

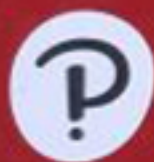


AP<sup>®</sup> Edition

# GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

2020 PRESIDENTIAL  
ELECTION EDITION

PEOPLE, POLITICS, AND POLICY



George C. Edwards III Martin P. Wattenberg William G. Howell

AP<sup>®</sup> and Advanced Placement Program are trademarks registered and/or owned by the College Board, which was not involved in the production of, and does not endorse, this product.



# GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

People, Politics, and Policy

2020 Presidential Election Edition

Eighteenth Edition

AP<sup>®</sup> Edition

**George C. Edwards III**

*Texas A&M University*

**Martin P. Wattenberg**

*University of California–Irvine*

**William G. Howell**

*University of Chicago*



**Content Strategy:** Pamela Chirls  
**Content Production:** Rob DeGeorge, Tina Gagliostro,  
Heather Pagano

**Product Management:** Amy Wetzel  
**Product Marketing:** Rachele Strober  
**Rights and Permissions:** Ben Ferrini

Please contact <https://support.pearson.com/getsupport/s/> with any queries on this content.

Cover image by Drew Angerer/Getty Images

**Copyright** © 2022, 2020, 2018 by Pearson Education, Inc., or its affiliates, 221 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030. All Rights Reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America. This publication is protected by copyright, and permission should be obtained from the publisher prior to any prohibited reproduction, storage in a retrieval system, or transmission in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise. For information regarding permissions, request forms, and the appropriate contacts within the Pearson Education Global Rights and Permissions department, please visit [www.pearsoned.com/permissions/](http://www.pearsoned.com/permissions/).

Acknowledgments of third-party content appear on the appropriate pages within the text, which constitute an extension of this copyright page.

PEARSON, ALWAYS LEARNING, and MYLAB are exclusive trademarks owned by Pearson Education, Inc. or its affiliates in the U.S. and/or other countries.

Unless otherwise indicated herein, any third-party trademarks, logos, or icons that may appear in this work are the property of their respective owners, and any references to third-party trademarks, logos, icons, or other trade dress are for demonstrative or descriptive purposes only. Such references are not intended to imply any sponsorship, endorsement, authorization, or promotion of Pearson's products by the owners of such marks, or any relationship between the owner and Pearson Education, Inc., or its affiliates, authors, licensees, or distributors.

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

Names: Edwards, George C., author. | Wattenberg, Martin P., author. |  
Howell, William G., author.

Title: Government in America : people, politics, and policy / George C.  
Edwards III, Texas A&M University, Martin P. Wattenberg, University of California—Irvine,  
William G. Howell, University of Chicago.

Description: 2020 presidential election edition, eighteenth edition. |  
Hoboken, NJ : Pearson, [2020] | Includes bibliographical references and  
index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020054385 | ISBN 9780136966456 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: United States—Politics and government—Textbooks.

Classification: LCC JK276 .E39 2020 | DDC 320.473—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020054385>

AP<sup>®</sup> and Advanced Placement Program are trademarks registered and/or owned by the College Board, which was not involved in the production of, and does not endorse, this product.

ScoutAutomatedPrintCode



**ISBN-10:** 0-13-692810-2 (High School Binding)  
**ISBN-13:** 978-0-13-692810-2 (High School Binding)

Meet the Authors	xii
To the Student	xiii
To the Instructor	xiv
Preface	xv
<b>PART I Constitutional Foundations</b>	
1 Introducing Government in America	1
2 The Constitution	23
3 Federalism	57
4 Civil Liberties and Public Policy	84
5 Civil Rights and Public Policy	130
<b>PART II People and Politics</b>	
6 Public Opinion and Political Action	164
7 The Mass Media and the Political Agenda	196
8 Political Parties	223
9 Campaigns and Voting Behavior	249
10 Interest Groups	290
<b>PART III The Policymakers</b>	
11 Congress	316
12 The Presidency	350
13 The Budget: The Politics of Taxing and Spending	392
14 The Federal Bureaucracy	417
15 The Federal Courts	448

## **PART IV** Policies

<b>16</b> Economic and Social Welfare Policymaking	486
<b>17</b> Policymaking for Health Care, the Environment, and Energy	516
<b>18</b> Foreign Policymaking	541
Appendices	579
Glossary	601
Notes	613
Index	642

Meet the Authors  
 To the Student  
 To the Instructor  
 Preface

## PART I Constitutional Foundations

### 1 Introducing Government in America

Government  
 Politics  
 The Policymaking System  
   People Shape Policy  
   Policies Impact People  
 Democracy in America  
   Traditional Democratic Theory  
   Three Contemporary Theories of American Democracy  
   Challenges to Democracy  
   American Political Culture and Democracy  
 The Scope of Government in America  
   How Active Is American Government?  
   Review the Chapter 21 • Learn the Terms 21  
   • Explore Further 22

