



GINSBERG  
LOWI  
WEIR  
TOLBERT  
SPITZER



ELEVENTH ESSENTIALS EDITION

ELEVENTH ESSENTIALS EDITION

---

# **We the People**

**AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN POLITICS**

**THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 2016**

Hillary Clinton (Democrat) margin of victory

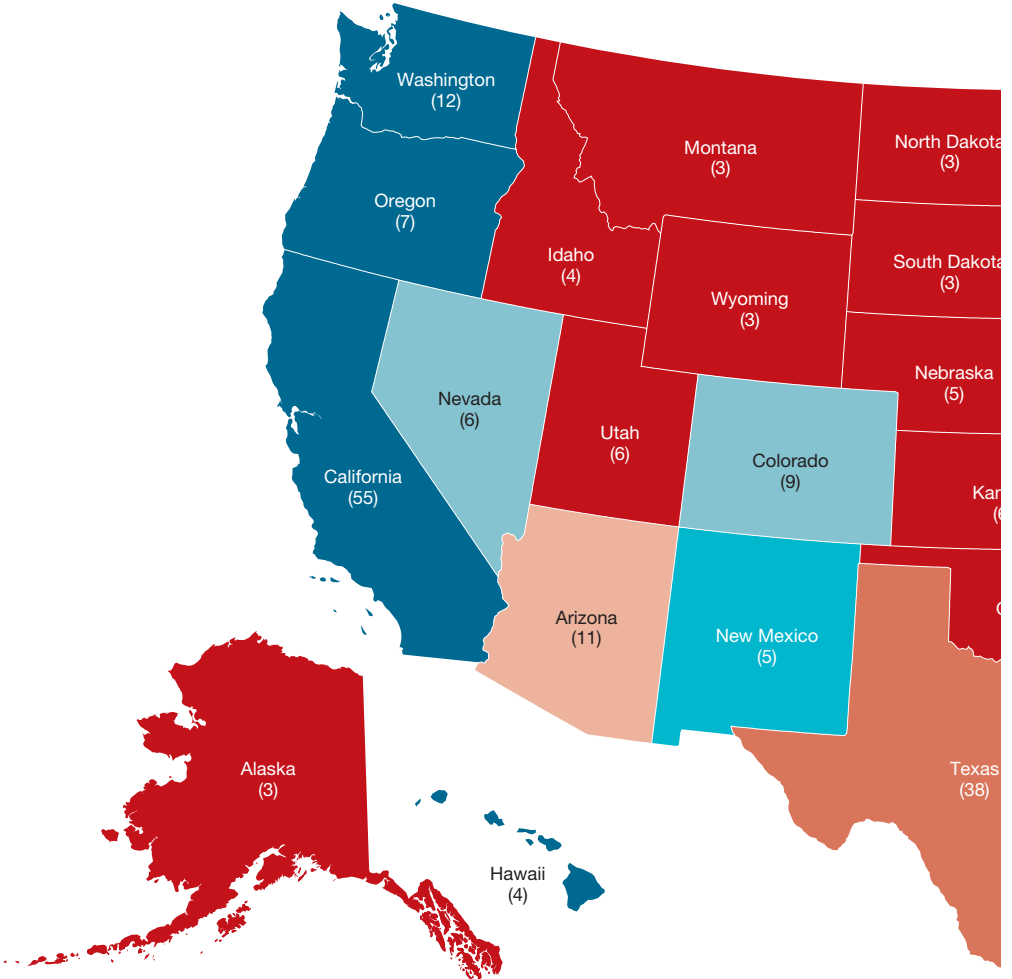
Total electoral votes: 232

<5%   5-10%   >10%

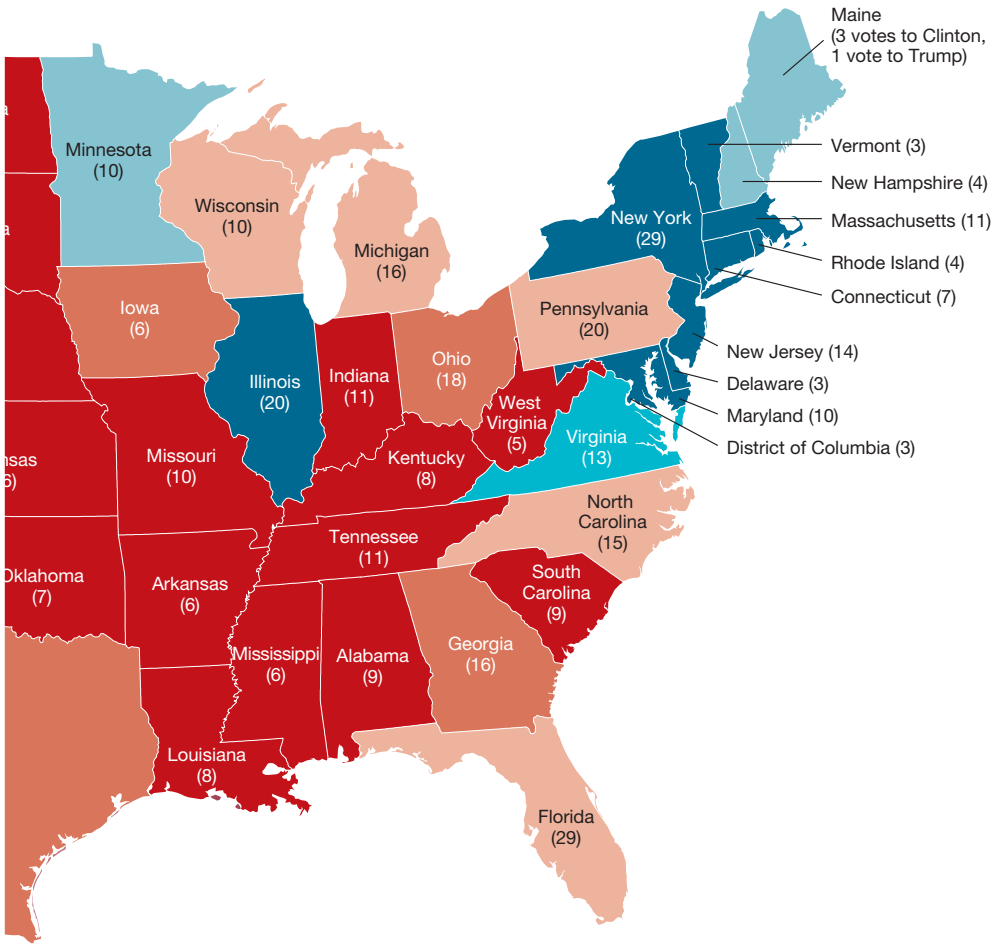
Donald Trump (Republican) margin of victory

Total electoral votes: 306

<5%   5-10%   >10%



NOTE: As of December 1, 2016, the Democrats were pursuing recounts in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.





ELEVENTH ESSENTIALS EDITION

# We the People

## AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN POLITICS

**Benjamin Ginsberg**

THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

**Theodore J. Lowi**

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

**Margaret Weir**

BROWN UNIVERSITY

**Caroline J. Tolbert**

UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

**Robert J. Spitzer**

SUNY CORTLAND



W. W. NORTON & COMPANY  
NEW YORK LONDON

**W. W. Norton & Company** has been independent since its founding in 1923, when William Warder Norton and Mary D. Herter Norton first published lectures delivered at the People's Institute, the adult education division of New York City's Cooper Union. The firm soon expanded its program beyond the Institute, publishing books by celebrated academics from America and abroad. By mid-century, the two major pillars of Norton's publishing program—trade books and college texts—were firmly established. In the 1950s, the Norton family transferred control of the company to its employees, and today—with a staff of four hundred and a comparable number of trade, college, and professional titles published each year—W. W. Norton & Company stands as the largest and oldest publishing house owned wholly by its employees.

