

# POLITICS IN AMERICA

2018 ELECTIONS AND UPDATES EDITION



KEITH GADDIE · THOMAS R. DYE



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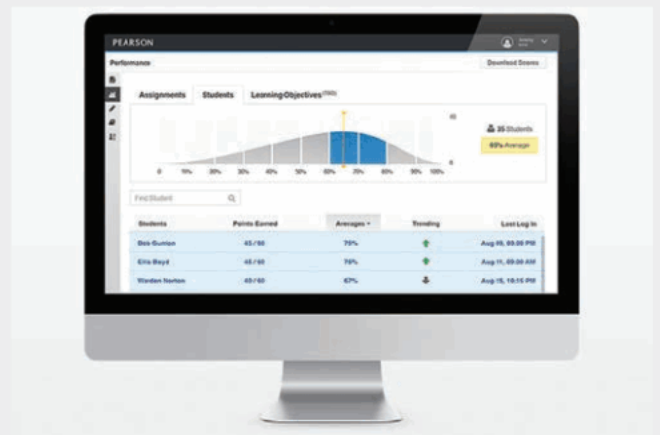
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# **POLITICS IN AMERICA**

Eleventh Edition

2018 Elections and Updates Edition

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Contents	vii
To the Student	xix
To the Instructor	xxi
<b>Part I</b> <b>Politics</b>	
<b>1</b> Politics: Who Gets What, When, and How	1
<b>2</b> Political Culture	29
<b>Part II</b> <b>Constitution</b>	
<b>3</b> The Constitution: Limiting Governmental Power	61
<b>4</b> Federalism: Dividing Governmental Power	87
<b>Part III</b> <b>Participants</b>	
<b>5</b> Opinion and Participation: Thinking and Acting in Politics	119
<b>6</b> Media, Politics, and Communication: Setting the Political Agenda?	155
<b>7</b> Political Parties: Organizing Politics	194
<b>8</b> Campaigns and Elections	233
<b>9</b> Interest Groups: Getting Their Share and More	282
<b>Part IV</b> <b>Institutions</b>	
<b>10</b> Congress: Politics on Capitol Hill	314
<b>11</b> The President: White House Politics	361
<b>12</b> The Bureaucracy: Bureaucratic Politics	399
<b>13</b> Courts: Judicial Politics	427

## **Part V** Outcomes

<b>14</b>	Politics and Personal Liberty	458
<b>15</b>	Politics and Civil Rights	496
<b>16</b>	Politics and the Economy	538
<b>17</b>	Politics and Social Welfare	564
<b>18</b>	Politics and National Security	587
	Appendix	617
	Glossary	635
	Endnotes	650
	Credits	663
	Index	665

Contents	vii	Defending Democratic Integrity	26
To the Student	xix	How Much Democracy Is Enough? Or Too Much?	26
To the Instructor	xxi		
<b>Part I Politics</b>			
<b>1 Politics: Who Gets What, When, and How</b>		<b>2 Political Culture</b>	<b>29</b>
Politics and Political Science	2	Political Culture	30
Politics and Government	5	Values and Conditions: The Contradictions	30
The Politics of Delegation	5	Inconsistent Applications	30
The Purposes of Government	6	Conflict	30
To Establish Justice and Insure Domestic Tranquility	7	Individual Liberty	31
To Provide for the Common Defense	7	Political Liberty	31
To Promote the General Welfare	7	Economic Freedom	31
To Secure the Blessings of Liberty	8	Dilemmas of Equality	32
The Meaning of Democracy	9	Political Equality	32
Individual Dignity	9	Equality of Opportunity	32
Equality	10	Equality of Results	33
Participation in Decision Making	10	Fairness	34
Majority Rule: One Person, One Vote	10	The Tax Code Encourages Values	34
Political Freedom	10	Income Inequality and Social Mobility	34
Economic Freedom	11	Inequality in America	34
Balancing Economic and Political Freedom	12	Why More Inequality?	35
The Paradox of Democracy	12	Social Mobility	35
Limiting the Power of Majorities	12	Income Mobility	36
Totalitarianism: Unlimited Government Power	13	Mobility, Class Conflict, and Class Consciousness	37
Authoritarianism	13	Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration	37
Constitutional Government	13	African Americans	37
Direct Versus Representative Democracy	14	Hispanic Americans	38
Direct Democracy Versus Representative Democracy	14	Asian Americans	40
The Danger of Too Big Government?	15	A Nation of Immigrants	40
So Did Government Grow Too Big?	15	Immigration Policy	40
The Century of Big Government	17	Illegal Immigration	42
Who Really Governs?	18	Immigration Reform	42
The Elitist Perspective	18	Citizenship	43
The Pluralist Perspective	19	Religion and Secularism in Politics	43
Who Governs? Suspicion, Trust, and Confidence in American Institutions	20	Religion and the Public Sphere	44
Democracy in America	22	Religious/Political Alignments	45
Complaints About the American Political System	22	The Christian Nationalists	46
A Constitutional Note: Representative Government, Not	22	Islam and Modern American Politics	46
Direct Democracy	24	Ideologies: Liberalism and Conservatism	47
The American Ideal of Democratic Control	24	Modern Conservatism: Individualism Plus Traditional Values	47
Direct Democracy?	25	Modern Liberalism: Governmental Power to “Do Good”	48
		The Ideological Battlefield	50
		Youth and Ideology	51
		Dissent in the United States	52



Fascism	52	Commander in Chief	72
Marxism	52	Foreign Affairs	72
Communism	53	The Architecture of the Government	73
Socialism	53	National Supremacy	73
The End of History?	53	Federalism	73
Academic Radicalism	54	Republicanism	73
A Clash of Cultures?	55	Democracy?	74
Moralism to Relativism?	55	Separation of Powers and Checks and Balances	74
Culture Wars?	55	Conflict over Ratification	76
A Constitutional Note: American Nationalism and Citizenship	56	Amending the Constitution	77
Citizenship in the Constitution	56	Constitutional Change	78
Controversies of Citizenship	57	Amendments	78
		Judicial Interpretations	80
		Presidential and Congressional Action	81
		Custom and Practice	82
		A Constitutional Note: How Do You Run an Article V Convention?	82
	61	What Constitutes a Call for an Article V Convention?	82
		Who Can Limit the Activity of a Convention?	83
		How Would a Convention Work?	83
		Should We Call a New Constitutional Convention?	84
		<b>4 Federalism: Dividing Governmental Power</b>	<b>87</b>
		Why federalism? The Argument for a “Compound Republic”	88
	64	Protecting Liberty	88
	64	Dispersing Power	90
	65	Increasing Participation	90
	65	Improving Efficiency	90
	65	Ensuring Policy Responsiveness	90
	65	Encouraging Policy Innovation	91
	66	Some Important Reservations	91
	66	The States and Local Governments	91
	66	Origins of the States	91
	67	The Constitutions of the States	93
	67	The Institutions of the States	93
	67	The Politics of the States	95
	67	Direct Democracy in the States	96
	68	Initiative	96
	68	Referendum	96
	68	Politics of State Initiatives	96
	68	Recall	97
	68	Counties and Municipalities: The Creatures of the States	97
	69	Do States Do Governing Better?	98
	70	The Original Design of Federalism	99
	71	Delegated Powers	99
	71	National Supremacy	101
	71	Concurrent and Reserved Powers	101
	71	Powers Denied to the States	101
	72	Powers Denied to the Nation and the States	101
<b>Part II Constitution</b>			
<b>3 The Constitution: Limiting     Governmental Power</b>			
Constitutional Government in America	62		
The Assize of Clarendon, 1166	62		
The Magna Carta, 1215	62		
The Mayflower Compact, 1620	62		
The Colonial Charters, 1624–1732	63		
The Declaration of Independence, 1776	63		
Who Is Locke?	63		
Thomas Jefferson and the Declaration of Independence	64		
The Articles of Confederation, 1781–1789	64		
Troubles Confronting a New Nation	65		
Financial Difficulties	65		
Commercial Obstacles	65		
Currency Problems	65		
Western Lands	66		
Civil Disorder	66		
The Road to the Constitutional Convention	66		
The Nation’s Founders	67		
Consensus and Conflict in Philadelphia	67		
Natural Rights to Liberty and Property	67		
Social Contract	67		
Representative Government	68		
Limited Government	68		
Nationalism	68		
Conflict	68		
Representation	68		
Slavery	69		
Voter Qualifications	70		
The Economy and National Security	70		
Levying Taxes	71		
Regulating Commerce	71		
Protecting Money	71		
Protecting National Security	71		
War and the Military Forces	72		

