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CHAPTER 1

Making Sense of American Politics

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Nature and Role of Government and Politics
   A. What Is Government?
   B. What Is Politics?
   C. What Has Been the Role of Government in American History?

II. What Are the Fundamental Issues of Government and Politics?
   A. Who Should Govern?
   B. Where Should Governmental Authority Be Vested?

III. Understanding American Government and Politics
   A. The Power of Reason
   B. Political Myths and Stories
   C. Beliefs and Ideologies

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Government is so pervasive in our lives that it needs no introduction. Its impact can be seen in almost all aspects of society. The news media broadcast daily the actions and inaction of government. If we tire of hearing the news, we still cannot escape the presence of government because it affects our income, welfare, security, and environment. Yet even though government should be a subject that is well known to us, it is not. Americans tend to love their country but resent and suspect their government. We criticize politicians and doubt government’s positive influence in our lives.

Despite the interplay between citizens and government, myths often compose what we believe about government. Dispelling some of those myths will increase our understanding of the institutions, processes, tensions, and goals of government. Myths are described in this chapter as stories, proverbial sayings, and pervasive attitudes that have an impact on the way we think about the world around us. This textbook, particularly in Chapter 1, sheds light on American government. This chapter will help you recognize myths and understand their consequences.

Chapter 1 first discusses the significance of myths for politics in the United States and then deals with some basic concepts and activities of government, providing you with terms and ideas that will help you as you read the text and complete the course. This introductory chapter raises three fundamental issues about government and politics: How do we define government and politics? How does the U.S. political system deal with issues of who should govern and where authority should be vested? What role do myths, ideology, and reason play in helping us understand the American political system of government? As you prepare to read, you should be asking the same questions that the authors raise and wondering about what the answers will be. Throughout the chapters in this book, you will find that key terms, along with their definitions, are readily identified, and the authors have included a series of reading and comprehension questions at the end of each section. Use these tools to help keep your reading and understanding on track.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Describe political myths, ideologies, beliefs, and how Americans use these items to shape their understanding of American government and politics.
2. Define government and differentiate it from politics.
3. Describe the changing role and importance of government in America.
4. Distinguish between the concepts of authority and power, and describe different traditional views on who should hold each in the United States.
5. Define democracy and distinguish direct democracy from republic.
6. Discuss American responses to the question of where—at the local, state, or federal level—government authority should be vested.
7. Identify and understand the competing views on the proper role of government expressed by liberalism, conservatism, populism, and libertarianism.

READING POLITICS & POPULAR CULTURE
1. What does John James Barralet’s print of George Washington being raised from his tomb by Father Time and the Angel of Immortality have on shaping political myths?
2. How do popular culture products that touch upon the subject of the 9/11 attacks, such as movies, books, songs, and video games, use myths to promote their messages and perspectives. (If you are stuck on an item to consider, consider the following examples: United 93 and Fahrenheit 9/11 (movies), Toby Keith’s “Courtesy of the Red, White, & Blue (The Angry American)” and Bruce Springsteen’s “The Rising” (music), the Department of Defense’s American Army (video game).
3. Do you think that cartoons, television, movies, music, etc., tend to promote different images of government because they are different types of media?

REVIEWING CHAPTER 1
Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. The set of beliefs that tends to resist government interference in economic matters while favoring government action in private moral affairs is called ______.
   a. power
   b. politics
   c. myths
   d. elitist
   e. republic
   f. authority
   g. ideology
   h. democracy
   i. pluralist

2. A set of conceptual tools used to help people think about whether government is doing what it ought to be doing is called a(n) ______.

3. A representative democracy in which decisions are made by elected or appointed officials is a(n) ______.

4. Procedures used in many states and localities to allow citizens a direct vote in deciding public policy issues are called ______.
5. The view that political power should be distributed as equally as possible to all citizens in a political system is a(n) ____ view of power.

6. According to the ____, memories of events such as the Great Depression, the 9/11 attacks, and the governmental response to Hurricane Katrina have fostered a perceived threat to American safety and security.

7. The view that political power should be in the hands of a relatively small group of top leaders who share a common understanding about the fundamental issues is a(n) ____ view of power.

8. The view that political power should be dispersed among many competing group leaders who share a common acceptance of the political system is a(n) ____ view of power.

9. The capacity of individuals occupying formal government positions to make and enforce public policies is called ____.

10. Those institutions and officials who execute and enforce public programs are a(n) ____.

11. The set of beliefs that government should do no more than what is minimally necessary in the areas of economic and personal freedoms is called ____.

12. Stories, stereotypes, and persistent attitudes about politics that have an impact on the way people think about government are called ____.

13. The act of influencing or controlling government for the purpose of formulating or guiding public policy is called ____.

14. The set of beliefs usually favoring government intervention in the economy but not in the private lives of individuals is called ____.

15. The set of beliefs that tends to favor government intervention in both economic and private matters is called ____.

16. A government based on the consent and will of the majority is a(n) ____.

17. The ability to influence the choices of other people and so to influence what goes on in government is called ____.

18. Strongly held assumptions or attitudes about politics and government which do not rely upon empirical evidence or narratives are called ____.
Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it F for false and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F Myths about American government are falsehoods spread by unpatriotic people.

2. T F Recent low congressional approval ratings have resulted in large turnover in the membership of Congress.

3. T F Myths can help a country by providing a sense of common social and political identity.

4. T F Although government in the United States performed traditional functions before the 1930s, since that time government activity has expanded greatly.

5. T F Most Americans employ reasoned analysis as the method for making sense of their political world.

6. T F Political beliefs emerge from an ongoing process called political socialization.

7. T F A democracy and a republic are one and the same thing.

8. T F In the United States, governing authority is vested in national, state, and local governments that share power.

9. T F When confronted with evidence that challenges deeply held beliefs Americans must reshape their views.
10. T F The pluralist view of power differs from the elitist in that the pluralist believes that power should be distributed as equally as possible to all citizens of the nation.

11. T F The major political ideologies of the United States all agree on the need for governmental activity to regulate private moral affairs.

12. T F Conservatives generally favor government intervention in the economy but oppose it in domestic issues like the control of pornography.

13. T F Populism and libertarianism have increased in popularity as more Americans have found that their views do not fit comfortably into either of the more traditional American political perspectives.

14. T F Initiatives and referendums allow for citizens to directly make public policy decisions.

15. T F Stories, proverbial sayings, and pervasive attitudes are important forms of myths that shape citizen attitudes on American politics.

16. T F Government has only become important to the lives of most Americans in the past seventy years.

17. T F Only recently has the government become involved in the economy.

18. T F Ideologies do not have to reflect extreme positions on issues.

19. T F The framers of the American constitution wanted citizens to be politically active according to their group interests.
Chapter 1: Making Sense of American Politics

20. T F American popular culture is there to entertain the public and is irrelevant in shaping the way citizens think about government and politics.

PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. Stories, proverbial sayings, and pervasive attitudes that help people make sense of government and the world around them are
   a. lies.
   b. myths.
   c. politics.
   d. ideologies.

2. Americans rely on myths because they
   a. help us simplify the complex world in which we live.
   b. help us define our place in the world and provide us with a common social/political identity.
   c. help guide and rationalize our behavior.
   d. all of the above.

3. The government includes which of the following institutions and officials.
   a. press, Internet bloggers, and news anchors
   b. special interest groups, lobbyists, religious leaders
   c. business leaders, nonprofit groups, and students
   d. judges, bureaucrats, and legislators

4. Which of the following is the best definition of politics?
   a. the capacity to make and enforce public policies possessed by individuals in formal government roles
   b. the act of influencing or controlling government for the purpose of formulating or guiding public policy
   c. the act of giving or offering money or favors to someone in a position of trust to induce dishonest behavior
   d. a belief in government based on the consent and will of the majority

5. Aristotle classified governments into ___ types.
   a. 5
   b. 3
   c. 2
   d. 7

6. Although governments in the United States performed traditional functions before the 1930s, since that time, government activity has
   a. declined dramatically.
   b. concentrated mostly on foreign affairs.
   c. been limited largely to social welfare programs.
   d. expanded enormously to address problems once solved by families and communities.
7. Historically, following Aristotle’s influence, democracy has often been
   a. welcomed as the best kind of government.
   b. feared as self-interested mob rule.
   c. rejected as government by the few.
   d. confused with monarchy.
8. A democracy and a republic are related in that
   a. both are opposed to libertarianism.
   b. a democracy is a representative form of a republic.
   c. a republic is an indirect kind of democracy.
   d. both put government directly in the hands of the people.
9. Initiative and referendum are
   a. stories that help people understand the world around them.
   b. systems of government in which appointed officials make policy.
   c. procedures for giving citizens a direct voice in making public policy decisions.
   d. mechanisms to prevent a public vote.
10. The capacity and ability to influence the choices of others and so to wield influence over
government is
    a. authority.
    b. elitist.
    c. politics.
    d. power.
11. The idea that the United States would be better off if power were concentrated in the hands of a
small, well-informed group of national leaders who understood the fundamental issues before the
country and shared views on their solution is a(n)
    a. majoritarian view of power.
    b. elitist view of power.
    c. populist view of power.
    d. pluralist view of power.
12. The ancient Greeks made a distinction between two types of human understanding. Understanding
  gained through listening to stories and other narratives is referred to as
    a. logos.
    b. mythos.
    c. ouzo.
    d. none of the above.
13. Beliefs differ from reasoned analysis because
    a. they remain unchanged.
    b. they ignore common sense.
    c. they do not rely on empirical evidence or logic.
    d. they are not dependent on assumptions.
14. The belief that the government should intervene in economic affairs but stay away from
regulations on abortion and sexual conduct could be described as
    a. liberal.
    b. majoritarian.
    c. libertarian.
    d. conservative.
15. Populists favor government intervention in
   a. both economic and personal matters.
   b. neither economic nor personal matters.
   c. economic but not personal matters.
   d. personal but not economic matters.

16. According to David Broder, direct participation in democracy
   a. should be expanded to more areas.
   b. is most important at the state and local level.
   c. can be damaging to our system of checks and balances.
   d. requires citizens to hold strict political ideologies.

17. Lincoln Chaffee’s electoral efforts in 2000 and 2006 illustrate a situation where voters are faced with a situation where
   a. their beliefs are challenged by conflicting evidence.
   b. party labels are completely irrelevant.
   c. they apply reasoned analysis.
   d. a ballot initiative reduced voter turnout.

18. Aristotle believed democracy to be
   a. the perfect form of government.
   b. a weak version of aristocracy.
   c. a mobocracy.
   d. a wrong form of government in any situation.

19. How is governmental power distributed in the United States?
   a. Equally.
   b. Some members of society have a greater influence on government.
   c. According to groups.
   d. According to individual wealth.

20. Libertarians tend to favor
   a. government in both economic and personal matters.
   b. no government intervention in the economy but some intervention in personal matters.
   c. no government intervention in the economy or personal matters.
   d. government intervention in the economy but not in personal matters.

21. Conservatives tend to favor
   a. government in both economic and personal matters.
   b. no government intervention in the economy but some intervention in personal matters.
   c. no government intervention in the economy or personal matters.
   d. government intervention in the economy but not in personal matters.

**Essay Questions**

1. Who has the ability to influence government?
2. Who should govern? Describe several responses to that question in light of the concepts of political authority and political power.
3. Who should govern in America? Describe how procedures such as initiatives and referendums support your answer.
4. List and define four different ideological opinions about how much government should do.
5. What are political myths, and how do they influence American government?
ANSWER KEY

Reading Politics & Popular Culture
1. Barralet’s print is a good example of how pervasive myth-creating imagery can become. This particular image was used on household china and on the dome of the U.S. Capitol building. The imagery elevates Washington to a mythical status. The imagery is not satirical, but emboldens the viewer to conclude that Washington’s greatness is recognized by supernatural forces. This approach minimizes the actual history of Washington’s life.

2. There are, of course, multiple avenues of analysis for this exercise, but the attempt to pay attention to the ways that events are manipulated in popular culture offers an exercise in the appropriation of events for a variety of meanings; especially prominent are myths of vulnerability, mourning, and revenge. Consider the extreme contrasts that can be found among popular culture portrayals of the same event.

3. Here are some things to think about when answering this question. How does visual perception change your perception of events, that is, do media differences such as camera perspective make a difference? Do the accounts of politics lyrically expressed in the music you listen to depend on style of music to facilitate the point? That is, does it make a difference whether the sound is punk or easy listening if the words are the same?

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
1. k
2. g
3. e
4. p
5. n
6. r
7. d
8. i
9. f
10. j
11. o
12. c
13. b
14. m
15. l
16. h
17. a
18. q
Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. False. Myths about American government are stories and attitudes that help people understand what is happening in government.

2. False. Despite the public’s generally low regard for Congress, voters have consistently reelected their representatives.

3. True.

4. True.

5. False. The complex nature of the U.S. political system is often too difficult and time consuming for many people to figure out.

6. True.

7. False. A republic is a type of democracy—a representative democracy.

8. True.

9. False. People may open themselves up to an alternative view, but they may also choose to ignore or filter out the new information.

10. False. That would be the majoritarian view of power; the pluralist view holds that power should be distributed among many competitive elites who share a common acceptance of the rules of the political game.

11. False. Both the major ideologies of liberalism and libertarianism tend to oppose governmental intervention in personal and private matters.

12. False. Conservatives generally oppose governmental intervention in the economy but favor intervention in private moral affairs.

13. True.

14. True.

15. True.

16. False. While the size of government has grown in the past seventy years, it has always played a central role in shaping the economic and social lives of Americans.

17. False. Governments have always been involved in economies. Notice, for example, that governments guarantee the value of money.

18. True.

19. False. Madison, for example, in Federalist 10 is very interested in designing a government that reduces the ability of citizens to organize to pursue their more immediate interests.

20. False. The words and images used in American popular culture reflect the realities of American life and in turn shape that reality. These sights and sounds are relevant in shaping citizen perceptions of government and politics.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. b

2. d

3. d
Essay Questions

1. Your answer should argue for one of the following and should be supported with specific examples:
   - Elites
   - Pluralist groups

2. Select one of the following as the answer to be supported and compare it to the other possible answers. Give specific examples to support your answer.
   - Democracy
   - Aristocracy
   - Monarchy

3. Make sure you address the following points:
   - Aristotle’s three types of government
   - Differences between a democracy and a republic
   - Pros and cons of initiatives and referendums.
4. Pick one of the following ideologies and demonstrate why you think it is the best. Give specific examples to support your choice.
   - Liberalism
   - Conservatism
   - Libertarianism
   - Populism

5. Address the following points:
   - Myths may be innocent falsehoods, or they may be serious distortions.
   - Myths simplify complex problems.
   - Myths help define our place.
   - Myths surround our most important institutions and people.
   - Myths help us organize and make sense of new information.
CHAPTER 2

Constitutional Foundations

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. The Setting for Constitutional Change
II. The Framers
III. The Roots of the Constitution
   A. The British Constitutional Heritage
   B. The Colonial Heritage
   C. Intellectual Roots
   D. The Onset of the Revolution
IV. What the Framers Did
   A. Establishing Legitimacy
   B. Structuring Authority
   C. Distributing and Describing Government Powers
   D. Limiting Governmental Powers
   E. Allowing for Change
   F. What the Framers Accomplished
V. The Principles of American Constitutionalism
   A. The Rule of Law
   B. Republicanism
   C. Separation of Powers
   D. Checks and Balances
   E. National Supremacy
   F. Applying the Principles
VI. Conclusion: Living, Enduring, and Political

CHAPTER SUMMARY
During the summer of 1787, a constitutional convention met in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. As a result of this meeting, the Constitution of the United States was created and the foundations of American government were put into place. This chapter begins your study of American politics and government by examining that remarkable document and by detailing its importance to our nation.

Before reading the chapter text, examine the Declaration of Independence and Constitution. Considering their central importance in the American founding, both documents are quite brief. As you read the Declaration of Independence, take note of the specific complaints, problems, and political circumstances to which the founders are responding. Indeed, a large section of the document is a list of complaints. As you review the Constitution, remember that this document was agreed upon after the Articles of Confederation were implemented.

It is important to remember that these documents were not written in a vacuum. The first part of this chapter will address the political realities of the founding period and also explore the intellectual roots of the Constitution. This exploration will introduce you to events and ideas from European and early American history.
By crafting the Constitution, the framers accomplished four key tasks. First, they created a legitimate basis for political authority among the states. Second, they built a structure of government to exercise that authority. Third, they put that structure in balance by distributing power within the system. Fourth, they created various means to control and limit the authority of the government so that liberty could be preserved.

The final section of the chapter describes the important political values protected by the Constitution. You can see from the outline that you will be learning about five key principles: the rule of law, republicanism, separation of powers, checks and balances, and national supremacy.

In addition to an overview of the Constitution, this chapter also introduces you to the myth of the timeless and perfect Constitution. The central point of this myth is the popular belief that the framers wrote a flawless document that has remained the unchanged “gospel” of government in America. Because of this myth, Americans often fail to understand that flexibility has always been a basic and essential quality of our constitutional system. In the conclusion and summary of Chapter 2, you will be asked to think of the Constitution in three different and often competing ways: living, enduring, and political. The tension created by these conceptualizations of the Constitution will help enlighten you to the idea of the important reality behind the myth.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Describe the myth of the timeless and perfect Constitution and explain the evidence that describes a different reality.
2. Describe and critique the myth of the living Constitution.
3. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation.
4. Explain the circumstances that led to the drafting of our Constitution in 1787.
5. Discuss the British, colonial, and intellectual roots of the Constitution.
6. Explain the influence of British common law on American colonial government.
7. Explain and discuss the basic aims of the Constitution, which include establishing legitimacy; structuring, distributing, and limiting government powers; and providing a process for changing the system of government.
8. Explain the ideas that distinguished the Enlightenment.
9. Describe the major compromises that emerged at the 1787 Constitutional Convention, emphasizing the Virginia Plan, the New Jersey Plan, and the Connecticut Compromise.
10. Define a federal system of government and distinguish it from unitary and confederal systems.
11. Explain how the Constitution distributes authority between the national and state governments and within the national government itself.
12. Explain how the Constitution limits power in our governmental system.
13. Describe the possible procedures for amending the Constitution.
14. Summarize five enduring principles of the Constitution, including the rule of law, republicanism, separation of powers, checks and balances, and national supremacy.
15. Contrast the meanings of separation of powers and checks and balances.
READING TABLES AND GRAPHS

1. According to Table 2.1, which document, the Articles of Confederation or the Constitution, derives its governing legitimacy from the people?

2. Having established a state’s population as the basis for determining that state’s number of representatives in the House, how were slaves accounted for under this model. (See Table 2.2.)

3. According to Table 2.3, which amendments to the Constitution address issues of personal security?

4. According to Figure 2.2, there are four methods for amending the U.S. Constitution. Which method has been most frequently used?

5. According to Table 2.4, what did the Eighteenth and Twenty-first Amendments accomplish?

REVIEWING CHAPTER 2

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. The constitutional principle in which authority and responsibility are separated into three branches of government is called the_____.

2. A government system in which powers are divided or shared between national and state governments is called_____.

3. The power of the federal courts to declare legislative or executive acts in conflict with the Constitution is_____.

4. The concept of government in which decisions are made by elected or appointed officials who are ultimately responsible to the people is known as_____.

5. A legislature that is divided into two separate houses, such as the U.S. Congress, is known as_____.

6. Constitutional powers that are specifically granted to Congress are called_____.

7. The concept that the best form of government is one that reflects the general will of the people is known as_____.

8. Granted by the necessary and proper clause, _____give Congress unspecified constitutional powers.

9. The constitutional principle that holds that there is a standard of impartiality, fairness, and equality against which all government actions can be evaluated is_____.

10. The constitutional principle that grants ultimate political authority to the Constitution is referred to as_____.
11. The constitutional proposal resolving the representation controversy by creating a bicameral Congress was the_____.

12. Unspecified constitutional powers not belonging to Congress and withheld to the states by the Tenth Amendment are called_____.

13. The power of Congress to remove federal officials and judges from office is_____.

14. A constitutional system in which branches of government share responsibilities and control each other’s activities is referred to as_____.

15. The first 10 amendments to the Constitution, which guarantee fundamental individual rights and liberties, are called the_____.

16. The constitutional provision that requires each state to respect in all ways the acts, records, and judicial proceedings of the other states is called_____.

17. The accepted belief of citizens that their government has a right to pass and enforce laws is what establishes that government’s_____.

18. The United States’ first constitution, establishing a loose union of states with a weak central Congress, was the_____.

19. A form of government in which ultimate authority is vested in the states or provinces that make up the union is a(n)_____.

20. A legislative action declaring an individual guilty of a crime without benefit of trial is called a(n)_____.

21. A system of government in which the ultimate authority rests with the national government and the powers of the states are derived from the central government is a(n)_____.

22. The laws made by judges establishing a collection of precedents for court systems are called_____.

23. The 1776 document that declared the colonies’ intention to revolt and that set forth their fundamental principles for a new government was the_____.

24. An individual’s guarantee of protection against arbitrary arrest and imprisonment is called a(n)_____.

25. The presidential power to reject legislation passed by Congress is called a(n)_____.

26. The powers that the Constitution grants to the national government but does not deny to the states are called_____.

v. republicanism  
w. separation of powers  
x. checks and balances  
y. full faith and credit  
z. national supremacy
Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F The delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 were a diverse group of individuals. They represented a broad cross-section of American men and women.

2. T F Prior to the American Revolution the colonial governmental system was structured in a strict feudal arrangement.

3. T F The legitimacy of the American national government is rooted in the Declaration of Independence in which the states asserted their right to govern.

4. T F The Mayflower Compact was written by the Pilgrims, and it established major principles for the Plymouth Colony.

5. T F The necessary and proper clause establishes the supremacy of national over state government.

6. T F The supremacy clause of the Constitution says that the Supreme Court decides constitutional issues.

7. T F The decision to abandon the Articles of Confederation was primarily due to the fact that they placed too much power in the hands of the national government and ignored the role of states in governing.

8. T F The Enlightenment did not have an impact upon the framers of the Constitution.

9. T F The U.S. Constitution prohibits the Congress from enacting ex post facto laws.
10. T F The Magna Carta influenced our constitutional system by exemplifying the tradition of the supremacy of law over public officials.

11. T F The oppression of the American colonists under British rule gave the colonists no experience in self-government and led them to despise the British political tradition.

12. T F A European country in which governing authority is divided or shared between a central national government and provincial governments could be said to have a federal system like ours.

13. T F The framers of the Constitution got the idea for the separation of powers from Thomas Hobbes.

14. T F When the Senate fails to confirm a president’s nomination of a Supreme Court justice, it is acting out the constitutional system of checks and balances.

15. T F The U.S. Constitution gives Congress the power over copyright protection.

16. T F Separation of powers refers to the distribution of authority among national, state, and local governments.

17. T F Judicial review, impeachment, and treaty ratification procedures are examples of the checks and balances system at work.

18. T F At the constitutional convention, the critical question surrounding the selection of the president was whether to have direct elections or indirect elections for that office.
19. T F The Supreme Court case of *McCulloch v. Maryland (1819)* addressed the constitutionality of implied powers.

20. T F Congress is forbidden from ever suspending the privilege of a writ of habeas corpus.

**PREPARING FOR AN EXAM**

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

*Circle the letter of the correct answer.*

1. The privileges and immunities provision of the U.S. Constitution ensures that  
   a. elected officials are held accountable to the law.  
   b. citizens of a state are treated reasonably by officials of another state.  
   c. foreign dignitaries are exempt from American law.  
   d. all federal officials are exempt from suits by American citizens.

2. When designing the American government, the framers of the Constitution  
   a. relied on the British constitutional tradition.  
   b. rejected the British constitutional tradition.  
   c. rejected the British, who had no constitutional tradition.  
   d. preferred the French to the British tradition.

3. The concept of the supremacy of law over public officials was first expressed in the  
   a. Declaration of Independence.  
   b. American Constitution.  
   c. writings of John Locke.  
   d. Magna Carta.

4. Under the Articles of Confederation, the national congress was able to exercise all of the following powers *except* the power to  
   a. borrow money.  
   b. make war.  
   c. levy and collect taxes.  
   d. receive foreign ambassadors.

5. The framers of the American Constitution adapted the idea of the separation of powers into three branches of government mainly from  
   a. Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan*.  
   b. John Locke’s *Two Treatises on Government*.  
   c. Charles de Montesquieu’s *The Spirit of the Laws*.  
   d. Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Social Contract*.

6. The legitimacy of the U.S. government, as established in the Constitution, comes from the  
   a. states.  
   b. people.  
   c. Continental Congress.  
   d. triumph over England.
7. A unitary government like that of France is different from a federal government like that of the United States because in a unitary government, ultimate authority
   a. rests with the national government.
   b. rests with a hereditary monarch.
   c. rests with the states or provinces.
   d. is divided between the states and national government.
8. The Virginia Plan differed from the New Jersey Plan by recommending
   a. a bicameral legislature.
   b. no executive or judicial branch.
   c. representation based on population.
   d. equality of all states.
9. In 2007 President Bush tried to keep some White House officials from testifying before Congress. In doing so he was invoking
   a. the supremacy clause.
   b. presidential immunity.
   c. executive privilege.
   d. a bill of attainder.
10. Which of the following best describes the concept of the rule of law?
    a. Bill Clinton’s second inauguration
    b. The appointment of Chief Justice Roberts to the U.S. Supreme Court
    c. Richard Nixon and the Watergate affair
    d. Lyndon Johnson’s ascension to the presidency after Kennedy’s assassination
11. The McCulloch v. Maryland decision in 1819 established that
    a. states could tax federal government agencies.
    b. Congress has implied as well as delegated powers.
    c. the necessary and proper clause establishes specific state powers.
    d. the national government did not have the power to create a national bank.
12. The two presidents who have faced impeachment trials are
    a. Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton.
    b. Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton.
    d. Andrew Jackson and Grover Cleveland.
13. Limitations on the power of government, such as the protection of property rights, are indications of the principle of
    a. the separation of powers.
    b. checks and balances.
    c. popular sovereignty.
    d. the rule of law.
14. Which of the following is not established in the Constitution as a principle of American government?
    a. republicanism
    b. direct democracy
    c. national supremacy
    d. checks and balances
15. The electoral college was
   a. a compromise agreement between those who favored indirect election of the president and those who favored direct election.
   b. amended after the presidential election of 2000.
   c. designed to minimize the influence of political parties.
   d. designed to balance national and state interests.

16. The separation of powers refers to the distribution of authority among
   a. national, state, and local governments.
   b. the three different branches of the national government.
   c. the public and private powers of Congress.
   d. the domestic and foreign agencies of the government.

17. The necessary and proper clause of the U.S. Constitution establishes
   a. enumerated powers for Congress.
   b. reserved powers for the president.
   c. implied powers for Congress.
   d. delegated powers for the states.

18. The constitutional provision requiring that citizens of one state not be treated unreasonably by officials of another state is known as
   a. privileges and immunities.
   b. full faith and credit.
   c. clemency.
   d. bills of attainder.

19. The president has the power to veto acts of Congress, which are then subject to an override by Congress. This illustrates the workings of
   a. the separation of powers.
   b. checks and balances.
   c. republicanism.
   d. the rule of law.

20. Justice Hugo Black’s reliance on the “plain reading” of the Constitution is an example of which approach to interpreting the Constitution?
   a. originalism
   b. literalism
   c. considerism
   d. textualism

21. The Federalist Papers
   a. were instrumental in getting the Articles of Confederation ratified.
   b. document the rise of the Federalist Party.
   c. are the written record of the 1787 Constitutional Convention.
   d. were written to support the Constitution’s ratification in New York.

22. Which of the following statements most accurately corrects the myth of the timeless and perfect U.S. Constitution?
   a. It depends on interpretation through time.
   b. It is perfect and never needs to be reinterpreted.
   c. It explains everything about U.S. politics.
   d. It has become outdated and useless to our political life.
23. Interpreting the Constitution by relying on a literal, plain words reading of the document is known as
   a. originalism.
   b. republicanism.
   c. textualism.
   d. constitutionalism.

24. Judicial review refers to
   a. a weekly report the Supreme Court issues to inform citizens concerning the state of the law.
   b. the power of the Senate to review presidential appointments to the Supreme Court.
   c. the power of the U.S. Supreme Court to oversee the actions of state courts.
   d. the ability of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional that have been passed by Congress.

25. Which of the following is not part of the British Constitution?
   a. Bill of Rights
   b. charters
   c. common law
   d. major statutes

**Essay Questions**

1. Describe the central myth about the Constitution. What would be a more accurate view of the Constitution’s role in the American system of government?

2. How did the framers achieve their goal of designing a national government with enough power to function better than the Articles of Confederation but not so much as to threaten liberty? Describe the balance they achieved in both creating and limiting power.

3. Individuals opposed to the idea of a “living constitution” have embraced alternative approaches for applying the principles found in the Constitution. Describe these various approaches and provide examples to illustrate the differences between these views.

4. What were the significant intellectual roots of the American Constitution? Identify at least three political philosophers and discuss their influence on the framers of the Constitution.

5. Summarize the principles evident in the American constitutional system. List its five basic values and briefly describe each.

**ANSWER KEY**

**Reading Tables and Graphs**

1. U.S. Constitution
2. Each slave was to be counted as three-fifths of a person for both representation and taxation purposes.
3. The Second, Third, and Fourth Amendments.
4. With the exception of the Twenty-first Amendment, all amendments have used the Congress/state legislative route.
5. Ratifies treaties.
Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

1. w
2. p
3. b
4. v
5. g
6. q
7. f
8. r
9. u
10. z
11. h
12. s
13. c
14. x
15. n
16. y
17. t
18. i
19. d
20. m
21. e
22. a
23. j
24. l
25. k
26. o

Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. False. They were wealthy men of wealth and influence. There were no women or minorities represented at the convention.
2. False. Feudalism was dominate in Europe during the Middle Ages, but was absent from American colonial experience.
3. False. Legitimacy is rooted in the Preamble to the Constitution and derives directly from the people.
4. True.
5. False. That clause establishes the implied constitutional powers of Congress.
6. False. It says the Constitution is the supreme law of the land.
7. False. It was felt by many delegates at the Constitutional Convention that the Articles had created a national government that lacked the necessary strength to address the problems facing the new nation.
8. False. The framers can easily be described as children of the Enlightenment.
10. True.
11. False. The ease of British rule allowed much experience in self-government; the founders admired and drew on the British political tradition.
12. True.
13. False. Charles de Montesquieu was their inspiration.
14. True.
15. True.
16. False. This refers to distribution of authority among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government.
17. True.
18. False. The creation of the electoral college was seen as a system that could balance the national and state interests against each other while at the same time ensuring that the president did not become beholden to either chamber of Congress.
19. True.
20. False. Congress is empowered to suspend this privilege in times of rebellion or invasion. Indeed, President Lincoln’s suspension of habeas corpus in 1861 is a widely cited example of this suspension in action.

Multiple-Choice Questions
1. b
2. a
3. d
4. c
5. c
6. b
7. a
8. c
9. c
10. c
11. b
Essay Questions

1. Describe the myth of the timeless and perfect Constitution. Counter that myth with a detailed examination of the following functions of the Constitution.
   - Establish legitimacy
   - Structure authority
   - Distribute and describe governmental powers
   - Set limits on the powers of national and state governments
   - Establish means for its own revision

2. Organization of governmental power—make sure you fully describe and explain each point.
   - Separation of powers
   - Checks and balances
   - National supremacy

3. The three basic approaches (examples highlighted) are:
   - Originalism—Justice Scalia and others see the Constitution as a set of principles that are ends in and of themselves and not the means to an end.
   - Textualism—Justice Hugo Black’s “plain reading” of the Constitution means that a passage like the First Amendment’s (Congress shall make no law…) means that “No law means no law!”
   - Political Document—Justice Breyer has embraced an approach where “active liberty” requires that the Constitution be viewed as a complete document. This approach requires deference to the “right of the majority to embody their opinion in law.”
4. Make sure you clearly detail the contribution made by each political philosopher. Begin with a general account of the Enlightenment.
   
   - Thomas Hobbes
   - John Locke
   - Charles de Montesquieu
   - Jean-Jacques Rousseau
   - Thomas Paine

5. Fully describe each point.

   - The rule of law
   - Republicanism
   - Separation of powers
   - Checks and balances
   - National supremacy
CHAPTER 3

Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Evolution of American Federalism
   A. Battles over Meaning (1790s–1860s)
   B. From Separation to Cooperation (1860s–1920s)
   C. Toward Cooperation and Local Participation (1930s–1950s)
   D. The Urban Focus (1960s–1970s)
   E. Reforming and Devolving (1970s–1990s)
   F. Twenty-first-Century Challenges (2001 and Beyond?)

II. The Actors of American Federalism
   A. National Government Actors
   B. States in the Federal System
   C. Local Governments
   D. Nongovernmental Actors

III. Conclusion: The Principles and Pragmatism of Federalism

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Federalism may seem at first to be an unfamiliar and specialized subject in American government. It is, however, at the very heart of our system of government, and although it may not be in the news as frequently as other political topics, it has always been one of America’s most hotly debated issues. Its viability, in fact, was one of the central questions decided by the Civil War. This chapter introduces and explains federalism. The authors describe federalism’s part in our political system and challenge the myths that have arisen about its performance.

Federalism describes a system of government in which national and state governments divide power and authority. The discussion of the governmental responses to hurricanes Andrew and Katrina illustrates how federalism is a compromise between concepts of central national government, on the one hand, and state power and independence on the other. This compromise can raise questions about the effectiveness and competence of government agencies and officials. During the past 200 years, the real meaning of federalism has been continually worked out in the tension between those two positions. The chapter surveys those 200 years of evolution, tracing the development of federalism through several stages, from early battles over its meaning to today’s debates about the interaction of national, state, and local governments. Where does the real power now reside? Who are the important players in our system of government? Who should be the most important player in our federal system?

