CONTENTS

CITIZENSHIP IN OUR CHANGING DEMOCRACY 1

Millennials Rising

POLITICS, POWER, AND PARTICIPATION 3

Types of Government 4

Political Power 4

Participation and Democracy 5

AMERICAN POLITICAL IDEALS 7

THE CHANGING FACE OF THE AMERICAN CITIZENRY 8

Growing Diversity 8

Growing Older 9

Growing Apart 9

THE FUTURE OF CITIZENSHIP 11

National Journal: Youth Vote 14





THE CONSTITUTION: THE FOUNDATION OF CITIZENS' RIGHTS 17

Taxation Without Representation: The Battle Continues

THE FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY 19

Early Colonization 19

Economic Distress 20

Declaration of Independence 20

THE BIRTH OF A NATION 21

The Articles of Confederation: A Document

Whose Time Had Come and Gone 21

The Road to Philadelphia 22

A New Constitution Is Born 23

Regional Tensions 24

CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES 25

Liberal Democratic Principles 25

Separation of Powers and Checks and Balances 25

Federalism 26

CONSTITUTIONAL CONSTRUCTION 27

THE FIGHT FOR RATIFICATION 28

Antifederalist Opposition 28

The Battle in the States 29

Making Good on a Promise 30

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE 32

Amending the Constitution 32 Institutional Adaptation 33 Judicial Review 34

Expanding the Franchise 34

THE CONSTITUTION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT TODAY 36

National Journal: Constitution 38



FEDERALISM: CITIZENSHIP AND THE DISPERSAL OF POWER 41

California Goes Its Own Way

THE DIVISION OF POWER 42

Prevailing Models for Dispersing Power 42 The Federalist Solution 43

THE EVOLUTION OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS 45

The National Government Asserts Itself: 1789–1832 45

Dual Federalism, Disunion, and War: 1832–1865 46

Federalism in the Age of Commerce: 1865–1932 47

The New Deal and the Growth of National Power:

1932–1937 49

Cooperative Federalism: 1937–1960s 50 Creative Federalism: 1960s–1970s 50

New Federalism and the Devolution of Power:

1980-Present 51

FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS 52

Fiscal Relations 52
Political Relations 54
Constitutional Issues 55

INTERSTATE RELATIONS 56

Cooperation and Competition 56 Innovation in the States 57

FEDERALISM AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT TODAY 59

National Journal: Federalism 62



Drug Testing vs. Students' Rights

HERITAGE OF RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES 67

The Constitution and Rights 67

The Bill of Rights 68

Incorporation 68

The Modern Emphasis on Rights 69

FREEDOM OF RELIGION 70

Free Exercise Clause 70

Congress and Religious Freedom 71

Establishment Clause 71

Religion and Public Schools 73

Religious Use of Public School Facilities and Funds 73

Prayer in School 73

Aid to Religious Schools 74

Government Endorsement of Religion 74

FREEDOM OF SPEECH 74

Political Speech 75

Campaign Speech 76

Commercial Speech 76

Symbolic Speech 76

Boundaries of Free Speech 77

Obscenity 77

Defamation 78

Hate Speech 78

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS 79

Prior Restraint 79

Government Control of Media Content 79

Special Rights 80

FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION 80

Freedom of Assembly 80

Freedom of Association 81

RIGHT TO KEEP AND BEAR ARMS 82

RIGHTS OF THE ACCUSED 82

The Fourth Amendment: Searches and Seizures 82

The Fifth Amendment: Self-Incrimination 84

The Sixth Amendment: Right to Counsel 85

The Sixth Amendment: Trial by Jury 85

The Eighth Amendment: Cruel and Unusual Punishment 86

THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY 87

Abortion 87

The Right to Die 88

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND CONSTITUTIONAL

LIBERTIES 89

National Journal: Civil Liberties 92



CIVIL RIGHTS: TOWARD A MORE EQUAL CITIZENRY 95

The Litigious Cheerleader

AFRICAN AMERICANS AND CIVIL RIGHTS 97

Slavery 97

Dred Scott 98

The Civil War and Reconstruction 98

Segregation 99

Voting Barriers 100

NAACP 100

Modern Era of Civil Rights 101

Civil Rights Mobilization 102

Civil Rights Legislation 103

Retrospective 103

INTERPRETING EQUALITY 104

Judicial Tests 104

Affirmative Action 105

Racial Classifications 105

Current Impact on Education 106

Continuing Controversy 107

OTHER MINORITY GROUPS 108

Native Americans 108

Hispanic Americans 109

Asian Americans 110

Disabled Americans 111

American Seniors 112

Gay and Lesbian Americans 112

WOMEN AND CIVIL RIGHTS 115

Women's Mobilization Eras 115

Early Women's Movement: 1840-1875 115

The Suffrage Movement: 1890-1920 115

The Second Women's Right Movement:

