This Week’s Lecture Covers:
• Nigeria
  ➢ Current Policy Challenges
  ➢ The Effects Of History
  ➢ Environmental Potential And Limitations
  ➢ Political Culture And Subcultures
  ➢ Political Socialization
  ➢ Political Recruitment
  ➢ Political Structure
  ➢ Interest Articulation
  ➢ Political Participation
  ➢ Parties And Elections
  ➢ Policy Formation And Implementation
Course Lecture Topics (2)

- Nigeria In Africa And In The World
- Prospects For Development

- United States
  - Current Policy Challenges
  - The United States Among The World’s Nations
  - The Constitutional System
  - Political Culture And Socialization
  - Political Participation And Recruitment
  - Recruitment Of Leaders
  - Interest Articulation: Pressure Groups And PACs
  - Special Characteristics Of American Political Parties
  - Policy Performance
Course Lecture Topics (3)

• American Exceptionalism?
  o Manifest Destiny
  o Cosmopolitanism
Country Bio: Nigeria (2)

- **Population**: 130 million
- **Territory**: 356,668 sq. miles
- **Year of Independence**: 1960
- **Year of Current Constitution**: 1979
  
  Constitution still partially in force; draft 1995 Constitution published and revised in 1999 (the 1999 Constitution)
- **Language**: English (official), Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, (and 250 other ethnic groups)

- **Religion**:
  - Muslim: 50%
  - Christian: 40%
  - Indigenous beliefs: 10%
• Nigeria = megastate in the African context
• Major country
  – One-fifth of the people in Africa
  – The world’s largest black population
  – Petroleum
  – Standing military force of substance
  – Forty-five universities
• Traditions
  – Large scale emirates in north
  – Small kingdoms and village-level republics in the South
  – Culture divided by ethnicity and by religion (Muslim and Christian)

• Groping toward a renewal of democracy

• Sick giant
  – Economy in shambles
  – Provision of public services has broken down
Projected Population

Nigeria's Projected Population Growth, 1995–2020

FIGURE 18.2

• Nigeria – question of the future of the country
• Divisions have intensified in recent years.
  – Break up into a weak federation or independent states
• Nigeria has existed for only 47 years.
Current Policy Challenges (2)

- 1999: Nigeria returned to formal civilian rule when Olusegun Obasanjo was elected president.
- Test: How can a potentially wealthy country fail to provide basic human needs, education, potable water, reliable transportation and communications, and engage in politics without corruption?
- Still ranked as one of the poorest and most corrupt countries
The Effects Of History

• Effects of precolonial events
  – Early empires of Nigeria
  – Igbo
  – Hausa
  – Fulani
  – Hausa-Fulani
  – Yoruba
The Effects Of History: Colonial Interlude (1)

- 1900-1960
- Lugard- architect of colonial Nigeria
- Conference of Berlin in 1884-1885
  - Divided Africa into spheres of influence/seize control of the continent rather than trade only
The Effects Of History: Colonial Interlude (2)

- Entity in 1914
  - Northern and Southern Protectorates and Lagos were brought under single colonial administration
  - Unifying action largely symbolic
  - Ruled separately
  - Indirect rule
  - Southern and Northern conflict
  - Incompatible objectives

- Modern constitutional development
The Effects Of History

• Nigerian Independence
  – October 1, 1960
    • Two year honeymoon period
    • Conflict: tore apart the ruling coalition in the Western region
    • National census
  – 1965 law and order broke down in Western Region over election-related fraud and violence
  – Military ended the First Republic in a January 1966 coup
  – Is there a role for obas and emirs in modern Nigeria?
#Chief Executives