You will find it interesting and revealing to observe these players in the dramas of today’s federalism. By learning something of the roles they play, you will be able to see that the American federal system is a fascinating interplay of all those actors. Conflicting myths have evolved about federalism. One says that the national government’s role has grown steadily, to the point where it now monopolizes the stage. The national government (which we, with some confusion, frequently call the federal government) has taken up all the lines and taken over all the important roles. This national government dominance, according to the myth, has left the states without power or purpose. But a contrasting myth of national government weakness argues that more power needs to be given to the federal government in order to solve great national problems in the interest of all the people.
What is the reality beyond these myths? Has the national government taken over control of most important government functions? Those who believe so imagine that government in America is now remote and all-powerful. Is this true? Or do we need to look to the government in Washington, D.C., more than we do to find solutions to problems too great or important for state and local governments to solve? Those who believe so feel that only the national government has the resources and the fairness to govern us all well. By studying this chapter, you will gain a greater understanding of the reality beyond the myths of national government power and a fuller appreciation for the richness of the American federal system.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Discuss both myths of national government dominance and of national government weakness and the evidence that contradicts them.
2. Explain the constitutional origins of American federalism and the changes that have occurred in the federal system in the past 200 years.
3. Explain how the American federal system had been characterized by conflict and cooperation.
4. Discuss the role of grant-in-aid programs in the American federal system, including categorical grant and block grant programs.
5. Summarize efforts to reform the federal system in recent presidential administrations.
6. Discuss the myth of state sovereignty.
7. Explain the intergovernmental relations (IGR) that developed in the 1930s.
8. Describe the major actors (persons and institutions) in the U.S. federal system and the roles they play in the federal system.
9. Identify and illustrate the parts played by state and local governments in the federal system.
10. Explain the significance of public interest groups and private citizens within the federal system.
11. Discuss the use of eminent domain as a power of state and local governments.

**READING TABLES AND POLITICS & POPULAR CULTURE**

1. Use Figure 3.1 to compare the sources of educational funding in 1949–50 and 1999–2000. Where did most of the money come from in 1949–50? Where did it come from in 1999–2000?
2. During what years did local government expenditures exceed state expenditures for education?
3. Provide an example from popular culture that has offered a negative image of the South.

**REVIEWING CHAPTER 3**

**Identifying Key Terms and Ideas**

*Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:*

1. The theory of American federalism that views national and state governments as equal partners, each responsible for distinct functions of government and free of interference from the other, is called ____.  
   a. homeland security
   b. devolution
2. The individuals and organizations that represent the interests of all those who have a stake in the federal system are the_____.
3. The Constitution grants control of commerce across state lines to Congress. This type of commerce is defined as_____.
4. Appropriations given to states for design and implementation of public policies are_____.
5. National funds that are awarded to states and localities for a specific program or plan of action are_____.
6. Local governments such as counties, municipalities, and townships are called_____.
7. Federal grants in which funds are designated for limited uses with numerous specific rules are_____.
8. The powers of state governments over the regulation of behavior within their borders are known as_____.
9. Organizations representing the special interests of elected and appointed officials and public employees within the federal system are called_____.
10. An early theory of American federalism that stressed the authority of states and the states’ rights to overrule national laws was_____.
11. Local governments that deal with distinct governmental functions, such as education, fire protection, or sewage treatment, are called_____.
12. The right of a sovereign government to take property for public purposes for just compensation, even if the owner objects, is referred to as_____.
13. Determining the ultimate source of authority in a political system is a matter of_____.
14. A type of federal grant program introduced in the 1960s that consolidates assistance in certain broad areas and gives states discretion to spend within generally defined program areas was_____.
15. Domestic programs intended to deal with possible terrorist threats within the United States are called_____.
16. A system of interaction among levels of the federal system in which functions are shared and each level is able to exert influence on the others is called_____.
17. Associations created in the 1970s composed of local governments organized to help deal with common problems and coordinate applications for federal grants are known as_____.

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18. An early theory of American federalism emphasizing national supremacy and arguing that the national government had implied powers beyond the powers explicitly granted by the Constitution was_____.

19. Programs in which the national government requires recipient governments to provide a certain percentage of the funds needed to implement the program are referred to as_____.

20. Recent efforts to give more functions and responsibilities to state and local governments in the intergovernmental system are called_____.

21. The federal grant program of the 1970s and 1980s that gave funds to state and local governments according to a population formula with no significant requirements attached was called_____.

22. Required actions imposed on lower-level governments by the national government but not accompanied by the money to pay for the action are_____.

23. Church-related organizations that distribute federal government funds for social services are called_____.

24. The 1824 Supreme Court decision that struck down a New York monopoly and asserted national control over interstate commerce was_____.

25. The theory of American federalism that emerged during the Great Depression and that stressed the role of the state and national governments as allies to serve public needs was_____.

**Understanding Facts and Concepts**

*True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.*

1. **T** F The myth of state sovereignty was a source of problems for the delivery of government services in response to hurricanes Andrew and Katrina.

2. **T** F To highlight the problems with unfunded mandates, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) monitors federal legislation to see if new costs are being passed onto state and local governments.
3. T F The Great Depression permanently affected the balance of federalism because the poverty of the national government forced states to assume responsibility for many new programs.

4. T F As a style of federalism, dual federalism viewed national and state governments as equal but independent partners.

5. T F The earliest federal grant-in-aid programs, which developed from the late nineteenth century until the 1960s, were aimed away from the state governments directly toward local governments to help meet social policy needs such as education and health care.

6. T F Through categorical and block grant programs of the 1960s and 1970s, national policy objectives were imposed on state and local governments.

7. T F Due to the specific nature of their design, block grants do not allow states very much freedom in making spending decisions.

8. T F During the 1980s, the trend in federalism was toward the greater use of categorical grants and revenue sharing to limit the states’ control over social policy programs.

9. T F A major issue in federalism during the 1990s has been the demands that national regulations have placed on state and local governments without federal funding to pay for those required actions.

10. T F Those who advocated a policy of devolution saw the partial achievement of their goals in the 1996 welfare reform policies.

11. T F In the drama of American federalism, the Supreme Court has always attempted to protect the independence of the states from national authority.
12. T F In spite of trends in both parties to shift power and control of domestic policies from the national government to the states during the 1990s, homeland security policies have created a new and extensive avenue of federal power.

13. T F The role of Congress in the federal system has been to attempt to reduce and regulate aid programs, whereas the federal bureaucracy has focused only on providing more benefits to state and local governments.

14. T F The power of eminent domain is strictly limited to Congress, and local governments are prohibited from this type of action.

15. T F State governments compete with the national government because each has an independent existence in our federal system, but local governments are a creation of unitary state governments, so there can be no competition or conflict between them.

16. T F The role of local governments in the American federal system is most influenced by their common constitutional privileges and obligations.

17. T F Most of the roads and highways in the country fall under the control of state and local authorities and not the national government.

18. T F The majority of funding for public schools comes from the federal government.

19. T F Since local units of government are organized and empowered by their respective state legislatures, the state government can legally terminate these local units of government.

20. T F Since they are not part of the original constitutional framework, bureaucracies exist without checks on their power.
PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society programs were directed at
   a. saving farming communities from bankruptcy.
   b. community-based programs for feeding the urban poor, training the unemployed, and educating children.
   c. large scale infrastructure projects such as highway expansion.
   d. increasing federal funding for colleges and universities.

2. The era of cooperative federalism was characterized by
   a. more conflict between the national and state governments.
   b. no change in the level of conflict between the national and state governments.
   c. less conflict between the national and state governments.
   d. less national government involvement in state policy decisions.

3. The decisions in *McCulloch v. Maryland* and *Gibbons v. Ogden* were victories for
   a. local over state governments.
   b. the supporters of state-centered nationalism.
   c. the supporters of nation-centered nationalism.
   d. the advocates of a confederal system of government.

4. Which of the following federal funding approaches gives state and local authorities the greatest freedom to spend the money they receive?
   a. block grants
   b. categorical grants
   c. unfunded mandates
   d. project grants

5. An example of a grant-in-aid program in the era of dual federalism was
   a. land and money given to states for schools.
   b. no-strings-attached aid to states to expand their general revenues.
   c. aid to urban governments for slum clearance.
   d. the Model Cities program.

6. A federal grant program that provides funds for state welfare programs only if the states follow strict standards of efficiency in operation is called a
   a. formula grant.
   b. matching grant.
   c. project grant.
   d. categorical grant.

7. The Great Depression introduced the era of
   a. new federalism.
   b. dual federalism.
   c. state-centered federalism.
   d. cooperative federalism.
8. In the era of cooperative federalism,
   a. national influence over local government decreased.
   b. local and state governments helped administer federal programs.
   c. national and state governments acted as equal partners, functioning in strictly separate
      political areas.
   d. the national government loosened its control over grant programs and eliminated most
      categorical grants.

9. What two factors are likely to shape the role of the federal bureaucracy in the federal system in
   the future?
   a. emergence of homeland security and devolution trends
   b. growing urban populations and global climate change
   c. increased flow of immigrants and homeland security
   d. reliance on nuclear power and environmental concerns

10. During the 1970s and 1980s, most cities and towns in the United States received an annual federal
    grant based generally on their population, which they could spend for whatever government
    purposes they wanted. This program was called
    a. a block grant.
    b. a categorical grant.
    c. a project grant.
    d. general revenue sharing.

11. Block grants differ from categorical grants in that block grants are
    a. for broad general purposes and have fewer national requirements than categorical grants do.
    b. specific project grants and have more strings attached than categorical grants do.
    c. for urban renewal, whereas categorical grants are for rural projects.
    d. national grants-in-aid, whereas categorical grants are state grants.

    reflect the Court’s willingness to
    a. ignore questions of federalism and defer to the Congress.
    b. describe states as mere extensions of the federal government.
    c. exempt states from complying with some federal laws and recognize their sovereignty.
    d. embrace a nation-centered approach to federalism.

13. The situation in which the federal government required state and local governments to clean up
    environmental pollution but did not provide the money to pay for the cleanup was an example of
    a. entitlement programs.
    b. unfunded mandates.
    c. project grants.
    d. dual federalism.

14. Devolution is a development of the 1990s in the American federal system that
    a. returns power and responsibility to state and local government.
    b. increases national government intervention in state and local affairs.
    c. expands national government control over welfare programs.
    d. gives state governments power to mandate federal funding.

15. The National Associations of Community Health Centers (NAHC) sued the Clinton
    administration to
    a. halt efforts to allow state governments to experiment with how they use Medicaid.
    b. force the surgeon general to rework the standards for adult obesity.
    c. allow insurance companies to supplement Medicare payments.
    d. provide free HIV testing to all patients.
16. Until the late 1980s, the influence of the Supreme Court on the federal system was to
   a. decrease the policymaking power of the national government.
   b. increase the independence of the states from national authority.
   c. increase the authority of national policy over the states.
   d. preserve the separate-but-equal concept of dual federalism.
17. Which actor in the drama of American federalism plays the largest role in implementing national programs of aid?
   a. Congress.
   b. the White House.
   c. the Supreme Court.
   d. the federal bureaucracy.
18. The federal issue made evident in President Bush’s War on Drugs was that
   a. states had absolute power over local governments.
   b. the national government was too weak to impose needed programs on state governments.
   c. states could be required to enforce national programs without receiving the necessary funds.
   d. local governments had no power in the federal system.
19. The decision by the city of New London, Connecticut, to force homeowners to sell their homes so a hotel and conference center could be constructed is an example of
   a. eminent domain.
   b. special district governance.
   c. intergovernmental lobbying.
   d. devolution.
20. School districts, water boards, and regional public transportation are good examples of
   a. general service governments.
   b. an intergovernmental lobby.
   c. unfunded mandates.
   d. special district governments.
21. Which of the following statements best describes the demographic characteristics of the intergovernmental lobbying?
   a. These lobbyists are found exclusively working for private business interests.
   b. These lobbyists are employed by some level of the federal bureaucracy.
   c. These lobbyists represent private, consumer, and business groups.
   d. This lobbying effort is not directed toward areas of social regulation.
22. Which of the following statements best expresses the current state of the American federal system?
   a. The United States continues to protect the complete independence of state and local governments from federal interference.
   b. States have steadily expanded their domination over national political policy.
   c. All levels of government have expanded their activity and influence.
   d. The national government has taken control of all political activity.
23. Which of the following is not a public sector interest group?
   a. National League of Cities
   b. Council of State Governments
   c. National Governors’ Association
   d. tobacco lobbyists
24. The greatest increase in the number of national-level actors on the intergovernmental stage can be found in
   a. the Constitution.
   b. the bureaucracy.
   c. Congress.
   d. the courts.

25. In the early federal period, the Supreme Court played
   a. an important role in the establishment of the national government’s dominant role.
   b. no constitutional role.
   c. a role in defending the powers of states.
   d. a part in federalism debates by deferring to state courts.

26. During the Reagan presidency, the federal government increasingly gave money to states in the form of
   a. block grants.
   b. specific policy initiatives.
   c. loans.
   d. grants-in-aid.

27. In recent years, the Supreme Court has favored which approach to federalism?
   a. deference to the national government.
   b. deference to states.
   c. refusal to address such political questions.
   d. denial of the constitutional basis of American federalism.

Essay Questions

1. Discuss the myth of national government dominance, describing the evidence that supports it and the evidence that suggests that the myth is a distortion of reality.

2. Describe the evolution of American federalism through the period of the Great Depression, and identify the forces that altered the interpretation of federalism in each key era.

3. Discuss the influence of federal government aid programs on the balance of federalism during the past 100 years.

4. What have national government actors sought to change about the workings of federalism since 1980, and what actions have they taken to make those changes?

5. What accounts for the gains and losses in state power?

ANSWER KEY

Reading Tables and Politics & Popular Culture

1. In 1949–50, the local government expended more than the state; in 1999–2000, the state expended more than the local.

2. In the years after 1979–80.

3. Negative portrayals may include: Inherit the Wind, Neil Young songs (“Southern Man” and “Alabama”), and Mississippi Burning.

4. The men watching the assault are smiling in a rather relaxed manner, while Sumner himself appears relaxed, almost as if he is prepared to die because his soul is right.
### Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

1. l
2. m
3. h
4. u
5. r
6. d
7. t
8. f
9. n
10. j
11. e
12. w
13. v
14. q
15. a
16. p
17. o
18. i
19. s
20. b
21. x
22. c
23. y
24. g
25. k

### Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. True.
2. True.
3. False. During the Depression, expanded national programs led to more shared functions with state government.
4. True.
5. False. That urban social focus began only during the 1960s with the Johnson Great Society programs.
6. True.
7. False. Block grants were designed to give states greater freedom. These grants are not limited to specific purposes but are awarded to the state to be used in broad policy areas.

8. False. During the 1980s, Congress converted many categorical grants into block grants to expand states’ power over social programs.


10. True.

11. False. Until the late 1980s, Supreme Court rulings generally expanded national policy authority over state powers.

12. True.

13. False. Congress has historically increased authorization of federal programs, whereas the bureaucracy has had the divided task of both providing and regulating aid programs.

14. False. The power of eminent domain exists at the national, state, and local levels of government.

15. False. The political reality is that the state and local governments often are in conflict with each other, for example, over access to federal grants.

16. False. The Constitution does not speak of local governments. They are created by the states and are most influenced by their great diversity.

17. True.

18. False. Overwhelmingly, public schools are funded via state and local revenue sources.

19. True.

20. False. There are many checks from Congress, the executive, and the courts on the power of bureaucracy.

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

1. b
2. c
3. c
4. a
5. a
6. d
7. d
8. b
9. a
10. d
11. a
12. c
13. b
14. a
Chapter 3: Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations

15. d
16. c
17. d
18. c
19. a
20. d
21. c
22. c
23. d
24. b
25. a
26. a
27. b

Essay Questions

1. The image of intergovernmental relations reflected in different parts of the state of American federalism challenges the myths of national government weakness or dominance.
   - Strong federal government
   - Entitlement programs
   - *McCulloch v. Maryland*
   - Grant-in-aid programs
   - Dual federalism
   - State police powers
   - Devolution
   - General service governments
   - Intergovernmental lobby

2. Present and compare the types of American federalism.
   - State-centered federalism
   - Nation-centered federalism
   - Dual federalism

3. Fully discuss the different types of grants.
   - Categorical grants
   - Formula grants
   - Project grants
   - Matching grants
• Grants directed at policy areas
• Block grants

4. Fully examine the following points. Make sure your examinations are supported with specific examples.
• Reduction in federal grants-in-aid to states and localities
• Government shifts work to state level
• Block grants
• Devolution

5. There are four major components to this answer:
• Supreme Court interpretation of federalism shifts
• The amount of political power states’ can mobilize
• Public opinion
• Administrative capabilities
CHAPTER 4

The Heritage of Rights and Liberties

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Applying the Bill of Rights to the States
II. The First Amendment Freedoms
   A. Freedom of Speech
   B. Freedom of the Press
   C. Freedom of Religion
III. Due Process and Crime
   A. Right to Counsel
   B. Searches and Seizures
   C. Cruel and Unusual Punishment
IV. Privacy
   A. Abortion
   B. Doctor-Assisted Suicide
V. Equal Protection of the Laws
   A. The Continuing Struggle Against Racism
   B. Sex Discrimination
   C. Emerging Issues of Discrimination
   D. Affirmative Action
VI. Conclusion: Absolutes and Qualifications

CHAPTER SUMMARY

While it is not part of the original Constitution of 1787, the first 10 amendments, usually called the Bill of Rights, establish many of America’s most important, famous, and controversial constitutional rights. They protect the individual citizen from the excesses and abuses of government. In this chapter, you will be introduced to that heritage of rights and liberties and to the popular myths that influence, perhaps even distort, our understanding of their meaning.

The chapter begins with an examination of how the Bill of Rights came to apply to every American citizen regardless of state of residence. Additionally, the chapter explores the heart of an individual’s freedom, the First Amendment’s guarantees of free speech, press, religion, and assembly. Equally important individual protections against a powerful government, as you will see, include the rights of citizens who are suspected, accused, or convicted of crimes.

Our pride and confidence in the existence of these constitutional freedoms often evoke what the authors describe as the myths of absolute liberty. You will learn, however, that these liberties are not absolute; they are limited by other political values as well as by the potential for conflict between guaranteed rights. What do these constitutional rights mean today? Can you believe or say anything you want? Can you worship any way you wish? What are the limits to these rights?

While questions of individual liberty are central to the American experience, so are broader questions of social equality. Indeed, the assertion in the Declaration of Independence of the “self-evident” truth, all men are created equal, has served as a rallying point for American leaders such as Abraham Lincoln.
Chapter 4: The Heritage of Rights and Liberties

and Martin Luther King Jr. This ideal is related to the second myth described in this chapter, the belief that political and social equality are guaranteed in this country. What is the reality behind that myth?

The struggle against racial and sexual inequalities has resulted in significant victories in this century, but the myth of political and social equality can still be challenged by the reality of continuing discrimination. Political efforts to overcome discrimination create controversies over the means to this end, as is apparent in the issue of affirmative action.

Look at the conclusions of this chapter, where the authors summarize the reality of rights and liberties in contrast to the myths about them. By clarifying your view on these topics, you will strengthen your understanding of what Americans have to celebrate, as well as what we still have to strive for, in our constitutional heritage.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Define and distinguish between the terms civil liberties and civil rights.
2. Discuss the myth of absolute or complete liberty and describe the evidence that contradicts it.
3. Explain how the Bill of Rights has been extended through the process of selective incorporation to apply to all levels of government in the United States.
4. Describe the limits and the modern tests of free speech.
5. Identify and illustrate limits to the freedom of the press.
6. Discuss the meaning of the First Amendment guarantee of religious freedom.
7. Explain the right to the due process of law and its modern interpretation.
8. Define probable cause and the exclusionary rule and discuss current standards of freedom against unreasonable search and seizure.
9. Explain how the Supreme Court has interpreted the constitutional guarantee against cruel and unusual punishment.
10. Discuss the concept of a constitutional right to privacy and the cases related to it.
11. Discuss the myth of guaranteed political and social equality and describe the evidence contradicting it.
12. Summarize the important provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments and the nineteenth-century fight against their application.
13. Describe the achievements of the movement to end racial discrimination in public education, public accommodations, and voting rights.
14. Discuss the goals and tactics of the women’s rights movement and assess the relevance of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to issues of sex discrimination, including sexual harassment.
15. Explain the purpose of affirmative action programs and discuss the controversy over their use.

READING POLITICS & POPULAR CULTURE

1. Do you think that the media has contributed to the popular support for the Miranda rights?
2. How do you think the Internet will change conceptions of privacy and free speech?
3. Have the Supreme Court decisions concerning flag burning contributed to the growth of the flag as a fashion accessory on T-shirts?

4. Should the actions of virtual characters be subject to antipornography statutes?

**REVIEWING CHAPTER 4**

**Identifying Key Terms and Ideas**

*Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:*

1. The act of extending the terms of the Bill of Rights to apply to state and local government activity is called_____.

2. The constitutional amendment protecting individuals against unreasonable searches and seizures is the _____ Amendment.

3. A set of procedures that seeks to correct the effects of past discrimination is called_____.

4. The First Amendment statement that prohibits government favoritism toward religion is the_____.

5. The constitutional amendment guaranteeing due process of law for persons charged with crimes is the _____ Amendment.

6. The 1989 Supreme Court case that upheld the right of protesters to burn the American flag was_____.

7. The constitutional amendment protecting the individual from cruel and unusual punishment is the _____ Amendment.

8. The government act of blocking press publication before it can be made available to the public is called_____.

9. The constitutional amendment providing legal equality for African Americans as well as guarantees of equal protection of the laws is the _____ Amendment.

10. The federal legislation making it a crime to discriminate in the provision of public accommodations is the_____.

11. Government guarantees of protection against discrimination or unreasonable treatment by others are_____.

12. The federal legislation that banned all state tests for voter registration and empowered the attorney general to assign federal registrars to enroll voters is the_____.
13. Individual protections against excessive or arbitrary government interference are _____.

14. An interpretation of the establishment clause that requires a complete separation of government and religion is called _____.

15. The narrow reading of the First Amendment establishment clause, which would bar only the establishment by Congress of an official public church, is called the _____.

16. The use of print or picture to harm someone’s reputation is called _____.

17. The test allowing for punishment if speech can be shown to present a grave and immediate danger to the interests of the government is called the _____.

18. A written grant of permission to conduct a search and that is issued by a judge or magistrate to police officials is called a(n) _____.

19. The 1973 obscenity case that established that the work in question is obscene if it “lacks serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value” by community standards is _____.

20. The test permitting punishment of speech that might cause people to engage in illegal actions is the _____.

21. The 1978 Supreme Court decision approving affirmative action in specific cases but barring numerical quotas for minority students is _____.

22. The 1973 Supreme Court decision extending the right of privacy to the case of abortion decisions is _____.

23. The principle that evidence cannot be used to convict someone if it is gathered illegally is known as the _____.

24. The 1954 Supreme Court decision that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits separate but equal facilities in public education is _____.

25. The test maintaining that free speech is so fundamental to democracy that it may be limited only if the speech presents a grave and immediate danger to the larger society is known as the _____.

26. Injury to someone’s reputation by spoken word (this type of speech is outside the protection of the First Amendment) is called _____.
UNDERSTANDING FACTS AND CONCEPTS

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F Civil liberties differ from civil rights in that civil liberties protect individual freedoms, not criminal rights.

2. T F The original interpretation of the Bill of Rights, as upheld in the Barron v. Baltimore decision, was that the protections there limit the actions of only the national government.

3. T F The Supreme Court has never viewed freedom of speech as immune from all government restriction.


5. T F Supreme Court decisions, like that in the 1971 Pentagon Papers case, have restricted the government’s right to prevent publication of information that might jeopardize national security.

6. T F Supreme Court decisions have prohibited government encouragement of or involvement in prayer in public schools.

7. T F Thomas Jefferson’s wall of separation doctrine is challenged by the accommodationist interpretation of the First Amendment.

8. T F If someone were opposed, for religious reasons, to doing something that the government required, like paying taxes or going to school, the establishment clause of the First Amendment guarantees that an exception will be made for him or her.
9. T F Probable cause is the constitutional standard for the issuance of search warrants.

10. T F According to the exclusionary rule, if police officers illegally seized evidence from your home, that evidence could not be used against you in court.

11. T F The current position of the Supreme Court is that capital punishment is constitutional for all murder cases.

12. T F The Supreme Court’s ruling in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case promptly ended school segregation in the North, although implementation was more difficult in the South.

13. T F The concept of prior restraint would best describe a situation where the police arrest somebody on the suspicion that they might commit a crime.

14. T F In *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), the Supreme Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment did not prohibit segregation.

15. T F The Supreme Court has recently overruled Congress to declare all affirmative action programs unconstitutional.

16. T F Individual rights and liberties in the United States are protected by state constitutions, as well as by the U.S. Bill of Rights.

17. T F All aspects of the Bill of Rights have been incorporated to apply to states.
18. T F The Supreme Court has consistently ruled that the death penalty is a violation of the Eighth Amendment and is therefore unconstitutional.

19. T F In pursuing a sexual harassment case, a woman need not prove she was psychologically injured, only that the work environment was such that a reasonable person would find it hostile or abusive.

20. T F In 2003, the Supreme Court reviewed the use of affirmative action in the admissions standards at the University of Michigan and declared that any consideration of race in the college admissions process is unconstitutional.

21. T F The inevitable discovery and good faith exceptions have limited the reach of the exclusionary rule.

22. T F Creating a hostile or abusive work environment can be construed as sexual harassment.

23. T F Symbolic speech is not protected by the Constitution.

24. T F When Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it invoked its power over interstate commerce as the basis for ending discrimination in areas such as public accommodation and employment.

25. T F In recent years the Court has systematically expanded the use of affirmative action programs.
PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. Civil rights are
   a. legal protections against the interference of government.
   b. political activities by individuals or groups seeking justice.
   c. guarantees of government protection against unfair treatment by others.
   d. the individual freedoms of conscience and action guaranteed by the First Amendment.

2. In *Heller v. District of Columbia* (2008) the Supreme Court recognized the Second Amendment as a protection of a(n)
   a. collective right.
   b. federal right.
   c. states’ right.
   d. individual right.

3. Originally, the provisions of the Bill of Rights were understood to limit
   a. only the actions of the national government.
   b. only the actions of the state governments.
   c. actions of both the national and state governments.
   d. the personal freedoms of the citizens.

4. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution has been generally interpreted to mean that the Bill of Rights
   a. guarantees voting rights to all.
   b. applies to state government actions.
   c. guarantees absolute individual freedom.
   d. applies only to the national government’s actions.

5. The clear and present danger test for limiting free speech was established in
   b. *Near v. Minnesota.*
   d. *Schenck v. United States.*

6. The right to burn the American flag has been protected as an act of
   a. religious freedom.
   b. civil disobedience.
   c. symbolic speech.
   d. conscientious objection.

7. Which of the tests employed by the Supreme Court to balance First Amendment rights comes closest to banning all government restrictions on speech?
   a. clear and present danger test
   b. balancing test
   c. bad tendency test
   d. preferred freedoms test
8. To ban something that is obscene, one must show that the work is
   a. lacking serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value.
   b. utterly without redeeming social value.
   c. in bad taste.
   d. offensive to most people.
9. A religious group whose use of animal sacrifice in their ceremonies violates local ordinances is a good case for testing the limits of the
   a. establishment clause.
   b. equal protection clause.
   c. free exercise clause.
   d. supremacy clause.
10. According to the accommodationist interpretation, the Constitution does not
   a. guarantee freedom of religion.
   b. require that all religions be treated equally.
   c. bar Congress from establishing an official church.
   d. create a wall of separation between church and state.
11. The standard used to allow police officers to search a car without a search warrant is
   a. probable cause.
   b. good reason.
   c. justifiable intervention.
   d. intriguing circumstance.
12. When it comes to dealing with matters of obscenity and children, the Supreme Court has consistently held that
   a. the same standards apply to all citizens regardless of their age.
   b. the government has more latitude in protecting children.
   c. parents are responsible for setting these standards and not the government.
   d. state courts must decide these cases individually.
13. A criminal who wishes to argue that the punishment given him or her is disproportionate to the crime he or she was convicted of would most likely invoke the
   a. Eighth Amendment.
   b. First Amendment.
   c. Fifth Amendment.
   d. Fourteenth Amendment.
14. The individual’s right to defense by an attorney against all felony charges was incorporated by the Supreme Court in
   a. *Plessy v. Ferguson*.
   d. *Gideon v. Wainwright*.
15. The *Miranda* decision set standards for
   a. informing arrested persons of their constitutional rights.
   b. deciding who has a right to a public defender.
   c. establishing when searches are legal.
   d. determining the limits of free speech.
16. The *Mapp v. Ohio* case affected Fourth Amendment rights by establishing the
   a. clear and present danger test.
   b. hot pursuit exception.
   c. probable cause requirement.
   d. exclusionary rule.

17. The fight over California’s Proposition 187 illustrates debate over
   a. the definition of obscenity.
   b. the restrictions that states can place on abortion.
   c. the rights legal and illegal immigrants enjoy.
   d. state and local gun control acts.

18. Which of the following statements best describes the status of doctor-assisted suicide in the United States?
   a. All states have outlawed doctor-assisted suicide.
   b. The Court has ruled that the right to privacy protects this decision from state intervention.
   c. The issue is not resolved and the debate is expanding.
   d. The Court has upheld that there is a “right to die.”

19. The Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* called for
   a. an end to school prayer.
   b. public school integration.
   c. establishment of school busing.
   d. enforcement of the separate-but-equal doctrine.

20. Discrimination in public accommodations was made illegal in the United States as a direct result of the
   c. 1964 Civil Rights Act.
   d. Fourteenth Amendment.

21. The constitutional notion of a right to privacy has been debated in regard to all of the following Supreme Court issues except
   a. abortion.
   b. birth control.
   c. gender discrimination.
   d. homosexual rights.

22. The constitutional notion of a right to privacy can be found
   a. by taking together several provisions of the Bill of Rights.
   b. in the First Amendment.
   c. in the Fourteenth Amendment.
   d. in the Eighth Amendment.

23. The *Bowers v. Hardwick* and *Romer v. Evans* cases before the Supreme Court
   a. declared homosexuality unconstitutional.
   b. reached conflicting conclusions on homosexual rights.
   c. banned all discrimination against gays and lesbians.
   d. legalized same-sex marriages and domestic partnerships.
24. The principle that evidence, no matter how incriminating, cannot be used to convict someone if it is gathered illegally is called the
   a. exclusionary rule.
   b. clear and present danger test.
   c. good faith and credit clause.
   d. wall of separation.

25. Justice Ginsberg’s majority opinion in *United States v. Virginia* suggests that
   a. single-sex schools are always unconstitutional.
   b. a separate but equal approach to single-sex educational institutions would be constitutionally acceptable.
   c. the Court will continue to be paternalistic in its evaluation of rules and laws that treat the sexes differently.
   d. in the future, questions of sex discrimination will receive the same scrutiny as those involving race and religion.

26. Which of the following elements of the Bill of Rights has not been incorporated?
   a. freedom of speech
   b. establishment of religion
   c. right to council
   d. guarantee of indictment by grand jury

27. Selective incorporation refers to
   a. the ability of Congress to overturn Supreme Court decisions.
   b. the requirement that Congress pass laws within the meaning of the Constitution as established by the Supreme Court.
   c. application of the Bill of Rights to state law.
   d. none of the above.

28. *Palko v. Connecticut* (1937) is a good illustration of how the Supreme Court has
   a. devised a series of changing tests to determine the limits of free speech in America.
   b. rejected an accommodationist approach to the establishment clause.
   c. applied to the states only those portions of the Bill of Rights that are believed to be fundamental to a democratic society.
   d. generously expanded the rights of criminal defendants.

29. Constitutional protections regarding the due process of law are intended to protect
   a. the individual for arbitrary police power.
   b. society from chaos and disorder.
   c. the right of the press to publish freely.
   d. the purity of elections.

30. Which of the following is protected under the First Amendment?
   a. obscenity
   b. symbolic speech
   c. prior restraint
   d. libel with actual malice

**Essay Questions**

1. The First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees free speech and free press, and yet these rights are not absolute. Summarize the meaning of each of the principal tests developed by the Supreme Court to judge permissible speech and press.
2. What are the two clauses in the First Amendment’s guarantee of religious freedom? How has the Supreme Court interpreted their meanings? How might they be in conflict? Cite specific cases as examples.

3. Discuss the changing interpretation and application of the Sixth Amendment right to counsel from its constitutional origins to its recent standards.

4. Evaluate the effectiveness of the exclusionary rule. Identify two exceptions to this rule and explain whether or not you think the exclusionary rule and its exceptions are an effective approach to balancing society’s interest in controlling crime with the due process rights of individuals.

5. Identify the specific constitutional protections against racial discrimination and illustrate their interpretation in a description of the historic struggle to end segregation in public education, public accommodations, and voting rights.

6. What role should race play in the college admission’s process?

ANSWER KEY

Reading Politics & Popular Culture

1. Almost certainly the media played a large role in encouraging Americans to expect that the reading of the *Miranda* rights was an important part of the legal process.

2. Some points to consider: reproduction of intellectual property, including music and web page design; web cameras that broadcast private lives over the public Web; and the ease of private communication made possible by the convenience of e-mail.