State Role in National Government	102	Identifies: Ideology, Gender, Race, and Opinion	129
State Obligations to Each Other	102	Gender and Opinion	130
Models of American Federalism: Theories and Changes in Practice	102	Race and Opinion	131
State-Centered Federalism, 1787–1868	102	Hispanic Opinion	131
Dual Federalism, 1868–1913	102	Opinion and Policy	134
Cooperative Federalism, 1913–1964	103	Elite Representation of Mass Opinion	134
Failed States’ Rights Doctrines: The Dark Side of Federalism	104	Mass Determination of Elite Preferences?	134
Centralized Federalism, 1964–1980	105	Individual Participation in Politics	136
New Federalism, 1980–1985	105	The Great American Suffrage Experiment	136
Representational Federalism, 1985–1995	106	The Elimination of Property Qualifications, 1800–1840	137
Fiscal Federalism	106	The Fifteenth Amendment, 1870	137
Environmental Federalism	107	Continued Denial of Voting Rights, 1870–1964	137
Competitive Federalism	108	The Civil Rights Act, the Twenty-Fourth Amendment, and the Voting Rights Act (1964–1965)	138
Federalism Revived?	109	The Nineteenth Amendment, 1920	139
Money and Power Flow to Washington	110	The Twenty-Sixth Amendment, 1971	140
Grants-in-Aid	110	The National Voter Registration Act, 1993	140
State–Local Dependency on Federal Grants	112	HAVA and MOVE	140
“Devolution”	112	The Trump Voter Fraud Commission	141
Political Obstacles to Devolution and Federalism	113	Voting and Nonvoting	142
Preemptions and Mandates	114	The Rational Voter	143
Federal Preemptions	114	Costs: The Burden of Registration	143
Federal Mandates	114	Costs: Burdensome Voting Processes	143
A Constitutional Note: How Should National and State Power Be Divided?	115	The Politics of Voter Turnout	144
But What About the States?	115	The Stimulus of Competition	144
The Politics of Federalism	115	Political Alienation	144
Trimming the Sails of Federalism	116	Intensity	145
		Age and Turnout	145
		Party Organization	145
		Voters and Nonvoters	146
		The Changing American Voter	146
		Nonvoting: What Difference Does It Make?	148
		Felon Disfranchisement	148
		Protest as Political Participation	148
		Protests	149
		Civil Disobedience	150
		Violence	150
		Effectiveness	150
		A Constitutional Note: A National Right to Vote?	151
		Why the States Decide	151
		Negative Amendments and Negative Rights	151
		What Is Still at Odds	152
		Constitutionalizing the Right to Vote?	152
		What Goes Into an Explicit Right to Vote?	152
		<b>6 Media, Politics, and Communication: Setting the Political Agenda?</b>	<b>155</b>
		The Power of the Media	156
		The Old Power: Television	156
		Accuracy and Fairness	157
		Print Confronts Disruption and Transition	157
<b>Part III Participants</b>			
<b>5 Opinion and Participation: Thinking and Acting in Politics</b>	<b>119</b>		
Politics and Public Opinion	120		
American Voters Often Lack Knowledge	120		
The “Halo Effect”	121		
The Permanent Media Campaign Industry and Opinion Demand	121		
Survey Research Samples	122		
Sampling Bias	122		
Question Wording and Weak Opinions	123		
Wording and Bias	123		
Time	123		
Exit Polls	124		
Issue Salience	124		
Socialization: The Origins of Political Opinions	124		
Family	124		
School	125		
Church	126		
Age and Opinion	127		
Media Influence	128		

Television’s Emotional Communication	158	Paid Campaign Ads	184
Influence on Decision Makers	159	Freedom and Fairness in the News	184
TV’s New Media Conundrum	159	No Prior Restraint	184
Sources of Traditional Media Power	159	Press Versus Electronic Media	185
Newsmaking	159	Decency	185
Agenda Setting	160	The Equal-Time Requirement	186
Interpreting	160	Libel and Slander	186
Socializing	161	Public Officials	186
Persuading	161	“Absence of Malice”	187
Agenda Control and the New Media: Is TV Slipping?	161	Shielding Sources	187
The Business and Politics of the Media	162	Media Effects: Shaping Political Life	187
Soft Fluff Versus Hard Programming	162	Information and Agenda-Setting Effects	187
News as TV Entertainment	163	Effects on Values and Opinions	188
Public Television and Radio	163	Direct Effects on Public Opinion	188
The Politics of the Media	164	Effects on Behavior	189
Negativism	164	A Constitutional Note: Net Neutrality	189
Muckraking and Feeding Frenzies	165	The Questions of Net Neutrality	190
Liberalism in the Newsroom and Hollywood	165	Net Neutrality in the U.S.	190
Conservatism on Talk Radio: America’s Dying Rage?	166	Pros and Cons	191
Professional Opinion Givers	166	The Smart and Dumb Questions	191
Televised Incivility and Political Trust	166		
News Versus Entertainment	167	<b>7 Political Parties: Organizing Politics</b>	<b>194</b>
The Shrinking Newsroom	167	The Power of Organization	195
The New Press Corps	167	Where’s the Party?	196
Polarization of the Media	168	Party-in-the-Electorate	196
Media Bias	169	Party-in-the-Government	196
The New Media	169	Party as Organization	196
The New Media and Cyberculture	169	National Party Structure	197
It Started with Chaos by Design	170	State Party Organizations	197
Cyberpolitics	170	County Committees	198
The First Cyberpolitics Success	172	Voters: The Party in the Electorate	198
Innovation in the Twenty-First Century	172	Realignment: The Politics of Events	198
Political Web Sites Abound	173	Party Loyalty in Voting	199
Internet Fundraising Takes Off	173	Sectionalism and Partisanship	200
“100 Million Cameras”	173	American Parties: A Historical Perspective	202
Data Journalism and Data Media	174	The Emergent Party System: Federalists	
The Political Scientist as Journalist	174	and Democratic-Republicans	202
So, What’s a Journalist Anymore?	175	The System of ‘24: Jacksonian Democrats and Whigs	204
Effecting Political Change Through New Media	175	The System of ‘60: Battlefield Sectionalism and	
Who Is Politically Online?	177	Republican Dominance	204
Online Activity Is Dominated by Younger Americans	177	The System of ‘96: Gilded Age Realignment	205
The Consequences of Media Platform Integration	178	The System of ‘32: The New Deal Democratic Party	206
Historic Significance of New Media	178	The Great Dealignment and the Reagan Intervention	207
The Financial Challenge	178	The Era of Polarization	209
Internet Uncensored	179	An Illiberal Party Era?	210
The Media and Political Campaigns	179	In the Twenty-First Century, A Nation Divided	210
The Media and Candidate–Voter Linkage	179	Political Parties and Democratic Government	212
The Media and Candidate Selection	180	“Responsible” Parties in Theory	212
The Media Giveth: How Cable Sorted Trump In	181	But Winning Prevails over Principle	213
The Media as Kingmakers	182	Party and Ideology	215
Media Effects on the Campaign	182	The Erosion of Traditional Party Functions	215
The Media and the Horse Race	183	Volunteers: The Life of the Party	216
The Bad-News Bias	183	Divided Party Government	217
The Shrinking Sound Bite	183	The Partisan Tilt of Campaign Contributions	217