Copyright © 2017, 2015, 2013, 2011, 2009, 2006, 2002  
by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

All rights reserved  
Printed in Canada

*Editor:* Ann Shin  
*Associate Editor:* Emily Stuart  
*Project Editor:* Christine D'Antonio  
*Editorial Assistant:* Shannon Jilek  
*Manuscript Editor:* Andrew Pachuta  
*Managing Editor, College:* Marian Johnson  
*Managing Editor, College Digital Media:* Kim Yi  
*Production Manager, College:* Ashley Horna  
*Media Editor:* Spencer Richardson-Jones  
*Associate Media Editor:* Michael Jaoui  
*Media Editorial Assistant:* Ariel Eaton

*Marketing Manager, Political Science:* Erin Brown  
*Art Director:* Rubina Yeh  
*Text Design:* Lissi Sigillo  
*Photo Editor:* Catherine Abelman  
*Photo Researcher:* Elyse Rieder  
*Permissions Manager:* Megan Schindel  
*Permissions Clearing:* Elizabeth Trammell  
*Information Graphics:* Kiss Me I'm Polish LLC,  
New York  
*Composition:* Graphic World, Inc.  
*Manufacturing:* TransContinental

Permission to use copyrighted material is included in the credits section of this book, which begins on page A97.

The Library of Congress has cataloged the full edition as follows:

#### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Ginsberg, Benjamin, author. | Lowi, Theodore J., author. | Weir, Margaret, 1952- author. | Tolbert, Caroline J., author.  
We the people : an introduction to American politics / Benjamin Ginsberg, the Johns Hopkins University, Theodore J. Lowi, Cornell University, Margaret Weir, Brown University, Caroline J. Tolbert, University of Iowa.  
Eleventh Edition. | New York : W.W. Norton & Company, [2017]  
Tenth edition: 2015.  
Includes bibliographical references and index.  
LCCN 2016050517 | ISBN 9780393283624 (hardcover)  
LCSH: United States—Politics and government—Textbooks.  
LCC JK276.G55 2017 | DDC 320.473—dc23 LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2016050517>

This edition:  
**ISBN: 978-0-393-28364-8 (pbk.)**

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10110  
[www.wwnorton.com](http://www.wwnorton.com)

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., Castle House, 15 Carlisle Street, London W1D 3BS

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

*To Teresa Spitzer*

*Sandy, Cindy, and Alex Ginsberg*

*Angele, Anna, and Jason Lowi*

*Nicholas Ziegler*

*David, Jackie, Eveline, and Ed Dowling*





# contents

Preface xxi

Acknowledgments xxiii

## **PART I Foundations**

### **1 ● Introduction: The Citizen and Government 2**

**Government Affects Our Lives Every Day 5**

Trust in Government Has Declined 7

Political Efficacy Means People Can Make  
a Difference 7

**Citizenship Is Based on Political Knowledge  
and Participation 8**

“Digital Citizenship” Is the Newest Way to  
Participate 9

**Government Is Made Up of the Institutions and Procedures  
by Which People Are Ruled 9**

Different Forms of Government Are Defined by Power and Freedom 9

Limits on Governments Encouraged Freedom 10

Expansion of Participation in America Changed the Political Balance 11

The Goal of Politics Is Having a Say in What Happens 11

**The Identity of Americans Has Changed over Time 12**

Immigration and Increasing Ethnic Diversity Have Long Caused  
Intense Debate 13

Today the Country Still Confronts the Question “Who Are  
Americans?” 14

**● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Global Diversity 17**

**America Is Built on the Ideas of Liberty, Equality, and Democracy 19**

Liberty Means Freedom 19

Equality Means Treating People Fairly 20

Democracy Means That What the People Want Matters 21

**American Political Values and Your Future 21**



- **WHO PARTICIPATES?** Who Participated in the 2012 Presidential Election? 23
- Key Terms 26
- For Further Reading 27



## 2 ● The Founding and the Constitution 28

### The First Founding: Ideals, Interests, and Conflicts 31

Narrow Interests and Political Conflicts Shaped the First Founding 31

British Taxes Hurt Colonial Economic Interests 32

Political Strife Radicalized the Colonists 33

The Declaration of Independence Explained Why the Colonists Wanted to Break with Great Britain 34

The Articles of Confederation Created America's First National Government 35

### The Failure of the Articles of Confederation Made the "Second Founding" Necessary 36

The Annapolis Convention Was Key to Calling a National Convention 37

Shays's Rebellion Showed How Weak the Government Was 37

The Constitutional Convention Didn't Start Out to Write a New Constitution 38

### The Constitution Created Both Bold Powers and Sharp Limits on Power 41

The Legislative Branch Was Designed to Be the Most Powerful 43

The Executive Branch Created a Brand New Office 44

The Judicial Branch Was a Check on Too Much Democracy 45

National Unity and Power Set the New Constitution Apart from the Old Articles 45

The Constitution Establishes the Process for Amendment 46

The Constitution Sets Forth Rules for Its Own Ratification 46

The Constitution Limits the National Government's Power 46

### Ratification of the Constitution Was Difficult 49

Federalists and Antifederalists Fought Bitterly over the Wisdom of the New Constitution 50

Both Federalists and Antifederalists Contributed to the Success of the New System 52

## ● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Comparing Systems of Government 53

### Constitutional Amendments Dramatically Changed the Relationship between Citizens and the Government 54

Amendments: Many Are Called; Few Are Chosen 54

The Amendment Process Reflects "Higher Law" 55

### The Constitution and Your Future 58

## ● WHO PARTICIPATES? Who Gained the Right to Vote through Amendments? 59

Key Terms 62

For Further Reading 63

### 3 ● Federalism 64

#### Federalism Shapes American Politics 67

Federalism Comes from the Constitution 67

#### The Definition of Federalism Has Changed Radically over Time 71

Federalism under the “Traditional System” Gave Most Powers to the States 71

The Supreme Court Paved the Way for the End of the “Traditional System” 73

FDR’s New Deal Remade the Government 75

Changing Court Interpretations of Federalism Helped the New Deal While Preserving States’ Rights 76

Cooperative Federalism Pushes States to Achieve National Goals 78

National Standards Have Been Advanced through Federal Programs 79

#### ● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Government Spending in Federal and Unitary Systems 81

#### New Federalism Means More State Control 83

There Is No Simple Answer to Finding the Right National–State Balance 84

#### Federalism and Your Future 88

#### ● WHO PARTICIPATES? Who Participates in State and Local Politics? 89

Key Terms 91

For Further Reading 93

### 4 ● Civil Liberties and Civil Rights 94

#### The Origin of the Bill of Rights Lies in Those Who Opposed the Constitution 97

The Fourteenth Amendment Nationalized the Bill of Rights through Incorporation 98

#### The First Amendment Guarantees Freedom of Religion 101

Separation between Church and State Comes from the First Amendment 101

Free Exercise of Religion Means You Have a Right to Your Beliefs 102

#### The First Amendment and Freedom of Speech and of the Press Ensure the Free Exchange of Ideas 103

Political Speech Is Consistently Protected 103

Symbolic Speech, Speech Plus, Assembly, and Petition Are Highly Protected 104



Freedom of the Press Is Broad	106
Some Speech Has Only Limited Protection	106
<b>The Second Amendment Now Protects an Individual's Right to Own a Gun</b>	109
<b>Rights of the Criminally Accused Are Based on Due Process of Law</b>	111
The Fourth Amendment Protects against Unlawful Searches and Seizures	111
The Fifth Amendment Covers Court-Related Rights	113
The Sixth Amendment's Right to Counsel Is Crucial for a Fair Trial	115
The Eighth Amendment Bars Cruel and Unusual Punishment	115
<b>The Right to Privacy Means the Right to Be Left Alone</b>	116
<b>Civil Rights Are Protections by the Government</b>	118
<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> Established "Separate but Equal"	118
Lawsuits to Fight for Equality Came after World War II	119
The Civil Rights Struggle Escalated after <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>	121
The Civil Rights Acts Made Equal Protection a Reality	122
<b>The Civil Rights Struggle Was Extended to Other Disadvantaged Groups</b>	126
Americans Have Fought Gender Discrimination	126
Latinos and Asian Americans Fight for Rights	129
Native Americans Have Sovereignty but Still Lack Rights	130
Disabled Americans Won a Great Victory in 1990	131
Gay Men and Lesbians Have Gained Significant Legal Ground	131
● <b>AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE</b> Same-Sex Marriage around the World	133
<b>Affirmative Action Attempts to Right Past Wrongs</b>	134
The Supreme Court Shifts the Burden of Proof in Affirmative Action	134
<b>Civil Liberties, Civil Rights, and Your Future</b>	135
● <b>WHO PARTICIPATES?</b> Religious Affiliation and Freedom of Religion	137
<b>Key Terms</b>	140
<b>For Further Reading</b>	141