3. Consider the commercial uses of the flag on Ralph Lauren T-shirts, for example. Using the flag for commercial purposes was also forbidden by the state legislation that prohibited desecration.

4. Laws against child pornography, for example, have been based on the idea that the children in the films needed protection. If the characters are not real, then there is no harm, according to this reasoning. Can there be something obscene and criminal about virtual characters? Are there other concerns that may make virtual child pornography an object of regulation?

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

1. c
2. d
3. q
4. u
5. e
6. k
7. f
8. j
9. g
10. w
11. a
12. v
Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. False. Civil liberties protect the individual against excessive or arbitrary government power, particularly in cases of criminal prosecution. Civil rights protect the individual against discrimination from other citizens.

2. True.

3. True.

4. False. Congress did enact this legislation, but the Court struck down the new law as unconstitutional and attempts to add a constitutional amendment have failed.

5. True.

6. True.

7. True.

8. False. The establishment clause bars a government from giving preferential treatment to members of any religion.


10. True.

11. False. Although the Court has not ruled capital punishment unconstitutional, it has restricted its use in a number of cases, and the constitutional standard remains unclear.

12. False. Segregation in northern schools has persisted because of segregation in housing patterns.

13. False. Prior restraint is an attempt by the government to block the publication of a text before it is made available to the public.

14. True.
15. False. Although in several cases the Supreme Court has retreated from its earlier commitment to affirmative action, such measures are still constitutional.

16. True.

17. False. The Fifth Amendment’s guarantee to indictment by grand jury has not been incorporated.

18. False. The Court has allowed for executions to take place. However, the Court has been inconsistent in setting standards that guide when it is an appropriate punishment.

19. True.

20. False. The Court split its analysis of the University of Michigan’s policies. It allowed for the consideration of race for the law school, but rejected the formula that was put forth for undergraduate admission.

21. True.

22. True.

23. False. The Supreme Court has ruled that symbolic speech is speech as defined by the First Amendment in cases such as *Texas v. Johnson*, in which burning the flag of the United States was defined as free speech.

24. True.

25. False. The Supreme Court decision in the University of Michigan (2000) and the Seattle and Louisville (2007) school systems has cast more doubt on the legitimacy of affirmative action programs.

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

1. c
2. d
3. a
4. b
5. d
6. c
7. c
8. a
9. c
10. d
11. a
12. b
13. a
14. d
15. a
16. d
17. c
Essay Questions

1. Even though the First Amendment speaks in absolute terms, speech has often been regulated because all agree it can sometimes be dangerous.
   - Clear and present danger test—*Schenck v. United States*
   - Bad tendency test—*Gitlow v. New York*
   - Preferred freedoms test—Warren Court

2. The establishment clause and the free exercise clause guarantee religious freedom.
   - Establishment clause—no official state religion
   - Accommodationist interpretation
   - Wall of separation
   - Aid to religious schools
   - Prayer in public schools
   - Free exercise clause—free to adopt any beliefs
   - *Wisconsin v. Yoder*
   - *Oregon v. Smith*
   - Religious Freedom Restoration Act

3. The Sixth Amendment right to counsel guarantees the right to be defended by a lawyer.
   - For most of our history, this did not extend to the states, even though most of the criminal court cases were tried there.
   - This began to change in the court case *Powell v. Alabama* (1932).
   - *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) extended this to all felony case defendants.
Nine years later, the right was extended to any case for which there was a jail sentence.

Court decisions on the right to counsel before trial have been more controversial.

*Miranda v. Arizona*

Recent exceptions to *Miranda*

*Quarles* case

4. Answers can vary. However, focus your argument on the following areas:

- Exclusionary rule effectiveness
- Coddle criminals
- Police state
- Exceptions to exclusionary rule
- Inevitable discovery
- Good faith

5. Constitutional prohibitions against racial discrimination stemming from Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments.

- Public education
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- NAACP legal defense fund
- *Brown v. Board of Education*
- Public accommodations
- 1955 Montgomery bus boycott led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
- 1964 Civil Rights Act
- Voting rights
- Fifteenth Amendment
- 1965 Voting Rights Act

6. Answers will vary, but your answer should touch upon the following areas:

- Affirmative action is an attempt to correct effects of past discrimination. Should its focus be on equality of opportunity or equality of outcomes?
- The University of Michigan admission cases (2003)
- The Supreme Court’s decisions in 2007 invalidating public school assignments in Seattle and Louisville.
CHAPTER 5

Public Opinion and Political Participation

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. What Is Public Opinion?
II. How We Develop Our Beliefs and Opinions
   A. Agents of Political Socialization
   B. Adult Socialization
III. How Polls Work
IV. The Paradox of Public Opinion
V. Group Opinion: Diversity and Uniformity
VI. Avenues of Political Participation
   A. Acting on Opinions
   B. What Influences Participation
   C. A Closer Look at Women, African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans
VII. Conclusion: Many Minorities, Much Activity

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Public opinion and participation in politics perform vitally important roles in a democracy. Exploring beyond the popular myths, this chapter examines the part that the public plays in shaping a government “of the people.”

This chapter defines and explains public opinion and examines its origins. Political socialization—the way we acquire our political beliefs and values—supplies the foundation of public opinion. What opinions emerge from that socialization? What do public opinion polls reveal? Answers to such questions about American public opinion often rely on the myth that there is a definite majority opinion to be discovered on almost all public issues. Although the content of American opinion does reveal common characteristics, important differences and paradoxes of public opinion make it difficult to identify the majority view on particular political topics. These differences and paradoxes also influence the kind of government we have and the policies our government pursues.

Public opinion, with all of its complexity, animates the second subject of this chapter, political participation. Any attempt to measure people’s level of involvement and participation in politics confronts many difficulties. Voting, of course, supplies one avenue of participation, but it is only the most obvious (and perhaps a misleading) indication of the people’s involvement in government. Judging only from voting turnout, one might conclude that Americans care little about politics, preferring not to get involved. Exploring other indicators of political participation in this country leads to more accurate conclusions about Americans’ willingness to participate in the democratic process.

Misunderstanding about public opinion and participation undoubtedly increases the amount of frustration with democracy in America. Why doesn’t the government follow the public will? Why don’t Americans care enough to get involved in politics? This chapter will lead you to a fuller and more accurate understanding of one of the most important, complex, and fascinating subjects in American politics.
LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Identify the myth of majority opinion and describe the evidence that contradicts it.
2. Define political public opinion and discuss its major characteristics.
3. Define political socialization and discuss how we acquire our political values and beliefs, assessing the different roles played by the agents of political socialization.
4. Discuss the role of public opinion polls in politics and government, the factors important to carrying out an accurate poll, and the strengths and weaknesses of data from polls.
5. Summarize the American public’s attitudes toward democracy and representative government.
6. Describe the characteristics of various groups’ opinions about political issues, including gender groups, age groups, and racial, ethnic, and religious groups discussed in the chapter.
7. Define the term political participation, and discuss its different attributes and varieties. Summarize the factors that influence participation, especially for women, African Americans, Hispanics, and Asian Americans.
8. Evaluate the strength of political participation in the United States and describe the evidence pertaining to it.

READING TABLES AND GRAPHS
1. After reviewing Table 5.1, how would you describe the level of trust and confidence that Americans have in their federal government to handle international and domestic problems?
2. Are college-age men or women more moderate (less prone to extreme political positions), according to Table 5.2?
3. Do most college freshmen think that colleges have the right to ban extreme speakers from campus, according to Figure 5.1?
4. Look at Table 5.1. Regardless of gender, which category best describes the political orientation of most college freshman?

REVIEWING CHAPTER 5
Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. The variable of public opinion that indicates the likelihood of change is_____.
2. Institutions or forces that shape a person’s political attitudes and beliefs are called_____.
3. The variable that indicates a person’s position for or against a particular issue is_____.
4. The process by which political values and beliefs are acquired is_____.
5. The tendency to relate to, or feel oneself a member of, a particular political party is_____.

a. political public opinion
b. political efficacy
c. political participation
d. political ideology
6. A pattern of complex political ideas presented in an understandable structure that inspires people to act to achieve certain goals is a(n) _____.

7. A refusal to obey civil laws regarded as unjust by employing methods of passive resistance such as sit-ins and boycotts is_____.

8. The activities of citizens who try to influence the government and its policies constitute_____.

9. The variable of public opinion that indicates how strongly an opinion is held by an individual is_____.

10. The ability of a person to influence the political system is called_____.

11. Unsystematic polling methods in which no effort is made to ensure that respondents are representative of the whole population are known as_____.

12. The variable of public opinion that indicates how much the individual cares about the issue is_____.

13. The political values, beliefs, and attitudes held in common by a particular population of people constitute a(n)_____.

14. A professional polling technique in which every person has the same chance as every other to be selected for questioning is called_____.

15. The preference expressed by the people on political issues, policies, and individuals is their_____.

e. political socialization

f. party identification

g. civil disobedience

h. political culture

i. straw polls

j. agents of political socialization

k. opinion direction

l. opinion saliency

m. opinion intensity

n. opinion stability

o. random probability sampling

Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F Pollsters accurately predicted that Barack Obama would defeat Hillary Clinton in the 2008 New Hampshire presidential primary.

2. T F While Americans have a wide variety of opinions about the role government should play in their lives, there is universal agreement on the political efficacy of the citizens.

3. T F Most Americans have a common, or core, political culture.
4. T F Religion can play only an indirect role as an agent of socialization.

5. T F Political socialization is completed before a person becomes an adult.

6. T F Despite some of their shortcomings, public opinion polls play a central role in shaping politics and policy in the United States.

7. T F Television network coverage of the Republican and Democratic conventions has been declining during the past fifty years.

8. T F Due to their strict sampling methods straw polls are generally very representative of the views held by the public at large.

9. T F Men and women have different political opinions on many issues, but they are not divided on the subject of poverty or the budget deficit.

10. T F Currently, African Americans are evenly divided in their political party loyalties.

11. T F Push polls rely upon the pollster asking leading questions to elicit a particular answer from a respondent.

12. T F In recent years political participation at all levels of campaigns and elections has improved.

13. T F By age grouping, the least active political participants in America are between eighteen and twenty-six years of age.
14. T  F  Americans have more trust and confidence in state and local government than in the national government.

15. T  F  Question wording has little impact on shaping a respondent’s answers.

16. T  F  The community in which you grow up affects your values and beliefs.

17. T  F  Fewer women than men consider themselves Democrats.

18. T  F  Men and women hold very different views on issues such as welfare reform and the right to choose an abortion.

19. T  F  Children tend to choose the same party as their parents (when parents show party identification).

20. T  F  The amount of schooling a person has does not influence the way that person forms opinions and views about the political world.

21. T  F  Public opinion is defined as the shared evaluations expressed by people on political issues, policies, and individuals.

22. T  F  Poorly designed and administered public opinion polls can provide inaccurate and misleading findings.

23. T  F  Opinions are never influenced by sex, ethnicity, religion, race, or educational background.
24. T  F  Voting is the only significant way for citizens to participate in government.

PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. The prevailing myth about public opinion in America is that
   a. polls reveal nothing about public opinion.
   b. public opinion doesn’t matter in American politics.
   c. there is a majority opinion on most political issues.
   d. the majority of Americans are wrong about most issues.

2. The possibility of a balanced budget amendment concerns Camilla much more than an antiabortion amendment. Therefore, her opinions on these two subjects show a difference in
   a. direction.
   b. knowledge.
   c. intensity.
   d. saliency.

3. The stability of public opinion is affected when
   a. public support changes on an issue.
   b. people have different opinions on an issue.
   c. some people think an issue is very important and others do not.
   d. some people have correct opinions and others have incorrect opinions.

4. If the people of a country share a common belief in the value of freedom and the rights of individuals, we would say that that belief was part of their
   a. public opinion.
   b. political culture.
   c. party identification.
   d. political participation.

5. Political socialization refers to the way
   a. people acquire political values.
   b. the government develops social programs.
   c. politicians introduce themselves to the public.
   d. different social classes influence the government.

6. Which of the following agents will have the greatest effect on a person’s general view of politics, including attitudes about one’s ability to influence the system?
   a. religion
   b. schools
   c. television
   d. family

7. Which of the following statements is most true about political socialization?
   a. It continues through adult life.
   b. It is not influenced by occupation.
   c. It is mainly dominated by television.
   d. It is limited to childhood experiences.
8. Public opinion polls about politics will be most reliable if they
   a. survey only the people who are interested in the subject.
   b. are based on simple yes-or-no questions.
   c. are conducted like a straw poll.
   d. rely on random sampling.

9. Adult political socialization can occur through events such as
   a. Hurricane Katrina.
   b. the Iraq War.
   c. the September 11 attacks.
   d. all of the above.

10. Which of the following is an element of a good poll?
    a. The poll is paid for by a political candidate.
    b. It contains a representative sample of the population.
    c. Millions of respondents participated.
    d. The results are reported by the media outlets.

11. Public opinion polls are used by all of the following public officials except
    a. federal judges.
    b. presidents.
    c. members of Congress.
    d. governors.

12. Which of the following explanations was not offered for why pollsters predicted the New Hampshire 2008 Democratic primary results inaccurately?
    a. Voters overreported their intention to vote for Barack Obama.
    b. Voters tailored their responses to what they thought pollsters wanted to hear.
    c. Bad sampling design let lots of unregistered voters participate in the polls.
    d. Preprimary enthusiasm for Obama didn’t translate into election-day support.

13. Which of the following are examples of political participation?
    a. attending political rallies
    b. donating money to a political campaign
    c. running for political office
    d. all of the above

14. Most Americans
    a. do not participate in politics.
    b. vote actively in all elections.
    c. are involved in civil disobedience.
    d. participate in limited ways in politics.

15. Which of the following terms, used by Verba and Nie, best describes individuals who vote and contact public officials only when their own self-interest is involved?
    a. voting specialists
    b. community activists
    c. campaigners
    d. parochial activists

16. Who is more likely to participate in American politics?
    a. Young people more than people over fifty
    b. Older people more than people under twenty-five
    c. Poor people more than wealthy people
    d. Independents more than political party members
17. The political participation of women during the past fifteen years
   a. has increased at the national level.
   b. has decreased at the state and local levels.
   c. has stayed about the same at the state and local levels.
   d. first increased but has decreased since 1980.

18. Tom plans to conduct a poll to determine what the majority opinion is on a list of modern American political issues. Before he starts, he should know that
   a. a poll, if done scientifically, will always reveal the majority opinion.
   b. the majority opinion will usually be wrong.
   c. Americans do not share any common political opinions.
   d. there is no clear majority opinion on many issues.

19. Which of the following statements about eighteen- to twenty-nine-year-olds in America is true?
   a. Their turnout in the 2008 presidential primaries and caucuses were at record lows.
   b. They vote less frequently than their counterparts in the EU.
   c. There is a decline in civic responsibility and engagement within this cohort.
   d. Aside from voting, eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds are not participating in politics.

20. Which of the following statements best expresses the reality of political participation in the United States?
   a. Political participation in the United States is a lot lower than in other democratic countries.
   b. Voting turnout proves that Americans are very active participants in politics.
   c. Considering all forms of participation, Americans are quite politically active.
   d. Most Americans are complete activists when it comes to politics.

21. Which of the following best exemplifies the fluctuating stability of public opinion over the last ten years?
   a. economic issues
   b. abortion
   c. anticomunism
   d. faith in democracy

22. Which of the following reasons are offered up as explanations for nonparticipation in the political process?
   a. threats of violence
   b. work and family responsibilities
   c. participation will not impact results
   d. all of the above

23. Which of the following issues displays a difference in response between men and women?
   a. welfare reform
   b. abortion
   c. poverty
   d. none of the above

24. Which of the following is not currently a major barrier to political participation?
   a. illiteracy
   b. low income
   c. gender
   d. residency requirements
25. Which of the following statements best describes the current state of affairs regarding minorities in politics?
   a. The federal bench has offered the most opportunity for minorities to gain a public office.
   b. The proportion of minorities in public office positions roughly mirrors the proportion of the overall population.
   c. There are no women or African Americans on the current U.S. Supreme Court.
   d. Minority groups have made important gains but still do not have opportunities proportional to their population numbers.

**Essay Questions**

1. Discuss the problems involved in determining the majority opinion on political issues, including a consideration of the characteristics of public opinion as well as of public opinion polling.
2. Why do many people believe that Americans do not participate actively in politics? What evidence supports their point of view, and what is a more accurate view of American popular political participation?
3. Describe the characteristics of a well-designed poll.
4. What contributes to individual political opinions in America? Evaluate the influence of different agents in the process of developing political values and attitudes.
5. Describe the evidence supporting the argument that young people (eighteen- to twenty-nine-years-old) are more politically active than they might initially seem.
6. Discuss the major influences on individual political participation, describing the results of each.

**ANSWER KEY**

**Reading Tables and Graphs**

1. Over the past three decades, Americans’ trust and confidence in their government’s ability have decreased.
2. Women, according to Table 5.1, are less prone to extreme political positions, although the differences are small. (3.3% versus 5.1%)
3. No. Less than half (41%) of college freshman think that colleges should have the right to ban extreme speakers from campus.
4. Most freshman (43.4%) have their political ideologies described as being “middle of the road.”

**Identifying Key Terms and Ideas**

1. n
2. j
3. k
4. e
5. f
6. d
7. g
8. c
Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. False. Indeed, the failure of pollsters to accurately make the correct prediction in this electoral contest was the subject of considerable discussion after the fact.

2. False. Political efficacy and its perceptions vary considerably from person to person. This effectiveness is shaped by many different factors.

3. True.

4. False. Some religious denominations take strong political positions that can directly influence their members’ political opinions.

5. False. There are numerous influences on socialization throughout adult life.

6. True.

7. True.

8. False. Straw polls use an unsystematic approach to selecting their respondents and their results are not usually representative of the population in general.

9. False. Women are more concerned about poverty and hunger, while men are more concerned about the budget deficit.

10. False. African Americans are strongly Democratic.

11. True.

12. True.

13. True.

14. True.

15. False. Poor question wording (form or content) can result in biased responses.

16. True.


18. False. Men and women are largely in agreement on these matters.

19. True.

20. False. The amount of formal schooling completed by an individual does greatly shape the way that a person forms their views and opinions.

21. True.

22. True.
23. False. All of these categories not only affect our opinions on any number of subjects but also they are also important aspects of the processes by which we become rational reflective people—without these elements we are not who we are.

24. False. People can participate in government in many ways through organization, mobilization, and even just talking to one another.

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

1. c
2. d
3. a
4. b
5. a
6. d
7. a
8. d
9. d
10. b
11. a
12. c
13. d
14. d
15. d
16. b
17. a
18. d
19. b
20. c
21. a
22. d
23. c
24. c
25. d

**Essay Questions**

1. Introduce the myth of majority opinion—opinion held by a majority of the people on any issue.
   - Public too plural
   - Public too dynamic
• Characteristics of political public opinion
• Direction
• Intensity
• Saliency
• Stability
• Development of public opinion
• Experiences of a person’s life
• Political ideologies
• Political culture
• Political socialization

2. Limited conception of political action in spite of the broad range of activities.
   • Limited or passive participation
   • Voting
   • Single candidate elections
   • Active participation
   • Civil disobedience
   • Donation

3. Well-designed polls have many elements, but at their core, they contain the following items:
   • Representative sample (achieved through random probability sampling)
   • Question wording (form and content)
   • Various levels of measurement (direction, intensity, salience, stability)
   • Distinguish between informed and uninformed responses.

4. There are many contributors to personal political opinion.
   • Media
   • Schools
   • Religion
   • Friends
   • Family

5. The belief and evidence for years has been that eighteen- to twenty-four-year-olds are politically disengaged. However, there are some reasons to believe this trend has changed.
   • 42 percent voter turnout (2004 election)—higher numbers possible due to absentee voting
   • Record turnout in 2008 presidential primaries/caucuses
   • 25 percent gave money or participated in campaigns
   • Strong civic engagement (letter writing, community participation, protests)
• A desire to participate in politics in the future and recognition that being a community leader is important (36%)
• UCLA study—students are thinking about politics

6. Several factors contribute to how and if people participate in the political process.
• Age
• Feelings of connection to the process, such as employment in government bureaucracy
• Parents
• Race
• Gender
• Economic status
CHAPTER 6
Political Parties

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. What Parties Are and What They Do
   A. The Three-Headed Political Giant
II. Who Belongs to Major Parties and Why?
   A. In the Driver’s Seat: Democrats and Republicans
   B. A Back Seat in Politics? Independents
   C. If Parties Are So Important, What Do They Do?
III. American-Style Politics: The Two-Party System
   A. The Winners: The Democrats and the Republicans
   B. Realignment of Parties
   C. Why Two Parties?
   D. The Hidden Actors: Third Parties in the United States
IV. Party Structure from the Bottom Up
   A. Local Parties
   B. State Parties
   C. National Parties
V. Conclusion: Decline or Transformation of Political Parties?

CHAPTER SUMMARY
When most Americans think of politics, they think of political parties. Unfortunately, what comes to mind is not always a good image. Parties often appear to produce the worst effects of “politics” in government: pettiness, self-serving behavior, and unnecessary competition and conflict. Many people believe that our democracy would be improved if we no longer had political parties.

Such opinions, based on myths and misconceptions about the role of political parties in the United States, seldom supply the best picture of the American political process. This chapter studies those very important myths about political parties. The first is the idea that there is no difference between the parties. If there is no difference between the Democrats and the Republicans, then one would be naturally inclined to call into question the need for parties. What contributory role do they serve in the American political system? To answer this question, the chapter will first describe what political parties are, what they do, and who is in them. From this discussion, you should gain a more complete understanding of the useful functions that parties perform. Reading the second segment of the chapter will answer some of those questions about why we have political parties, why we have Republicans and Democrats, and why we have just two major parties. Additionally, you will get a chance to explore the role that third parties play in the electoral process. As you read this section, consider the reasons why third parties are not more successful and what changes would have to be made to increase their competitiveness. This reading will involve looking at history as well as looking at modern American politics and society. Finally, you will see how parties are organized at the national, state, and local levels.
Myths and misconceptions about political parties contribute to the declining popularity of party politics. Not only is the public less committed, but also even politicians seem to be losing their loyalty to parties. These developments raise two more important questions. Are parties in decline? And should we care if they are? In reading this chapter, you will see that political parties in America are going through a period of transformation. You should also gain a greater appreciation of the party system and find reason to hope for its good health in America.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Define political parties and describe their characteristics.
2. Describe each aspect of the three-headed political parties.
3. Identify the membership of the two major political parties.
4. Summarize the differences between the Democratic and Republican parties.
5. Describe the four functions of political parties.
6. Explain the development of the party system in the United States.
7. Explain the reasons for our two-party system.
8. Discuss the role of third parties in the United States, explaining both their problems and their contributions to the political process.
9. Describe the organization of major political parties at each level of government.
10. Evaluate the decline of political parties in American politics.
11. Evaluate the myth of party irrelevance to decide whether parties are viable institutions in the United States today.

READING TABLES AND POLITICS & POPULAR CULTURE
1. According to Table 6.1, which issue is the most important in the 2008 election for Republicans, Democrats, and Independents?
2. According to Figure 6.1 in which years did the percentage of Americans identifying themselves as Republicans surpass those who said they were Democrats?

REVIEWING CHAPTER 6
Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. A local voting district of several square blocks at the base of the local party organizations is a(n) _____.
   a. political parties
   b. party-as-organization
   c. party-in-the-electorate
   d. party-in-government

2. Independent organizations created by interest groups to raise and contribute money to the campaigns of sympathetic candidates are called_____.

3. A term used to describe political parties in which decision-making power is dispersed and no single individual controls the system is_____.
4. An electoral system in which candidates must win more votes than any rivals in order to gain the contested seat is called a(n) _____ system.

5. Elections that are held to select candidates to run for office under a particular party banner are _____.

6. An electoral system in which legislative seats are awarded according to the percentage of votes received by each political party is a _____ system.

7. Groups of loyal supporters who agree with a party’s stand on most issues and vote for its candidates form a(n) _____.

8. A statement of a political party’s goals and specific policy agenda is a(n) _____.

9. The provision of jobs in return for political support is called _____.

10. A major shift in voter support when one party becomes dominant and controls both the presidency and Congress is called _____.

11. Coalitions of people organized formally to recruit, nominate, and elect individuals to political office and to use that office to achieve shared goals are _____.

12. The provision of services or contracts in exchange for political support is called _____.

13. A shift in voter support in which the public disassociates itself from any party and splits support between the major parties is called _____.

14. An alliance of individuals who have been elected or appointed to office under a party label is a(n) _____.

15. A campaign in which paid consultants or volunteers, rather than a political party, coordinate campaign activities, raise money, and develop strategies is a(n) _____ campaign.

16. In the party organization, a city council district below the citywide level is called a(n) _____.

17. An alliance of people who identify with a particular party and tend to vote for its candidates and contribute to its campaigns is a(n) _____.

18. An alliance of party members who work full-time for the party recruiting candidates and supporting politicians is a(n) _____.

19. A campaign in which the party coordinates activities, raises money, and develops a strategy is called a(n) _____.
Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F Political parties were favored by the founders of our country and defined as Democrats and Republicans in the Constitution.

2. T F The national political party organizations of both major parties hold tight control over local candidate selection.

3. T F In a single-member district system the margin of victory in an election doesn’t matter.

4. T F An example of a strong ideological third party in America could be the Libertarian Party or Socialist Workers Party.

5. T F The percentage of American voters who identify themselves as independents has decreased steadily since the 1960s.

6. T F Wards and precincts are geographic designations used to help organize voting districts.

7. T F Political parties continue to play an important role in organizing Congress and influencing voting positions.

8. T F The Republican and Democratic parties are highly centralized. Most decisions regarding the parties are made at the national level by a few central committees.

9. T F The Great Depression brought about a major realignment of political party coalitions in favor of the Democratic Party.

11. T  F  Replacing single-member district electoral systems with proportional representation systems would benefit the rise of minority parties in American politics.

12. T  F  Because the United States has a two-party system, third parties have no influence on the development of political issues and policies.

13. T  F  Some scholars believe that the United States is currently going through a period of dealignment.

14. T  F  Although American political parties play a major role in national politics, they have little influence in local political affairs.

15. T  F  Third parties, like the Republican and Democratic parties, automatically receive federal funding for presidential campaigns.

16. T  F  The Constitution does not mention political parties.

17. T  F  Party labels are not listed on ballots and therefore do not guide voter decisions at election time.

18. T  F  Political party platforms are binding principles that party members cannot deviate from.
19. T F Primary elections are designed to select candidates to run for office under the party banner.

20. T F Third parties have difficult times running at the state level because of electoral rules such as requiring petitions, nominating conventions, and minimum levels of registered voters.

21. T F Minor parties thrive in the United States and often present program alternatives that are adopted by the Democratic and Republican parties.

22. T F Political parties are instrumental in running the government and stabilizing the political system.

23. T F Most of the third parties’ electoral success has come at the state and local levels.

24. T F Political action committees (PACs) came into being when federal laws prohibited interest groups from donating money to political campaigns.

25. T F American political parties are coalitions of people organized formally to recruit, nominate, and elect candidates for public office and to use elected office to achieve shared political goals.

PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. Which of the following statements best expresses the prevailing myth about political parties in the United States?
   a. Political parties don’t serve any useful purpose.
   b. There are too many political parties in the United States.
   c. The two parties spend all their time fighting.
   d. Political parties do a great deal of good.
2. Unlike political parties in most other democratic countries, the two major American political parties are
   a. less competitive.
   b. less ideological.
   c. more organized.
   d. more popular.

3. The party-in-the-electorate refers to all those people who
   a. have been elected to office by a political party.
   b. regularly pay membership dues to a political party.
   c. identify with a party and tend to vote for its candidates.
   d. help run the local political party.

4. Which of the following is an accurate statement about political party membership in the mid-1990s?
   a. Most voters identified with either the Republican or the Democratic party.
   b. More young adults were Democratic, rather than independent or Republican.
   c. The majority of voters were independent.
   d. Republicans outnumbered both independents and Democrats.

5. The party-in-government is comprised of the
   a. individuals who identify with a party and vote for that party at election time.
   b. individuals who serve on organizing committees or serve as delegates to the national/state conventions.
   c. individuals who run for political office.
   d. individuals who work in a government office under a party label.

6. Reasons for why America has developed a strong two-party system include which of the following statements?
   a. the dominance of single-member districts
   b. winner-take-all elections
   c. state laws favoring a two-party system
   d. all of the above

7. When a political party attracts different groups of voters to support its policies and candidates, this is called a(n)
   a. election caucus.
   b. party platform.
   c. party-in-government.
   d. electoral coalition.

8. American political party control over elected officials
   a. is insignificant because the average politician no longer votes his or her party’s position.
   b. has increased with the reorganization of Congress.
   c. is based on the party’s total control over elections.
   d. is much less than it is in other democracies.

9. Patronage and preferments are
   a. the bottom two levels of the local party structure.
   b. no longer legal options for political parties.
   c. used exclusively by third parties.
   d. used by party committee members to court voters and obtain campaign contributions.
10. Each of the following is a function served by the political parties except
   a. winning elections.
   b. insuring equal distribution of political power.
   c. building electoral coalitions.
   d. organizing government.
11. The election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 represented a new party alignment in the United States, with
   a. the victorious Democratic Party representing the urban North and white South.
   b. a Republican Party triumph representing small business and suburban interests.
   c. the defeat of the Whigs and triumph of the Republicans.
   d. the Democratic Party split between Federalists and Jeffersonians.
12. Which of the following developments would most certainly indicate a realignment of parties in American politics?
   a. A president is reelected by a landslide.
   b. One party wins the presidential election, but the other party wins control of Congress.
   c. One party attracts the support of new groups of voters and becomes dominant at all levels of government over a period of time.
   d. A third-party candidate gets 25 percent of the presidential vote.
13. Single-member district, winner-take-all elections in the United States
   a. reduce the strength of political party machines.
   b. hurt the spread of the Republican Party.
   c. encourage the growth of third parties.
   d. strengthen the two-party system.
14. Party labels
   a. are irrelevant in American politics today.
   b. do not ever appear on ballots.
   c. remain one of the best predictors of voter choice in many elections.
   d. become increasingly important during periods of realignment.
15. Which of the following is a true statement about third-party involvement in American elections?
   a. Third parties cannot legally submit candidates for the presidency.
   b. State laws make it hard for third parties to get on the ballot.
   c. Third parties are more likely to be successful nationally than at the state and local levels.
   d. None of the above.
16. Third parties in America
   a. find that federal election laws reward the existing two major political parties.
   b. promote politically extreme ideologies that are ignored by Americans.
   c. have enjoyed continued success at the national level, but they have not been able to gain ground at the state or local levels.
   d. never form party platforms around single policy areas.
17. Proportional representation
   a. is widely used in American elections.
   b. discourages voters from casting their ballots for third-party candidates.
   c. is simply a different name for the winner-take-all model.
   d. is used in many European nations.
18. There have been more than ____ third parties in American history.
   a. 900
   b. 30
   c. 300
   d. 10,000

19. Your neighbor argues that political parties are no longer important or useful. Which of his arguments listed below is false?
   a. Voters rely less on party identity than they did in the past.
   b. Ticket splitting is more common than in the past.
   c. Most Americans now vote as independents.
   d. None of the above statements are false.

20. There has been a transformation in the role of parties in recent elections, which is indicated by the fact that parties have
   a. become irrelevant to the election process.
   b. expanded their technical services for candidates.
   c. increased their control over the campaign process.
   d. lost control of local elections to PACs and professional consultants.

21. Despite the widespread belief that the two major parties are alike, more than ________ of the population identifies with either the Republicans or Democrats.
   a. 60 percent
   b. 90 percent
   c. 35 percent
   d. 40 percent

22. Which of the following functions is not performed by American political parties?
   a. organizing people into electoral coalitions
   b. developing statements of party goals and policy agendas
   c. recruiting candidates
   d. holding elections for government office

23. The influence and power of state party organizations
   a. vary from state to state.
   b. are consistently strong throughout the United States.
   c. are consistently weak throughout the United States.
   d. depend on the amount of power delegated to them from the national organizations.

24. Which of the following is not a reason that America has consistently had a two-party political system?
   a. winner-take-all elections
   b. a natural division of interests
   c. state election law
   d. constitutional prohibition

25. The trend in American political campaigns seems to be toward
   a. party-centered campaigns.
   b. candidate-centered campaigns.
   c. third-party-dominated campaigns.
   d. encouraging more straight-ticket voters.
26. One indicator of the myth of party irrelevance can be seen in the
   a. increase in the number of voters identifying themselves as independents.
   b. continued dominance of the Republican and Democratic parties.
   c. reforming of the electoral college to reflect proportional voting.
   d. increase in straight-ticket voting.
27. The lowest typical level of local party structure is called a
   a. precinct.
   b. ward.
   c. city.
   d. nation.
28. The Constitution made no mention of political parties because
   a. they were thought to be defined by state constitutions.
   b. it was assumed that they would function beyond the scope of the Constitution.
   c. many of the founders viewed them as dangerous.
   d. no compromise could be reached on the matter.
29. Which of the following is not considered by historians and political scientists to be a major party
    realignment?
   a. The election of Andrew Jackson in 1828
   b. The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860
   c. The election of Grover Cleveland in 1892
   d. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932
30. Which of the following is not true of American political parties?
   a. They require strict adherence to platform planks.
   b. They organize citizens into electoral coalitions.
   c. They develop policy positions.
   d. They work to win elections.