### 2 The Constitution

**Politics in Action: Amending the Constitution**  
 The Origins of the Constitution  
   The Road to Revolution  
   Declaring Independence  
   The English Heritage: The Power of Ideas  
   The American Creed  
   Winning Independence  
   The “Conservative” Revolution  
 The Government That Failed: 1776–1787  
   The Articles of Confederation  
**Why It Matters Today: A Strong National Government**  
   Changes in the States  
   Economic Turmoil  
   The Aborted Annapolis Meeting  
 Writing a Constitution: The Philadelphia Convention  
   Gentlemen in Philadelphia  
   Philosophy into Action  
 Critical Issues at the Convention  
   The Equality Issues

xii **Why It Matters Today: Representation in the Senate** 35  
 xiii **Point to Ponder** 36  
 xiv The Economic Issues 37  
 xv The Individual Rights Issues 38  
 The Madisonian System 39  
   Thwarting the Tyranny of the Majority 39  
**Why It Matters Today: Checks and Balances** 42  
   The Constitutional Republic 42  
   The End of the Beginning 43  
 6 Ratifying the Constitution 43  
 8 Federalists and Anti-Federalists 43  
 9 Ratification 45  
 10 Changing the Constitution 45  
 11 The Formal Amending Process 45  
 11 **You Are the Policymaker: How Frequently Should We Amend the Constitution?** 47  
   The Informal Processes of Constitutional Change 48  
   The Importance of Flexibility 50  
 Understanding the Constitution 51  
   The Constitution and Democracy 51  
   The Constitution and the Scope of Government 52  
   Review the Chapter 54 • Learn the Terms 55  
   • Explore Further 55  
 23 **3 Federalism** 57  
 24 **Politics in Action: Conflict Between Levels of Government** 57  
 25 Defining Federalism 58  
 26 Why Federalism? 59  
 27 The Constitutional Basis of Federalism 60  
   The Division of Power 60  
 29 **Why It Matters Today: Protecting Rights** 61  
   National Supremacy 61  
 29 **Why It Matters Today: Commerce Power** 66  
   States’ Obligations to Each Other 66  
 30 Intergovernmental Relations 67  
   From Dual to Cooperative Federalism 67  
   Devolution? 70  
 32 **Why It Matters Today: Grants-in-Aid** 71  
   Fiscal Federalism 71  
 33 **Point to Ponder** 74  
 33 Diversity in Policy 75  
 34 **You Are the Policymaker: Should *Whether* You Live Depend On *Where* You Live?** 76

Understanding Federalism	78	Civil Liberties and the Scope of Government	125
Federalism and Democracy	78	Review the Chapter 127 • Learn the Terms 128	
Federalism and the Scope of the National Government	80	• Key Cases 128 • Explore Further 128	
Review the Chapter 82 • Learn the Terms 83			
• Explore Further 83			
<b>4 Civil Liberties and Public Policy</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>5 Civil Rights and Public Policy</b>	<b>130</b>
<b>Politics in Action: Free Speech on Campus</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>Politics in Action: Launching the Civil Rights Movement</b>	<b>131</b>
The Bill of Rights	86	The Struggle for Equality	132
The Bill of Rights—Then and Now	86	Conceptions of Equality	132
The Bill of Rights and the States	86	The Constitution and Inequality	132
Freedom of Religion	88	African Americans' Civil Rights	134
The Establishment Clause	89	Slavery	134
<b>Why It Matters Today: The Establishment Clause</b>	<b>91</b>	Reconstruction and Segregation	134
The Free Exercise Clause	92	Equal Education	136
<b>You Are the Judge: The Case of Animal Sacrifices</b>	<b>94</b>	The Civil Rights Movement and Public Policy	137
Freedom of Expression	94	<b>Why It Matters Today: <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i></b>	<b>138</b>
Prior Restraint	95	Voting Rights	139
<b>You Are the Judge: The Case of the Purloined Pentagon Papers</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>Why It Matters Today: The Voting Rights Act</b>	<b>141</b>
Free Speech and Public Order	96	The Rights of Other Minority Groups	141
Obscenity	97	Native Americans	141
<b>You Are the Judge: The Case of the Drive-In Theater</b>	<b>99</b>	Latinos	144
Libel and Slander	99	Asian Americans	145
<b>Why It Matters Today: Libel Law</b>	<b>100</b>	Arab Americans and Muslims	146
Symbolic Speech	100	The Rights of Women	146
Compelled Speech	101	The Battle for the Vote	147
Free Press and Fair Trials	102	The “Doldrums”: 1920–1960	147
Commercial Speech	102	The Second Feminist Wave	148
Regulation of the Public Airwaves and Cyberspace	103	Women in the Workplace	149
Campaign Spending	104	<b>Why It Matters Today: Changes in the Workplace</b>	<b>150</b>
Freedom of Assembly	105	<b>You Are the Judge: Is Male-Only Draft Registration Gender Discrimination?</b>	<b>151</b>
Right to Assemble	105	Sexual Harassment	152
Right to Associate	106	Other Groups Active Under the Civil Rights Umbrella	152
<b>You Are the Judge: The Case of the Nazis' March in Skokie</b>	<b>107</b>	Civil Rights and the Graying of America	153
Right to Bear Arms	107	Civil Rights and People with Disabilities	153
<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>108</b>	LGBTQ+ Rights	154
Defendants' Rights	108	Affirmative Action	156
Searches and Seizures	109	<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>157</b>
<b>Why It Matters Today: The Exclusionary Rule</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>You Are the Judge: The Case of the New Haven Firefighters</b>	<b>158</b>
<b>You Are the Judge: The Case of Ms. Montoya</b>	<b>113</b>	Understanding Civil Rights and Public Policy	160
Self-Incrimination	114	Civil Rights and Democracy	160
Double Jeopardy	115	Civil Rights and the Scope of Government	161
<b>You Are the Judge: The Case of the Enticed Farmer</b>	<b>116</b>	Review the Chapter 162 • Learn the Terms 163 • Key Cases 163 • Explore Further 163	
The Right to Counsel	116		
Trials	116		
Cruel and Unusual Punishment	119		
<b>You Are the Judge: The Case of the First Offender</b>	<b>120</b>		
The Right to Privacy	122		
Is There a Right to Privacy?	122		
Controversy over Abortion	122		
Understanding Civil Liberties	125		
Civil Liberties and Democracy	125		
		<b>PART II People and Politics</b>	
		<b>6 Public Opinion and Political Action</b>	<b>164</b>
		<b>Politics in Action: The Limits of Public Understanding of Health Care Reform</b>	<b>165</b>
		The American People	165