1961-Present 116

Current Issues 117

Workplace Equality 117

Sexual Harrassment 118

Women's Role in the Military 119

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND CIVIL RIGHTS 120

National Journal: Civil Rights 122



PUBLIC OPINION: LISTENING TO CITIZENS 125

Choose Your Words Carefully

UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC OPINION IN THE CONTEXT OF AMERICAN POLITICS 127

The Nature of Public Opinion 127

Changes in Assessing and Using Public Opinion 127

HOW POLITICAL OPINIONS ARE FORMED 129

The Process of Socialization 129

Agents of Political Socialization 130

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL OPINIONS 132

Racial and Ethnic Identity 133

Gender 133

Geography 134

MEASURING PUBLIC OPINION 134

Dimensions of Public Opinion 135

Types of Polls 135

POLLING TECHNIQUES 136

Who Is Asked? Selecting the Sample 136

What Is Asked? Paying Attention to the Questions 137

THE CONTENT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION 138

Political Knowledge 138

Confidence in Government Institutions 139

Trust in Government 139

Political Efficacy 140

Support for Democratic Values 141

Political Ideologies 141

PUBLIC OPINION AND PUBLIC POLICY 144

PUBLIC OPINION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT TODAY 144

National Journal: Public Opinion 146

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES AND UNEQUAL VOICES 149

Proving He's Not Too Young to Be Mayor

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: OPPORTUNITIES, COSTS, **AND BENEFITS 151**

CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION 152

Amount of Information Conveyed 153 Variation in Frequency and Strength of Messages Conveyed 153

INGREDIENTS FOR INVOLVEMENT 153

Access to Resources 153 Political Engagement 155 Mobilization 156

VOTING 158

Who Votes? Who Doesn't? 158 Factors Influencing Voter Turnout 159

OTHER FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION 161

Beyond Voting: Activities That Require More Time 162 **Beyond Voting: Activities That** Require More Skill 163

Beyond Voting: Activities That Require Money 163

THE IMPACT OF PARTICIPATION PATTERNS **ON POLICY 165**

PARTICIPATION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT TODAY 165

National Journal: Political Participation 168



Immigration Reform: The Inside Game

ORGANIZED INTERESTS: WHO ARE THEY 173

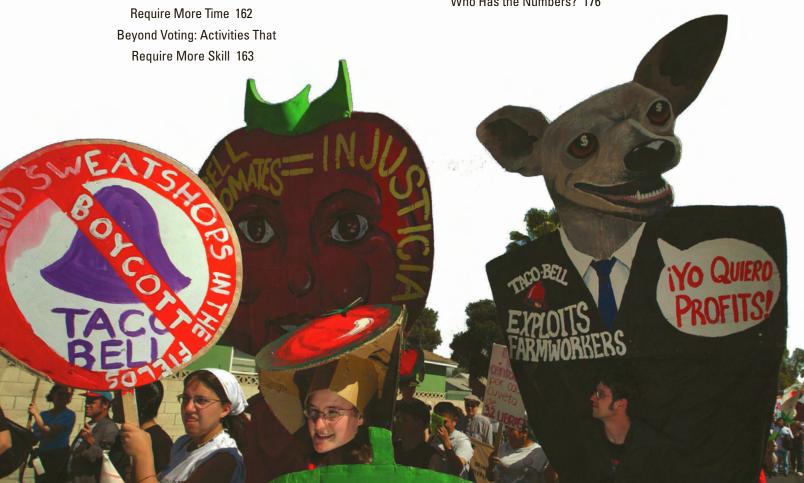
Neighbors or Adversaries? 173 Distinctive Features 173

THE ROOTS OF INTEREST GROUP POLITICS IN AMERICA 174

Interest Groups On the Rise 174 The Advocacy Explosion 175

WHOSE INTERESTS ARE REPRESENTED? 176

Who Has the Numbers? 176



Who Has the Money? 176 Whose Interests Are Not Represented? 178

WHY JOIN? 178

Material Incentives 178 Solidary Incentives 179 Purposive Incentives 179 Assessing Motives 179

INTEREST GROUP STRATEGIES 179 LOBBYING AND OTHER TACTICS 181

Lobbying 181
Financing Campaigns 184
Accessing the Courts 186
Grass Roots Mobilization 187
Coalition Formation 189
Protests 189

INTEREST GROUPS AND CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT TODAY 190