Essay Questions
1. What are the three parts of a political party that are referred to as the “three-headed political
   giant?” Describe the role that each of these “heads” fulfills.
2. What is the purpose of the major political parties in the United States? Describe what political
   parties do and what contributions they make to our political system.
3. Why has the two-party system persisted in the United States, and why do third parties have little
   success? Provide historical explanations and illustrations.
4. Why do people believe that political parties are no longer important or useful in American
   politics? Describe the evidence for the myth of party irrelevance and the evidence that suggests
   that the myth is a distortion of reality.
5. What are some disadvantages associated with multiparty parliamentary systems?
6. Do the recent electoral outcomes indicate that we are in a period of realignment?

ANSWER KEY

Reading Tables and Politics & Popular Culture
1. Economic problems top the list for each group.
2. There is not a single reported year where the Republican numbers were greater than the
   Democrats.
Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

1. s
2. h
3. n
4. i
5. r
6. j
7. m
8. o
9. q
10. f
11. a
12. p
13. e
14. d
15. k
16. g
17. c
18. b
19. l

Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. False. Political parties were disapproved of by the founders and were not mentioned in the Constitution. They emerged from natural political divisions in the early republic.
2. False. The parties are loosely organized, and state and local party organizations are very independent.
3. True.
4. True.
5. False. Although there has been a recent decline in the percentage of independents, the percentage rose until the 1980s.
6. True. A ward typically covers a larger area than a precinct.
7. True.
8. False. The parties are highly decentralized, with most decision-making coming from the state level.
10. False. Realignments take time to complete, and the Democratic victories in the 1992 and 1996 presidential races as well as the possibility of party dealignment suggest no realignment has yet taken place.

11. True.

12. False. Third parties have often brought national attention to important issues that were later incorporated into the programs of the major parties.

13. True.

14. False. Although local politics is nonpartisan in some areas, party organizations are increasingly active in election campaigns in other communities.

15. False. Third parties must demonstrate an ability to garner at least 5 percent of the popular vote.

16. True.

17. False. Partisan ballots do list the party affiliation of candidates. This label often serves as a cue when voting.

18. False. Platforms are not binding. They are taken seriously by most party candidates, but there is room for deviation.

19. True.

20. True.

21. True.

22. True.

23. True.

24. True.

25. True.

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

1. a
2. b
3. c
4. a
5. d
6. d
7. d
8. d
9. d
10. b
11. a
12. c
13. d
Essay Questions

1. The three “heads” are:
   - Party-as-organization
     A small membership group that works year-round to recruit candidates and engage in fundraising.
   - Party-in-the-electorate
     A coalition of everyone that agrees with the party and tends to vote for the party’s candidates.
   - Party-in-government
     Individuals elected or appointed to government office under a party label.

2. The value of the political parties includes the performance of the following functions:
   - Build electoral coalitions
   - Develop public policy
   - Win elections
   - Organize government in legislative and executive branches
   - Control conflict between groups and interests
3. Carefully explore all the reasons that the United States has a two-party system. Make sure you support your argument with specific examples.
   - Winner-take-all electoral system
   - Natural division of political interests
   - National consensus on the big issues
   - The regulation by the states and the parties of the state electoral system

4. Fully support your points as you compare the evidence for decline with the evidence for continued strength.
   - Decline
     - Decline in popular support
     - Disorganized and ineffective in organizing government
     - Battles within parties between moderates and extremes
     - Transformation of system from party-centered to candidate-centered campaigns
   - Continued strength
     - Differences in parties
     - Most people still identify with a party
     - Most people believe that parties can handle national problems
     - Important aspect of electoral decisions

5. There are three major arguments to highlight in response to critics who want a proportional model in the United States.
   - Unstable government coalitions
   - Party-based campaigns
   - Radical ideologies in government discourse

6. No clear alignment is evidenced yet.
   - The gap between the majority (Republicans) and minority (Democrats) in Congress is slim.
   - Realignments tend to take many years to produce a trend. More time is needed to assess this.
   - Realignment?
   - Rise in the number of independents
   - Weak party identification among voters
CHAPTER 7
Campaigns and Elections

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. Nominations: The Selection Process
   A. Why Do People Run?
   B. The Caucus: Old-Fashioned Politics
   C. Primaries: New Kid on the Block
   D. Superdelegates: The Other New Kid on the Block
   E. The Changing Role of Nominating Conventions
   F. Who Gets Nominated?
II. The Race for Office
   A. Financing Campaigns: The Buying and Selling of Office?
   B. Organizing Campaigns: The Old and the New
III. The Media and Campaigns: Are We Brainwashed?
IV. Campaigns and Political Parties
V. Voting and Elections
   A. Who Is Allowed to Vote?
   B. Who Votes?
   C. Why Do People Vote the Way They Do?
VI. The Electoral College
VII. Promises, Promises: The Link Between Campaigns and Public Policy
VIII. Conclusion: Do Elections Matter?

CHAPTER SUMMARY
Our representatives and public officials gain office through the election process. It is a very public, open process in a democracy like ours, and undoubtedly we have all seen something of how it works. However, something that is very familiar can also be misunderstood, and misunderstanding produces popular myths and misconceptions. This chapter helps you understand more fully the election process in the United States. The authors discuss the subject in three major parts—nominations, election campaigns, and voting—giving you a chance to follow the process from beginning to end. In the first step—nomination—citizens choose candidates to run for office. Who gets nominated? From the tens of millions of potential officeholders, how are the few who actually run for office selected? Included in this discussion are the mechanics for reducing the field of candidates before the general election. You will be exposed to a wide range of primaries and caucuses that aid in this process.

The second step is the race for office. In this part of the chapter, you will learn how campaigning for office has changed over the years and how it has remained the same competition for public support. What determines who will come out ahead? What does it take to win? Of course, the simple answer (but not the whole response) to these questions is that to win, a candidate needs to get the most votes. But how do candidates win popular support? An important part of this discussion centers upon the expenses associated with seeking public office and the rules that govern how that money can be raised and spent.

The third part of the chapter deals with the decision of the voters. Who will vote, and what will they decide? That will determine more than just who gets into office; it also determines how good American
government will be. At the end of this section, you will get a chance to explore the electoral college and how its existence creates a special set of circumstances for presidential campaigns.

This chapter deals with the central myth that elections do not change anything because politicians break the promises they make on the campaign trail. Moreover, there is a widespread belief that elections are decided by money alone. These common misconceptions create a skeptical attitude in the electorate about the importance of elections. Why hope that the best person can win? Why expect that voting will make a difference? Such public doubts about the value of elections keep many people from voting. Low voter turnout is a significant problem for democracy in our country, and in your study of this chapter, you will confront this important issue. In dealing directly with problems related to the American election process and learning the facts behind the myths, you will gain a better understanding of American government.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Explain and evaluate the myth of broken promises.
2. Evaluate the impact of money in the American electoral process.
3. Discuss what motivates people to seek office.
4. Discuss the emergence of superdelegates and the role they play in the nomination process.
5. Discuss the role party caucuses, primaries, and conventions play in the nomination process.
6. Describe the social and professional barriers to nomination for the presidency.
7. Define the federal laws that govern campaign financing and discuss their consequences and the movement for further reform.
8. Describe the organization and strategies of political campaigns.
9. Evaluate the influence of the mass media on American political campaigns.
10. Describe the changing role of political parties in the election process.
11. Discuss the laws and regulations that determine whether a person can vote.
12. Describe the demographic characteristics that influence voter turnout and assess why many citizens do not vote.
13. Summarize the factors that determine how people vote.
14. Explain the workings and the consequences of the electoral college system.
15. Analyze the link between campaigns and public policy.

READING TABLES AND POLITICS & POPULAR CULTURE

1. Use Table 7.1, to identify two presidential candidates, who dropped out before the general election. How much money did they spend on their campaigns?
2. Use Figure 7.1 to decide the five most important states for electoral college votes.
3. After looking at the different proposals for determining the winner of presidential elections (Table 7.2), is there any model that does not give George W. Bush a victory in 2004?
REVIEWING CHAPTER 7

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. The constitutional amendment extending voting rights to African American males is the _____.
   - q. Fifteenth Amendment

2. The process by which individuals base their vote on a candidate or party’s past record is called _____.
   - d. political primary

3. Tax-exempt groups that can raise unlimited soft money to be used for issue advocacy and voter mobilization, as long as there is no expressed support for or against specific candidates, are called _____.
   - f. candidate-centered

4. The constitutional amendment extending voting rights to women is the _____.
   - j. runoff primary

5. The political ladder of local, state, and federal offices that brings prestige and power to individuals on the rise to the presidency is called the _____.
   - m. party-centered

6. A political campaign in which paid consultants or volunteers coordinate campaign activities and raise funds while the political party plays only a secondary role is _____.
   - p. open race

7. A type of primary election in which the top two vote getters in a preliminary vote must compete for a majority vote is a(n) _____.
   - r. Nineteenth Amendment

8. A primary in which the candidates run for their own party’s nomination is called a(n) _____.
   - s. Twenty-sixth Amendment

9. An election in which party (and nonparty) members select candidates to run for public office is a(n) _____.
   - t. retrospective voting

10. An election in which there is no candidate who holds the office being contested is called a(n) _____.
    - u. caucus

11. A local party meeting held to select convention delegates to nominate party candidates for public office is a(n) _____.
    - v. superdelegates

12. An individual, usually trained in public relations, media, or polling techniques, who advises candidates on how to organize a campaign is called a(n) _____.
13. A type of primary election in which voters make their party choice at the polls and vote for listed candidates is a(n) _____.

14. The system set up by the Constitution for selecting the president in which the voters of the state choose electors to cast ballots is called the_____.

15. A type of primary election in which voters are registered as party members and can vote only for that party’s candidates is a(n) _____.

16. A political campaign in which the party coordinates activities, raises money, and develops strategies is_____.

17. The scheduling of primaries very early in the campaign season by states eager to have an early influence in the nomination process is referred to as_____.

18. A candidate running for reelection to an office that he or she currently holds is a(n) _____.

19. A type of primary election in which candidates are listed without party affiliation is a(n) _____.

20. The constitutional amendment lowering the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen years is the_____.

21. Unrestricted contributions to political parties that can be spent on party building activities is called_____.

22. Delegates to the national convention who are not selected via the primaries or caucuses, but serve because they are elected officials are known as _______.

**Understanding Facts and Concepts**

*True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.*

1. **T** F  People who run for political office are motivated primarily by personal ambition and greed.

2. **T** F  Primary elections have made it possible for more people to be involved in the process of nominating candidates for public office.
3. T F Modern national political party conventions are less important as media events than for selecting presidential candidates.

4. T F In presidential contests, the first presidential primary rotates throughout the country.

5. T F Until the Progressive Era most party nominations were decided by caucuses or conventions.

6. T F Political incumbents are very difficult to defeat in elections.

7. T F The public is often suspicious of candidate promises and platforms.

8. T F Recent presidential elections have seen more and more states trying to hold their presidential primaries earlier in the year.

9. T F National party conventions no longer select the candidates, but rather ratify the choices that have already been made in statewide primaries and caucuses.

10. T F Young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one gained the right to vote before any women could vote.

11. T F Voting turnout in the United States is lower than in most other democratic nations.

12. T F Most American voters are concerned about political issues when they vote.
13. T F The evidence shown by recent administrations is that presidents make no effort to deliver on their campaign promises.

14. T F In the electoral college system, the candidate who wins a majority of the popular vote in a state wins all of that state’s electoral college votes.

15. T F It is impossible for a presidential candidate to win a majority of the electoral college vote if he or she did not win a majority of the nationwide popular vote.

16. T F So-called 527 groups are carefully regulated by the Federal Election Commission.

17. T F There has been a trend in the last three presidential elections for states to try and hold their primaries earlier in the year.

18. T F Superdelegates play a more important role at the Republican convention versus the Democratic convention.

19. T F The original Constitution left decisions regarding voting qualifications to the individual states.

20. T F Many Americans do not take part in elections because they do not believe the government in general and elected officials in particular can solve the country’s problems.

21. T F Retrospective voting is not an approach employed by many voters.

22. T F The United States has a very high voter turnout compared to other countries.
23. T F The rules governing primary elections are the same in each state.

24. T F Increasingly, candidates achieve office without being nominated by a political party.

25. T F In most states, the presidential candidate who wins a plurality of the vote in the state receives all its electoral college votes.

PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. The myth of broken promises concludes that
   a. politicians double-cross one another.
   b. elections do not change things in government.
   c. people do not vote the way they said they would.
   d. elections have a great effect on government policy.

2. People often say that politicians are motivated solely by personal ambition. But a second important reason that people run for office is
   a. duty.
   b. faith.
   c. greed.
   d. policy goals.

3. Before the twentieth century, American political party candidates for office were selected by
   a. all party members meeting in state conventions.
   b. the general public in open conventions.
   c. the general public in free elections.
   d. party leaders meeting in caucuses.

4. In some states, a majority of the vote is needed to win a primary election. If no candidate receives a clear majority, then there will be a
   a. closed primary.
   b. runoff primary.
   c. open primary.
   d. blanket primary.

5. Changes in the presidential election system over the past thirty years have meant that for selection of the party nominees,
   a. caucuses and conventions are both more important.
   b. caucuses are more important and conventions are less important.
   c. primaries are more important and conventions are less important.
   d. primaries and caucuses are both less important.
6. In 2008 the majority of delegates to the Democratic and Republican conventions were selected
   a. as superdelegates.
   b. in statewide caucuses.
   c. in primary elections.
   d. by a lottery system.

7. In the case of *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), the Supreme Court ruled that
   a. it was a violation of the First Amendment to limit the amount of money a candidate gives to
      his or her own campaign.
   b. public financing of elections was unconstitutional.
   c. 527 groups were tax exempt.
   d. the FECA only applied to presidential elections.

8. The Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act (2002) was designed to do all of the following
   except
   a. ban soft money contributions to national political parties.
   b. limit the influence of 527 groups.
   c. increase the limits on hard money contributions.
   d. set new limits for PAC contributions.

9. If there is an open race for election,
   a. there will be no primary election.
   b. spending will be limited by law.
   c. there is no incumbent running.
   d. the incumbent has no challengers.

10. Since 1945, the incumbent advantage has meant that the candidate
    a. organizing the best campaign staff has usually been elected.
    b. holding the best position on current issues has usually been elected.
    c. having the best media image has usually won.
    d. already holding the office has usually been reelected.

11. The facts about the importance of money in elections are that
    a. money is necessary but is not enough by itself to win elections.
    b. the candidate who spends the most money will win the election.
    c. money is not necessary for victory, especially for the challenger.
    d. money no longer matters in elections.

12. Which of the following is *not* a direct effect of the large sums of money spent on political
    campaigns?
    a. It occupies candidates’ time and energy with fundraising.
    b. It prevents many citizens from considering public office.
    c. It assures victory for the candidate who spends the most.
    d. It gives the public the perception that contributions can buy influence with public officials.

13. Soft money is money given to
    a. political campaigns to buy soft-sell advertising.
    b. political parties to indirectly assist candidates.
    c. bribe election commission officials.
    d. prevent the reelection of incumbents.

14. The rise of political consultants in campaign organizations has led to the decline of
    a. media relations.
    b. direct-mail techniques.
    c. party campaign managers.
    d. polling activities.
15. In presidential races, the bulk of campaign spending goes to
   a. travel expenses.
   b. public opinion polls.
   c. paying consultants.
   d. media advertising.

16. The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution gave the right to vote to
   a. eighteen-year-olds.
   b. former slaves.
   c. the poor.
   d. women.

17. Which of the following types is the most likely to vote in the United States?
   a. white, middle-aged college graduates.
   b. non-English-speaking women over forty-five years old
   c. poor, urban, unemployed African American men
   d. college students under twenty-five years old

18. The only two states that award their Electoral College votes proportionally are
   a. Iowa and Michigan.
   b. Florida and Ohio.
   c. Maine and Nebraska.
   d. Oregon and Arizona.

19. Which of the following items did not expand voting rights?
   a. Voting Rights Act of 1965
   b. Nineteenth Amendment
   c. Twenty-sixth Amendment
   d. Federal Election Campaign Act

20. The number of electors each state has in the electoral college is determined by
   a. vote of the U.S. Congress.
   b. decision of the national political party conventions.
   c. each state’s number of senators and representatives.
   d. the outcome of the popular vote in the presidential election.

21. The president of the United States is the candidate who receives a
   a. majority of the electoral college vote.
   b. plurality of the electoral college vote.
   c. plurality of the popular vote.
   d. majority of the popular vote.

22. If no presidential candidate receives a majority of the votes in the electoral college, the winner is
determined by
   a. the candidate with the most popular votes.
   b. the Supreme Court.
   c. the Senate.
   d. the House of Representatives.

23. Which of the following is not currently an aspect of party conventions?
   a. composing the party platform
   b. creating party rules
   c. selecting the presidential candidate
   d. media events
24. After the 1980 election the makeup of the delegates at the national convention was altered when the DNC approved the use of
   a. secret balloting.
   b. superdelegates.
   c. electronic voting.
   d. primary elections.

25. Rudy Giuliani spent over $60 million on his campaign for president in 2008. How many delegates to the national convention did he win?
   a. 60
   b. 30
   c. zero
   d. 100

Essay Questions
1. Discuss the myth of broken promises and its significance for the American electoral system. Describe the evidence that suggests that the myth is a distortion of reality.
2. Compare the efforts to regulate campaign financing through both the Federal Election Campaign Act and the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Act. What did they accomplish?
3. How has the presidential nominating process changed in the past fifty years? Describe the causes and effects of those changes.
4. Contrast the American approach to elections and campaign financing with those in Europe.
5. Identify and describe five important elements of voter choice in American elections, using recent presidential elections to illustrate the characteristics of each.
6. Describe the functioning of the electoral college within the American presidential election system. How does it work? How does it influence candidates’ campaign strategies?

ANSWER KEY

Reading Tables and Figures
1. Answers will vary.

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
1. q
2. t
3. l
4. r
5. a
6. f
7. j
8. b
Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. False. Policy goals are the most important motivator in addition to personal ambition.
2. True.
3. False. The reverse is true; primaries now determine the winner of the nomination before the national convention is held.
4. False. The first presidential primary is always held in New Hampshire.
5. True.
6. True.
7. True.
8. True.
10. False. Women gained the vote with the Nineteenth Amendment, which was ratified in 1920, whereas eighteen-year-olds did not gain the vote until ratification of the Twenty-sixth Amendment in 1971.
11. True.
12. True.
13. False. The evidence indicates that presidents do try to fulfill campaign promises and that they have been reasonably successful in fulfilling them.
14. True.
15. False. This is possible, and it happened in 1824, 1876, and 1888.
16. False. So-called 527s are not subject to Federal Election Commission regulation.
17. True.
18. False. Superdelegates account for a greater percentage of the delegates in the DNC.
19. True.
20. True.
21. False. Retrospective voting is common and does have an important impact on voting behavior.
22. False. Voter turnout is remarkably low in the United States.
23. False. There are different rules from state to state governing how a primary is conducted.
24. False. Even though the roles of parties have changed in the United States, parties are still very important players in the nomination of candidates for public office.
25. True.

Multiple-Choice Questions
1. b
2. d
3. d
4. b
5. c
6. c
7. a
8. b
9. c
10. d
11. a
12. c
13. b
14. c
15. d
16. d
17. a
18. c
19. d
20. c
21. a
22. d
23. c
24. b
25. e
Essay Questions

1. Quickly and clearly set out the myth of broken promises. Then give complete accounts of the following.
   - Candidates do try to fulfill their promises.
   - Promises represent genuine intention.

2. The FECA was the initial effort to regulate campaign financing, and the Bipartisan Campaign Finance Act was an attempt to address the existing weaknesses in the law. FECA created the Federal Election Commission.
   - Federal Election Campaign Act
   - Establish campaign contribution limits
   - Provide public funding for presidential election costs
   - Limit campaign spending levels in presidential primaries and general elections
   - Bipartisan Campaign Finance Act
   - Ban soft money contributions to political parties
   - Increase limits on hard money contributions
   - Increase PAC contribution limits
   - Restrict the ability of corporations, unions, and trade associations to run political ads

3. Explain fully the steps in presidential nomination.
   - Caucus
   - Primaries
   - Open primary
   - Closed primary
   - Partisan primary
   - Nonpartisan primary
   - New Hampshire primary
   - Presidential nominating convention—Superdelegates

4. There are many items to touch on, but a few that should be addressed include:
   - Length of campaigns
   - Size of voting population
   - Party-centered versus candidate-centered
   - Television advertising time

5. Use clear examples to support every point.
   - Education
   - Age
6. The electoral college is the constitutional environment of presidential campaigns.
   - People elect a president through electors.
   - Candidate who wins the majority popular vote in a state wins all that state’s electoral votes.
   - Electors not all legally required to vote according to the popular vote outcome.
   - Candidates must get enough majority votes sufficiently distributed among the states to ensure a majority of the electoral college vote.
CHAPTER 8

Interest Groups

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. Movers and Shakers: Interest and Other Advocacy Groups
   A. Interest Groups
   B. Lobbyists
   C. Political Action Committees and 527 Committees
II. What Makes an Interest Group Powerful?
   A. Size
   B. Unity
   C. Leadership
   D. Information and Expertise
   E. Money
   F. Countervailing Forces
III. Interest Group Tactics: You Don’t Lobby with Hundred-Dollar Bills and Wild Parties
   A. Lobbying
   B. Electioneering and Policymaking
   C. Building Coalitions
   D. Grassroots Pressure
   E. Litigation
   F. Hard-line Tactics
IV. Interest Groups and Democracy
V. Conclusion: Corrupt or Constructive?

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Stories about political interest groups and the lobbyists who represent them appear regularly in newspaper headlines. Citizens worry about the corrupting influence of special interests, and politicians spend more of their time listening and talking to these groups (and courting or avoiding them) than ever before. This chapter will help you understand why interest group politics has become such an important and often misunderstood topic in American government.

You will see that interest groups are the many kinds of organizations that try to influence government decisions. They represent almost every imaginable interest. You will learn not only about the great variety of groups at work but also about the different tools and methods they use to help them get what they want. How do interest groups operate? What are their tactics? The answers to these questions will introduce you to the world of lobbying and “influence peddling”—the world of citizen organizations and political action committees. Your study of that world will help you understand the important role played by interest groups, as well as the controversy about that role.

Many people believe that interest groups damage democracy. This myth of the corrupting influence is woven throughout Chapter 8 and is one of the most significant myths you will deal with in your study of American government. As a result of this myth, many Americans doubt the workings of democracy, believing that individual effort and the interests of the majority (the “silent majority”) are outdone by a few powerful “big interests” or fanatic single-interest groups. But is this the whole story, or is it only a partial truth? What is the reality behind the myth of the corrupting influence of interest groups? The
authors confront these questions, and, in their conclusion provide a full picture of the significance of interest groups in the political process.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Define the term **interest groups** and distinguish interest groups from other political organizations.
2. Describe the different types of interest groups that influence American government.
3. Describe **lobbying** and the lobbyists who are engaged in it.
4. Discuss the origin, characteristics, and influence of **political action committees (PACs)** in American politics.
5. Describe the resources or assets that give interest groups their strength.
6. Evaluate the relative importance of money to interest group influence.
7. Identify and illustrate the tactics that interest groups use to achieve their policy goals.
8. Discuss the factors that determine the power of an interest group.
9. Describe the roles that interest groups play in the representative process.
10. Describe the growth of 527s and their role in the electoral process.

READING TABLES AND GRAPHS

1. According to Figure 8.1, which type of organization has seen the greatest number of PACs established as a means for distributing political donations.
2. According to Table 8.1, which activity takes up most of a lobbyist’s time.
3. According to Table 8.1, what percentage of their time do lobbyists spend mobilizing public opinion?
4. According to Figure 8.1, in 2008 how many PACs were associated with labor groups?

REVIEWING CHAPTER 8

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

*Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:*

1. The act of bringing diverse interest groups together in a common lobbying effort is called ______.
2. Independent organizations created to collect and distribute campaign contributions from members of an interest group are known as ______.
3. The act of trying to influence government decision-makers is called ______.

a. interest group  
b. lobbying  
c. free riders  
d. political action committees (PACs)  
e. electioneering  
f. grassroots pressure  
g. lobbyist
4. Political activity such as letter writing, face-to-face meetings with politicians, and public protest by ordinary members of an interest group is called _____.

5. Participating in the election process by providing services or raising campaign contributions is known as _____.

6. People who benefit from the actions of interest groups without expending money or effort in support are called ______.

7. An individual who works for a specific interest group or serves as the spokesperson for a specific set of interests is a(n) ______.

8. An organized group of individuals who share common goals and seek to influence government decision-making is called a(n) ______.

9. Groups like Common Cause, which seek to represent what they believe to be the interests of the general public in political issues, are called ______.

10. Interest groups with a very narrow or specific political purpose, like Mothers Against Drunk Driving, are called ______.

Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F The main difference between interest groups and political parties is that interest groups don’t run candidates for office in order to control and operate government.

2. T F Business and trade interests are organized as lobbying interest groups, but professional organizations, such as associations of doctors and lawyers, are not.

3. T F Citizen activist groups include public interest groups that represent what they believe to be the broad interests of the public at large.

4. T F City governments lobby the federal government and their own state legislatures.
5. T F Former members of Congress and ex-employees of federal agencies are prohibited from taking jobs as lobbyists.

6. T F The larger an interest group’s membership the more influence that the interest group will have on shaping public policy because they can easily mobilize their members to take a prescribed action.

7. T F Information, expertise, and honesty are more important than money to a group’s lobbying success.

8. T F Data on lobbying activities indicate that lobbyists devote more time to endorsing candidates and otherwise contributing to electoral campaigns than they do to any other activity.

9. T F PAC contributions to political candidates are small but will nevertheless usually guarantee political influence for the group.

10. T F Groups like MoveOn.org, the Club for Growth, and Christian Coalition Fund are examples of groups registered with the IRS as 527 committees.

11. T F Foreign countries have lobbyists who look after the interests of their nation.

12. T F An alliance of environmental, railroad, and coal interests lobbying against the expansion of offshore oil-drilling leases would be an example of grassroots pressure.

13. T F Before they can make political contributions, PACs must be affiliated with an interest group.
14. T F College students form a large constituency that is not represented by interest groups.

15. T F So-called 527 groups are not regulated by the FEC or covered by the reforms listed in the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002.

16. T F Interest groups can be beneficial in a democracy because they show a bias toward the poor and disadvantaged.

17. T F State government is constitutionally forbidden from lobbying the national government.

18. T F Single-interest groups are interest groups with a very narrow focus, such as bass fishing.

19. T F Free riders are those who benefit from the actions of an interest group without contributing to it.

20. T F The absence or near-absence of any counterinterest groups can give an interest group a monopoly on a particular policy area.

21. T F Interest groups do not believe that campaign contributions are useful in influencing the policymaking process.

22. T F Grassroots mobilization has evolved into a highly professionalized undertaking.

23. T F Candidates, particularly for Congress, increasingly rely on PACs for financial campaign support.
24. T F Interest groups use litigation as a means to influence policy.

25. T F Government officials and their staffs will often rely upon lobbyists to provide them with accurate and timely information.

**PREPARING FOR AN EXAM**

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

_Circle the letter of the correct answer._

1. The _most_ widely held myth about interest groups in the United States is that they
   a. need to be strengthened to protect democracy.
   b. help the poor and disadvantaged to be heard.
   c. have a corrupting influence in politics.
   d. are no different from political parties.

2. The chief purpose of political action committees (PACs) is to
   a. mobilize citizens to register themselves as voters.
   b. contribute money to the campaigns of candidates who are sympathetic to their goals.
   c. impose campaign finance limits on interest groups.
   d. influence members of Congress to listen more to interest groups.

3. If a group were organized to get political results and tried to influence elections but did not run candidates for office, it would be called
   a. an interest group, not a political party.
   b. a political party, not an interest group.
   c. either an interest group or a political party.
   d. neither an interest group nor a political party.

4. Which of the following is the _most_ valid justification for interest groups in a democracy?
   a. They make sure that minorities get what they want.
   b. They protect the rights of the majority from minority concerns.
   c. They make the government aware of the concerns of a variety of people.
   d. They help the government influence public opinion.

5. The passage of legislation such as the 1995 Lobby Restrictions Act and Honest Leadership and Open Government Act (2007) represent efforts to
   a. outlaw interest groups.
   b. make 527 groups more accountable.
   c. create public financing of elections.
   d. regulate lobbyists.

6. PACs became a factor in the 1970s because
   a. Congress passed the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA).
   b. greater media coverage made campaigns more expensive.
   c. the Supreme Court decided the case of _Buckley v. Valeo_.
   d. the Watergate scandal showed groups how much influence they could have on policymakers.
7. The U.S. Conference of Mayors is a
   a. professional association.
   b. public interest group.
   c. government-related interest group.
   d. municipal organization to regulate interest groups.

8. Which of the following statements accurately describes the realities of PACs today?
   a. PACs cannot give more than $5,000 per candidate per election.
   b. PACs cannot make campaign contributions to more than one candidate.
   c. The 2008 election cycle saw a record decrease in PAC contributions.
   d. PACs exist in a legal loophole and are not regulated by the Federal Election Campaign Act.

9. So-called 527 groups have proven to be a new and controversial area of campaign financing because
   a. they are groups that give money only to Republican candidates.
   b. they allow federal candidates and PACs to get around federal campaign finance laws.
   c. they are entirely foreign financed.
   d. tax dollars support the creation of these lobbying groups.

10. The National Taxpayers Union has a problem raising money and support because all taxpayers receive the benefits of the group’s lobbying, whether or not they contribute. This is a problem of
    a. nonsupport.
    b. nonparticipation.
    c. free thinkers.
    d. free riders.

11. Which of the following characteristics helps determine an interest group’s success in shaping policy?
    a. leadership
    b. size
    c. expertise
    d. all of the above

12. Lobbying refers to the effort to
    a. entertain political officials.
    b. influence government decision-making.
    c. obtain government construction contracts.
    d. raise public awareness of political issues.

13. An effective way that interest groups can deal with free riders is to
    a. suit them.
    b. provide its members with free publications or reduced insurance rates.
    c. pass legislation banning free riders from enjoying the benefits the group has worked for.
    d. do nothing.

14. A majority of Americans think that interest groups
    a. have a corrupting influence in politics.
    b. represent an important part of the political process.
    c. do a better job of representing the public versus elected officials.
    d. are the same as political parties.

15. PAC contributions to political campaigns
    a. are limited to presidential campaigns.
    b. have become more important than ever.
    c. guarantee political influence for interest groups.
    d. have declined since the 1978 controls were passed.
16. Interest groups will often use which of the following tactics to influence public policy?
   a. litigation.
   b. protests/demonstrations.
   c. distributing campaign contributions.
   d. all of the above.

17. An alliance of environmental, trucking, and railroad interests to lobby against the construction of new shipping locks on the Columbia River is an example of
   a. litigation.
   b. grassroots pressure.
   c. coalition building.
   d. electioneering.

18. As a tactic of political interest group activity, grassroots pressure includes
   a. bringing together different interest groups for a united lobbying effort.
   b. sending out scorecards of a politician’s voting record to influence voters.
   c. using the membership of the group to influence politicians.
   d. recruiting new members in rural areas.

19. Grassroots pressure can best be described as
   a. carefully organized and directed.
   b. spontaneous and disorganized.
   c. marginally effective.
   d. limited to local issues.

20. Save Our Forests, an antilogging interest group, engaged in a hard-line tactic when it
   a. blockaded the entrance to saw mills.
   b. sued the U.S. Forest Service over environmental violations.
   c. sent congressional voting scorecards to all its members.
   d. joined with environmental interest groups and Greenpeace to lobby every western state legislature.

21. The American Bankers Association, AFL-CIO, and National Cable Television Association are all examples of ______ interest groups.
   a. public
   b. citizen activist
   c. single-issue
   d. economic

22. *Brown v. Board of Education* was mostly the result of what kind of interest group action?
   a. lobbying
   b. electioneering
   c. hard-line tactics
   d. litigation

23. In this chapter the term “astroturfing” describes
   a. political organizing efforts inside the beltway.
   b. public opinion that is systematically organized and generated by an interest group.
   c. a situation where a lobbyist meets with lots of policymakers and “plants” and idea with each of them.
   d. skyrocketing amount of money spent by lobbying firms.
24. An independent organization that is set up to collect campaign contributions from individuals is called a(n)
   a. business.
   b. church.
   c. PAC.
   d. electoral college.
25. Which of the following does not contribute to the strength of interest groups?
   a. leadership
   b. money
   c. unity
   d. free riders
26. In recent years, the use of civil disobedience by groups to further their causes has
   a. increased.
   b. decreased.
   c. gotten little attention.
   d. not changed.
27. James Madison argued, in which Federalist Paper, that the rise of factions is inevitable in a democracy?
   a. 10
   b. 21
   c. 54
   d. 98
28. Interest groups pose problems for a democratic society because they
   a. often represent narrow interests that are biased toward the higher-income economic groups.
   b. violate the spirit of the Constitution.
   c. focus on trivial issues, which does not enhance our representative process.
   d. draw resources away from public policy areas that are more important to the health of the country.

Essay Questions
1. Discuss the myth of the corrupting influence of interest groups. Describe the evidence that supports the myth as well as the evidence that suggests that the myth is a distortion of reality.
2. Describe the impact that you think 527s will have on the role that interest groups play in the electoral process.
3. What are the resources or tools that interest groups employ to accomplish their objectives, and what is the relative importance of each in achieving success?
4. What resources do interest groups utilize?