The Immigrant Society	167	Understanding the Mass Media	218
<b>You Are the Policymaker: Should Immigration Be Based More on Skills Than Blood Ties?</b>	<b>168</b>	The Media and the Scope of Government	218
The American Melting Pot	170	Individualism and the Media	219
The Regional Shift	172	<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>219</b>
The Graying of America	173	Democracy and the Media	220
How Americans Learn About Politics: Political Socialization	173	Review the Chapter 221 • Learn the Terms 221	
The Process of Political Socialization	173	• Explore Further 222	
Political Learning over a Lifetime	175	<b>8 Political Parties</b>	<b>223</b>
Measuring Public Opinion and Political Information	175	<b>Politics in Action: Party Polarization on Immigration Policy</b>	<b>223</b>
How Polls Are Conducted	176	The Meaning of Party	224
The Role of Polls in American Democracy	178	Tasks of the Parties	225
What Polls Reveal About Americans' Political Information	180	<b>Why It Matters Today: Political Parties</b>	<b>226</b>
<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>181</b>	Parties, Voters, and Policy: The Downs Model	226
<b>Why It Matters Today: Political Knowledge of the Electorate</b>	<b>182</b>	The Party in the Electorate	228
The Decline of Trust in Government	182	The Party Organizations: From the Grass Roots to Washington	230
What Americans Value: Political Ideologies	183	Local Parties	231
The Influence of Political Ideology on Political Behavior	185	The 50 State Party Systems	232
How Americans Participate in Politics	187	<b>You Are the Policymaker: Should Political Parties Choose Their Nominees in Open or Closed Primaries?</b>	<b>232</b>
Conventional Participation	187	The National Party Organizations	233
Protest as Participation	188	The Party in Government: Promises and Policy	233
Class, Inequality, and Participation	191	Party Eras in American History	235
<b>Why It Matters Today: Political Participation</b>	<b>191</b>	1796–1824: The First Party System	235
Understanding Public Opinion and Political Action	192	1828–1856: Jackson and the Democrats Versus the Whigs	236
Public Attitudes Toward the Scope of Government Democracy, Public Opinion, and Political Action	192	1860–1928: The Two Republican Eras	236
Review the Chapter 194 • Learn the Terms 195		1932–1964: The New Deal Coalition	237
• Explore Further 195		1968–Present: Southern Realignment and the Era of Divided Party Government	238
<b>7 The Mass Media and the Political Agenda</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>Why It Matters Today: Divided Party Government</b>	<b>240</b>
<b>Politics in Action: The Twitter Presidency</b>	<b>196</b>	Third Parties: Their Impact on American Politics	240
The Mass Media Today	197	Understanding Political Parties	242
The Development of Media Politics	198	Democracy and Responsible Party Government: How Should We Govern?	242
The Print Media	200	American Political Parties and the Scope of Government	244
The Emergence of Radio and Television	201	<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>245</b>
Government Regulation of Electronic Media	202	Review the Chapter 246 • Learn the Terms 247	
From Broadcasting to Narrowcasting: The Rise of Cable and Cable News	203	• Explore Further 247	
The Impact of the Internet and Social Media	205	<b>9 Campaigns and Voting Behavior</b>	<b>249</b>
<b>You Are the Policymaker: What Should Be Done About the Digital Divide?</b>	<b>207</b>	<b>Politics in Action: How Running for Office Can Be More Demanding Than Governing</b>	<b>250</b>
Private Control of the Media	208	The Nomination Game	251
<b>Why It Matters Today: Media as a Business</b>	<b>210</b>	Competing for Delegates	252
Reporting the News	210	<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>256</b>
Finding the News	211	<b>Why It Matters Today: Early Delegate Contests</b>	<b>256</b>
Presenting the News	212	The Convention Send-Off	258
<b>Why It Matters Today: The Increasing Speed of News Dissemination</b>	<b>213</b>	The Campaign Game	260
Bias in the News	214	The High-Tech Media Campaign	260
The News and Public Opinion	215	Organizing the Campaign	262
Policy Entrepreneurs and Agenda Setting	216		





