook together: elections (in the broad sense) are crucial for understanding the “New American Democracy.” This “new” democracy is characterized by a “permanent” political campaign (numerous, ongoing elections). As the authors put it, “Not only are elections more important in the United States than in other democracies, they are more important today than they were in most earlier periods of our history.” Consequently, the opening section of the book covers the 2004 presidential race between President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry.

One reason for the permanent campaign is that America is constantly having elections—much more so than other democracies. Primaries also contribute to the permanent campaign by shortening the interval between one election and the next. The permanent campaign diminishes citizen satisfaction with the government. The seven developments that have contributed to the permanent campaign include separation of election days, the decay of party organizations, the spread of primary elections, advances in mass communications, the explosion of interest groups, the proliferation of polling, and the increasing need for money. Elections are important in the broad sense, meaning that the influence of elections is not just for the events of the campaign or what transpires on Election Day, but also for the anticipation of and the preparation for future elections.

Starting with Aristotle, governments have been classified into many different types, including dictatorships, oligarchies, aristocracies, and democracies (including direct and representative democracies). Two models of representative democracy include the “popular model” (citizens play an active role in government decisions) and the “responsible model” (citizens play a more passive role). Some critics argue that the responsible model is better because public officials can be held accountable for their actions. However, it is apparent that the Framers constructed a democracy that contained both popular and responsible components.
Despite democracy’s problems, the chapter points out that an electoral democracy has many benefits, and American democracy has fared quite well. On balance, the American system of government is “pretty good.”

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

1. Discuss how the 2006 congressional elections reflect the distinctive features of American democracy.
2. Explain why elections are the “key” ingredient in American politics and why there are half a million elected officials in America.
3. Explain the seven developments that have contributed to the “permanent campaign.”
4. Delineate the various types of elections for officeholders and policy issues.
5. Explain Aristotle’s classification of governments, representative democracy, and the popular and responsible models.
6. Describe the changes that have led the authors to title their textbook, The New American Democracy.
7. Explain the significance of minority and majority relationships to elections in America.
8. Review the pros and cons of electoral reform.
9. Describe the benefits of the American electoral system.

**Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources**

1. A good website for information on current political events and elections is http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/.

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2. Information about citizen propositions from around the country can be found at http://www.ballot.org/.

3. Find out what the voter turnout was in the most recent local election in your own community. Was turnout relatively low or high compared to statewide or even presidential elections?

4. Would American democracy be improved if terms of elected officials were increased substantially so that fewer elections would be held over time—why or why not?

5. Do you believe most politicians pander to the majority or even current poll positions on issues? Evaluate this proposition.

6. How many elected officials are there in your community? Are there policy elections as well?

**Study Questions**

**Introduction**

1. According to the author, the central theme of the text is that _______ are the key to understanding contemporary American democracy.

**Elections in America**

1. In recent years, judges have been subject to _______ elections, where voters attempt to remove them from office during their terms.

2. An _______ “is a proposed law or amendment to a state constitution placed on the ballot by a citizen petition.”

3. Citizens of other democracies generally vote _______ (less or more) frequently for political offices than in the United States.

**Government and Politics**

1. According to the German sociologist Max Weber, government was an institution that had a “monopoly of the legitimate use of ________________.”

2. Elections give more _______ to some groups than to others.

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3. Many Americans are __________ (frustrated or not frustrated) with politics.

4. According to political theorist Thomas Hobbes, life in a world without government would be “______________, ________________, and ________________.”

Types of Government

1. According to Aristotle, there were three basic types of government—government by ________, government by the _____, and government by the _____.

2. American democracy is generally considered _______ democracy, an indirect form where citizens choose their officials.

3. Critics of democracy sometimes favor the ________ model, one where citizens play a more passive role.

4. Citizens take an active role in government decisions in the ______ model of democracy.

5. A set of people entitled to vote for the holder of an office is termed a __________.

The New American Democracy

1. The ____________ Party leans in a conservative direction, favoring smaller government, lower taxes and less business regulation, and traditional family values.

2. Voters are given the right to select party nominees through ________ elections.

3. The new American democracy is marked by the __________ campaign.

4. The fact that a typical American votes for president on one day, governor on a different day, and local officials on yet another day demonstrates the ______________ of elections.

5. Primaries were created to end _______ by party bosses.
6. _____ groups can monitor actions of elected officials electronically and post information on their websites.

7. The media have made public opinion a more important part of their coverage by ____________ public opinion polls and incessantly ____________ their results.

8. Current estimates are that incumbents in large states must raise an average of $__________ every week of their terms to fund their campaign for reelection.

9. Older people vote more frequently than the _______ or _______.

10. A voter who would base his decision solely on where a candidate stands on abortion would likely be classified as a _______ - _______ voter.

11. To win primary elections, candidates may have to appeal to ______ elements in their parties.

12. Most Americans are _______ (highly attentive or not highly attentive) to politics.

13. Election officials are _____________ (reluctant or eager) to take positions that are contrary to those of their constituents.

Reform?

1. Election officials have an electoral incentive, the desire to be _____ and _____.

2. According to John Dewey, “the cure for the ailments of democracy is _______________.”

The Benefits of an Electoral Democracy: A Pretty Good Government

1. Most governments in human history have been governments of the one or the ______.

2. Economic inequality and poverty rates are _____________ (higher or lower) in the United States than in countries with comparable living standards.
3. (More or Fewer) people are murdered and in prison in the United States than in almost any other industrialized country.

4. According to Winston Churchill, “democracy is the worst form of government except ____________.”
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. referendum _______
B. oligarchy _______
C. New England town meeting ___
D. Alexis de Tocqueville ___
E. prospective voting ______
F. Anthony King ______
G. “A world without government would be a war of all against all”___
H. popular mandate ___
I. responsible model of democracy ______
J. aristocracy ______
K. “Ambition must check ambition”_____  
L. 500,000 _____

Definitions

1. A law or state constitutional amendment proposed by a legislature or city council that goes into effect if approved by a majority of voters

2. Orders from voters telling elected officials to follow a specific policy direction

3. Government by the few who gain office by means of wealth, military power, or membership in a single political party

4. Government by leaders who are leaders due to their birthright

5. Argued that “American exceptionalism” stems from the nation’s many elections

6. Citizens decide who to vote for based on the candidates’ policy promises for the future

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7. A famous phrase coined by the philosopher Hobbes
8. An example of direct democracy in the United States
9. French scholar who visited America during the 1830s
10. Citizens choose public officials but do not tell them what to do
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. About how many people in the United States are elected officials?
   a. 5,000
   b. 50,000
   c. 500,000
   d. 5,000,000

2. A government by the few where leaders are determined by wealth, military power, or party is called a(n)
   a. aristocracy.
   b. oligarchy.
   c. democracy.
   d. dictatorship.

3. According to Figure 1.1, Americans’ trust in government was highest in which year?
   a. 1964
   b. 1972
   c. 1984
   d. 1996

4. Which of the following is characteristic of the “popular model”?
   a. Citizens vote retrospectively.
   b. Elections determine policies.
   c. Elections grant popular consent.
   d. Democratic policies ought to promote effective governance.

5. Which route did Arnold Schwarzenegger take to the California governorship?
   a. coup d'état
   b. recall election
   c. primary election
   d. proposition

6. The responsible model of democracy states that
   a. elections determine policies.
   b. citizens vote prospectively.
   c. popular participation is necessary for effective democracy.
d. representative democracy is preferred.

7. The first presidential candidate who substantially owed his nomination to winning primaries was
   a. Harry S. Truman.
   b. John F. Kennedy.
   c. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

8. According to the authors, how good is American democracy?
   a. awful
   b. just OK
   c. pretty good
   d. nearly perfect

9. The statement that “government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force” is attributed to
   b. James Madison.
   c. Bill Clinton.

10. Which of the following policy preferences is most closely identified with the Democratic Party?
    a. limited regulation of business activity
    b. empowering of state and local governments
    c. traditional family values
    d. toleration of alternative lifestyles

**Short-Answer Essay Questions**

1. What is meant in American politics by the “permanent campaign”? Cite some real-life examples in your analysis.

2. How does the reality of the “permanent campaign” in America affect American politics? What seven developments have contributed to the permanent campaign? Explain each development fully.

3. Explain how elections in other democracies compare to American elections.
4. Compare the “popular model” and “responsible model” by listing the key features or characteristics of each model.

5. Why should citizens evaluate proposals for radical reform of American democracy cautiously?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 1  G. 7
B. 3  H. 2
C. 8  I. 6
D. 9  J. 4
E. 10  K. x
F. 5  L. x

Practice Test

1. c  6. d
2. b  7. c
3. a  8. c
4. b  9. d
5. b  10. d
CHAPTER 2
ESTABLISHING A CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

Summary

The American Revolution resulted from a series of disliked laws and policies passed by Parliament. Notable was the colonial cry of “taxation without representation” in protest of the Stamp Act, among other things. Many of the democratic features of post-revolutionary America were in place prior to the revolution, although it would take some time before all non-propertied males would be allowed to vote (women, slaves, aliens, and those without property were denied the suffrage).

Also in place were many of the important philosophical components of the American political mind—checks on state power, separation of powers, the advice and consent of the governed, and individual liberties. The influence of the British philosopher John Locke had a profound impact on American political thinkers, most notably Thomas Jefferson, the main author of the Declaration of Independence. He and other firebrands including Patrick Henry (“give me liberty or give me death”) were the intellectual catalysts behind the Revolutionary War.

Once independence had been won, the difficult job of nation-building followed. The Articles of Confederation (1781-1787) were a preliminary blueprint, but the Articles were far too weak and state-centered to offer much hope for a true and effective national union. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, held in Philadelphia, were able to forge a new governing document by compromising on a number of difficult issues such as slavery, commerce, congressional representation, and the structure and operation of the three governmental branches. But the Constitution and its underlying principle of national supremacy were fought by those who feared a tyrannical government and believed in the sovereignty of the individual states. These anti-Federalists clashed with the Constitution’s supporters, the Federalists. Eventually, all the states ratified the Constitution, although there were some very close votes in such important states as
New York and Virginia. The Federalists promised that a Bill of Rights would be added to the Constitution, thus negating a serious argument made by opponents of the new government.

The Constitution can be amended by four procedures, but the most common method has been by an amendment passed by Congress with a two-thirds vote in each chamber, then followed by ratification by three-fourths of the state legislatures. Obviously, it is very difficult to add an amendment to the Constitution as witnessed by the unexpected defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Critics of the Constitution point out that the delegates permitted the slave trade to continue until 1808, but this compromise was probably the only way to gain support from the southern states. What the Constitution did accomplish was to hold the country together, facilitate trade and economic development, and eventually broaden the democratic experiment.
Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

2.1 Explain the procedures for ratifying the Constitution.
2.2 Describe the differences between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists.
2.3 Summarize the main components of the colonial experience with democracy.
2.4 Distinguish between proprietary and royal colonies.
2.5 Explain the nature of voting qualifications prior to the Revolutionary War.
2.6 Discuss how the taxation issue fomented rebellion in the colonies.
2.7 Review the key philosophical contributions of Locke and Hobbes and how American political thinking was reflected by the Declaration of Independence. Also, review Whig political theories.
2.8 Delineate the key provisions of the Articles of Confederation, the key decisions and compromises made by delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and the nature of the ratification debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists.
2.9 Also, explain the political significance of the disputed 1800 presidential election.
2.10 Delineate and explain the main “flaws” and accomplishments found in the U.S. Constitution.
2.11 Review the means by which the Constitution can be amended and be sure to explain why so many proposed amendments are never ratified.

Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources
1. Investigate the assertion that the Electoral College should be abolished and a system of direct popular election used to select the president. What are the pros and cons associated with this assertion? What other Electoral College reforms would you propose?

2. Study the history of the Equal Rights Amendment. What factors led to its ultimate defeat?

3. To learn more about Thomas Jefferson, the father of the Declaration of Independence, visit the following website: http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/jefferson/.

Study Questions

Introduction

1. The _______________ Convention ended in September, 1787.
2. The last state to ratify the Constitution was ____________.
3. Only ____________ could vote for delegates to the Constitutional Convention.
4. The nation’s basic governing document is called the ________.
5. Those who opposed ratification of the Constitution were called ____________.
6. Delegates to state ratification ________ were given the task of accepting or rejecting the new Constitution.

The Colonial and Revolutionary Era

1. The ________ Compact, signed by the Pilgrims, was the first document in colonial America where the people gave their consent to be governed.
2. Virginia was a ________________, one governed by the king’s representative with the assembly’s advice.
3. Colonial governors had the ________ power—the power to hand out jobs and benefits.
4. The imposition of the stamp tax led to the colonists’ assertion that they would not accept taxation without ________.
5. Those Americans who opposed independence were called ________.
6. According to John Locke, the ____________ institution is responsible for enforcing the law.
7. The Whig theory of rights and representation is included in the book by Thomas Paine titled ________________.
Government after Independence

1. After independence, the pace of ________ quickened, whereby easing property qualifications for voters occurred.

2. Abigail Adams, the wife of John Adams, argued for the rights and liberties of ________.

3. Under the Articles of Confederation, “each _________________ retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence.”

4. ________ Rebellion in 1786 raised serious questions about the stability of government under the Articles.

Drafting and Adopting a New Constitution

1. At the Convention, delegates of the large states supported the _____ Plan, while delegates from the small states backed the _____ Plan.

2. The Connecticut Compromise created a House proportionate to _____ and a Senate where each state was represented ______.

3. Under the Constitution, senators were to be elected not by the voters, but by _________________ and given a _____-year term in office.

4. A president, if impeached by the ________, can then be tried in the _______ and removed from office by a _____ vote.

5. Originally, the Electoral College’s electors were given the task of selecting the ________.

6. Court authority to declare a law unconstitutional is known as the power of ________________.

7. Under the three-fifths compromise, ________________ were counted as three-fifths of a person for the purpose of representation in the House.

8. Apparently, convention delegates thought that freedom of the press should be regulated by the ______.
9. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote a series of newspaper essays defending the Constitution, essays collectively known as the ____________.

Amendments to the Constitution

1. The Equal Rights Amendment ________ (was, was not) ratified by the necessary number of state legislatures.

2. An amendment may be proposed by a call for a national convention by ____-____ of state legislatures.

The Constitution: An Assessment

1. Historian Charles Beard wrote that the Constitution primarily was written by and intended to protect primarily ______ people.

2. The Constitution allowed the slave trade to continue to the year ______.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. Royal colony _____
B. New Jersey Plan _____
C. Annapolis Convention _____
D. Connecticut Compromise _____
E. necessary and proper clause _____
F. “advice and consent” _____
G. Virginia Plan _____
H. Supremacy Clause _____
I. Proprietary colony _____
J. Constitutional Convention of 1787 _____

Definitions

1. A meeting of five states called in 1786 to discuss constitutional reform
2. A colony run by representatives of the monarchy
3. The plan that called for representation based on population
4. Federal laws take precedence over state laws, if there is a conflict
5. A U.S. treaty requires this principle
6. This plan appeased both large and small states
7. It eventually attracted 55 delegates
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which is a true statement about the constitutional ratification process?
   a. The Constitution had to be ratified by all 13 states.
   b. The Constitution was ratified by the collective membership of each of the 13 state legislatures.
   c. The Constitution was ratified by a bare majority—seven of the 13 states.
   d. The Constitution, in order to be ratified, required approval by nine states.

2. The political thinker James Harrington advocated
   a. an aristocracy of birth.
   b. a system of patronage.
   c. a country of farmers.
   d. parliamentary control over a great nation.

3. Which of the following was not a power granted to Congress under the Articles of Confederation?
   a. the power to declare war
   b. the power to coin money
   c. the power to tax citizens directly
   d. the power to negotiate tariffs with other nations

4. All of the following were components of the Virginia Plan EXCEPT:
   a. a one-chamber Congress.
   b. a general grant of power to Congress.
   c. a president chosen by the legislature.
   d. ratification of the Constitution by state convention delegates.

5. How many electoral votes does each state have in the Electoral College?
   a. the same as the number of representatives it has in the state legislature
   b. the same as the number of representatives it has in the House
   c. the same as the number of representatives it has in the Senate
   d. the same as the number of representatives it has in Congress
6. In which document did the U.S. assert its political independence from Great Britain?
   a. United States Constitution
   b. Declaration of Independence
   c. Common Sense
   d. The Federalist Papers

7. In the Bill of Rights, the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly are found in which amendment?
   a. First
   b. Second
   c. Fourth
   d. Eighth

8. The armed uprising that was difficult to quell and raised serious questions about the political stability of the Articles of Confederation was called
   a. Montezuma’s Revenge.
   b. the Switch in Time that Saved Nine.
   c. Shays’s Rebellion.
   d. the Mayflower Revolt.

9. The 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution deals with
   a. congressional pay raises.
   b. two-term limitation on presidential terms.
   c. abolition of the poll tax.
   d. extension of the suffrage to 18-year-olds.

10. Which of the following can be criticized about the Constitution?
    a. The powers of the Supreme Court are poorly defined.
    b. The Electoral College has more than once failed to work.
    c. The document falls short of expressing contemporary democratic ideals.
    d. All of the above.

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. Explain how the American colonies were governed prior to the Revolutionary War.
2. Describe the three principles established in British political theory that in turn would shape the writing of the American Constitution.

3. What disagreements occurred regarding the judiciary and the issue of slavery at the Constitutional Convention?

4. How is the Constitution amended? How have Amendments extended liberties and affected elections?

5. What flaws existed in the Constitution? What undemocratic features did it contain?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A.  2  
B.  X  
C.  1  
D.  6  
E.  X  
F.  5  
G.  3  
H.  4  
I.  X  
J.  7

Practice Test

1.  c  
2.  c  
3.  c  
4.  a  
5.  d  
6.  b  
7.  a  
8.  c  
9.  d  
10. d
CHAPTER 3
FEDERALISM DIVISION OF POWER AMONG NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Summary

Hurricane Katrina raised painful questions about the relationship between states and the federal government, especially during times of crisis. Many Americans were dismayed by the inability of all levels of government to deal with the disaster. While disaster planning and response has always been a joint state-federal responsibility, Katrina showed that more coordination was needed.

Federalism is the division of power between at least two levels of government. Today, the debate about federal vs. state power remains a potent one between Democrats and Republicans (the origins of this debate go all the way back to the ratification struggle between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists). To appease the Anti-Federalists, the national government was only given specific powers rather than a broader general legislative power. The Federal government, however, was given the power to make all laws “necessary and proper” to achieve its specific powers. The supremacy clause, likewise, says that federal laws “shall be the supreme law of the land.” The Supreme Court has used the supremacy clause and the power of judicial review to overturn state laws that violate the U.S. Constitution.

Questions about the federal-state power relationship have continued throughout American history. Initially, this relationship was defined by the doctrine of dual sovereignty that reserved some issues for state governments to act on and other issues for the national government to act on. States, however, started to nullify federal laws that infringed on the state rights. In *McCulloch v. Maryland*, the Supreme Court clearly stated that state actions could not supersede those of the federal government. The South’s defeat in the Civil War underscored the authority of the national government over state governments.

With court decisions rising out of the New Deal, the Supreme Court gradually expanded into the domains traditionally reserved to the states under dual sovereignty. The Supreme Court used the necessary and proper clause and the commerce clause to accomplish this task. More recently, a few Court decisions have used the concept of sovereign immunity said to exist in the 11th Amendment to increase the powers of the states, but its use thus far has only been minimal.

Supreme Court decisions eventually eroded dual sovereignty into the theory of cooperative federalism that is in place today. Now, the responsibilities and concerns of state and federal governments swirl together in a “marble-cake” pattern. The spending clause of the Constitution has made this possible. The federal government uses monetary grants to the states to have influence into areas that were off limits under dual sovereignty. Categorical grants are given to state and local governments, but impose restrictions on how the money can be used. This is how Lyndon Johnson
waged his War on Poverty. Block grants saddle state and local governments with fewer restrictions in how the money can be spent and are more popular among the states. Congress can also impose unfunded mandates on the states—laws that direct the states to do something, but don’t give the states enough money to accomplish the task, and thereby making the states pony up necessary funds. Each political party has an incentive to use unfunded mandates because they can get credit for addressing a problem without bearing the burdens; and each party has an incentive to criticize the opposing party for using unfunded mandates.

Finally, state and local governments continue to play an important role in American politics. In 2002, there were over 74,000 local governments including municipalities, counties, and special districts. Local governments are popular, but participation in local elections is abysmal and local governments lack the necessary resources for effectively addressing social problems. State governments mirror the structure of the federal government, but differ in important ways. State policies also vary, with states acting as laboratories of democracy where they can test new programs which, if successful, can be tried in other states. Following the 2000 census, state governments became mired in messy redistricting battles. In 2003, Texas Democrats even fled the state to avoid a Republican redistricting plan, leaving the pursuing Texas Rangers frustrated at the Oklahoma border.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

3.1 Explain how the Hurricane Katrina disaster raises questions about federalism.

3.2 Understand how debates about federalism can be traced to debates between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.

3.3 Understand how the Constitution affects federalism, including the importance of the supremacy clause and the necessary and proper clause.

3.4 Explain the struggle between dual sovereignty and nullification and how *McCulloch v. Maryland* addressed this issue.

3.5 Understand how court decisions during the New Deal influenced dual sovereignty and lead to cooperative federalism.

3.6 Understand the importance of the spending clause and how Congress uses pork barrel projects, categorical grants, and block grants to influence policies that would otherwise be the purview of the state governments.

3.7 Explain how unfunded mandates work, why Congress likes them, and why the states do not like them. Also, provide some example of unfunded mandates proposed by Democrats and some proposed by Republicans.

3.8 Describe the types of local governments, their popularity, and the services they provide (and do not provide).

3.9 Understand how states act as laboratories of democracy and contemporary issues facing state governments.
Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. Research whether your community or state has developed any coordinated plans with the federal government in case of a disaster.

2. Research how many government jurisdictions you live under. For example, most Americans live under the jurisdictions of state governments (residents of the District of Columbia are an exception) and country governments (citizens of Louisiana do not). In addition, you may live under a city government, school districts, sewer districts, and scores of other governments. What does each of these governments do?

3. What was the percentage of voter turnout in the last local election? Was it comparatively high or low vis-à-vis previous local elections? What campaign factors influenced turnout?

4. Research the extent to which Congress has devolved powers to the state governments in recent years. Also, research the extent to which Congress has created new legislation imposing requirements on state governments. Finally, research the extent to which the Supreme Court has used sovereign immunity to increase the power of state governments. Now, write a research paper where you determine the overall change in power between the federal and state governments in recent years.

5. One appropriate website that might be helpful in comprehending the material in this chapter is the National Conference of State Legislatures site at http://www.ncsl.org/. The site discusses state-federal relations and other general issues dealing with federalism.
Study Questions

Introduction

1. Hurricane Katrina caused property damage estimated at __________.

2. The federal agency most responsible for the slow response to Hurricane Katrina was ________.

The Federalism Debate: It’s New But It’s Old

1. Federalism divides governmental authority into at least _______ different levels.

2. All authority is held by a single, national government under a _______ form of government.

The Evolution of the Federalism Debate

1. The doctrine of ________ stated that state legislatures could declare acts of Congress invalid and non-binding upon them.

2. The Supreme Court found in the case of ________ v. ________ in 1819 that the state could not tax a federal bank.

The Supreme Court and the Meaning of Dual Sovereignty

1. Another name for the “necessary and proper clause” is the ________ clause.

2. NIMBY stands for ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ ________ 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5. The “return of governmental responsibilities to state and local governments” is termed ________.

Local Government

1. In 2002, there were approximately 74,000 ____________ governments.

2. The total number of elected local officials approaches _____ million people nationally.

3. Of the federal or local government, the level that more people trust and have confidence in is the ______ level.

State Government

1. A new trend in competitive state politics has meant that the ______ party has had the advantage in state legislative races, while the ______ party more often wins the gubernatorial chair.

2. Wealthier states spend more on ________ services.

3. Variations in state political ________ may account for different policies among the states of the union.

4. The more often members of the ____________ Party are elected to the legislature, the higher the expenditures for social services.

5. States regularly redraw their legislative districts through the process of ____________.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. Lyndon Johnson ___
B. New Deal _____
C. implementation _____
D. nullification _____
E. elastic clause _____
F. the NIMBY problem _____
G. pork barrel projects _____
H. Head Start program _____

Definitions

1. Another term for the necessary and proper clause
2. A popular program for pre-schoolers
3. Social and economic programs associated with FDR
4. Defunct doctrine claiming that states can declare acts of Congress unconstitutional
5. Caused Texas Democrats to flee to Ardmore, Oklahoma
6. Waged a “War on Poverty”
7. Federal grants to a specific area with little or no general value
8. Redrawing election districts to reflect population changes
9. The way programs are administered at the local level
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Dillon’s rule means that
   a. the federal government can alter a state’s territorial boundaries without the state’s consent.
   b. state legislators could abolish a local government within that state.
   c. local governments are not bound by laws passed by the state legislature.
   d. local government can raise revenue through various forms of taxation.

2. Which of the following is not a true statement about federalism?
   a. It was an essential part of the Constitution.
   b. It facilitated the admission of new states into the union.
   c. It helped the government cope with ethnic and cultural diversity.
   d. It hindered national economic development for well over a century.

3. Citizens who “vote with their feet”
   a. kick incumbents out of office for failing to provide pork barrel projects.
   b. have sovereign immunity.
   c. move to a different community if they are unhappy with their local government.
   d. prefer NIMBY solutions for updating local election procedures.

4. The “War on Poverty” was perhaps the most famous and controversial
   a. categorical grant program.
   b. block grant program.
   c. revenue sharing program.
   d. devolution-oriented program.

5. Block grants are characterized by
   a. a narrow, specific set of policy objectives.
   b. a large number of federal restrictions as to how the federal monies can be spent by the states.
   c. their being preferred by Democratic presidents.
   d. extending maximum discretion to local officials.

6. Which of the following programs has been transformed into a block grant welfare program?
   a. Food stamps
   b. Medicaid
   c. AFDC
   d. Unemployment insurance

7. The basic political unit in most states is the
   a. county.
   b. township.
   c. special district.
   d. municipality.
8. “Laboratories of democracy” refer to
   a. state and local governments.
   b. members of the U.S. Congress.
   c. the experience states have with intergovernmental grants.
   d. the experiment of shifting from categorical to block grants.

9. Which of the following is not a characteristic of state governments?
   a. All have multi-tiered court systems.
   b. All state legislatures have an upper and lower chamber.
   c. All have an independently elected governor.
   d. State legislatures have become increasingly professionalized.

10. A major reason Governor Gray Davis of California lost a special recall election was
   a. his unpopular decision to limit property taxes.
   b. his indictment for embezzlement of government funds.
   c. his support for a state-sponsored lottery.
   d. the poor financial condition of the State of California.

**Short-Answer Essay Questions**

1. What is the meaning of “unfunded mandates”? How does this issue increase the debate over questions involving federalism, especially the nature of the state-national relationship? What are some recent examples?

2. How did the Constitution appease both Federalist and Anti-Federalist views in 1787? Be sure to provide some specific provisions of the Constitution in your response.

3. Describe the historical events that created the nullification doctrine as well as those factors that led to the demise of this issue.

4. What are the three reasons that all levels of government can and should work together according to Morton Grodzins?

5. What are some typical uses of grants? Also, what were three reasons cited by some implementation theorists claiming that many intergovernmental grants were not particularly effective?

6. How did doctrine of dual sovereignty morph into cooperative federalism?

7. Describe how FDR’s New Deal programs and “court packing” plan affect the relationship between federal and state governments?

8. What is the difference between categorical and block grants? Which is better? Why?

9. How do state and local governments operate within the system of federalism?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching:

A. 6  E. 1
B. 3  F. x
C. 9  G. 7
D. 4  H. 2

Practice Test

1. b       6. c
2. d       7. a
3. c       8. a
4. a       9. b
5. d       10. d
CHAPTER 4

AMERICAN POLITICAL CULTURE

Summary

It is important to understand the basic values and beliefs of the American people if one is to truly comprehend the processes and institutions of American government. Deeply held, shared beliefs of a people are collectively termed the political culture of a nation. In relation to the political culture, it is somewhat surprising that a heterogeneous, multicultural American society has been able to forge a homogeneous value system, an accomplishment that has eluded many other countries. After 9/11, American diversity was further tested regarding Arab-Americans.

The social diversity of America is not a new phenomenon. Contemporary debates over the “new immigrants” and multiculturalism are echoes of themes recurrent in American history. Earlier generations of Americans perceived their “wave of immigrants” as an invasion of unwelcome, strange foreigners who would dilute the quality of American life. The assimilation of each immigrant wave was not easy, a fact underappreciated by contemporary critics. Irish-Americans (note the anti-Irish “Know-Nothing” party), Chinese laborers (the California gold rush, the building of the transcontinental railroads, and rampant discrimination involving the charge of cheap foreign labor ruining the living standards of “real Americans”), and Scandinavians (ideas of “subversive socialism”) were all notable examples. Critics perceive the latest wave of immigrants (very few of whom are from Western Europe) to be detrimental to the economy (in terms of lost jobs and an increased need for social services) and are frustrated by their tendency to retain aspects of their native cultures or ethnic backgrounds rather than becoming assimilated into “American culture.”