## PART II Politics

### 5 ● Public Opinion 142

#### Public Opinion Represents Attitudes about Politics 145

- Americans Share Common Political Values 146
- America's Dominant Political Ideologies Are Liberalism and Conservatism 148
- Americans Exhibit Low Trust in Government 149

#### Political Socialization Shapes Public Opinion 150

#### Political Knowledge Is Important in Shaping Public Opinion 156

#### The Media and Government Mold Opinion 158

- The Government Leads Public Opinion 159
- Private Groups Also Shape Public Opinion 159
- The News Media's Message Affects Public Opinion 159
- Government Policies Also Respond to Public Opinion 160

#### Measuring Public Opinion Is Crucial to Understanding What It Is 161

- Public-Opinion Surveys Are Accurate If Done Properly 161

#### ● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Public Opinion on Climate Change 162

- Why Are Some Polls Wrong? 165

#### Public Opinion, Democracy, and Your Future 168

#### ● WHO PARTICIPATES? Who Expresses Their Political Opinions? 169

#### Key Terms 172

#### For Further Reading 173



### 6 ● The Media 174

#### Traditional Media Have Always Mattered in a Democracy 177

- Print Media 177
- Broadcast Media 179
- More Media Outlets Are Owned by Fewer Companies 180

#### The Rise of New Media Has Strongly Influenced How Americans Get Their News 182

- Online News Takes Many Forms 183
- New Media Have Many Benefits 187
- But New Media Raise Several Concerns 188



<b>The Media Affect Power Relations in American Politics</b>	189
The Media Influence Public Opinion through Agenda-Setting, Framing, and Priming	189
Leaked Information Can Come from Government Officials or Independent Sources	191
Adversarial Journalism Has Risen in Recent Years	192
Broadcast Media Are Regulated but Not Print Media	193
● <b>AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE</b> Press Freedom around the world	195
<b>The Media, Democracy, and Your Future</b>	196
● <b>WHO PARTICIPATES?</b> Who Participates via Social Media?	197
Key Terms	200
For Further Reading	201



## 7 ● Political Parties, Participation, and Elections 202

### Parties and Elections Have Been Vital to American Politics and Government 205

Political Parties Arose from the Electoral Process	205
Parties Recruit Candidates	206
Parties Organize Nominations	206
Parties Help Get Out the Vote	206
Parties Organize Power in Congress	208
Presidents Need Political Parties	208

### America Is One of the Few Nations with a Two-Party System 209

Electoral Realignments Define Party Systems in American History	215
American Third Parties Sometimes Change the Major Parties and Election Outcomes	216
Group Affiliations Are Based on Voters' Psychological Ties to One of the Parties	218

### Political Participation Takes Both Traditional and Digital Forms 218

Voting Is the Most Important Form of Traditional Participation	218
Digital Political Participation Is Surging	219
Voter Turnout in America Is Low	221
Why Do People Vote?	222

### ● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Voter Turnout in Comparison 224

### Voters Decide Based on Party, Issues, and Candidate 225

Party Loyalty Is Important	225
Issues Can Shape an Election	226
Candidate Characteristics Are More Important in the Media Age	226

### The Electoral Process Has Many Levels and Rules 227

The Electoral College Still Organizes Presidential Elections	228
--	-----

**The 2016 Election** 229

- The 2016 Primaries Reflected Divisions within Both Parties 230
- The General Election Was Bitterly Fought 230
- White Working-Class Voters Were Key to Trump's Victory 232
- The 2016 Election Raised Important Questions About the Future 233

**Money Is the Mother's Milk of Politics** 235

- Campaign Funds Come from Direct Appeals, the Rich, PACs, and Parties 235

**Political Parties, Elections, and Your Future** 238

● **WHO PARTICIPATES?** Who Voted in 2012? 239

Key Terms 242

For Further Reading 243

**8 ● Interest Groups** 244

**Interest Groups Form to Advocate for Different Interests** 247

- What Interests Are Represented? 248

● **AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE** Labor Union Membership in Global Decline 249

- Some Interests Are Not Represented 250
- Group Membership Has an Upper-Class Bias 250

**The Organizational Components of Groups Include Money, Offices, and Members** 251

- The Internet Has Changed the Way Interest Groups Foster Participation 254



**The Number of Groups Has Increased in Recent Decades** 255

- The Expansion of Government Has Spurred the Growth of Groups 255
- Public Interest Groups Grew in the 1960s and '70s 256

**Interest Groups Use Different Strategies to Gain Influence** 256

- Direct Lobbying Combines Education, Persuasion, and Pressure 257
- Cultivating Access Means Getting the Attention of Decision Makers 258
- Using the Courts (Litigation) Can Be Highly Effective 260
- Mobilizing Public Opinion Brings Wider Attention to an Issue 261
- Groups Often Use Electoral Politics 263

**Groups, Interests, and Your Future** 265

● **WHO PARTICIPATES?** How Much Do Major Groups Spend? 267

Key Terms 270

For Further Reading 271





## **PART III Institutions**

### **9 ● Congress 272**

#### **Congress Represents the American People 275**

- The House and Senate Offer Differences in Representation 275
- Representation Can Be Sociological or Agency 276
- The Electoral Connection Hinges on Incumbency 279
- Direct Patronage Means Bringing Home the Bacon 284

#### **The Organization of Congress Is Shaped by Party 286**

- Party Leadership in the House and the Senate Organizes Power 286
- The Committee System Is the Core of Congress 287
- The Staff System Is the Power behind the Power 289

#### **● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Legislatures in Comparison 290**

#### **Rules of Lawmaking Explain How a Bill Becomes a Law 291**

- The First Step Is Committee Deliberation 291
- Debate Is Less Restricted in the Senate Than in the House 291
- Conference Committees Reconcile House and Senate Versions of Legislation 294
- The President's Veto Controls the Flow of Legislation 294

#### **Several Factors Influence How Congress Decides 295**

- Constituents Matter 295
- Interest Groups Influence Constituents and Congress 295
- Party Leaders Rely on Party Discipline 296
- Partisanship Has Thwarted the Ability of Congress to Decide 300

#### **Much Congressional Energy Goes to Tasks Other Than Lawmaking 301**

- Congress Oversees How Legislation Is Implemented 302
- Special Senate Powers Include Advice and Consent 302
- Impeachment Is the Power to Remove Top Officials 303

#### **Congress and Your Future 303**

#### **● WHO PARTICIPATES? Who Elects Congress? 305**

#### **Key Terms 308**

#### **For Further Reading 311**

## 10 ● The Presidency 312

### Presidential Power Is Rooted in the Constitution 315

- Expressed Powers Come Directly from the Words of the Constitution 316
- Delegated Powers Come from Congress 321
- Modern Presidents Have Claimed Inherent Powers 322

### ● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Executive Branches in Comparison 323

### Institutional Resources of Presidential Power Are Numerous 324

- The Cabinet Is Often Distant from the President 325
- The White House Staff Constitutes the President's Eyes and Ears 326
- The Executive Office of the President Is a Visible Sign of the Modern Strong Presidency 326
- The Vice Presidency Has Become More Important since the 1970s 327
- The First Spouse Has Become Important to Policy 327

### Party, Popular Mobilization, and Administration Make Presidents Stronger 328

- Going Public Means Trying to Whip Up the People 329
- The Administrative Strategy Increases Presidential Control 331
- Presidential Power Has Limits 334

### The Presidency and Your Future 336

### ● WHO PARTICIPATES? Who Voted for Donald Trump in 2016? 337

Key Terms 340

For Further Reading 341



## 11 ● Bureaucracy 342

### Bureaucracy Exists to Improve Efficiency 345

- Bureaucrats Fulfill Important Roles 346
- The Size of the Federal Service Has Actually Declined 348
- The Executive Branch Is Organized Hierarchically 350