## 12 The Presidency

<b>Politics in Action: Presidential Power</b>	<b>351</b>
The Presidents	352
Great Expectations	352
Who They Are	352
<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>353</b>
How They Got There	355
<b>Why It Matters Today: Standards of Impeachment</b>	<b>356</b>
Presidential Powers	357
Constitutional Powers	357
The Expansion of Power	358
Perspectives on Presidential Power	358
President or Prime Minister?	359
Running the Government: The Chief Executive	360
The Vice President	360
The Cabinet	361
The Executive Office of the President	362
The White House Staff	363
The First Lady	365
Presidential Leadership of Congress: The Politics of Shared Powers	366
Chief Legislator	366
<b>Why It Matters Today: The President's Veto</b>	<b>367</b>
Party Leadership	367
Public Support	370
Legislative Skills	372
<b>You Are the Policymaker: Should We Increase the President's Legislative Powers?</b>	<b>374</b>
The President and National Security Policy	375
Chief Diplomat	375
Commander in Chief	376
War Powers	376
<b>Why It Matters Today: War Powers</b>	<b>377</b>
Crisis Manager	378
Working with Congress	379
Power from the People: The Public Presidency	380
Going Public	380
Presidential Approval	381
Policy Support	383
Mobilizing the Public	384
The President and the Press	384
Nature of News Coverage	385
Understanding the American Presidency	387
The Presidency and Democracy	387
The Presidency and the Scope of Government	388
Review the Chapter 389 • Learn the Terms 390	
• Explore Further 390	

## 13 The Budget: The Politics of Taxing and Spending

<b>Politics in Action: The Messy Politics of Budgeting</b>	<b>392</b>
Federal Revenue and Borrowing	394
Personal and Corporate Income Tax	394

350	<b>Why It Matters Today: The Progressive Income Tax</b>	<b>395</b>
	Social Insurance Taxes	396
	Borrowing	396
	<b>Why It Matters Today: Deficit Spending</b>	<b>398</b>
	Taxes and Public Policy	398
	Federal Expenditures	400
	Big Governments, Big Budgets	400
	The Rise of the National Security State	401
	The Rise of the Social Service State	402
	Incrementalism	404
	“Uncontrollable” Expenditures	406
	<b>Why It Matters Today: “Uncontrollable” Spending</b>	<b>406</b>
	The Budgetary Process	406
	Budgetary Politics	406
	<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>407</b>
	The President's Budget	409
	Congress and the Budget	410
	<b>You Are the Policymaker: Balancing the Budget</b>	<b>413</b>
	Understanding Budgeting	413
	Democracy and Budgeting	413
	The Budget and the Scope of Government	414
	Review the Chapter 415 • Learn the Terms 415	
	• Explore Further 416	
	<b>14 The Federal Bureaucracy</b>	<b>417</b>
	<b>Politics in Action: Regulating Food</b>	<b>417</b>
	The Bureaucrats	419
	Some Bureaucratic Myths and Realities	419
	Civil Servants	421
	<b>Why It Matters Today: The Merit System</b>	<b>422</b>
	Political Appointees	423
	How the Federal Bureaucracy Is Organized	424
	Cabinet Departments	424
	Independent Regulatory Commissions	424
	<b>Why It Matters Today: Independent Regulatory Commissions</b>	<b>426</b>
	Government Corporations	427
	The Independent Executive Agencies	427
	Bureaucracies as Implementors	428
	What Implementation Means	428
	Why the Best-Laid Plans Sometimes Flunk the Implementation Test	428
	<b>Why It Matters Today: Bureaucratic Resources</b>	<b>430</b>
	<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>433</b>
	A Case Study of Successful Implementation: The Voting Rights Act of 1965	435
	Privatization	436
	<b>You Are the Policymaker: Should the Federal Bureaucracy Contract Out to Private Organizations?</b>	<b>437</b>
	Bureaucracies as Regulators	437
	Regulation in the Economy and in Everyday Life	437
	Two Types of Regulatory Activity	438
	Deregulation	439