The philosophical basis of American political culture is both “individualist” and “liberal,” meaning that individuals have basic rights, legal equality, protections against state coercion, and can expect governments to address their needs. Note that other historians stress the “civic republicanism” tradition in America, i.e., a tradition that stressed the welfare of the community relative to individual rights. While largely supplanted by the liberal tradition in America, the importance of the community is an idea that has not disappeared from the American heritage (note
JFK’s inaugural address exhorting citizens to ask what they could do for their country). Still, public opinion polls have revealed that Americans, unlike other democratic peoples, believe that individuals are responsible for their own welfare and that government power and competence are both suspect. Interestingly, poor Americans embrace the “work ethic” as fervently as the non-poor. Minorities, despite their economic plight, still accept the importance of hard work and individual responsibility (although to a slightly lesser extent). Finally, most Americans do not see the need for government action to reduce economic and social inequalities in the country. That is why Americans support equality of opportunity, not equality of condition.

Another key relationship to consider in the American political culture is that of religion and American individualism. Does the former seem to contradict individualism or is the deeply religious spirit of the American people totally consistent with liberal traditions? To some experts, the liberal tradition creates a major need for religion. Other ideas include the idea of a “free market in religion” encouraging religious enterprise as well as the concept of incredible religious diversity.

Finally, traditional explanations (lack of a feudal tradition, land availability, political socialization) and recent explanations (governmental ineffectiveness promoting individual self-reliance and self-selection by immigrants) may account for the perpetuation of the American political culture. Interestingly enough, some recent studies suggest that after a period of time, new immigrants assimilate comparable beliefs (to the native-born) regarding economic opportunity and other American beliefs. In recent years, notable politicians have appealed to the interests of immigrants, figuring that many will become middle-class citizens who will support their political policies.

Evidence is mounting that ethnic, racial, and religious diversity can coexist with agreement on basic values. Thus, “on balance, today’s diversity is more likely to reinforce than to undermine the American political culture.”

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

4.1 Understand why and how the concept of “American Diversity” was tested in the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attacks.
4.2 Explain how deeply-held American values and beliefs are directly linked to the operation of the American political system.

4.3 Discuss how and why the American heterogeneous society has been able to develop a homogeneous political culture.

4.4 Delineate the impact of immigrants upon the nation’s evolution and overall history. Also, explain how contemporary immigration differs from that encountered in the past.

4.5 Explain the components of American individualism and classical liberalism. Why does tension exist between individualism and equality?

4.6 Describe those factors that contribute to the religious nature of American society and explain how that nature both contradicts and is consistent with the liberal tradition.

4.7 Summarize both traditional and more recent explanations for why America has continued to have a liberal culture.

**Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources**

1. After studying the chapter, what three values do you think are the most important to understanding the American political culture? Why do you think most Americans would share these three values?

2. Research the contemporary debate over both legal and illegal immigrants in the United States. What are the major assumptions by critics that support the various views expressed in this debate? Finally, what do public opinion polls reveal about the immigration question?

3. Try to find recent articles dealing with the extent and/or range of religious practice in the United States. Is religion more important in the lives of Americans today—why or why not?

4. One good source to consult on the Internet is the Gallup Poll Organization site for a variety of polls that touch upon American values and attitudes. Try the following URL: http://www.gallup.com.
Study Questions

Introduction

1. About 270 violent assaults on ________ Americans were reported within the month following the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

Americans: A Contradictory People?

1. According to Karl Friedrich, “to be an American is an ________.”

2. In Germany, citizenship has historically been based on ________.

3. Most long-lasting multicultural societies have featured ________ governments.

4. Those with ________ are full-fledged members of a political community.

5. A “collection of beliefs and values about the justification and operation of a country’s government and politics” is termed that country’s political ________.

Social Diversity

1. In early America, the most numerous colonizers of the so-called New World came from ________.

2. Historians estimate that in 1763, only about _____ percent of the population of the colonies was African-American.

3. Relative to ________ and ____________, America has always been diverse.

4. Beginning in the 1880s, the character of immigration changed as millions of people from ____________ and ____________ Europe began to immigrate to America.

5. To Protestant America, the influx of Irish ________ was threatening.

6. The ________ were the first Asians to immigrate on a significant scale.
7. American business encouraged immigration as a source of cheap ________.

8. In 1965, Congress abandoned the national quotas system, thereby encouraging immigration from the region __________ and the continent of ________.

9. Proposition 187 was an initiative designed to deny California services to ________ immigrants and their children.

10. George W. Bush’s 2004 proposal to grant amnesty to undocumented __________ was unpopular among both Democratic and Republican groups.

Philosophical Unity

1. Alexis de Tocqueville observed that Americans agree on a common core of __________.

2. Classical liberalism is a philosophy that elevates and empowers the __________ to make choices for him- or herself.

3. Civic republicanism places greater stress on the welfare of the ________ relative to the rights of the individual.

4. Poor Americans are (as likely, less likely, or more likely)______ to embrace the “work ethic” as non-poor Americans.

5. Americans support equality of ________, not equality of ________.

6. Americans are one-sided in their belief that individuals are responsible for their own ________.

7. In Samuel Huntington’s view, the key aspect of the American creed is its __________ character.

8. Even though economic __________ has been increasing since the 1970s, there is little demand that it be eliminated or lessened.

9. According to Robert Booth Fowler, the liberal tradition and religiosity ________ (do, do not) conflict.

10. Americans are (more or less) ________ religious than people in other countries.
11. Throughout history, religiously motivated Americans have attempted to ________ morality more so than people in other countries.

Why a Liberal Political Culture?

1. One reason for the existence of a liberal political culture is the process of political ________, which continues to instill liberal values long after the objective support for those values has eroded.

2. Urban political ________ did not embody liberal, individualist values.

3. One theory is that people who voluntarily immigrated to America were already unusually ________ relative to other people in their own native societies.

4. Surprisingly, the ________ Party has appealed for support from immigrant communities in recent years, clashing with the Party’s image of being unsympathetic to the poor and disadvantaged.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. civil republicanism
B. equality of condition
C. multiculturalism
D. E Pluribus Unum
E. the “Know Nothings”
F. the American creed

Definitions

1. The idea that ethnic and cultural groups should maintain their identity within the larger society and respect one another’s differences
2. The idea that individuals have a right to a more or less equal portion of the material goods society produces
3. A political philosophy that emphasizes the obligation of citizens to act virtuously in pursuit of the common good
4. The national motto which seeks to recognize America’s diversity
5. An anti-Catholic party that won almost one-fifths of the seats in the House of Representatives in 1854
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to your text, in Germany, citizenship is based upon the criterion of
   a. years of residence in the nation.
   b. knowledge of German history and language.
   c. ethnicity.
   d. parental citizenship.

2. Newer American immigrants are most likely to be
   a. Germans.
   b. Mexicans.
   c. Danes.
   d. Greeks.

3. The “Know-Nothing” party of 1854 directed their anger at which segment of
   the American population?
   a. Irish-Americans
   b. African-Americans
   c. Protestants
   d. Chinese

4. Progressives opposed further immigration because they believed that
   thousands of illiterate immigrants would
   a. undercut the bargaining power of workers.
   b. corrupt the homogeneity of American culture.
   c. become the foundation of corrupt urban political machines.
   d. force Americans to pay higher taxes in order to educate these newcomers.

5. In the 1920s, immigration from which country was prohibited?
   a. Germany
   b. France
   c. Japan
   d. Britain

6. Which of the following is a true statement regarding contemporary
   immigrants?
b. Most of the taxes paid by immigrants are state sales taxes.
c. Immigrants weaken the national economy.
d. Immigrants pay considerably less in taxes than they receive in government services.

7. According to classical liberalism,
a. individual rights can be violated by government.
b. individuals are not necessarily equal under the law.
c. governments are instrumental.
d. the power of government is virtually unlimited.

8. Regarding American views toward government, polls reveal that most Americans believe that
a. government should take care of the individual’s welfare.
b. government should not reduce income inequalities.
c. government is generally competent and effective in serving the nation.
d. governmental power should have few checks placed upon it.

9. Which type of equality do Americans most readily expect?
a. equality of opportunity
b. equality of condition
c. social equality
d. economic equality

10. De la Garza’s studies of Mexican immigrants who had been in America for ten years or less found that these immigrants’ values, compared to native-born Americans, were
a. indistinguishable.
b. in slight contrast to the American liberal tradition.
c. hostile to those values of the native-born.
d. still in the formative stage, so no firm conclusions about assimilation could be drawn.

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. In what ways are American beliefs contradictory?
2. How does American diversity compare to the diversity found in other cultures? How does American diversity affect our political culture?

3. Review the various waves of immigration that the nation has experienced throughout its history. What charges were leveled by established Americans toward these immigrants? Do similar charges exist today in contemporary America?

4. Summarize completely why and how tensions exist between individualism and equality. Also, what is the difference between “equality of opportunity” and “equality of condition”? 

5. Describe the religiosity of Americans and evaluate how well it fits with American values.

6. Why does America have a classically liberal political culture?

7. How has the Republican Party recently courted immigrants? How and why has George W. Bush courted the Latino vote?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A.  3  D.  4
B.  2  E.  5
C.  1  F.  x

Practice Test

1.  c  6.  a
2.  b  7.  c
3.  a  8.  c
4.  c  9.  a
5.  c  10.  a
CHAPTER 5
PUBLIC OPINION

Summary

Public opinion of George W. Bush varied considerably during his first term in office. Some of this variation was in response to political events, including the war in Iraq. Like all politicians, the president sought to influence public opinion by creating hopeful images of the war in Iraq for the media to disseminate.

Political scientist V.O. Key defined public opinion as “those opinions held by private persons that governments find it prudent to heed.” Political socialization by family, friends, schools, communities, churches, etc. influences public opinion. Personal experience, self-interest, social groups, and the media also play a role in the formation of public opinion.

How is public opinion measured or mismeasured? The usual way is through public opinion polls, which critics say are overused. Measures of public opinion are frequently inaccurate. This may be caused by sampling or question wording problems (see the examples relating to the Holocaust, abortion, and welfare). Carefully constructed questions can be used by various groups to elicit responses that are then purported to bolster the cause of the group that conducted the survey. All this makes interpreting public opinion difficult.

The characteristics of public opinion make it very difficult to obtain reliable measurements. First, people are often uniformed about “factual” matters. Many Americans can not even identify the members of Congress who represent them. The “information costs” are heavy and not all Americans are journalists or academicians whose jobs require them to stay politically informed. However, people are usually better informed about issues that directly impact upon their lives. Others may see being informed as a civic duty. Other characteristics include the non-ideological nature of American beliefs (except for political elites) and the inconsistency of opinion (most Americans support freedom of speech for all Americans, but are willing to make exceptions for groups whose messages are particularly disliked).
Public opinion can have important effects on elected officials. Research shows that public policy tends to mirror that expressed by collective public opinion, changing over time as the national mood changes. Nonetheless, public opinion does not determine policy outcomes. The gun control issues illustrate this point. Even though a vast majority of Americans support additional gun control measures such as restrictions on sales at gun shows, Congress was unable (or unwilling) to pass such measures into law. Members of Congress voted according to public opinion pressures in their respective districts. Additionally, anti-gun control voters held their opinions much more intensely than did gun control advocates.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

5.1 Explain how public opinion changed during George W. Bush’s first term as president.

5.2 Delineate and describe the “sources of public opinion.”

5.3 Explain why public opinion is often uninformed, inconsistent, and non-ideological.

5.4 Discuss public opinion about abortion and how it varies depending on the way the question is asked.

5.5 Know how public opinion is measured and how measurement difficulties and question wording affects the responses elicited.

5.6 Explain why the initial Holocaust survey elicited such peculiar responses and how this problem was fixed in subsequent surveys.

5.7 Speculate as to the relative importance of public opinion in the American political system.

5.8 Explain when and why public policy follows public opinion and be able to illustrate your explanation with examples relating to gun control.
Study Tips, Research Ideas, Internet Sources

1. Look back at old newspaper or magazine accounts of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the war in Iraq and ascertain why George W. Bush’s approval ratings varied. Were there any actions or policies that Bush took that had a direct impact on these polls? What were there?

2. Regarding your own political socialization, can you remember any political conversations that took place within your family or at school or even with friends that may have influenced your own political attitudes or values? Try to think of a few and put them down on paper. Conversely, have there been any very recent events (perhaps in the media?) that may force you to reevaluate your standard beliefs, attitudes, or values about political leaders and issues?

3. Research recent Gallup polls on a controversial issue in American life, such as abortion, gun control, or the death penalty over the last five years. Has public opinion regarding the issue been relatively consistent or have there been major changes in the way the public sees the issue? Speculate about the reasons for either the change or stability.

4. Evaluate the use of public opinion polls by TV and newspapers. Do the media accurately depict the results? Now evaluate the use of Internet “polls” on various news sites such as www.cnn.com and www.msnbc.com. How accurate are such polls? Explain your answers.

Study Questions

Introduction

1. In early 2006, 52% of Americans said the war in Iraq had __________.

2. In early 2006, __________ of Americans wanted to “bring the troops home as soon as possible.”

What is Public Opinion?

1. According to V.O. Key, __________ opinion consists of “those opinions held by private persons that governments find it prudent to heed.”

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2. Public officials may act in a certain way because they fear arousing unexpressed public opinion, also known as ________ opinion.

Sources of Public Opinion

1. Older children are (likely, not likely) _____ to share the party affiliation of their parents.

2. In the past, labor unions typically supported the ______ party.

3. The more highly educated are (more, less) _____ tolerant of minority groups and practices.

4. The process by which people learn their values and beliefs is known as ____________.

5. It may be plausible to assume that the influence of the ______ has declined in recent years, given an increase in one-parent upbringing models.

6. Different life ______ create different views of public policies and issues.

7. The belief that the citizen can make a difference by acting politically is known as political ____________.

8. Overall, ________ (extensive or little) evidence exists that indicates TV/newspaper exposure impacts heavily on preexisting views.

Measuring Public Opinion

1. Both ________________ and ________________ have much more information about public opinion today than they did in the past.

2. Even properly conducted surveys contain ____________ error that is nothing more than chance variation that results from using a sample to estimate the characteristics of a larger population.

3. Pollsters typically use sampling methods that choose participants ____________ to minimize the differences from person to person in the chance of being selected.
4. _______ bias is the error that occurs when a sample systematically includes or excludes people with certain attitudes.

5. Small groups used to explore how ordinary people think about issues are termed ________ groups.

6. The “latest rage” in polling is ________ surveys, though few take adequate care to ensure a proper sample.

7. ________ error arises from attempting to measure something as subjective as opinion.

8. In regard to the Holocaust Poll, the Roper question had contained a confusing grammatical construction known as a ________ ________.

9. The “welfare” poll shows the problem of “______” questions in polls.

10. Americans tend to be more supportive of government spending for ________ (welfare, assistance to the poor).

11. Minor variation in question ________ can elicit significantly different answers.

12. A majority of Americans believe that abortion is morally ________ (permissible, wrong).

13. A majority of Americans believe that abortion should be ________ (legal, illegal).

14. The Supreme Court’s 1973 case of ________ v. ________ legalized abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy.

15. Popular attitudes toward abortion have been remarkably ________ since 1973.

16. A slight drop in public support for abortion in the late 1990s likely relates to pro-life publicity over ________ ________ abortions.

**Characteristics of Public Opinion**

1. Many Americans remain ignorant of politics because they have little ________ to do so, focusing instead on life’s necessities.
2. A(n) ______ ______ is a group of people particularly affected by or concerned with a specific issue.

3. Activists who frequently have coherent ideologies are termed political _______.

4. A(n) ____________ is a system of principles and beliefs that ties together a person’s views on a wide range of particular issues.

5. The _____ public refers to “ordinary people for whom politics is a peripheral concern.”

6. During the 1995 federal government shutdown, 40% of Americans were unaware that the ____________ Party controlled both houses of Congress.

7. The time and mental effort required to absorb and store information is known as __________ __________ and falls disproportionately on those with little education.

8. Evidence suggests that ____________ (few, many) people follow conventional political ideologies.

9. Citizens are inconsistent when applying ________ principles to specific cases.

10. Most Americans support freedom of ____________ for all, but approximately half believe that their most disliked group should not be permitted to give a public speech.

**Governing by Public Opinion?**

1. According to Benjamin Page and Robert Shapiro, individual public opinion may be uninformed, non-ideological, and inconsistent, but ____________ the public is reasonably rational.

2. Suburban ____________ (men, women) tend to be more supportive of gun control.
3. A gun control bill proposed in the wake of the Columbine shootings failed because members of the __________ Party were not united behind the measure.

4. _______ congressional districts tend to be more pro-gun control than _______ congressional districts.

5. Gun control supporters are _______ (less, more) intense about the issue when compared to gun-control opponents.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. Wisnians ____
B. Columbine High School ______
C. ideology ____
D. gun shows ____
E. pawn shops ____
F. random sampling ____
G. information cost ____
H. *Roe v. Wade* ______
I. selection bias ____
J. sampling error ______

Definitions

1. The proposals of the GOP in 1994
2. Supports a woman’s right to have an abortion
3. A place where Congress is contemplating regulating gun sales
4. Questions asked of voters after they leave the polling station
5. Explains why so many Americans are uninformed about politics
6. Explains inaccuracies in properly conducted surveys
7. Scene of horrendous gun violence where 13 people died
8. Restricted abortion in Pennsylvania
9. A nonexistent ethnicity
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which of the following is an accurate description of group differences in public opinion?
   a. Those who do not go to church regularly are more hostile of homosexuals than are churchgoers.
   b. Whites are more supportive of government involvement in healthcare than are African-Americans.
   c. Men are more tolerant of pornography than are women.
   d. Men are more supportive of gun control than are women.

2. Which of the following questions would be best for measuring beliefs about the Holocaust?
   a. “Does it seem possible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened, or do you feel certain that it happened?”
   b. “You don’t believe the rumors that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened, do you?”
   c. “Does it seem possible, or does it seem impossible to you that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened?”
   d. “Many American scholars think that the Nazi extermination of the Jews never happened. Do you agree with them?”

3. Probably the least important source of error in a professional poll is
   a. emotionally-laden terms.
   b. sampling error.
   c. poorly constructed questions.
   d. double negatives.

4. Regarding political ideologies in America, which of the following is true?
   a. Elites are less ideological than the mass public.
   b. The overwhelming majority of the American people think in coherent, ideological terms.
   c. Most members of the mass public are not ideological.
   d. Non-elite Americans are both ideological and pragmatic.

5. American public opinion tends to be
   a. informed.
   b. ideological.
c. consistent.
d. reported frequently by the media.

6. Small groups used to explore how ordinary people think about issues and how they react to the political language are called
a. intelligence gathering pods.
b. information kiosks.
c. focus groups.
d. thought triangles.

7. Research shows that public opinion surveys tend to under-represent
a. young people.
b. whites.
c. the wealthy.
d. All of the above

8. Members of which of the following group are most likely to think ideologically?
a. political elites
b. the mass public
c. Wisnians
d. the poor

9. Which of the following is a politically loaded term?
a. African-American
b. welfare
c. education
d. national defense

10. Which of the following is a characteristic of those who tend to oppose gun control legislation?
a. urban resident
b. New Englander
c. has an intense opinion about the issue
d. is a Democrat

**Short-Answer Essay Questions**

1. How can advocates of certain points of view use question wording to elicit responses that appear to support their opinion?
2. How can question wording affect the results of public opinion surveys? What examples are mentioned in the book? What other examples can you think of?

3. How informed and consistent is American public opinion? What is the extent of ideological thinking among Americans?

4. Explain why it is politically difficult to pass gun control legislation even though a vast majority of Americans support doing so.

5. Describe measurement error, sampling error, and selection bias. How can each of these be minimized?

6. How are focus groups different from public opinion surveys?

7. How do the media, family, friends, education, and reference groups affect public opinion?
Answers to Matching/Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 9  
B. 7  
C. x  
D. 3  
E. x

F. x  
G. 5  
H. 2  
I. x  
J. 6

Practice Test

1. c  
2. a  
3. b  
4. c  
5. d

6. c  
7. d  
8. a  
9. b  
10. c
CHAPTER 6
INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION

Summary

Voter turnout in America is typically much lower than turnout for elections in the other developed democracies of the world. Since two-thirds of Americans engage in no other political activity than voting, it follows that other types of political participation are confined to a minority of the population. Is such a situation dangerous for a democracy?

Historically, suffrage has been expanded to include non-propertied males, African-Americans, women, residents of the District of Columbia (voting for presidential electors), and 18-year-olds. Today, nearly all age-eligible citizens have the right to vote, though convicted felons are frequently still denied the franchise.

Voting is costly, demanding considerable time to vote and to become informed. Since the chance that one vote will decide an election, many citizens may decide not to vote. However, psychological benefits such as the pleasure derived from fulfilling your civic duty motivate many to cast a vote. Citizens may also vote if they are mobilized by political parties or other groups. The costs of voting are much higher for Americans than for citizens of other democracies. For example, governments in other democracies automatically register their citizens to vote, while Americans must initiate their registrations themselves—and about 30 percent of Americans have not done so, making them ineligible to vote on Election Day.

Even when American turnout figures are calculated so as to exclude those ineligible to vote, American turnout is still quite low. Since 1960, turnout has been declining. This is somewhat surprising given that many barriers to voting such as poll taxes and literacy tests have been eliminated and that education has been increasing (education is an excellent predictor of turnout). Some explanations for this may be that elections have become less competitive, mobilization efforts have decreased, and social connectedness has declined. However, the 2004 election was an exception, as turnout soared due to extraordinary mobilization efforts. Those who are better educated, wealthier, older, and white are more likely to vote.
Is low turnout a problem? Various arguments abound. Those who say low turnout is not a problem cite contentment with the system, a higher caliber electorate (unknowledgeable and uninterested citizens are least likely to vote), and the radical view that elections are merely charades (power elites make the decisions). Those who argue that turnout is a problem note that the electorate is unrepresentative, that policies preferred by working-class Americans are ignored, and that participation encourages individual development. In short, the authors conclude that elections do matter and that lower turnout is a matter of concern, but not one of despair.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

6.1 Describe the extent of nonvoting in the 2004 presidential election.

6.2 Explain the costs and benefits of voting and understand how they differ for Americans than for those from other democracies.

6.3 Review those historical factors that have accounted for variation in American voter turnout in both the 19th and 20th centuries.

6.4 Summarize those key pieces of legislation and constitutional amendments that have expanded the suffrage. Include the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

6.5 Specify those factors that initiated a decline in turnout since 1960 and why the decline has been somewhat puzzling.

6.6 Summarize and explain the roles of personal benefits, declining mobilization, and declining social connectedness in determining voter turnout.

6.7 Identify the personal characteristics, attitudes, and background of the voter and non-voter.

6.8 Summarize and critically evaluate the three arguments that assert low turnout to be a problem and the three arguments that assert low turnout is not a problem.
Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. In your research, find out what the voter turnout percentages were in your state for the most recent presidential and midterm elections. How do these percentages compare to other states in your region of the country? What factors might account for your state’s turnout percentages?

2. Debate the following proposition with classmates: Since voter turnout among 18- to 21-year-olds is very low, the 26th Amendment lowering the voting age was probably a political error. As a corollary, ask your friends who fall into this age category how many voted (assuming they were at least 18) in the last presidential election.

3. Would you favor fining Americans who don’t vote? What would be the pros and cons attached to such a proposal? Could one argue that non-voting sends important signals to political leaders?

4. Would it be possible for the U.S. government to register citizens to vote automatically? What are some advantages and disadvantage of doing so? Many Americans may not like the idea that the government would be responsible for tracking where citizens live. Could such concerns be addressed?

5. How do you respond to the argument that democracy is actually strengthened by low turnout, since non-voters are usually uniformed about political matters? In short, is it far better to have low turnout composed of informed citizens than a heavy turnout, which includes many voters who do not understand the candidates or the issues?

Study Questions

Introduction

1. In the 2004 presidential election, __________ of the eligible electorate voted.
2. In Ohio in 2004, the Bush campaign had _____ paid staffers and ________ volunteers.
3. Voter turnout in American elections is typically _____ (lower, higher) than election turnout in other developed democracies.

A Brief History of the Franchise in the United States

1. The so-called “corrupt bargain” in the 1824 election involved the partnership between ______ and ______.
2. The Fifteenth Amendment granted the franchise to ________ males.
3. The _____ Amendment granted the suffrage to women.
4. The Twenty-third Amendment granted the right for the District of Columbia to select ________________.
5. The adoption of the Twenty-sixth Amendment meant a lowering of the voting age from 21 to ____.
6. Convicted ______________ are not eligible to vote in many states.
7. Currently, about one-eighth of ________ males are ineligible to vote.

Why People Participate: Costs and Benefits

1. One reason late 19th-century voter turnout was so high was because people were _____ to vote.
2. The idea that a citizen feels it is his or her civic duty to vote can best be termed a _____ motivation for voting.
3. Some people vote because they derive __________ from doing so, much as they might enjoy cheering for an athletic team.

4. ________ consists of efforts by groups to turn out their potential supporters on Election Day.

International Comparison of Voter Turnout

1. The way turnout is calculated by the Census Bureau ___________ (overestimates, underestimates) actual turnout.

2. In most of the world, registration is automatically performed by the ____________.

3. In Australia and Belgium, if citizens do not vote, they then are subject to _____.

4. ____________ are ballots that indicate no choice for an office (either intentionally or unintentionally).

5. Americans are _______ (more, less) likely to participate in non-voting forms of political participation than are the citizens of other democratic countries.

6. Official turnout is defined by the Census Bureau as the number of voters divided by the ____________ population.

7. A(n) ____________ is a spoiled ballot that results from voting for more than one candidate.

8. The ____________ ____________ law requires states to allow citizens to register to vote when they renew their driver’s licenses.

9. In some states, lists of registered voters are used to select people for ________ duty.

10. Americans are called on to vote ________ (more, less) often than citizens in other democracies, possibly contributing to lower turnout in the United States.

11. The chief mobilizing agent is modern democracies is the ____________ ____________.
12. Studies suggest that liberalizing state voting laws could boost national turnout by about ____________ percent.

Why Has American Turnout Declined?

1. _______________ is the single strongest predictor of turnout.

2. The decline in turnout is puzzling because federal _______________ has removed numerous impediments to voting.

3. One political factor lowering the benefits of voting is less __________ elections.

4. The largest factor contributing to the decline in turnout is the decreased ________________ by parties, campaigns, and social movements.

5. There is a _____________ gap in turnout, with older citizens participating more than younger citizens.

6. ______ _______ refers to the degree to which individuals are integrated into society.

Who Votes and Who Doesn’t

1. Between the wealthy and the poor, it is the ________ who vote more frequently.

2. The relationships between socioeconomic characteristics and turnout are consistently ________________ (stronger, weaker) in the United States than in other democracies.

Is Low Turnout a Problem?

1. Some believe that high turnout may be problematic, indicating ______________ or ______________ in society.

2. Some _____________ argue that low turnout is not problematic because nonvoters tend to be less educated, informed, and interested, making their participation less desirable.
3. The radical view argues that turnout doesn’t matter because __________ don’t matter.

4. The most obvious concern arising from low turnout is that it produces an electorate that is ______________ of the population.

5. Some critics assert that the _________ system has not adequately addressed the “real” issues of concern to working-class Americans, contributing to low turnout.

6. Political theorists such as Aristotle and Mill contend that turnout is important because democracy contains a(n) ______________ component.

7. The authors ___________ (accept, reject) the assertion that elections don’t matter.

8. According to the authors, low turnout is a cause for ____________ (concern, despair).

Beyond the Voting Booth

1. Americans are ___________ (more, less) likely to work in campaigns, contact public officials, or volunteer for work in their communities than are Europeans.

2. There are _______________ (more, fewer) active groups and associations in American politics than found in other democracies.

3. Approximately one-fourth of Americans contribute ________________ to political campaigns.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A.  franchise ____
B.  compositional effect ____
C.  mobilization
D.  motor-voter law ____
E.  Voting Rights Act of 1965 ____
F.  protests ____
G.  civic duty ____
H.  voting-age population ____
I.  “Rock the vote”
J.  social connectedness ____

Definitions

1.  A key dividing point between high- and low-turnout patterns
2.  Resulted in an increase of black voting in the south
3.  The right to vote
4.  Has an average turnout of over 90 percent
5.  Allows citizens to register to vote when they apply for a driver’s license
6.  Its effort culminated in the passage of the 19th amendment in 1920
7.  MTV’s appeal to young people to vote
8.  Laws that require citizens to vote
9.  Efforts by political parties to get people to vote
10. Those at least 18-years -old

11. All registered citizens
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which of the following is a cost of voting?
   a. civic duty
   b. political efficacy
   c. motor voter
   d. taking time off work to go vote

2. Poll taxes and literacy tests were used in the late 19th century to limit primarily the voting rights of
   a. non-propertied white males.
   b. Jews.
   c. women.
   d. African-Americans.