Parties as Organizers of Elections	218	Campaign Strategies	244
Early Party Conventions	218	Selecting a Theme	244
Party Primaries	220	The “Just Folks” Strategy	245
Types of Primaries	220	Negative Campaigning: “Defining”	
Party Caucuses	221	the Opponent	245
Do We Need Primaries?	221	Targeting Voters	246
General Elections	222	Data and Voters	246
National Party Conventions	222	Dirty Politics	246
Convention Delegates	223	Incumbent Versus Challenger Strategies	247
Making Party Rules	223	News Management	248
Party Platforms	224	Paid Advertising	248
Selecting a Running Mate	224	Earned Coverage	249
Campaign Kickoff	225	The Effects of Campaigning	249
Third Parties in the United States	225	Campaign Finance	249
Ideological Parties	225	Congressional Costs	250
Protest Parties	225	Raising Campaign Cash	250
Single-Issue Parties	226	Public Money	251
Splinter Parties	226	Large Individual Donors	251
An Anti-Party Party	226	Small Donations	252
Third-Party Prospects	227	How the Internet Changed Campaign Fundraising	252
Why the Two-Party System Persists	228	Candidate Self-Financing	253
Cultural Consensus	228	Issue Ads	253
Winner-Takes-All Electoral System	229	What Do Contributors “Buy”?	253
Legal Access to the Ballot	229	The Big-Money Contributors	253
A Constitutional Note: Does the Constitution Need		Buying Access to Policymakers	253
to Protect Partisans?	229	Political Action Committees	254
		Super PACs and Corporations Made from People	254
<b>8 Campaigns and Elections</b>	<b>233</b>	Individual Contributors	255
Elections in a Democracy	234	Buying Government Assistance	256
Elections as Mandates?	234	Fundraising Chores	256
Retrospective Voting	234	Regulating Campaign Finance	256
Prospective Voting	235	Limits on Direct Contributions	256
Protection of Rights	235	Independent Organization Spending	256
Power and Ambition	235	Reporting	257
Communication Skills	235	Campaign Finance Reform	257
Professionalism	235	The Supreme Court and Campaign Finance	257
Careerism	235	Did Corporate Money Kill American Democracy?	258
Lawyers in Politics	236	The Presidential Campaign	258
Careerists Versus Amateurs	236	Media Mentions	258
The Advantages of Incumbency	237	Presidential Credentials	259
Name Recognition	237	The Decision to Run	259
The Quality of Challengers	237	A Strategy for the Primaries	259
Campaign Contributions	237	Primary Campaigns	259
Resources of Office	238	The Iowa Caucuses	260
The Advantages of State and Local Incumbents	239	The New Hampshire Primary	260
On Being the Candidate	239	South Carolina Primary	261
The Pre-Career: Getting Involved	239	The Front-End Strategy and Front-Loading	
Deciding to Run: Know What You’re Doing	239	Primaries	261
Getting in the Race	240	Big-State Strategy	262
Start Dialing for Dollars: OPM	240	Primary Debates	262
Getting Organized	241	The General Election Battle	263
On the Campaign Trail	242	Targeting the Swing States	263
On Election Day: GOTV	243	Tarmac Politics	263
		The Presidential Debates	263

Notable Debates I: Kennedy and Nixon	264	The Washington Lobbyists	296
Notable Debates II: The Ronald Reagan Shows	264	Who Are the Lobbyists?	296
Notable Debates III: Obama and Romney	265	The Think Tanks	297
The 2016 Debates	265	The Fine Art of Lobbying	298
Hitting the Talk Shows	265	Public Relations	299
The Electoral College	266	Access	299
What If There Is No Electoral College Winner?	268	Information	300
Getting to 270	268	Grassroots Mobilization	300
Is “The Vital South” Dead?	269	Protests and Demonstrations	301
Campaign 2016	269	Coalition Building	301
The Voter Decides	270	Campaign Support	302
Party Affiliation	270	Lobbying Ethics and Regulation	302
Group Voting	270	Tightening Lobby Regulations	302
Race and Gender Gaps	271	The Ethics of the Craft	302
Candidate Image	271	Pac Power	303
The Economy	275	Where PACs Come From	303
Issue Voting	276	Distributing PAC Money	303
A Constitutional Note: Making Presidential Elections		Payback	305
More Democratic	276	Lobbying the Bureaucracy and the Courts	305
The Money Problem	277	Iron Triangles and Issue Networks	305
The Electoral College Problem	277	Agency Capture	306
The External Tampering Problem	278	Revolving Doors	307
		Lobbying the Courts	308
<b>9 Interest Groups: Getting Their</b>	<b>282</b>	Politics as Interest Group Conflict	308
<b>    Share and More</b>		Pluralism as Democratic Politics	308
Interest Group Power	283	Balancing Group Power	309
Electoral Versus Interest Group Systems	283	Interest Group Politics: How Democratic?	309
Checking Majoritarianism	283	A Constitutional Note: How Do We Tame Interest	
Concentrating Benefits While Dispersing Costs	283	Groups?	310
Madison and the Origins of Interest Groups	283	The Overwhelmed Constitution	311
Protecting Economic Interests	284	Separating Interest Group Money from Lawmakers	311
Advancing Social Movements	284	Empower the Parties	311
Seeking Government Benefits	285	Regulating Congress and Interest Groups	311
Responding to Government Regulation	285		
The Organized Interests in Washington	286	<b>Part IV Institutions</b>	
Business and Trade Organizations	286	<b>10 Congress: Politics on Capitol Hill</b>	<b>314</b>
Professional Associations	288	The Powers of Congress	315
Organized Labor	288	Institutional Conflict	315
Agriculture Organizations	289	“The President Initiates, Congress Deliberates”	315
Women’s Organizations	289	Bicameralism: Dividing Congressional Power	315
Religious Groups	290	Domestic Versus Foreign and Defense Policy	317
Public-Interest Groups	291	The Power of the Purse	317
Single-Issue Groups	291	Oversight of the Bureaucracy	317
Ideological Groups	292	Advice and Consent and the Confirmation	
Environmental Groups	292	of Presidential Appointments	318
Education Lobbies	292	Agenda Setting and Media Attention	319
Government Lobbies	292	Impeachment and Removal	319
Leaders and Followers	294	Congressional Apportionment and Redistricting	320
Interest Group Entrepreneurs	294	Apportionment	320
Marketing Membership	295	Malapportionment and the Intervention	
Organizational Democracy and Leader/Member		of the Supreme Court	320
Agreement	295	Redistricting	321
Class Bias in Membership	295		