Controlling the Bureaucracy	440
Presidents Try to Control the Bureaucracy	440
Congress Tries to Control the Bureaucracy	441
Iron Triangles and Issue Networks	442
Understanding Bureaucracies	444
Bureaucracy and Democracy	444
Bureaucracy and the Scope of Government	445
Review the Chapter 446 • Learn the Terms 447	
• Explore Further 447	

## 15 The Federal Courts

<b>Politics in Action: Finding Justice in the Supreme Court</b>	448
The Nature of the Judicial System	449
Participants in the Judicial System	450
The Structure of the Federal Judicial System	450
District Courts	452
Courts of Appeals	453
The Supreme Court	454
The Politics of Judicial Selection	455
The Lower Courts	457
<b>Why It Matters Today: Senatorial Courtesy</b>	457
The Supreme Court	458
<b>You Are the Policymaker: The Politics of Supreme Court Appointments</b>	459
The Backgrounds of Judges and Justices	463
Backgrounds	464
Criteria for Selection	464
Background Characteristics and Policymaking	465
The Courts as Policymakers	466
Accepting Cases	467
The Process of Decision Making	468
The Basis of Decisions	469
<b>Point to Ponder</b>	470
Implementing Court Decisions	473
<b>Why It Matters Today: The Lack of a Judicial Bureaucracy</b>	473
The Courts and Public Policy: A Historical Review	475
John Marshall and the Growth of Judicial Review	475
The “Nine Old Men”	476
The Warren Court	477
The Burger Court	477
The Rehnquist and Roberts Courts	477
Understanding the Courts	478
The Courts and Democracy	478
<b>Why It Matters Today: Judicial Election</b>	478
The Scope of Judicial Power	479
Review the Chapter 483 • Learn the Terms 484	
• Explore Further 484	

## PART IV Policies

### 16 Economic and Social Welfare Policymaking

	486
<b>Politics in Action: The Debate Over Work Requirements for Food Stamps During the Trump Administration</b>	487
Economic Policymaking	488
Two Major Worries: Unemployment and Inflation	489
Policies for Controlling the Economy	490
<b>Why It Matters Today: Interest Rates</b>	491
<b>Why It Matters Today: Keynesian Versus Supply-Side Economics</b>	493
Why It Is Hard to Control the Economy	494
<b>Point to Ponder</b>	495
Types of Social Welfare Policies	496
<b>Why It Matters Today: Perceptions of Poverty</b>	497
Income, Poverty, and Public Policy	497
Who’s Getting What?	498
Who’s Poor in America?	499
How Public Policy Affects Income	500
<b>You Are the Policymaker: Should Congress Increase the Minimum Wage?</b>	501
Helping the Poor? Social Policy and the Needy	504
“Welfare” as We Knew It	504
Ending Welfare as We Knew It: The Welfare Reform of 1996	505
<b>Why It Matters Today: The 1996 Reform of Welfare</b>	506
Social Security: Living on Borrowed Time	507
The Growth of Social Security	507
Reforming Social Security	509
Social Welfare Policy Elsewhere	509
Understanding Economic and Social Welfare Policymaking	511
Democracy and Economic and Social Welfare Policies	511
Economic and Social Welfare Policies and the Scope of Government	512
Review the Chapter 513 • Learn the Terms 514	
• Explore Further 514	

### 17 Policymaking for Health Care, the Environment, and Energy

	516
<b>Politics in Action: The President Tries to Reform Health Care</b>	516
Health Care Policy	517
The Cost of Health Care	517
Access to Health Care	520
The Role of Government in Health Care	521
<b>Why It Matters Today: National Health Insurance</b>	522
Environmental Policy	524
Economic Growth and the Environment	524
Environmental Policies in America	526

<b>You Are the Policymaker: How Much Should We Do to Save a Species? The Florida Manatee</b>	<b>529</b>		
<b>Why It Matters Today: “NIMBY”</b>	<b>530</b>		
Global Warming	531		
<b>Why It Matters Today: Global Warming</b>	<b>532</b>		
Energy Policy	532		
Coal	533		
Petroleum and Natural Gas	533		
Nuclear Energy	535		
<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>535</b>		
Renewable Sources of Energy	536		
Understanding Health Care, Environmental, and Energy Policy	536		
Democracy, Health Care, and Environmental Policy	536		
The Scope of Government and Health Care, Environmental, and Energy Policy	537		
Review the Chapter 538 • Learn the Terms 539			
• Explore Further 539			
<b>18 Foreign Policymaking</b>	<b>541</b>		
<b>Politics in Action: A New Threat</b>	<b>541</b>		
American Foreign Policy: Instruments, Actors, and Policymakers	542		
Instruments of Foreign Policy	542		
Actors on the World Stage	543		
The Policymakers	545		
<b>Point to Ponder</b>	<b>547</b>		
American Foreign Policy Through the Cold War	549		
Isolationism	550		
The Cold War	551		
American Foreign Policy and the War on Terrorism	555		
The Spread of Terrorism	555		
Afghanistan and Iraq	556		
		Defense Policy	558
		Defense Spending	558
		<b>Why It Matters Today: The Defense Budget</b>	<b>558</b>
		Personnel	560
		Weapons	560
		Reforming Defense Policy	561
		The New National Security Agenda	562
		The Changing Role of Military Power	562
		<b>Why It Matters Today: The Only Superpower</b>	<b>563</b>
		Nuclear Proliferation	563
		<b>You Are the Policymaker: Defanging a Nuclear Threat</b>	<b>564</b>
		The Larger Foreign Policy Landscape	566
		The International Economy	567
		<b>Why It Matters Today: Economic Interdependence</b>	<b>567</b>
		International Health	570
		Energy	571
		Environment	571
		Foreign Aid	572
		Understanding U.S. Foreign Policymaking	574
		Foreign Policymaking and Democracy	574
		Foreign Policymaking and the Scope of Government	574
		Review the Chapter 576 • Learn the Terms 577	
		• Explore Further 577	
		Appendices	579
		Glossary	601
		Notes	613
		Index	642