3. The residents of the District of Columbia were able to vote for presidential electors due to the passage of which amendment?
   a. 20th
   b. 22nd
   c. 23rd
   d. 25th

4. Why has American turnout declined since 1960?
   a. Federal laws discourage participation.
   b. Court decisions have made it more difficult to register to vote.
   c. Socioeconomic changes have discouraged turnout.
   d. Decreased mobilization by political parties

5. If U.S. voting turnout was measured by dividing the number of people voting for President by the number of people who comprise the eligible voting age population, it appears that the turnout percentage would be
   a. much lower.
   b. somewhat lower.
   c. about the same.
   d. higher.
6. If all the states in America used the most liberal registration procedures possible, the national turnout would be
   a. much lower.
   b. somewhat lower.
   c. about the same.
   d. higher.

7. Which factor is related to an expectation of increased turnout?
   a. increased education
   b. increasing the number of elections each year
   c. less competitive elections
   d. a voter belief that government is unresponsive

8. Compulsory voting occurs in
   a. the United States.
   b. Texas only.
   c. Australia.
   d. Canada.

9. Which is a true statement about the “motor-voter” law, according to the text?
   a. In the first year the law was in effect, registration increased by several hundred thousand.
   b. New registrants are virtually all Democrats.
   c. New registrants are virtually all Republicans.
   d. Overall, its impact has been limited.

10. Why do more Americans work in campaigns or contact public officials than citizens in other democracies?
    a. There are more opportunities for electoral participation in this country.
    b. Our individualistic political culture encourages these activities.
    c. The weakness of political parties and the use of personal organizations by candidates
    d. All of the above

**Short-Answer Essay Questions**

1. What are the costs and benefits of voting? How are these different for Americans than for citizens in most democracies?

2. Why does the typical measure of U.S. turnout underestimate actual turnout?
3. What are the characteristics of those likely to vote?

4. How can Americans participate in ways other than voting?

5. What are the three arguments for claiming that low turnout is a problem? What are the three arguments for claiming that low turnout is not a problem?

6. According to the text, what factors contributed to the decline of voting after 1960? Why is this decline somewhat puzzling?
Answers to Matching/Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 3 F. x  
B. x G. x  
C. 9 H. 10  
D. 5 I. 7  
E. 2 J. x  

Practice Test

1. d 6. d  
2. d 7. a  
3. c 8. c  
4. d 9. d  
5. d 10. d  

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CHAPTER 7

INTEREST GROUP PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Summary

The opening section of the chapter dealing with “home” school teachers demonstrates that active groups can change policies; that well-organized groups can mobilize normally inactive citizens who, in turn, can influence the political process; that technology can facilitate group influence; and that elected officials are sensitive to group interests. Interest groups are quite numerous in the United States, representing the interests of millions of Americans. The AARP alone represents over 30 million members! Group formation in America has evolved through a number of “waves”: farm and union groups after the Civil War, broad-based economic groups during the Progressive era, and a wide array of groups since the 1960s that have tended to have a narrower focus.

How are interest groups formed and maintained? Statistically, millions of people do not join groups whose interests they may share. To be a joiner, one must invest resources (money, time, effort) and have incentives—solidary (social), material (economic), or purposive (social or political goals). Aside from attracting members, groups also face the free-rider problem—people who share the group’s goals may not join or contribute to that group, but will still benefit from the group’s efforts. Free-riders may see their personal impact to be negligible. Free-riders are most common among groups that seek to advance public good like clean air. Methods of overcoming the free-rider problem include coercion, social movements, selective benefits that are only received by the group’s members, and the participation of patrons or political entrepreneurs.

Interest groups influence government by the lobbying process. Lobbyists are paid interest group representatives who contact elected officials and provide information that may in turn persuade them to back the group’s preferred policies. Grassroots lobbying tries to influence officials indirectly, by first influencing their constituents.
Another form of influence comes from PACs (political action committees), which are highly diverse organizations typically associated with a specific group. PACs raise and spend campaign funds on candidates to gain access or with the hope that they may look upon the groups’ interests more favorably. PACs have proliferated in recent years, with the bulk representing business and commercial interests rather than labor or citizen interests. Finally, direct mail, direct action (demonstrations, marches, etc.), and litigation in the courts represent other important influence techniques. The exact mix of strategies that an interest group pursues is dependent on a number of situational characteristics such as the economy, party control of Congress and the presidency, and the group’s goals.

The influence of interest groups is a matter of disagreement, where some experts charge that the proliferation of groups clogs the political process while others claim that groups tend to offset each other. Particular interests may be less influential today than formerly, since changes in the American political system have weakened the class subgovernment concept. Interest groups retain a negative image among the public, but political scientists who advocate pluralism argue that politics is essentially the clash of interest groups representing all important interests in society, thereby checking and balancing each other. Critics of pluralism note that upper classes dominate interest groups, the “interest of the whole nation is not equal to the sum of the interests of the parts,” and that politics dominated by interest groups distorts political discussion. Groups have a legitimate and useful purpose in American politics, but sometimes the interests of some are not represented appropriately.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

7.1 Explain how the Home School Legal Defense Association forced Congress to eliminate the Miller Amendment that would have required teacher certification in specific subject areas.

7.2 Review the historical evolution of interest groups in America, noting which social, economic, and political forces were prominent in group formation and proliferation.

7.3 Delineate the nature and variety of interest groups.
7.4 Explain how interest groups are both formed and maintained. Be sure to include the types of incentives that people have as motives for joining an interest group.

7.5 Discuss the implications of the free-rider problem for interest groups and the methods by which groups try to overcome this problem.

7.6 Explain and define lobbying and grassroots lobbying.

7.7 Explain pluralist theory and understand the arguments launched by its critics.

**Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources**

1. Find out what major interest groups exist to serve the needs of American college students. Are any of these groups politically active in trying to influence state or federal legislation?

2. As a possible research project, investigate the careers of Ralph Nader or Candy Lightner and the causes they have pursued.

3. Locate a recent newspaper article or two about the activities of a prominent interest group in your state or community. What tactics are being used by the group according to the articles and what appear to be the goals of this particular group? Once again, this material could form the core of a class assignment or research paper.


5. Most interest groups have a website on the Internet. You can find a list of some of these sites at http://herrnson.cqpress.com/IGs.htm.
Study Questions

Introduction

1. The ________ Amendment might have required certification of parents educating their children at home.

2. The reaction of ___________ __________________ to proposed legislation may cause Congress to react out of fear and political calculation rather than from careful deliberation.

Interest Groups in the United States

1. More than ________-__________ of all Americans belong to at least one group.

2. Group formation in the U.S. _______________ (has, has not) been a steady, gradual process.

3. “Organizations or associations that participate in politics on behalf of their members” are termed ______ groups.

4. The AARP stands for the __________ __________ of __________ ____________.

5. The group nature of American life was noted by the famed 19th-century French visitor to the U.S. named _________________.

6. Many broad-based economic associations date from 1890 to 1917, a period of time known as the __________ era.

7. The National Organization for Women is a(n) ___________ - ___________ group that is narrowly focused to influence feminist interests.

8. Common Cause is a ______ group that purports to promote the interests of everyone by seeking political reform for the public good, though not everyone will agree with the specific policies the group promotes.

Forming and Maintaining Interest Groups
1. Like voting, joining or supporting a group requires some investment of ________.

2. The ________ incentive refers to people joining a group for social reasons, i.e., wishing to associate with particular kinds of people.

3. ________ incentives motivate some to join groups because membership carries tangible economic benefits.

4. ____________ goods are those you must purchase to enjoy, and your consumption means that others cannot also consume them.

5. World peace is a ________ good.

6. One method of overcoming the free-rider problem is ________, a strategy favored by labor unions.

7. The ________-__________ problem arises because people can enjoy the benefits of group activity without bearing any of the costs.

8. The abolitionist movement and the civil rights movement are examples of ________ movements.

9. Selective benefits are ________ goods given to a group’s members and may provide a stronger incentive to join an interest group

10. Ralph Nader and Candy Lightner are good examples of political ________.

How Interest Groups Influence Government

1. Spending on lobbying activities has ____________ (increased, decreased) in recent years.

2. Brown v. Board of Education is an example of ____________ designed to influence government policies.

3. PACs stands for Political ________ ________.

4. Groups conducting advertising campaigns designed to move public opinion are engaged in ____________ ____________.
5. _____ _____ briefs are written by interest groups (“friends of the court”) that are attempting to influence judges’ decisions.

6. A communications technique that is a product of modern electronic communications is __________ _________.

7. Boycotts, sit-ins, and marches are examples of _______ _______ by groups.

8. Protesters in 1999 tried to disrupt the WTO meeting in the city of _________.

9. Some suggest that groups with a _______ structure are at a fund-raising advantage.

How Influential are Interest Groups?

1. Subgovernments are alliances between congressional committees, __________ _________ and a small number of allied interest groups.

2. _____ _____ are bigger, broader, and have much looser connections between interest groups, politicians, bureaucrats, and policy experts than are subgovernments.

3. The influence of interest groups is ___________ (conditional, constant).

Interest Groups and Democratic Politics

1. The theory of _____ celebrates the role of groups in American politics, since groups represent all important interests in society.

2. Evidence suggests that environmental leaders tend to have more ___________ (moderate, extreme) views about cancer risks than do scientists.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A.   free-rider problem _____
B.   issue network ____
C.   litigation ____
D.   private goods ___
E.   subgovernment ___
F.   grassroots lobbying _____
G.   selective benefits _____
H.   public goods ___
I.   factions ___
J.   lobbying _____

Definitions

1.   The process of trying to influence the decisions of government officials
2.   Goods that you enjoy without contributing to a group
3.   Helps explain why more citizens do not join interest groups
4.   An indirect method used by interest groups to influence government
5.   For example, a subscription to a professional journal that you receive if you join a specific group
6.   Goods that you must purchase to enjoy
7.   Consists of congressional committees, bureaucratic agencies, and interest groups who try to dominate a particular policy area
8.   A strategy for influencing government policies by using the courts
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The largest and most diverse wave of interest group formation occurred
   a. before the Civil War.
   b. during the Island Community era.
   c. during the Progressive era.
   d. from 1960 to 1980.

2. Which of the following countries has the fewest citizens who lack any group membership?
   a. United States
   b. France
   c. Italy
   d. Spain

3. Those who join a group because they are committed to the group’s agenda and wish to advance it are joining the group for
   a. material reasons.
   b. solidarity reasons.
   c. purposive reasons.
   d. socialist reasons.

4. The free-rider problem can be overcome by
   a. collective benefits.
   b. public goods.
   c. civic engagement.
   d. coercion.

5. Which of the following is a social movement?
   a. the environmental movement
   b. the forward movement
   c. the accounting movement
   d. The Regressive Movement

6. Which of the following is the largest voluntary association ever, with more than 30 million members?
   a. AARP
   b. NRA
c. NOW

d. NAACP

7. A company that joins a group to protect and advance their economic interests is demonstrating what kind of incentive?
   a. solidary
   b. purposive
   c. material
   d. private

8. According to the text, a social movement, if it is to have long-term influence, must
   a. have effective leadership.
   b. adopt a liberal platform.
   c. institutionalize itself.
   d. try to maximize the idea of selective benefits.

9. A typical example of the interest group tactic known as “direct action” would be
   a. sending of faxes to members of a group.
   b. using computerized mailing lists of people in order to raise money.
   c. a group soliciting funding from a PAC.
   d. a street demonstration by a group’s members.

10. Pluralism holds that
    a. a few elites run the American political system.
    b. interest groups are inherently corrupt.
    c. no single interest is dominant.
    d. the political system represents a narrow range of interests in the nation.

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. How does the experience of the Home School Legal Defense Association demonstrate the influence that interest groups can have on politics? How does it also illustrate the perceived ills of interest group democracy?

2. According to James Q. Wilson, what are the various incentives for joining a group?
3. What were the various incentives that brought together thousands of people demonstrating against the WTO in 1999?

4. How has the number of interest groups changed over time?

5. What is the free-rider problem? Why does it exist? What are the various ways it can be overcome?

6. How do lobbyists attempt to influence government?

7. How do interest groups use electioneering and PACs to influence government?

8. How do interest groups attempt to persuade the public? How do they attempt to persuade the courts?

9. How influential are interest groups?

10. Describe pluralist theory? What are the critiques of pluralism?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A.  3               F.  4
B.  x               G.  5
C.  8               H.  2
D.  6               I.  x
E.  7               J.  1

Practice Test

1.  d                6.  a
2.  a                7.  c
3.  c                8.  c
4.  d                9.  d
5.  a                10. c
CHAPTER 8
POLITICAL PARTIES

Summary

Party factions were already forming during the administration of George Washington, even though he warned against them. Since that era, political parties in America have evolved into extremely important instrumentalities of democracy. Parties organize and operate the government, focus responsibility for government action (party members believe they will be held accountable for their collective performance), develop issues and educate the public, synthesize interests, recruit and develop governmental talent, and simplify the electoral system by minimizing information costs. Americans have traditionally been suspicious of political parties. Parties detract from democratic politics by capturing governments and dictating what they do, confusing responsibility for the performance of government, suppressing issues, dividing society, recruiting candidates for the wrong reasons (such as their fame rather than their governing ability), and oversimplifying the electoral system.

The history of political parties in America can be broken down into six party “systems,” with each era separated by a critical election, occurring about once a generation. The party systems include first, the Jeffersonian era from 1790 to 1824; second, the era of Jacksonian Democracy; third, the period of Civil War and Reconstruction; fourth, the Industrial Republican era (triggered by the critical election of 1896); fifth, the New Deal; and sixth, the period of divided government.

Throughout all six party systems, the U.S. two-party system has largely prevailed. The American electoral system known as “SMSP” (single-member, simple plurality) promotes only one winner. Therefore, American voters realize that voting for a minor party is a wasted vote, since such a party has no chance of toppling the two major parties. However, other nations use the “PR” (proportional representation) system whereby electoral units select a number of candidates, so each party may win seats in proportion to the vote it receives. So long as a party finishes above a certain, legally-defined threshold, it will still win seats in the national legislature.

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There is considerable debate about the extent to which parties are declining and the extent to which they have rebounded. Evidence to support the thesis of decline includes the withering of state and local party organizations and the rise of independents. Historical reasons for decline involved the spread of the direct primary, the communications revolution, the post-World War II increase in voters’ social, economic, and residential mobility. Evidence of this decline is discussed in the chapter’s opening, which reveals how national political conventions of today clearly lack the drama of earlier eras. However, signs of party resurgence have manifested themselves—stronger and better-financed national committees, direct-mail technology that raised ample funding for party consultants and political operatives, and more active state and local party organizations. Critics dismiss these changes as little more than transforming parties today into “large campaign consulting firms” and not parties in the more traditional sense.

Finally, there is the argument that the “power of interest groups correlates negatively with the power of parties—when parties are strong, groups are weak, and vice-versa.” There may be some truth to this claim, especially in the context of a two-party system. The nature of politics abhors a vacuum. If parties cannot fill this vacuum, then perhaps interest groups will.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

8.1 Explain how political parties contribute to democratic politics in America and how they may also detract from democratic values.

8.2 Review and explain the six “party-systems” in American history, noting why and how each system came into being.

8.3 Explain why the United States has a two-party system and why most of the other democracies in the world have a multi-party system. Be sure to define “single-member, simple plurality” and “proportional representation” systems.

8.4 Evaluate the current state of America’s political parties, including the reasons behind the decline of party organizations and the reasons why such organizations might have rebounded.
8.5 Examine the argument as to whether the power of interest groups correlates negatively with the power of parties.

**Study Tips, Research Ideas, Internet Sources**

1. Research public opinion about political parties in the United States to determine why parties are held in such low esteem. Do you think this image is deserved or not? Explain fully.

2. Evaluate whether the 2004 election was a critical election.

3. Write a research paper that evaluates the effects of direct primaries on political campaigns and the types of candidates who run for office.

4. As an interesting research project, compare and contrast the party platforms of the Democratic and Republican Parties in 2000 and 2004.

5. Evaluate how the Democratic Party might retool its message in the wake of their defeat in 2004. Should the Republicans make any changes to ensure their continued success?

Study Questions

Introduction

1. The 2004 political conventions had _________ (more, less) media coverage on the major networks than did the 1952 conventions.

2. All modern democracies have political _______.

What Parties Do

1. Parties help _______ the activities of thousands of public officials.

2. Parties help to _________ problems and their possible solutions.

3. Parties play an important role in harmonizing or _______ interests by developing platforms that offer a mix of benefits and burdens to all.

4. Parties help to find plausible alternatives to incumbents by ____________ candidates for public office.

5. Political parties make participation in the electoral system ____________ (easier, more difficult).

6. The old urban machines of the early 20th century were charged by the Progressives as being the equivalent of elected _______ due to the machines’ goal of total control of the political process.

7. Politicians join political parties because it helps them gain ____________.

8. Progressives complained that urban party _________ had become too powerful, capturing government and doing whatever was necessary to maintain political control.

9. The incentive to torpedo the other party’s initiatives is especially strong when _________ government exists.

10. Rather than synthesize disparate interests of society, parties may actually _________ society by exacerbating social divisions.
11. Parties may sometimes nominate famous __________ who may (or may not) be well-qualified.

Political Parties in American History

1. American parties today are _______ (weaker, stronger) than their European counterparts.

2. The State of _______________ has a formally nonpartisan legislature.

3. The social and economic groups that consistently support each party are collectively termed the party _________.

4. President Jackson was re-nominated by a ______________ ______________ in 1832.

5. During the third-party system, political parties reached such a high level of organization in many cities that they were referred to a ________________.

6. The _____ _____ system permitted voters to choose nominees for office and thus weakened party control.

7. The New Deal era was a _____-based party alignment that resembled electoral alignments in modern European democracies.

8. __________-__________ occurs when a voter does not vote a straight-party ticket.

9. The election in the year _____ may have been a critical election, as it occurred during a period of crisis following urban riots and Vietnam War protests.

The Two-Party and Multi-Party Systems

1. The American political system has traditionally had ________ significant political parties.

2. Most democracies throughout the world have _______ - __________ systems.

3. SMSP stands for _____-_______, ______ ______ system.
4. SMSP electoral systems tend to manufacture __________ or at least to exaggerate their size.

5. PR stands for _______ _______.

How Strong Are American Parties Today?

1. In most of the world, people officially join political parties, pay __________, and receive official ___________ cards.

2. The __________ Party has suffered the most from regional splits.

3. The _______ revolution lessened the need for traditional parties as candidates could raise funding through direct-mail appeals and reach voters directly through mail and television.

4. Today’s party organizations have __________ (more, less) control over the candidates than do most parties in most other democracies.

Parties versus Interest Groups

1. Some theorists believe that when parties are strong, interest groups are _______.

2. Interest groups are not the only competitor to parties; another potential competitor is the _______.

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Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. divided government ____
B. ticket-splitting ____
C. Jacksonian Democracy ____
D. the Green Party ____
E. SMSP___
F. the first-party system ____
G. machines ____
H. critical election ____
I. the Progressives___
J. PR ____

Definitions

1. Results in a realignment
2. Pertains to Civil War and Reconstruction
3. Illustrated by a Democratic President, and a Republican-controlled Congress
4. Promotes a two-party system
5. Voter behavior that may lead to divided government
6. Termed the Jeffersonian era
7. Tammany and New York City
8. Promotes a multi-party system
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Parties contribute to democratic politics by performing all of the following functions or roles EXCEPT:
   a. organizing the government.
   b. educating the public.
   c. focusing responsibility for government action.
   d. dividing society.

2. The only Democratic candidate to be elected president during the fourth-party system was
   a. Franklin D. Roosevelt.
   b. Woodrow Wilson.
   c. John F. Kennedy.

3. Which of the following reforms was instituted by the Progressives?
   a. Internet voting
   b. the two-thirds rule
   c. critical elections
   d. the secret ballot

4. Tammany Hall was the urban political machine that was active in which city?
   a. Chicago
   b. Boston
   c. New York
   d. Philadelphia

5. In which country do you find the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, and the Liberal Democratic Party?
   a. Japan
   b. The United States
   c. Great Britain
   d. Canada

6. Which of the following nations has a SMSP electoral system?
   a. The United States
   b. Israel
c. Germany
d. Canada

7. In a direct primary system, who selects party nominees?
   a. the party machine
   b. the voters
   c. political elites
   d. members of Congress

8. Which party system is a class-based system that came about during the New Deal?
   a. the second-party system
   b. the third-party system
   c. the fourth-party system
   d. the fifth-party system

9. In the sixth-party system of divided government, which year may have been a critical election?
   a. 1896
   b. 1932
   c. 1968
   d. 1976

10. The dominant issue at the beginning of the third-party system was
    a. Westward expansion.
    b. the Vietnam War.
    c. reconstruction.
    d. anti-Semitism.

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. List and summarize the various ways political parties contribute to democratic politics.

2. List and summarize the ways those same parties may detract from democratic politics.

3. What is “party government”? Why have some political scientists argued that party government is best for democracy?
4. What are the differences between SMSP and PR systems? How might they affect the kinds of people elected to office?

5. Review and list the salient characteristics of each of the six-party systems in American history. Has there been a critical election during the sixth-party system?

6. What evidence is there that American parties are getting weaker? What evidence is there that American parties are getting stronger? Which set of arguments is stronger?

7. How are the relationships between parties and interest groups intertwined?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 3  
B. 5  
C. x  
D. 9  
E. 4  
F. 6  
G. 7  
H. 1  
I. x  
J. 8

Practice Test

1. d  
2. b  
3. d  
4. c  
5. c  
6. a  
7. b  
8. d  
9. c  
10. c
CHAPTER 9
THE MEDIA

Summary

How powerful is the media in shaping American public opinion and policy? The case study that introduces the chapter addresses this question in the context of the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Media coverage of the protests outside the convention tended to sympathize more with the protesters than the police (the anchorman Walter Cronkite could be seen holding back tears as he reported the events). However, subsequent polls showed that the American people ignored the media interpretation of the events and wholeheartedly supported the police—even arguing that more police force should have been used. As the authors note, “So much for the awesome power of television.”

The mass media consist of means of affordably reaching many people. Newspapers were first, evolving from publications that were party-controlled to the rise of the penny press to the independent press. Eventually, newspapers became large enterprises or chains of papers. Partisanship declined and professionalism of journalists increased. Some newspapers and magazines, influenced by the Progressive Era, even began a “muckraking tradition” of exposing the ills and corruption found in American life.

Radio’s evolution began in the 1930s with its use by Coolidge and Franklin Roosevelt. FDR’s famous “fireside chats” demonstrated the early use of the electronic media to speak directly with the public. Today, there are more than 16,000 stations that can reach 85 percent of the American people on a daily basis. The recent expansion of “talk shows” has added to radio’s popularity. Television’s range is even greater, with 99 percent of all households having at least one set. The Kennedy-Nixon debate in 1960 was the first televised debate and showed that television would have a unique effect on politics, as television viewers evaluated the debate differently than did those who listened on the radio. Recent presidents have also made use of the new media, such as cable TV, satellite TV, and the Internet. Because they use the limited public airwaves, television and radio are regulated by government agencies, such as the Federal Communications Commission.
The main source of political information for Americans remains television, with newspapers a distant second. However, TV’s edge declines in relation to statewide and local races, where newspapers become more important. Well-educated and older Americans are more likely to rely on newspapers than less-educated people.

Although people once feared that the media could have tremendous effects as politicians could use the media to persuade susceptible citizens, such drastic effects have long since been dismissed. In the 1960s, media effects were perceived to be minimal. More recently, additional media effects have been identified (such as agenda setting, priming, and framing), but these effects remain quite subtle and depend on the characteristics of the audience and the nature of the information.

Citizens frequently complain that the media has an ideological bias, even though journalists purport to be objective. Political scientists, however, think that ideological bias is relatively minor compared to other biases. While journalists tend to support Democratic candidates and hold more liberal views on policy issues, the extent to which the news itself contains a liberal bias is considerably lower. The media (and comedians) tend to be more critical of incumbents, regardless of their ideological stripe. Less vocal critics complain of a conservative media bias, noting that publishers tend to endorse more Republican candidates. There is also clear evidence of selection bias with the media focusing on stories with certain characteristics (such as stories containing excitement, heroes, villains, bitter conflict, sound bites, and compelling pictures). Critics charge that stories are overly negative, contributing to the cynicism of the public toward the political system, and also oriented toward the dramatic rather than in-depth analysis of gradual developments or chronic conditions (note how little coverage of the impending savings and loan disaster was received because it was considered a boring “numbers” story rather than an exciting “people” story). Finally, professional biases include a lack of investigative initiative, the stress on entertainment, and “pack journalism.” However, the media claims that they provide the kind of coverage people actually want.

The media’s coverage of electoral politics is also criticized. The media tends to ignore important policy differences, focusing instead on character issues and which candidate is winning the “horse race.” Media coverage of conventions has also declined. Media coverage of the government is focused primarily on the president over Congress and the bureaucracy. Coverage often emphasizes conflict, scandal, and negativity.
Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

9.1 Explain how the media influenced or did not influence public opinion in the wake of the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

9.2 Discuss the evolution of newspapers from the party press to the penny press to the rise of media conglomerates.

9.3 Discuss the roles of television, radio, and the new media in American politics.

9.4 Explain how government regulates the electronic media.

9.5 Identify the main sources of media information for the American people.

9.6 Discuss the importance and strength of the following media effects: agenda-setting, priming, framing, and socialization.

9.7 Review the general categories of media biases (ideological, selection, and professional) and the prospects for changing these biases.

9.8 Understand how the media covers political campaigns and the operation of government.

9.9 Know which kinds of stories the media tend to report.

Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. Watch an evening TV newscast and identify one story dealing with a controversial political issue, event, or leader. Record the information contained in the TV presentation. Then, the next day, find the same story in a local or national newspaper. Compare the newspaper’s coverage of the story. Which media form provided you with more valuable information? Why do you think this is the case?

2. Most of the major newspapers in the nation and virtually all of the main television networks have Internet sites. In addition, foreign newspapers can
also be located on the World Wide Web. Available “search engines” can locate these sites if you wish to gain a cross-section of the news from both a domestic and international perspective.

3. Find a foreign policy or international politics news story that interests you on CNN’s website (www.cnn.com). How is the same story presented differently by Al Jazeera (http://www.aljazeera.com/home.asp)? What might explain the differences? How might these differences result in different opinions about the event by their audiences?

4. Listen to the audio from the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon debate, which can be found online at http://www.jfklibrary.org/60-1st.htm. Now, watch the Kennedy-Nixon debate online at http://www.earthstation1.com/Nixon_Kennedy_Debates.html (be sure you have a high-speed Internet connection). Now, evaluate why television viewers may have thought Kennedy won the debate while radio listeners thought Nixon won.

5. Watch an evening news program on TV. Can you detect any “positive or negative spin” by reporters or the network anchors in the presentation of their stories? If so, specify which comments indicated a slant to the news.

6. Watch 30 minutes of CNN’s Headline News. Now, watch The Daily Show on Comedy Central. Which provides a better understanding of the day’s news? What are some advantages and disadvantages of getting political news from late-night television comedy?

Study Questions

Introduction

1. While the media were sometimes sympathetic to Vietnam War protesters, the _________ response was far more negative.

2. In general, the media supported the actions of the _____ (police, protesters) during the 1968 Chicago Convention.

3. In general, the public supported the actions of the _____ (police, protesters) during the 1968 Chicago Convention.

Development of the Mass Media

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The term ____ ______ “refers to means of communication that are technologically capable of reaching most people and are economically affordable by most.”

The rise of the _____ press marked the birth of a truly affordable mass media.

Newspapers can get up-to-the-minute national and international news by subscribing to wire services like the _____________ and _____________.

An early political use of radio involved “fireside chats,” a practice employed by President _______.

The most important recent political development in radio communications is _______ ________ hosted by such personalities as Rush Limbaugh.

Because of the need to make a profit, ____________ are an important consideration when it comes to television programming decisions.

Cable and satellite TV are examples of the _____ media.

The federal commission responsible for regulating television and radio is the _______ _________ _________.

The ________-___________ rule required television stations that air advertisements by George W. Bush to also sell air time to John Kerry.

In 1987, a deregulation-minded FCC repealed the _________ doctrine.

In 2004, Jon Stewart’s fake news program, _____ _____ _____, hosted presidential contenders and covered the Democratic National Convention.

What Information Sources Do Americans Rely On?

Americans principal source of news is (are) ____________.

In local election contests, _____ have an edge over TV as the main source of information.