National Journal: Interest Groups 192



PARTIES AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS: CITIZENS AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS 195

How Party Strategists Micro-Target Your Vote

POLITICAL PARTIES AND ELECTORAL POLITICS 197

The Nature of Parties 197 Why Two Parties? 198

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM 199

The Evolution of American Political Parties: Five Party Eras 200 1968 to Present 201 Party Realignment 202

BUILT TO WIN: PARTY STRUCTURE 203

National Committees 203
Congressional and Senatorial Campaign Committees 206
State Committees 207
Local Party Organizations 208
Precinct Organizations 208

THIRD PARTIES AND INDEPENDENT CANDIDACIES 208 CANDIDATES AND ELECTORAL POLITICS: CANDIDATE-CENTERED CAMPAIGNING 210

Candidates, Money, and Expertise 211
Candidates and the Parties 213
Candidate Communication 214

VOTERS IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS: HOW AMERICANS DECIDE 217

Issues 217
Candidate Characteristics 218

Party Choice 217

PARTIES, POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT TODAY 219

National Journal: Campaigns 222

MEDIA: TUNING IN OR TUNING OUT 225

The Social Media Generation

EVOLVING CIVIC LIFE AND MEDIA CHANGES 227

Early Days 227

Partisan Press 227

Penny Press 228

Yellow Journalism 228

Broadcast Media 229

The Media Today 230

THE MEDIA ENVIRONMENT IN AMERICA 233

Private Ownership 233

Government Regulation 234

Ownership Limits 234

Content Regulation 234

Emphasis on Entertainment 235

Adversarial Journalism 235

Political Bias? 236

MEDIA AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS 237

Free Media 237

Presidential Debates 238

Paid Media 239

The Internet 239

Game Coverage 241

Character Issue (Probing Personal Lives) 241

Election Night Coverage 242

GOVERNMENT COVERAGE IN THE MEDIA 242

Covering the President 242

Covering Congress 244

Covering the Supreme Court 245

THE MEDIA AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT TODAY 246

National Journal: Media 250





Can Congress Get Anything Done?

ORIGIN AND POWERS OF CONGRESS 255 CIVIC LIFE AND CONGRESSIONAL CHANGE 256

Building the Institution 256

The Era of Reform 257

The Resurgent Executive Branch 257

The Rights Revolution and Congress Today 258

GETTING ELECTED 258

Resources 258

The Incumbency Factor 259

Midterm Elections 260

Redistricting 260

DOING THE JOB: RESPONSIBILITIES AND BENEFITS 262

Representing the People 262

Pay and Perks 264

Home-Style Politics 264

Dealing with Organized Interests 265

Working with Others 266

KEYS TO POLITICAL POWER 268

The Committee System 268

Party 271

Position 272

Procedures 275

THE FUNCTIONS OF CONGRESS 276

Lawmaking 276

Declaring War 278

Impeachment 279

Oversight 280

Budgeting 281

Advice and Consent 281

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND CONGRESS TODAY 282

National Journal: Congress 284

THE PRESIDENCY: POWER AND PARADOX 287

Political Capital: Now You See It, Now You Don't

ORIGIN AND POWERS OF THE PRESIDENCY 289

Constitutional Provisions 289

Crafting the Office: From Washington to Roosevelt 289

The Modern Presidency 291

THE PATH TO THE PRESIDENCY 291

GETTING ELECTED 291

Fundraising 291

Primary Sweepstakes 292

Party Conventions 294

The General Election 294

PRESIDENTIAL POWER 297

Chief Executive 297

Commander in Chief 299

Chief Diplomat 301

Chief of State 302

Lawmaker 302

PRESIDENTIAL ROLES 304

Party Leader 304

Economic Leader 304

Opinion Leader 305

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH 306

Cabinet 306

Executive Office of the President 307

PRESIDENTIAL STYLE 308

ASSESSING PRESIDENTIAL POWER AND ITS LIMITS 309

THE VICE PRESIDENCY 311

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND THE PRESIDENCY TODAY 312

National Journal: The Presidency 314



BUREAUCRACY: CITIZENS AS OWNERS AND CONSUMERS 317

Katrina and the Slow Federal Bureaucratic Response

BUREAUCRATIC CHANGES AND EVOLVING CIVIC LIFE 319

Growth of Bureaucracy 319
The Early Bureaucracy 320
The Reform Era 320
Bureaucracy Today 321

THE NATURE OF BUREAUCRACY 322 FEDERAL BUREAUCRATS AND THEIR WORK 323

Who Are They? 323 What Do They Do? 325 Organization of the Federal Bureaucracy 328