Gerrymandering	322	Decision Making in Congress	346
Partisan Gerrymandering	323	Party Voting	346
Racial Gerrymandering	323	Sources of Partisanship	348
Incumbent Gerrymandering	324	Presidential Support or Opposition	348
Partisanship Interacts with Race	325	Constituency Influence	348
Life on Capitol Hill	325	Interest Group Influence	349
Who Runs for Congress?	326	Personal Values	349
Competition for Seats	326	Congressional Customs, Norms, and Ethics	350
Winning Big	326	Civility	350
Turnover	327	The Demise of the Apprenticeship Norm	350
Congressional Term Limits?	327	Specialization and Deference	350
The Congressional Electorate	327	Bargaining	351
Congressional Campaign Financing	327	Logrolling	351
Life in Congress	328	Leader-Follower Relations	351
The “Representativeness” of Congress	328	Gridlock	352
Congressional Staff	329	Congressional Ethics	352
Support Agencies	330	Ethics Rules	352
Workload	330	Gray Areas: Services and Contributions	353
Pay, Perks, and the Twenty-Seventh Amendment	331	Gray Areas: Investment Income	353
Home Style	331	Expulsion	353
Casework	331	Censure	354
Pork Barrel and Earmarks	332	A Constitutional Note: Is Congress Too Democratic?	354
Pressing the Flesh	332	The Explosion of Democracy and Possible Reforms	354
Self-Promotion and Image Management	332	Make Congress Bigger	355
Hill Styles and Home Styles	332	Longer Terms or Term Limits	356
Discretion	333	Multimember Districts	357
Organizing Congress: Party and Leadership	334	Redistricting Reform	357
Party Organizations in Congress	334	Revisiting the Seventeenth Amendment	357
In the House: “Mr. Speaker”	335		
House Leaders and Whips	335	<b>11 The President: White House Politics</b>	<b>361</b>
In the Senate: “Mr. President”	336	Presidential Power	362
Senate Majority and Minority Leaders	336	The Symbolic President	362
Career Paths Within Congress	336	Managing Crises	362
Leadership PACs	336	Providing Policy Leadership	363
Party Fortunes in Congress	336	Managing the Economy	363
The Historic Democratic Party Dominance of Congress	338	Managing the Government	364
The Republican “Revolution” of 1994–1998	338	The Global President	364
An Era of Close Majorities in the Twenty-First Century	338	Constitutional Powers of the President	364
In Committee	340	Who Is Eligible to Be President?	364
Standing Committees	340	Presidential Succession	364
The Pecking Order of Committees	341	Impeachment	365
Decentralization and Subcommittees	341	Presidential Pardons	367
Committee Membership	342	Executive Power	367
Seniority	342	Checking Presidential Power	368
Committee Hearings	343	Executive Privilege	368
Markup	343	Presidential Impoundment	369
On the Floor	344	Responsibility to the Courts	369
House Rules Committee	344	Political Resources of the President	370
Killer Amendments	344	The Reputation for Power	370
Senate Floor Traditions	344	Presidential Popularity	370
Floor Voting	345	Access to the Media	372
Conference Committees	346	Institutional Power	373
		Personality Versus Policy	374

Party Leadership	375	Cabinet Appointments	405
Policy Leadership	375	Independent Regulatory Commissions	406
Chief Executive	375	Independent Agencies	408
The Constitutional Executive	376	The “Fed”	408
Executive Orders	376	Government Corporations	408
Appointments	378	Contractors and Consultants	408
Recess Appointments	378	Bureaucracy and Democracy	409
Budget	378	The Way It Was: The Spoils System	409
The Cabinet	379	The New Regime: The Merit System	409
The National Security Council	379	Political Involvement	410
White House Staff	380	The Problem of Responsiveness	410
Chief Legislator and Lobbyist	380	The Problem of Productivity	410
Policy Initiation	382	Civil Service Reform	411
White House Lobbying	382	Bureaucracy and Representation	411
The Honeymoon	382	Bureaucratic Politics	411
Presidential “Box Scores”	383	Presidential “Plums”	412
The Veto Power	384	Rooms at the Top	412
Line-Item Veto Power Denied	385	Whistle-Blowers	413
Global Leader	386	Agency Cultures	413
Foreign Policy	386	Outsourcing	413
Treaties	387	Presidential Initiative	414
Executive Agreements	387	The Budget	414
Intelligence	388	Office of Management and Budget	415
The Central Intelligence Agency	389	The President’s Budget	415
Commander in Chief	389	Relevant Congressional Committees	415
War-Making Power	390	Appropriations Acts	417
War Powers Resolution	390	Continuing Resolutions	417
Presidential Noncompliance	391	Shutdowns	417
Presidential Use of Military Force in Domestic Affairs	391	The Politics of Budgeting	418
The Vice-Presidential Waiting Game	392	Budgeting Is “Incremental”	418
Political Selection Process	392	Budgeting Is Nonprogrammatic	419
Vice-Presidential Roles	393	Congressional Constraints on the Bureaucracy	419
Carving a Role Out	393	Senate Confirmation of Appointments	420
A Constitutional Note: Reimagining the Presidency	394	Congressional Oversight	421
Constraining War Powers	395	Congressional Appropriations	421
Recall of Unpopular Presidents?	395	Congressional Investigation	421
Separating the Head of State and the Head of Government	395	Casework	421
<b>12 The Bureaucracy: Bureaucratic Politics</b>	<b>399</b>	Interest Groups and Bureaucratic Decision Making	422
Bureaucratic Power	400	Judicial Constraints on the Bureaucracy	423
The Nature of Bureaucracy	400	Judicial Standards for Bureaucratic Behavior	423
The Growth of Bureaucratic Power	400	Bureaucrats’ Success in Court	423
Bureaucratic Power: Implementation	402	A Constitutional Note: Expanding Executive Power over the Bureaucracy	423
Bureaucratic Power: Regulation	402	How the Line-Item Veto Works	424
Bureaucratic Power: Adjudication	403	The Line-Item Veto: Pros and Cons	424
Bureaucratic Power: Administrative Discretion	403	A Guided Veto?	424
Bureaucratic Power and Budget Maximization	403	<b>13 Courts: Judicial Politics</b>	<b>427</b>
The Federal Bureaucracy	404	Judicial Power	428
Cabinet Departments	404	Constitutional Power of the Courts	428
Cabinet Department Functions	404	Interpreting the Constitution: Judicial Review	428
		Judicial Review of State Laws	429