Well-educated individuals are (more likely, less likely) ________ to rely on newspapers than less well-educated people.
Media Effects

1. The _____ effect relates to the “purported ability of TV to raise a distant foreign affairs situation to national prominence by broadcasting vivid pictures.”

2. _____ occurs “when the media affect the standards people use to evaluate political figures or the severity of a problem.”

3. ________ setting occurs when the media affect the issues and problems people think about, even if the media do not determine what positions people adopt.

4. ________ occurs when the media induce people to think about an issue from one standpoint rather than others.

5. The only obvious political impact of sex and violence on television is that it spurs groups to demand increased ____________.

6. The media eventually helped produce a backlash against President ________ ________ for his administration’s handling of the Vietnam War.

Media Biases

1. Most journalists hold views that are more ____________ (liberal, conservative) than those of other college-educated professionals.

2. ________ is the positive or negative slant that reporters or anchors put on their reports.

3. A study of newspaper, TV, and Web coverage of the 2000 campaign revealed that ____________ (Al Gore, George W. Bush) received more negative coverage than his opponent.

4. Newspapers are more likely to endorse ____________ (Democratic, Republican) presidential candidates.

5. The _____ principle means that reporters and editors will choose stories with certain characteristics over other stories that do not possess those characteristics.
6. The media’s “_____” mentality helps explain why each of the media outlets tends to focus on the same story as the other media outlets.

7. _______ _________ is the “CNN of the Arab world.”

The Media and Electoral Politics

1. The media tend to focus on ____________ (character, policy) issues.

2. Campaign coverage usually focuses on elections as though they were ________ races.

3. Coverage of political conventions has ____________ (increased, decreased) since 1956.

4. The first televised debates were held in 1960 between the Democratic candidate ________ and the Republican candidate ________.

5. A presidential candidate’s performance in a TV debate can apparently sway the ______ voter.

Media Coverage of Government

1. The one individual in government who receives the lion’s share of the evening news coverage is the ________________.

2. The media tends to focus on ________________ over civility.

3. The media coverage of Clinton’s affair with Monica Lewinsky and the torture of Iraqi prisoners during George W. Bush’s administration show the media’s fixation on ________.

4. The media tends to focus on what government does ________ (well, badly).
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the bottom “Definitions” column into the blank space next to each term found in the “Terms” Column. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions. For those terms, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. Walter Cronkite _____
B. Agenda-setting _____
C. Rush Limbaugh _____
D. Gannett _____
E. “framing” _____
F. fairness doctrine _____
G. coverage as “horse races” _____
H. Hearst _____
I. “priming” _____
J. Al Jazeera _____

Definitions

1. The media’s focus on who’s winning and who’s losing rather than on issues
2. A media chain that has continued to purchase smaller independent newspapers
3. The media's role in bringing to people the issues and problems that they will think about
4. The anchorman who choked back tears in reaction to the treatment of Vietnam War protesters by the Chicago police
5. Conservative host of a national talk radio show
6. Contributed to the decline in newspapers
7. A U.S. Senator who objected to the Vietnam War
8. Obliged stations to carry public affairs programming and balanced points of view
9. Occurs when the media affect the standards people use to evaluate political figure or the severity of a problem

10. Arab world television news network
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The first newspaper to be truly affordable for the masses was the
a. *New York Sun.*
b. *Gazette of the United States.*
c. *National Gazette.*

2. One modern trend in the newspaper industry that is disturbing to those who wish the public to be exposed to a variety of views is
a. the existence of too many papers that dwell on the sensational rather than being informative about issues and leaders.
b. a rapid decline in the number and independence of papers.
c. that many papers are becoming unaffordable due to an increase in price, thereby denying citizens information.
d. that too many papers are either entirely liberal or entirely conservative.

3. The greatest percentage of Americans regularly engage in which specific new-related activity?
a. reading the news online
b. watching CNN
c. watching local evening news
d. reading a daily newspaper

4. From 1972 to the mid-1980s, policy stories outnumbered scandal stories by a ratio of 13 to 1. Since then, the percentage of policy stories has
a. decreased considerably.
b. stayed about the same.
c. increased slightly.
d. increased considerably.

5. Which of the following is a true statement about the Internet as a new media form?
a. Those citizens with Internet access rank political websites high on interest lists.
b. As of summer 2000, two-thirds of Americans had Internet access.
c. Presidential candidates have had official websites since 1980.
d. In future elections, the Internet may become a true mass medium.
6. The equal-time rule states that the media must devote equal time to
   a. domestic and international issues.
   b. male and female anchors and reporters.
   c. policy and character issues.
   d. qualified political candidates.

7. When networks carry an important presidential speech, the political
   opposition is also entitled to state their views on those same networks under
   the FCC’s
   a. equal time rule.
   b. fairness doctrine.
   c. new relationship to the 1996 telecommunications act.
   d. informal (rather than legal) agreement with the networks and new
   media outlets.

8. Which of the following describes how citizens who watched the Kennedy-
   Nixon debates on television differed from those who listened to it on the
   radio?
   a. Radio listeners were better educated.
   b. Radio listeners were more likely to vote.
   c. Radio listeners were more likely to think Kennedy won.
   d. Radio listeners were more likely to think Nixon won.

9. George Bush’s very high approval ratings dropped after the Gulf War due to
   the media’s coverage of the struggling economy, a media effect known as
   a. agenda-setting.
   b. priming.
   c. framing.
   d. persuasion.

10. Which is a true statement about the ideological views of journalists?
   a. Journalists are more Democratic than the population at large.
   b. Journalists are split evenly between Republicans and Democrats.
   c. Journalists are more Republican than the population at large.
   d. Journalists are found to have few party affiliations—-the vast majority
   are true “independents.”
Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. How did the media interpret the events surrounding the 1968 Democratic National Convention? How did the public interpret these events? What does this suggest about the power of the media?

2. How do the media cover national political conventions and how has this changed over time?

3. How do the media cover Presidential campaigns? What issues do they focus on?

4. How do the media cover government? What sorts of stories do they emphasize? What are some of the effects this coverage might have on how Americans view government?

5. In what ways might the media have a liberal bias? In what ways might the media have a conservative bias? What other sorts of biases do the media have?

6. How has Al Jazeera pushed the boundaries of Middle Eastern journalism?

7. Evaluate priming and framing in the context of the war on terror and the war in Iraq.
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

| A. | 4 | F. | 8 |
| B. | 3 | G. | 1 |
| C. | 5 | H. | x |
| D. | 2 | I. | 9 |
| E. | x | J. | 10 |

Practice Test

1. a
2. b
3. d
4. a
5. d
6. d
7. a
8. d
9. b
10. a
CHAPTER 10

ELECTING THE PRESIDENT

Summary

The election of 2004 promised to be a close contest, and some feared that it would result in the same sort of indecision that emerged from Election Day in 2000. Some opinion polls showed a likely Kerry victory, while others pointed to a Bush win. The presidential debates appeared to benefit Kerry and many in the media thought Kerry would go on to win. On Election Day, high voter turnout and the results of leaked exit polls both pointed towards Kerry. When all the votes were counted, however, it became clear that Bush had been reelected. While media reports may have pointed towards Kerry, most models developed by political scientists predicted a Bush victory (even though many of the predictions occurred months before the first votes were cast). The media focuses on short-term influences, but political scientists realize that long-term explanations carry greater predictive power.

Presidential candidates are selected through a series of caucuses (meetings) and primaries (elections). Although primaries are now commonplace, they were initially a Progressive era reform involving the nomination of state and local candidates. Candidates accumulate national convention delegates by winning primaries and caucuses, though the Democratic Party also reserves some slots for party leaders, known as superdelegates. The primary process is criticized on two fronts—the process starts too early and lasts too long, and the media and activists have an undue influence on the nomination process. Primary elections are funded with matching funds—if candidates agree to spending limits, then the government will pay for half of the campaign. Candidate nominations are formalized by each party’s national convention.

The general election campaign follows the national conventions. Important to a presidential hopeful is to win the large electoral-vote states plus enough small states to obtain the necessary 270 electoral votes, a majority of the Electoral College. It is possible for a candidate to obtain more popular votes yet lose in the Electoral College, as happened to Al Gore in 2000. Interestingly, Republicans have developed
their “L” base, a wide swath of states that takes in the Rocky Mountain region, the Plains states and South.

A majority of voters have usually decided how they will vote by the end of the conventions (before the official start of the general election campaign). This may be due to long-range factors such as party loyalties or identification (two-thirds of voters view themselves as Democrats or Republicans). Policy stands are seldom very influential; government performance from retrospective evaluations and candidate characteristics are more important. The “deal of the cards” (current social and economic realities) may be the most important factor in determining an election’s outcome. Campaigns are unlikely to make much of a difference except in close elections.

In 1992, Bill Clinton was able to break the GOP “lock” on the presidency, overcoming voter perceptions that the Democratic Party was no longer the party of prosperity or that the party had become too liberal. Clinton also moved to the center on the issue of race. In 1996, under a prosperous economy, the GOP-controlled Congress was perceived as obstructionist by many voters (the shutting down of the government over the budget did not help the GOP). The gender gap also helped Clinton, with women more likely than men to support Democratic candidates. The Republicans won the presidency in 2000 in a cliffhanger, disputed election. Despite the economic prosperity that enveloped the nation, Al Gore was unable to translate this theme into a presidential victory. In the aftermath of 2000, Democrats blamed the loss on Gore’s personality, running a poor campaign, neglecting Bill Clinton’s effectiveness as a political campaigner, and the repeated failure to stress the economic good times that Americans enjoyed. The 2004 election was very similar to that of 2000, though Bush as able to win a clear majority (the first since 1988). Most of the factors that lead to Bush’s win were in place long before the campaign, such as the importance of “moral issues” and the condition of the economy.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

10.1 Explain why the media thought the 2004 election was “too close to call,” but why political scientists had models predicting a Bush victory months before the first vote was cast.

10.2 Understand the basic process by which presidential aspirants become party nominees.
10.3 Explain the differences in campaign finance in the nomination process and in the general election.

10.4 Summarize the growth of the primary process and the weaknesses of that process. Understand the different systems used for selecting convention delegates.

10.5 Understand how the vice president is selected and the importance of “balancing the ticket.”

10.6 Discuss the operation of the Electoral College.

10.7 Itemize those factors affecting voting behavior in presidential elections, including party identification, issues, candidates, and government performance.

10.8 Analyze why the issue of “candidate personality” is often an overrated principle in a presidential campaign.

10.9 Explain how the “deal of the cards” strongly influences the outcome of a presidential campaign. Cite some historical examples.

10.10 Summarize the issues that hurt the Democrats during the 1980s and explain how Clinton was able to defuse some of these issues in 1992 and 1996. Also, explain the events of the 2000 and 2004 elections.

Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. Research the results of primary elections for the Democratic Party during the 2004 presidential election. Which primary elections were crucial for Kerry in terms of his acquiring the party’s nomination?

2. Examine the different methods used by the states for allocating their delegates to the national convention. A good website with lots of specific information about the process is http://www.thegreenpapers.com/. How do the systems differ from state to state and from party to party?
3. Interview someone who voted in the last presidential election to determine the influences that affected their decision on who they voted for. What issues were influential and why?

4. Should the Electoral College be abolished or reformed? Why or why not? This topic might be a good one for an outside research paper, especially after the outcome of Election 2000.

5. Assume you are a political consultant for the Democratic Party. What strategies would you recommend the party employ to capture the presidency in 2008?

Study Questions

Introduction

1. As voters leave the polling place, they may be asked to participate in a(n) ________________ ____________ if they live in a selected precinct.

2. Early on Election Day, leaked information available on the Internet seemed to suggest a ____________ (Bush, Kerry) victory.

3. Forecasts by political scientists conducted months before Election Day indicated a likely ________________ (Bush, Kerry) victory.

Nominating a Presidential Candidate

1. Compared to other democracies, the nomination process in the United States is unusual for its lengthy ____________ process.

2. A meeting of citizens who support different candidates that selects delegates to a state or national convention is called a ________.

3. A ________ primary is one in which only party members can vote. A ________ primary is one in which any registered voter can vote in any party’s primary.

4. In a semi-closed primary, ____________________ can participate in addition to party members.
5. Most presidential candidates depend on federal ________ funds in their campaigns.


7. To be eligible for matching funds, candidates must comply with __________ limits.

8. Those who participate in primaries and caucuses tend to have views that are more ________ (moderate, extreme) than general election voters.

9. To some critics, the primary process starts too _____ and lasts too______.

10. The primaries have become increasingly __________ - __________ since 1996, with states moving their primaries to earlier dates in hopes that their primaries would take place while the nominations were still up for grabs.

11. Professor Thomas Patterson argues that media coverage of primaries has shifted from a policy orientation to a “__________” orientation.

12. Some criticize the media for giving too much attention to the nomination contests in the first two states: _________________ and _________________.

13. In the past, vice-presidential nominees were chosen according to their ability to ______ the ticket.

The General Election for President

1. ______________ ____________ is contributed to political parties by interest groups, labor unions, and individuals that are not subject to federal regulation.

2. The most important category of general-election spending is for the __________ media, mostly for television ads.

3. Research suggests that the issue content of campaign ads has ________________ (decreased, increased) in recent years.

4. If no candidate receives an Electoral College majority, the __________ __________ __________ decides who will be president.
5. The candidate who wins the most popular vote in a state wins the _______ of that state’s electoral votes.

6. Because of the _______-_________-_________ voting system in place in 48 states, the Electoral College, in practice, favors ____________ (small, medium-sized, large) states.

7. The Republican “___” is the base on which GOP majorities have been built, involving a wide swath of states.

Voting Behavior in Presidential Elections

1. Typically, more than ___________ of all voters are not affected by the general election campaign because they already know how they will vote.

2. About two-thirds of the American electorate view themselves as ___________ or ___________, the remainder as ____________.

3. The wealthy, rural residents, southerners, and evangelical Protestants tend to vote ____________.


5. In most elections, voters make their decision about who to vote for on the basis of parties or party leaders, not on the basis of ____________.

6. Voting by looking backwards at performance is often called ____________ voting.

7. In ____________ elections, campaigns can play an important role in determining the victor.

The Contemporary Presidential Election Scene

1. The ____________ Party received the brunt of the blame for high inflation in the 1970s.

2. The ____________ Party was perceived as being more capable in the international arena during the 1970s.
3. Starting in the 1960s, ____________ became associated with sexual permissiveness, declining religious faith, a breakdown in the family, and violent crime.

4. The ___________ __________ is used to describe differences in voting that stem from different attitudes about military force, violence, and aid to the disadvantaged.

5. Women have been more likely to vote for the ____________ presidential candidate than are men.

6. Al Gore may have lost in 2000 because he did not emphasize the administration’s record during a time of peace and prosperity. In short, he ran the wrong _____________.

7. In 2000, ____________ (Gore, Bush) was perceived to be closer to the people than was his opponent.

8. In 2000, ____________ (Gore, Bush) was perceived to be closer to the people on the issues than was his opponent.

9. 2004 was the first election since 1998 when the winner of the presidential election received a clear ____________ of the popular vote.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. superdelegates___
B. moral issues___
C. Iowa___
D. Maine___
E. voluntary check-off on income tax returns___
F. Electoral College___
G. scandals, gaffes, and campaign feuds___
H. the Republican “lock” on the presidency___
I. “The Kiss”___
J. negative campaign advertising___
K. popular votes___
L. soft money___

Definitions

1. A critique of the media is that they focus on these instead of policy issues
2. Surprise move by Al Gore that may have helped him in the polls
3. Holds the first primary election
4. Does not have winner-take-all system for the Electoral College
5. Money given to political parties that are not regulated by the FECA
6. The votes that individuals cast on Election Day
7. The tendency for states to move their primary elections to earlier in the calendar
8. The body constitutionally charged with selecting the president under most circumstances

9. Used to provide matching funds to presidential candidates

10. Would prefer a yellow dog over a Republican

11. Democratic elected officials and party leaders who cast ballots at the national convention

12. Oftentimes, an effective campaign tool

13. Cited by citizens as a factor in their decisions to vote for Bush
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Who can vote in a closed Democratic primary?
   a. a registered Democrat
   b. a registered Republican
   c. an independent
   d. All of the above

2. Which of the following is true about party activists?
   a. Activists of both parties are more moderate than typical citizens.
   b. Democratic Party activists are more extreme than Republican Party activists.
   c. Party activists have preferences that are identical to those of ordinary citizens.
   d. Activists in both parties are more extreme and ideological than are typical citizens.

3. Colorado has seven representatives to the U.S. House of Representatives. How many electoral votes does Colorado have?
   a. 3
   b. 7
   c. 9
   d. 14

4. When will more than half of all voters typically decide for whom they will vote in a presidential election?
   a. by the New Hampshire primary
   b. by the Super Tuesday
   c. by the end of the conventions
   d. by the end of the presidential debates

5. Which of the following groups is NOT traditionally associated with voting for Democratic candidates?
   a. union members
   b. African-Americans
   c. Jews
   d. Evangelical Protestants
6. In the year 2000, how many Republican and Democratic delegates were chosen in primaries and caucuses?
   a. all of the Republicans, 80 percent of the Democrats
   b. about 50 percent of the Republicans, all of the Democrats
   c. about 90 percent of both Republicans and Democrats
   d. all of the Democrats, 70 percent of the Republicans

7. In the contemporary nomination process, who nominates the vice presidential candidate?
   a. the national convention
   b. the superdelegates
   c. the national caucus of party elders
   d. the presidential nominee

8. Which is true about a caucus?
   a. Caucus turnout is generally lower than turnout in general elections.
   b. Caucus participants are representative of the general population.
   c. Caucus participants tend to be more ideologically moderate than regular party identifiers.
   d. The first caucus state in a presidential election year is New Hampshire.

9. How are general election presidential campaigns financed?
   a. With matching funds if candidates agree to spending limits
   b. With public funds if candidates agree to spending limits
   c. With campaign contributions from private citizens
   d. With campaign contributions from interest groups and businesses

10. How does campaign finance differ in the U.S. than in other democracies?
    a. On a per capita basis, American campaigns are more expensive.
    b. Only the United States offers public financing for campaigns.
    c. American campaigns emphasize the “ground war” instead of the “air war.”
    d. Campaign spending in the U.S. is more heavily regulated.

**Short-Answer Essay Questions**

1. Explain how the direct primary developed and why the vast majority of delegates for both parties are chosen through primaries. What are some critiques of the nominating process?
2. What are the differences between primaries and caucuses? What are the differences between the different kinds of primaries?

3. How do political activists and the media possibly skew the political debate in primaries?

4. How does the Electoral College work? How is it possible for a candidate to gain fewer popular votes than his opponent nationally, yet still become president by gaining a majority of the electoral votes?

5. How important are policy issues to most voters? What other factors are important? Explain.

6. How does campaign financing in other democracies differ from America’s?

7. How did Bush win the 2000 and 2004 elections?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching:

A. 11       G. 1
B. 13       H. x
C. x        I. 2
D. 4        J. 12
E. 9        K. 6
F. 8        L. 5

Practice Test:

1. c        6. a
2. d        7. d
3. d        8. a
4. b        9. b
5. d        10. a
CHAPTER 11

CHOOSING THE CONGRESS

Summary

The chapter opens with an account of the razor-thin Republican majority that resulted from the 2000 elections, and how that small majority turned into divided government when Senator Jim Jeffords of Vermont left the Republican Party to become an independent. Republicans gained control of the Senate again after the 2002 elections, and many Republicans believed that their future electoral successes depended upon their support of President Bush’s agenda. However, soon after the 2004 elections, Republican unity began to fray and as the War in Iraq became increasingly unpopular, Republican members of Congress began to distance themselves from the president’s agenda. This example shows how members of Congress must constantly worry about the next election, especially if the district they are in is competitive.

The Framers’ original wish was for an amateur House, with a more stable Senate selected by state legislatures. Only with the passage of the 17th Amendment in 1913 did a state’s population elect their senators directly. Today, Congress is a “professional legislature” with full-time members who, with the aid of the incumbency advantage, stay in Washington an average of 11 years.

Parties continue to be the most important factor in House elections, followed by incumbency. The Party is crucial since so many voters are poorly informed about congressional elections. The incumbency advantage has also grown in importance, so political challengers face a rough road, especially in the House. Incumbents build up a record of accomplishments and constituency service, providing both information and favors to the voters back home. They also have extensive staffs that aid their reelection efforts and other resources such as the frank (free postage for official mail). Incumbents also tend to have a financial advantage over challengers, often scaring away potential challengers. The weakening of political parties also means that challengers have to rely more on their own resources to finance a campaign, a daunting task to say the least. Finally, when the wishes of the
constituency and the party collide, the interests of the constituents typically prevail. Incumbents know how to get reelected, and will usually refrain from actions or votes that severely reduce their reelection chances with the electorate.

Compared to House incumbents, Senate incumbents are defeated much more frequently, since states are more heterogeneous and party competition more vigorous. In addition, the media gives senators far more “uncontrolled” publicity than House members, so the likelihood of negative impressions being broadcast to voters is far greater. Senators also face better challengers and may suffer from a desire to become president, thus opening themselves to the charge that they are neglecting their respective states.

There is no doubt that the membership of Congress does not represent the same diversity as the American people in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender. Women, African-Americans, Hispanics, and Asian-Americans are woefully underrepresented in both the House and Senate. Majority-minority districts may help increase the number of minorities in Congress, but there are some disadvantages to this approach as well. As women continue to be more abundant in careers that serve as steppingstones to Congress, it is likely the number of women members of Congress will increase. The SMSP system also contributes to the lack of congressional diversity.

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

11.1 Explain why members of Congress attempted to distance themselves from their president as the 2006 elections approached.

11.2 Explain how the Framers intended members of Congress to be selected and how the selection of members of Congress has changed over time.

11.3 Discuss the impact of reapportionment and redistricting on congressional elections.

11.4 Describe the congressional nomination process.

11.5 Analyze why party and incumbency are the two most influential factors affecting House elections and why challengers have such difficulty in winning office.
11.6 Explain the growth in the representative function of lawmakers.

11.7 Describe how members of Congress obtained and used additional resources to help them win reelection.

11.8 Demonstrate why the reelection of Senate incumbents is less secure than that of House incumbents.

11.9 Explain what “national forces” have been at work in recent congressional elections.

11.10 Evaluate the arguments in favor of congressional membership that mirrors the ethnic and gender diversity of the American population. Understand why the SMSP system makes such representation more difficulty.

11.11 Understand the advantages and disadvantages of majority-minority districts.

**Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources**

1. Analyze the last House election campaign in your congressional district. Did the incumbent or challenger win (if the seat was open, explain why one candidate won over the other)? What factors accounted for the electoral result?

2. Research how much money was spent by both candidates in the most recent House race in your district using the Federal Election Commission’s website http://www.fec.gov/finance/disclosure/disclosure_data_search.shtml. Was there a connection between the money spent and the outcome—why or why not? What was the pattern of incumbent vs. challenger victories in the 2004 congressional elections?

3. Explain why the reapportionment process is so important to House elections and the arguments in favor of creating districts for U.S. Senators?

4. If you were a challenger trying to unseat an incumbent who had been in office for at least two terms, what steps would you have to take to defeat that incumbent and why? How likely will you be to succeed?
5. As a possible short paper, speculate how the policies of Congress would change if the number of women and minorities in both the House and Senate were to double in the next ten years or so. Conversely, you could argue policies would not be drastically different. Which argument is more persuasive? Why?

6. Evaluate the information placed on the official websites for your members of Congress (http://www.house.gov/house/MemberWWW.shtml for the House and http://www.senate.gov/general/contact_information/senators_cfm.cfm for the Senate). In what ways is information geared towards helping them win reelection?

**Study Questions**

**Introduction**

1. Senator Jim Jeffords of Vermont switched from being a ________ to being a _______.

2. Members of the House are elected for _____ years, where U.S. Senators have terms of _____ years.

**The Electoral Evolution of Congress**

1. It was the _____ Amendment to the Constitution that compelled senators to face direct _____ election.

2. Political scientists call Congress a “_____” legislature because its members serve full-time for long periods.

3. The Framers intended the House to be a(n) ____________ political body with high turnover.

**Reapportionment and Redistricting**

1. The _____ process basically involves the drawing of the boundaries of new congressional districts.

2. According to the Constitution, a ____________ must be held every decade.

3. The Constitution gives every state _____ senators.
4. Drawing congressional district lines for partisan or political advantage is called __________.

The Congressional Nomination Process

1. A House or Senate race with no incumbent is considered a(n) _______ seat.
2. A nominee for the House or Senate is typically selected in a(n) __________ election.

Contemporary House Elections

1. Although journalists tend to emphasize incumbency, the determining factor in House elections is _______ _________.
2. While making _______ is the principal business of Congress, members of Congress also put a great deal of time and effort into constituency service.
3. The _______ is the ability of members of Congress to send mail to their constituents for free, as long as it is for official business.
4. The number of staffers a member of Congress has working for him or her has _______ (increased, decreased) over time.
5. A well-financed incumbent may have a _______ effect that may scare off potential challengers.
6. When party and constituency collide, the member of Congress usually supports the _________.
7. The difference between incumbent spending and challenger spending has _______ (increased, decreased) since 1980.

Contemporary Senate Elections

1. States are _____ (more, less) heterogeneous than congressional districts.
2. Challengers to senate incumbents tend to be _____ (weaker, stronger) than challengers to House incumbents.
3. Senators receive (more, less) _____ media coverage than representatives.

National Forces in Congressional Elections

1. _____ refers to “positive electoral effect of a popular presidential candidate on congressional candidates of the party.”

2. Tip O’Neill is famous for noting that “all politics is ________.”

3. In the year _______, a strong national tide swept aside incumbency advantage and resulted in 52 additional Republican House seats and eight additional Republican Senate seats.


5. Many observers felt that the 2000 congressional elections _________ (had, lacked) a national theme.

6. In the 2004 elections, the ____________ (Democratic, Republican) Party gained seats in both the House and the Senate.

Do Congressional Elections Produce a Representative Body?

1. Some are troubled that Congress does not mirror the ethnic or gender ______ of America.

2. In Shaw v. Reno, the Supreme Court noted that drawing __________-___________ districts based only on the desire to include a majority of minorities might be unconstitutional.

3. One negative effect of __________-___________ redistricting is that it may actually help the Republican Party win more seats by packing minority voters into majority-minority districts.

4. The SMSP system creates a(n) ______________ for racial minorities.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the bottom definitions column into the blank space next to each term found in the terms column. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions. For those terms, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. campaign money ____
B. Gerrymandering ____
C. frostbelt ____
D. sunbelt ____
E. casework ____
F. the frank____
G. Senator Russell Feingold ____
H. safe seat ____
I. Rep. Margolies-Mezvinsky ____
J. block voting ____

Definitions

1. This region is losing seats in the House due to reapportionment
2. Lost reelection by siding with party over constituency
3. A congressional district nearly certain to vote for a candidate of a specific party
4. Did not want the Democratic Party to run issue ads on his or her behalf
5. Redrawing boundary lines of congressional districts for partisan advantage
6. Allows incumbents to send free mail to their constituents
7. The tendency for members of a minority group to vote alike
8. Providing constituents with help or information
9. Too much of it leads to “diminishing returns” in elections
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The average length of time a U.S. Senator serves in office in his or her career is
   a. 6 years.
   b. 11 years.
   c. 18 years.
   d. 22 years.

2. Originally, the Constitution provided for U.S. Senators to be chosen by
   a. primary elections.
   b. incumbent senators.
   c. state legislatures.
   d. the state’s U.S. House delegation.

3. The Supreme Court decision in Wesberry v. Sanders (1964) ruled that congressional districts
   a. must only be redrawn after the census is taken.
   b. cannot be redrawn by state bipartisan commissions.
   c. must be of nearly equal population.
   d. must first be authorized by Congress.

4. The “single most important factor” in House elections is
   a. incumbency.
   b. party affiliation.
   c. the personal qualities of the candidates.
   d. money.

5. Which is a true statement regarding U.S. Senators?
   a. Senators receive less media coverage than House members.
   b. Senate challengers are usually better known than House challengers.
   c. Local issues are more important to Senators than House members.
   d. All of the above are true.
6. Those who believe that Congress must be “descriptively” similar to the country in order to be truly representative would argue that
   a. white representatives cannot be responsive to the needs and aspirations of blacks and other minorities.
   b. the personal characteristics of the representative are unimportant.
   c. low numbers of female and black House members help the Democratic Party.
   d. voters should deliberately choose minority candidates even if they are unqualified.

7. In majority-minority districts, members of a racial or ethnic minority constitute
   a. a majority of the population in the district.
   b. a sizable minority in the district.
   c. the same proportion of voters as do whites.
   d. a minority of the district’s population.

8. In the 2004 congressional elections, the Republicans
   a. gained seats in the House and the Senate.
   b. lost seats in the House and the Senate.
   c. gained seats in the House and lost seats in the Senate.
   d. lost seats in the House and gained seats in the Senate.