## Nigerian Chief Executives, 1960–2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Cause of Departure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960–Jan. 1966</td>
<td>Tafawa Balewa</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
<td>Hausa-Fulani (North)</td>
<td>Coup (killed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963–Jan. 1966</td>
<td>Nnamdi Azikiwe</td>
<td>President [appointed]</td>
<td>Igbo (East)</td>
<td>Coup (removed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan.–July 1966</td>
<td>Agusi Ironsi</td>
<td>Military Head of State</td>
<td>Igbo (East)</td>
<td>Coup (killed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1966–1975</td>
<td>Yakubu Gowon</td>
<td>Military Head of State</td>
<td>Tiv (&quot;Middle Belt&quot;)</td>
<td>Coup (killed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975–1976</td>
<td>Murtala Muhammed</td>
<td>Military Head of State</td>
<td>Hausa-Fulani (North)</td>
<td>Coup (removed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976–1979</td>
<td>Olusegun Obasanjo</td>
<td>Military Head of State</td>
<td>Yoruba (Southwest)</td>
<td>Handed power to civilian government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979–1983</td>
<td>Shehu Shagari</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>Hausa-Fulani (North)</td>
<td>Coup (removed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983–1985</td>
<td>Muhammadu Buhari</td>
<td>Military Head of State</td>
<td>Hausa-Fulani (North)</td>
<td>Coup (removed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985–1993</td>
<td>Ibrahim Babangida</td>
<td>Military Head of State</td>
<td>Gwari (North)</td>
<td>Forced out of office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug.–Nov. 1993</td>
<td>Ernest Shonekan</td>
<td>Interim Head of State [appointed]</td>
<td>Yoruba (Southwest)</td>
<td>Forced out of office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1998–May 1999</td>
<td>Abdulsalami Abubakar</td>
<td>Head, Provisional Ruling Council</td>
<td>Gwari (North)</td>
<td>Handed power to civilian government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1999–May 2007</td>
<td>Olusegun Obasanjo</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>Yoruba (Southwest)</td>
<td>Civilian-to-civilian transfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2007–present</td>
<td>Umar Musa Yar’Adua</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>Hausa-Fulani (North)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Creation Of States

The Creation of States, 1960–1997

Note: Lower left: Dark color border (lower-left map) shows original three regions, increased to four by the creation of the Midwestern Region, and to twelve in 1967. Lower right: Nineteen states, 1976–1991. Above: 30 states, 1991–1997. (Current 36 states are shown at the beginning of the chapter.)
Environmental Potential And Limitations (1)

- Agricultural production
- Sale of primary commodities
- Disease
- Population growth
Environmental Potential And Limitations (2)

• Urbanization
• Petroleum
  – Niger delta basin (8% of the country)
  – Biafra
  – MEND
• Distribution of natural resources
  – Political effects
• The international environment
Political Culture And Subculture (1)

- Ethnic identity
  - Hausa-Fulani
    - Mostly northern half of Nigeria
  - Igbo (Ilbo)
    - Southeastern part of Nigeria
    - Responsive to western culture
  - Yoruba
    - Lagos
    - Oba and lineage chiefs and the British
    - Fragmenting effect of multiple ethnic identities

- Religion
  - Christianity, Islam, and traditional religious institutions
Political Culture And Subculture (2)

• Nigerian nationalism
  – Three major sources
    • Freed slaves from N.A. others of African descent from the Caribbean
    • Nigerians who fought for the British in WWII
      – Frustration with lack of recognition for service
    • Nigerians who studied in U.K. and U.S.

• Democratic norms and values
• Political role of women
  – Position of women varies immensely
  – In general Nigerian women vote in similar numbers as men but are underrepresented in government.

• Political corruption
  – EFCC
Political Socialization

- The family
  - Polygamy
  - Kinship/sense of identity
- Schools
- Mass media
  - One third of people are illiterate
- The State
- Contact with urban life
- Religion
  - Nearly 80% of Nigerians say they belong to religious associations.
Political Recruitment

- Northerners have dominated the leadership of the country under military and civilian rule.
- Military power
- Role of Nigerian universities
- Civil service
- No recruitment of “strangers”
- Federal character of appointments of military personnel
- Ethnic politics still dominate
Ethnic Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party*</th>
<th>Igbo</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
<th>Hausa-Fulani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NCNC</td>
<td>49.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AG</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>68.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NCNC: National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons; AG: Action Group; NPC: Northern People’s Congress.

### Results of 2003 National Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PDP (%)</th>
<th>ANPP (%)</th>
<th>AD (%)</th>
<th>Others (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presidential vote</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>Did not contest</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National assembly vote (seats)</td>
<td>54.5 (213)</td>
<td>27.4 (95)</td>
<td>9.3 (31)</td>
<td>8.8 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senate vote (seats)</td>
<td>53.7 (73)</td>
<td>27.9 (28)</td>
<td>9.7 (6)</td>
<td>8.7 (0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: PDP: People’s Democratic Party; ANPP: All Nigeria People’s Party; AD: Alliance for Democracy.