## Meet the Authors



**George C. Edwards III** is University Distinguished Professor of Political Science and the Jordan Chair in Presidential Studies Emeritus at Texas A&M University. He is also Distinguished Fellow at the University of Oxford. When he determined that he was unlikely to become shortstop for the New York Yankees, he turned to political science. Today, he is one of the country's leading scholars of the presidency and has written or edited 26 books on American politics and edits *Presidential Studies Quarterly*.



**Martin P. Wattenberg** teaches courses on American politics at the University of California, Irvine. His first regular paying job was with what is now known as the "Washington Football Team," from which he moved on to receive a PhD at the University of Michigan. He is the author of numerous books on American elections, including *Is Voting for Young People?*, recently issued in its fifth edition. His research also encompasses how elections in the United States compare to those in other established democracies.



**William G. Howell** is the Sydney Stein Professor of American Politics at the University of Chicago, where he serves as the Director of the Center for Effective Government in the Harris School of Public Policy, the Chair of the Department of Political Science, and co-host of Not Another Politics Podcast. A member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, William has written widely on American politics and political institutions, especially the presidency. He lives in Chicago with his wife, two children, and dog.

In the 2020 presidential election, Joe Biden advocated major changes in public policy, ranging from health care and environmental protection to immigration and relations with U.S. allies around the world. In November, Americans elected Biden and a Democratic Congress, and he set out to carry out his promises. If Donald Trump had been elected instead of Biden, America would be pursuing quite a different set of policies. Politics matters. It affects policies that directly touch our lives.

Of course, Biden has not found it easy to change policies. Republicans opposed most of his major initiatives. We are not going to promise you that American government is easy to understand. However, we do intend to provide you with a clear roadmap to understanding our complex political system.

The Framers of our Constitution could have designed a much simpler system, but they purposely built in complexities as insurance against the concentration of power. Despite these complexities, many of the Founders, such as Thomas Jefferson, were confident that the American people would be able to navigate their constitutional system and effectively govern themselves within it. In writing this book, we are similarly confident that young adults in the twenty-first century can participate effectively in our democracy.

The major message that we convey in this book is that politics and government matter to everyone. *Government in America* explains how policy choices make a difference and shape the kind of country in which we live. We will show you how these choices affect the taxes we pay, the wars we fight, the quality of our environment, and many other critical aspects of our lives.

Students often ask us whether we are trying to convey a liberal or conservative message in this book. The answer is that our goal is to explain the major viewpoints, how they differ, and how such differences matter. We wish to give you the tools to understand American politics and government. Once you have these tools, you can make your own judgment about policy choices and become a well-informed participant in our democratic process. In the twenty-first century, it is often said that “knowledge is power.” We sincerely hope that the knowledge conveyed in this book will help you exercise your fair share of political power in the years to come.

# To the Instructor

American dissatisfaction with our political system is widespread. The wide gap between the parties, leading to the continual inability of the government to resolve differences over public policy issues, is similarly disconcerting to a sizeable number of Americans. This edition of *Government in America* explains the reasons we have such a difficult time resolving differences over public policy and the stakes we all have in finding solutions to the challenges facing our nation. We frame its content with a public policy approach to government in the United States and continually ask—and answer—the question, “What difference does politics make to the policies that governments produce?” It is one thing to describe the Madisonian system of checks and balances and separation of powers or the elaborate and unusual federal system of government in the United States; it is something else to ask how these features of our constitutional structure affect the policies that governments generate.

The essence of our approach to American government and politics is that *politics matters*. The national government provides important services, ranging from retirement security and health care to recreation facilities and weather forecasts. The government may also send us to war or negotiate peace with our adversaries, expand or restrict our freedom, raise or lower our taxes, and increase or decrease aid for education. In the twenty-first century, decision makers of both political parties are facing difficult questions regarding American democracy and the scope of our government. Students need a framework for understanding these questions.