9. The earliest filing deadline for primary elections in 2004 was found in which state?
   a. Louisiana
   b. California
   c. New York
   d. Florida

10. Which of the following is an example of constituency service?
    a. A senator helping a constituent qualify for a government benefit
    b. Political parties offering in-kind contributions to a senator’s campaign
    c. Drawing district lines to help ensure a representative’s reelection
    d. Selecting a party’s nominee by holding a primary election

**Short-Answer Essay Questions**

1. Why is constituency service so important for an incumbent member of Congress? How do district service and casework strengthen the incumbent’s
chances of being reelected over potential challengers? What other benefits do incumbents have to help them win reelection?

2. Explain the following statement: “Members of Congress have been likened to CEOs of small businesses.”

3. Why do Senators lead more perilous lives than House members when it comes to reelection prospects? How are members of Congress pulled in opposite directions by the need to serve their constituents and the need to serve their party?

4. How have national forces been at work in recent congressional elections? How and why has this changed over time?

5. Is Congress a descriptively representative body? What efforts have been taken to produce a Congress that is as diverse as the population in terms of race, ethnicity and gender? How effective have these efforts been? What are some advantages and disadvantages of these attempts to make Congress more representative?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

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Practice Test

1. b  6. a  2. c  7. a  3. c  8. a  4. b  9. b  5. b  10. a
CHAPTER 12
THE CONGRESS AND ITS WORK

Summary

The chapter opens with the story of how federal assistance to state and local law enforcement and emergency “first responders” increased dramatically after the 9/11 terrorist attacks, and how much of that assistance has been spent. Critics argue that taxpayer’s money has been spent in parts of the country in which the threat of terrorist attacks are very low, or on things that do not directly relate to security. In addition, in the several years since 9/11, Congress has appropriated homeland security money for things not obviously related to homeland security. Why is this happening? Because Congress adopted a spending formula for homeland security funding that promised each state some money. This allows members of Congress to influence where the money goes and to take credit for some of the spending in their states. In this way, homeland security spending is much like spending in other areas, and is heavily influenced by the electoral incentives of the members of Congress.

The American Congress is a bicameral legislature, comprised of a House of Representatives and a Senate. The status of the House and Senate has changed over the years (the Senate was more prestigious in the pre-Civil War period). Today, both chambers can check each other and have roughly comparable powers. In addition to the 535 members of Congress, some 17,000 staffers who support individual legislators and committees have become quite important to the legislative process. Other legislative branch employees can be found in the Congressional Budget Office, the General Accounting Office, and the Library of Congress.

Although parties are less important in the United States than they are in parliamentary systems, parties are still the principle organizing force in Congress. The leader of the majority party in the House is the Speaker. The most senior majority party member in the Senate serves as the President Pro Tempore in the (usual) absence of the Vice President who is typically only on hand if he or she is expected to cast a tie-breaking vote. Other leadership positions found in both the House and the Senate include the majority leader, the minority leader, and party whips. Although the strength of congressional parties varies over time, parties are currently rather powerful.
Contributing factors include the increasing homogeneity of party members and the increasingly active role parties play in financing campaigns.

Committees do the work of Congress. Standing committees divide up the massive legislative workload. They may allow for specialization in various policy areas, distribution of “pork” to the committee members’ states, or serve the interests of the majority party. Traditionally, committee chairs are selected according to the norm of seniority, with the most senior member of the majority party serving as chair. Important committees include, among others, Rules, Appropriations, Ways and Means, and Commerce in the House, and Appropriations, Budget, Foreign Affairs and Finance in the Senate. Decentralization of the committee structure has occurred with the proliferation of subcommittees.

Before becoming a law, a bill must be passed by both the House and the Senate. In each chamber, the basic process is that a bill is introduced, referred to a committee and then usually to a subcommittee, marked up and voted on in committee, amended and voted on by the whole chamber (on the “floor”). In the House, the bill first must be given rules for debate by the Rules committee before proceeding to the House floor. If a similar bill is approved on the floor in each chamber, it is then sent to a conference committee comprised of members of both the House and the Senate where a compromise is then ironed out. Suffice it to say, the details of this process are quite complicated and vary from chamber to chamber, bill to bill, and over time. For example, a bill can be filibustered in the Senate and only the House can initiate a tax bill. Some criticize this process as being unnecessarily lengthy and inefficient, for allowing members to be tempted to use their positions to extract constituency benefits, and for failing to result in legislation that will solve important societal problems.

With such a messy process, it is not surprising that Americans don’t like Congress as a whole. (Note, though, that Richard Fenno has observed the apparently paradoxical attitude that Americans tend to like their individual representatives.) Americans feel that as an institution, Congress does not meet its collective responsibilities and that it operates in an inefficient, corrupt, and sluggish manner. Citizens also have unrealistic expectations of Congress, demanding that their own representatives act as delegates, while preferring that the rest of Congress act as trustees.

Whether term limits would help improve the performance or accountability of Congress by ushering in an era of “citizen-legislators” remains an open question. The authors believe that term limits would do little to address the underlying problem (the natural desire of its members to satisfy their constituencies first over the larger, general interests of the nation) and might actually cause some harm.
Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

12.1 Explain why Congress spends homeland security monies like it does.

12.2 Summarize the organizational structure of Congress, including the relationship between the two houses.

12.3 Delineate and explain the function of congressional staffers and congressional support agencies.

12.4 Explain the difference between the trustee and delegate styles of representation.

12.5 Explain how congressional parties and the committee system contribute to the operation, organization, and legislative flow in Congress.

12.6 Review the various stages in how a bill becomes a law.

12.7 Explain why Americans do not have a high opinion of Congress as an institution, but do have a positive view of their own members of Congress.

12.8 Summarize the respective criticisms of Congress, noting what Americans do and don’t like about the institution and/or its members.

12.9 Understand the respective arguments that comprise the controversial issue of term limits.

Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. Write a letter to your congressman requesting information about a political topic or issue of vital interest to you. See how long it takes before you receive some type of response from the congressman’s office. Were you contacted by mail, by a staffer over the phone, or did you simply receive a packet of materials? Or, were you not contacted at all?

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2. Trace a current piece of legislation that is being considered in either one or both houses of Congress. Which committee or committees are responsible for this bill? Have hearings been held on the bill? Does it appear that the bill has a chance to become law?

3. Research the effects of term limits at the local and state level (which were not affected by U.S. v. Thornton). Using your findings, evaluate whether term limits would strengthen or weaken Congress.

4. Review current events regarding Congress at www.cq.com or www.thehill.com. (You might need to sign up for a free trial subscription.) Evaluate why Congress is debating these issues. Are they currently of national concern, local concern, or partisan concern?

5. The website for House committees is http://www.house.gov/CommitteeWWW.html. The website for the Senate is http://www.senate.gov, then click on “committees.”

Study Questions

Introduction

1. The deals that members of Congress make can ________ the purpose of legislation or make efforts to reform a public policy futile.

2. Guaranteeing at least some spending in each state allows members of Congress to take ________ for the spending.

3. Congress—The First Branch

1. Because the U.S. Congress consists of two chambers, it is known as a __________ legislature.

2. In the decades before the Civil War, the ________ (House, Senate) was clearly the more important and prestigious body.

3. The 17,000 people who support individual legislators and committees are collectively known as the congressional ________.
4. The CBO stands for the __________ __________ __________.

The Organization of Congress: Parties and Committees

1. Political __________ are the main organizing force in Congress.

2. In Parliamentary systems, the chief executive is chosen by ____________.

3. The _______ is always the leader of the majority party in the House.

4. Party _____ are those who “serve as informational channels between the leadership and the rank and file.”

5. The most senior member of the majority party in the Senate usually serves as the president _____ _____.

6. The _______ is a Senate delay tactic where members refuse to allow a bill to be considered by speaking indefinitely or by offering dilatory motions.

7. Senate agreements that set the terms of debate are known as __________ __________ agreements.

8. Congress does its work through standing and other types of _________.

9. In Congress, the _______ party controls the committee system.

10. Members of the House often use their committee assignments to focus on the interests of those who live in their ____________, bestowing benefits on the voters back home.

11. The Democratic West Virginia senator who steered over $1 billion to his home state as chair of the Appropriations Committee is __________ _____________.

12. Trading votes between or among legislators on bills is known as __________.

How a Bill Becomes a Law

1. ____________ of a bill is the process in which a committee or subcommittee considers and revises a bill.
2. When party leaders give more than one committee responsibility for considering a bill, it is called __________ __________.

3. Subcommittees frequently revise a bill, a process known as __________.

4. If the House Rules Committee imposes a __________ rule, then no amendments are allowed when the bill is debated on the floor.

5. A ________________ committee irons out differences between the House and Senate versions of a bill.

6. All _____ bills must originate in the House.

7. The authorization process must be paralleled by a(n) __________ process that provides funding for authorized measures.

Evaluating Congress

1. One criticism of Congress is that it favors policy ____________, especially those intent on maintaining the status quo.

2. Most Americans think that Congress ______ (does, does not) meet its collective responsibilities.

3. The tendency for Americans to have a more favorable impression of their representatives than for Congress as a whole is known as ____________ ____________.

4. The public demands that their own representatives act as ____________ who look out for the interests of their constituents.

5. The public believes that other people’s representatives should be ____________ who use their own judgment when deciding what is right.

6. The majority of political scientists _______ (favor, don’t favor) term limits.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. Barbara Boxer
B. discharge petition
C. seniority
D. the Rules Committee
E. U.S. v. Thornton
F. cloture
G. select committee
H. pork
I. “multiple referrals”
J. CBO
K. markup
L. North American Free Trade Agreement

Definitions

1. The traditional mechanism for selecting committee chairs
2. A temporary committee appointed to deal with a specific issue or problem
3. Decides the rules under which a bill will be debated on the House floor
4. Achieved larger subsidies for rice farmers in California
5. How a filibuster may be ended
6. The process by which a subcommittee revises a bill
7. Invalidated mandatory congressional term limits
8. A term used by those who oppose a spending bill that benefits narrow interests
9. A powerful speaker known as a “boss”
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Which of the following acronyms stands for the congressional watchdog agency that oversees the operation of the executive branch?
   a. CBO
   b. GAO
   c. OMB
   d. LOC

2. According to your text, the legislative branch of government consists of approximately how many people?
   a. 535
   b. 1,700
   c. 30,000
   d. 87,000

3. Of the following occupations, which did public view as being the least honest and ethical?
   a. medical doctors
   b. journalists
   c. members of Congress
   d. bankers

4. Which of the following is NOT given as a purpose of congressional committees?
   a. serving the personal financial interests of the committee members
   b. serving district or state interests
   c. allowing the development of expertise
   d. serving the interests of the majority party

5. Which committee is considered the “right arm of the Speaker” because it allows him or her to control the flow of legislation to the floor and the conditions under which a bill is debated?
   a. Ways and Means
   b. Commerce
   c. Rules
   d. Appropriations
6. What is the purpose of a conference committee?
   a. to stop a filibuster (or to prevent a filibuster from occurring in the first place)
   b. to iron out differences in the Senate and House versions of a bill
   c. to bypass the Rules Committee in the House
   d. to provide statutory authority for a government program

7. Representatives who are trustees
   a. act according to their own best judgment.
   b. oversee public universities as part of their official congressional duties.
   c. follow the wishes of their constituents.
   d. act according to the interests of their campaign contributors.

8. Committee chairs are typically selected according to the norm of
   a. logrolling.
   b. seniority.
   c. Gingrich.
   d. pork.

9. Who was the Speaker against whom the House revolted in 1910, stripping him of his most important powers?
   a. Joseph “Boss” Cannon
   b. Jerry Jeff “Scamp” Walker
   c. Greg “Fingers” Taylor
   d. Jake “The Snake” Plummer

10. Who presides over the senate in the absence of the vice president?
    a. the Speaker of the Senate
    b. the Senate Majority Leader
    c. the parliamentarian
    d. the president pro tempore

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. Why do Americans want some members of Congress to act as delegates and others to act as trustees? Is this related to “Fenno’s Paradox”?

2. What does the Farm Security Act of 2002 tell us about the lawmaking process?
3. What are the main leadership positions in the House and the Senate? What are the responsibilities of these leaders?

4. Why has the strength of congressional parties varied over time? How powerful are congressional parties now?

5. What are the important committees in the House and Senate? What similarities and differences exist between the committee systems of both houses?

6. How are committees formed? What are the different purposes for which the committee system may have been instituted?

7. How does a bill become a law? What is the difference between the authorization process and the appropriation process?

8. What are the differences between the House and the Senate?

9. What criticisms are directed at Congress? Why does the public have an aversion to Congress?

10. What are the arguments for and against term limits?

11. Why do members of Congress engage in logrolling? What is the difference between “pork” and worthwhile government spending?
Answers to Matching/Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 4  G. 2  
B. x  H. 8  
C. 1  I. x  
D. 3  J. x  
E. 7  K. 6  
F. 5  L. x

Practice Test

1. b  6. b  
2. c  7. a  
3. c  8. b  
4. a  9. a  
5. d  10. d
CHAPTER 13
THE PRESIDENCY: POWERS AND PRACTICE

Summary

The chapter starts by describing the controversy surrounding the Dubai Ports World’s efforts to purchase six major U.S. ports on the east coast. President Bush supported the sale, and an executive branch agency had examined the deal and approved it. However, as a result of the political furor, the company backed out of the deal leaving President Bush to warn that it would send the wrong signal to friends and allies. The Dubai Ports World deal is an example of how a president’s agenda can be altered by political forces beyond his control.

The president and the vice president are the only nationally elected politicians. Therefore, they must be concerned with policies and their impact upon the national constituency. Party constituency refers to a president preserving his or her support among those who helped during the primaries. Partisan supporters in Congress facilitate a president’s legislative proposals. However, even when a president has his party controlling Congress, some of his proposals may go nowhere. As stated in the chapter, “over 80 percent of the time presidents either fail to secure passage of their major legislative agendas or must make important compromises in order to win congressional approval.” In short, presidents must govern with the assistance and advice of Congress. Consequently, the ability to persuade has always been vital to a president’s success.

Presidential veto, appointment (cabinet, personal staff), and recommendation powers (setting the political agenda, timing presidential initiatives) all affect presidential prestige and effectiveness. The president contributes to the efficient aspect of government through involvement in the policymaking. The presidency also has a dignified aspect of government, such as receiving foreign ambassadors. Supplementing the presidency are the varying roles of the First Lady (some have been non-policy oriented, others concerned with social causes such as Eleanor...
Roosevelt and Hillary Clinton), and the vice president. Finally, under the inherent executive power category, presidents issue executive orders that have the force of law, claim executive privilege when denying information to Congress on grounds that executive-branch conversations are confidential, and avoid pitfalls that can result in impeachment. While the House impeached both Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton, neither was convicted by the Senate. But as the authors point out, the Congress can check presidential behavior by simply threatening impeachment.

Presidents are expected to be strong leaders, yet their powers are decidedly limited. Presidential failures seem to attract more attention than successes. After a brief honeymoon period, presidential popularity is apt to decline over time. Scandal can mar a presidency, making it more difficult to accomplish legislative agendas. So, why are some presidents more effective than others? Political scientist James Barber argues that personality or character traits are the key, asserting that “great presidents” are “active-positives” who possess high energy, a positive attitude toward the office, and the ability to adapt to changing circumstances. Presidential success, however, may depend less on personality than on the circumstances surrounding the president’s administration. Stephen Skowronek argues that presidents become “great” when the political environment allows them to repudiate the past and break through the institutional constraints that typically limit presidential power.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading the chapter, you should be able to:

13.1 Explain why and how President George W. Bush’s presidency was transformed after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

13.2 Understand the significance of the national constituency, the party constituency, and the pattern of partisan support in Congress to the overall political effectiveness of the president.

13.3 Define and explain the power to inform and persuade, the veto power, the appointment power, and the power to recommend. Cite real-life political examples of each power.

13.4 Explain the impeachment power and how it affected the presidencies of Andrew Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Bill Clinton.
13.5 Understand how the president contributes to the efficient and dignified aspects of government.

13.6 Explain how presidential reputation and presidential popularity are related as well as noting what developments, domestically and internationally, can impact upon the reputation-population linkage.

13.7 Analyze why some presidents are more effective than others. Understand how James Barber and Stephen Skowronek have tackled this question.

Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. As a possible research paper or oral report, evaluate whether divided government is beneficial or harmful to the nation regarding the eventual solution of its problems. You might wish to review how the Congress interacted with Democrat Bill Clinton and Republican George W. Bush in order to explore the question fully.

2. What qualities, political and personal, should a president possess in order to gain respect from the American people while maximizing his effectiveness as both a domestic and global leader? Write down these qualities and judge whether some or all are associated with the current president.

3. Check to see what the current president’s popularity ratings were when he first entered office. As measured by the Gallup Poll, what are his ratings today—higher, the same, or lower? What are the political reasons behind those current ratings? Information of presidential approval ratings can be found at www.gallup.com.

4. Why did many people favor giving the president the line item veto? Why did the Supreme Court rule the veto unconstitutional?

5. The White House World Wide Website is http://www.whitehouse.gov/. You can tap into presidential histories and other events surrounding the operations and policies of the chief executive.
Study Questions

Introduction

1. Dubai Ports World is owned by the government of _____ _____ _____. 

2. The Dubai Ports World controversy took the country’s attention away from _____ _____.

Presidential Constituencies

1. The president is ________ in-chief of the armed forces.

2. Presidents must keep the support of those who work in and help finance their campaigns. Such supports are known as the president’s party _________________.

3. The more members of his or her party in Congress, the ______ (more, less) likely the president will be able to get his legislative program passed.

Separate Institutions Sharing Power

1. Over _____ percent of the time presidents either fail to secure passage of their major legislative agendas or have to make major compromises in order to secure congressional approval.

2. Over 80 percent of the time, presidents _____________ (fail, succeed) in getting their major legislative agendas passed without making important compromises with Congress.

3. President ________________ was impeached for speaking publicly against Congress.

4. The president who probably used television more effectively than any other due to his experience as an actor was ____________ ____________.

5. Modern presidents have used the veto ______ (more, less) than pre-Civil War presidents.

6. Congress has ________________ approximately ten percent of presidential vetoes.
7. The president who went the longest without issuing a veto of any president since the early 1850s was ______________ ______________.

8. Presidents may use the ______ veto when Congress passes a bill within ten days of adjourning.

9. The president’s _______ consists of key members of the president’s administration.

10. The White House Office is a part of the much larger _______ _______ of the President that includes other coordinating bodies and operating agencies.

11. The Watergate scandal occurred during the administration of President _______.

12. After the end of the _______ War, the presidential power to recommend expanded rapidly.

13. The presidential transition period is usually followed by a _______ during the first few months of a presidential administration.

14. The _______ aspect of government involves making policy, administering the laws, and settling disputes.

15. The traditional title of the president’s wife is the _______ _______.

16. The formal responsibility of the vice president is to preside over the ______________ and to cast a vote in case of a tie.

17. The most controversial invocation of inherent executive powers has been the doctrine of ______________ ______________, which is the right of the president to deny Congress information under some circumstances.

18. Impeachment charges must first be brought by the _______ and the ______________ can __________ and remove a president from office.

19. Kenneth Starr was appointed as ______________ ______________ with the authority to investigate charges related to a questionable land transaction known as Whitewater.

Presidential Expectations and Presidential Performance
1. Presidents are expected to be strong, yet presidential powers are ________.

2. A president’s popularity usually ________ (increases, decreases) over time.

3. To Barber, the ideal “active-positive” president was ____________
   ____________.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. George W. Bush _____
B. Bill Clinton _____
C. 9/11 _____
D. bully-pulpit _____
E. line item veto _____
F. divided government _____
G. pocket veto _____
H. executive order _____
I. cabinet _____
J. executive privilege _____
K. Watergate _____
L. Whitewater _____
M. Stephen Skowronek _____
N. James Barber _____
O. Kenneth Starr _____

Definitions

1. Has gone the longest without vetoing a bill since the 1850s
2. The only president to be impeached by the House and convicted by the Senate
3. Believes that presidents become great only if they reject old ways of doing things
4. Argues that “active-positive” presidents are the most effective
5. The presidential claim that he or she does not need to give certain information to Congress
6. The scandal that brought down Nixon
7. Presidential power that was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court

8. When the party that controls the presidency does not control both houses of Congress

9. Can be used to persuade the public to support the president’s policies

10. Key members of the president’s administration
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to the text, the president’s “one unique political asset” is that he
   a. can pass laws.
   b. can force the media to give him free television time.
   c. is the only person elected by all of the people.
   d. can always deliver on his campaign promises.

2. The presidential speech that fulfills a constitutional requirement is called the
   a. press conference.
   b. State of the Union Address.
   c. Checkers Speech.
   d. Gettysburg Address.

3. Since 1936, the president’s staff has
   a. increased in size.
   b. decreased in size.
   c. focused entirely on domestic policy.
   d. focused entirely on foreign policy.

4. The Whitewater scandal involved which presidential administration?
   a. Richard Nixon
   b. Ronald Reagan
   c. Jimmy Carter
   d. Bill Clinton

5. Eleanor Roosevelt and Hillary Clinton were similar First Ladies in that both
   a. refused to become involved in the political process.
   b. ran for political office later in life.
   c. were active in the policymaking process.
   d. committed themselves to the restoration of the White House.

6. A presidential directive that has the force of law though not enacted by
   Congress is called an
   a. executive power.
   b. executive privilege.
   c. executive order.
d. executive role.

7. In order for a president to be convicted and removed from office
   a. the Senate must vote to convict the president.
   b. the special prosecutor must argue that a compelling state interest exists.
   c. the House must vote to censure the president.
   d. the Supreme Court must confirm the decision reached by the House.

8. Which of the following best describes the use of the line item veto by George W. Bush?
   a. He used the line item veto only when the Senate was controlled by the Democrats.
   b. He has used the line-item veto sparingly, so as not to agitate Congress.
   c. He has used the line item veto more frequently than any past president.
   d. He has not used the line item veto because the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional.

9. Who is the person in charge of the White House staff whose duties include meeting the president and communicating decisions to the staff, cabinet officers, and members of Congress?
   a. the Chief of Staff
   b. the White House page
   c. the executive troubadour
   d. the Secretary of State

10. Which of the following presidents does Barber consider to be an “active-positive”?
    a. Richard Nixon
    b. Lyndon Johnson
    c. George Washington
    d. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. Compare and contrast past presidential persuasion power with the “modern persuasion power.” Cite some actual examples demonstrating the persuasion methods used in the two historical eras.

2. What are the basic functions of the White House Office? What other important coordinating bodies and operating agencies exist in the Executive Office
of the President? Finally, why is an effective White House staff so important to presidential success?

3. Why has “the intensity and significance of White House scandals escalated in recent decades”? Also, list the names of some minor and major scandals.

4. Compare and contrast the “early” and “modern” use of the presidential power to recommend. Also, why do presidents have the best chance of initiating policy in the early portion of their first term in office?

5. How and why was Abraham Lincoln “the greatest Machiavellian”? Also, how did FDR transform standards of presidential success in the first 100 days?

6. After reading the chapter, how would you answer the question—Is divided government good or bad?

7. How are the political leader and chief of state roles separated in Great Britain and Japan?
Answers to Matching/Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 1  I. 10
B. x  J. 5
C. x  K. 6
D. 9  L. x
E. 7  M. 3
F. 8  N. 4
G. x  O. x
H. x

Practice Test

1. c  6. c
2. b  7. a
3. a  8. d
4. d  9. a
5. c  10. d
CHAPTER 14
THE BUREAUCRACY

Summary

The desire of President George W. Bush to improve the performance of U.S. government agencies after 9/11 to protect Americans from terrorist attacks required bureaucratic reorganization. While a blue ribbon commission called for significant changes, Bush decided to create a new White House Office of Homeland Security headed by former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. But Ridge’s attempt to coordinate the activities of the FBI, FAA, FEMA, and a myriad of other agencies was virtually impossible. Ridge’s most visible accomplishment was the creation of a color-coded national terrorism alert system. Consequently, President Bush, upon learning about further pre-9/11 intelligence failures, requested that Congress approve a new cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security containing 170,000 workers from eight departments.

Although bureaucracies are essential to the operation of government, bureaucrats receive little respect from the American people. The legacy of the old spoils system, the inconvenience of red tape, and an ongoing perception that civil servants are wasteful and incompetent contribute to public sentiment about the bureaucracy. This is the case even though the spoils system has been replaced by an expertise-driven civil service, that one person’s red tape is another’s procedural safeguard, and that bureaucratic tasks are inherently difficult to accomplish. Even with the institution of a professional civil service by the Pendleton Act, patronage continues among approximately 3,000 high-level government employees. This does not necessarily result in the most knowledgeable or competent bureaucrats as these political appointees leave office in a relatively short period of time, thus creating a “government of inners andouters.”

The relationship between Congress and the bureaucracy is marked by a number of congressional checks. High-level bureaucratic appointments must be confirmed by the Senate—a process that took George W. Bush’s nominees an average of eight months. Presidents also struggle over agency reorganization, as exemplified over the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. Congress and the president also battle over the details of how policies are administered, as agencies have
administrative discretion but are also subject to legislative oversight. Congress can also earmark money for specific programs (often in specific congressional districts). The relationships between bureaucracies, congressional committees, and the interests being regulated have variously been described as iron triangles and issue networks.

Finally, it is difficult to separate bureaucratic administration from politics and elections. Bureaucracies can be susceptible to political pressure and actions. Congress has addressed bureaucratic secrecy though the institution of sunshine laws, which allow the public to attend federal government meetings and the Freedom of Information Act allow the public to examine government documents. If bureaucracies make life difficult for the voting public, Congress is likely to step in. This is exactly what happened with the IRS. Naturally, most agencies act to avoid this scrutiny in the first place. Instead, there is a tendency for bureaucrats to simply muddle through, refusing to take risks and accepting mediocrity, while simultaneously trying to keep all interests pacified.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:


14.2 Describe why bureaucracies face impossible tasks, why their performance is difficult to measure, and why they are slow and mired in red tape.

14.3 Understand the spoils system and its advantages and disadvantages. Know how, why, and the extent to which the civil service system replaced patronage.

14.4 Explain the president’s cabinet and the importance of the secretaries that comprise it, drawing lessons from the proximity of the departments to the White House.

14.5 Compare the advantages of political and professional high-level bureaucrats, drawing comparisons with Europe and Japan.

14.6 Understand bureaucratic turnover and its disadvantages.

14.7 Summarize the nature of the congressional relationships with the bureaucracy, noting the roles of Senate confirmations, budgetary controls, legislative oversight, iron triangles, and issue networks.
14.8 Understand how electoral incentives influence the bureaucracy.

**Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources**

1. Review the material in the chapter as to why bureaucracies are needed. After studying the chapter material, speculate as to how bureaucracies could be reformed or made more efficient. Some outside research may help you in this task.

2. Explore the job opportunities in the federal government at http://www.usajobs.opm.gov/. What types of civil service jobs are typically open to a college student with a bachelor’s degree?

3. Use the internet and search for five important independent agencies. Find out their respective size, duties, and funding.

4. Review the list of presidential nominees and appointees at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/nominations/. Perform some research about a few of the individuals and determine what characteristics they have in common. Do they seem to fit the president’s stated criteria enumerated at http://www.whitehouse.gov/appointments/?

5. Review your interactions with government bureaucracies during the past year. How many have been federal, state, and local bureaucracies? In what ways were your experiences good and bad? Evaluate why government bureaucracies perform the functions they do rather than private businesses.
Study Questions

Introduction


2. Bureaucracies are often criticized as being __________ and too __________.

The Role of the Bureaucracy

1. The total number of bureaucrats (including federal and state bureaucrats) has __________ (increased, decreased).

2. Most of the bureaucratic growth has occurred at the ________________ (state, federal) level.

3. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation is an example of a government __________.

4. A(n) __________ is a basic organization unit of the federal government designated by Congress to carry out a particular task.

5. The power to interpret their legislative mandates is what bureaucracies call __________ ________.


The Bureaucracy Problem

1. Bureaucracies face __________ (easy, difficult) tasks.

2. It is hard to measure the __________ of many bureaucracies.

3. Bureaucracies generally try to __________ so they can better address the problems they were created to address.

4. Standard operating procedures influence bureaucracies to adjust __________ (slowly, quickly) to changing circumstances.
5. Everyone complains about a bureaucracy’s ________ tape.

American Bureaucracies: Particularly Political

1. Political _____ consists of handing out government jobs, contracts, and other favors to supporters.

2. Under the civil service system, government employees are selected according to their educational __________, performance on exams, and work experience.

3. The ______ Act of 1939 prohibited federal employees from political campaigning and solicitation.

4. Political patronage today is concentrated among ________ (low-level, high-level) bureaucratic positions.

5. The rapid turnover in high-level governmental personnel is so pervasive that it has been called a government of ____-and-______.