ANSWER KEY
Reading Tables and Graphs
1. Corporations.
2. Building relationships.
3. Three percent of their time is dedicated to these efforts.
4. 273
Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
1. h
2. d
3. b
4. f
5. e
6. c
7. g
8. a
9. i
10. j

Understanding Facts and Concepts
1. True.
2. False. Professional organizations are powerful political interests.
3. True.
4. True.
5. False. Indeed, the expertise and connections that these people offer makes them highly recruited lobbyists.
6. False. Many large interest groups have little or no influence over the political opinions and participation of their members.
7. True.
8. False. The major focus of lobbyists' work is contacting government officials and otherwise disseminating information.
9. False. PAC contributions are often very extensive, if not large, to any single candidate, but they do not guarantee influence.
10. True.
11. True.
12. False. This alliance is primarily an example of the tactic of coalition building.
13. False. The number of unaffiliated groups often representing strong ideological positions has grown and so have the number of “leadership” PACs.
14. False. There are a number of interest groups that claim to represent the interests of college students. The USSA is one of the largest.
15. True.
16. False. Their bias is toward the advantaged and successful, but they do provide an organized voice for people who might otherwise be unrepresented.
17. False. State governments often lobby the national government.
18. True.
19. True.
20. True.
21. False. The majority of interest group representatives do use campaign contributions for this purpose. However, their direct effect is hard to measure.
22. True.
23. True.
24. True.
25. True.

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

1. c
2. b
3. a
4. c
5. d
6. a
7. c
8. a
9. b
10. d
11. d
12. b
13. b
14. a
15. b
16. d
17. c
18. c
19. a
20. a
21. d
22. d
23. b
24. c
25. d
Essay Questions

1. Clearly explain the myth of the corrupting influence of interest groups. Then use the following points to demonstrate the weaknesses of the myth.
   - Interest groups serve as a link between their membership and government officials and are justified by making officials more aware of public needs and concerns.
   - Variety of interest groups.
2. Since 527s are beyond the reach of most current federal campaign finance legislation, their potential impact is tremendous.
   - Unlimited funding
   - Broad support for positions and issues, but not candidates
   - Wide variety of groups forming 527s
3. Interest groups use a wide range of tactics.
   - Lobbying
   - Electioneering
   - Coalition building
   - Grassroots pressure
   - Litigation—court action
   - Hard-line tactics
4. Interest groups rely on a wide range of resources.
   - Size
   - Unity
   - Leadership
   - Information and expertise
   - Money
CHAPTER 9

Media and Politics

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. The Rise of the Media
   A. The Early Days
   B. The Broadcast Media
   C. Diversity and Concentration
   D. Government Regulation
II. Making News
III. The Effects of the Mass Media
   A. Setting the Agenda
   B. Conducting Politics in the Media: Old and New
IV. The Uneasy Alliance Between Government and the Media
   A. Covering the President
   B. Covering Congress
   C. Covering the Courts
V. Conclusion: The Great Manipulator?

CHAPTER SUMMARY
We all depend on the media for information about what is happening in politics. Some people catch only an occasional television news report or newspaper headline, whereas the most informed follow broadcast news programs carefully and read several newspapers and political journals. As we learned in Chapter 5, the public’s ideas about politics and government are extensively influenced by the media. The media have transformed modern politics, changing our relationship to government and the ways we select our leaders, the kind of political leaders we have, and the ways our government functions. The relationship between the media and politics, one of the most important topics of our day, raises many of the most controversial questions. Is the modern influence of the media healthy? Do we get the “straight story”?

This chapter responds to those questions and others about the role of the media, especially television, in modern American politics. Preview the major topics in Chapter 9 to see what is ahead. “The Rise of the Media” describes the evolution of the press and broadcast media as a force in American politics. As you read, you should consider a fundamental question: The media bring us the “news,” but what is news. How does the proliferation of blogs and Internet access change the type of news coverage we get? Much of the controversy over the effects of the mass media stems from this question.

That controversy has given rise to the myth of media manipulation, which holds that television, radio, and the press dominate public opinion about politics, controlling what we know and what we think. Is this the whole truth about the effects of the media? Do they manipulate public opinion?

Apart from the media’s influence on the American public, the media also have a profound effect on politicians and the conduct of politics. The last part of this chapter, therefore, explores the complex and uneasy alliance that exists between government and media in this country. Each needs the other and each uses the other, but conflict is inevitable, and that tension creates the framework for more myths about the media and politics. Who can we believe? Are the media acting as a mirror that truthfully
reflects everything about the reality of politics, or is there distortion and deception, as critics of the
media charge? Or is that distinction too stark? Do the media create the reality of politics by focusing
attention on particular issues while ignoring others? The answer to these questions, in the authors’
conclusion, provides some very important insights into the realities of American government in this age
of the mass media.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:
1. Explain the myth of media manipulation and evaluate its accuracy.
2. Summarize the origins and development of American mass media, including the penny press and
   yellow journalism.
3. Explain who controls American newspaper and broadcast networks and evaluate the significance
   of recent challenges to TV network dominance.
4. Describe how the media are regulated in the United States and discuss the significance of the
   equal-time rule.
5. Summarize the criteria used by the media to determine what is newsworthy.
6. Identify the influences of the mass media on public opinion and the political agenda.
7. Describe how the conduct of politics has been altered to meet the needs and opportunities of
   media coverage, including the new reality of pseudo-events, the new media, and the horse-race
   coverage of political campaigns.
8. Describe the relationship between government and the mass media, explaining elements of both
   conflict and cooperation in the uneasy alliance between the press and government officials.
9. Explain and illustrate the relationship between the presidency and the mass media, including the
   role of the presidential press secretary and the White House press corps.
10. Summarize why Congress is more difficult to cover than the president and explain why the courts
    are the least covered of the government institutions.
11. Describe the growing role and influence of blogs and the Internet on the media’s coverage of
    American political events.
12. Explain the differences between episodic coverage and thematic reporting.

READING MYTHS AND POLITICS & POPULAR CULTURE
1. What role do you see for blogs to play in the coverage of American politics. Will they continue to
   exist as independent entities or simply as arms of the major media outlets?
2. Can fake news shows and entertainment segments be a reliable source of political information?
3. Television and movies often portray reporters as investigators—is that an accurate portrayal?

REVIEWING CHAPTER 9
Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:
1. The first generation of newspapers with mass popular appeal, appearing in the mid-1800s, was called the_____.
2. The style of news reporting that utilizes bold headlines, illustrations, and color features to promote stories of scandal and corruption is called _____.
   b. penny press
c. yellow journalism
d. pseudo-events
e. equal-time rule
f. episodic coverage
g. thematic reporting.

3. Political speeches, rallies, and personal appearances staged simply to produce media coverage may be called _____.

4. The federal government’s rule requiring that broadcasters who allow one political candidate to campaign on the station must provide equal opportunity to all candidates for the same office is the _____.

5. The capacity of the media to isolate particular issues, events, or themes in the news as the criteria for evaluating politicians is called _____.

6. Live, on-the-scene reporting of an issue that focuses on the individual is known as _______.

7. Unlike episodic coverage this type of reporting puts a story in a larger, more abstract context.

Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F Liberals and conservatives agree that there is bias in the media, but they disagree about the nature/direction of the bias.

2. T F Television became a major source of political news for most Americans during World War II.

3. T F Network news programs rose to prominence in the 1950s and are still the major source of political information for most Americans.

4. T F Franklin Roosevelt’s fireside chats were the first political efforts to use television to reach millions of Americans.

5. T F The news media in the United States are more closely regulated than are the media of most other democracies.
6. T F The television broadcast of the 1960 presidential debates demonstrated the commercial potential of news and public affairs programming.

7. T F The selection of what is news is often determined by the availability of documents for television reporters to read on the air.

8. T F The media tend to have their greatest influence on public opinion regarding subjects about which the public has little or no personal experience.

9. T F Citing the levels of competition among radio and television stations, Congress repealed the equal-time rule.

10. T F Media coverage of election campaigns tends to focus on campaign strategy and candidate success rather than on the content of political speeches.

11. T F The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) has some discretion in deciding who gets awarded or denied a broadcast license.

12. T F The White House press secretary’s main job is to help the press report the truth.

13. T F The three traditional television broadcast networks—ABC, NBC, CBS—have seen their viewership grow continually since the 1980s.

14. T F The television media do not seem to cover Congress as closely as they do the White House because Congress has diverse leadership and no single personality to focus on.
15. T  F  Media owners have recognized the potential power of the Internet and have expanded their holdings into this new area.

16. T  F  The fact that there are a lot of diverse media outlets means that there is a diversity of opinion about politics available to the informed.

17. T  F  Contemporary media have contributed to the blurring of the distinction between news and entertainment.

18. T  F  FCC regulation of the media requires that broadcasters who permit a candidate for political office to campaign on the station must allow equal time and identical rates to all other candidates for the same office.

19. T  F  Politicians are not very attuned to the media.

20. T  F  Events are more likely to be news if they involve famous people.

21. T  F  The media’s power to change established political beliefs is limited because people exercise selective exposure, absorbing only information that agrees with their existing beliefs.

22. T  F  Broadcasters who permit a candidate for political office to campaign on the station are not required to allow all other candidates for the same office equal time at identical rates.

23. T  F  Bloggers may have fans that login to read their materials, but these stories do not make it into the mainstream media.
24. T F Compared to the executive and legislative branches, the judiciary gets considerably less
media attention.

25. T F Generally, campaigns are structured in America to ensure media exposure for their
candidates.

PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. If your friend argued that Americans’ ideas about the death penalty were determined by what we
have been told on TV news, this would be an example of
   a. the mirror-to-society myth.
   b. the myth of majority opinion.
   c. the myth of media manipulation.
   d. a realistic view of media influence.

2. Although some people charge the media with manipulating public opinion, defenders argue that
   the media
   a. control American political values.
   b. only reflect the attitudes and values of the public.
   c. accurately report all the news about the government.
   d. are dominated and manipulated by the government.

3. Sensationalism in the press, called yellow journalism, characterized major newspapers
   a. when the New York Times dominated the scene.
   b. at the time of the Spanish-American War.
   c. at the time that television news programming began.
   d. before the New York Sun began publishing.

4. Which of the following statements most accurately reflects the FCC issuing of broadcast station
   licenses?
   a. The mandate giving the FCC this power is vague.
   b. Most applications for license renewal are denied.
   c. All license agreements must be approved by Congress.
   d. Lobbying plays no role in the process.

5. When did television become the main source of political news for most Americans?
   a. as soon as the television networks began broadcasting
   b. during the World War II broadcasts of Edward R. Murrow
   c. following the 1976 Carter-Ford presidential debates
   d. following the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon presidential debates
6. Which of the following is accurate evidence of the trend in media competition in the United States?
   a. a decline in competition among urban newspapers
   b. a decline in the growth of newspaper chains
   c. a decline in the number of cable TV news channels
   d. a decline in competition for print journalism from television

7. The dominance of television network news in the United States has recently been challenged by the
   a. public’s disbelief in the truth of TV news.
   b. increase of yellow journalism in the press.
   c. growth of cable television news.
   d. FCC enforcement of the equal-time doctrine.

8. The equal-time rule requires broadcasters to
   a. provide equal access for all candidates for a political office.
   b. provide equal time for opinions opposing the station’s editorials.
   c. give equal access to local and national news personalities.
   d. give equal time to sports and politics.

9. In 2008 Fred Thompson announced his candidacy for president. Why did NBC subsequently pull episodes of Law and Order, in which he appeared, from their broadcast schedule?
   a. NBC was supporting John McCain and didn’t want to help their opponent.
   b. NBC was afraid that other candidates might demand equal time to counter Thompson’s appearances.
   c. They got angry letters from Democrats.
   d. The FCC made them stop or face a fine.

10. Selective exposure is the
    a. Supreme Court practice of refusing interviews with the press.
    b. media practice of reporting only on the superficial aspects of an election campaign.
    c. effort of the White House to limit the exposure of the president to harsh criticism.
    d. tendency of people to accept only information that agrees with their existing beliefs.

11. To promote and shape the press coverage of their proposals, presidents send out members of the administration to give policy speeches. This approach is described as
    a. needful self-promotion.
    b. grandstanding.
    c. end-run promotions.
    d. going public.

12. Which of the following items are used to determine if a story is newsworthy?
    a. Is the story timely and novel?
    b. Does the story involve any violence, scandal, conflict, or disaster?
    c. Are there people connected with the story to interview?
    d. All of the above.

13. A president who authorizes a press leak to see if his proposal will be embraced or attacked has released a(n)
    a. ego leak.
    b. goodwill leak.
    c. trial balloon.
    d. whistleblower leak.
14. Pseudo-events are an indication that the media
   a. cannot be relied on to tell the news as it really happens.
   b. have great power to set the political agenda.
   c. influence the conduct of politicians.
   d. manipulate public opinion.

15. When the television news program runs a broadcast segment that is a live, on-the-scene, news story that focuses on the victims of a terrorist attack, it is best described as
   a. thematic reporting.
   b. yellow journalism.
   c. episodic coverage.
   d. penny journalism.

16. Why were nonprofit radio stations largely replaced by commercial broadcasters?
   a. Their low ratings resulted in their licenses being stripped.
   b. Media conglomerates bought them out.
   c. The Federal Radio Commission reasoned that because nonprofits were not motivated by profit, they would not serve the public interest.
   d. A large-scale petition drive demanded that radio broadcasters play more popular music and programs.

17. Whereas the media cover every action of the president, the main interest of the White House is to
   a. get its message across through the media.
   b. help the media report the truth.
   c. keep away from the media.
   d. censor the media.

18. Some leaks to the press are
   a. trial balloons planted by the White House.
   b. approved by the president.
   c. damaging to the president.
   d. all of the above.

19. Why doesn’t network television seem to report news about Congress as extensively as it reports news about the president?
   a. Congress has a bad reputation for reporting false information.
   b. Congress has no single personality to capture media attention.
   c. More is happening at the White House than in Congress.
   d. The president avoids coverage and so creates more curiosity about what he is doing.

20. Which of the following comments best expresses the reality about the mass media’s influence on American political opinion?
   a. The mass media have complete power to shape American public opinion.
   b. Americans are not selective or critical about what the media tell them about politics.
   c. The media influence what Americans think about as news more than their opinions on issues.
   d. The media do not influence what Americans think is important in politics.

21. The FCC rule that broadcasters who permit one candidate to campaign on the station must allow all other candidates to do the same at the same rates is referred to as the
   a. fairness rule.
   b. fixed campaign rate rule.
   c. opportunity clause.
   d. equal-time rule.
22. In 2007 Ron Paul raised $6 million in one day for his presidential campaign by
   a. hosting a telethon.
   b. going on a hunger strike.
   c. having people donate via his website.
   d. orchestrating a nationwide cell-phone call campaign.

23. Thematic reporting encourages the viewer to
   a. locate the responsibility for the event at the level of social forces.
   b. focus on the role of the individuals in the event.
   c. change the channel.
   d. pay closer attention to the advertising.

24. Television has typically encouraged candidates to transform their opinions into very short
   statements, usually 10 seconds or less, which are called
   a. sound bites.
   b. press conferences.
   c. press releases.
   d. political commentary.

25. The birth of the mass media in America can be traced back to the
   a. use of radio broadcasts.
   b. television coverage of political debates.
   c. creation of the penny press.
   d. proliferation of blogs.

26. Which of the following is not one of the new strategies that candidates have for circumventing the
   established media?
   a. Internet web pages
   b. video news releases
   c. late-evening entertainment programs
   d. press conferences

27. Events staged to produce media coverage, often staged against a suggestive background, are
   referred to as
   a. priming.
   b. the equal-time rule.
   c. yellow journalism.
   d. pseudo-events.

28. Yellow journalism is often cited as having a role in
   a. creating regional splits that led to the American Civil War.
   b. sparking massive westward migration.
   c. promoting the start of the Spanish-American War.
   d. setting new standards of excellence in journalism.

29. The federal government organization that oversees television and radio is the
   a. Federal Communications Commission.
   c. Central Intelligence Agency.
   d. Federal Bureau of Investigation.

30. Most of the political media coverage in America is directed at
   a. the Supreme Court.
   b. Congress.
   c. the president.
   d. federal agencies.
Essay Questions
1. Discuss the myth of media manipulation, contrasting the evidence that supports it with the evidence that suggests it is a distortion of reality.
2. Trace the rise of the mass media in the United States, describing the important stages in the development of both the print and broadcast media in relation to American politics.
3. Journalists have claimed that they simply report all the news as it happens. What do they actually report? Discuss the criteria that the media use to determine what is news.
4. What options do presidents have for ensuring that their message will get to the public in the fashion they want?
5. Do you agree with Justice Brennan’s assertion that the Court’s opinions “must stand on their own merits without embellishment or comment from the judges who write them or join them.” Discuss why the Court should be treated differently or the same as the other branches of government.
6. What do political scientists mean by an uneasy alliance between government and the media? Discuss the relationship of the two, describing the needs and interests of each.

ANSWER KEY

Reading Myths and Politics & Popular Culture
1. While there is still a great deal of autonomy attached to blogs, they are increasingly becoming part of the mainstream media’s approach to news coverage. Major news networks have their own blogs that they promote, and increasingly the biggest blogs are taking on advertisers to pay for their expenses.
2. Political satire requires a certain degree of knowledge to appreciate the humor. Presented as a fake news show, there is little danger in misinterpreting the intent of a show like Jon Stewart’s Daily Show. However, when news is packaged like a news report, but the source and funding are not properly attributed, it is more troubling as to its value. (See the example regarding FEMA’s simulated news conferences in response to the wildfires in California.)
3. Less than 1 percent of the stories reported on local television are the result of reporter-instigated investigations.

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
1. b
2. c
3. d
4. e
5. a
6. f
7. g

Understanding Facts and Concepts
1. True.
2. False. That was not true until after the 1960 Kennedy-Nixon presidential campaign debates.
3. False. Network news shows now trail local news and cable shows as the source of political information for most Americans.

4. False. The fireside chats were broadcasts made on radio before television was invented.

5. False. American news media are freer from regulation than are the media of most other democracies.

6. True.

7. False. The availability of people to interview is more important.

8. True.

9. False. The fairness doctrine has disappeared, but the equal-time provision remains current law.

10. True.

11. True.

12. False. The press secretary’s main job is to get the president’s message across to the media.

13. False. During this time period, these networks have lost approximately 30 million viewers.

14. True.

15. True.

16. False. Ownership of media outlets is highly concentrated, which significantly limits diversity of opinion.

17. True.

18. True.

19. False. Politicians are more attuned to the media than is the public.

20. True.

21. True.

22. False. The FCC requirements stipulate that broadcasters who permit a candidate for political office to campaign on the station must allow all other candidates for the same office equal time at identical rates.

23. False. Reporters routinely follow bloggers in search of potential stories.

24. True.

25. True.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. c

2. b

3. b

4. a

5. d

6. a

7. c
Essay Questions

1. Describe the myth of media control and address the following points.
   - Expanse of American consumption of media
   - Concentration of media ownership
   - Government regulation
   - Newsworthiness

2. The rise of the American media.
   - Before the 1830s, the press was specialized for limited audiences.
   - Yellow journalism of the late nineteenth century.
   - Development of broadcast media.
   - Radio began as an entertainment medium.
• Politicians, like Franklin Roosevelt, understood its political possibilities.
• CBS began serious radio broadcasting.
• Television also began as an entertainment medium.
• After the 1960s, Americans began to depend on television for news.
• Concentration of media ownership.
• About two-fifths of all daily papers belong to just twelve chains.
• The three major television networks are all owned by large publishing-entertainment conglomerates.
• New media.
• Cable.
• Internet.

3. Because no medium can carry everything that happens, how is news selected?
• Determined according to criteria
• Breaking stories
• Violence, conflict, disaster, and scandal
• Famous people
• People to interview

4. Presidents have a number of options. You may want to talk about the following areas:
• Going public
• Creating pseudo-events
• Issuing trial balloons
• Creating video news releases (VNRs)
• Appearing on alternative formats—Larry King, David Letterman, etc.
• Holding press conferences
• Posting original documents (speeches, reports) on the Internet for everyone to access

5. Answers will vary. In making your arguments, consider the unique nature of judicial proceedings versus legislative or executive work. Be sure to examine the matter of their appointment to the post versus popular election.

6. Although government officials and journalists are sometimes locked in combat, at other times, their goals overlap and cooperation is necessary.
• Journalists need politicians to obtain information.
• Politicians need journalists to maintain public exposure.
• Journalists keep politicians informed.
• Portrayal of presidents.
• Everything the president does is treated as news.
• The White House goes to great lengths to present its views to the press.
• Press conferences are highly controlled opportunities for presidential communication.
• Leaks to the press are a source of strain between presidents and the press.
CHAPTER 10

Congress

CHAPTER OUTLINE
I. A Portrait of Congress
   A. Who Serves in Congress?
   B. Getting Elected
II. The Work of Congress
   A. Making Laws
   B. The Power to Tax
   C. Producing the Budget
   D. Casework
   E. Congressional Oversight
III. The Organization of Congress
   A. Bicameralism
   B. Congressional Leadership
   C. The Committee System
   D. The Congressional Staff
IV. How a Bill Becomes a Law
   A. Committee Consideration
   B. Floor Action
   C. Conference Work
V. Congressional Voting
VI. Conclusion: Is Congress the Broken Branch?

CHAPTER SUMMARY
Congress, more than any other body of government, represents all of the diverse political interests and needs of the American people. According to the Constitution as originally written, House of Representative members were also the only federal officials directly elected to represent the people, so the nation’s founders gave Congress the primary power to make the laws to govern the people. But as you will be learning in this chapter, some people also call Congress the broken branch of the federal government. Americans often feel that Congress cannot or will not get the job done. They believe that Congress is ineffective. That myth of congressional ineffectiveness is at the heart of much discouragement and doubt about the quality of American government.

Chapter 10 introduces you to Congress and the myths and realities about how it works. The chapter opens with a discussion of what Congress is. Who serves in this institution, and how are members elected? How representative is Congress of the American people?

More broadly, the chapter also deals with the question of how Congress works. What does Congress do? What are its functions? How is Congress organized to do its work? The step-by-step overview of how a bill becomes a law will show this organization in operation and may answer those who question its effectiveness.

In the final section of the chapter, the authors describe the forces that influence congressional voting. What determines the issues on Congress’s agenda and how members of Congress will vote on an issue?
Your education and our democracy require that you understand these interesting and important issues because the myths and misconceptions that surround Congress undermine public faith in the value and ability of our national government. As the myths spread, public respect for Congress declines. And yet, after 200 years, Congress is still at the heart of our constitutional process of governing. That process works when all citizens have a working knowledge of our government, including an understanding of Congress. Can Congress work? In this chapter, the authors offer you evidence to support their positive answer to that question.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the myth of Congress as the broken branch and the evidence that contradicts that myth.
2. Summarize the constitutional requirements for serving in the House and Senate and describe the general characteristics of the membership of Congress.
3. Discuss the reasons for the incumbency advantage and describe the resources necessary for successful challengers.
4. Identify and illustrate the functions of Congress, including representation, oversight, legislation, and casework.
5. Explain how Congress is organized and describe its leadership structure.
6. Describe the four types of congressional committees, identify their functions, and discuss the significance of the seniority system for the selection of committee leaders.
7. Describe how a bill becomes a law in the congressional system.
8. Understand the differences in floor procedure between the House and the Senate.
9. Analyze the influences on congressional voting and explain their relative importance.
10. Describe how the work of Congress gets done.

**READING TABLES AND GRAPHS**

1. According to Figure 10.1, the populations of which states, in which regions, now make up less of a percentage of the general population than they used to make up?
2. Use Figure 10.2 to determine the differences in the way the House and Senate make law.
3. According to Table 10.1, which committees in both houses of Congress have no subcommittees?
4. According to Figure 10.2, what happens to a bill if the president vetoes it?
5. What is the fewest number of representatives that a state can have in the U.S. House of Representatives?

**REVIEWING CHAPTER 10**

**Identifying Key Terms and Ideas**

*Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:*

1. Temporary committees to study particular problems are called _____.
2. The presiding officer of the House of Representatives is the _____.
3. The congressional work of providing personal services for constituents is known as_____.

4. The head of the opposition party in each house of Congress is the_____.

5. The right of members to send congressional mail free of charge is called the_____.

6. A delaying tactic of speaking continuously to prevent a vote on a bill is a(n)_____.

7. The way in which members of Congress present themselves to their constituents in an attempt to win the voters’ trust is called_____.

8. The spokesperson and chair of the leading party in each house of Congress is the_____.

9. The act of drawing electoral district boundaries in ways that yield political advantage is called_____.

10. An article of a law allowing Congress to veto the actions of an executive agency or of the president in an area covered by the law is a(n)_____.

11. A Senate procedure allowing a vote to cut off floor debate is called_____.

12. _____ are permanently established committees that consider proposed legislation in specified policy areas and make recommendations to the larger body.

13. Assistants who support the party leadership by communicating the party positions to the membership and by keeping the leadership informed of members’ views are called_____.

14. The congressional tradition whereby the member of the majority party with the longest continuous service on a committee becomes the committee chair is known as the_____.

15. Congressional committees, usually permanent, that consist of equal members from each chamber are called_____.

16. Congressional districts created to create a political majority for a racial minority are known as_____.

17. The committee of the House of Representatives that determines the scheduling of bills and allocates time for floor action is the_____.

18. Congressional legislation appropriating funds for local projects is known as_____.

19. The recommendation of the House and Senate budget committees for setting spending ceilings in major funding categories is known as the_____.

d. first concurrent budget resolution

e. conference committee

f. standing committees

g. select/special committees

h. joint committees

i. casework

j. legislative veto

k. home style

l. cloture

m. filibuster

n. bicameral

o. majority leader

p. minority leader

q. pork-barrel legislation

r. party whips

s. seniority system

t. Speaker of the House

u. majority-minority districts

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20. A legislature that is divided into two separate houses is said to be_____.

21. A temporary committee formed to reconcile differences between the House and Senate versions of a bill is a(n) _____.

**Understanding Facts and Concepts**

*True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.*

1. **T**  **F** The demographic makeup of Congress very closely parallels the composition of the American public.

2. **T**  **F** The Constitution stipulates that senators must be thirty years old and residents of the state they represent, but representatives need only be twenty-five years old and do not need to live in their districts.

3. **T**  **F** Incumbents have an advantage over challengers in congressional elections because they always have more money to spend.

4. **T**  **F** Incumbents in Congress have not enjoyed much success in seeking reelection.

5. **T**  **F** The necessary and proper clause is important to congressional power because it gives Congress specific power to control taxation.

6. **T**  **F** The Supreme Court has ruled that majority-minority districts are an appropriate way to boost minority representation in Congress.

7. **T**  **F** Congressional members give time and careful attention to casework because it is good for their reelection chances.
8. T F The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has instituted a system that forces Congress to meet the budget committee’s resolutions, resulting in a significant reduction in the national deficit.

9. T F Congress regularly performs its oversight functions in committee and subcommittee hearings.

10. T F In creating different houses of Congress, the nation’s founders intended that the House of Representatives would closely reflect public opinion, whereas the Senate would be more permanent and less radical.

11. T F The chairperson of every congressional committee and subcommittee is in such an important position that he or she is chosen by open election of the whole Congress.

12. T F One of the most significant changes in the organization of congressional power in recent years has been the increased importance of subcommittees.

13. T F Congressional term limits are an effective way to ensure that incumbents don’t stay in office too long.

14. T F The lawmaking process in the Senate is different from that in the House of Representatives because the Senate has stricter rules and limitations on floor debate.

15. T F Congressional districts are often configured to help incumbents be successful in the reelection efforts.

16. T F Although a Congress member’s vote may be influenced by his or her party and constituents, members generally avoid the influence of their colleagues.
17. T F  The size of a committee and the ratio of Republicans to Democrats serving on a committee are determined via negotiations between the two political parties.

18. T F  Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the personal staffs of Congress have experienced considerable growth.

19. T F  The enumerated powers of Congress are vaguely defined in the Constitution.

20. T F  The necessary and proper clause of the Constitution has been interpreted by the Supreme Court and Congress in such a manner that it gives Congress the power to legislate almost every aspect of society.

21. T F  Filibusters in the House of Representatives are more common than in the Senate.

22. T F  Congress was never meant to be efficient.

23. T F  The legislative veto has proven to be one of the more effective tools Congress has to keep the executive branch in check.

24. T F  Most votes on legislation fall strictly along party lines.

25. T F  Before a bill is introduced into Congress, a conference committee is formed to evaluate the merits of the proposed legislation.
PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. According to the myth of Congress as the broken branch, Congress
   a. is incapable of effective action.
   b. does not respect the separation of powers.
   c. has not supported environmental legislation.
   d. has not kept its promises to other branches of government.

2. Congressional district lines are drawn by
   a. congressional committees.
   b. state legislatures.
   c. the Federal Election Commission.
   d. incumbents.

3. A group portrait of the current Congress would show
   a. a disproportionately high representation of ethnic minorities.
   b. a cross section of ordinary American men and women.
   c. an elite of wealthy, middle-aged, white men.
   d. fewer women than African American men.

4. Which of the following is not a benefit to incumbents in their efforts to be reelected?
   a. pork-barrel legislation
   b. gerrymandering
   c. casework
   d. cloture

5. The franking privilege is a benefit to incumbents because it
   a. creates federal projects for which they can take credit.
   b. reapportions election districts in a way that benefits them.
   c. gives them free use of television advertising.
   d. gives them free use of the mail.

6. The enumerated powers of Congress are the
   a. specific powers granted by the Constitution.
   b. broad, general authorization to do whatever is necessary.
   c. responsibility to provide constituents with personal services.
   d. right to draw district boundaries in ways that yield political advantage.

7. One way that a filibuster can be ended is to have the Senate invoke
   a. cloture.
   b. judicial restraint.
   c. rules of decorum.
   d. a franking privilege.

8. If your senator helped you get a passport in a hurry, this would be an example of how members of Congress are involved in
   a. pork-barreling.
   b. gerrymandering.
   c. oversight.
   d. casework.
9. For Congress, oversight is the
   a. habit of ignoring constituent interests.
   b. responsibility for overseeing the activities of the executive branch.
   c. practice of providing personal services for the people who vote for congressional members.
   d. power to exercise a legislative veto over the administration’s activities.

10. Leadership in Congress is chosen and organized by
   a. constitutional specifications.
   b. presidential appointment.
   c. popular election.
   d. political parties.

11. In the Senate, floor action on bills and general management of the legislative agenda is directed by the
   a. majority leader.
   b. minority leader.
   c. Speaker of the House.
   d. Republican Party Whip.

12. Which of the following items is the best single predictor how a member of Congress will vote?
   a. The member’s age.
   b. The member’s level of education.
   c. The member’s political party affiliation.
   d. The region of the country the member comes from.

13. A closed rule
   a. prohibits amendments from being attached to a bill during the floor debate.
   b. means that committee hearings will be closed to the public.
   c. means that the Senate and House will follow the same rules of debate for the bill in question.
   d. means that no record of the vote will be taken.

14. The Rules Committee is important in the workings of Congress because
   a. it decides the leadership for both houses of Congress.
   b. it determines debating procedures for bills in the House of Representatives.
   c. that is where the president determines the strategy for his congressional program.
   d. that is where the Speaker of the House determines the rules for committee assignments.

15. Payments that automatically go to any person or local government entity that meets the requirements specified by law are known as
   a. deferments.
   b. pork-barrel items.
   c. entitlements.
   d. legislative preferences.

16. After a subcommittee holds hearings, it will meet in a markup session. The purpose of this session is to
   a. settle on the precise language in the bill.
   b. create an annotated bill for other members to read.
   c. complete a cost-analysis of the proposed legislation.
   d. prep the bill for submission to the conference committee.

17. A conference committee would
   a. be the first to review a proposed bill.
   b. allocate debating time on the House floor.
   c. be called to hold hearings on a political scandal.
   d. meet to resolve differences in similar bills passed by the House and the Senate.
18. After a bill is introduced, it is referred to
   a. a committee whose membership contains the author of the bill.
   b. a committee by the leader of the chamber.
   c. the CBO for a sustainability study.
   d. the Rules Committee for review.
19. Which of the following statements about influences on congressional voting is true?
   a. Members usually do not vote according to the wishes of their constituents.
   b. Members' votes are heavily influenced by the advice of their colleagues.
   c. Members usually vote along straight party lines.
   d. All of the above.
20. The only House leadership position created by the Constitution is the
   a. Speaker of the House.
   b. majority leader.
   c. sergeant at arms
   d. house parliamentarian.
21. Which of the following statements best reflects the current use of the seniority system in Congress?
   a. The rule was completely abandoned after the Republican gains in 1994.
   b. The rule applies only to the formation of select committees.
   c. The rule is followed strictly by House Republicans, but it is not as closely adhered to in the Senate.
   d. The rule is followed strictly by Senate Republicans, but it is not as closely adhered to in the House.
22. Which of the following factors contributes to the reelection of representatives?
   a. districts drawn to maximize the strength of incumbents
   b. casework
   c. pork-barrel legislation
   d. all of the above
23. Special, or select, committees are
   a. made up of members from both the House and Senate.
   b. temporary committees established to study a particular problem.
   c. permanent committees that deal with recurring themes and topics.
   d. created by the president.
24. Congressional oversight responsibilities include
   a. the preparation of detailed reports of activities by the executive officials.
   b. hearings.
   c. committee investigations.
   d. all of the above.
25. Each of the following is a major role that Congress is expected to fulfill except:
   a. make laws.
   b. enforce the laws.
   c. establish taxes and spending priorities.
   d. represent constituent interests.
26. The American Congress is a bicameral legislature, which means that
   a. it is divided into two separate houses.
   b. representatives run with public money.
   c. representatives are appointed by party leadership.
   d. members participate in both houses.
Essay Questions
1. What role do political parties play in organizing Congress?
2. Describe a group portrait of Congress, identifying the types of people who serve in Congress and the factors that help keep them there.
3. Identify the work of Congress, describing its major functions and means of accomplishing each.
4. Compare the differences between House and Senate chambers.
5. Describe some of the advantages that help incumbents achieve reelection.
6. Explain the influences on congressional voting. Why do members of Congress vote the way they do?