Judicial Review of Acts of Congress	429	A Constitutional Note: Reforming the Courts	454
Judicial Review of Presidential Actions	430	Term Limits for Justices and Judges	454
Interpreting Federal Laws	430	Changing the Size of the Court	454
Why Judicial Review “Sticks” When Applied	430	Changing the Jurisdiction of the Court	455
Activism Versus Self-Restraint	431		
Judicial Self-Restraint	431		
Wisdom Versus Constitutionality	431		
Original Intent	431		
Judicial Activism	432		
<i>Stare Decisis</i>	432		
Rules of Restraint	432		
Structure and Jurisdiction of Federal Courts	433		
District Courts	433		
Courts of Appeals	435		
Supreme Court	435		
Appeals from State Courts	436		
Federal Cases	436		
The Special Rules of Judicial Decision Making	437		
Cases and Controversies	437		
Adversarial Proceedings	438		
Standing	438		
Class Action Suits	438		
Legal Fees	438		
Remedies and Relief	439		
Independent Counsels?	439		
The Politics of Selecting Judges	439		
The Politics of Presidential Selection	440		
Political Litmus Test	440		
The Politics of Senate Confirmation	440		
Filibustering Court Nominees	441		
Who Is Selected?	442		
Law Degrees	443		
Judicial Experience	443		
Age	443		
Race and Gender	443		
Trump’s First Justice	444		
Supreme Court Decision Making	445		
Setting the Agenda: Granting Certiorari	445		
Hearing Arguments	446		
In Conference	446		
Writing Opinions	446		
Politics and the Supreme Court	447		
Liberal and Conservative Voting Blocs	447		
Public Opinion	449		
Presidential Influence	449		
Interest Group Influence	450		
Checking Court Power	450		
Legitimacy as a Restraint on the Judiciary	451		
Compliance with Court Policy	451		
Presidential Influence on Court Policy	452		
Congressional Checks on the Judiciary	452		
Impeachment and the Judiciary	453		
		<b>Part V Outcomes</b>	
		<b>14 Politics and Personal Liberty</b>	<b>458</b>
		Power and Individual Liberty	459
		Authority and Liberty	459
		Democracy and Personal Liberty	459
		Nationalizing the Bill of Rights	461
		Freedom of Religion	461
		Free Exercise of Religion	462
		Congress Overruled	463
		No Establishment of Religion	463
		What Constitutes “Establishment”?	464
		Prayer in the School	465
		“Voluntary” Prayer	466
		State Vouchers to Attend Religious Schools	466
		Freedom of Speech and the Press	466
		Clear and Present Danger Doctrine	467
		Preferred Position Doctrine	467
		The Cold War Challenge	468
		Symbolic Speech	468
		Speech and Public Order	469
		Campus Speech	469
		Hate Speech and Hate Crimes	469
		Commercial Speech	470
		Libel and Slander	470
		Obscenity and the Law	470
		Slackening Standards: <i>Roth v. United States</i>	471
		Tightening Standards: <i>Miller v. California</i>	471
		Porn on the Internet	472
		Child Pornography	472
		Freedom of the Press	473
		No-Prior-Restraint Doctrine	473
		Film Censorship	474
		Radio and Television Censorship	474
		Media Claims for Special Rights	474
		Privacy, Abortion, and the Constitution	475
		Finding a Right to Privacy	475
		<i>Roe v. Wade</i>	475
		Reaffirming <i>Roe v. Wade</i>	476
		“Partial-Birth Abortion”	476
		Sexual Conduct	476
		Other Private Activities	477
		Freedom of Assembly and Petition	477
		The Right of Association	477
		Protests, Parades, and Demonstrations	478
		Picketing	478



Protecting Property Rights	479	Shifting Goals in Civil Rights Policy	508
Public Use	479	Affirmative Action	509
The Right to Bear Arms	479	Affirmative Action in the Courts	509
Bearing Arms	480	The <i>Bakke</i> Case	509
An Individual Right	480	Affirmative Action as a Remedy for Past Discrimination	510
Rights of Criminal Defendants	481	Cases Questioning Affirmative Action	510
The Guarantee of the Writ of Habeas Corpus	481	Strict Scrutiny	511
The Prohibition of Bills of Attainder and Ex Post Facto Laws	483	Affirmative Action and “Diversity” in Higher Education	511
Unreasonable Searches and Seizures	483	Diversity as a Constitutional Question	511
Wiretapping and Electronic Surveillance	485	Race-Neutral Approaches to Diversity	512
When Is Your Electronic Privacy Not Yours?	485	The Absence of a Clear Constitutional Principle	512
FISA and Domestic Surveillance	486	Civil Rights Initiatives in the States	512
Drug Testing	486	Hispanics in America	513
Arrests	487	Mexican Americans	514
Indictment	487	Puerto Ricans	514
Self-Incrimination and the Right to Counsel	487	Cuban Americans	515
The Exclusionary Rule	488	Organizing for Political Activity	515
Bail Requirements	488	Hispanic Political Power	516
Fair Trial	488	American Indians: Trail of Tears	518
Plea Bargaining	489	The Trail of Broken Treaties	518
Double Jeopardy	490	“Indian Territories”	520
The Death Penalty	491	“Indian Wars”	520
Prohibition Against Unfair Application	491	The Attempted Destruction of Traditional Life	520
Death Penalty Reinstated	491	Citizenship	521
Racial Bias	492	The New Deal	521
A Constitutional Note: A Second Bill of Rights?	492	The American Indian Movement	521
Matters of Life and Death	492	American Indians Today	521
An Economic Bill of Rights?	493	Asian Americans	522
<b>15 Politics and Civil Rights</b>	<b>496</b>	The Rights of Americans with Disabilities	523
The Irony of Equality	497	Americans with Disabilities Act	523
Slavery, Segregation, and the Constitution	497	Mental and Learning Disabilities	524
Slavery and the Constitution	497	Gender Equality and the Politics of Sex	524
Civil War, Emancipation, and Reconstruction	498	Early Feminist Politics	524
The Imposition of Segregation	499	Judicial Scrutiny of Gender Classifications	525
Early Court Approval of Segregation	500	Title IX	525
Equal Protection of the Laws	500	Gender Equality in the Economy	527
The Strange National Career of Jim Crow	500	Gender Equality in Civil Rights Laws	527
The NAACP and the Legal Battle	501	The Earnings Gap	527
<i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i>	501	The Dual Labor Market and “Comparable Worth”	527
Enforcing Desegregation	502	The “Glass Ceiling”	528
De Facto Segregation	503	Sexual Harassment	529
Racial Balancing Under Scrutiny	503	Politics and Sexual Orientation	530
The Civil Rights Acts	504	Privacy Rights	530
Martin Luther King, Jr., and Nonviolent Direct Action	504	Overturning the Defense of Marriage Act	530
Martin Luther King, Jr., “I Have a Dream”	505	Ending “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”	531
The Civil Rights Act of 1964	506	Same-Sex Marriage	531
The Civil Rights Act of 1968	507	AIDS	532
Equality: Opportunity Versus Results	507	Same-Sex Politics	532
Continuing Inequalities	507	The Emerging Importance of Transgender Issues	533
Policy Choices	507	A Constitutional Note: Elevating Sex and Gender	533
		Revive the ERA	534
		Don’t Do Anything?	534

<b>16</b>	<b>Politics and the Economy</b>		
Politics and Economics	539	Social Welfare Policy	569
Economic Decision Making	539	Entitlements	569
Congress, the President, and Fiscal Policy	539	Social Security	569
The Fed and Monetary Policy	540	Unemployment Compensation	570
Measuring the Performance of the American Economy	541	Supplemental Security Income (SSI)	570
Economic Growth	541	Family Assistance (TANF)	570
Unemployment	542	Food Stamps (SNAP)	570
Inflation	543	Women Infants Children (WIC)	570
Recession	544	Housing Assistance	571
Government Spending, Deficits, and Debt	544	Medicaid	571
“Mandatory” Spending	544	The Working Poor	571
“Discretionary” Spending	544	The Minimum Wage	571
Exploding Deficits	545	Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)	571
The Debt Burden	545	Are You Eligible for the Earned Income Tax Credit?	572
Appropriations Acts and Continuing Resolutions	547	Senior Power	572
Government “Shutdown”	547	The Aged in the Future	572
The Tax Burden	548	The Generational Compact	573
Individual Income Taxes	548	The Rising Dependency Ratio	573
Capital Gains and Dividend Taxation	550	Social Security and Medicare Taxes	574
AMT and the EITC	551	Cost-of-Living Increases	574
Corporate Income Taxes	551	Wealthy Retirees	574
Social Security Taxes	552	“Saving” Social Security	574
Estate and Gift Taxes	552	Politics and Welfare Reform	575
Excise Taxes and Custom Duties	553	Conflict Over What Causes Poverty	575
Tax Politics	553	Reforming Family Assistance	575
The Argument for Progressivity	553	Did Welfare Reform Work?	576
The Argument for Proportionality	554	Increasing Food Stamp Dependency	577
Reagan’s Reductions in Progressivity	554	Soaring Disability	577
Bush and Clinton Rate Increases	554	Extended Unemployment	577
Bush Tax Cuts	555	Health Care in America	577
Trump and Tax Reform	555	The Health of Americans	577
Who Pays the Income Tax?	556	Health Care Costs	578
A Constitutional Note: Tax Reform	557	Medicare	579
Congress’s Other Tax Authority	558	Medicaid	579
Tax Complexity	558	The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act: Health Care Transformation Through Obamacare	579
IRS Intrusion	558	Stimulus to Change	579
Tax Reform: The Flat Tax	559	Provisions of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act	580
Tax Reform: The VAT	559	A Constitutional Note: The Courts and Obamacare	582
More Modest Reforms	560	The Constitutionality of the Individual Mandate	582
Trump’s Tax Proposals	561	Rights Versus Entitlements	583
		Repealing Obamacare	583
<b>17</b>	<b>Politics and Social Welfare</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>Politics and National Security</b>
Power and Social Welfare	565		587
Poverty in the United States	566	Power Among Nations	588
Temporary Poverty	566	Collective Security	588
Persistent Poverty	567	Formation of the United Nations	588
Who Are the Poor?	567	The United Nations in the Cold War	589
Family Structure	568	The UN Today	589
The “Truly Disadvantaged”	568	Regional Security—NATO	589
		NATO Expansion	590
		NATO Without America?	590