The President and the Bureaucracy

1. The State, Defense, Treasury, and Justice Departments are usually considered to be part of the ______ cabinet.

2. Agencies with quasi-judicial regulatory responsibilities are known as __________ ________ Agencies.

3. The congressional rival to OMB is the ______ ______ Office.

4. An agency can avoid the president and the OMB by making a(n) ________ ________ ________ around the OMB and appealing directly to Congress.

Congress and the Bureaucracy

1. Senate rejections of presidential nominees are the __________ (exception, rule).

2. Under Article II, the president can make ________ appointments without Senate confirmation if the Senate is not in session.
3. Most legislation proposed by the president is revised ___________ (slightly, extensively) by Congress.

4. ______ is a specific congressional designation as to the way a bureaucracy spends money.

5. As part of their legislative oversight, congressional committees hold __________ to ensure that agencies are implementing the law in a way that is acceptable to Congress.

6. ______ networks are loose, competitive relationships among policy experts, interest groups, congressional committees, and government agencies.

Elections and the Bureaucracy

1. In an effort to reduce secrecy and allow for outside scrutiny, Congress passed the _______ law that requires most federal agency meetings to be open to the public.

2. Citizens have the right to inspect most government documents under the __________ _________ _____________ Act of 1967.

3. In order to get laws passed, Congress often has to reach a _______________ that satisfies many different interests, resulting in legislation that is not well-suited for the task it is supposed to address.

4. Often times the best way for a bureaucracy to survive politically is to ________ through, making only gradual changes in policy while satisfying as many interests as possible.

5. Many different interests make demands on the Forest Service because its doctrine of _________ _________ attempts to satisfy ranching, logging, and mining interests all at the same time.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A.  departments _____
B.  earmarks ___
C.  Hatch Act ___
D.  in-and-outers ______
E.  mugwumps _____
F.  recess appointment ___
G.  red tape ______
H.  standard operating procedures _____
I.  sunshine law ___
J.  Pendleton Act _____
K.  prescription drugs_____ 
L.  pizza ___
M.  omnibus legislation _____

Definitions

1.  Government procedures that are perceived to be unnecessary.

2.  Collections of related agencies that report to a secretary who in turn serves in the president’s cabinet.

3.  Originally called the Bureau of the Budget.

4.  Legislation in 1883 that created the Civil Service Commission.

5.  Applies to the manner in which federal meetings are held.

6.  Encourages bureaucrats to call attention to wasteful government spending.

7.  President Bush’s installation of Eugene Scalia as Labor Department solicitor.

8.  Refers to civil service reformers in the 1880s.
9. Regulated by both the Agriculture Department and the Food and Drug Administration.

10. Specific, congressionally mandated spending.
Multiple-Choice Questions

1. How has the number of federal employees changed over the last six decades?
   a. It has stayed about the same.
   b. It has increased moderately.
   c. It has increased a lot.
   d. It has skyrocketed.

2. Of the following politicians, who was an in-and-outer?
   a. Dick Cheney
   b. Bill Clinton
   c. Jimmy Carter
   d. George W. Bush

3. Senatorial courtesy refers to the custom of senators to
   a. be polite to each other.
   b. confirm the president’s nominees without debate.
   c. prevent bureaucrats from making political decisions.
   d. ensure that a nominee’s home-state senators approve of a nomination.

4. An “iron triangle” consists of all of the following EXCEPT
   a. a bureaucratic agency.
   b. congressional committees.
   c. interest groups.
   d. federal courts.

5. Which of the following is considered part of the outer cabinet?
   a. state
   b. defense
   c. justice
   d. transportation

6. Compared to high-level bureaucrats in Europe and Japan, those in the United States are
   a. more professional.
   b. less politically oriented.
   c. often political loyalists.
   d. beholden to the Supreme Court.
7. The authors assign what grade to the typical government bureaucracy?
   a. A+
   b. A
   c. B-
   d. F

8. The Food and Drug Administration toughened its procedures for approving drugs after thalidomide was found to cause birth defects. However, it weakened these procedures when the public demanded access to unproved AIDS drugs. What does this example illustrate?
   a. bureaucratic coercion
   b. agency expansion
   c. administrator caution
   d. compromised capacity

9. Which of the following is an independent agency?
   a. Department of Defense
   b. Federal Trade Commission
   c. Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation
   d. All of the above

10. What is the spoils system?
    a. Bureaucrats are selected according to party loyalty.
    b. Bureaucrats are selected according to their qualifications.
    c. Bureaucrats are elected by the general public.
    d. Bureaucrats are elected by the citizens from the bureaucrat’s home state.

**Short-Answer Essay Questions**

1. Why are most governmental tasks almost impossible to accomplish? Why is measuring governmental performance difficult? Cite some examples.

2. What is meant by political patronage? Also, how did the “old spoils system” help immigrant Americans adjust to urban life? How do contemporary affirmative action programs have many of the same pros and cons as the old spoils system?

3. Why does the confirmation process take so much longer today than it did some 30 years ago? Is this good or bad for democracy?

4. Should high-level bureaucrats be professional experts or loyal partisans?
5. How does Congress try to control the bureaucracy? How successful are they?

6. How does the president influence the bureaucracy?

7. Why is it difficult to separate administration from electoral politics?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A.  2  H.  x
B.  10  I.  5
C.  x  J.  4
D.  x  K.  x
E.  8  L.  9
F.  7  M.  x
G.  1

Practice Test

1.  a  6.  c
2.  a  7.  c
3.  d  8.  c
4.  d  9.  b
5.  d  10.  a
CHAPTER 15

THE COURTS

Summary

During the 2004 election, activists on both sides of the political spectrum assumed a vicious fight over which Supreme Court nominees would follow the election. Interest groups on both sides were ready to engage when Justice Sandra Day O’Connor announced her retirement in July 2005. But when President Bush nominated John G. Roberts, activists on both sides could find little to fight over. Roberts had a relatively mild record and in the end his nomination sailed through the Senate with little conflict.

The vast majority (99 percent) of judicial activity takes place in state and local trial courts. State court systems will vary somewhat, but their basic structure is comparable to the federal system—trial courts, courts of appeals, and a court of last resort (usually called the state supreme court).

Although federal courts are created to be independent from undue influence from Congress and the president, they are nonetheless involved in political controversies (as illustrated with the Bush v. Gore case at the start of the chapter). Since the 1803 case of Marbury v. Madison, federal courts have exercised judicial review, the power to declare federal laws or actions unconstitutional. This was expanded to include judicial review over state laws in McCulloch v. Maryland. Judicial review is a very important power, since the courts can negate the action of hundreds of elected legislators. Note, however, that judicial review can have considerable (and not always desirable) consequences, such as the Dred Scott decision (which destroyed the Missouri Compromise and accelerated the drive toward civil war), Lochner v. New York (where workers were not protected against unfair capitalist practices), and the undercutting of the New Deal during Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration. Three distinct theories of interpreting the constitution are often used to justify judicial decisions—original intent (ascertaining the intentions of those who wrote the Constitution), the living-constitution theory (interpreting the Constitution in light of America’s unique history), and the plain-meaning-of-the-text theory (determining constitutionality by examining the most obvious interpretation of the words in the Constitution). Many times courts make decisions without interpreting the constitution at all, relying instead on statutory interpretation of congressional laws.
The Supreme Court hears very few cases. Most cases are decided by federal district courts. These decisions can then be appealed to one of the 13 federal circuit courts of appeals. Federal judges are nominated by the president (and usually share his or her partisanship) and serve for life.

When making judicial nominations, the president tries to avoid borking, a practice that tends to occur when the president nominates Supreme Court justices who do not share the ideology of the party controlling the Senate. The term borking comes from the experience of Robert Bork, a Reagan nominee rejected by the Democratic Senate for being too extreme. Now, nominees are usually cautious about stating their judicial views, asserting that they cannot comment on judicial issues because someday those very same issues may have to be considered by the Court. Presidents may also try the “stealth” tactic (nominating a judge whose judicial views are unknown such as in the David Souter case) as a way of quelling Senate opposition.

The Supreme Court prefers to rely on precedent by following the principle of stare decisis, Latin for “let the decision stand.” When reaching a decision contrary to a prior decision, justices will look for a legal distinction in order to make their case. The Supreme Court decides to grant cert (hear a case) only infrequently. The Supreme Court can also influence the solicitor general who acts as the chief legal officer of the United States government and on law clerks who do much of the initial grunt work for justices.

Once cert has been granted, the Supreme Court hears the oral arguments from the involved parties and then makes its decision behind closed doors. Justices may write dissenting opinions if they disagree with the majority or concurring opinions if they agree with the majority’s decision but not its rationale. After the decision is announced, the Court may remand the case back to a lower court for implementation. Justices on the Supreme Court tend to vote in predictable ways. Justices Breyer and Ginsberg are judicial activists who adapt the Constitution to current conditions. Justices Thomas, Scalia, and Rehnquist are conservative restorationists who aim to overturn previous decisions they perceive to be too liberal. And Justices Souter, O’Connor, and Kennedy are moderates who exercise judicial restraint by relying on prior court decisions if at all possible.

Checks on the power of the courts include constitutional amendments (two examples are the Eleventh and Sixteenth Amendments), statutory revision (Congress can simply pass a clarifying law after a Supreme Court ruling) and non-implementation (court decisions can simply be ignored, such as Tennessee schools disobeying the Court’s ban on Bible-reading in public schools). Courts sometimes use a “receiver,” an official who has the authority to see that judicial orders are implemented.
Finally, litigation has become a “political strategy” whereby advocacy groups place issues on the political agenda through the courts (note how litigation helped disabled Americans). Advocacy groups frequently file “class action suits,” which represent all individuals in a particular class (the suit against tobacco companies on behalf of 500,000 ill Florida smokers is a prime example).

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

15.1 Explain why the Roberts nomination proved to be relatively non-controversial.

15.2 Explain the organization of the federal and state court systems.

15.3 Explain how presidents make judicial nominees and how the nomination of Robert Bork led to borking.

15.4 Define and explain the importance of judicial review.

15.5 Define, compare and contrast the three theories of constitutional interpretation—original intent, living constitution, and the plain-meaning-of-the-text.

15.6 Define such important terms as precedent, opinion, legal distinction, stare decisis, appeal, reversal, remedy, statutory interpretation, dissenting and concurring opinions, remand, judicial activism, restorationists, judicial restraint, writ of certiorari, solicitor general, amicus curiae brief, and law clerk.

15.7 Summarize how Supreme Court decisions are made, including the decision-making process, the role of law clerks, and the various voting factions present on the current Supreme Court.

15.8 Review and explain the three checks on court power—constitutional amendment, statutory revision, and non-implementation.

15.9 Explain litigation as a political strategy.
Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. As a research project, find the last time the Supreme Court declared a congressional or state law unconstitutional. What issues were involved in this case? What was the legal rationale behind the unconstitutional declaration? Was the Supreme Court divided on the case or was it a unanimous decision?

2. Check out a copy of *The Brethren* by Bob Woodward. After reading it, what observations can be deduced regarding Supreme Court decision-making and consensus-building? In other words, what does the book tell you about the “behind-the-scenes” Supreme Court? The book would be suitable for a classroom oral report.

3. Try to find several newspaper, magazine, or scholarly articles that deal with the ideological or philosophical factions currently on the Supreme Court. Does there seem to be a consensus about which Justices belong to which faction? Or do most of the articles reflect disagreement? See if you can summarize the material and relate it to the chapter text.

4. In order to peruse recent Supreme Court decisions and read the various opinions, consult http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/.

5. Go to your local courthouse and sit in on a judicial proceeding (most of which are open to the public). How does the process differ from that at the federal level?

6. Go to the Supreme Court’s website (http://www.supremecourtus.gov/) and figure out what cases are on the court’s docket. Pick one case, do some research on it, and predict the Supreme Court’s decision.

Study Questions

Introduction

1. John Roberts was initially nominated to replace _______________________.

2. President Bush changed the status of John Robert’s nomination when _________________________ died of cancer.
State Courts

1. Every state has its own ______________ arrangements, though the basic structure is quite similar.

2. The _____ code regulates relations among individuals.

3. The person bringing the suit is called the ____________.

4. Ninety-nine percent of all civil and criminal cases originate in _______ trial courts.

5. Many state judges are subject to ______________, and dominated by organized groups and party politicians.

6. The O.J. Simpson case involved trials to determine whether he violated both the _____ and _____ codes.

7. State prosecutors for criminal cases work in the office of the local ____________ attorney.

An Independent and Powerful Federal Judiciary

1. Although federal courts are involved in political controversies, their life tenure and stable salaries help to make them ____________ from Congress and the president.

2. Judicial Review was first established in the 1803 case of _______ v. ________.

3. Among today’s sitting justices, it is __________ _____ who relies most frequently on the theory of original intent.

4. The ________________ theory asserts that a law’s constitutionality ought to be judged in light of the entire history of the United States, including opinions not expressed by the founders.

5. The case of _____ v. _____ declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional.

6. In Schechter Poultry Corp. vs. United States (1935), the Supreme Court basically _______(supported, rejected) New Deal policies.
7. Recent studies have shown that Supreme Court policy parallels swings in _____ _____.

8. The judicial act of applying congressional laws to specific cases is known as _________ _________.

The Federal Court System in Practice

1. The constitution states that the judicial power “shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such ___________ Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.”

2. There are 94 federal ____________ courts, the lowest tier of the federal court system.

3. All district court decisions can be ________________ to one of 13 federal circuit courts.

4. The U.S. ________ is the individual responsible for prosecuting violations of the federal criminal code.

5. In McCulloch v. Maryland, the Supreme Court ruled that the power of judicial review ________ (did not, did) apply to state laws.

6. The Constitution forbids _________ jeopardy, although something very close to that can occur if someone is tried in both federal and state courts.

The Supreme Court

1. The only person ever to serve as president and chief justice of the Supreme Court was ____________.

2. ____________ means to politicize the nomination process of a Supreme Court appointee through an organized public campaign to portray him or her as an extremist.

3. In 1990, President Bush nominated “stealth” candidate ________ for the Supreme Court.

4. In the 19th century, the Senate rejected a ____ (fraction) of the President’s nominees.
5. A ________ is a previous court decision or ruling applicable to a particular case.

6. When the Supreme Court reaches a decision that appears to contradict a prior decision, they try to make a _________ ____________ between the two cases, focusing on how they are different.

7. If a higher court thinks a lower court has strayed too far from legal precedent, it may decide on a ______, or overturning of the lower court decision.

8. On the Supreme Court, justices who vote against the majority may prepare a _________ ____________ outlining their disagreements.

9. Written legal arguments submitted by the justices who agree with the majority’s opinion but not with the logic behind it are called _________ ____________.

10. When the Supreme Court grants _________, it agrees to review a lower court’s decision.

11. The _________ _________ is the government official responsible for presenting the government’s position before the Supreme Court.

12. Law _________ have become central to the operation of the Supreme Court, as their duties include reviewing cases and drafting Court opinions.

13. The Supreme Court _________ a case to a lower court for implementation.

14. On the current Supreme Court, Justices O’Connor and Kennedy favor judicial _________, a doctrine that means courts should try to avoid overturning court decisions.

15. Justices Thomas, Scalia, and Rehnquist are considered conservative _________.

Checks on Court Power

1. A _____ is a “court official who has the authority to see that judicial orders are carried out.”

2. It was President _______ who once stated: “Justice Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it.”
3. Court decisions can also be checked simply by being ignored, i.e.,
____________.

Litigation as a Political Strategy

1. The strategy of using litigation was initiated by _____ ____ groups.

2. The lawsuit against tobacco companies on behalf of 500,000 Florida smokers
   was known as a _____ _____ suit.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. Robert Bork ___
B. *Dred Scott* ___
C. *stare decisis* ___
D. statutory interpretation ___
E. plain meaning of text theory ___
F. judicial activism ___
G. judicial review ___
H. *McCulloch v. Maryland* ___
I. plenary session ___
J. plaintiff ___
K. defendant ___
L. double jeopardy ___
M. *Lochner v. New York* ___

Definitions

1. Judicial doctrine held by more liberal justices
2. The Supreme Court could exercise judicial review over state laws
3. A state can not regulate workers’ hours
4. Rejected as a Supreme Court nominee for being too conservative
5. A “reliance on consistency with precedents”
6. Court decisions that rely on interpreting laws rather than the Constitution
7. Invalidated the Missouri Compromise
8. Established in *Marbury v. Madison*
9. One in which all the circuit court judges participate
10. One who brings legal charges against another

11. Constitutional prohibition against being tried for the exact same crime twice
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The federal courts are
   a. political.
   b. apolitical.
   c. beholden to the president.
   d. beholden to Congress.

2. Of the following, who was not confirmed as a Supreme Court justice?
   a. Sandra Day O’Connor
   b. Robert Bork
   c. Antonin Scalia
   d. Clarence Thomas

3. How many federal circuit courts of appeals are there?
   a. 13
   b. 94
   c. 2004
   d. 52,000

4. A Supreme Court Justice who would base his decision on the actual language found in the Constitution would probably be applying which theory of constitutional interpretation?
   a. Living-constitution theory
   b. Original-intent theory
   c. Plain meaning of the text theory
   d. Theory of relativity

5. The example given in the text relating to the protection of endangered species as passed by Congress and applied by the Supreme Court reflected the principle of
   a. judicial appeals.
   b. statutory interpretation.
   c. legal distinction.
   d. *stare decisis*.

6. The case of *Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Antonio* led to Congress passing a clarifying law after the Supreme Court’s ruling, a check on the power of the Court known as
   a. a constitutional amendment.
b. non-implementation.
c. legislative oversight.
d. statutory revision.

7. In which of the following decisions did the Supreme Court first declare a state law unconstitutional?
   a. *McCulloch v. Maryland*
   b. *Marbury v. Madison*
   c. *Dred Scott* decision
   d. *Brown vs. Board of Education*

8. What kind of suit was filed on behalf of former smokers?
   a. a retribution suit
   b. a class action suit
   c. a suit of arms
   d. a plenary suit

9. The long-standing agreement that the Senate will not confirm nominees from a state unless they have the approval of the senior senator of that state from the president’s party is known as
   a. judicial deferment.
   b. senatorial courtesy.
   c. constitutionalism.
   d. restorationism.

10. Most federal cases are initially filed in
    a. a federal circuit court of appeals.
    b. a federal district court.
    c. a state supreme court.
    d. the U.S. Supreme Court.

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. Why do recent Supreme Court nominees testify before the U.S. Senate that they cannot discuss issues that might come before the Court in the future?

2. Explain how President Bush avoided “borking” by nominating David Souter to the Supreme Court.

3. What is judicial review? Summarize the historical events inherent in the case of *Marbury v. Madison* and review John Marshall’s legal reasoning in that case.
4. What is the role of the solicitor general in the judicial system?

5. Evaluate the claim that law clerks are “junior Supreme Court Justices.”

6. What are the various checks on the power of the courts? Cite some specific historical examples of each check.

7. How does “statutory interpretation” differ in the U.S. and Britain?

8. What role do state courts play in the American judicial system?

9. What is the structure of the federal court system?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

| A. 4 | H. 2 |
| B. 7 | I. 9 |
| C. 5 | J. 10 |
| D. 6 | K. x |
| E. x | L. 11 |
| F. 1 | M. 3 |
| G. 8 |   |

Practice Test

1. a   6. d
2. b   7. a
3. a   8. b
4. c   9. b
5. b   10. b
CHAPTER 16

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Summary

After 9/11, the pressure to catch terrorists lead to the creation of two programs by the super-secretive National Security Agency (NSA). One program monitored the communications of millions of American citizens and foreigners abroad without a warrant, and the other involved data provided by the major telephone companies. Critics argued that these two programs were not acceptable, but supporters argued they were critical. This demonstrates the centrality to the debate about how to prevent terrorism of civil liberties—the fundamental freedoms from government interference that are guaranteed by the first ten amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights.

The Framers did not include a bill of rights in the Constitution. In order for the constitution to be ratified, it was agreed that a bill of rights would be added. The first ten amendments, passed by the first Congress, accomplished this task. Even after being amended to the Constitution at the urging of James Madison, the first ten amendments applied only to the national government, not to the states (Virginia even maintained a state church). The courts upheld this interpretation in Barron v. Baltimore (1833). Indeed, the main use of the Bill of Rights was to rationalize slavery (the Dred Scott decision). The Civil War and the resultant destruction of slavery led to the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, collectively known as the Civil Rights Amendments. These amendments abolished slavery, redefined civil rights, and guaranteed the right to vote for all adult male citizens. Particularly significant was the “due process clause” of the Fourteenth Amendment, which forbade the states from depriving citizens of life, liberty, property, and due process. Using the specific reference to state governments in the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court eventually adopted an approach that gradually extended most (but not all) of the Bill of Rights to the states—this process is known as selective incorporation.

The freedoms of speech, press, and assembly are considered “fundamental freedoms” for they are intertwined and vital to the preservation of a democracy. Free speech is necessary to attack the ever-recurrent danger of the “tyranny of the majority.” Freedom of speech’s origins are rooted deeply in American history, from the “clear and present danger” doctrine established through the Schenck decision in 1919 to the Near and Stromberg cases of the 1930s which extended First
Amendment protection to the opinions of extremist groups. However, the Supreme Court endorsed further limitations on free speech during World War II (the “fighting words doctrine” in the 1942 Chaplinsky case). After the war, the Court enunciated the “balancing doctrine” (speech had to be balanced against other competing public interests) and later the “fundamental freedom” doctrine (free speech, press, assembly, and religion are “preferred freedoms” that could only be restricted after additional scrutiny by the courts). This doctrine has now been firmly established, as illustrated by the decision in Texas v. Johnson (1989) that included flag burning as political expression covered as freedom of speech. However, note that free speech is not absolute—government can regulate commercial speech, libel (a false statement defaming another), and obscenity (publicly offensive language/portrayals with no redeeming social value). Government, however, can not exercise prior restraint over the press—it must first allow the offending material to be published before arresting anyone for legal violations. Note that the 1996 Communications Decency Act prohibiting posting or sending obscene material on the Internet was struck down as unconstitutional. Freedom of religion is guaranteed by the establishment and the free exercise clauses of the First Amendment. The Supreme Court has basically followed the doctrine that there should be a “wall” separating church and state. That doctrine supports the ban on school prayer and has recently been tested by the use of school vouchers to send students to religious schools using public funds, with the Court deciding that a small program serving low-income children did not violate the wall of separation.

The Bill of Rights offers a number of important protections for the accused, including proper search and seizure procedures, which in many cases means that search warrants must be issued. A recent Supreme Court decision says, however, that turning and running when approached by the police gives rise to reasonable suspicion allowing for a warrantless search. If the police conduct a search illegally, the decision in Mapp v. Ohio disallows any improperly obtained evidence to be used against the accused. Citizens also have the protection against self-incrimination and double jeopardy (Fifth Amendment), and the right to a jury and counsel (Sixth Amendment). The Miranda ruling states that suspects must be informed of their rights (such as the right to remain silent) when they are being arrested.

Finally, the right of privacy, although not explicitly stated in the Constitution, has been derived from the language of the Ninth Amendment. This right has found expression in the Griswold ruling, which underscored the importance of protecting privacy in the marriage relationship; Lawrence v. Texas, which declared sodomy laws unconstitutional; and Roe v. Wade, which found a constitutional protection for abortion during the first trimester of pregnancy. Roe remains a highly controversial ruling, with pro-life and pro-choice groups continually clashing over the abortion issue. Although Roe v. Wade has been challenged and slightly modified (i.e.,
Planned Parenthood v. Casey), it has not yet been overturned by the Court. Additionally, new privacy concerns have been raised by the rapid advance of technology during the information age.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

16.1  Review the NSA wiretapping program and why civil libertarians have concerns about it.

16.2  Discuss the historical origins of the Bill of Rights including the role it played during the ratification of the Constitution.

16.3  Define the meaning of selective incorporation and examine how this process impacted upon the relationship of the Bill of Rights to state governments.

16.4  Explain why freedom of speech, press, and assembly are “paramount” in the Bill of Rights as well as noting the historical origins of those freedoms.

16.5  Define those key doctrines relating to freedom of speech: prior restraint, clear and present danger, fighting words, balancing, and fundamental freedom.

16.6  Delineate the various limitations on three types of speech: commercial speech, libel, and obscenity.

16.7  Summarize the meaning of the establishment of religion and free exercise of religion clauses as well as the doctrine of church-state separation.

16.8  Specify the various rights of the accused, noting the impact of key Supreme Court rulings upon those rights such as Mapp v. Ohio and Miranda v. Arizona.

16.9  Review the types of efforts taken to ensure an “impartial jury.”

16.10 Discuss the implications of plea bargaining.

16.11 Summarize how the right to privacy relates to the abortion issue, the continuing controversy over Roe v. Wade, and the “information age.”

16.12 Explain the dilemma of balancing security with liberties, drawing on examples from World War II and the post-9/11 era.
Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. Research a famous libel case that occurred sometime during the previous decade. In that case, what specific libelous statements were under examination? How did the case turn out? Was it a victory for the plaintiff or defendant? What factors accounted for the final verdict?

2. Review the position of the American Civil Liberties Union regarding national security issues in the wake of 9/11 at http://www.aclu.org/NationalSecurity/NationalSecurityMain.cfm. Do you agree with the ACLU’s position?

3. What is your personal opinion about prayer in the public schools? Would you favor a constitutional amendment that would permit school prayer? Why or why not?

4. Should Roe v. Wade be overturned by the Supreme Court? Why or why not?

5. An interesting website is that of the Freedom Forum First Amendment Center, a non-profit group that studies issues relating to the various freedoms found in that amendment. The site is located at http://www.fac.org/.

6. Research the issue of military tribunals in American history, including the provision for their use in the war on terror. After doing so, do you believe the use of tribunals is justified—why or why not?

7. Research the case of Yasser Hamdi. Were his civil liberties violated? If so, is there a compelling government interest that justifies violating them? If not, what limits do exist for civil liberties violations in order to protect national security?

8. Does your college or university have a speech policy that prohibits certain kinds of speech? Review your student handbook (or other document) and read your institution’s policy. Are these kinds of speech permissible in other settings? Do you think they are reasonable or unreasonable restrictions of free speech? Why?
Study Questions

Introduction

1. Civil liberties are fundamental ___________ that together preserve the rights of a free people.

2. After 9/11, the agency charged with breaking enemy codes and eavesdropping on suspicious communications began to monitor communications between American citizens and ____________________________.

3. Americans’ civil liberties are guaranteed by the first ten _________ to the Constitution.

Origins of Civil Liberties in the United States

1. The individual who insisted that the first congress approve the constitutional amendments that would become the Bill of Rights was ___________ ____________.

2. The three civil rights amendments are the amendments numbered ____, ____, and ____.

3. The Fourteenth Amendment states that “No ________ shall…deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.”

4. The Supreme Court’s gradual approach to applying the Bill of Rights to state governments is called ___________ ____________.

5. Much to the chagrin of the National Rifle Association, the _________ has not been incorporated.

Freedom of Speech, Assembly, and Press

1. The greatest threat to individual rights, according to Madison, was the tyranny of the ________.

2. A false statement defaming another is termed _____.

3. According to Miller v. California, obscenity may be defined or regulated according to local ______ standards.
4. The _______ _________ Act, banned posting or sending obscene material on the Internet if it might be viewed by minors. It was struck down as unconstitutionally broad by the U.S. Supreme Court.

5. The Peter Zenger trial dealt with the freedom of the _____.

6. The Chaplinsky case established the ____ _____ doctrine.

7. The balancing doctrine stated that freedom of speech must be balanced against other _______ _________ interests.

8. In the case of Times v. United States, the Supreme Court rejected the Nixon Administration’s attempt to prevent the publication of the _______ Papers.

9. The classic example of the clear and present danger test is that no person has the right to falsely shout “__________” in a crowded theater.

10. According to the Supreme Court, commercial speech ____________ (can, cannot) be regulated.

11. In Texas v. Johnson (1989), the Supreme Court used freedom of speech to declare that _________ the American flag is “expressive conduct” that could not be prohibited.

12. The Supreme Court has determined that freedom of ____________ allows private organizations to exclude a particular member for such reasons as their sexual orientation.

Freedom of Religion

1. The _______ of religion clause denies the government the power to establish any single religious practice as superior.

2. The _______ _________ of religion clause protects the right of individuals to practice their religion.

3. While school-led prayer is unconstitutional, students may form Bible-reading clubs as long as other ____________ are permitted.
Law, Order, and the Rights of Suspects

1. *Miranda v. Arizona* is based upon the self-incrimination clause found in the _____ Amendment.

2. The Sixth Amendment states that “the accused shall enjoy the right to a _____ and _____ trial, by an impartial jury.”

3. A court may _______________ jurors during a trial—that is, keep them away from all sources of information about the case other than the information presented in the courtroom.

4. The _____ defender is an attorney hired by the state to defend indigent criminal suspects.

5. The prohibition against _____ _____ means that states cannot try a person twice for the same offense.

6. Most people think the courts should be _______ (tougher or more lenient) on criminals.

7. In the 1982 case of *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961) the Supreme Court ruled that evidence obtained by the police illegally ____________ (can, cannot) be introduced at trial.