ANSWER KEY

Reading Tables and Graphs
2. Notice in particular the role of the Rules Committee in the House.
3. In both chambers, it is the Budget committee.
4. The bill goes back to the House and Senate chambers for a possible override.
5. One.

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
1. g
2. t
3. i
4. p
5. b
6. m
7. c
8. k
9. o
10. a
11. j
12. l
13. f
14. r
15. s
16. u
17. h
18. q
19. d
20. n
21. e

Understanding Facts and Concepts
1. False. The typical member of Congress is middle-aged, highly educated, white, and male.
2. True.
3. False. Incumbents do not always have more money, but they do have more ways to be well known.
4. False. Incumbents have enjoyed tremendous reelection success.
5. False. The necessary and proper clause grants Congress general authority to make whatever laws are necessary to execute its specific powers.
6. False. The Court has ruled that these districts are unconstitutional if race was a “predominant factor.”
7. True.
8. False. Congress can still easily ignore budget resolutions, and the deficit has not been reduced.
10. True.
11. False. The chair is controlled by and selected from the majority political party.
12. True.
13. False. In 1995, the Supreme Court ruled that federal term limits were unconstitutional without creating a constitutional amendment.
14. False. The reverse is true: The House has strict limits on floor speech, and the Senate has a more casual and flexible debate procedure.
15. True.
16. False. Colleagues are extensively relied upon to give guidance in voting.
17. True.
18. True.
19. False. Enumerated powers are those powers specifically granted to Congress in Article I Section 8.
20. True.
21. False. Filibusters are only found in the U.S. Senate, not the House.
22. True.
23. False. The Supreme Court has declared legislative vetoes unconstitutional.
24. False. Except when selecting congressional leaders, Congress rarely engages in straight party-line voting.
25. False. Conference committees are formed after both chambers have passed similar legislation. The committee will then work out a compromise position between the Senate and House versions of the bill.

Multiple-Choice Questions
1. a
2. b
3. c
4. d
5. d
6. a
7. a
8. d
9. b
10. d
11. a
12. c
13. a
14. b
15. c
16. a
17. d
18. b
19. b
20. a
21. d
22. d
23. b
24. d
25. b
26. a

Essay Questions
1. The establishment of a bicameral legislation fragments power and gives Congress a decentralized organization.
   - Voting for leadership positions almost always falls perfectly along party lines.
Consider the posts of majority and minority leader—whips. The committee system rewards the majority party with more seats on the committees.

Membership on committees is closely connected to political party loyalty.

2. Summarize your points in a general thesis statement.

- Constitutional criteria
- Economic group
- Educational background
- Occupational background
- Racial makeup
- Gender makeup
- Incumbency

3. Although the Constitution created a division of authority into three branches, the nation’s founders intended that Congress should play the central role. Therefore, Congress has many kinds of duties.

- Power to make laws comes from Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution.
- Power to tax.
- Producing the budget.
- Casework.

4. The two chambers vary in a number of critical ways.

- Size
- Senate smaller than House
- Rules of debate
- Rules committee (House)
- Filibuster/cloture (Senate)
- Leadership power
- Constituents
- Districts (House)
- States (Senate)
- Speed at which the chamber passes legislation
- Constitutional roles
- Budget (House)
- Appointment confirmations (Senate)
- Treaty ratification (Senate)
- Impeachment (House/Senate)
5. Incumbents enjoy a large number of advantages, some to include in your essay are:
   • Safe seats by design (gerrymandering)
   • Franking privileges
   • Pork-barrel legislation
   • Casework

6. Members are expected to vote on an extremely wide range of subjects.
   • Party-line vote
   • Concerns of constituency
   • Advice from colleagues
CHAPTER 11

The Presidency

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Growth of the Presidency
   A. The First Presidents
   B. Congress Reasserts Power
   C. The Modern Presidency

II. Presidential Roles
   A. Chief of State
   B. Chief Executive
   C. Chief Diplomat
   D. Commander in Chief
   E. Chief Legislator
   F. The Seamless Web

III. The Institutional Presidency
   A. The Cabinet
   B. The Executive Office of the President

IV. The White House Office: Two Management Styles
   A. The Vice President

V. Presidential Influence
   A. Persuading Congress
   B. Public Opinion

VI. Conclusion: The All-Powerful President?

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Many Americans view the president as the master of American government. Reading and hearing so much about the chief executive’s political activities gives them the impression that the president controls every aspect of government activity. Presidents and presidential candidates themselves often encourage this faith that they can do all things, solve all problems, and manage all forces. These beliefs create a frustrating paradox in public expectations: the president is perceived as very powerful, yet he often seems unable to accomplish his goals.

What is the real nature of the president’s power? This is the central question of Chapter 11. The authors respond with a description of the presidency that details both the myth of the all-powerful president and the reality of what presidents can do.

Because the presidency is largely what presidents have made of it, the first perspective in the chapter-opening outline presents a historical view of the office. You will see that, although the growth of presidential power has not been a steady and uninterrupted climb, it has resulted in an office with more authority and responsibility than ever imagined by the nation’s founders. That power stems from the many roles and functions carried out by the president. In the second section of this chapter, you will learn about those roles and functions. What is the job of the president, or rather, how many jobs does he have, and how does he carry them out?
No study of the nation’s chief executive would be complete without considering the institutional presidency, that is, the organization that helps a president fulfill his responsibilities. As presidential power has expanded over time, so has the presidential staff. This raises new questions: Has the office grown too large? Does the presidential establishment make the president all-powerful?

In answering these questions and others, the authors will reach a conclusion that you may not expect: The power of the presidency rests largely on the power to persuade. The influence of the office depends on the president’s ability to persuade Congress and the American people to follow his lead. How great then is the real power of the presidency?

The myth of the all-powerful president is one of the most durable and significant misconceptions about American government. It fuels beliefs in a heroic leader who can solve every national problem and thereby increases misunderstandings about the realities of politics. With these exaggerated public expectations come inevitable disappointment and frustration. The consequence is a further paradox: faith in an all-powerful president but doubt about the capabilities of government. Knowing the myths and realities of the subject will help you refine your understanding of the potential and the limits of presidential power.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Describe the myth of the all-powerful president and the evidence that contradicts it.
2. Summarize the development of the presidency, describing the shifting power of the office as presidents and Congress struggle for dominance.
3. Identify and explain the roles of the American president and describe the constitutional basis for those roles.
4. Describe the extent and the limits of the president’s authority as chief executive and define his power to appoint, pardon, and withhold information.
5. Discuss the extent of the president’s powers in foreign affairs, explaining *executive agreements* and the importance of the power of recognition.
6. Discuss the modern conception of the president as commander in chief and the significance of the War Powers Resolution of 1973.
7. Summarize the expectations surrounding the president as chief legislator and describe the forms of the presidential veto, including the *line item veto*.
8. Discuss the institutional presidency, analyzing the role of the cabinet and summarizing the roles played by the executive office of the president.
9. Explain the role of the vice president in American politics.
10. Describe the major factors of a president’s influence with Congress.
11. Explain the strengths and weaknesses that result from a president’s public popularity.
REVIEWING CHAPTER 11

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

*Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:*

1. An international agreement made by a president without consent of the Senate is called a(n) _____.
2. The president who viewed the presidency as a bully pulpit and who articulated the stewardship theory of presidential power was _____.
3. The executive power to reject portions of a bill while signing the rest is known as a(n) _____.
4. The first president to strengthen his executive power by emphasizing his popular role as representative of all the people was _____.
5. The president whose responses to economic and military crises did the most to legitimize twentieth-century presidential power was _____.
6. A presidential rule or regulation that has the effect of law is called a(n) _____.
7. The president who initiated the practice of meeting with the cabinet and who created the two-term precedent was _____.
8. The president whose extraordinary use of war powers first demonstrated that in times of national emergency, the president possesses virtually unlimited power was _____.
9. A Provision opposed by an administration that is attached to a bill otherwise supported by the president is called a(n) _____.
10. The president whose unpopularity and ineffectiveness gave rise to modern worries about a tethered presidency was _____.
11. The first president to enhance his role as legislative leader by planning strategy and working closely with his congressional party was _____.
12. An agreement with a foreign nation that has been negotiated by the president and then submitted to both houses of Congress for approval is a(n) _____.
13. The president whose conduct of an unpopular war and involvement in election scandals led to modern worries about an imperial presidency was _____.

a. executive agreement  
b. executive privilege  
c. executive order  
d. George Washington  
e. Thomas Jefferson  
f. Andrew Jackson  
g. Abraham Lincoln  
h. Theodore Roosevelt  
i. Franklin D. Roosevelt  
j. Richard Nixon  
k. Jimmy Carter  
l. rider  
m. line-item veto  
n. pocket veto  
o. congressional-executive agreement
14. A president’s claimed right to withhold information from Congress is called_____.

15. The power of a president to kill a congressional bill by failing to sign it during the last ten days of a legislative term is known as a(n) _____.

Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F The Whig theory of presidential power held that Congress was the center of government and the president was simply there to execute the laws.

2. T F Article I of the Constitution explicitly details the powers of the president.

3. T F All presidential pardons need to be approved by Congress before they take effect.

4. T F Andrew Jackson capitalized on his personal popularity and strengthened the executive’s role.

5. T F The president has more freedom to hire and fire bureaucrats in the federal administration than to recognize foreign governments.

6. T F In the twentieth century, presidents have negotiated many more executive agreements than treaties

7. T F Abraham Lincoln, like most of the presidents in the nineteenth century, was a chief executive of limited influence.
8. T F Because ordinary presidential vetoes are easily overridden, the new line-item veto greatly expands the president’s power by allowing him to kill legislation by not signing bills during the last ten days of a congressional session.

9. T F In his capacity as chief diplomat, the president is free to grant formal recognition to foreign governments if he chooses, but he cannot make treaties without the consent of the Senate.

10. T F Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter are prime examples of the imperial presidency at work.

11. T F The executive office of the president was established by the Constitution to administer the various departments of the executive branch of government.

12. T F The difference between the wheel and pyramid styles of White House organization is that, with the pyramid style, there is much less access to the president.

13. T F The vice president has the constitutional duty to act as the chief of staff for the president.

14. T F With the development of extensive congressional lobbying staffs, presidents no longer need to get personally involved in persuading Congress.

15. T F President Clinton’s record setting approval ratings at the end of his term did not ensure that Democrats continued to control the White House.

16. T F In America, the president serves as both the head of state and chief executive.
17. T F The modern presidency has accumulated a lot of foreign affairs powers that early presidents did not have.

18. T F The president is not involved in the Senate’s power to make treaties.

19. T F Congressional-executive agreements, like treaties, require a two-thirds vote from the Senate before they are ratified.

20. T F Most modern presidents have favored a tight organizational structure (pyramid) to run their staff.

21. T F The War Powers Resolution (1973) was passed to give presidents greater latitude when deploying American troops.

22. T F The National Security Council advises the president on foreign and defense policy.

23. T F The president appoints the Cabinet with the advice and consent of the Senate.

24. T F The line-item veto has proven to be a powerful tool used by presidents to eliminate wasteful spending items from congressional budgets.

25. T F Vice President Dick Cheney has had limited power and access to the president.
PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. If you accepted the most widely held myth about the president, you would believe that
   a. presidents do not spend enough time dealing with domestic problems.
   b. a president’s power is very limited compared to Congress’s power.
   c. the president is powerful enough to do anything he wants.
   d. the presidency is too big a job for one person.

2. As the chief of state, the president
   a. serves as a symbol of the country.
   b. enforces the laws passed by Congress.
   c. introduces new policy initiatives.
   d. appoints individuals to executive agency posts.

3. Article II authorizes the president to take all of the following actions except
   a. make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate.
   b. declare war.
   c. receive foreign ambassadors and ministers.
   d. nominate and appoint ambassadors with the advice and consent of the Senate.

4. The Whig theory of presidential power held that the president should
   a. dominate the legislative process.
   b. have power as chief of state.
   c. yield to congressional leadership.
   d. have the power to impound funds voted by Congress.

5. Which of the following pairs of presidents fits the savior image of the president by rescuing the nation from crisis?
   a. F. Roosevelt and L. Johnson
   b. Lincoln and F. Roosevelt
   c. Van Buren and Lincoln
   d. Truman and Nixon

6. In the case of *U.S. v. Nixon* (1974), the Supreme Court ruled that
   a. President Nixon must resign or be impeached.
   b. presidents can claim executive privilege, but not when facing a criminal prosecution.
   c. a president’s executive privilege was absolute.
   d. presidential pardons were reviewable by Congress.

7. Which of the following would be an activity of the president as chief of state?
   a. appointing a new justice to the Supreme Court
   b. negotiating a new treaty with a foreign power
   c. lighting the White House Christmas tree
   d. delivering the State of the Union address

8. As chief executive the president is to oversee an executive branch that contains more than ____ civilian employees.
   a. 3 million
   b. 300,000
   c. 30 million
   d. 3,000
9. A number of the president’s powers as chief diplomat, such as making treaties and appointing ambassadors, are shared with
   a. the Senate.
   b. state governments.
   c. the State Department.
   d. the House of Representatives.

10. When a president vetoes legislation, he is acting upon his role as
   a. chief legislator.
   b. chief diplomat.
   c. chief executive.
   d. chief of state.

11. A pocket veto occurs when
   a. a president refuses at any time to sign a bill from Congress.
   b. a president vetoes a portion of a larger bill that he otherwise approves.
   c. Congress cannot come up with the two-thirds vote to override a presidential veto.
   d. a president fails to sign a bill during the last ten days of the congressional term.

12. The impoundment power of the president
   a. was restricted by Congress in 1974.
   b. was never used by President Nixon.
   c. is sometimes used in place of a line-item veto.
   d. all of the above.

13. Which of the following agencies is part of the executive office of the president?
   a. Federal Reserve Board
   b. Treasury Department
   c. Central Intelligence Agency
   d. Office of Management and Budget

14. Which agency of the executive office of the president was established to advise the president on foreign and defense policy?
   a. National Security Council
   b. State Department
   c. Joint Chiefs of Staff
   d. Central Intelligence Agency

15. As a means of advising the president, the weakness of the pyramid structure of White House organization is that
   a. top advisers and aides do not have as much authority.
   b. the president has to deal with too many minor issues.
   c. there is too much competition for the president’s attention.
   d. advice can be limited to what the chief aides want to give.

16. In contrast to the traditional role of vice presidents, during the more recent administrations, they have
   a. been more important in presiding over the Senate.
   b. been given much less visibility.
   c. had fewer campaign duties to perform.
   d. had more power and responsibility.
17. The War Powers Resolution
   a. was proposed by President Nixon as a way to give him more flexibility as commander in chief.
   b. has served as the cornerstone for U.S. military action since its adoption.
   c. requires the president in every possible instance to consult with Congress before dispatching troops.
   d. has helped to ensure that the president and Congress work together when they send American troops into combat situations.

18. The typical pattern of popularity for presidents suggests that they will be most influential and successful with Congress
   a. during their first months in office.
   b. during their last months in office.
   c. after they have had a year or two of experience in office.
   d. after waiting for their popularity to climb midterm.

19. When it comes to recommending legislation, the president
   a. often uses the State of the Union speech to promote legislative goals for the coming year.
   b. offers few specific policy proposals.
   c. offers them only when Congress requests action.
   d. will call Congress into session to hear his proposals.

20. The difference between the myth and the reality of presidential power is that, in reality, the president
   a. is all powerful.
   b. is all powerful in foreign affairs but weak in domestic affairs.
   c. has limited power in each area of presidential activity.
   d. has no power to accomplish policy aims.

21. An agreement with a foreign nation negotiated by the president and then submitted to both houses of Congress for approval is
   a. an executive agreement.
   b. a congressional-executive agreement.
   c. a treaty.
   d. illegal.

22. To which branch of government does the Constitution give the power to declare war?
   a. Congress
   b. the president
   c. the Supreme Court
   d. all of the above

23. When a president withholds funds that have been appropriated by Congress, this action is referred to as a(n)
   a. pocket veto.
   b. absorption.
   c. line-item veto.
   d. impoundment.

24. The line-item veto
   a. was successfully utilized by President Clinton to veto specific provisions in a tax bill.
   b. was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.
   c. has been ignored by all presidents since Truman.
   d. failed to pass as a bill in Congress.
25. Presidential signing statements
   a. reflect the general musings of the president and are of most interest to historians and biographers.
   b. have been heavily used by presidents since the end of World War II.
   c. are often reversed by congressional override.
   d. provide an alternative interpretation of a law and concerns about the new law.

26. How many department heads are currently in the president’s cabinet?
   a. twelve
   b. seven
   c. twenty-one
   d. fifteen

27. One of the responsibilities of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is to
   a. advise the president on matters of unemployment, inflation, and the value of the dollar abroad.
   b. advise the president about foreign and defense policy.
   c. hire and fire White House staff.
   d. prepare the president’s budget for presentation to Congress.

28. Which of the following powers is not limited by Congress?
   a. power to pardon
   b. powers to appoint and remove
   c. executive privilege
   d. treaty-making

29. Which of the following powers allows the president to receive foreign ambassadors and ministers?
   a. executive agreements
   b. power of recognition
   c. treaty-making
   d. powers to appoint and remove

30. After less than nine hours of debate, Congress gave the president the power to take all necessary measures in Vietnam. This resolution was called
   a. the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.
   b. the War Powers Resolution.
   c. the Shoot on Sight Resolution.
   d. a police action.

Essay Questions
1. What tools does the president have to influence other decision makers?
2. Describe the development of presidential power since the administration of Abraham Lincoln, identifying the major personalities and events that produced changes in that power.
3. What is the job of the president? List the major presidential roles and explain the responsibilities, powers, and limits of each.
4. What power does the president have at his disposal when Congress sends him legislation?
5. Describe the two different management styles seen in the White House. What are the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches?
ANSWER KEY

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
1. a
2. h
3. m
4. f
5. i
6. c
7. d
8. g
9. l
10. k
11. e
12. o
13. j
14. b
15. n

Understanding Facts and Concepts
1. True.
2. False. The power of the executive branch is addressed in Article II of the Constitution. Article I is devoted to Congress.
3. False. The power to pardon is one of the few presidential powers that Congress may not limit.
4. True.
5. False. The reverse is true: The president has more power to recognize foreign governments than to hire and fire within his or her own government.
6. True.
7. False. Unlike many of the nineteenth-century presidents, Lincoln exerted immense influence and saw his office as having virtually unlimited powers.
8. False. Ordinarily presidential vetoes are rarely overridden, and the president’s power to block legislation by not approving it during the last ten days of a congressional session is the pocket veto, not the line-item veto.
10. False. Ford and Carter are not imperial presidents. Indeed, some political observers referred to them as examples of a tethered presidency—constrained.
11. False. The executive office of the president was created in 1939 by executive order.
12. True.
13. False. The vice president has only the constitutional duty to preside over the Senate.
14. False. Successful influence with Congress still depends on a president’s personal involvement.
15. True.
16. True.
17. True.
18. False. The president is an important player in the treaty-making process.
19. False. These agreements need only a simple majority vote in both chambers. Indeed, their popularity stems from the fact that the president can avoid the two-thirds majority that treaties require.
20. True.
21. False. The War Powers Resolution was an attempt by Congress to limit the president’s war-making power.
22. True.
23. True.
24. False. The line-item veto was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1998.
25. False. President George W. Bush has routinely given Cheney wide-ranging responsibilities.

Multiple-Choice Questions
1. c
2. a
3. b
4. c
5. b
6. b
7. c
8. a
9. a
10. a
11. d
12. d
13. d
14. a
15. d
16. d
17. c
18. a
Essay Questions
1. Presidential power is not actualized simply by the president’s desire to see something happen. He must be adept at persuasion.
   - When influencing Congress the president can use party loyalty, personal appeals, and his staff lobbyists.
   - Public opinion can boost a president’s power and prestige
2. Lincoln used power in new ways.
   - He was succeeded by a series of presidents dominated by Congress.
   - The era of congressional government was interrupted only by the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson.
   - Modern presidency.
   - Franklin Roosevelt, Great Depression, and World War II.
   - In his first 100 days in office, Roosevelt pushed fifteen major pieces of legislation through Congress.
   - Imperial presidency.
   - Reagan’s mixed success.
   - Bush’s new engagement with Congress.
   - Clinton.
3. The variety of roles presidents are expected to play creates an appearance of the awesome burden of the presidency.
   - Chief of state
   - Chief executive
   - Chief diplomat
• Commander in chief
• Chief legislator

4. The president as a singular actor has several options at his disposal to deal with congressional acts that come to his desk.
• Pocket veto
• Impoundment
• Signing statements
• Signing ceremonies

5. The two different approaches are wheel and pyramid
• Wheel approach
  • Aides report directly to the president
  • Highly personalized approach
  • Ensures presidential access to information
• Pyramid approach
  • A few key aides limit access to president
  • Reduces president’s burden
  • Concentrate on tasks that demand the president’s attention
  • Information flow is limited—no dissenting voices
• Presidential aides can assume more power than is healthy for the administration
CHAPTER 12

Bureaucracy

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. A Profile of the Federal Bureaucracy
   A. Who Are the Bureaucrats?
   B. What Do Federal Bureaucrats Do?
   C. Where Do They Work?
   D. A Diverse Institution

II. Growth of the American Bureaucracy
   A. Overview of Bureaucratic Growth
   B. Explaining the Growth of the Bureaucracy

III. Bureaucratic Power
   A. The Sources of Bureaucratic Power
   B. Limiting Bureaucratic Power

IV. Bureaucratic Problems and Reforms
   A. Bureaucratic Pathologies
   B. Calls for Reform

V. Conclusion: Expectations and Government Operations

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The bureaucracy is that part of the government, someone has said, that you love to hate. To many Americans, the federal bureaucracy means red tape, inefficiency, and wasted tax dollars. Other people see danger in the uncontrolled and unaccountable power of bureaucrats who do not face public election, cannot be easily fired, and work anonymously and behind the scenes. The bureaucracy, for many people, symbolizes all that is wrong with modern national government: it is big, costly, and intrusive. And yet for millions of Americans, the federal bureaucracy provides benefits and services that they would not want to do without. The public’s relationship to government bureaucracy is inevitably ambivalent.

This chapter deals with those attitudes by examining the myths of incompetence and unresponsiveness in the federal bureaucracy. The authors explore the evidence that supports those myths, as well as the evidence that leads to a fuller understanding of the complex reality of how the bureaucracy works. In the process of examining these myths, you will learn about many of the most interesting and important activities of our national government.

First, you will explore the basic nature of the bureaucracy. Who are the bureaucrats, and how did they get their jobs? What kind of work do they do, and how are they organized to do it? The authors then trace the historical development of the federal bureaucracy, describing how it grew from a few thousand to nearly 3 million employees and how it expanded from a group of tax collectors and postal workers to include a vast array of trades and professions. Explaining this growth is an important part of the chapter.

Finally, you will look at the lifeblood of the administration to understand the power of the bureaucracy and how it is controlled. Where does the bureaucracy get its power? How does it use its power? Does it
have too much power? The answers to these questions will reveal some of the reality behind the myths of the bureaucracy.

Public complaints about the unresponsiveness and inefficiency of government employees sometimes reflect real problems of bureaucracies. These problems are described in this chapter as “bureaucratic pathologies”—faulty behavior that provokes many Americans to call for fundamental reform of the system. In the final pages of the chapter, however, the authors evaluate the performance of the federal bureaucracy and explain their conclusions about the myths of incompetence and unresponsiveness. You will learn why we cannot easily accept the evidence of inefficiency and poor management to condemn the bureaucracy. When you realize what it is that we expect of the bureaucracy, the myths will begin to fade before a more complete understanding of the role of the bureaucracy in American democracy.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Describe the myth of an incompetent and unresponsive federal bureaucracy and the evidence that contradicts it.
2. Explain the development of the modern employment systems within the federal bureaucracy.
3. Discuss the job of the national government bureaucracy, summarizing its several functions.
4. Describe the federal government structure, illustrating the range of positions and locations where government employees work.
5. Explain the growth of the federal government bureaucracy.
6. Identify and demonstrate the sources of bureaucratic power in the federal government.
7. Describe the constraints on bureaucratic power in the federal government.
8. Identify the pathologies or problems inherent in bureaucratic behavior.
9. Understand the steps that have been instituted to control bureaucratic behavior.
10. Evaluate the calls for reform of the federal bureaucracy, the reform efforts of several presidents, and the need for change in government operations.

READING TABLES AND GRAPHS

1. According to Figure 12.1, what happened to the number of cases backlogged when the Citizenship Immigration Services agency stepped up its efforts to reduce this number?
2. Use Table 12.1 to determine the smallest salary range for general civil service employees.
3. According to Table 12.1, how does the top salary range for general civil service workers compare with those in the senior executive service?
4. Compare Figures 12.3 and 12.4. What is the most striking difference about these two diagrams?

REVIEWING CHAPTER 12

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. A bureaucrats who risks his or her careers to publicize inappropriate or unethical behavior in his or her own federal agencies is called a(n) _____.
   a. career service personnel system
2. In 1883, the legislation that reduced the number of political appointments presidents can make and established the federal civil service merit system is the_____.

b. political appointee
c. Pendleton Act
d. General schedule (GS) civil service system
e. wage system
f. proxy administration
g. White House Office
h. whistle-blower
i. privatization
j. government-sponsored enterprise (GSE)
k. patronage
l. cabinet
m. spoils
n. merit
o. bureaucracy
p. ombudsman
q. regulatory commission
r. quasi-legislative
s. Office of Management and Budget (OMB)
t. independent agency
u. Senior Executive Service (SES)
v. standard operating procedures (SOPs)
w. reinventing government
x. Executive Office of the President
y. inspector general
z. Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)

3. The approach to bureaucratic reform adopted by the Clinton administration’s National Performance Review (NPR) is called_____.

4. The advisory board to the president, made up of the secretaries (heads) of the fourteen executive departments, is called the_____.

5. An agency, such as NASA, that exists outside the executive office of the president and cabinet and reports directly to the president is known as a(n)_____.

6. The official in a government who is assigned the task of investigating complaints or suspicious behavior is called the_____.

7. A method of giving government jobs at all levels to members of the winning party is the_____ system.

8. A method of giving government jobs based on a person’s ability, education, experience, and job performance is the_____ system.

9. The civil service program that provides personnel for highly specialized or professional federal agencies is the_____ system.

10. The institutions and people who work for government make up the_____.

11. A federal agency that exists independently of the White House and cabinet departments for the purpose of making and enforcing policy and performing rule-making functions is called a(n)_____.

12. A system of political appointments based on who you know rather than what you know is known as_____.

13. The public disclosure law that requires that federal agencies release information upon written request is the_____.

14. The supergrade civil service personnel who fill the major managerial positions in federal agencies are members of the_____.

15. A federally initiated organization designed to operate as if it were privately owned and operated is called a(n)_____.

16. A government official who occupies one of the most strategically important positions in the federal government is usually a(n)_____.

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17. _____ is the agency that is part of the executive office of the president and supervises matters relating to program and budget requests.

18. The umbrella organization of agencies created in the 1930s to advise the president and help coordinate the activities of the federal bureaucracy is known as the_____.

19. A regularized procedure that is used in public agencies to help conduct administrative business effectively and efficiently but that sometimes results in arbitrariness is called a(n)_____.

20. A lawmaking function that is performed by a bureaucratic agency rather than by Congress is called a(n)_____.

21. The federal personnel system covering workers who perform blue-collar and related jobs and are represented by unions or other associations with limited bargaining rights is called the_____.

22. The merit-based system that covers most white-collar and technical positions in the federal government is the_____.

23. The person or agency responsible for hearing citizen complaints or problems related to government operations is a(n)_____.

24. The process of turning the work of government agencies over to nongovernment contractors is called_____.

25. The government’s use of indirect means to deliver public goods and services is referred to as_____.

26. The president’s key advisers, as well as those people who manage his schedule and media relations, are all part of the_____.

Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F Most of the 3 million civilian employees of the federal government are political appointees.

2. T F The Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE) raid described in New Bedford, Massachusetts, was successful because the state and federal government agencies worked together.
3. T F The federal government’s general civil service was developed to implement a merit system and end the abuses of corruption under the previous spoils system.

4. T F The spoils system was created during President Franklin Roosevelt’s time in office.

5. T F Federal regulatory agencies are designed to give the president direct assistance in regulating the activities of the bureaucracy.

6. T F At moments of great national crisis in the twentieth century, such as the Great Depression and World War II, the federal government was forced to reduce the size of the bureaucracy to save money.

7. T F American public opinion has consistently opposed the expansion of the federal bureaucracy.

8. T F Behind the myth of bureaucratic incompetence is the widely held belief that the management of government programs need not be significantly different from private-sector management.

9. T F Expertise is an important source of bureaucratic power because policymakers often depend on career bureaucrats for advice.

10. T F The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) are good examples of government corporations.

11. T F Congress usually exercises control over the federal bureaucracy by passing detailed statutory laws that deny any discretion to bureaucrats in the implementation of policy.
12. T F  The court system regularly exercises control over the federal bureaucracy by ruling on whether agencies have a right to act in certain policy areas.

13. T F  Cozy triangles differ from issue networks because they are restricted to a few powerful individuals and ordinarily seek to operate outside public and media attention.

14. T F  The vast majority of the federal civilian work force is employed in white-collar jobs.

15. T F  Many government activities are carried out through the use of government contractors given to private firms.

16. T F  Political appointees to bureaucratic posts help the president direct the bureaucracy according to the wishes of the electorate.

17. T F  The agencies that make up the executive office of the president manage the daily work of the federal bureaucracy.

18. T F  The assassination of President Garfield helped fuel the push for reforms of the political appointment process.

19. T F  Regulatory commissions differ from cabinet departments because they have a special legal status that protects them from extensive presidential control.

20. T F  The federal government’s response to the Great Depression and World War II resulted in a growth in the federal bureaucracy.
21. T F Government-sponsored enterprises (GSE) are not subject to the same rules and regulations as other private corporations.

22. T F Federal bureaucrats do not play important roles in the policymaking process.

23. T F Bureaucracies sometimes give excessive attention to those they serve.

24. T F Clientelism and incrementalism are two pathologies that can affect bureaucracies and contribute to the image that they are incompetent and unresponsive.

25. T F Political appointees account for most of the employees in the federal civilian workforce.

PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. Presidents have used patronage to
   a. reward their political supporters.
   b. win support in Congress.
   c. encourage a decentralization of the federal bureaucracy.
   d. ensure that the best and brightest individuals staff the bureaucracy.

2. The spoils systems was once widely used in the United States to
   a. divide up the surplus government income.
   b. give government jobs to political supporters.
   c. expand the bureaucracy into new social areas.
   d. reward bureaucrats’ ability and expertise in office.

3. The senior executive service (SES) is
   a. the agency that administers civil service examinations.
   b. the top-level civil service management classification.
   c. a group of medical specialists working for the government.
   d. the classification for hourly wage employees in the civil service.
4. The executive office of the president
   a. is a small number of personal advisers and key aides who work with the president in the White House.
   b. is responsible for carrying out most of the federal government’s policies and programs.
   c. helps the president coordinate the activities of the federal bureaucracy.
   d. makes and enforces policy affecting various sectors of the economy.
5. President Garfield’s assassination help lead to the
   a. expansion of the spoils system.
   b. establishment of several ombudsman offices.
   c. privatization of many federal posts.
   d. passage of the Pendleton Act.
6. A typical quasi-judicial function of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which has jurisdiction over interstate and foreign broadcast communications, is to
   a. formulate rules and standards on obscenity over the public airwaves.
   b. distribute printed regulations on obscenity to all licensed ham radio operators in the United States.
   c. sit in judgment on whether a ham radio operator has violated standards of obscenity on the air.
   d. testify before a congressional judiciary committee to explain standards of obscenity in radio broadcasting.
7. Guaranteed student loan programs, through which you might be able to borrow money for your education from a local bank, are an example of the federal government’s
   a. regulatory agencies.
   b. patronage system.
   c. parochial behavior.
   d. proxy administration.
8. Government corporations are designed to
   a. create a policy subgovernment.
   b. operate like self-financing private businesses.
   c. monitor the activities of bureaucratic agencies.
   d. exercise quasi-judicial functions.
9. The primary role of the national bureaucracy is to
   a. assist the president.
   b. provide oversight functions for Congress.
   c. serve as a way for the people to communicate with elected leaders.
   d. implement the policies of the federal government.
10. Which of the following factors has lead to a growth in the bureaucracy?
    a. Government response to sudden changes in economic, social, cultural, or political conditions (e.g. World War II or the Great Depression).
    b. Political leaders desire to create new programs.
    c. The public’s demand for more government services.
    d. All of the above.
11. The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and Federal Communications Commission (FCC) are examples of
    a. government corporations.
    b. government-sponsored enterprises.
    c. regulatory commissions.
    d. congressional agencies.
12. A good example of a policy subgovernment area that could be described as a cozy triangle is  
   a. the tobacco industry.  
   b. the national defense environment.  
   c. immigration.  
   d. the Federal Reserve Board.

13. Congress passes a law requiring an end to sex discrimination in funding college athletics but then leaves officials of the Department of Education to work out the details. This is an example of bureaucratic power due to  
   a. merit.  
   b. discretion.  
   c. longevity.  
   d. external support.