*We do not discuss policy at the expense of politics*, however. We provide extensive coverage of four core subject areas: constitutional foundations, patterns of political behavior, political institutions, and public policy outputs, but we try to do so in a more analytically significant—and interesting—manner. We take special pride in introducing students to relevant work from current political scientists: for example, on the role of Twitter in political communication, matters of race and inequality, and the impact of divided party government—something we have found instructors appreciate.

---

## NEW TO THIS EDITION

*Government in America* has been revised and updated to reflect recent changes—some, of a historic magnitude—in politics, policy, and participation. We have updated *every* figure and table with the latest data. In addition, this update includes new material on the following topics:

- The 2020 presidential and congressional elections
- The Trump presidency and the transition to the Biden presidency
- Critical Supreme Court decisions of 2019–2020 on issues ranging from freedom of speech and religion to civil rights and abortion
- The coronavirus pandemic
- The role of social media in politics
- The increasing role of ideology and policy views in voting behavior
- Expanded coverage of current policies on health care, budgeting, immigration, environmental protection, the war on terrorism, and North Korea

This edition of *Government in America* also includes:

- Discussion of recent events with significant political implications
- A new Student Guide to Reading Charts and Graphs
- An improved testing and assessment package

Throughout *Government in America*, we have broad coverage of current policies and politics, ranging from budgetary policy and relations with Congress in this era of polarization to foreign policy challenges such as the upheaval in the Middle East. The entire chapter on the core issue of the budget has been thoroughly updated to reflect the central importance of taxing and spending in American government and the core issues of the fiscal and debt crises. We have the latest on all the policies we cover, from health care reform and Medicare to the war in Afghanistan and relations with Iran.

All of the figures and tables reflect the latest available data, and throughout the book we incorporate the latest scholarly studies. We take pride in continuously improving our graphical presentations of data.

---

## THEMES AND FEATURES

*Government in America* follows two central themes. The first great question central to governing, a question every nation must answer, is *How should we govern?* In the United States, our answer is “by democracy.” Yet democracy is an evolving and somewhat ambiguous concept. The first theme, then, is the nature of our democracy. In Chapter 1, we define democracy as a means of selecting policymakers and of organizing government so that policy represents and responds to citizens’ preferences. As with previous editions, we incorporate theoretical issues in our discussions of different models of American democracy. We try to encourage students to think analytically about the theories and to develop independent assessments of how well the American system lives up to citizens’ expectations of democratic government. To help them do this, in every chapter we raise questions about democracy. For example, does Congress give the American people the policies they want? Is a strong presidency good for democracy? Does our mass media make us more democratic? Are powerful courts that make policy decisions compatible with democracy?



The second theme, the scope of government, focuses on another great question of governing: *What should government do?* Here we discuss alternative views concerning the proper role and size for American government and how the workings of institutions and politics influence this scope. The government's scope is the core question around which politics revolves in contemporary America, pervading many crucial issues: To what degree should Washington impose national standards for health care or speed limits on state policies? How high should taxes be? Do elections encourage politicians to promise more governmental services? Questions about the scope of government are policy questions and thus obviously directly related to our policy approach. Since the scope of government is the pervasive question in American politics today, students will have little problem finding it relevant to their lives and interests.

Each chapter begins with a preview of the relevancy of our two themes to the chapter's subject matter, refers to the themes at points within the chapter, and ends with an "Understanding" section that discusses how the themes illuminate that subject matter.

---

## CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS

Our coverage of American government and politics is comprehensive. First, we present an introductory chapter that lays out the dimensions of our policymaking system and introduces our themes of democracy and the scope of government. Next, we provide four chapters on the constitutional foundations of American government, including the Constitution, federalism, civil liberties, and civil rights. We then offer five chapters focusing on influences on government, including public opinion, the media, interest groups, political parties, and elections and voting behavior.

Our next five chapters focus on the workings of the national government. These chapters include Congress, the president, budgeting (at the core of many issues before policymakers), the federal courts, and the federal bureaucracy. Finally, we present three chapters on the decisions policymakers make and the issues they face. First are economic and social welfare policies, then come health care, environmental protection, and energy policies, and finally, we focus on national security policy.

Our features support our fundamental idea that politics matters and that students should be engaged in thinking about important political and policy issues.

- **Chapter-opening vignettes** make the subject matter of each chapter as relevant as possible to current concerns and pique student interest. From the first chapter, we emphasize the significance of government to young people and the importance of their participation.
- The classic **You Are the Policymaker** asks students to read arguments on both sides of a current issue—such as whether we should prohibit PACs—and then to make a policy decision. In Chapters 4 and 5 (Civil Liberties and Civil Rights), this feature is titled **You Are the Judge** and presents the student with an actual court case.
- Several times in each chapter, **Why It Matters Today** insets encourage students to think critically about an aspect of government, politics, or policy and to consider the repercussions—including for themselves—if things worked differently. Each Why It Matters Today feature extends the book's policy emphasis to situate it directly within the context of students' daily lives.
- Every chapter includes **key terms** 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.