The Legacy of the Cold War	590	Declaring War on Terrorism	602
Origins	590	Central Asian Wars	603
Containment	592	Middle Eastern Wars	603
The Korean War	592	Stretched Too Thin?	604
The Cuban Missile Crisis	593	War in Iraq	605
The Vietnam War	593	Operation Iraqi Freedom	605
The Vietnam Syndrome	594	The Occupation of Iraq	605
Rebuilding America’s Defenses	594	Civil War	606
The Collapse of Communism	595	The Bush War: Surge and Insurgency	606
The Disintegration of the Soviet Union and Russia	595	Drawing Down Under Obama	607
After Communism	595	The ISIS Threat	608
The New Russian Threat	596	ISIS and the Trump Regime	608
Nuclear Threats	596	War in Afghanistan	608
Deterrence	597	ISAF	608
Limiting Nuclear Arms: SALT	597	Obama’s War	609
Reducing Nuclear Arms: START	597	Limited Objectives	609
Start II	598	Iran, North Korea and The Bomb	610
Nuclear Terrorism	598	The Iranian Nuclear Agreement and its	
Ballistic Missile Defenses	599	Problems	610
“Star Wars”	599	The North Korean Nuclear Threat	611
Protection Against Nuclear Terrorism	599	A Constitutional Note: The Cautions of Two Generals	612
The Future of BMDs	600		
When to Use Military Force?	600	Appendix	617
Only to Protect Vital Interests?	600	Glossary	635
In Support of Important Political Objectives?	601	Endnotes	650
The War on Terrorism	602	Credits	663
Global Terrorism	602	Index	665

**T**o study politics is to be an American. There is a great debate afoot in America over who has power, who should have power, and how power should be used. Decades of frustration with government deficits, endless war, and the ongoing disruption of the economy by technological change and growing international competition challenge the legitimacy of institutions. Entering the 2016 elections, many Americans wondered if they were being served, or just served up?

The subsequent election rattled the status quo. A populist insurgency in the form of the Trump campaign captured the Republican presidential nomination, and in an instance of electoral college misfire, the presidency itself, along with narrow congressional majorities. The subsequent politics have been roller coaster ride of controversy and confrontation. And, much of this controversy centers around the identities of who will govern, and in attacks on elites and established institutions of American politics and society. Ask yourself: Are you really politically empowered? Or do a few elites in business, interest groups, and politics make most of your decisions for you? And, are they acting in your best interest? Most Americans are growing increasingly cynical and think that politics only serves a narrow set of special interests. Studying politics helps you understand what you are getting from government and how (or whether) you can change what politics gives and takes from you. Our goal is to engage you as a critical consumer of political information so that you understand where you fit in American life.

As you read our book, you will see that we approach politics as an adversarial game—one that sparks acts of violence, leads some to create lasting works of philosophy and art, and prompts others to undertake tremendous acts of heroism. Any human activity that does these things *can't* be dull. Politics does these things because it is power; politics decides who will get what from government and when.

To understand this power, you have to understand the game: Who are the players, and what are the rules? The game is played in multiple venues: elections, legislatures, executive mansions, courthouses, newsrooms, and out in the streets where disaffected groups of people collide with each other and with the police power of the state. Different players act together or in opposition, battling to decide where the scarce resources of government go, whose values will prevail, and who will pay for everything.

So, why should *you* participate in politics, especially when it is made up of all these power players and elites and games? The answer is roughly equal parts philosophy, history, and self-interest. American politics assumes that the power of government originates in the individual. The people are the *sovereigns*, and the state and its government get authority from *your* consent. Our goal is for you to embody what Ronald Reagan called "*an informed patriotism.*" How our government defends our constitutional ideals and rights requires an informed vigilance on behalf of its citizens.

This is not a politically correct book. It is written to be disagreed with. You will disagree with some (or much) of what you read, including, possibly, the central assumption that politics is about power and influence. It is our first goal that you can distinguish our empirical approach—that people observe politics to be about power and costs and benefits—from whatever normative beliefs people have about how the world should be. To change the world toward a higher ideal, one has to first understand the world *as it is*. American youth are aspirational, and the most recent series of elections have witnessed a rejection of the status quo on many issues considered "settled" by previous generations. How do you make change?

In this volume, we present a political world of institutions, players, and competitors who are trying to get what they want. But, we also want you to think about how other governments around the world do things and whether or not our government does the things it should do and whether or not government needs to do things it currently doesn't do. This creates a foundation for conversations about how political power is wielded—conversations we hope you have with your family, friends, and others long after you close the pages of this book. Though we do caution, it is important to take care in practicing political science on these folks—they might not have the same knowledge and insight as you, so you will need to be patient with them.

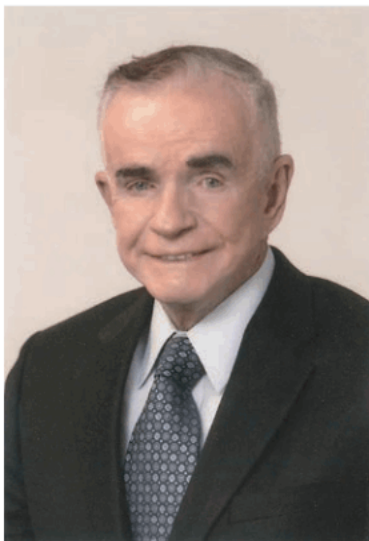
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## MEET YOUR AUTHORS



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**T**he struggle over who gets what in American politics is as intense as ever. Battles over the size of government and how to pay for it define the struggle for power in Washington. The 2016 presidential campaign was the most disruptive and divisive in the living memory of most Americans. There was significant rebellion against the party establishment in both major parties, and Americans enter a political era where the parties and the people have never been more divided—or confused—about their politics and the path to the future. The failure of narrow, divided majorities in Congress and polarization caused government to lurch from fiscal crisis to fiscal crisis throughout the last decade, and electoral goals became more important than meeting the obligations to govern. We will now find out if an unconventional president can work with a seemingly discredited Congress to advance America.