14. Congress regularly limits the power of the bureaucracy by  
   a. reviewing agency budget requests.  
   b. passing detailed laws giving bureaucrats no discretion.  
   c. restricting the rights and activities of whistle-blowers.  
   d. withholding most of the president’s authority over federal programs.

15. Each of the following is a way to limit bureaucratic power except  
   a. the president limiting funding to agencies.  
   b. Congress replacing vague legislation with detailed instructions.  
   c. voters electing new cabinet officials.  
   d. whistle-blowers exposing inappropriate actions in an agency.

16. Which of the following is the most accurate statement about limits on the power of the bureaucracy?  
   a. Bureaucratic power in the federal government is now uncontrolled.  
   b. Presidential supervision is the only effective limit to bureaucratic power.  
   c. There are many internal and external restraints on bureaucratic power.  
   d. Because there are no external restraints, self-restraint and professionalism alone limit the power of the bureaucracy.

17. When bureaucrats and their agencies show favoritism toward the particular groups they serve or regulate, their action is known as the pathology of  
   a. incrementalism.  
   b. parochialism.  
   c. imperialism.  
   d. clientelism.

18. Which of the following actors were not part of the cozy triangle that was associated with the “tobacco subgovernment”?  
   a. members of Congress from tobacco-growing states  
   b. lobbyists representing tobacco farmers and cigarette manufacturers  
   c. voters  
   d. bureaucrats from tobacco related programs at the Department of Agriculture

19. To say that a regulatory commission has been captured means that  
   a. the commission shows favoritism toward the groups that they are supposed to regulate and do not serve the public good.  
   b. Congress has removed the commission from the executive branch and placed it under their control.  
   c. career bureaucrats refuse to alter their policies to reflect the wishes of a new White House administration.  
   d. they are guilty of the bureaucratic pathology of imperialism.
20. Why is it misleading to judge government bureaucrats against the standards of private business?
   a. Bureaucrats cannot be expected to know their jobs well.
   b. Bureaucrats do not have the job security of private business.
   c. Bureaucrats are supposed to be unresponsive to public concerns.
   d. Bureaucrats must live up to multiple public expectations.
21. The idea that the work of federal agencies should reflect the priorities of the White House is known as
   a. executive privilege.
   b. unitary executive theory.
   c. hub-of-the-wheel organizational theory.
   d. executive supremacy theory.
22. Which of the following is a problem inherent in bureaucracy?
   a. clientelism
   b. incrementalism
   c. arbitrariness
   d. all of the above
23. Standard operating procedures can lead to
   a. a lack of bureaucratic responsiveness to individual needs.
   b. arbitrariness.
   c. incrementalism.
   d. taking over the functions of other agencies.
24. The courts play a role in controlling bureaucracies by
   a. making appointments.
   b. creating new agencies.
   c. examining a claim that an agency has overstepped its authority.
   d. serving on them.
25. External sources of bureaucratic power do not include
   a. popular media presentations.
   b. coalitions between the bureaucracy and other political players.
   c. the fact that bureaucrats are often permitted to use their own judgment in carrying out public policies and programs.
   d. interest groups.
26. The term cozy triangle refers to
   a. relationships among employees in executive bureaucracies, members of Congress, and lobbyists who organize official government policy in a particular area.
   b. the relationship among Congress, the Supreme Court, and the executive office of the president in issues involving governmental regulation.
   c. the role of the American Bar Association in the promotion of lawyers to jobs involving law and regulation.
   d. the relationship among business, the media, and executive appointments.
27. An ombudsman is responsible for
   a. reporting to Congress the effectiveness of executive agencies.
   b. developing proposals to privatize government functions.
   c. reviewing the policies and procedures used to appoint and dismiss political appointees.
   d. hearing citizen complaints or problems related to government programs or policies.
28. The Freedom of Information Act is important because
   a. it ensures that the government records are opened up to the public.
   b. Congress can fulfill its oversight function.
   c. civil service employees are not fired without justification.
   d. it moved many government records to electronic databases.

29. One byproduct of the effort to reinvent government during the Clinton administration was the
   b. abolishing of four major executive agencies.
   c. creation of the Program Assessment Rating Tool (PART).
   d. passage of the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA).

30. Bureaucracies do not derive power from
   a. external support.
   b. the state of nature.
   c. discretion.
   d. leadership.

Essay Questions
1. Discuss the myth that the bureaucracy is incompetent and unresponsive. Describe the reasons for
   that attitude and the reasons for believing that this is an incomplete view of the federal
   bureaucracy.

2. Provide a profile of the federal bureaucracy, describing the characteristics of federal employees.

3. Describe the growth of the federal bureaucracy, listing and illustrating reasons for that growth in
   the twentieth century.

4. What are the sources of bureaucratic power, and how is that power exercised? Provide
   illustrations of both external and internal sources of support.

5. List and explain the limits to the power of the federal bureaucracy. Evaluate the effectiveness of
   these limits.

6. Problems of bureaucratic behavior have been characterized by political scientists as five different
   pathologies. Identify and illustrate each of those pathologies and discuss their effect on public
   attitudes toward the bureaucracy.

ANSWER KEY

Reading Tables and Graphs
1. The agency announced that it would be implementing new higher fees to pay for the extra work,
   and this resulted in a spike in applications and an increase in the backlog of cases.

2. The lowest pay grade is between $17,046 and $21,324.

3. The top general service range ($95,390–$124,010) is slightly lower than the senior executive
   service pay ($114–$172,200).

4. Although they are supposed to be depicting the same organizational materials, the diagram
   produced by the Office of Homeland Security paints a much neater and streamlined picture of the
   agency and its partners.
Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

1. h
2. c
3. w
4. l
5. t
6. y
7. m
8. n
9. a
10. o
11. q
12. k
13. z
14. u
15. j
16. b
17. s
18. x
19. v
20. r
21. e
22. d
23. p
24. i
25. f
26. g

Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. False. Most of them are civil service merit appointees.
2. False. The state of Massachusetts and the federal government did not work in concert on this raid. Indeed, subsequent lawsuits revealed a level of heightened tension.
3. True.
4. False. The spoils system was created during Andrew Jackson’s presidency.
5. False. Regulatory commissions are independent of executive control and are intended to regulate sectors of the public economy.

6. False. At those times, the government instituted large new bureaucratic programs to confront the problems.

7. False. Although the public may not like the growth of the bureaucracy, public demands and dependency on federal programs have consistently supported the expansion of the bureaucracy.

8. True.


10. False. They are both independent agencies.

11. False. Congress rarely provides detailed legislative controls; it exercises its control over the bureaucracy through oversight operations and appropriations control.

12. False. The courts sidestep these issues and focus instead on requiring that agencies operate according to the due process of law.

13. True.

14. True.

15. True.

16. True.

17. False. They formulate policy but do not do much toward carrying it out.

18. True.

19. True.

20. True.

21. False. Despite the government’s in the creation of a GSE they are treated like a private corporation.


23. True.

24. True.

25. False. There are approximately 9,000–10,000 positions that the president could fill without relying on merit or competitive exams.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. a
2. b
3. b
4. c
5. d
6. c
7. d
Essay Questions

1. When Americans think about the federal bureaucracy, they don’t think of people who risk or give their lives in public service. Federal agencies seem to serve their own self-interests.
   - Difference between government and business
   - Political appointments
   - Merit system
   - Regulatory commissions

2. Federal bureaucrats are employed under several personnel systems.
   - Political appointees
   - Cabinet members
   - Patronage system
• Merit systems
• Pendleton Act
• Merit system
• General civil service system

3. The history of bureaucratic growth reveals that there are many reasons for that growth.
• Founders, such as Alexander Hamilton, regarded the bureaucracy as a key part of our constitutional system.
• The Constitution gives responsibility for carrying out the laws to the president.
• Civil War.
• Franklin Roosevelt’s responses to the Great Depression and World War II.
• The expansion of the nation requires more services for more people and places.
• The challenges of modern industrial life outstrip the capacity of families and smaller governments.

4. The competent and effective operation of government requires bureaucratic power.
• Sources of bureaucratic power
• The laws the bureaucracy is given to enforce or to implement public policy
• External support from the public, interest groups, media, legislators, or the White House
• Policy subgovernments
• From agency expertise on technical issues
• Discretionary power
• Longevity in office due to the merit system, which protects bureaucrats from being fired

5. Limits to bureaucratic power
• Self-restraint.
• Quantity and quality of resources available for bureaucratic operations.
• President can exercise control.
• Congress can impose controls.
• Courts play a role in limiting bureaucratic power.
• Internal sources of control—whistle-blowers.
• Inspector general.
• Media.
• Citizen lobbies.

6. There are real problems with bureaucracies, which can be described as the following bureaucratic pathologies (or characteristically bad behaviors of bureaucracy).
• Clientelism
• Incrementalism
• Arbitrariness
• Parochialism
• Imperialism
CHAPTER 13

Courts, Judges, and the Law

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. The Origins and Types of American Law
II. The Structure of the Court Systems
III. The Federal and State Court Systems
   A. Lower Courts
   B. The Supreme Court
   C. Specialized Courts
   D. State Court Systems
   E. Interactions Among Court Systems
IV. Recruiting and Removing Judges
   A. Federal Judges
   B. Who Becomes a Federal Judge?
   C. Removing Judges
V. The Supreme Court at Work
   A. Oral Argument
   B. Conference Work
   C. Writing and Announcing the Opinion
   D. Interpreting the Constitution
VI. The Implementation of Court Decisions
   A. Compliance by Other Courts
   B. Congress and the President
VII. Conclusion: The Courts Are Not What They Seem

CHAPTER SUMMARY

No part of American government is more shrouded in legend and myth than the Supreme Court. The pomp and ceremony surrounding the workings of that Court, and all our courts, add to the mysterious image of those institutions. Court decisions that seem to come down from on high stimulate public curiosity and add to the myth of court power. This chapter focuses on the role of courts, judges, and the law in American government in an effort to dispel the myths and clarify the reality of those important elements of our political system.

The first section of the chapter deals with the characteristics of American law, looking at the sources and variety of law. Next is a survey of the variety of courts in our country. With this terminology of law and courts in mind, you will be prepared to study the federal court system—U.S. district courts and courts of appeal, the Supreme Court, specialized federal courts—and its interaction with state court systems.

Given the relatively small number of federal judges and the tangible impact their decisions have on the American way of life, it is critical to understand the selection process for these positions. In this chapter, you will examine who the judges are and how they got their jobs. In the fourth section of the chapter, the authors discuss the recruitment of judges for the national courts and their removal from those courts.
The final sections of the chapter deal with the U.S. Supreme Court—the most powerful, most famous, and most misunderstood part of the federal court system. How does the Supreme Court reach its decisions? Where does the Court get its power? How are its decisions implemented? The answers to those questions will increase your understanding of the workings of the highest court in the American political system.

Misconceptions about the Court have led to the existence of two myths—the myth of the nonpolitical courts and the myth of finality. Because of these myths, Americans often think that courts act neutrally, above politics; that most of the action of the federal court system occurs in the Supreme Court; and that Supreme Court decisions express the last word on controversial political issues. The authors’ analysis of these myths provides a valuable perspective on the real significance of courts, judges, and the law in American government.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Describe the myths of the nonpolitical courts, the finality of the Supreme Court, and the evidence that contradicts these ideas.
2. Identify the differences between civil and criminal law in the American legal system.
3. Describe the structure and functions of trial and appellate courts.
4. Explain the origins, growth, and structure of the federal court system.
5. Explain how cases reach the Supreme Court for consideration.
6. Describe state appellate and trial court systems in the United States and explain how they interact with the federal court system.
7. Explain how judges are selected for the federal and state court systems, contrasting different systems for different courts.
8. Describe what presidents look for in a Supreme Court nominee and the characteristics of those chosen.
9. Explain the means of removing federal court judges and discuss the effectiveness of those methods.
10. Describe the Supreme Court’s decision-making process.
11. Describe the procedures used by the Supreme Court to assign the writing of an opinion and define the terms concurring opinion and dissenting opinion.
12. Explain the origins of the power of judicial review and discuss the controversy over its use.
13. Identify the obstacles to Supreme Court authority in the implementation of its decisions.

**READING TABLES AND GRAPHS**

1. Which court of appeals circuit is Florida in, according to Figure 13.2?
2. According to Figure 13.1, appeals from the U.S. Tax Court proceed to which court?
3. After reviewing Figure 13.2, what type of statement can you make regarding the number of states per U.S. circuit?
4. How many members of the current Supreme Court were appointed by Republican presidents?
REVIEWING CHAPTER 13

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. The law that deals with offenses against the public order and that provides a specific punishment is called _____.
2. Written friend-of-the-court briefs submitted to the Supreme Court by third-party individuals or organizations who want their opinions considered are _____ briefs.
3. The power of trial courts to hear cases from a broad class of issues, ordinarily including all serious civil and criminal matters, is known as _____.
4. When litigants, who have some right under the law to have their cases reviewed, take their case before the Supreme Court, this approach is known as a(n) _____.
5. The power of certain trial courts to hear only cases from a narrowly defined class of cases is known as _____.
6. A Supreme Court opinion expressing disagreement with the majority conclusion is a(n) _____.
7. The federal courts of appeal are also known as _____.
8. Courts of first instance possessing original jurisdiction are _____.
9. A Supreme Court opinion expressing agreement with the outcome of a decision but not with the reasoning of the majority is a(n) _____.
10. Written documents presented to a court containing a summary of the issues, the laws applying to the case, and arguments supporting the position of one side are called _____.
11. Courts charged with the responsibility of reviewing previous court decisions are _____.
12. The belief in limited and infrequent use of judicial review on the grounds that unelected judges should not overrule the laws of elected representatives is called _____.
13. Belief in the Supreme Court’s right and obligation to practice judicial review, especially in defense of political minorities, is called _____.
14. Lawsuits arising out of conflicts between private persons and/or organizations are called _____.
15. The authority to be the first court to hear a case is called _____.
16. The power to declare acts of Congress and state legislatures unconstitutional is called _____.
17. A Supreme Court order for a lower court to send up the record of a case is a(n) _____.
UNDERSTANDING FACTS AND CONCEPTS

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F Most people appointed to be federal judges are politically active and have held political office before.

2. T F Impeachment proceedings are routinely used to remove federal judges.

3. T F The Constitution establishes all of the courts in the federal court system but leaves it up to Congress to determine state court systems.

4. T F The vast majority of cases brought to the federal courts are finally decided in U.S. district courts.

5. T F The vast majority of cases brought before the U.S. Supreme Court are cases of original jurisdiction.

6. T F Common law, or judge-made law, is the oldest source of law applied by U.S. courts and dates from medieval England.

7. T F The U.S. Constitution stipulates that all trial court judges in both state and federal courts are to be elected.

8. T F Senatorial courtesy is more important in the appointment of Supreme Court justices than in the appointment of lower-level federal judges.

9. T F Interest groups have used amicus curiae briefs to try and influence courts.
10. T F Statutory law originates from specifically designated lawmaking bodies (Congress, state legislatures, etc.).

11. T F Oral arguments are the most important part of the decision-making process for the Supreme Court.

12. T F According to Article III of the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. Supreme Court has nine justices.

13. T F Writing legal opinions on the Supreme Court is typically a process that involves collaboration and debate.

14. T F In an argument over judicial activism or judicial restraint, the advocate of judicial activism would argue that justices should adhere literally to the intent of the Constitution’s authors.

15. T F The power of judicial review is expressly granted to the Supreme Court in Article III of the U.S. Constitution.

16. T F Supreme Court justices automatically lose their seat on the court for breaking the law.

17. T F The selection and appointment of judges and justices is not a political process.

18. T F Civil law applies to offenses against the public order and provides for a specified punishment.

19. T F More than 95 percent of the requests for a writ of certiorari are denied.
20. T F The Constitution requires that all trials have juries.

21. T F Congress has developed pension programs as incentives for federal judges to step down.

22. T F When appointing judges to the U.S. Supreme Court, the president must be mindful of the senatorial courtesy rule.

23. T F Amicus curiae briefs can be filed by a person or a group interested in a case but who is not a party to the case.

24. T F Supreme Court justices are nominated to serve a twenty-one-year term, but the term can be extended upon approval of the U.S. Senate.

25. T F The most important part of the Court’s work takes place in its conferences, which are closed to the public.

PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. Which of the following popular beliefs best illustrates the myth of the nonpolitical courts?
   a. Judges objectively apply the law and are untouched by politics.
   b. Judges do not have the political power to enforce their rulings.
   c. Judges are ignorant about the political issues before them.
   d. Judges avoid all of the serious political issues in our society.

2. The NAACP originally opposed the splitting of the old Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals into two circuits because
   a. they feared the split would weaken civil rights enforcement.
   b. this move violated Article III of the U.S. Constitution.
   c. it was unclear who would nominate the new judges to this court.
   d. the Supreme Court had already declared such a move unconstitutional.
3. The Constitution guarantees the right to
   a. a bench trial.
   b. trial by jury.
   c. a federal court trial.
   d. appeal a conviction.

4. If a person is charged with committing a federal crime, like counterfeiting, he or she would be tried first in a
   a. state criminal court.
   b. state supreme court.
   c. U.S. district court.
   d. U.S. circuit court.

5. U.S. district courts are responsible for all of the following items except
   a. diversity cases.
   b. approval of passports.
   c. granting parole to federal prisoners.
   d. reviewing appeals from other federal courts.

6. Of the cases heard annually by the U.S. Supreme Court, most are
   a. civil suits under original jurisdiction in which a state is a party.
   b. cases that Congress or the president requires the Court to hear.
   c. controversial criminal cases that have never been tried before.
   d. appeals from lower federal courts.

7. The Supreme Court’s rule of four applies to
   a. review of a petition for a writ of certiorari.
   b. cases of original jurisdiction.
   c. a justice’s right to dissent.
   d. death penalty cases.

8. In order to enforce its decisions the U.S. Supreme Court can
   a. call on the army or police to carry out its decisions.
   b. levy taxes to pay for the implementation of their decision.
   c. write new laws.
   d. none of the above.

9. Senatorial courtesy is more important to the appointment of
   a. Supreme Court justices than district court judges.
   b. federal district court judges than appeals court judges.
   c. federal appeals court judges than district court judges.
   d. state court judges than federal court judges.

10. Congress can overturn the Supreme Court’s constitutional interpretation of a matter by
    a. passing new legislation.
    b. asking the people to vote in new justices.
    c. introducing a national referendum item to the voters.
    d. amending the Constitution.

11. What percentage of criminal defendants see their cases go to trial?
    a. 50%
    b. 10%
    c. 90%
    d. 30%
12. The Judiciary Act of 1789
   a. created a national judiciary.
   b. established the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.
   c. defined the roles of state courts.
   d. allowed the president to dismiss federal judges.

13. During the oral argument phase of a Supreme Court case,
   a. amicus curiae petitions are considered and voted on.
   b. witnesses are heard, and testimony is collected in the case.
   c. attorneys present their written briefs, and the issues are fully debated.
   d. each side has thirty minutes to argue its case.

14. Each of the following methods are employed by states to select their judges except
   a. gubernatorial appointment.
   b. partisan election.
   c. random lottery drawing.
   d. merit selection.

15. The legal jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court is
   a. original.
   b. appellate.
   c. both original and appellate.
   d. defined by the president.

16. Having federal judiciary posts filled by presidential nomination and Senate confirmation is
   a. the same process as the one used in all the states.
   b. not the way judges are selected in most political systems.
   c. devoid of partisan and ideological fights.
   d. preceded by a long series of written exams.

17. A senator argues that the U.S. Supreme Court should not be an imperial judiciary that substitutes
its judgment for that of elected officials, and that the Court should have only a limited right to
declare acts of Congress unconstitutional. The senator’s opinion agrees with the philosophy of
judicial
   a. review.
   b. intent.
   c. activism.
   d. restraint.

18. Which of the following is a true limit to the power of the Supreme Court?
   a. Congress can pass laws overruling the Court.
   b. The public can vote unpopular justices out of office.
   c. State courts can overrule or reverse Court decisions.
   d. The president can appoint new justices with different values.

19. One of the most distinctive ways that the selection of state judges differs from the selection of
federal judges is that
   a. many states have elected judges.
   b. state judges do not serve a specific term in office.
   c. states do not have a merit system of selection for trial judges.
   d. federal judges are not subject to congressional confirmation.
20. The truth behind the myth of finality is that
   a. the federal courts are not above politics.
   b. presidents don’t always get the last word on Supreme Court appointments.
   c. Supreme Court decisions need support from others to be upheld.
   d. justices of the Supreme Court can write dissenting opinions from that of the majority opinion.

21. Courts, other than the Supreme Court, are created by
   a. executive agreement.
   b. Congress.
   c. the Supreme Court.
   d. legal action.

22. Judicial review refers to the
   a. ability of Congress to change the size of the Supreme Court.
   b. power of the president to appoint members to the Court.
   c. ability of the Court to offer advice to the executive branch.
   d. power of the Court to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional.

23. The size of the Supreme Court is determined by
   a. Congress.
   b. the president.
   c. the Supreme Court.
   d. the Constitution.

24. Diversity cases involve lawsuits between
   a. people of different ethnic backgrounds.
   b. people from different states.
   c. people from different countries.
   d. states.

25. Who mostly determines what cases the Supreme Court hears?
   a. the Supreme Court
   b. state legislatures
   c. the president
   d. Congress

26. To carry out its orders and decisions, the Court
   a. needs the cooperation of others to carry out its intention.
   b. orders the army to enforce the decision.
   c. will levy taxes to fund the implementation.
   d. will sue noncompliant agencies.

27. How many judges preside over a case in district court?
   a. three
   b. five
   c. one
   d. two

28. Court actions between private individuals are most associated with
   a. civil actions.
   b. criminal cases.
   c. amicus curiae.
   d. per curiam.
29. The U.S. Court of Federal Claims, the U.S. Tax Court, and the U.S. Court of International Trade are all examples of
   a. specialized courts.
   b. district courts
   c. multicircuit state courts.
   d. federal courts where judges are elected.

30. Which case established judicial precedence for judicial review?
   a. *Brown v. Board of Education*
   b. *Plessy v. Ferguson*
   c. *Dred Scott v. Sanford*
   d. *Marbury v. Madison*

**Essay Questions**
1. Discuss the myth of the nonpolitical courts and give the evidence that contradicts it.
2. Discuss how trial courts differ from appellate courts.
3. Identify and describe the procedures of the Supreme Court for deciding cases.
4. What are the three major levels of federal courts? How do they differ from each other?
5. Consider the different models for judicial selection used in the United States. Which approach do you think is best suited for establishing a system of justice?

**ANSWER KEY**

**Reading Tables and Graphs**
1. Eleventh Circuit.
2. Courts of appeals.
3. The number of states per circuit varies considerably between each court.
4. Seven. All the justices except for Ruth Bader-Ginsberg and Stephen Breyer were appointed by Republicans.

**Identifying Key Terms and Ideas**
1. e
2. h
3. q
4. a
5. c
6. o
7. i
8. k
9. t
10. b
11. j
Understanding Facts and Concepts

1. True.
2. False. Over the years there have been few impeachment trials.
3. False. The Constitution created only a Supreme Court, leaving the rest of the federal system to Congress’s determination. State governments create state court systems.
4. True.
5. False. Most cases before the Supreme Court are appeals from lower federal courts.
6. True.
7. False. The U.S. Constitution has nothing to say about the selection of judges in the United States. Although trial court judges in many states are elected, federal trial (district court) judges are appointed by the president, subject to confirmation by the Senate.
8. False. Senatorial courtesy is most important in the appointment of U.S. district court judges and is unimportant in the ratification of Supreme Court nominees.
10. True.
11. False. Oral arguments are important for questions and answers on briefs, but the most important work of the Court is done in conference.
12. False. The total number of justices on the Court is not specified by the Constitution, but rather it is determined by Congress. There are currently nine members, and it has been staffed this way since 1869.
13. True. Justices are free to write an opinion of their own, but they typically try to craft language that can gain support from multiple justices.
14. False. This would be an argument for original intent. Judicial activism would argue that judges have a right to exercise judicial review.
15. False. This grant of power is not explicitly stated anywhere in the Constitution.
16. False. Justices have to be impeached.
17. False. It is a very political process, from the nomination, through the confirmation, to the job itself.
18. False. Criminal law applies to offenses against the public order.
19. True.
20. False. Not all trials must have juries.
21. True.
22. False. The unwritten rule of senatorial courtesy becomes a factor only when one is talking about federal district court nominees.
23. True.
24. False. Supreme Court justices are appointed to the bench for life.
25. True.

**Multiple-Choice Questions**

1. a
2. a
3. b
4. c
5. d
6. d
7. a
8. d
9. b
10. d
11. b
12. a
13. d
14. c
15. c
16. b
17. d
18. d
19. a
20. c
21. b
22. d
23. a
24. b
25. a
26. a
27. c
28. a
29. a
30. d

Essay Questions

1. Explain the myth of a nonpolitical court and fully explain the points against such a conception.
   - Role in check-and-balance power struggle
   - Appointment process
   - Political decisions reached by the Court

2. Trial courts and appellate courts vary in their physical makeup, legal jurisdiction, and purpose.
   - Trial courts
   - Courts of original jurisdiction
   - Bench or jury trial
   - Single judge presiding
   - Plea-bargaining
     - Appellate courts
     - Appellate courts review the decisions of the trial courts
     - No juries—a review of written record
     - Panel of judges

3. The process of Supreme Court decision-making:
   - Oral argument
   - Conference work
   - Writing and announcing the decision

4. The three major levels are the district and circuit courts, and the Supreme Court.
   - District courts
   - General jurisdiction
   - Senatorial courtesy
   - Ninety-four courts
   - Single presiding judge
   - Circuit courts
   - Appeals
   - Multistate jurisdictions
   - Panels of judges
   - Twelve courts
   - Supreme Court
• General jurisdiction and cases on appeal
• One court
• Nine justices
• Oral arguments

5. Answers will vary, but students should highlight some of the different state options being employed; appointment, merit selection, election. Explore the relationship between judicial independence and justice.
CHAPTER 14

Domestic Policy and Policymaking

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Making Public Policy
   A. Stages in the Policymaking Process
   B. Models of Decision-Making

II. Education Policy
   A. Access to Education
   B. Funding of Education
   C. Educational Curriculum
   D. Educational Quality and Accountability

III. Managing the Economy
   A. Monetary Policy
   B. Fiscal Policy
   C. The Debate
   D. Deficits, Surpluses, and the National Debt

IV. Economic Development Policies
   A. Trade Policies and Globalization
   B. Tax Incentives
   C. Industrial and Supply-Side Policies

V. Regulatory Policies
   A. Economic Regulation
   B. Environmental Regulation
   C. Social Regulation

VI. Social Welfare Policies
   A. Aiding the Poor
   B. Social Insurance

VII. Conclusion: The Complexity of American Public Policy

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Public policies are the actions taken by government in response to public needs and desires voiced through the political system. In that sense, policies are the end products of our political system, the outcome of the whole process of government. The final two chapters of this book sample the public policies produced by our political system. This chapter examines domestic policies; Chapter 15 deals with foreign and defense policies.

This examination begins by looking at how policy is made. More specifically, what are the stages in the process? Who takes part in the process? How well do the participants make decisions and shape policies to meet the needs of the people? As you consider different models of decision-making, you will be confronting these primary questions about our government: Is the process democratic, or does it merely reflect the power of an elite few? Is it rational or chaotic?

In this chapter’s sampling of domestic policies, the focus is on two areas: economic policies concerned with promoting individual and public prosperity, and social policies concerned with meeting the needs of the poor and the general public.
Within these two broad categories are several smaller areas of focus. In the economic arena, four general types of economic policy are considered: monetary, fiscal, developmental, and regulatory. The national debt is a topic of economic policy that generates heated debate, and in this chapter the causes and effects of the deficit are reviewed.

The social policies described are the new federal welfare system following 1996 reform legislation, social insurance policies for the general public, and consumer and worker protection policies that have emerged in recent years. Although the laws and regulations described are only a tiny fraction of the enormous number of policies produced by our political system, they do provide a useful glimpse at the type and quality of actions being taken by our federal government in response to concerns raised by the public.

According to the authors, these policies are both the cause and the result of two powerful and contradictory myths about the activities of government in the United States. One myth holds that government does too much, and the other maintains that it does too little. How can both myths prevail at the same time? Which is right? Perhaps the crucial question is not, “Which is the accurate view of government activity?” but rather, “Why do these myths exist, and what results do they have?” Certainly these contradictory attitudes create serious challenges for American policymakers, but as you will see, they also create a dynamic context for policy discussions. The consequences may be a healthier, more democratic policymaking system.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Describe the myths of too much and too little government in the United States and explain their influence on domestic policymaking.
2. Identify the stages in the policymaking process.
3. Distinguish between monetary and fiscal economic policies and describe the debate over their use.
4. Discuss economic development policies and their effect on the economy.
5. Describe regulatory policies and the debate over their use.
6. Evaluate causes and effects of the national debt.
7. Describe the new federal welfare system created in 1996 and the changes it attempts to make in national policy to assist the poor.
8. Identify and give examples of programs with which the federal government meets the needs of the general public.
9. Evaluate the results of social regulatory policies in the United States.

**READING TABLES AND GRAPHS**

1. What does Figure 14.1 tell you about the importance of framing questions in public opinion polls?
2. According to Figure 14.3, how many members serve on the Federal Reserve Board of Governors?
3. Who appoints members to the Federal Reserve Board?
4. According to Figure 14.2, what is the final stage of policymaking?
5. According to Figure 14.4, during what years did the federal budget have a surplus?
REVIEWING CHAPTER 14

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. Programs that commit the government to provide funds or services to all citizens who meet established eligibility requirements are called_____.
   - a. monetarists
   - b. Keynesians
   - c. public policies
   - d. issue identification
   - e. pluralist model
   - f. incremental model
   - g. elite model
   - h. rational model
   - i. monetary policies
   - j. economic regulation policies
   - k. economic development policies
   - l. policy implementation
   - m. fiscal policies
   - n. social security
   - o. social regulation policies
   - p. supply-side economics
   - q. policy adoption
   - r. policy formulation
   - s. infrastructure projects
   - t. policy evaluation
   - u. national debt
   - v. budget surplus
   - w. budget deficit
   - x. tariffs
   - y. entitlement programs
   - z. free trade

2. A theory of economic development calling for policies to promote the production of goods by cutting taxes, lifting regulations, and eliminating restraints on private industry is known as_____.

3. An interpretation of decision-making, which holds that public policies are the result of pressures exerted by a variety of different interest groups, is known as the_____.

4. The stage in policymaking in which efforts are made to obtain political support so that a proposal can become government policy is the_____ stage.

5. An interpretation of decision-making that sees public policy as the product of decisions made by adding to or subtracting from existing policies is known as the_____.

6. Carrying out policy mandates through public programs and actions is called_____.

7. An international economic policy that calls for the abolition of tariffs and other barriers so goods and services may be freely exchanged is called_____.

8. Policies and programs that seek to control the economy by manipulating the money supply are called_____.

9. In _____, the first stage of policymaking, attention is called to a problem that needs government attention.

10. When budget revenues exceed expenditures, you have a(n)_____.

11. The total amount of money the federal government owes is called the_____.

12. Decisions made and actions taken by government officials in response to problems identified and issues raised are called_____.

13. The federal program that provides social insurance covering loss of income due to long-term illness, unemployment, or retirement is called_____.

14. Policies and programs that seek to use federal taxing, spending, and borrowing to control the economy are called_____.
15. An interpretation of decision-making that assumes policymakers have a clear objective and all the information needed to make a sound and logical decision is known as the_____.

16. An interpretation of decision-making that holds that public policies are made by a relatively small group of influential people sharing common goals and values is known as the_____.

17. The stage in policymaking in which someone or some agency develops a proposal or program to address a political issue or problem is the_____ stage.

18. Those who advocate government spending when the economy is sluggish (even if a deficit exists) in order to revive the economy are called_____.

19. When budget expenditures exceed revenues, you have a(n)_____.

20. Programs intended to protect consumers from the hazards of life in a highly industrial economic system are called_____.

21. Economists who oppose extensive governmental intervention in the economy and recommend instead that government supply a consistent growth in the nation’s money supply are called_____.

22. Policies and programs that are intended to protect or promote the growth of American business and industry are called_____.

23. High-cost government building investments, such as highways, bridges, and sewage systems, undertaken to support the economic health of the nation are called_____.

24. Policies and programs through which the government monitors and controls critical industries and sectors of the economy are called_____.

25. Taxes on goods brought into the country from abroad are called_____.

26. The final stage in the policymaking process, assessing the effectiveness and efficiency of governmental programs, is known as_____.
Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1. T F Americans are more supportive of social programs that are called “assistance to the poor” versus those that are labeled as “welfare.”

2. T F The most difficult struggles over the acceptance of a particular proposal usually take place during the policy-implementation stage of policymaking.

3. T F The debate over health care coverage for Americans has been debated in America for decades.

4. T F President Eisenhower was referring to the dangers of rational model decision-making when he warned against the emerging influence of the military-industrial complex.

5. T F According to monetary policy theory, if the economy is sluggish and unemployment is high, the Fed should intervene to reduce the supply of money.

6. T F The federal government began economic policymaking for the first time with the development of welfare programs during the Great Depression.

7. T F During the Great Depression, the Roosevelt administration’s New Deal initiated the use of fiscal policies by increasing government spending to stimulate the economy.

8. T F A follower of John Maynard Keynes would argue that the government should allow more freedom in the marketplace, cut federal spending, and reduce taxes.
9. T F Debates over economic development policy frequently pit advocates of free trade against advocates of higher tariffs.