Political Structure (1)

• Constitution of 1999
  – Election of 1993
  – Succession of military regimes

• Federalism
  – Three level federalism
Political Structure (2)

- Parliamentary vs. presidential government
  - Nigerian pluralism; lack of trust by subcultures
  - No institutional structure can overcome this roadblock.
• **Judiciary**
  – Federal and state courts are integrated into a single system of trial and appeal courts.
  – Independent judiciary survived, even throughout military regimes
  – Traditional authorities maintain their greatest influence in their judicial role
    • Muslim Koranic Law
    • Sharia courts
Interest Articulation

- Ethnic and religious associations
  - MOSOP
- Associational groups
  - Often by sector
  - Universities
- Non-associational groups
  - Kaduna mafia
- Patron-client networks
  - Clientelism
Political Participation

• Great range in activity
  – Voting
  – Civil war
  – Violence; thugs

• Rise in honest and responsive institutions
• 1993- party activities banned in Nigeria
  – Exception: artificially created five party system
    • No criticism of Abacha
• History of parties
  – 1923 first modern party
  – 1944 nationalists
  – 1951 Constitution
  – Return to civil rule
  – Elections of 1979 and 1983
  – 1998 and 1999 elections: nationwide organization required of parties
  – Elections of 2003
• Ethnic solidarity and party loyalty
Evolution Of Parties

Region: 
- East Igbo
- West Yoruba
- North Hausa
- North Hausa

Ethnic Base:

Original Leader:
- Azikiwe
- Awolowo
- Aminu Kano
- Ahmadu Bello

1960–66
- NCNC
- Action Group
- NEPU
- NPC

1979–83
- GNPP NPP
- UPN
- PRP
- NPN

1990–93
- SDP
- NRC

1998–99
- APP
- AD
- PDP

(The parties formed under Abacha, 1996–1998, were artificial constructs that were not part of this evolution.)

The Evolution of Political Parties in Nigeria

FIGURE 18.6

Policy Formation And Implementation

• Extractive performance
  – Fiscal system
  – Revenues from oil

• Distributive performance
  – Potential to be rich, but remains poor
  – Education

• Dealing with debt and structural adjustment

• Regulative performance
  – The Census issue

• Conclusions on performance
  – Public policy as the national cake
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Life Expectancy at Birth, 2004</th>
<th>Adult Literacy Rate (%) 2004</th>
<th>Real GDP per Capita 2004*</th>
<th>Human HDI 2004</th>
<th>Rank in per Capita GDP, 2004</th>
<th>Rank by HDI</th>
<th>Per Capita GDP-HDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>77.5</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>39,676</td>
<td>.948</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>29,251</td>
<td>.949</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>99.0</td>
<td>30,821</td>
<td>.940</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>75.3</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>9,803</td>
<td>.821</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>81.2</td>
<td>9,945</td>
<td>.570</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>3,609</td>
<td>.711</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>90.9</td>
<td>5,896</td>
<td>.768</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>2,174</td>
<td>.506</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>66.8'</td>
<td>1,154</td>
<td>.448</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>.428</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>44.6</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>.311</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: These figures are in U.S. dollars converted at purchasing power parity (PPP) rates.
Exchange Rate

![Graph showing the Naira Exchange Rate from 1977 to 1997. The graph compares Market Rate and Official Rate with a steady increase over the years.](image-url)
Nigeria In Africa And The World

• Has the population and resources to be a regional power
• Economic Community of West African States
  – Free trade zones
  – Critic of international organizations’ monetary policy: World Bank, IMF
• France- closer economic ties
• U.S. and Britain – condemnation of military rulers
Prospects For Development

- Frustration
- Few have gotten rich; many poor
- But Nigeria has moved toward becoming a service-oriented country
  - Success in telephone and transportation
  - Success in water, housing and electricity
Country Bio: United States (2)

- **Population:**
  - 300 million
- **Territory:**
  - 3,475,031 sq. miles
- **Year of Independence:**
  - 1776
- **Year of Current Constitution:**
  - September 17, 1787; effective March 4, 1789

- **Language:**
  - English, Spanish (spoken by a sizable majority)
- **Religion:**
  - Protestant 52%; Roman Catholic 24%, Muslim 1%, Mormon 1%, Jewish 1%, none 14%
Current Policy Challenges

- **Impact of September 11, 2001**
  - New war unlike any other in history
  - Overshadows other policy challenges

- **Domestic affairs**
  - Economic and social status of African Americans
  - Immigration
  - War on drugs
  - Economic conditions
    - Oil prices, Social Security, and Medicare

- **Foreign policy**
  - Main question: Should the U.S. conduct its foreign policy mainly solely through the structures and procedures of the UN or should the U.S. do what the U.S. president thinks is imperative even if the UN votes against it?
Birthplaces of Foreign-Born Population, 2003

The United States Among The World’s Nations (1)

• History
  – “first new nation”; but relatively old democracy
  – Civil War
  – Fourteenth Amendment