The 2016 U.S. presidential campaign and its result directly engage the questions and problems of elite versus mass power in politics. The winner, Donald J. Trump, ran as a populist insurgent in the Republican primary, brashly and directly confronting the institutional and organizational power structure of the GOP, interest group politics, and long-standing economic and security commitments around the globe. He drew his power from displaced and concerned middle-aged, middle- and working-class white Americans, especially in the Rust Belt and other parts of America where economic recovery is not strong. On the Democratic side, Bernie Sanders failed in his populist challenge to Hillary Clinton in the presidential nomination battle, but his campaign activated a progressive populism among younger Americans who are more comfortable with socialism than their parents and grandparents.

Trump came in second in the popular vote, but he still won the presidency. And Americans woke up to an unexpected world where a newbie to campaign politics and governing assumed the most powerful political office in the western world. Will his presidency and our politics more generally engage the enduring problems of elite power and cultural and social conflict?

The answer was “yes, sort of.” The Trump incumbency has been controversial, and the new executive challenged a variety of established institutions, including the media, the foreign policy establishment, and the bureaucracy, especially on controversial issues such as immigration and the environment. In other ways, however, very little changed. One set of influencers was replaced by another, but the interest group regime continues to run along from over on K Street. Record deficits followed a conventional Republican tax cut. And the deep state persisted.

By using Harold Lasswell’s classic definition of politics—“who gets what, when, and how” as its unifying framework, the eleventh edition of *Politics in America* continues to present a stimulating introduction to what the American political system is and what is happening in it now. Politics consists of all the activities—reasonable discussion, impassioned oratory, campaigning, balloting, fund-raising, advertising, lobbying, demonstrating, rioting, street fighting, and waging war—by which conflict is carried on. Examining the power game of politics—the participants, the stakes, the processes, and the institutional arenas, *Politics in America* introduces your students to the political struggles that drive democracy. Throughout this text, students are not just presented with a study of politics—they are asked what they think about those politics. The successful study of politics requires one to stop and ask questions about events, institutions, systems, policies, and problems.

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## NEW TO THIS EDITION

To examine the recent political context and to continue to make this book the best possible teaching and learning tool, we made the following improvements in this new edition:

America is in the midst of an era of political, social, and economic disruption. The results and consequences of the historic and highly divisive 2016 elections are central to this disruption, and we contextualize these events in the text and discuss how the durable institutions responded to the colorful, controversial first two years Republican rule under Trump.

At the beginning of the Trump Administration, we asked, “can the new president and Congress tackle economic uncertainty and an evolving foreign policy environment where the *Pax Americana* has already given way to a more violent, multilateral world order? These and other fundamental problems require thinking outside the box of conventional politics.” Outside of the box thinking happened. However, it was less often in the realm of legislation, where conventional GOP priorities of tax cuts and increased defense spending prevailed. Rather, the outside the box thinking was mainly in the disruption of the historic American alliances abroad, the launching of a protectionist trade war, and an aggressive posture against migration, especially from Latin America.

The pace of change has been defined and limited by the policy area, and the actors involved. Legislation has come slow. Areas where executive orders apply, these move more quickly. And foreign policy is an interesting conflict, where the executive and his administration appear to be in conflict as often as not. These challenges require understanding of our politics and institutions and also a consideration of the means and consequences of change. *Politics in America* is designed to engage these questions and problems, and in every chapter, the student engages not just the politics and the political science, but also possible constitutional and policy changes. We wrote this book to get students to ask themselves not just “what’s in it for me?” but also “how do I change things?”

The core text places an emphasis on the central and durable concepts of the Constitution, institutions, mediating institutions, political behavior, and public policy. This provides continuity and stability in the larger lessons of the operation of American politics independent of short-term forces. Chapters on political culture, federalism, media, parties, interest groups, Congress, the presidency, and civil rights are significantly updated or extensively revised to account for dramatic changes in our political order and the science that explains it.

- “**A Constitutional Note**” section closes each chapter. These updated sections draw from the chapter and present a durable problem in American democracy. The problem is placed into a constitutional context, asking the reader to consider whether a possible constitutional change is in order to deal with the problem, and, if such a change is made, to consider the consequences of constitutional change. These examine direct versus representative democracy, defining citizenship, Article V conventions, the division of national and state power, the right to vote, net neutrality, parties and political fairness, making presidential campaigns more democratic, interest group influence, reforms that might make Congress more responsive, reforms that would control presidential power, reformed veto power and bureaucracy, potential reforms of the judiciary, a second bill of rights, tax reform, and health care reform and challenges.
- More than a quarter of the photos in this edition are new. They capture major events from the last two years in order to illustrate politics’ relevancy. They show

political actors and processes as well as people affected by politics, creating a visual narrative that enhances rather than repeats the text.

- We have expanded the video selection supporting the text, including both original topical videos on important issues and also news and documentary content related to each chapter.
- The extensive figure and table program has been updated throughout, with more visuals than ever before, inviting students to explore and analyze the data. To this end, we hope instructors can use the text not only as a vehicle to teach about American government, but also to expose students to the use of the science of politics as active users of data, through decision making and multi-media exploration that reflects the modern world in which they live and work.

## Revel™

Revel is an interactive learning environment that deeply engages students and prepares them for class. Media and assessment integrated directly within the authors' narrative lets students read, explore interactive content, and practice in one continuous learning path. Thanks to the dynamic reading experience in Revel, students come to class prepared to discuss, apply, and learn from instructors and from each other.

### Revel Features in *Politics in America*

- Chapter-opening **Current Events Bulletins** feature author-written articles (refreshed twice a year) that put breaking news and current events into the context of American government.
- **Sketchnote Videos and News Clips** vividly illustrate key moments in American government. **News footage** provides examples from both historical and current events, from a look at the Founding Fathers, Rosa Parks, the Voting Rights Act, and hallmark presidential speeches to extensive coverage of the 2016 election and the issues that resonate with students today like student loan debt and new media. In addition, popular **Sketchnote videos** walk students through difficult-to-understand concepts such as congressional oversight, what parties do, measuring economic performance, and what happens behind closed doors at the Supreme Court. Through the visual storytelling approach, Sketchnote videos not only cater to visual and audio learners, but also activate a high level of engagement in all students, as they see the concepts come to life.
- There are also two brand new video series in this edition: **Pearson Originals for Political Science** and ***Politics Hidden in Plain Sight* videos** are incorporated into the chapters and can also be easily accessed from the instructor's Resources folder within Revel.
  - **Pearson Originals for Political Science** are compelling stories about contemporary issues. These short-form documentaries contextualize the complex social and political issues impacting the world today. In addition to helping students better understand core concepts, Pearson Originals inspire students to think critically as empowered citizens who can inspire social and political change. Explaining complex political issues in a simplified and entertaining way, Pearson Originals for Political Science help students become informed members of society. Videos include Marijuana and Federalism: Who's in Charge?; Can Totally



Free Speech Lead to Less Inclusive Discussion?; Who Should Be Allowed to Call Themselves “American”?; and Why Is the Government in so Much Debt and Should I Be Worried?