### Federal Bureaucracies Promote Welfare and Security 351

- Federal Bureaucracies Promote the Public Welfare 351

### ● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Bureaucracy in Comparison 353

- Federal Agencies Provide for National Security 355
- Federal Bureaucracies Help to Maintain a Strong National Economy 357

### Several Forces Control Bureaucracy 359

- The President as Chief Executive Can Direct Agencies 359



Congress Promotes Responsible Bureaucracy 361

Can the Bureaucracy Be Reformed? 363

**Bureaucracy, Democracy, and Your Future 364**

● **WHO PARTICIPATES?** Getting Information from the Bureaucracy 365

Key Terms 368

For Further Reading 369



## 12 ● The Federal Courts 370

**The Legal System Settles Disputes 373**

Court Cases Proceed under Criminal and Civil Law 373

Types of Courts Include Trial, Appellate, and Supreme 374

**The Federal Courts Hear a Small Percentage of All Cases 377**

The Lower Federal Courts Handle Most Cases 377

The Appellate Courts Hear 20 Percent of Lower-Court Cases 378

The Supreme Court Is the Court of Final Appeal 379

Judges Are Appointed by the President and Approved by the Senate 380

**The Power of the Supreme Court Is Judicial Review 382**

Judicial Review Covers Acts of Congress 382

● **AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE** Judicial Review across the Globe 383

Judicial Review Applies to Presidential Actions 384

Judicial Review Also Applies to State Actions 385

**Most Cases Reach the Supreme Court by Appeal 386**

The Solicitor General, Law Clerks, and Interest Groups Also Influence the Flow of Cases 387

The Supreme Court's Procedures Mean Cases May Take Months or Years 389

**Supreme Court Decisions Are Influenced by Activism and Ideology 392**

**The Federal Judiciary and Your Future 395**

● **WHO PARTICIPATES?** Influencing the Supreme Court? 397

Key Terms 400

For Further Reading 401

# PART IV Policy

## 13 ● Domestic Policy 402

### The Tools for Making Policy Are Techniques

#### of Control 405

Promotional Policies Get People to Do Things by Giving Them Rewards 405

Regulatory Policies Are Rules Backed by Penalties 407

Redistributive Policies Affect Broad Classes of People 409

Should the Government Intervene in the Economy? 411

### Social Policy and the Welfare System Buttress

#### Equality 412

The History of the Government Welfare System Dates Only to the 1930s 412

The Social Security Act of 1935 Was the Foundation of the Welfare System 413

Welfare Reform Has Dominated the Welfare Agenda in Recent Years 416

### The Cycle of Poverty Can Be Broken by Education, Health, and Housing Policies 418

Education Policies Provide Life Tools 418

Health Policies Mean Fewer Sick Days 420

### ● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE U.S. Education Policy: Lagging or Leading? 421

Housing Policies Provide Residential Stability 425

### Social Policy Spending Benefits the Middle Class More Than the Poor 426

Senior Citizens Receive over a Third of All Federal Dollars 426

The Middle and Upper Classes Benefit from Social Policies 428

The Working Poor Receive Fewer Benefits 428

Spending for the Nonworking Poor Is Declining 429

Minorities, Women, and Children Are Most Likely to Face Poverty 430

### Domestic Policy and Your Future 431

### ● WHO PARTICIPATES? Who Pays Taxes? 433

Key Terms 436

For Further Reading 437





## 14 ● Foreign Policy 438

### Foreign Policy Goals Are Related 441

Security Is Based on Military Strength 441

Economic Prosperity Helps All Nations 445

America Seeks a More Humane World 445

### ● AMERICA SIDE BY SIDE Trade in Comparison 446

### American Foreign Policy Is Shaped by Government and Nongovernment Actors 448

The President Leads Foreign Policy 449

The Bureaucracy Implements and Informs Policy Decisions 450

Congress's Legal Authority Can Be Decisive 450

Interest Groups Pressure Foreign Policy Decision Makers 452

Putting It Together 453

### Tools of American Foreign Policy Include Diplomacy, Force, and Money 453

Diplomacy Is the Master Policy Tool 454

The United Nations Is the World's Congress 454

The International Monetary Structure Helps Provide Economic Stability 455

Economic Aid Has Two Sides 455

Collective Security Is Designed to Deter War 456

Military Force Is "Politics by Other Means" 457

Arbitration Resolves Disputes 458

### Foreign Policy, Democracy, and Your Future 458

### ● WHO PARTICIPATES? Public Opinion on Security Issues 459

Key Terms 462

For Further Reading 463

## ● Appendix

The Declaration of Independence A1

The Articles of Confederation A5

The Constitution of the United States of America A11

Amendments to the Constitution A22

The Federalist Papers A31

The Anti-Federalist Papers A40

Presidents and Vice Presidents A48

Glossary A51

Endnotes A65

Answer Key A95

Credits A97

Index A99

# preface

This book has been and continues to be dedicated to developing a satisfactory response to the question more and more Americans are asking: Why should we be engaged with government and politics? Through the first ten editions, we sought to answer this question by making the text directly relevant to the lives of the students who would be reading it. As a result, we tried to make politics interesting by demonstrating that students' interests are at stake and that they therefore need to take a personal, even selfish, interest in the outcomes of government. At the same time, we realized that students needed guidance in how to become politically engaged. Beyond providing students with a core of political knowledge, we needed to show them how they could apply that knowledge as participants in the political process. The “Who Participates?” sections in each chapter help achieve that goal.

As events from the last several years have reminded us, “what government does” inevitably raises questions about political participation and political equality. The size and composition of the electorate, for example, affect who is elected to public office and what policy directions the government will pursue. Hence, the issue of voter ID laws became important in the 2016 election, with some arguing that these laws reduce voter fraud and others contending that they decrease participation by poor and minority voters. Other recent events have underscored how Americans from different backgrounds experience politics. Arguments about immigration became contentious during the 2016 election as the nation once again debated the question of who is entitled to be an American and have a voice in determining what the government does. And charges that the police often use excessive violence against members of minority groups have raised questions about whether the government treats all Americans equally. Reflecting all of these trends, this new Eleventh Edition shows more than any other book on the market (1) how students are connected to government, (2) why students should think critically about government and politics, and (3) how Americans from different backgrounds experience and shape politics. These themes are incorporated in the following ways:

- **Chapter introductions focus on “What Government Does and Why It Matters.”** In recent decades, cynicism about “big government” has dominated the political zeitgeist. But critics of government often forget that governments do a great deal for citizens. Every year, Americans are the beneficiaries of billions of dollars of goods and services from government programs. Government “does” a lot, and what it does matters a great deal to everyone, including college students. At the start of each chapter, this

theme is introduced and applied to the chapter's topic. The goal is to show students that government and politics mean something to their daily lives.

- **A twenty-first-century perspective on demographic change** moves beyond the book's strong coverage of traditional civil rights content with expanded coverage of contemporary group politics.
- **New "Who Participates?" infographics at the end of every chapter** show students how different groups of Americans participate in key aspects of politics and government. Each concludes with a "What You Can Do" section that provides students with specific, realistic steps they can take to act on what they've learned and get involved in politics.
- **"America Side by Side" boxes** in every chapter use data figures and tables to provide a comparative perspective. By comparing political institutions and behavior across countries, students gain a better understanding of how specific features of the American system shape politics.
- **Up-to-date coverage**, with more than 10 pages and numerous graphics on the 2016 elections, including a five-page section devoted to analysis of the 2016 elections in Chapter 8, as well as updated data, examples, and other information throughout the book.
- **Built-in study guides at the end of each chapter offer valuable learning tools.** A practice quiz and glossary definitions help students review the chapter material. Each chapter also includes a list of recommended readings to help students get started on research projects.
- **"Politics and Your Future" chapter conclusions** give students direct, personal reasons to care about politics. These sections focus on the political opportunities and challenges that students will face in their lives as a result of emerging social, political, demographic, and technological change. The conclusions reprise the important point made in the chapter introductions that *government matters* and prompt students to consider how political change will impact their futures.
- **This Eleventh Edition is accompanied by InQuizitive**, Norton's award-winning formative, adaptive online quizzing program. The InQuizitive course for *We the People*, Essentials Edition, guides students through questions organized around the text's chapter learning objectives to ensure mastery of the core information and to help with assessment. More information and a demonstration are available at [digital.wwnorton.com/wethepeople11ess](http://digital.wwnorton.com/wethepeople11ess).