• Geography
  – Fourth largest nation in the world
  – Secure location allows for foreign policy of isolation
    • Not true in contemporary world
The United States Among
The World’s Nations (2)

• Population
  – Third most populous country in the world
  – Immigrants in three historic waves
  – Far more immigrants than any other nation in history
  – The most ethnically and culturally diverse population in the world (only India comes close)
The United States Among The World’s Nations (3)

• Economy
  – GNP in 2003: $11 trillion
  – Economic dominance at an end?
    • World’s greatest debtor nation

• America’s position in world politics
  – Until the end of the nineteenth century, the U.S. followed an isolationist foreign policy; Minor player in world politics
  – Changeover began with the Spanish-American War.
  – WWII
  – Cold War
  – Still the world’s most powerful nation, but a new national order is emerging
Federalism

- Divides power in the following principle ways:
  - Powers specifically assigned to the federal government
  - Powers reserved to the states by the Tenth Amendment
  - Powers that are shared by federal and state government
  - Powers that are forbidden to the federal government
  - Powers that are forbidden to the state governments
American Government

The Constitutional System

• Separation of powers
  – Most important difference between our presidential democracy and most other democratic systems, which are generally parliamentary democracies
  – Persons heading each branch of the U.S. government are selected by different procedures for different terms.
    • House
    • Senate
    • President
    • Courts
  – Checks and balances

• Judicial review
  – Defined as the power of a court to render a legislative or executive act null and void on the ground of unconstitutionality
Melting pot or patchwork quilt?
- Melting pot: blends all of the different cultures of immigrants into one uniquely American culture
- Patchwork quilt: an array of the languages, history, customs, and values of each of the nation’s major ethnic groups, all respected, none dominant; rejects homogenization
  - Advocates bilingual education
  - Opposition has built to this movement
Main elements of the traditional American political culture

- More Americans tend to believe that government officials are trustworthy, but less inclined to believe that government is really run for the benefit of all people
- More likely to say they are proud of their country and are willing to fight for it
- But not as likely to trust their government to do the right thing
- A paradox? Belief that ordinary Americans are good, solid, reliable folks with plenty of commons sense, and that American is a wonderful country. BUT, they feel that the government, which is not the same as the country, may not always be trustworthy given the nature of ambitious political leaders and elections, etc.
- Litigious nature
Political socialization

- Begins with children as young as 3 or 4 and continues on in life

- Agents of political socialization
  - Family, primarily parents - most powerful role
  - School teachers
  - Friends and schoolmates
  - Work associates
  - Mass communication media
    - Privately owned media more important
    - Scarcity doctrine
    - Internet
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>Italy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most elected officials are trustworthy</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected officials care what people like me think</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government is really run for the benefit of all the people</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust the government</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Most Important Source of Political Information (in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Television</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspapers</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines, other print media</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal discussion</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participation & Recruitment

• Participation by voting
  – Voting turnout
  – Voting registration
  – Direct initiative
  – Popular referendum

• Participation by other means
### Average Voting Turnout in Elections to Lower House, 1961–1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Average Turnout</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium†</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy†</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>52*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

†Compulsory voting law  
*Presidential elections  

# Participation

## Nonvoting Forms of Political Participation in Four Democracies (in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>Germany</th>
<th>France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voted in national election</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempt to convince others how to vote</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend meeting/rally</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work for party/candidate</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communal Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign a petition</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership in public interest group</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protest Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in lawful demonstrations</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join in boycott</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participate in unofficial strike</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

American leaders are drawn disproportionately from the middle and upper ranges of wealth and status.

• Administrative employees
  – Merit system

• In general, recruitment in U.S. is like other countries except for our unique nomination process.
  – The unique direct primary
    • Closed primaries
    • Crossover primaries
    • Open primaries
    • Blanket primaries
PACs and campaign contributions

The most important PACS can be classified in one of three main categories:

– Narrow material interest PACs
– Single, nonmaterial interest PACs
– Ideological PACS

Pressure groups and lobbying
American Political Parties

- A two-party system
- The “Americanization” of electioneering
- Differences between the two parties
  - Partisan polarization
- Decentralized organization
  - Hierarchies versus stratarchies
  - Presidential party
  - Congressional party
- Low cohesion
- Weak discipline
- Divided party control of government
  - Divided party control
  - Ticket-splitting
Party Shares of Presidential Votes, 1980–2004

Policymaking In America

• Constitutional framework
  – Regarded deadlocks as highly preferable to any government action that rides roughshod over the interests and objections of any significant part of the community.