SOURCES OF BUREAUCRATIC POWER 330

External Support 330
Expertise and Discretion 331
Longevity and Vitality 331
Leadership 331

CONTROLLING BUREAUCRATIC POWER 332

Congressional Controls 332 Presidential Controls 332 Judicial Controls 333 Whistle Blowing 334

THE BUREAUCRACY AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT 334

National Journal: Bureaucracy 336







THE COURTS: JUDICIAL POWER IN A DEMOCRATIC SETTING 339

Selection of a Chief Justice

NATIONAL COURT STRUCTURE 341

District Courts 341

United States Courts of Appeals 342

United States Supreme Court 342

Specialized Courts 342

NATURE OF THE JUDICIAL PROCESS 342

Common Law 343

Judicial Review 343

Civil and Criminal Law 344

Judicial Requirements 344

Real Cases and Controversies 346

CHANGING NATURE OF THE SUPREME COURT 346

The Early Court 346

The Court, Business, and Social Welfare 347

The Court and Personal Rights 347

SUPREME COURT DECISION MAKING 347



Agenda Decisions 348

Voting Decisions 349

Explaining Decisions 350

Implementing Decisions 350

Understanding Decisions 351

SUPREME COURT SELECTION 352

Nomination 352

Nomination Criteria 353

Senate Confirmation 356

LOWER COURT SELECTION 357

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND THE JUDICIARY 357

National Journal: The Judiciary 360



PUBLIC POLICY: RESPONDING TO CITIZENS 363

American Dream or Nightmare?

THE NATURE AND SCOPE OF PUBLIC POLICY 365 POLICY MAKING AND EVALUATION 365

Problem Recognition 366

Agenda Setting 366

Policy Formation 366

Policy Adoption and Implementation 366

Policy Evaluation 367

Explaining Policy Outcomes 367

DOMESTIC POLICY 368

Protecting the Environment 368

Helping the Poor 372

ECONOMIC POLICY 374

Fiscal Policy 375

Monetary Policy 378

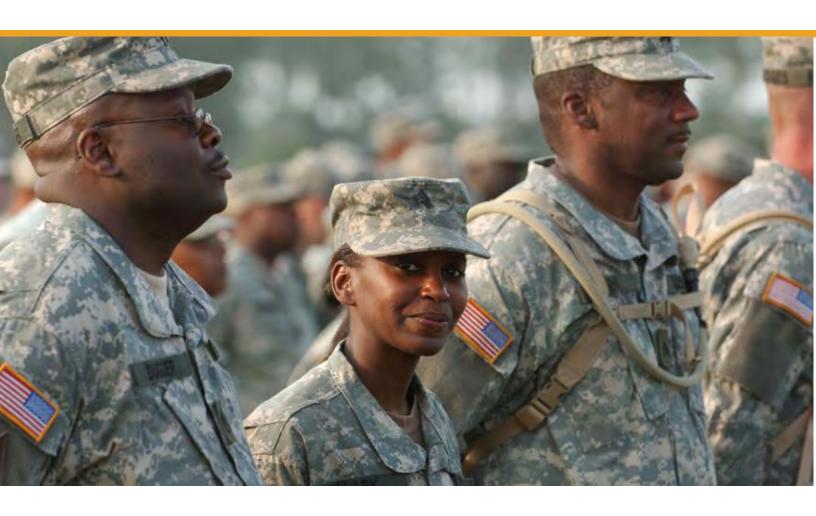
Global Economic Policy 380

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND PUBLIC POLICY TODAY 380

National Journal: Economic Policy 382









Intelligence: Getting It Right

DEFENSE AND FOREIGN POLICY IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE 387

Finding a Place in the World 387
Becoming an International Power 388
The Nuclear Age 388
The Growing Threat of Terrorism 390

DEFENDING U.S. INTERESTS IN A CONSTANTLY CHANGING WORLD 391

Defining National Interests 391
Understanding Nation-State Dynamics and Strategic Choices 392

MAKING FOREIGN POLICY 393

The Primacy of the Executive Branch 393 Congress's Role 397 Other Actors 398 The Public's Role 398

TOOLS OF FOREIGN POLICY 399

Military Power 399

Diplomacy 399

Foreign Aid 401

Working with International Organizations 401

CONFRONTING THE FUTURE 402

The Terrorist Threat 403

The Nuclear Threat 404

Threats Posed by Regional Conflicts 405

The Rise of China 406

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY TODAY 407

National Journal: Foreign Policy 410

Appendix 413

The Declaration of Independence 414

The Constitution of the United States

of America 417

Federalist Paper No. 10 (James Madison) 428

Federalist Paper No. 51 (James Madison) 431

Endnotes 433

Credits 449

Index 453