We continue to hope that our book will itself be accepted as a form of enlightened political action. This Eleventh Edition is another chance. It is an advancement toward our goal. We promise to keep trying.



# acknowledgments

**W**e are especially pleased to acknowledge the many colleagues who had a direct and active role in criticism and preparation of the manuscript. Our thanks go to:

## First Edition Reviewers

Sarah Binder, Brookings Institution  
Kathleen Gille, Office of Representative  
David Bonior  
Rodney Hero, University of Colorado  
at Boulder  
Robert Katzmann, Brookings Institution  
Kathleen Knight, University of Houston  
Robin Kolodny, Temple University  
Nancy Kral, Tomball College  
Robert C. Lieberman, Columbia University  
David A. Marcum, University of Wyoming  
Laura R. Winsky Mattei, State University  
of New York at Buffalo  
Marilyn S. Mertens, Midwestern State  
University  
Barbara Suhay, Henry Ford Community  
College  
Carolyn Wong, Stanford University  
Julian Zelizer, State University of New  
York at Albany

## Second Edition Reviewers

Lydia Andrade, University of North Texas  
John Coleman, University of Wisconsin  
at Madison  
Daphne Eastman, Odessa College  
Otto Feinstein, Wayne State University  
Elizabeth Flores, Delmar College  
James Gimpel, University of Maryland  
at College Park

Jill Glaathar, Southwest Missouri State  
University  
Shaun Herness, University of Florida  
William Lyons, University of Tennessee  
at Knoxville  
Andrew Polsky, Hunter College, City  
University of New York  
Grant Reeher, Syracuse University  
Richard Rich, Virginia Polytechnic  
Bartholomew Sparrow, University  
of Texas at Austin

## Third Edition Reviewers

Bruce R. Drury, Lamar University  
Andrew I. E. Ewoh, Prairie View A&M  
University  
Amy Jasperson, University of Texas  
at San Antonio  
Loch Johnson, University of Georgia  
Mark Kann, University of Southern  
California  
Robert L. Perry, University of Texas  
of the Permian Basin  
Wayne Pryor, Brazosport College  
Elizabeth A. Rexford, Wharton County  
Junior College  
Andrea Simpson, University of  
Washington  
Brian Smentkowski, Southeast Missouri  
State University  
Nelson Wikstrom, Virginia Common-  
wealth University



## Fourth Edition Reviewers

M. E. Banks, Virginia Commonwealth University  
Lynn Brink, North Lake College  
Mark Cichock, University of Texas at Arlington  
Del Fields, St. Petersburg College  
Nancy Kinney, Washtenaw Community College  
William Klein, St. Petersburg College  
Dana Morales, Montgomery College  
Christopher Muste, Louisiana State University  
Larry Norris, South Plains College  
David Rankin, State University of New York at Fredonia  
Paul Roesler, St. Charles Community College  
J. Philip Rogers, San Antonio College  
Greg Shaw, Illinois Wesleyan University  
Tracy Skopek, Stephen F. Austin State University  
Don Smith, University of North Texas  
Terri Wright, Cal State, Fullerton

## Fifth Edition Reviewers

Annie Benifield, Tomball College  
Denise Dutton, Southwest Missouri State University  
Rick Kurtz, Central Michigan University  
Kelly McDaniel, Three Rivers Community College  
Eric Plutzer, Pennsylvania State University  
Daniel Smith, Northwest Missouri State University  
Dara Strolovitch, University of Minnesota  
Dennis Toombs, San Jacinto College–North  
Stacy Ulbig, Southwest Missouri State University

## Sixth Edition Reviewers

Janet Adamski, University of Mary Hardin–Baylor  
Greg Andrews, St. Petersburg College  
Louis Bolce, Baruch College  
Darin Combs, Tulsa Community College

Sean Conroy, University of New Orleans  
Paul Cooke, Cy Fair College  
Vida Davoudi, Kingwood College  
Robert DiClerico, West Virginia University  
Corey Ditslear, University of North Texas  
Kathy Dolan, University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee  
Randy Glean, Midwestern State University  
Nancy Kral, Tomball College  
Mark Logas, Valencia Community College  
Scott MacDougall, Diablo Valley College  
David Mann, College of Charleston  
Christopher Muste, University of Montana  
Richard Pacelle, Georgia Southern University  
Sarah Poggione, Florida International University  
Richard Rich, Virginia Tech  
Thomas Schmeling, Rhode Island College  
Scott Spitzer, California State University–Fullerton  
Robert Wood, University of North Dakota

## Seventh Edition Reviewers

Molly Andolina, DePaul University  
Nancy Bednar, Antelope Valley College  
Paul Blakelock, Kingwood College  
Amy Brandon, San Jacinto College  
Jim Cauthen, John Jay College  
Kevin Davis, North Central Texas College  
Louis DeSipio, University of California–Irvine  
Brandon Franke, Blinn College  
Steve Garrison, Midwestern State University  
Joseph Howard, University of Central Arkansas  
Aaron Knight, Houston Community College  
Paul Labeledz, Valencia Community College  
Elise Langan, John Jay College  
Mark Logas, Valencia Community College  
Eric Miller, Blinn College  
Anthony O’Regan, Los Angeles Valley College  
David Putz, Kingwood College  
Chis Soper, Pepperdine University  
Kevin Wagner, Florida Atlantic University  
Laura Wood, Tarrant County College

## **Eighth Edition Reviewers**

Brian Arbour, John Jay College, CUNY  
Ellen Baik, University of Texas–Pan  
American  
David Birch, Lone Star College–Tomball  
Bill Carroll, Sam Houston State University  
Ed Chervenak, University of New Orleans  
Gary Church, Mountain View College  
Adrian Stefan Clark, Del Mar College  
Annie Cole, Los Angeles City College  
Greg Combs, University of Texas at Dallas  
Cassandra Cookson, Lee College  
Brian Cravens, Blinn College  
John Crosby, California State  
University–Chico  
Scott Crosby, Valencia Community College  
Courtenay Daum, Colorado State  
University, Fort Collins  
Peter Doas, University of Texas–Pan  
American  
John Domino, Sam Houston State University  
Doug Dow, University of Texas–Dallas  
Jeremy Duff, Midwestern State University  
Heather Evans, Sam Houston State University  
Hyacinth Ezeamii, Albany State University  
Bob Fitrakis, Columbus State Community  
College  
Brian Fletcher, Truckee Meadows  
Community College  
Paul Foote, Eastern Kentucky University  
Frank Garrahan, Austin Community College  
Jimmy Gleason, Purdue University  
Steven Greene, North Carolina State  
University  
Jeannie Grussendorf, Georgia State University  
M. Ahad Hayaud-Din, Brookhaven College  
Alexander Hogan, Lone Star College–  
CyFair  
Glen Hunt, Austin Community College  
Mark Jendrysik, University of North Dakota  
Krista Jenkins, Fairleigh Dickinson  
University  
Carlos Juárez, Hawaii Pacific University  
Melinda Kovács, Sam Houston State  
University  
Boyd Lanier, Lamar University  
Jeff Lazarus, Georgia State University  
Jeffrey Lee, Blinn College  
Alan Lehmann, Blinn College  
Julie Lester, Macon State College