8. The United States has _______ (higher/lower) incarceration rates than other nations.

9. Most people accused of a crime accept a __________ ____________, an admission of criminal behavior in exchange for having other charges dropped and a recommendation.

The Right of Privacy

1. The right of privacy is derived from the _____ Amendment.

2. In response to *Roe v. Wade*, anti-abortion groups organized a right to ____________ crusade.

3. In *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the Supreme Court upheld some ____________ on abortions.
4. In 2002, state and federal agencies began encoding ______ ______ with data such as fingerprints that would create a *de facto* “national identity” card system.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A.  
B.  
C.  
D.  
E.  
F.  
G.  
H.  
I.  
J.  
K.  
L.  

Definitions

1.  
2.  
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6.  
7.  
8.  
9.  

10. “I refuse to answer on the grounds my answer may tend to incriminate me.”

11. “You have the right to remain silent.”

12. Approved the relocation of Japanese Americans during World War II
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. In the 1833 *Barron* case, John Marshall asserted that the Bill of Rights
   a. applied only to the federal government.
   b. applied only to state governments.
   c. applied to both federal and state government.
   d. applied to neither the federal nor the state government.

2. In *Schenck v. United States* (1919), the Supreme Court enunciated the doctrine of
   a. prior restraint.
   b. clear and present danger.
   c. “fighting words.”
   d. fundamental freedom.

3. In which case did the Supreme Court rule that a state legislature could not
censor a newspaper for publishing what it saw as malicious and defamatory
material?
   a. *Stromberg v. California*
   b. *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*
   c. *Near v. Minnesota*
   d. *Dennis v. United States*

4. The Supreme Court’s ruling in *Johnson v. Texas* illustrates the Court’s
   commitment to which of the following doctrines?
   a. Fundamental freedom
   b. Clear and present danger
   c. Balancing
   d. Fighting words

5. The 1975 case of *Meek v. Pittenger* dealt with the issue of
   a. aid to religious schools.
   b. defining obscenity.
   c. libelous statements directed at public figures.
   d. Watergate.

6. The bad tendency test is a rule from English law stating that speech could be
   punished if it could ultimately lead to
   a. prurient interests.
   b. an improper entanglement between church and state.
c. a plea bargain.
d. illegal behavior.

7. The right to an abortion was established by which Supreme Court decision?
   a. *Gideon v. Wainwright*
   b. *Roe v. Wade*
   c. *Miller v. California*
   d. *Miranda v. Arizona*

8. Which interest group was most concerned that the Patriot Act infringed on citizens’ civil liberties?
   a. The Sierra Club
   b. The National Rifle Association
   c. The America Civil Liberties Union
   d. The Association of Concerned Scientists

9. Of the following countries, which has the highest murder rate?
   a. France
   b. Germany
   c. The United States
   d. Canada

10. Which of the following is an establishment clause issue?
    a. School choice
    b. Outlawing the use of peyote by Native Americans
    c. Religious animal sacrifice
    d. The tyranny of the majority

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. How did the “due process clause” of the Fourteenth Amendment differ from the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment?

2. Define and explain the prior restraint and clear and present danger doctrines.

3. How does the Supreme Court ban on prayer in the public schools relate to the idea of church-state separation? How has that ban been slightly relaxed by recent Court rulings?

4. What guidelines did the Supreme Court establish in order to preserve jury impartiality?
5. What is the purpose of plea bargaining?

6. Describe the relationship between the Ninth Amendment and the right to privacy. How are they related to the decisions in *Griswold v. Connecticut*, *Roe v. Wade*, and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 3  
B. 5  
C. 7  
D. 10  
E. 11  
F. 4  
G. x  
H. x  
I. 1  
J. 8  
K. 2  
L. 6

Practice Test

1. a  
2. b  
3. c  
4. a  
5. a  
6. d  
7. b  
8. c  
9. c  
10. a
CHAPTER 17

CIVIL RIGHTS

Summary

When Arshad Chowdhury, an American of Bangladeshi descent, was held up at the San Francisco airport after his dark skin made him suspicious, he became a victim of racial profiling. While the U.S. Constitution and federal law prohibit government and private companies from drawing distinctions based upon race or ethnicity, the public appears split on the issues. The debate over racial profiling raises broader questions about the Constitutional meaning of colorblind in a post-9/11 America.

The civil rights of Americans are those that embody the general right to equal treatment under law. This is guaranteed by the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and has been the cornerstone upon which American civil rights have been built. However, the full realization of civil rights has not been easy. Black codes restricted the rights of newly freed slaves. During reconstruction, discrimination against African Americans occurred through anti-suffrage devices such as poll taxes, white primaries, and Jim Crow laws. The doctrine of “separate but equal” was codified in the 1896 Supreme Court case of Plessy v. Ferguson. This was challenged by the NAACP which used the courtroom as a vehicle for change. Early successes came with the elimination of the white primary, restrictive housing covenants, and the integration of the law schools. The biggest crack in the segregation and discrimination wall, however, came with the Supreme Court’s decision in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954). The Court declared racial segregation unconstitutional, overthrowing the “separate but equal” doctrine established by Plessy v. Ferguson. Chief Justice Earl Warren was able to achieve unanimity on the Court by distinguishing schools from buses or trains, stressing the psychological damage done to African-American school children, and postponing consideration of the precise way school boards were to correct segregated practices.

After the 1954 decision, the civil rights movement turned toward acts of civil disobedience spearheaded by Dr. Martin Luther King. In 1960, John F. Kennedy’s phone call to Coretta Scott King helped solidify his support among African
American voters. This, in turn, gave further encouragement to civil rights
demonstrators. Under Lyndon Johnson’s tenure, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the
Voting Rights Act of 1965 respectively banned discrimination in places of public
accommodation and spurred southern black adults to register (the number of
African-American elected officials increased dramatically). However, the ardor of
northern whites waned as civil rights demonstrations came to their region and civil
violence fueled by King’s assassination broke out in black neighborhoods across
America. Race now divided the two parties and a more conservative Supreme Court
differentiated between *de jure* (legally sanctioned segregation) and *de facto*
segregation (results from the decisions by private individuals). Furthermore,
affirmative action policies, originally intended to enhance opportunities for groups
victimized by past discrimination, came under increasing criticism by the 1990s. In
two cases stemming from admissions policies at the University of Michigan, the
Supreme Court allowed flexible affirmation action policies to continue (as long as
race was just one of several factors considered) but determined that the strict points
system used in undergraduate admissions was unconstitutional. An appraisal of
African-American civil rights suggests that although blacks continue to make
political and educational gains, they did not translate into widespread economic
gains for the majority of black Americans. Black unemployment and poverty have
persisted.

Other ethnic minorities have also pressed for their civil rights—Latinos,
AsianAmericans, and NativeAmericans have all made strides. The civil rights of
gays and lesbians remains relatively controversial in America. Vermont has
recognized same-sex civil unions and Massachusetts, at the insistence of their state
supreme court, has recognized same-sex marriage. For the disabled, the Americans
with Disabilities Act has been a major accomplishment, even though the Court has
generally interpreted it narrowly.

The struggle for women’s rights is an old one. However, after women won the right
to vote in 1920, the movement was largely stuck at the status quo until the 1960s.
With Title VII of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, the right of equality before the law
was codified. The Equal Rights Amendment, although passed by Congress, was not
ratified by the requisite number of states. To this day, gender discrimination does not
receive by the courts the same strict scrutiny given to racial discrimination. Gender
distinctions remain commonplace in the area of national defense. In the workplace,
both Congress and the courts have fought gender discrimination and sexual
harassment. The Court also ruled that women must be admitted to state-supported
military academies that have a long history of educating men only. Nonetheless,
many middle-class women still find themselves bumping up against the glass ceiling
and many poor women struggle to raise children in single-parent households.
Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

17.1 Describe the conflict in a post-9/11 America over the colorblind requirements of the Constitution.

17.2 Review the role of the NAACP in the courtroom and how its efforts eventually led to segregation being declared unconstitutional in the 1954 case of Brown v. Board of Education.

17.3 Summarize those key political, economic, and social changes that transformed the civil rights movement in the post-Brown era, including the use of civil disobedience, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the controversy over affirmative action, and the persistent problem of black unemployment and poverty.

17.4 Explain the civil rights needs of other minorities, including Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans, gays and lesbians, and the disabled. Understand what advances each group has made and how their struggle is similar to and different from that of African Americans.

17.5 Trace the history of women’s rights in America and include such specific issues as the ERA, sexual discrimination and harassment in the workplace, and single-sex education.

Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. Speculate as to why it took so long to bring down the barriers of discrimination. What do these events tell you about the effectiveness of the American political system in its ability to promote racial and social justice in the nation?

2. What are the principles of civil disobedience? Write a research paper comparing the civil disobedience of Martin Luther King and Mahatma Gandhi.
3. In a short essay, evaluate the pros and cons of affirmative action policies. Do you agree with the Court’s decisions in the University of Michigan cases? Why or why not?

4. Research whether or not women should be allowed to serve in the military in the same capacity as men. Why or why not? How about gays and lesbians?

5. All kinds of statistical data on minorities in America can be obtained from the U.S. Census Bureau (http://www.census.gov).

6. Select a group not discussed in detail in the textbook and examine its struggle for civil rights. For example, you might look at civil rights for the Deaf (http://clerccenter.gallaudet.edu/DPN/) or for Muslims (http://www.mcrcnet.org/).

**Study Questions**

**Introduction**

1. Arshad Chowdhury was an American of ______________ descent.

2. Arshad Chowdhury’s experience is an example of ____________________.

3. The public generally _______________ (supports, opposes, appears to be split on) racial profiling at airport checkpoints.

**Origins of Civil Rights**

1. ______ ______ embody the right to equal treatment under the law.

2. The _________ ____________ clause of the Fourteenth Amendment specifies that no state can deny any of its people equal protection under the law.

3. The _________ tax represented a payment before one was allowed to vote.

4. ______ ______ laws were passed by southern-states after Reconstruction, enforcing segregation.
5. The ______ doctrine stated the actions of private individuals do not need to conform to the equal protection clause.

6. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People relied heavily on a ______ strategy to achieve its objectives.

7. In an important case, *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), the Supreme outlawed the ______.

8. In *Shelly v. Kramer* the Supreme Court noted that restrictive housing covenants were private matters, but that the state could not ____________ these covenants. The Court’s decision greatly ____________ (narrowed, expanded) legal segregation.

**Redefining the Equal Protection Clause**

1. Prior to the *Brown* decision, the NAACP focused on ending segregation at ______ schools, winning an important victory in 1950.

2. Two members of the Warren Court felt that the *Plessy* case could not be reversed due to the principle of ______.

3. Chief Justice Earl Warren cited psychological studies in an attempt to persuade his fellow justices that segregation promoted a sense of ____________ among black children.

4. An act of ____________ ____________ is a peaceful, well-publicized violation of a law and is designed to dramatize its injustice.

5. John F. Kennedy’s 1960 defeat of Richard Nixon owed a great deal to the ____________ vote, with whom he won support in the wake of his call to Coretta Scott King as her husband was locked up in a Birmingham jail.

6. ___ _____ segregation occurs as the decisions of private citizens and is not sanctioned by law.

7. The *Bakke* case dealt with the constitutionality of ____ ________ programs.

**Civil Rights of Other Minorities**
1. Latino voting rates are _____ (higher, lower) than the rate among African Americans.

2. The United Farm Workers Union, under the leadership of ___________ ____________, drew mainstream public attention to Latino concerns.

3. In an effort to win the support of more Latinos, George W. Bush proposed a __________ _______ for illegal immigrants with ties to those already in the United States and a new ____________ _______ program that would allow non-citizens to work legally in the United States for up to six years.

4. In 2002, Latinos made up _____ percent of the U.S. population, while African Americans made up _____ percent.

5. Asian Americans constitute about _______ percent of the population, and they are _____ (less likely, more likely) to vote Republican than other ethnic minorities.

6. The major civil rights victory for Asian Americans in recent years has been monetary compensation for their internment in __________ _______ during World War II.

7. In 2000, the state of ______ became the first state to legally recognize same-sex civil unions.

8. The first legal gay wedding occurred in the state of _____________ and was a direct result of a decision by that state’s supreme court.

9. Most rights contained in the Bill of Rights have been applied to Native Americans through ______ ______.

Women’s Rights

1. The ERA stands for the _____ _____ Amendment.

2. The ERA _____________ (was, was not) ratified as an amendment to the Constitution.

3. The Supreme Court _____________ (has, has not) determined gender to be a suspect classification that would require strict scrutiny over whether gender discrimination is constitutional.
4. The most important arena in which classifications by gender remain intact is ________ ________ ________ ________ ________.

5. In *Harris v. Forklift Systems*, the Supreme Court, in 1993, expanded its definition of ______ ______.

6. In *U.S. v. Virginia*, the Supreme Court ruled that ___________ must be admitted to the Virginia Military Institute, even though the state had a separate __________ education program for women.

7. According to the authors, “women have yet to break through what is known as the ______ ceiling—the invisible barrier that has limited women’s advancement in politics and business.”

**Americans with Disabilities**

1. The major legislative victory for disabled Americans was the ___________ ___________ ___________ Act which was enacted in 1991.

2. The courts have shown _______ (little reluctance, great reluctance) to interpret the rights of the disabled in sweeping terms.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A.  *Plessy v. Ferguson* ____
B.  *de jure* segregation ____
C.  University of Michigan ____
D.  University of Colorado ____
E.  Suspect classification ____
F.  grandfather clause ____
G.  Allen Bakke ____
H.  Thurgood Marshall ____
I.  Topeka, Kansas ____
J.  Birmingham, Alabama ____

Definitions

1.  Permitted racial quotas

2.  Was the defendant in two recent affirmative action cases

3.  For example, a law stating that blacks and whites cannot go to the same school

4.  Discrimination due to race or ethnicity fits this concept

5.  Segregation that occurs due to decisions made by private individuals

6.  Its school board lost its case when the Court overturned “separate but equal”

7.  Filed suit against the University of California regarding its affirmative action problem

8.  Racial segregation on trains is permissible as long as the facilities are equal

9.  Outlawed gender discrimination
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. The “separate but equal” doctrine was fully developed by the Supreme Court ruling in
   a. the Civil Rights Cases.
   b. Plessy v. Ferguson.
   c. Brown v. Board of Education.

2. The NAACP fought against segregation in the 1940s and 1950s by mainly using the tactic of
   a. violent demonstrations.
   b. busing civil rights workers into the South.
   c. legal fights in the courtroom.
   d. organizing African Americans to register as voters.

3. Which of the following were used in an attempt to maintain racial segregation in American neighborhoods?
   a. Affirmative action
   b. Grandfather clauses
   c. Restrictive housing covenants
   d. White primaries

4. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 did all of the following EXCEPT:
   a. banned segregation in places of public accommodation.
   b. banned discrimination in private clubs.
   c. prohibited the use of federal money for segregated programs.
   d. created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

5. The most rapidly growing minority group in the United States in recent years has been
   a. Asian Americans.
   b. Native Americans.
   c. Latinos.
   d. African Americans.
6. Special rights to fish for salmon in the Pacific Northwest and to provide gambling on their property are rights granted to
   a. Asian Americans.
   b. Native Americans.
   c. Latinos.
   d. African Americans.

7. What eventually happened to the Equal Rights Amendment first passed by Congress in 1972?
   a. It was not ratified by the requisite number of states.
   b. It was ratified by three-fourths of the states, becoming the 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.
   c. It was ratified, but then repealed several years later.
   d. It was ratified, but voided by the Supreme Court.

8. Thurgood Marshall was a civil rights advocate of which group?
   a. African Americans
   b. Latinos
   c. Women
   d. Asian Americans

9. In an effort to shore up African-American support, John F. Kennedy reached out to
   a. Allen Bakke.
   b. Coretta Scott King.
   c. Fred Korematsu.
   d. the American Civil Liberties Union.

10. Which of the following is a cornerstone upon which the civil rights movement has been built?
    a. Anti-miscegenation laws
    b. The equal protection clause
    c. The supremacy clause
    d. The Equal Rights Amendment

**Short-Answer Essay Questions**

1. How has the Supreme Court helped and hindered civil rights? Are civil rights better addressed by the courts or by Congress?
2. What were the main historical trends present in the civil rights struggle of African Americans from the Reconstruction era to the end of the nineteenth century?

3. Explain the impact of the grandfather clause, the white primary, and Jim Crow laws upon the struggle for civil rights in the post-Civil War era.

4. Which civil rights objectives have women fought for since the late 1960s? How successful or unsuccessful have they been and why?

5. How did the civil rights movements for Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans, gays and lesbians, and the disabled differ from the civil rights movement among African Americans?

6. What was the constitutional significance of the following Supreme Court rulings: *Korematsu v. U.S.*, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, and *Brown v. Board*?

7. What recent developments have occurred regarding the practice of affirmative action?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 8
B. 3
C. 2
D. x
E. 4
F. x
G. 7
H. x
I. 6
J. x

Practice Test

1. b
2. c
3. c
4. b
5. c
6. d
7. c
8. c
9. b
10. b
CHAPTER 18

DOMESTIC POLICY

Summary

Several factors conspired to turn the budget surpluses of the late 1990s into significant deficits: an economic slowdown, the costs of fighting terrorism and the war in Iraq, and considerable tax cuts. In addition, the impending retirement of the baby boomers is projected to put enormous additional pressures on the budget around 2010. One might expect this confluence of events to spur Congress to raise taxes or cut spending to keep everything on an even keel. In 2003, however, Congress cut taxes further and increased spending on Medicare (government provided health care for older Americans). Although Congress was controlled by Republicans, the Democrats joined their colleagues across the aisle to vote for both of these issues—the only protest heard from the Democrats was that the additional Medicare benefits weren’t generous enough. This chapter will help readers understand why Congress voted to add additional benefits to Medicare, putting the needs of the elderly ahead of the needs of others and ahead of the desire for fiscal discipline.

Domestic policy consists of those government programs and regulations that directly affect Americans. The policymaking process is a never-ending cycle, exemplified by the 1996 welfare reform law. The government operates many different social policies designed to help those thought to be in need of government assistance. By far the most popular (and expensive) set of social policies are those geared toward the elderly. Social Security is modeled on the insurance concept, although it differs from a conventional insurance policy in that it operates at a loss. Social policies for the elderly have expanded over the years to include medical benefits known as Medicare. Because these programs operate under a pay-as-you go system (with the payroll taxes of current workers being redistributed to current retirees), the benefits of early retirees far exceed their contributions as there were more workers for each retiree. Now, however, the number of retirees is increasing as Americans are living longer and workers are paying higher Social Security taxes than their predecessors did. Unfortunately, these factors will continue to worsen in the future as the number of retirees is expected to skyrocket and workers may be less willing to pay even
higher Social Security taxes. In short, adjustments in Social Security will be necessary if the program is to survive and prosper. Still, senior citizens will make their influence felt through AARP and will fight cuts in Social Security or Medicare.

By comparison, the expansion of public assistance to poor families with children does not have strong political backers in Congress or among interest groups—such citizens do not have a lobby with anything approaching the power of the AARP for the elderly. AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) was disliked by both conservatives (who argued that it discouraged working) and liberals (who felt that the benefits were too low and the eligibility requirements and procedures too daunting). Congress replaced AFDC with Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF)—the name of the new program reflecting the view that welfare is a temporary benefit to help needy families get back on their feet rather than a way of life. Other key public assistance programs include food stamps, the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), Supplemental Security Income (SSI) for low-income disabled citizens, rent subsidies, and medical benefits for the very poor (Medicaid). These programs are not without limitations. Poor Americans are less likely to receive cash payments than are older Americans, their benefits are less likely to be adjusted for inflation, their eligibility for programs is not automatic (as they are for the elderly) and they face complicated eligibility requirements. Also, their benefits cannot supplement other income or savings, and their benefits are likely to vary considerably depending on where they live. Poverty rates among families with children are quite high in the United States when compared with those found in other countries and when compared with poverty among the elderly. Depending on one’s perspective, this may be due to an inadequate level of government assistance, a culture of poverty in urban centers, a significant increase in female-headed families, or changes in the post-industrial economy (unskilled jobs lost to technology).

Education policy is another type of domestic policy that receives considerable political attention. Educational policy in America has been influenced by a strong tradition of state and local controls over curriculum (federal dollars account for only a tiny percentage of overall spending). While America has always had a strong educational system, in recent years other countries have caught up. American students seem increasingly deficient in reading, science, math, and geography compared to children in other industrialized democracies. The public image of the nation’s school is often negative. Liberals argue that the way to improve schools is through more resources, while conservatives point to a stultifying educational bureaucracy as the chief obstacle to improvement and desire reforms such as charter schools and voucher programs.

All domestic programs are subject to a host of federal regulations, some imposed by Congress, but the bulk determined by regulatory agencies such as the Environmental
Protection Agency. Historically, the role of the muckrakers during the Progressive era, the New Deal of FDR, and the 1960s/1970s era of consumer, occupational, and environmental safety issues all contributed to the regulatory system. Regulations seek to curb the dangers of natural monopolies and negative externalities (negative consequences borne by others) and to protect the uninformed. While regulations are designed to protect citizens, excessive regulation can also be a problem (especially for business interests). In recent years, Congress has deregulated the trucking, banking, communications, and airline industries.

**Learning Objectives**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

18.1 Understand why Congress, in 2003, voted to increase the benefits of social programs for the elderly even in the face of looming costs and additional tax cuts.

18.2 Understand and delineate the key stages in the “policymaking round.”

18.3 Review the origins and policy landmarks in the development of social insurance programs.

18.4 Explain why the Social Security fund may be approaching financial disaster unless essential adjustments are made in the near future.

18.5 Itemize the risks of change to Social Security and summarize the key issues faced by the politicians who might attempt to fix the current program.

18.6 Explain why senior citizens and the AARP are so influential in domestic social programs.

18.7 Review the origins and development of social insurance for poor families with children while discussing such key programs as AFDC, food stamps, EITC, SSI, rent subsidies, and Medicaid.

18.8 Understand the reasons why more public assistance goes to the elderly than to the poor.

18.9 Summarize the drawbacks of public assistance programs.

18.10 Review the politics of public assistance to poor families.
18.11 Explain the historical evolution of education policy and how public education is funded.

18.12 Understand the advantages of standardized testing, charter schools, and school voucher programs.

18.13 Discuss the various “waves” of regulatory policy in the United States.

18.14 Explain the justifications for regulation, including natural monopolies and externalities.

18.15 Explain how regulations are shaped by election pressures on Congress, government agencies, and the courts.

18.16 Summarize the reasons why Congress has approved deregulation of some industries.

**Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources**

1. Research George W. Bush’s proposal for changing the Social Security system. Does his proposal involve “privatization”? Why or why not? How expensive is his proposal and how does he propose paying for it? What is your overall evaluation of his proposal?

2. Examine why the No Child Left Behind program is unpopular in some states. What are the benefits of the program? What are the problems with the program? Perhaps you can debate this in class.

3. Why is AARP such an effective interest group? Why do so many politicians consider Social Security to be the “third rail of politics”?

4. Review the sample Social Security statement online at http://www.socialsecurity.gov/mystatement/. What information is included on the statement? Are the future benefits listed on the statement guaranteed? Why did Congress mandate that such statements be mailed? Do you think they are a good idea? Why or why not?
5. Research the debates over the passage of TANF in 1996. What were the key policy components? How did TANF reform traditional welfare policies? Did any key interest groups speak out against these changes? Answer these questions in a research paper on the topic.

6. Would you favor or oppose both a national standardized curriculum (all states would follow the same curriculum) and high-school exit exams (every high school student would have to pass this exit exam or be denied graduation privileges)? Do you think these policies would upset the tradition of local control over the schools? Perhaps you can debate these questions in class.

7. Research the issue of snowmobiles in Yellowstone. Explain why and how the policy keeps changing. What is the current status of the regulations banning snowmobiles? What interests are competing over this issue? What strategies have they used?

8. In order to compare liberal and conservative views on domestic issues, consult the Web sites for the Brookings and Hoover Institutes as follows: http://www.brookings.edu/ and http://www-hoover.stanford.edu/.

**Study Questions**

**Introduction**

1. In 2003, Congress passed a bill to provide limited __________ __________ coverage for all elderly Medicare recipients and President Bush signed it into law.

2. Democrats opposed the bill to the extent that it __________ (cost too much, was not generous enough).

3. Currently, the United States is running a ________________ (deficit, surplus).

4. Recently, Congress has voted to ____________ (increase, decrease) taxes.

**Types of Public Policy**

1. American ________ policy consists of all government programs and regulations that directly affect those living in the United States.
2. A policy ________ is the effect of policy outputs on individuals and businesses.

3. Policy ________ is the passage of a law by public officials.

4. ________ ________ makes an issue so visible that important political leaders take it seriously.


Social Policy

1. The poverty rate among families with children in the United States is ________ as high as in most advanced industrial societies.

2. Social Security differs from a true insurance program in that it operates at a ________.

3. Programs designed to help those thought to be in need of government assistance comprise ________ policy.

4. Of the seven countries with the largest economies, the U.S. has the ________ (lowest, highest) infant mortality rate and its citizens tend to die ________ (younger, older).

5. A ________ ________ program is one that provides benefits in return for contributions made by workers.

6. ________ ________ is a social insurance program for American senior citizens.

7. ________ is a program that provides Social Security recipients a broad range of medical benefits.

8. Young people are ________ (less, more, about as) likely to support Social Security as those over the age of 65.

9. Aid to Families with Dependent Children is the public assistance program that was replaced by a new program called _____________ _____________ for Needy Families.

10. The _____________ _____________ Tax Credit is a program initially proposed by Republicans that rewards the working poor.
11. Unlike Social Security, programs for families with children _____ (are, are not) paid out of an insurance fund.

12. In 2000, federal social programs for the _______ amounted to about $17,500 per capita, but social programs for families with ____________ amount to about $1500 per capita.

13. Programs for families with children receive benefits that are determined by the ___________ (state, national) government.

14. The Children’s Defense Fund is a significant _____ (anti-welfare, pro-welfare) group.

15. Most of the time, the ___________ Party takes a more liberal position on welfare, tending to support more generous benefits.

**Education Policy**

1. Most of the cost of public education is paid for by the ___________ (state, national) government.

2. Americans are increasingly _________________ (unsatisfied, satisfied) with traditional public schools.

3. _________ schools are those that are sanctioned by the state government, but are not subject to the same regulations as traditional public schools.

4. In 2002, President Bush signed the _______ _________ _________ _________ Act that required states to set clear educational goals and to test students to ensure that those goals are being achieved.

5. The ___________ Party has generally supported standardized testing, school vouchers, and charter schools. The ___________ Party has generally supported increased funding for public schools.

**Regulation**

1. The case of mad cow disease raises questions about the government’s _____________ policymaking.
2. Although Congress can pass regulations, usually regulations are created by the various agencies in the __________ branch.

3. The most important of the new agencies formed during the 1960s and 1970s is the __________ ____________ Agency.

4. The author of *Unsafe at Any Speed* was consumer advocate __________ ____________.

5. If your neighbor piles unsightly tires on their front yard, their action has created a negative ________________ that has consequences for all those who live near the unsightly heap.

6. In 1978, Congress ____________ the airline industry to prevent price gouging.

7. Congress practices a strategy known as ______ ______, a set of political techniques designed to disguise their actions and shift the blame to others.

8. A ______ is a harsh penalty set by Congress if a regulatory agency does not achieve a statutory goal. For example, Congress might mandate that gasoline sales will cease if clean air standards are not met.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. snowmobiles in Yellowstone ____
B. zone of acceptance ____
C. TANF ____
D. Upton Sinclair’s *The Jungle* ____
E. AARP ____
F. Dr. Francis E. Townsend ____
G. natural monopoly ____
H. deregulation ____
I. rent subsidies ____
J. Ralph Nader ____
K. Medicare ____
L. Medicaid ____

Definitions

1. Advocate for consumer safety
2. Occurred in the banking and telephone industries
3. The largest interest group in America
4. Welfare program for poor families with children
5. Range within which Congress permits agencies their own interpretation and application of statutes
6. A classic example of negative externalities
7. Early advocate for a social insurance program for the elderly
8. Examples would include gas, electricity, and cable television
9. Detailed the horrible sanitation standards found in the meat-packing industry
10. A policy that replaced public housing programs
11. Medical insurance tied to Social Security
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. At which stage of the policymaking process is legislation translated into an actual set of governmental programs or regulations?
   a. Policy deliberation
   b. Agenda setting
   c. Policy implementation
   d. Policy enactment

2. Regarding welfare reform, at which policymaking stage were many families removed from the welfare rolls?
   a. Policy outcomes
   b. Policy outputs
   c. Policy enactment
   d. Policy implementation

3. Of the seven countries with the largest economies in the world, which nation has the highest infant mortality rate?
   a. France
   b. Great Britain
   c. Japan
   d. The United States

4. The “third rail” of politics refers to
   a. welfare reform.
   b. Social Security.
   c. deregulation of industry.
   d. educational policy.