- **Pearson’s *Politics Hidden in Plain Sight* video series** does exactly that—provides students with concrete examples of how politics influences the activities of their daily lives—from using their cellphones to eating at a restaurant—in ways they likely had not previously noticed.
- **Shared Media activities** allow instructors to assign and grade both pre-written and their own prompts that incorporate video, weblinks, and visuals and ask students to respond in a variety of formats, in writing or by uploading their own video or audio responses. Pre-written assignments around the Pearson Originals for Political Science videos are available.
- **Interactive maps and figures** featuring Social Explorer technology allow the latest data updates, toggles to illustrate movement over time, and clickable hot spots with pop-ups of images, detailed data, and captions.
- **Primary source documents**, such as Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms speech, *Federalist Papers*, and the Emancipation Proclamation, open from links in the narrative so that they can be read in context.
- **Timelines** in each chapter allow students to explore important events and the development of various concepts in American political history.
- **What Do You Think? polls** encourage students to explore their own views on important political issues.
- Interactive **Review the Chapter** summaries that utilize learning objectives and flashcards featuring key terms and definitions allow students to review the chapters and reinforce the content.
- **Assessments** tied to primary chapter sections, as well as full chapter exams, allow instructors and students to track progress and get immediate feedback.
- **Integrated Writing Opportunities** To help students reason and write more clearly, each chapter offers three varieties of writing prompts:
  - **Journal prompts** at the end of each major section ask students to think critically and apply what they have learned within that chapter module. In addition, select Social Explorer visualizations are now followed up with a journal prompt to encourage data literacy and deeper analysis.
  - **Shared writing prompts**, linked to each chapter’s “Constitutional Note” section, encourage students to consider their opinions on the challenges and reform options put forth. Through these shared writing prompts, instructors and students can address multiple sides of an issue by sharing their own views and responding to each other’s viewpoints.
  - **Essay prompts** are from Pearson’s Writing Space, where instructors can assign both automatically graded and instructor-graded prompts. Writing Space is the best way to develop and assess concept mastery and critical thinking through writing. Writing Space provides a single place within Revel to create, track, and grade writing assignments; access writing resources; and exchange meaningful, personalized feedback quickly and easily to improve results. For students, Writing Space provides everything they need to keep up with writing assignments, access assignment guides and checklists, write or upload completed assignments, and receive grades and feedback—all in one convenient place. For educators, Writing Space makes assigning, receiving, and evaluating writing assignments easier. It’s simple to create new assignments and upload relevant materials, see student progress, and receive alerts when students submit work. Writing Space makes

students' work more focused and effective, with customized grading rubrics they can see and personalized feedback. Writing Space can also check students' work for improper citation or plagiarism by comparing it against the world's most accurate text comparison database available from Turnitin.

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## FEATURES

Politics is not a dull topic, and textbooks should not make it so. We designed this book to challenge students to think and talk about controversial issues by integrating the basics of American government into our focus on conflict and controversy—the struggle for power.

Our framework is built on Harold Lasswell's classic definition of politics—"who gets what, when and how." The choice of Lasswell's approach is a tribute to its durability and its practicality as an approach to studying politics. "Who" are the voters, interest groups, politicians, and parties—all the potential beneficiaries of politics. "What" are the rewards gained from playing politics, whether it is a preferred law or policy, a tax break, a political position, or a position of power and influence. "When" is the timing of the payoff from politics. And "how" is the political means used to get what people get. With this as our central narrative, we examine the struggle for power: the participants, the stakes, the processes, and the institutions—in a way that provokes thinking and discussion. For the student as a potential participant, we pose one last question: Do individuals and groups drive the politics, or are they steered by elites who control the groups, the institutions, the parties, and the media?

*Politics in America* is organized somewhat differently from other American politics textbooks. In Part I, **Politics**, we start with an introduction to American politics from a Lasswellian perspective (who gets what?) and discuss the pluralist versus elitist approaches to politics. Then, in Chapter 2, we explore American political culture, including the sources of identity that reinforce political competition and political identity. In Part II, **Constitution**, Chapter 3 presents the founding and the framing of the Constitution, and Chapter 4 describes the development of the federal form of government. In Part III, **Participants**, the text turns to an examination of the individual and group players in mass politics and the mediating institutions that connect the people to their government. Chapter 5 explores public opinion, followed by a series of chapters about the connective tissue of politics—the media (Chapter 6), political parties (Chapter 7), campaigns and elections (Chapter 8), and interest groups (Chapter 9).

Then, in Part IV, **Institutions**, we turn to the formal constitutional institutions of the national government and their legally constituted agencies—Congress (Chapter 10), the presidency (Chapter 11), the bureaucracy (Chapter 12), and the courts (Chapter 13). These chapters explore these institutions and their interactions with each other *and* their connections to parties, voters, the media, and the Constitution. In Part V, **Outcomes**, we explore the outputs of government. Chapter 14 examines the role of government in defense (or violation) of personal liberties. Chapter 15 examines the increasingly complex development of law and policy related to civil rights and explores the social movements that have expanded guarantees of rights. Chapters 16 (the economy), 17 (social welfare), and 18 (national defense) examine major public policy areas to help students understand the relationship between the government, the economy it regulates, and two major sources of government spending in social and defense policy.

Each chapter includes **learning objectives** correlated to each major section to help students focus in on key concepts and assess their comprehension as they read. These learning objectives are used to frame a **Review the Chapter** summary at the end of each chapter.

Every chapter includes a **marginal glossary** to support students' understanding of new and important concepts at first encounter. For easy reference, key terms from the marginal glossary are repeated at the end of each chapter and in the end-of-book glossary.

Throughout the book and in the Revel features, we ask the student to return to the central theme: Who has power? How do they use power? Who is reaping the benefits or footing the bill for the benefits of government action? And, how can the student, citizen, and voter influence politics in an increasingly pessimistic and cynical political environment? In the process, it is our goal for the student to realize that politics is something they can influence, rather than something that is done to them.

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## SUPPLEMENTS

Make more time for your students with instructor resources that offer effective learning assessments and classroom engagement. Pearson's partnership with educators does not end with the delivery of course materials; Pearson is there with you on the first day of class and beyond. A dedicated team of local Pearson representatives will work with you to not only choose course materials but also integrate them into your class and assess their effectiveness. Our goal is your goal—to improve instruction with each semester.

Pearson is pleased to offer the following resources to qualified adopters of *Politics in America*. Several of these supplements, in addition to other teaching resources, are available to instantly download from the Instructor Resources folder within Revel or from the Instructor Resource Center (IRC); please visit the IRC at [www.pearsonhighered.com/irc](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc) to register for access.

**TEST BANK.** Evaluate learning at every level. Reviewed for clarity and accuracy, the Test Bank measures this book's learning objectives with multiple choice, true/false, fill-in-the-blank, short answer, and essay questions. You can easily customize the assessment to work in any major learning management system and to match what is covered in your course. Word, BlackBoard, and WebCT versions are available on the IRC, and Respondus versions are available upon request from [www.respondus.com](http://www.respondus.com).

**PEARSON MYTEST.** This powerful assessment generation program includes all of the questions in the Test Bank. Quizzes and exams can be easily authored and saved online and then printed for classroom use, giving you ultimate flexibility to manage assessments anytime and anywhere. To learn more, visit [www.pearsonhighered.com/mytest](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/mytest).

**INSTRUCTOR'S RESOURCE MANUAL.** Create a comprehensive roadmap for teaching classroom, online, or hybrid courses. Designed for new and experienced instructors, the Instructor's Resource Manual includes learning objectives, lecture and discussion suggestions, activities for in or out of class, research activities, participation activities, and suggested readings, series, and films as well as a Revel features section. Available within Revel and on the IRC.

**LECTURE POWERPOINTS** Make lectures more enriching for students. The accessible PowerPoint presentations include full lecture outlines and photos and figures from the book. Available within Revel and on the IRC.

**LECTURE LIVESLIDE POWERPOINTS** These PowerPoint presentations include full lecture outlines, photos, and figures from the book—with an exciting enhancement. Figures that are Social Explorer visualizations appear as dynamic LiveSlides. This gives you a direct path to the live Social Explorers in the Revel course. Social Explorer visualizations are data-rich interactive maps and figures that enable students to visually explore demographic data to understand how local trends impact them, while improving data and statistical literacy. Available within Revel and on the IRC.

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