Steven Lichtman, Shippensburg University  
Fred Lokken, Truckee Meadows  
Community College  
Shari MacLachlan, Palm Beach  
Community College  
Guy Martin, Winston-Salem State University  
Fred Monardi, College of Southern Nevada  
Vincent Moscardelli, University of  
Connecticut  
Jason Mycoff, University of Delaware  
Sugumaran Narayanan, Midwestern State  
University  
Anthony Nownes, University of Tennessee,  
Knoxville  
Elizabeth Oldmixon, University of North  
Texas  
John Osterman, San Jacinto College–Central  
Mark Peplowski, College of Southern  
Nevada  
Maria Victoria Perez-Rios, John Jay  
College, CUNY  
Sara Rinfret, University of Wisconsin,  
Green Bay  
Andre Robinson, Pulaski Technical College  
Susan Roomberg, University of Texas at  
San Antonio  
Ryan Rynbrandt, Collin County  
Community College  
Mario Salas, Northwest Vista College  
Michael Sanchez, San Antonio College  
Mary Schander, Pasadena City College  
Laura Schneider, Grand Valley State  
University  
Subash Shah, Winston-Salem  
State University  
Mark Shomaker, Blinn College  
Roy Slater, St. Petersburg College  
Debra St. John, Collin College  
Eric Whitaker, Western Washington  
University  
Clay Wiegand, Cisco College  
Walter Wilson, University of Texas at  
San Antonio  
Kevan Yenerall, Clarion University  
Rogerio Zapata, South Texas College

## **Ninth Edition Reviewers**

Amy Acord, Lone Star College–CyFair  
Milan Andrejevich, Ivy Tech Community  
College

Steve Anthony, Georgia State University  
 Phillip Ardoin, Appalachian State University  
 Gregory Arey, Cape Fear Community College  
 Joan Babcock, Northwest Vista College  
 Evelyn Ballard, Houston Community College  
 Robert Ballinger, South Texas College  
 Mary Barnes-Tilley, Blinn College  
 Robert Bartels, Evangel University  
 Nancy Bednar, Antelope Valley College  
 Annie Benifield, Lone Star College–Tomball  
 Donna Bennett, Trinity Valley Community College  
 Amy Brandon, El Paso Community College  
 Mark Brewer, The University of Maine  
 Gary Brown, Lone Star College–Montgomery  
 Joe Campbell, Johnson County Community College  
 Dewey Clayton, University of Louisville  
 Jeff Colbert, Elon University  
 Amanda Cook-Fesperman, Illinois Valley Community College  
 Kevin Corder, Western Michigan University  
 Kevin Davis, North Central Texas College  
 Paul Davis, Truckee Meadows Community College  
 Terri Davis, Lamar University  
 Jennifer De Maio, California State University, Northridge  
 Christopher Durso, Valencia College  
 Ryan Emenaker, College of the Redwoods  
 Leslie Feldman, Hofstra University  
 Glen Findley, Odessa College  
 Michael Gattis, Gulf Coast State College  
 Donna Godwin, Trinity Valley Community College  
 Precious Hall, Truckee Meadows Community College  
 Sally Hansen, Daytona State College  
 Tiffany Harper, Collin College  
 Todd Hartman, Appalachian State University  
 Virginia Haysley, Lone Star College–Tomball  
 David Head, John Tyler Community College  
 Rick Henderson, Texas State University–San Marcos  
 Richard Herrera, Arizona State University  
 Thaddaus Hill, Blinn College  
 Steven Holmes, Bakersfield College  
 Kevin Holton, South Texas College  
 Robin Jacobson, University of Puget Sound  
 Joseph Jozwiak, Texas A & M–Corpus Christi  
 Casey Klofstad, University of Miami  
 Samuel Lingrosso, Los Angeles Valley College  
 Mark Logas, Valencia College  
 Christopher Marshall, South Texas College  
 Larry McElvain, South Texas College  
 Elizabeth McLane, Wharton County Junior College  
 Eddie Meaders, University of North Texas  
 Rob Mellen, Mississippi State University  
 Jalal Nejad, Northwest Vista College  
 Adam Newmark, Appalachian State University  
 Stephen Nicholson, University of California, Merced  
 Cissie Owen, Lamar University  
 Suzanne Preston, St. Petersburg College  
 David Putz, Lone Star College–Kingwood  
 Auksuole Rubavichute, Mountain View College  
 Ronnee Schreiber, San Diego State University  
 Ronald Schurin, University of Connecticut  
 Jason Seitz, Georgia Perimeter College  
 Jennifer Seitz, Georgia Perimeter College  
 Shannon Sinegal, The University of New Orleans  
 John Sides, George Washington University  
 Thomas Sowers, Lamar University  
 Jim Startin, University of Texas at San Antonio  
 Robert Sterken, University of Texas at Tyler  
 Bobby Summers, Harper College  
 John Theis, Lone Star College–Kingwood  
 John Todd, University of North Texas  
 Delaina Toothman, The University of Maine  
 David Trussell, Cisco College  
 Ronald Vardy, University of Houston  
 Linda Veazey, Midwestern State University  
 John Vento, Antelope Valley Community College  
 Clif Wilkinson, Georgia College  
 John Wood, Rose State College  
 Michael Young, Trinity Valley Community College  
 Tyler Young, Collin College

## Tenth Edition Reviewers

Stephen P. Amberg, University of Texas at San Antonio  
Juan F. Arzola, College of the Sequoias  
Thomas J. Baldino, Wilkes University  
Christina Bejarano, University of Kansas  
Paul T. Bellinger, Jr., University of Missouri  
Melanie J. Blumberg, California University of Pennsylvania  
Matthew T. Bradley, Indiana University Kokomo  
Jeffrey W. Christiansen, Seminole State College  
McKinzie Craig, Marietta College  
Christopher Cronin, Methodist University  
Jenna Duke, Lehigh Carbon Community College  
Francisco Durand, University of Texas at San Antonio  
Carrie Eaves, Elon University  
Paul M. Flor, El Camino College Compton Center  
Adam Fuller, Youngstown State University  
Christi Gramling, Charleston Southern University  
Sally Hansen, Daytona State College  
Mary Jane Hatton, Hawai'i Pacific University  
David Helpap, University of Wisconsin–Green Bay  
Theresa L. Hutchins, Georgia Highlands College  
Cryshanna A. Jackson Leftwich, Youngstown State University  
Ashlyn Kuersten, Western Michigan University  
Kara Lindaman, Winona State University  
Timothy Lynch, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee  
Larry McElvain, South Texas College  
Corinna R. McKoy, Ventura College  
Eddie L. Meaders, University of North Texas  
Don D. Mirjanian, College of Southern Nevada  
R. Shea Mize, Georgia Highlands College  
Nicholas Morgan, Collin College  
Matthew Murray, Dutchess Community College  
Harold “Trey” Orndorff III, Daytona State College  
Randall Parish, University of North Georgia

Michelle Pautz, University of Dayton  
Michael Pickering, University of New Orleans  
Donald Ranish, Antelope Valley College  
Glenn W. Richardson, Jr., Kutztown University of Pennsylvania  
Jason Robles, Colorado State University  
Ionas Aurelian Rus, University of Cincinnati–Blue Ash  
Robert Sahr, Oregon State University  
Kelly B. Shaw, Iowa State University  
Captain Michael Slattery, Campbell University  
Michael Smith, Sam Houston State University  
Maryam T. Stevenson, University of Indianapolis  
Elizabeth Trentanelli, Gulf Coast State College  
Ronald W. Vardy, University of Houston  
Timothy Weaver, University of Louisville  
Christina Wolbrecht, University of Notre Dame

## Eleventh Edition Reviewers

Maria J. Albo, University of North Georgia  
Andrea Aleman, University of Texas at San Antonio  
Juan Arzola, College of the Sequoias  
Ross K. Baker, Rutgers University  
Lauren Balasco, Pittsburg State University  
Daniel Birdsong, University of Dayton  
Phil Branyon, University of North Georgia  
Camille D. Burge, Villanova University  
Matthew DeSantis, Guilford Technical Community College  
Sheryl Edwards, University of Michigan–Dearborn  
Lauren Elliott-Dorans, University of Toledo  
Heather Evans, Sam Houston State University  
William Feagin, Jr., Wharton County Junior College  
Glen Findley, Odessa College  
Heather Frederick, Slipper Rock University  
Jason Ghibesi, Ocean County College  
Patrick Gilbert, Lone Star–Tomball  
Rebecca Herzog, American River College  
Steven Horn, Everett Community College

Demetra Kasimis, California State  
University, Long Beach  
Eric T. Kasper, University of Wisconsin–  
Eau Claire  
Jill Kirkham, Brigham Young University–  
Idaho  
Mary Linder, Grayson County College  
Johnson Louie, California State University,  
Stanislaus  
Phil McCall, Portland State University  
Patrick Novotny, Georgia Southern  
University  
Carolyn Myers, Southwestern Illinois  
College–Belleville  
Gerhard Peters, Citrus College

Michael A. Powell, Frederick Community  
College  
Robert Proctor, Santa Rosa Junior  
College  
Allen K. Settle, California Polytechnic  
State University  
Laurie Sprankle, Community College of  
Allegheny County  
Ryan Lee Teten, University of Louisiana  
at Lafayette  
Justin Vaughn, Boise State University  
John Vento, Antelope Valley College  
Aaron Weinschenk, University of  
Wisconsin–Green Bay  
Tyler Young, Collin College

We are also grateful to Melissa Michelson, of Menlo College, who contributed to the “Who Participates?” infographics for this edition; Holley Hansen, of Oklahoma State University, who contributed to the “America Side by Side” boxes; and Gabrielle Ellul for research assistance.