10. T F The purpose of antitrust laws is to reduce the trade deficit.

11. T F After considerable debate the federal government decided to house the country’s radioactive waste in Ohio.

12. T F The passage of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) represents an effort to return educational policymaking to the state and local arenas.

13. T F The cost of entitlement programs is declining as a factor in the national debt compared to foreign aid.

14. T F Social insurance programs are different from social regulation programs because social insurance programs are intended to replace lost income, not to protect against hazards.

15. T F Consumer protection policies are enforced through the Food and Drug Administration, and worker protection programs are enforced through the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

16. T F The *Northwest Ordinance* (1787) and *Morrill Act* (1862) played a central role in providing for the health care needs of Americans.

17. T F Public policies are the result of a dynamic process involving a variety of participants and a wide range of factors that change over time.
18. T  F  The Federal Reserve Board is more directly involved in shaping fiscal policy than monetary policy.

19. T  F  The national debt is the total amount of money the federal government owes as a result of spending more funds than it receives in revenues.

20. T  F  From the end of World War II through the 1970s, the U.S. balance of trade was a surplus.

21. T  F  The federal role in managing the economy has focused on monetary policy and fiscal policy.

22. T  F  Economic policymaking in the United States is highly centralized and controlled.

23. T  F  Deregulation of the banking industry helped to contribute to the “subprime mortgage” crisis.

24. T  F  The federal government does not use regulatory policy approaches to deal with economic or environmental problems.

25. T  F  The federal government has not had a budget surplus since before the Great Depression.
PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. Which of the following questions best reflects the contradictory myths of American policymaking?
   a. Is policymaking getting easier or harder?
   b. Is government doing too much or too little?
   c. Is domestic policy getting better or worse?
   d. Should political policies be liberal or conservative?

2. Different people and groups inside and outside the government are considering possible solutions to the problem of nuclear waste disposal. Therefore, that issue is now in the
   a. agenda-setting stage.
   b. issue identification stage.
   c. policy implementation stage.
   d. policy formulation stage.

3. Subprime mortgage loans are
   a. given to people with excellent credit.
   b. loans who interest rates are below the prime lending rate.
   c. given to people might not have qualified under older/stricter standards.
   d. insured by the federal government.

4. In which stage of the policymaking process is a political policy actually carried out or put into effect?
   a. adoption
   b. formulation
   c. evaluation
   d. implementation

5. The federal agency primarily responsible for regulating the airline industry is the
   a. Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB).
   b. Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).
   c. Transportation Security Administration (TSA).
   d. Federal Aviation Administration (FAA).

6. Those who believe that all political policymaking in the United States is dominated by a small group of like-minded leaders who make decisions to protect their interests hold to which model of decision-making?
   a. elite
   b. rational
   c. pluralist
   d. incremental

7. Monetary policy in the United States is largely directed by the
   b. Federal Reserve System (the “Fed”).
   c. Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC).
   d. Office of Management and Budget (OMB).
8. Policies meant to influence the economy by adjusting tax levels or government spending are called
   a. fiscal policies.
   b. monetary policies.
   c. regulatory policies.
   d. development policies.

9. All of the following items are associated with the debate over globalization except
   a. NAFTA.
   b. the WTO.
   c. the balance of trade.
   d. entitlements.

10. Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) was passed with all of the following goals in mind except
    a. reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies.
    b. encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.
    c. increase membership in religious organizations.
    d. promote job preparation among recipients.

11. If a politician advocates cutting taxes to stimulate industrial growth and eliminating restrictive regulations on business to increase industrial productivity, you could conclude that his or her ideas are consistent with
    a. industrial policy.
    b. a tight money supply.
    c. liberal fiscal policies.
    d. supply-side economics.

12. Tax incentives are one of the tools the government can use to
    a. help ease the balance of trade.
    b. encourage individuals to stay off welfare.
    c. promote economic activity in certain industries.
    d. distribute more health care options to senior citizens.

13. Regulatory reform in the United States from the late 1970s through the 1980s led to
    a. an end to antitrust laws.
    b. the deregulation of many businesses and industries.
    c. increased government regulation of financial institutions.
    d. the imposition of new regulations in interstate commerce.

14. A federal government program that promises to provide unemployment benefits and educational funds to all workers laid off by changes in the nuclear industry would create a(n)
    a. worker protection program.
    b. work assistance program.
    c. entitlement program.
    d. incremental program.

15. Congress passed antitrust laws to
    a. promote deregulation of the banking industry.
    b. promote greater economic competition through regulation.
    c. help develop a stronger infrastructure.
    d. guard against another stock market crash like the one that happened in 1929.
16. Which of the following changes have been made to the Social Security program in order to maintain its solvency?
   a. The Social Security tax rate was increased.
   b. Reduced benefits are offered to early retirees.
   c. The amount of personal income subject to the Social Security tax has increased.
   d. All of the above.

17. Major federal welfare reform legislation that was enacted in 1996 did not
   a. guarantee entitlements to families with dependent children.
   b. focus on the goal of reducing dependency on welfare.
   c. give more independence to state welfare programs.
   d. place limits on government spending for welfare.

18. Under the Carter and Reagan administrations,
   a. the Securities and Exchange Commission deregulated stockbrokers’ commissions.
   b. the Federal Communications Commission permitted local newspaper companies to own broadcast stations.
   c. the Civil Aeronautics Board was eliminated.
   d. all of the above.

19. The federal social insurance program that provides unemployment and medical insurance and retirement benefits for millions of Americans is
   b. Aid to Families with Dependent Children.
   c. the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act.
   d. the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

20. The Clean Air and Clean Water acts gave
   a. state and local governments the right to set environmental standards.
   b. conditional grants to nonprofit environmental groups.
   c. the EPA considerable regulatory power over a wide range of areas.
   d. a reduced role to the federal government in the environmental policy area.

21. The myth of the government as a necessary evil
   a. is not true for America.
   b. reveals the true nature of government.
   c. is a belief that, while we need government to protect ourselves from dangers, we pay a price for those protections.
   d. is a belief that encourages Americans to support government attempts to improve the lives of American citizens.

22. Which of the following is not a step in public policymaking?
   a. issue identification
   b. agenda setting
   c. policy formation
   d. policy removal

23. When the amount of money circulating in the economy is relatively low in comparison to the demand for money by consumers and investors, we have
   a. a tight money supply.
   b. a loose money supply.
   c. supply side.
   d. low interest rates.
24. Which of the following did not contribute to our national debt?
   a. government war financing
   b. large-scale capital investment by government
   c. taxes
   d. entitlement programs

25. In early American history, English poor laws were used as the basis for
   a. creating social policies.
   b. establishing debtor prisons.
   c. ensuring that the federal government played an active role in social welfare policies.
   d. abolishing the practice of indentured servitude.

26. What program sought to broaden the federal government’s power to regulate schools by modifying provisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act by tying funding to national standards?
   a. No Child Left Behind Act
   b. Save Our Schools
   c. Goals 2000: Educate America
   d. the Homeland Security Act

27. Medicare was created to provide health insurance for
   a. veterans.
   b. immigrants.
   c. the poor.
   d. the disabled and elderly.

28. During the administrations of President Reagan and George H. W. Bush, activity at the FTC and other consumer protection agencies
   a. declined.
   b. increased.
   c. was focused on service industries like the airlines.
   d. was directed at the tobacco industry.

29. What legislation resulted from the corporate management scandals of the early twenty-first century?
   a. the Clayton Antitrust Act
   b. the National Labor Relations Board
   c. the North American Free Trade Agreement
   d. the Sarbanes-Oxley Act

30. When the Federal Reserve Board raises interest rates, they are most often reacting to
   a. high unemployment figures.
   b. large budget deficits.
   c. low consumer confidence ratings.
   d. growing inflation concerns.

**Essay Questions**

1. Describe the six-stage policymaking process, illustrating the workings of each stage.

2. Identify and illustrate the four types of policies the federal government has used to influence the general health of the economy and discuss the current debate about those policies.

3. What were the goals that Congress had in mind when it created and funded the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) program?
4. What efforts has the government made to change the structure of Social Security to help keep the program sustainable?

5. Identify the basic social insurance and social regulation policies that the federal government has established and describe the difficulties and criticism they now face.

ANSWER KEY

Reading Tables and Graphs
1. Different questions about the same subject can elicit very different responses.
2. The members serve fourteen-year terms.
3. The president appoints the members and they are confirmed by the Senate.
4. Policy evaluation.

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
1. y
2. p
3. e
4. q
5. f
6. l
7. z
8. i
9. d
10. v
11. u
12. c
13. n
14. m
15. h
16. g
17. r
18. b
19. w
20. o
21. a
22. k
23. s
24. j
25. x
26. t

**Understanding Facts and Concepts**

1. True.
2. False. The most difficult struggles occur in the policy adoption stage.
3. True.
4. False. He was more likely referring to the elite model of decision-making.
5. False. The Fed should increase the money supply.
6. False. The federal government had been involved in economic policymaking, particularly industrial development policies, from the first days of the Republic.
7. True.
8. False. That sounds more like supply-side strategy. Keynes recommended extensive intervention to manage the economy through fiscal policies.
10. False. The purpose is to promote greater economic competition by prohibiting monopolies.
11. False. The site chosen is located in Yucca Mountain, Nevada.
12. False. The NCLB is designed to give the national government a more prominent role in education policy.
13. False. The cost of entitlement programs has risen and is now nearly half the federal budget; hence, it is a major cause of the national debt. Foreign aid programs constitute 1 percent of the budget.
14. True.
15. True.
16. False. These acts are linked by the importance that they place upon advancing educational goals.
17. True.
18. False. The Fed has a much more direct hand in shaping monetary policy.
19. True.
20. True.
21. True.
22. False. It is decentralized.
23. True.
24. False. The federal government does use regulatory policy to deal with economic and environmental problems.
25. False. Indeed, the budget years of 1998 and 1999 saw government surpluses.
Multiple-Choice Questions
1. b
2. d
3. c
4. d
5. d
6. a
7. b
8. a
9. d
10. c
11. d
12. c
13. b
14. c
15. b
16. d
17. a
18. d
19. a
20. c
21. c
22. d
23. a
24. c
25. a
26. a
27. d
28. a
29. d
30. d

Essay Questions
1. Public policy is made in a six-stage process.
   - Issue identification
• Agenda setting
• Policy formulation
• Policy adoption
• Policy implementation
• Effectiveness determination

2. Governments have always been part of the economy.
• Early governmental intervention-bounties
• Monetary policies
• Economic development policies
• Economic regulatory policies

3. Congress wanted to give states the resources necessary to accomplish the following goals.
• Assist needy families so children could be cared for in their own homes or those of relatives.
• End the dependence of needy parents on government benefits by promoting job preparation, work, and marriage.
• Reduce the incidence of out-of-wedlock pregnancies.
• Encourage the formation and maintenance of two-parent families.

4. There is a long history here, but students should take note of the demographic shifts in America that are contributing to this problem. Other changes to note are:
• Higher retirement ages.
• Increased taxes and greater income amounts subject to taxation.
• Privatization?

5. Social welfare programs and regulatory programs are extensive.
• General assistance programs
• Work assistance
• Categorical assistance
• Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act
• Supplemental Security Income (SSI)
• Food stamp program
• Medicaid
• Social insurance programs
• Unemployment insurance and retirement benefits
• Regulatory programs
• Food and Drug Administration
• Equal employment opportunity programs
CHAPTER 15

Foreign and Defense Policy

CHAPTER OUTLINE

I. Changing Parameters of Foreign and Defense Policies
   A. Changing Issues
   B. New Actors

II. Vulnerability in Historical Perspective
   A. 1789–1823: The Foundations of American Foreign Policy
   B. 1823–1914: Isolationism, Unilateralism, and Expansionism
   C. 1914–1960: America Emerges as World Leader
   E. 1990s: Rethinking Foreign and Defense Policies
   F. 2000s: Clashing Civilizations and the Response to September 11

III. Making Foreign and Defense Policy
   A. The President and the White House
   B. The Bureaucracies
   C. The Congressional Role in Policymaking
   D. The Mass Media and Attentive Publics
   E. The Role of Public Opinion

IV. Wielding Power
   A. Diplomatic Tools

V. Military and Defense Strategies
   A. Guns or Butter?
   B. Alternative Military Strategies

VI. Conclusion: The Reshaping of Foreign and Defense Policy

CHAPTER SUMMARY

As the events of September 11, 2001, made abundantly clear, the end of the Cold War did not suddenly reduce the importance of foreign and defense policymaking. In fact, in the current world of unpredictable challenges and dangers, our national government increasingly treats international problems as its most important task. As economic interdependency and common culture appear to “shrink” our globe, relations between nations become a greater part of our political life and a more significant factor in our well-being. The collapse of Soviet world power reduced one challenge, but it raised troublesome new challenges for our foreign policymakers to adjust to in an even more complex and complicated new world order. Defense is a crucial and controversial part of national policy since we must live with nuclear weapons, international terrorism, global markets, and global consequences for national decisions. Chapter 15 concludes your two-part examination of national policymaking and your study of American government with a look at these vital aspects of our political system.

Notice that the authors begin by their discussion by exhibiting the tension between the myth of vulnerability and the myth of the American project. This tension manifests itself in policy debates that can be quickly transformed by changes in world affairs. To understand these transformations, the chapter describes the historical development of America’s involvement with the world. In the course of our nation’s history, we have evolved from policies of isolationism and unilateralism to policies that
foster an extensive involvement in international affairs. Our concerns have expanded from military
defense to economic security.

In the second part of this chapter, the focus is on the players in the policymaking process: the president
and the bureaucracy, Congress, the media, and, finally, the role of public opinion. Who decides our
foreign policy? How are those decisions made? Does public opinion matter?

Diplomacy is the business of dealing with other nations. The power to engage in diplomacy has many
sources and options. These options range from the friendly methods of formal recognition, aid, and
treaty agreements to the not-so-friendly use of covert activities to spy on or cause trouble for other
nations.

U.S. military policies are controversial, and in the last pages of this chapter you will deal with two
major issues in the debate: How much money should be spent on defense, and how should defense
money be spent? Here, you will see the arguments for more or less defense spending in proportion to
the concerns of domestic policy, as well as the arguments for more or less spending for nuclear as
opposed to nonnuclear weapons.

Disputes over American foreign and defense policy are often influenced by an old and powerful myth
about our nation’s vulnerability. Today, this myth is undergoing change as old threats subside and new
threats emerge. The myth is no less influential, however, as the United States debates its security and
well-being in the world of the twenty-first century. You will find it valuable to complete your
introduction to American government with this study of an excellent example of the democratic process
at work.

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

After carefully reading and studying the chapter, you should be able to:

1. Describe the myth of vulnerability and explain its influence on foreign and defense policymaking.
2. Explain the changes in American foreign policy as the nation rose to world leadership.
3. Describe U.S. policy responses to the challenge of the Soviet Union during the Cold War era.
4. Explain the increasing importance of economic security as a goal of U.S. foreign policy.
5. Discuss the importance of the president and his advisers in the foreign and defense policymaking
   process.
6. Describe the powers of Congress in foreign affairs and discuss the balance of presidential-
   congressional power in that arena.
7. Identify the related role of the media and the public in the making of foreign and defense policy.
8. Identify and demonstrate the sources of power in international diplomacy.
9. Describe the modern controversy over defense spending and distinguish the arguments presented
   in that debate.
10. Identify and differentiate the major defense strategies of the United States in the nuclear age.
11. Describe how the end of the Cold War has altered American foreign and defense policy goals.
12. Describe how the terrorist attacks on the United States in the first part of the twenty-first century
   transformed American foreign policy.
13. Describe the issues and choices facing those who make U.S. defense policy.
READING TABLES AND GRAPHS

1. What occurred during the upward bulges in Figure 15.5?
2. What does Figure 15.2 tell you about the level of public approval for the way President Bush has handled the War on Terrorism?
3. Using Figure 15.3 as your guide, describe the view that citizens of other countries have of the U.S. since 2005.
4. According to Figure 15.4, how much money is estimated to be spent on national defense in 2010 using current dollars?
5. After reviewing Figure 15.1, how would you describe the American public’s views about the role the United States should play in world affairs?

REVIEWING CHAPTER 15

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas

Fill in the following terms and definitions in the appropriate blanks:

1. The Cold War–era defense strategy that called for the creation of a large stockpile of nuclear weapons and a warning to the Soviets that any confrontation could result in the annihilation of Moscow is known as_____.
   a. multinational corporations (MNCs)
   b. nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)

2. The cabinet-level federal agency most closely associated with military policymaking is the_____.
   c. NSC

3. The basic command structures used by the U.S. military to coordinate operations in various regions of the world are called_____.
   d. transnational organizations
   e. expansion

4. The post–World War II period characterized by ideological and policy confrontations between the American-led West and the Soviet-led East is known as the_____.
   f. Cold War
   g. national security adviser

5. The pre–World War I American foreign policy that maintained neutrality and avoided direct involvement in foreign affairs was called_____.
   h. fast track authority
   i. détente

6. The head of the National Security Council staff, who may sometimes have a strong influence on foreign and defense policies, is called the_____.
   j. treaties
   k. attentive

7. The foreign policy approach advocated by Henry Kissinger and based on the need to offset any imbalance in international relations in which one nation might become too powerful was called _____ strategy.
   l. deterrence
   m. isolationism
   n. unilateralism

8. The Cold War–era defense strategy that called for the buildup of nonnuclear, limited war capabilities so that the United States could respond to small, localized conflicts was known as_____.
   o. containment
   p. formal recognition
9. The U.S. Cold War policy of long-term, patient, but firm and vigilant resistance to Soviet expansion was called _____.

10. The federal agency organized to advise the president on foreign and defense policy and to coordinate policy implementation efforts is the _____.

11. Transnational, nonprofit organizations that operate as advocacy groups in the international arena are called _____.

12. The Reagan-era defense strategy that called for the development of satellites and earth-based stations to intercept and destroy incoming enemy missiles was called the _____.

13. The Nixon-era foreign policy that reflected a more cooperative approach to dealing with communist nations while enhancing security arrangements with allied countries was called _____.

14. The pre–World War I American foreign policy to go it alone in world affairs and avoid political and military alliances was called _____.

15. The Cold War–era defense strategy based on the buildup of nuclear and conventional forces so that any potential enemy would be reluctant to attack the United States or its allies was called _____.

16. The cabinet-level federal agency that conducts the day-to-day operations of American foreign relations is the _____.

17. That portion of the public that is typically more interested in and informed about relevant foreign or defense policy issues is the _____ public.

18. The pre–World War I American policy that led the United States to extend its boundaries to the Pacific is called _____.

19. The diplomatic act of acknowledging the government of a foreign nation and receiving its ambassador in Washington as that nation’s official representative is called _____.

20. Large, private, for-profit organizations that operate transnationally are referred to as _____.

21. The theory that the public’s main influence on policy is indirect, in that the public’s perceived willingness to accept certain programs carries weight in policy decisions, is called _____.
22. The authority that allows the U.S. trade representative to negotiate an agreement on nontariff barriers to trade with other nations and that the president can then present this agreement to Congress without allowing changes is called_____.

23. The strategy that evolved in the 1960s whereby each of the nuclear powers would hold the other in check by maintaining the ability to annihilate the other is known as_____.

24. Named for Ronald Reagan’s secretary of defense, the_____ principles became the basis for the use of the U.S. military in the 1980s and most of the 1990s.

25. Large-scale nongovernmental organizations that perform relatively specialized functions across national borders are called_____.

26. Legally binding pacts through which two or more countries formalize an agreement reached through the process of negotiation are called_____.

Understanding Facts and Concepts

True/False: If any part of the statement is incorrect, mark it False and write in the reason(s) why the statement is false.

1.  T  F  The contemporary version of the myth of vulnerability is accompanied by the belief that America’s exposure to these threats can be addressed by withdrawing behind a wall of isolation.

2.  T  F  President Washington’s advice to the nation was to avoid involvement in European alliances.

3.  T  F  Replacing Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld with Robert Gates resulted in a change in American military strategy in Iraq.

4.  T  F  Isolationism and unilateralism were first abandoned by the United States in World War I.
5. T F  America’s strategy during the Cold War was guided by President Truman’s policy of containment.

6. T F  After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the policy of détente was introduced to break off trade relations with the Soviet bloc.

7. T F  The relatively new Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI) is an agency that reports directly to Congress.

8. T F  In its role in foreign policymaking, the Senate has the power to ratify foreign treaties and confirm the appointment of foreign policy officials.

9. T F  In addition to territorial and economic issues, social issues are receiving more attention today than ever before.

10. T F  Woodrow Wilson was a staunch isolationist and encouraged the Senate to reject the invitation to join the League of Nations.

11. T F  The influence of attentive publics in foreign and defense policymaking is mainly expressed through interest group activity.

12. T F  After the Democrats took control of the Congress in the 2006, President Bush found more challenges from Congress trying to mandate changes in the Iraq War.

13. T F  Although the president must obtain Senate support for foreign treaties, the power of formal recognition of foreign governments is his alone.
14. T F NATO was created to establish the free trade of goods between the United States and Europe.

15. T F At the outset of the Iraq War, the media was very critical of the decision to invade.

16. T F Some executive agreements such as Status of Force Agreements (SOFAs) can be negotiated by the president without congressional approval.

17. T F One of the general goals of military preparedness is to insure that the United States can fight and win two simultaneous, major regional conflicts anywhere in the world.

18. T F Preparedness for the threat of global terrorism is not part of the new proposals for the American military.

19. T F The power of Congress to control the nation’s purse strings gives it some influence over foreign and defense policies.

20. T F Clinton’s foreign policy deemphasized the economic aspects of foreign relations that the Bush presidency had emphasized.

21. T F The events of September 11, 2001, have had no influence on American foreign policy.

22. T F The collapse of the Soviet Union was one of the influences on the Clinton administration’s increased emphasis on economic security as a primary goal of U.S. foreign policy.
23. T F President George W. Bush has argued that the United States can and will engage in preemptive strikes if it thinks it is necessary to preserve American national security.

24. T F The peace dividend refers to the savings that were expected to show up in the federal budget because of the reduction in the amount of defense spending.

25. T F During the 1950s and 1960s, the United States and the Soviet Union held each other in check with a strategy of mutual assured destruction (MAD).

PREPARING FOR AN EXAM

Multiple-Choice Questions

Circle the letter of the correct answer.

1. Which of the following is not an objective hoped to be achieved by the president’s administration when managing the media in foreign affairs?
   a. define events.
   b. silence critics.
   c. dominate the news.
   d. rally foreign support.

2. Before the twentieth century, American foreign policy was best characterized by
   a. military involvement in European affairs.
   b. disregard for national defense.
   c. isolationism and unilateralism.
   d. isolation from Latin American affairs.

3. Which of the following best describes American foreign policy in the twenty years following World War I?
   a. a return to isolationism
   b. a return to European alliances
   c. a new move to interventionism
   d. a new move to expansionism

4. In 1947, President Truman recommended a new approach, which launched American participation in the Cold War; the policy was called
   a. unilateralism.
   b. interventionism.
   c. containment.
   d. détente.
5. For twenty-five years under the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon administrations, America’s basic Cold War policies were applied and tested before they finally met defeat in
   a. Greece.
   b. Korea.
   c. Berlin.
   d. Vietnam.
6. Which of the following actions was part of the U.S. policy of détente?
   a. improved relations with the People’s Republic of China
   b. conflict with the Soviet Union over Afghanistan
   c. involvement in the Korean War
   d. joining NATO
7. The balance of power strategy advocated by Henry Kissinger during the 1970s encouraged a(n)
   a. idealistic policy to achieve a balance of communism and capitalism in the world.
   b. idealistic policy to promote a balance of free-market interests in world trade.
   c. realistic policy to prevent any one nation from becoming preeminent.
   d. realistic policy to block the threat of a North Vietnamese victory in the Vietnam War.
8. With the fall of the Soviet Union, many observers believed that Americans would
   a. support a return to isolationism.
   b. use this opportunity to create colonies.
   c. feel less vulnerable and more secure.
   d. eliminate their stockpile of nuclear weapons.
9. An important characteristic of the attentive public is that
   a. many of them join or support groups that have specific positions on American foreign and
     defense policies.
   b. rarely vote.
   c. they are typically non-U.S. citizens.
   d. most live in urban areas.
10. The difference between the NSC and the CIA is that the purpose of the CIA is to
    a. carry out covert policy, not to gather information.
    b. make foreign policy and carry out some covert operations.
    c. gather information and carry out some covert operations.
    d. gather information, not to advise the president.
11. Joseph Nye’s described the use of soft power as a diplomatic tool to be used by United States.
    Which of the following is an example of soft power?
    a. Exposing others to cultural norms and values
    b. The threat of military force
    c. Imposing economic sanctions
    d. Extending commercial alliances and treaties into new areas
12. A president has the power to negotiate a treaty with a foreign country, but the agreement does not
    go into effect unless it is ratified by the
    a. Senate.
    b. full Congress.
    c. Department of State.
13. Due to the controversy surrounding the creation of the State of Israel, the United States
   a. has not formally recognized the creation of this country.
   b. has made its recognition contingent upon the creation of a Palestinian state.
   c. formally recognized Israel within hours of its formation.
   d. has deferred the question of recognition to the United Nations.

14. According to the mood theory of American involvement in world affairs, policy decisions are influenced by the
   a. general mood of relations between the president and Congress.
   b. public’s general mood about foreign involvements.
   c. mood created by the mass media in international affairs.
   d. president’s mood when he bargains with foreign countries.

15. The Monroe Doctrine
   a. warned European nations not to interfere with Latin America.
   b. created the League of Nations.
   c. allowed the United States to make the Louisiana Purchase.
   d. argued for the position of America as the world’s policeman.

16. Granting formal recognition to another government means that
   a. a treaty of military alliance will be signed.
   b. foreign aid has already been given to that country.
   c. the United States approves of that government’s policies.
   d. embassies and normal diplomatic contacts will be established.

17. Covert action in dealing with foreign countries would usually include
   a. foreign aid.
   b. bilateral treaties.
   c. formal recognition.
   d. intelligence gathering.

18. The American foreign policy principle known as containment was devised to
   a. prevent the Soviet Union from making further expansionist moves.
   b. limit the influence of international organizations such as the United Nations and World Bank.
   c. attack terrorists in foreign countries before they can spread to the United States.
   d. keep Chinese products off the world market until human rights abuses were corrected.

19. The Cold War-era deterrence strategy called for construction of
   a. nuclear and nonnuclear forces so that the Soviet Union would be reluctant to attack the United States.
   b. conventional forces so that the United States would be prepared to respond to local terrorism.
   c. large stockpiles of nuclear weapons so that the United States could warn Moscow that any confrontation meant annihilation of the Soviet Union.
   d. satellites and earth-based stations so that the United States could intercept and destroy incoming enemy missiles.

20. In March 2003, the United States and its allies invaded Iraq because
   a. it had invaded Kuwait.
   b. it had sought to develop and deploy weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).
   c. of its attempts to invade Israel.
   d. the Kurds were waging a civil war that threatened to destabilize the region.
21. Which of the following was a colony of the United States?
   a. Cuba
   b. Guam
   c. Philippines
   d. all of the above

22. The doctrine that announced that the United States would keep out of the affairs of European nations so long as those countries did not interfere in the Western Hemisphere was the
   b. Truman Doctrine.
   c. Reagan Doctrine.
   d. Clinton Doctrine.

23. America has sent foreign aid to which of the following countries?
   a. El Salvador
   b. Ethiopia
   c. Iraq
   d. all of the above

24. A nuclear strategy based on the idea that all nuclear power nations should be able to destroy everyone else in any major confrontation, thus insuring that it would not make sense for anyone to go to war, is the
   a. MIRV.
   b. ICBM.
   c. ACLU.
   d. MAD.

25. The so-called new world order refers to the idea that
   a. the world has changed since the recent economic boom.
   b. the Cold War has ended.
   c. Republicans will now dominate Congress.
   d. America will now liberate its colonies.

26. The phrase guns or butter refers to
   a. the ability of the United States to influence the policy of foreign affairs through guns and money.
   b. the tension between those who believe that defense expenditures must take priority and those who think that additional funds should be spent on consumer goods and social services.
   c. President Johnson’s personal manner with his cabinet.
   d. Osama Bin Laden’s terrorist strategy.

27. The CIA has engaged in which of the following covert actions?
   a. training Laotian troops to fight in Vietnam
   b. funding striking truckers in Chile
   c. training and funding Nicaraguan rebels
   d. all of the above

28. The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) was a proposal to
   a. abolish NATO and replace it with a larger military alliance.
   b. use preemptive strikes to neutralize nations that sponsored terrorism.
   c. reorganize the army so that it could engage in flexible responses.
   d. develop a defense shield against nuclear attacks.
29. Which of the following was not an aspect of the Weinberger Doctrine?
   a. The United States would commit troops only if the action was deemed vital to our national interest.
   b. Any military action must have clearly defined political and military objectives.
   c. The United States should always maintain enough strength to fight two wars at the same time.
   d. The commitment of U.S. forces to combat should be a last resort.

30. Important world political actors include
   a. regional organizations.
   b. transnational organizations.
   c. nongovernmental organizations.
   d. all of the above.

Essay Questions
1. Describe the myth of vulnerability, providing examples of its changing influence on America’s foreign and defense policies in the past century.
2. Outline the rise of the United States to world leadership, identifying the changes in beliefs and policy that occurred between 1800 and 1960.
3. What is soft and hard power? What are some examples of these types of power? Which approach produces the most success?
4. Discuss the powers of the presidency and the administrative bureaucracy in the making of American foreign and defense policy, analyzing their relationship to Congress and the public before and after the end of the Cold War.
5. What are the tools of diplomatic relations, and how have they been used in American history?
6. Is America an empire? Why is this label appropriate or inappropriate to describe America’s place in the world today?

ANSWER KEY

Reading Tables and Graphs
1. There are several “bumps” seen on this chart. They occur during World War II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and Reagan’s presidency.
2. After an initial high level of support for President Bush’s efforts in the war, approval ratings have significantly declined since the end of 2007.
3. In recent years the views of citizens from other countries have been more negative than positive.
4. $500,000,000,000
5. A majority of Americans have consistently, since World War II, favored an active role for the United States in world affairs.

Identifying Key Terms and Ideas
1. w
2. r
3. v
Understanding Facts and Concepts
1. False. The contemporary vision of this myth is more proactive in its attempts to provide security.
2. True.
3. True.
4. True.
5. True.
6. False. Détente was introduced in the early 1970s to ease tensions with the communist world.
7. False. This new position serves as the chief adviser on intelligence matters for the president.
8. True.
10. False. Wilson believed that isolation was no longer effective or practical and campaigned hard to get the treaty ratified.
11. True.
12. True.
13. True.
14. False. NATO was a military organization created to resist the threat of communist expansion across Europe.
15. False. The support for the war and invasion of Iraq was widespread in the mass media.
16. True.
17. True.
18. False. Preparedness for terrorism is an aspect of all U.S. military preparedness proposals.
19. True.
20. False. Clinton’s presidency emphasized the economic aspects of foreign relations.
22. True.
23. True.
24. True.
25. True.

Multiple-Choice Questions
1. d
2. c
3. a
4. c
5. d
6. a
7. c
8. c
9. a
10. c
11. a
12. a
13. c
14. b
15. a
16. d
17. d
18. a
19. a
20. b
21. d
22. a
23. d
24. d
25. b
26. b
27. d
28. d
29. c
30. d

Essay Questions

1. The underlying theme of Cold War–era policy remained in place and was based on the myth of American vulnerability.
   - 1971—U.S. balance of trade figures show that, for the first time in the twentieth century, Americans had imported more than they had exported.
   - 1973–1974—Oil embargo by Arab nations and a subsequent quadrupling of oil prices by member nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.
   - Mid-1980s—The United States became the world’s largest debtor nation.

2. America’s dominance of the world.
   - Isolationism
   - Unilateralism
   - Monroe Doctrine
   - Expansionism
   - World War I
   - World War II
   - Cold War

3. Hard and soft powers, as posited by Joseph Nye, are two types of power that nations can use in world affairs. The success of their use depends on how they are applied.
   - Hard power: coercion
   - Military force—threat of force
   - Economic power—payments or market incentives
   - Soft power: attraction
   - Exposure to cultural norms/values
4. The president plays a major role in foreign and military affairs.
   - During the Cold War, formulating foreign policy was complex, and the president relied on advisers in the National Security Council.
   - National Economic Council.
   - Department of State.
   - Foreign service.
   - Department of Defense.
   - Intelligence-gathering agencies.
   - National security agency.
   - Congress.
   - Certain powers are constitutionally conferred on the president and others on Congress.
   - Senate has power to ratify treaties.
   - Congress can pass legislation.
   - Congress can question key foreign and defense policymakers in its committee hearings.
   - Congress can also use its investigative power.
   - Media influence.
   - Public opinion.

5. There are several tools for establishing and maintaining diplomatic relationships. Make sure your essay supports these points with specific historical examples.
   - Formal recognition
   - Foreign aid
   - Treaties
   - Covert actions

6. The answer to this question will vary depending upon the writer’s perspective. The key part of this essay is found in defining the word empire.
   - Empire: classic definition
   - Direct rule of conquered lands without participation or endorsement from inhabitants
   - No substantial examples of this approach being used by Americans
   - Empire: contemporary definition
   - A nation indirectly, but effectively exercises power over the political, economic, and cultural aspects of other countries.
   - “Reluctant Imperialist”?
   - America as hegemon?
   - The United States is a dominant actor because of its possession of critical resources and its ability to form alliances with regional and local powers.
   - The United States has interests in every part of the world, but it must deal with regional powers when addressing these issues.