5. Who is eligible for Supplemental Security Income?
   a. those without employer-provided health insurance
   b. low-income disabled citizens
   c. single mothers and fathers with a family income of no more than $40,000
   d. anyone who is not eligible for the EITC

6. What percentage of public education is paid for by the federal government?
   a. 7%

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7. Of the following countries, which has the lowest math score and the lowest spending on secondary education (as a percentage of the gross domestic product)?
   a. France
   b. Canada
   c. Sweden
   d. The United States

8. Medicare is a program that pays for medical services for
   a. poor seniors.
   b. all seniors.
   c. poor children.
   d. all children.

9. Which of the following industries has Congress deregulated?
   a. Healthcare
   b. Higher education
   c. Banks
   d. All of the above

10. Which of the following is a frequently used reason to justify government regulation?
    a. To encourage natural monopolies
    b. To promote negative externalities
    c. To protect the uninformed
    d. All of the above

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. List the six stages of the policymaking round. Explain each stage fully.

2. Compare and contrast poverty rates among senior citizens and families with children.

3. Explain the reasons behind the popularity of Social Security and Medicare. How is it possible that Social Security benefits exceed contributions? Cite the three economic facts of life that have combined to accomplish this feat.
Explain how and why these economic facts may no longer be as effective in the future.

4. Review the various public assistance programs and how they are intended to help the poor. What are some drawbacks of public assistance programs?

5. Explain the various proposals and recent reforms for improving American public schools.

6. What are the externalities associated with the use of snowmobiles in Yellowstone?

7. What justifications exist for governmental regulation and deregulation?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A.  6  
B.  5  
C.  4  
D.  9  
E.  3  
F.  7  
G.  8  
H.  2  
I.  9  
J.  1  
K.  10  
L.  x

Practice Test

1.  c  
2.  b  
3.  d  
4.  b  
5.  b  
6.  a  
7.  d  
8.  b  
9.  d  
10. c
CHAPTER 19
ECONOMIC POLICY

Summary

Bill Clinton left office having presided over the longest economic expansion in the nation’s history, with the lowest unemployment in 30 years, and a tripling of stock market values. The economy, however, was in decline during the start of Bush’s first term. To counter voters’ anxieties, Bush proposed a one-time tax rebate of up to $600 per taxpayer as a way of stimulating the economy (and to improve his political fortune). The precise impact of those tax rebates upon the overall U.S. economy remains unclear.

Economic factors such as unemployment, taxes, inflation, budgets, deficits, and the condition of the economy have always been, and will undoubtedly remain, major factors influencing election outcomes. Terrible economic times have been linked to massive election losses for the party of the president. Indeed, economic expansions (the other half of the business cycle) can also help elected officials.

A major governmental tool used by presidents to shape the economy is fiscal policy, the sum total of governmental taxation and spending. Fiscal policy has been influenced by Keynesianism, the belief that deficit spending by the federal government can jump start the economy. (There is nothing sacred about a balanced budget to followers of Keynes). When government spends more than it collects in taxes within a given year, a deficit exists. When government spends less than it collects in revenue, a surplus results. However, the economic significance of fiscal policy has declined due to divided government and the arguments of increasing influence of monetarism. Monetarists believe that deficits simply transfer the money available to expand the economy from the private to the public sector. If a government borrows money, it hurts the country’s savings, which in turn retards investment and growth. During the 1970s, “supply-side economics” (called “Reaganomics” by its critics) increased the deficit, as large tax cuts linked to massive defense expenditures and uncontrolled entitlements collectively meant the highest deficits in history. Since the 1950s, the United States has been operating under a
budget deficit. While the economic expansion helped lead to a brief period of budget surpluses in the late 1990s, budget deficits returned with a vengeance in 2002, with the 2004 deficit topping $500 billion.

Monetary policy, the essence of which is raising or lowering of interest rates, is today the government’s most important economic tool since it can adapt much faster to changing economic conditions when compared to fiscal policy. The Federal Reserve System, known simply as “the Fed,” manages monetary policy. The Fed is relatively free of congressional controls, as its budget is not congressionally determined and it controls its own finances. Some have argued that bankers have undue influence over the Fed, as it seems more concerned about reducing inflation than unemployment. Others argue that the president does, indeed, dominate the Fed, either through partisan politics or by stimulating the economy at strategic intervals timed to help win elections. However, the “independent Fed” argument is also credible due to the 14-year terms of board members and the belief held by business that Fed decisions are “above politics.”

Most Americans feel that their tax burden is too high (although it is rather low when compared with the burden in other industrialized democracies). Congress tinkers with the tax base to offer tax preferences that are popular among voters, including deductions for home-mortgage interest and charitable donations and tax credits for college tuition. Still, taxes are always mired in political debate. Some argue that taxes should be regressive, such as the sales tax that takes a higher percentage of the salary of low-income workers than of the wealthy. Progressive taxes such as the federal income tax are charged according to one’s ability to pay, with wealthy Americans being able to contribute a higher percentage of their income. Each of these systems has advantages and disadvantages. For example, progressive taxes reduce inequality, but may inhibit investment and hard work. Others would prefer that the U.S. move towards a flat tax or a value-added tax.

Compared to other industrialized democracies, the American economy is in relatively good shape. The United States has lower unemployment rates than do most European countries, fewer business regulations, and a moderate debt (when measured as a percentage of a country’s gross domestic product). The United States, however, also has one of the most inequitable distributions of income. Nonetheless, Americans remain economic individualists who are averse to taxes and who favor limited government. Hence, candidates who argue for greater income equality and a larger role for government in the economy are rarely elected.
Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

19.1 Explain why tax rebates were given to the American people during the Bush Administration and know the advantages and disadvantages of the rebates.

19.2 Explain how and why the American national economy can be the major reason for both the defeat and victory of presidential incumbents/challengers.

19.3 Differentiate between fiscal and monetary policy as well as define such key terms as deficit, surplus, Keynesianism, the CEA, monetarism, debt, and supply-side economics. Why has the influence of fiscal policy diminished?

19.4 Explain the organization and operation of the Federal Reserve system, how the Fed can affect the national economy through its various operations, and who, if anyone, has the greatest influence over the Fed.

19.5 Understand how tax preferences affect the tax burden.

19.6 Describe the differences between regressive and progressive taxes and be able to give examples of each.

19.7 Review the various types of suggested tax reforms, such as the flat tax.

19.8 Summarize how the U.S. economy rates in comparison with other nations on such indices as job creation, general prosperity, level of debt, deficits, tax burdens, and income inequality.

Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. As you study this chapter, think about the current status of the nation’s economy. Are most of the economic indicators (inflation, employment, productivity) positive or negative? Find several newspaper or journal articles dealing with these factors. Is there any relationship between the current economic condition of the country and the personal popularity of the incumbent president?
2. Do some research regarding the renewed interest in a flat tax among politicians such as Tom DeLay. What is the difference between a flat tax and a “flatter” tax? Flat tax proposals are often marketed as a great way to simplify the tax system. Would it be possible to create a progressive or regressive tax system that is also quite simple?

3. Do some research about the budget for the current fiscal year. How does the budget deficit (or surplus) experienced this year compare with last year’s budget? Why the change? What predictions are politicians making about the size of future deficits (or surpluses)? How realistic are these assessments?

4. Study the chapter material regarding the “Fed’s” decision to raise or lower interest rates. Why are the Fed’s decisions so carefully studied by the investment and banking communities? How do the Fed’s decisions ultimately affect you, the consumer?

5. An excellent Web site for important economic data collected by the federal government is http://www.stat-usa.gov/.

6. Find out more about what the Federal Reserve Board does and how they do it at http://www.federalreserve.gov/.

7. Evaluate the various proposals to change the tax system offered by the following interest groups: http://www.cse.org/, http://www.cats.org, and http://www.ntu.org/main/. What specific reforms do each of these groups propose?

**Study Questions**

**Introduction**

1. Bill Clinton left office after presiding over the longest ___________ ___________ in American history.

2. In 2001, President Bush successfully urged for passage of a ___________ ___________ that gave $600 to most taxpayers.

**Economic Growth and the Business Cycle**
The alternation of periods of economic growth with periods of economic slowdown is termed the _______ _______.

Jimmy Carter was unlucky enough to hold office during a period of low growth and high inflation, a condition known as ____________________.

A sustained increase in the price level that causes people to need more money to have the same buying power they were used to is known as ____________________.

Economic Conditions and Political Fortunes

When economic times are hard, presidents tend to ______ (lose, gain) in popularity.

A healthy economy _________________ (guarantees, does not guarantee) presidential popularity.

Fiscal Policy

When annual government spending exceeds revenues, a _____ occurs.

When annual government spending is less than revenues, a _____ occurs.

According to _________________, budget deficits can jump-start the economy.

The accumulation of annual deficits is known as the federal ________.

Internationalization of the economy further _________________ (limits, promotes) fiscal policy.

According to most economists, ___________________________ enables world markets to function with less distortion, leading to more robust economic conditions for all.

Due to electoral incentives, in 2002 George W. Bush approved a new system of tariffs on imported __________ even though it goes against the economic beliefs of most Republicans.
8. Supply-side economics holds that lowering taxes results in ____________ (increased, decreased) tax revenues by stimulating the economy to be productive.

9. The Bush tax cuts, which increased spending for the war in Iraq, homeland security, and Medicare, created a budget shortfall in 2004 of over $__________.

Monetary Policy: The Federal Reserve System

1. Monetary policy is used in an attempt to regulate the economy by varying the __________ of money in order to stabilize the business cycle.

2. The term “the Fed” refers to the __________ __________ __________.

3. The current chair of the Fed is ________ ________.

4. The Fed is ________________ (mired by, remarkably free of) congressional influence.

5. Congress _____ (does, does not) directly fund Fed operations.

6. As evidence of banker domination, the Fed seems less concerned about reducing __________ than about lowering __________ rates.

7. The __________-__________ interpretation of the presidential dominance view of the Fed argues that presidents try to slow the economy early in their terms and expand it when reelection time rolls around.

8. Federal Reserve Board members serve for ______-year terms.

The “T” Word: Taxes

1. Many economists argue that taxes are less intrusive if they are __________-__________, imposed on all economic activity at the same rate.

2. The types of activities, properties, and investments that are subject to taxation is known as the __________ __________.
3. Examples of ________ ________ include tax credits for college tuition and deductions for home-interest mortgages and charitable contributions.

4. Special tax treatment received by certain activities, property, or investments are known as __________ ____________.

5. Taxes intended to discourage unwanted behavior are termed ________ taxes.

6. The most important progressive tax is the federal ________ ________.

7. The payroll or social security tax is a ________ tax because higher-income people pay a smaller share of their income for Social Security than do lower-income people.

The U.S. Economy: An International Comparison

1. In general, the United States uses sales taxes ____________ (more, less) than other democracies.

2. About half of _____ _____ is paid for by the private sector in the U.S., whereas it is almost entirely government-provided in other countries.

3. European value-added taxes (VAT) are likely more palatable than American-style sales taxes because the VAT is ____________ in the price of goods and services.

4. In 2003, the unemployment rate in the U.S. was ____________ (higher, lower) than in Western Europe.

5. Compared to most European countries, the American economy is __________ (less, more) restricted by government policies and regulations.

6. Income inequality is ________________ (lesser, greater) in the United States than in other advanced democracies.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. CEA ____
B. the tax burden ____
C. stagflation ____
D. the Fed ____
E. flat tax ____
F. Social Security payroll taxes ____
G. federal income taxes ____
H. election-cycle interpretation ____
I. VAT ____
J. Reaganomics ____
K. tax credits for college tuition ____
L. monetarism ____

Definitions

1. A good example of a tax preference
2. An example of a regressive tax used in the United States
3. An example of a progressive tax used in the United States
4. Presidential manipulation of the economy to improve reelection prospects
5. Would eliminate the progressive nature of the income tax
6. Three economists who advise the president on economic policy
7. A critical term for supply-side economics
8. A common consumption tax in Europe
9. Belief that deficits jump-start the economy

10. Chaired by Alan Greenspan
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. A recession is an economic slowdown in the economy, officially defined as a decline in the gross domestic product that persists for how many months?
   a. 1
   b. 6
   c. 12
   d. 18

2. The 2004 budget operated under
   a. fiscal restraint.
   b. monetary restraint.
   c. a surplus.
   d. a deficit.

3. Of the following individuals, who was the strongest advocate for supply-side economics?
   a. Gerald Ford
   b. Jimmy Carter
   c. Ronald Reagan
   d. Bill Clinton

4. Which of the following best describes the public’s response to increasing inequality?
   a. Outrage
   b. Concern
   c. Indifference
   d. Delight

5. Which of the following arguments supports the proposition that the Fed is independent of politics?
   a. Long tenure is enjoyed by members of the Federal Reserve Board.
   b. The Fed can manipulate the economy so that it improves during election season.
   c. The Fed is equally concerned with unemployment and inflation.
   d. All of the above

6. Which of the following tax cuts did George W. Bush advocate in 2003?
a. Elimination of sin taxes  
b. Elimination of corporate taxes  
c. Elimination of payroll taxes  
d. Elimination of dividend taxes  

7. The flat tax would do which of the following according to supporters?  
a. Make the income tax system more progressive  
b. Have everyone pay the same tax rate  
c. Increase income tax rates for the wealthy while decreasing them for the poor  
d. All of the above  

8. “Stagflation” helped defeat which incumbent president?  
a. Gerald Ford  
b. George Bush  
c. Jimmy Carter  
d. Richard Nixon  

9. Of the following countries, which has the lowest debt (as a percentage of the gross domestic product)?  
a. The United States  
b. Japan  
c. Canada  
d. Greece  

10. Most economists agree that persistent deficits result in  
a. lower long-term economic growth.  
b. periods of high economic growth alternating with severe economic decline.  
c. higher long-term economic growth.  
d. skyrocketing long-term economic growth.  

Short-Answer Essay Questions  

1. Explain the fundamental economic tenets of Keynesianism. Why was this economic philosophy appropriate for America during the era of the Depression and FDR’s New Deal? Finally, which factors have contributed to the decline in the economic importance of fiscal policy?
2. Explain the school of economic thinking known as “monetarism.” How does it differ from fiscal policy?

3. What are the various perspectives on the influence of political actors on the Fed (banker dominated, president dominated, and independent)?

4. Why would an American president who wishes to run for reelection fear the downside of a business cycle? Cite some historical examples.

5. List and explain the major “tax preferences” that are contained in the current tax system. What is the rationale behind most of these preferences?

6. How does the U.S. economy compare to other industrialized nations on such criteria as general prosperity, government regulation, job creation, debts and deficits, tax burdens, and income inequality?

7. What political considerations were involved in President George W. Bush’s decision to raise tariffs on imported steel in 2002?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 6  
B. x  
C. x  
D. 10  
E. 5  
F. 2  
G. 3  
H. 4  
I. 8  
J. 7  
K. 1  
L. x

Practice Test

1. b  
2. d  
3. c  
4. c  
5. a  
6. d  
7. b  
8. c  
9. a  
10. a
CHAPTER 20
FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY

Summary

The events of 9/11 caused a major shift in the amount of attention Americans pay to foreign policy. During the 2000 presidential campaign, Americans paid little attention to foreign policy. There was so little interest, in fact, that the Council on Foreign Relations had to cancel a series of public debates on foreign policy due to a lack of interest. Foreign policy has figured prominently in the elections of 2002, 2004, and 2006, however.

Presidents are uniquely positioned in the American political system to dominate the foreign policy arena, partly because of the need for fast, decisive action when the security of the nation is at stake. Voters also recognize presidential dominance in the foreign policy arena. During times of crisis, the public tends to “rally ‘round the flag” in support of the president. But as conflicts drag on, the public may reverse course, as happened with the war in Vietnam. The public has a short attention span when it comes to foreign policy victories, as George W. Bush discovered in his stinging reelection defeat less than a year after his acclaimed victory in the war in the Persian Gulf. Although individual Americans have successfully lobbied on behalf of Israel and Cuba, interest groups are seldom able to affect foreign policy. Since America was caught off guard at Pearl Harbor in World War II, Congress has played a limited role in foreign affairs, allowing the president to play the leading role. Bad feelings from the war in Vietnam, however, have caused Congress to take a more proactive stance on foreign policy, though it allowed George W. Bush to take the lead in the war in Iraq and the fight against terrorism.

Responsibility for foreign policy decisions are shared by Congress and the president. Article I of the Constitution says that Congress has the power to declare war and to create, maintain, and regulate the armed forces. Article II, however, gives the president authority as commander-in-chief. Two Supreme Court decisions helped to clarify this shared authority: presidents have broad discretion over foreign policy, but they cannot act contrary to the expressed will of Congress. The War Powers Resolution was an attempt by Congress to regain its power. Although vetoed by
Nixon, his veto was overridden by supermajorities in the House and Senate. While the War Powers Resolution requires the president to formally notify Congress when using the military overseas, Presidents Reagan and Clinton did not always comply. George W. Bush used the War Powers Resolution to his advantage, rallying members of Congress to support his military agenda in the wake of 9/11. Presidents also share the power to make treaties with Congress. Although the president can negotiate and sign treaties, they do not become effective until and unless they are approved by two-thirds of the Senate. While Woodrow Wilson negotiated the Versailles Treaty ending World War I, Congress refused to ratify it because they were concerned about what the League of Nations called for in the treaty.

From 1946 to 1989, foreign policy was dominated by the Cold War and the objective of containing communism. Finally, the Soviet Union came tumbling down, symbolized by the collapse of the Berlin Wall. Now, foreign policy is dominated by concerns about terrorism and the United States is attempting to break free from its Cold War mentality. This is illustrated by the military pilot who was sent to defend Washington, D.C. on 9/11 but was anticipating a cruise missile from sea and not a terrorist in an airplane. As the Bush White House noted as it shifted its thinking to defeating terrorism, “Now, shadowy networks of individuals can bring great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs to purchase a single tank.”

Key agencies and personnel supporting the president’s foreign policy goals include the secretaries of state and defense, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the national security advisor to name but a few. The 9/11 Commission has recommended creating a cabinet-level position to coordinate intelligence gathering among these various agencies.

The chapter explores the differences between realism and idealism and how these two divergent philosophies impact foreign policy debates in the United States. Realism stresses American interests where idealism is more concerned with the values of human rights and international cooperation. Nation building (an intervention designed to enhance democratic practices in another country) is often the root of foreign policy debates. The chapter ends with a discussion of contemporary foreign policy issues such as the role of the United Nations and other international organizations, U.S. foreign policy towards Russia and China, human rights issues, and the politics of world trade (NAFTA and the WTO).
Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

20.1 Understand why America’s interest in foreign policy has changed since 9/11.

20.2 Discuss how voters, interest groups, and Congress can all hold presidents accountable regarding their foreign policy decisions.

20.3 Understand the relationship between the president and Congress over the power to wage war. Know why Congress passed the War Powers Resolution and how presidents have responded to it; include how George W. Bush used it to his advantage following 9/11.

20.4 Explain the differences between treaties and executive agreements.

20.5 Describe U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War.

20.6 Describe the roles and duties of key foreign policy institutions, including the Departments of Defense and State, the CIA, and the National Security Council.

20.7 Define and explain the implications of idealism and realism in contemporary American foreign policy and how they relate to the concept of nation building. Know George W. Bush’s position regarding nation building.

20.8 Explain American attitudes about the United Nations.

20.9 Explain the origins of human rights questions involving contemporary China and Russia.

20.10 Understand the implications of new alliances in world trade, especially NAFTA and the WTO.

Study Tips, Research Ideas, and Internet Sources

1. Read the resolution regarding the use of force in Iraq that was passed by Congress (available online at http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021002-2.html.) How
does this document show the relationship between the president and Congress over the power to wage war? Was the document influenced by the War Powers Resolution?

2. As you study the chapter, try to discern why American presidents must take into account public and congressional attitudes when formulating and implementing foreign policy decisions. Also, consider how the impact of the war in Vietnam, the end of the Cold War, and the events of 9/11 all affected presidential powers in the foreign policy arena.

3. From your watching of TV news or reading newspapers, which foreign policy officials in the current presidential administration seem to be the most influential and why? A brief bio of the current Secretary of Defense, Secretary of State, or National Security Advisor might prove interesting as well as providing focal points for further research.

4. What are current public attitudes about foreign policy issues? Research this question at www.gallup.com or through other public opinion surveys.

5. Write a paper where you discuss the different foreign policy challenges faced by presidents in the post-9/11 world than those faced during the Cold War.

6. Read the newspaper for troubled hotspots around the world. Research the issues that are making the country volatile. Should the U.S. engage in nation building with these countries? Why or why not? Under what conditions should the U.S. engage in nation building?

Study Questions

Introduction

1. In 2000, the Council on Foreign Relations had to _________________ a series of public debates on foreign policy.

2. Since the terrorist attacks of 2001, public interest in foreign policy has ___________.

Elections, Presidents, and Foreign Policy
1. The tendency of the public to back presidents when there is a period of crisis is often called the _______ _______ _______ _______ effect.

2. The _______ _______ theory explains why presidents exercise greater power over foreign affairs than over domestic policy.

3. Presidents get credit for foreign policy achievements in the _______ run, not the _______ run.

4. The popularity of presidents typically _______________ (in depends, decreases) by about seven percentage points one month after a foreign policy crisis.

5. After 9/11, George W. Bush’s popularity jumped from 50 percent to above _______ percent.

6. During the war in Iraq, many _______________ traveled into combat zones with the troops, increasing President Bush’s stature by highlighting the military’s rapid progress.

7. Middle East policies are influenced by powerful interest groups. For example, partly due to the powerful influence of AIPAC, _______ receives nearly 20 percent of all U.S. foreign aid.

8. In the wake of World War II, Congress _______________ (thought, did not think) it was their job to determine the nation’s defense policies.

9. Congress began playing a far more assertive role in the realm of foreign policy after the war in ____________ was over.

Foreign Policy Responsibilities of the President and Congress

1. Article I of the Constitution gives the _______________ power to declare war and make rules for governing the armed forces, but Article II gives the _______________ power to command the armed forces.

2. In Youngstown Sheet and Tub Co. v. Sawyer, the Supreme Court said that the president could not act against the clearly expressed will of ____________.

3. President Clinton bombed positions in Iraq, Kosovo, Sudan, and Afghanistan without _______________ _______________ as required by the War Powers Resolution.
4. The ___________________________ ____________________________ actually proved to be the vehicle by which President Bush mobilized congressional support on behalf of his 9/11, anti-terrorism policy.

5. A president may propose a treaty, but the ______________ must approve it by a two-thirds vote.

6. Presidents negotiate __________ ____________, legal contracts with foreign countries that require only a presidential signature and have become much more commonplace than treaties.

7. The Senate rejected the __________ Treaty that ended World War I.

Foreign Policy Institutions: From Cold War to Homeland Defense

1. The 43-year period (1946-1989) known as the ______ war involved continuous tensions between the __________ ____________ and the __________ ____________.

2. The U.S. policy of containment was designed to stop the spread of ____________.

3. The president’s official foreign policy adviser is the __________ of __________.

4. Diplomats who staff U.S. embassies and consulates comprise the __________ ____________.

5. The United States enjoyed a long streak of wartime successes that ended with the war in ________.

6. The military action in Afghanistan was quite ________________ (ineffective, effective).

7. By 1999, expenditures for national defense had dropped to 3 percent of the ______ ________ ________ from a high of 10 percent in 1950.

8. The agency primarily responsible for gathering and analyzing information about the political and military activities of other nations is the ____________ ____________ ____________.
9. The CIA’s most notorious covert operation involved the attempt to overthrow Communist leader _______ _________ in Cuba.

10. The 9/11 Commission proposed creating a cabinet-level position to coordinate ____________ gathering among a wide array of American agencies.

11. The most notorious event involving the office of the national security advisor was the _________-___________ affair during the administration of President _______________ ________________.

Ideals, Interests, and the Worldwide Campaign Against Terror

1. The ____________ point of view was expressed by Abraham Lincoln who claimed that one purpose of American government was to spread liberty throughout the world.

2. Government intervention in other countries that is designed to enhance democratic practices in those countries is known as ____________ ____________.

3. During the 2000 campaign, George W. Bush claimed to ____________ (support, oppose) American efforts to secure human rights and enhance democratic practices in other countries.

4. _________________ (Realists, Idealists) are generally are more supportive of the U.S. working through the United Nations.

5. _________________ (Realists, Idealists) have argued that the United States should use economic and political means to force China to alter its anti-democratic policies.

6. The ____________ branch takes the lead in formulating trade policy.

7. Thousands of protesters disrupted a meeting of the _______________ ____________ _______________ in Seattle in 1999.
Matching

Directions: Place the number of the correct definition from the list of definitions at the bottom into the blank space next to each term found in the terms found at the top. Some terms may not have corresponding definitions (and some definitions may not have corresponding terms). For terms without a definition, place an “x” in the space.

Terms

A. League of Nations _____
B. the Berlin Wall _____
C. the Taliban _____
D. “day of infamy” _____
E. Bay of Pigs ________
F. ambassador________
G. Central Intelligence Agency _____
H. National Security Council_____  
I. Kosovo _____
J. Chechnya _____
K. Joint Chiefs of Staff _____

Definitions

1. Government that formed an alliance with Al-Qaeda

2. Explains George W. Bush’s jump in popularity immediately following 9/11

3. Place where some Al-Qaeda members fought against the Russians

4. Involved in the symbolic end of the Cold War

5. Heads the American diplomatic delegation to a foreign country

6. Formed in 1947, it is responsible for the coordination of American foreign policy

7. Formed in 1947 to achieve better coordination among the American armed forces

8. Would have been created by the Versailles Treaty
9. Invaded by Serbians engaged in ethnic cleansing
10. The day Pearl Harbor was attacked
11. Location of failed effort to oust Fidel Castro
12. Career diplomatic officers belong to this organization
Practice Test

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. According to the text, the most important foreign policy objective is to
   a. promote a country’s economic strength.
   b. insure the quality of international diplomacy.
   c. prevent being attacked by a foreign power.
   d. gain allies from as many nations as possible.

2. When is the “rally ‘round the flag” effect most likely to emerge?
   a. After an unexpected attack on U.S. soil
   b. During a recession
   c. As military actions result in an increasing number of American fatalities
   d. During a reelection campaign

3. In 2004, George W. Bush sent troops to which of the following countries without first seeking approval of Congress?
   a. Iraq
   b. Afghanistan
   c. Jordan
   d. Haiti

4. As of early 2002, President Bush appointed 19 ambassadors, individuals who had been
   a. members of his own family.
   b. high ranking officials in the Democratic Party.
   c. former ambassadors to the United Nations.
   d. his top fund-raisers.

5. Congress passed the War Powers Resolution to increase the military powers of
   a. Congress.
   b. the president.
   c. the National Security Advisor.
   d. the Secretary of State.
6. Interest groups have had the most success at influencing American foreign policy regarding
   a. Germany and Russia.
   b. Japan and Chad.
   c. Bosnia and Chechnya.
   d. Israel and Cuba.

7. The policy designed by George Kennan to inhibit the spread of communism after World War II was called
   a. countervailing power.
   b. flexible response.
   c. containment.
   d. realism.

8. In 2004, American spending on national defense comprised approximately what percentage of the gross domestic product?
   a. 4%
   b. 10%
   c. 18%
   d. 31%

9. According to your text, which of the following opposed NAFTA?
   a. Labor unions
   b. Religious fundamentalists
   c. Most congressional Republicans
   d. All of the above

10. In U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright, the Supreme Court said that
    a. the president can only use military force if Americans are in danger.
    b. the president must ask Congress for approval before using the military overseas.
    c. Congress can delegate foreign policy responsibilities to the president.
    d. Congress must spend all money the president appropriates.

Short-Answer Essay Questions

1. What events in American history contributed to the expansion of the president’s commander-in-chief role? How do the U.S. v. Curtiss-Wright and the Youngstown cases affect the president’s powers?
2. How do public opinion, interest groups, and Congress influence the president’s foreign policy powers?

3. What is the War Powers Resolution and why was it passed? How has it affected foreign policy decisions?

4. Why did George W. Bush become more supportive of nation-building after 9/11 and why did that practice become a realist objective?

5. Explain how and why the Iran-Contra scandal occurred and what implications the scandal had for the operation of the NSC.

6. Cite examples of idealism and realism in contemporary American foreign policy.

7. Summarize the military response to 9/11. Why did the 2001-2002 Afghanistan intervention go relatively well for the U.S.? What problems remain in Iraq?

8. What are the various agencies involved in foreign policy, and how have they adapted to the post-9/11 world?
Answers to Matching and Practice Multiple-Choice Questions

Matching

A. 8
B. 4
C. 1
D. 10
E. 11
F. 5

G. x
H. 6
I. 9
J. 3
K. 7

Practice Test

1. c
2. a
3. d
4. d
5. a

6. d
7. c
8. a
9. a
10. c