Perhaps above all, we thank those at W. W. Norton. For its first five editions, editor Steve Dunn helped us shape the book in countless ways. Lisa McKay contributed smart ideas and a keen editorial eye to the Tenth Edition. Ann Shin carried on the Norton tradition of splendid editorial work on the Sixth through Ninth Editions and on the current Eleventh Edition. As associate editor, Emily Stuart brought intelligence and dedication to the development of this Eleventh Edition. For our InQuizitive course, Coursepack, and other instructor resources, Spencer Richardson-Jones has been an energetic and visionary editor. Ashley Horna, Michael Jaoui, Shannon Jilek, and Ariel Eaton also kept the production of the Eleventh Edition and its accompanying resources coherent and in focus. Andrew Pachuta copyedited the manuscript, and our superb project editor Christine D’Antonio devoted countless hours to keeping on top of myriad details. We thank Elyse Rieder for finding new photos and our photo editor Catherine Abelman for managing the image program. Finally, we thank Roby Harrington, the head of Norton’s college department.

Benjamin Ginsberg  
Theodore J. Lowi  
Margaret Weir  
Caroline J. Tolbert

*October 2016*

ELEVENTH ESSENTIALS EDITION

---

# **We the People**

**AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN POLITICS**



Most Americans share the core political values of liberty, equality, and democracy and want their government and its policies to reflect these values. However, people often disagree on the meaning of these values and what government should do to protect them.



# Introduction: The Citizen and Government

**WHAT GOVERNMENT DOES AND WHY IT MATTERS** Americans sometimes appear to believe that the government is an institution that does things to them and from which they need protection. Students may wonder why they have to fill in long, often complicated forms to apply for financial assistance. They may frown when they see the payroll tax deducted from their small paycheck. Like Americans of all ages, they may resent municipal “red-light” cameras designed to photograph traffic violators—and send them tickets.

Although most people complain about something that government does to them, most everyone wants the government to do a great deal *for* them. Some of the services that people expect from government are big-ticket items, such as providing national security and keeping the nation safe from terrorist attacks. We all know that government pays for and directs the military. Students attending a state university know that state and federal public dollars help support their education.

Yet many of the other services that government provides are far less visible, and often it is not even clear that government plays a role at all. For example, students grabbing a quick bite to eat between classes take it for granted that their hamburger will not contain bacteria that might make them sick. Without federal inspection of meat, however, chances of contracting food-borne



illnesses would be much higher and the everyday task of eating would be much riskier. Driving to school would not be possible if not for the tens of billions of dollars spent each year on road construction and maintenance by federal, state, and municipal governments. Like most Americans, young people expect to get reliable information about the weather for the week ahead and warnings about dangerous events such as hurricanes. The National Weather Service and the National Hurricane Center both provide reliable forecasts for such simple calculations as whether to bring an umbrella to more significant calculations made by airlines and air traffic control to get travelers safely where they need to go. These daily decisions don't seem to involve government, but in fact they do. Indeed, most Americans would not be here at all if it were not for federal immigration policies, which set the terms for entry into the United States and for obtaining citizenship.

**Government** is the term generally used to describe the formal institutions through which a land and its people are ruled. As the government seeks to protect its citizens, it faces the challenge of doing so in ways that are true to the key American political values of liberty, equality, and democracy. *Liberty* means personal freedom and a government whose powers are limited by law. *Equality* is the idea that all individuals should have the right to participate in political life and society on equivalent terms. *Democracy* means placing considerable political power in the hands of ordinary people. Most Americans find it easy to affirm all three values in principle. In practice, however, matters are not always so clear. Policies and practices that seem to affirm one of these values may contradict another. Americans, moreover, are sometimes willing to subordinate liberty to security and have frequently tolerated significant departures from the principles of equality and democracy.

## chaptergoals

- Explore Americans' attitudes toward government (pp. 5–8)
- Describe the role of the citizen in politics (pp. 8–9)
- Define government and forms of government (pp. 9–12)
- Show how the social composition of the American population has changed over time (pp. 12–19)
- Analyze whether the U.S. system of government upholds American political values (pp. 19–21)

## ● Government Affects Our Lives Every Day

### Explore Americans' attitudes toward government

Since the United States was established as a nation, Americans have been reluctant to grant government too much power, and they have often been suspicious of politicians. But over the course of the nation's history, Americans have also turned to government for assistance in times of need and have strongly supported the government in periods of war. In 1933 the power of the government began to expand to meet the crises created by the stock market crash of 1929, the Great Depression, and the run on banks. Congress passed legislation that brought the government into the businesses of home mortgages, farm mortgages, credit, and relief of personal distress. More recently, when the economy fell into a recession in 2008 and 2009, the federal government took action to shore up the financial system, oversee the restructuring of the ailing auto companies, and inject hundreds of billions of dollars into the faltering economy. Today, the national government is an enormous institution with programs and policies reaching into every corner of American life. It oversees the nation's economy, it is the nation's largest employer, it provides citizens with a host of services, it controls the world's most formidable military establishment, and it regulates a wide range of social and commercial activities.

Much of what citizens have come to depend on and take for granted—as, somehow, part of the natural environment—is in fact created by government. Take the example of a typical college student's day, throughout which that student relies on a host of services and activities organized by national, state, and local government agencies. The extent of this dependence on government is illustrated by Table 1.1.

**Federal Student Aid**  
An OFFICE of the U.S. DEPARTMENT of EDUCATION

PROUD SPONSOR of the AMERICAN MIND®

Search StudentAid.gov

Prepare for College | Types of Aid | Who Gets Aid | FAFSA: Applying for Aid | How to Repay Your Loans

Minds can achieve anything. We make sure they get to college.  
At Federal Student Aid, we make it easier to get money for higher education.

**HOW DO I PREPARE FOR COLLEGE?**  
Learn about exploring careers, choosing and applying to schools, and taking required tests. Use checklists to help get ready.

**WHAT TYPES OF AID CAN I GET?**  
Read about the types of financial aid available from the government and other sources: grants, scholarships, loans, and work-study.

**DO I QUALIFY FOR AID?**  
Most people are eligible for financial aid. Find out who gets aid, how to stay eligible, and how to get eligibility back if you've lost it.

**HOW DO I APPLY FOR AID?**  
Learn how to submit your Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA), how aid is calculated, and how you'll get your aid.