• Traditional ways of avoiding deadlocks
  – Ordinary times process
  – Presidential-dictatorship escape valve
    • Not open indefinitely
### Congressional Votes

**Selected Votes in Congress, 1993–2003**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th></th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>Cohesion Index*</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>House</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lift ban, leave gays-in-military issue to Clinton</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare reform</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impeach Clinton for perjury</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush-proposed tax cut, 2001</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq War</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial-birth abortion ban</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush-proposed tax cut, 2003</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Senate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Brady bill” for handgun control</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare reform</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush-proposed tax cut, 2001</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq War</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial-birth abortion ban</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush-proposed tax cut, 2003</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The cohesion index is a measure of the extent to which members of a particular party in a legislature vote alike on matter of public policy. The percentages of the members voting each way are calculated, and the smaller percentage is subtracted from the larger. If they all vote alike the index is 100. If they split evenly the index is 0. If they split 75–25 the index is 50.*


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Congress</th>
<th>President</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>Harry S. Truman, Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>Dwight D. Eisenhower, Republican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>John F. Kennedy, Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>Lyndon B. Johnson, Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>Richard M. Nixon, Republican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>Gerald R. Ford, Republican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>James E. Carter, Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>Ronald W. Reagan, Republican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>George H. W. Bush, Republican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>William J. Clinton, Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>George W. Bush, Republican</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Title: Party Control

Unitad/Split Party Control of the Presidency and Congress, 1946–2006

FIGURE 19.5

Split-ticket Voting


Source: American National Election Studies, Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, University of Michigan, compiled by Gary Jacobson. Data points are the percentage reporting a different vote for the presidential and House of Representatives elections; third-party candidates are excluded from the calculations.
Policy Performance

- Tax policies
- Distributive performance
- Regulatory performance
  - Social insurance
  - Social insurance and welfare
  - Public assistance
    - Welfare reform
  - Education
    - Availability
    - Quality
  - Environmental protection
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Personal Income</th>
<th>Corporate Income</th>
<th>Employees’ Social Security</th>
<th>Employers’ Social Security</th>
<th>Sales and Consumption</th>
<th>Specific Goods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Federal Spending by Function, 2005 (in billions of dollars)

- Medicare: 295.4 billion
- Social Security: 519.7 billion
- Income security: 350.9 billion
- Education: 96.3 billion
- Other health: 257.5 billion
- Defense: 465.9 billion
- Veterans' benefits: 68.2 billion
- Other: 277.8 billion
- Debt: 177.9 billion

### Educational Attainment

**Educational Attainment, Ten Top Nations (11 with a tie), 2002 (percent of persons 25- to 64-years-old)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Nation</th>
<th>Secondary Education (%)</th>
<th>University Education (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Included in university education.

American Exceptionalism

• The idea in history
  – Great social experiment

• How true is it?
  – Similar features
  – Unusual features
  – Unique features
### The U.S. Compared with Other Nations: A Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>How the U.S. Is Like Other Nations</th>
<th>How the U.S. Resembles a Few Nations But Differs from Many</th>
<th>How the U.S. Is Unique or Nearly So</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Society</td>
<td>Consists of many different groups with different interests</td>
<td>Large population of immigrants and descendants of immigrants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>High religious diversity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political System</td>
<td>Has a government, which makes and enforces laws</td>
<td>Is a democracy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure of Government</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive Branch</td>
<td>Has a chief executive</td>
<td>Presidential system rather than parliamentary system</td>
<td>Extensiveness of system of checks and balances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chief of state and head of government roles performed by same person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>President is directly elected through an electoral college</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative Branch</td>
<td>Has a national legislature</td>
<td>Both houses of the legislature are directly elected</td>
<td>Legislative committees play a critical role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Courts settle civil and criminal disputes</td>
<td>All national judges appointed; some state and local judges elected</td>
<td>Many political issues settled by courts rather than by parties or legislatures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judicial Branch</td>
<td></td>
<td>Most courts have power of judicial review</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties and Elections</td>
<td>Has regular elections</td>
<td>Has a two-party system</td>
<td>Candidates selected by direct primaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elections use single-member districts and plurality decisions</td>
<td>Elections held on fixed dates; no power of dissolution</td>
<td>Voter registration is decentralized and responsibility of voter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elections closely regulated by law</td>
<td>Parties closely regulated by law</td>
<td>Voters have many elections and many choices at each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Executive and legislative branches can be and often are controlled by</td>
<td></td>
<td>Party leaders have no power to admit or expel party members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>different parties</td>
<td></td>
<td>Parties are decentralized and largely undisciplined and uncohesive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>