**HOW DO I MANAGE MY LOANS?**  
Choose a repayment plan, pay on time, avoid default, and get help with problems.

*The federal government maintains a large number of websites that provide useful information to citizens on such topics as loans for education, civil service job applications, the inflation rate, and how the weather will affect farming. These sites are just one way in which the government serves its citizens.*

**TABLE 1.1**

## The Presence of Government in the Daily Life of a Student at “State University”

TIME OF DAY	SCHEDULE
7:00 A.M.	Wake up. Standard time set by the national government.
7:10 A.M.	Shower. Water courtesy of local government, either a public entity or a regulated private company. Brush your teeth with toothpaste whose cavity-fighting claims have been verified by a federal agency.
7:30 A.M.	Have a bowl of cereal with milk for breakfast. “Nutrition Facts” on food labels are a federal requirement, pasteurization of milk required by state law, recycling the empty cereal box and milk carton enabled by state or local laws.
8:30 A.M.	Drive or take public transportation to campus. Air bags and seat belts required by federal and state laws. Roads and bridges paid for by state and local governments, speed and traffic laws set by state and local governments, public transportation subsidized by all levels of government.
8:45 A.M.	Arrive on campus of large public university. Buildings are 70 percent financed by state taxpayers.
9:00 A.M.	First class: Chemistry 101. Tuition partially paid by a federal loan (more than half the cost of university instruction is paid for by taxpayers), chemistry lab paid for with grants from the National Science Foundation (a federal agency).
Noon	Eat lunch. College cafeteria financed by state dormitory authority on land grant from federal Department of Agriculture.
2:00 P.M.	Second class: American Government 101 (your favorite class!). You may be taking this class because it is required by the state legislature or because it fulfills a university requirement.
4:00 P.M.	Third class: Computer Lab. Free computers, software, and Internet access courtesy of state subsidies plus grants and discounts from IBM and Microsoft, the costs of which are deducted from their corporate income taxes; Internet built in part by federal government.
6:00 P.M.	Eat hamburger for dinner. Meat inspected by federal agencies.
7:00 P.M.	Work at part-time job at the campus library. Minimum wage set by federal, state, or local government; books and journals in library paid for by state taxpayers.
8:15 P.M.	Check the status of your application for a federal student loan (FAFSA) on the Department of Education’s website at <a href="http://studentaid.ed.gov">studentaid.ed.gov</a> .
10:00 P.M.	Go home. Street lighting paid for by county and city governments, police patrols by city government.
10:15 P.M.	Watch TV. Networks regulated by federal government, cable public-access channels required by city law. Weather forecast provided to broadcasters by a federal agency.

## Trust in Government Has Declined

Ironically, even as popular dependence on government has grown, the American public's view of government has turned more sour. Public trust in government has declined, and Americans are now more likely to feel that they can do little to influence the government's actions. Different groups vary somewhat in their levels of trust: African Americans and Latinos express more confidence in the federal government than do whites. But even among the most supportive groups, more than half do not trust the government.<sup>1</sup> These developments are important because politically engaged citizens and public confidence in government are vital for the health of a democracy.

By 2015, only 19 percent of Americans reported trusting the government in Washington “to do what is right” all or most of the time, down from 75 percent in the early 1960s.<sup>2</sup> Several factors contributed to the decline in trust. Revelations about the faulty information that led up to the war in Iraq and ongoing concern about the war had increased Americans' mistrust of government. In March 2007, 54 percent of those surveyed believed that the Bush administration had deliberately misled the American public about whether Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. By 2012, the government's inability to get the economy moving had further undermined trust in government. When political differences over the Affordable Care Act, President Obama's program to reform the American health care system, led to a two-week partial government shutdown in 2013 and the second dramatic showdown over raising the national debt limit in two years (usually a routine matter), public trust once again dipped to historically low levels.<sup>3</sup> Distrust of government greatly influenced the presidential primary elections in 2015 and 2016, when a number of “outsider” candidates—most notably Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders—who were critical of government and eager to depart from business as usual in Washington, attracted wide support.

Does it matter if Americans trust their government? For the most part, the answer is yes. As we have seen, most Americans rely on government for a wide range of services and laws that they simply take for granted. But long-term distrust in government can result in public refusal to pay the taxes necessary to support such widely approved public activities. Low levels of confidence may also make it difficult for government to attract talented and effective workers to public service.<sup>4</sup> The weakening of government as a result of prolonged levels of distrust may ultimately harm the capacity of the United States to defend its national interest in the world economy and may jeopardize its national security. Likewise, a weak government can do little to assist citizens who need help in weathering periods of sharp economic or technological change.

## Political Efficacy Means People Can Make a Difference

Another important trend in American views about government has been a declining sense of **political efficacy**, the belief that ordinary citizens can affect what government does, that they can take action to make government listen to them. In 2015, 74 percent of Americans said that elected officials do not care what people like them think; in 1960, only 25 percent felt so shut out of government.<sup>5</sup> Accompanying this sense that ordinary people cannot be heard is a growing belief that

government is not run for the benefit of all the people. In 2015, 76 percent of the public disagreed with the idea that the “government is really run for the benefit of all the people.”<sup>6</sup> These views are widely shared across the age spectrum.

This widely felt loss of political efficacy is bad news for American democracy. The feeling that you can’t affect government decisions can lead to a self-perpetuating cycle of apathy, declining political participation, and withdrawal from political life. Why bother to participate if you believe it makes no difference? Yet the belief that you can be effective is the first step needed to influence government. Not every effort of ordinary citizens to influence government will succeed, but without any such efforts, government decisions will be made by a smaller and smaller circle of powerful people. Such loss of broad popular influence over government actions undermines the key feature of American democracy: government by the people.

## ● Citizenship Is Based on Political Knowledge and Participation

### Describe the role of the citizen in politics

Beginning with the ancient Greeks, citizenship has meant membership in one’s community. In fact, the Greeks did not even conceive of the individual as a complete person. The complete person was the public person, the *citizen*; a noncitizen or a private person was referred to as an *idiōtēs*. Participation in public affairs was virtually the definition of citizenship.

Today, voting is considered the building block of **citizenship**—informed and active membership in a political community—as it is the method by which Americans choose their elected leaders. Citizens can influence their government in many ways, including serving on a jury, lobbying, writing a letter to the editor of a local newspaper, and engaging in a public rally or protest. The point of these activities is to influence the government.



*When the federal government partially shut down in October 2013, millions of citizens were affected, including visitors who were turned away from the Statue of Liberty.*

Citizens need political knowledge to figure out how best to act in their own interests. To take a simple example, if the garbage is not collected from in front of people’s homes, people need to know that this job is the responsibility of their local government, not the national government. Americans often complain that government does not respond to their needs, but sometimes the failure of government to act may simply result from citizens lacking the information necessary to present their problems to the correct government office or agency. To put the matter more simply, effective

participation requires knowledge. (It should come as no surprise, then, that people who have less knowledge of politics vote at lower rates than those with more knowledge.) Knowledge is the first prerequisite for achieving an increased sense of political efficacy.

## “Digital Citizenship” Is the Newest Way to Participate

As more and more of our social, workplace, and educational activities have migrated online, so too have opportunities for political knowledge and participation, creating a new concept of “digital citizenship.” *Digital citizenship* is the ability to participate in society online, and it is increasingly important in politics. A 2015 Pew survey found that over the previous year, 65 percent of Americans had used the Internet to find data or information about government. These include visiting a local, state, or federal government website.<sup>7</sup> Digital citizenship benefits individuals, but it also provides advantages to society as a whole. Digital citizens are more likely to be interested in politics and to discuss politics with friends, family, and coworkers than individuals who do not use online political information. They are also more likely to vote and participate in other ways in elections. Individuals without Internet access or the skills to participate in politics and the economy online are being left further behind. Exclusion from participation online is referred to as the “digital divide.” Lower-income and less educated Americans, racial and ethnic minorities, those living in rural areas, and the elderly are all less likely to have Internet access.

Greater political knowledge increases the ability of people to influence their government. It is to the nature of government that we now turn.

## ● Government Is Made Up of the Institutions and Procedures by Which People Are Ruled

### Define government and forms of government

*Government* refers to the formal institutions and procedures through which a territory and its people are ruled. To govern is to rule. A government may be as simple as a tribal council that meets occasionally to advise the chief or as complex as the vast establishments—with their forms, rules, and bureaucracies—found in the United States and the countries of Europe. A more complex government is sometimes referred to as “the state.” In the history of civilization, governments have not been difficult to establish. There have been thousands of them. The hard part is establishing a government that lasts. Even more difficult is developing a stable government that promotes liberty, equality, and democracy.

## Different Forms of Government Are Defined by Power and Freedom

Governments vary in their structure, in their size, and in the way they operate. Two questions are of special importance in determining how governments differ: Who governs? And how much government control is permitted?