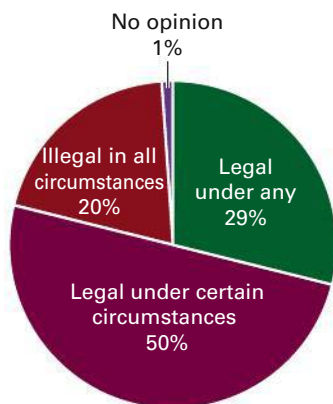
We hope that students—long after reading *Government in America*—will employ these perennial questions about the nature of our democracy and the scope of our government when they examine political events. The specifics of policy issues will change, but questions about whether the government is responsive to the people or whether it should expand or contract its scope will always be with us.

## A STUDENT GUIDE TO READING CHARTS AND GRAPHS

Information such as voting turnout in the last election, the president’s job approval rating, or expenditures on national defense is often presented in quantitative form—that is, through the use of numbers. To help you understand this information, we employ charts and graphs. These figures provide a straightforward, visual representation of quantitative information. Yet charts and graphs can be confusing if you do not understand how to read them.

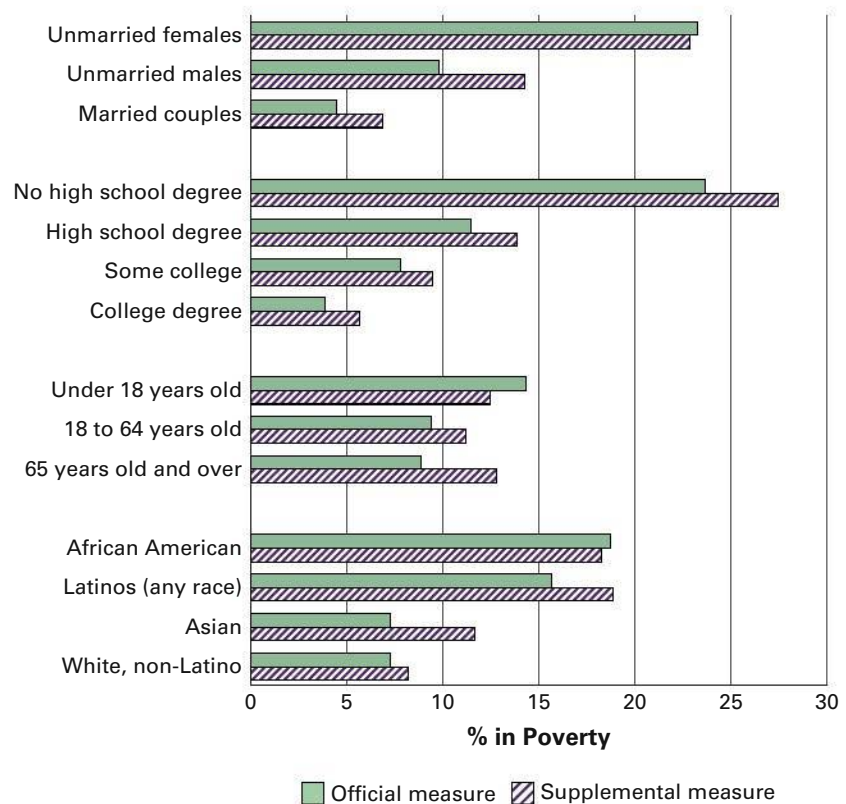
When you come across one of the charts and graphs in this book, you should ask three questions: First: *What is being measured?* This could be money, public opinion, seats in Congress, or a wide range of other subjects. Second: *What is the unit of measurement?* Is it 50 Americans or 50 percent of Americans? Obviously, it makes a difference. Finally: *What is the purpose of the figure?* Does it show changes over time? Does it compare two or more groups of people or countries? In most instances, captions are provided to explain the purpose of a figure.

After answering these general questions, examine the specific type of figure. This text relies on three main types of figures: pie charts, bar graphs, and line graphs. A *pie chart* is a circle divided into wedge-shaped “slices,” or segments. Pie charts show the relative sizes of the segments to one another and to the whole. For example, by glancing at the following chart, you can quickly see that only a small percentage of the public (20 percent) supports making abortions illegal in all circumstances while 50 percent want abortions to be legal in some circumstances and another 29 percent want them to be legal in any circumstances. The area of each segment is the same percent of the total circle as the number it represents is of the sum of all the numbers in the chart. Since opposition to abortion in all circumstances accounts for 20 percent of the public, its corresponding segment covers 20 percent of the area of the pie chart. In this and every other table and figure, it is important to note the source of the data to make sure it is one that provides reliable information. In this case the data is from the highly reputable Gallup Poll.



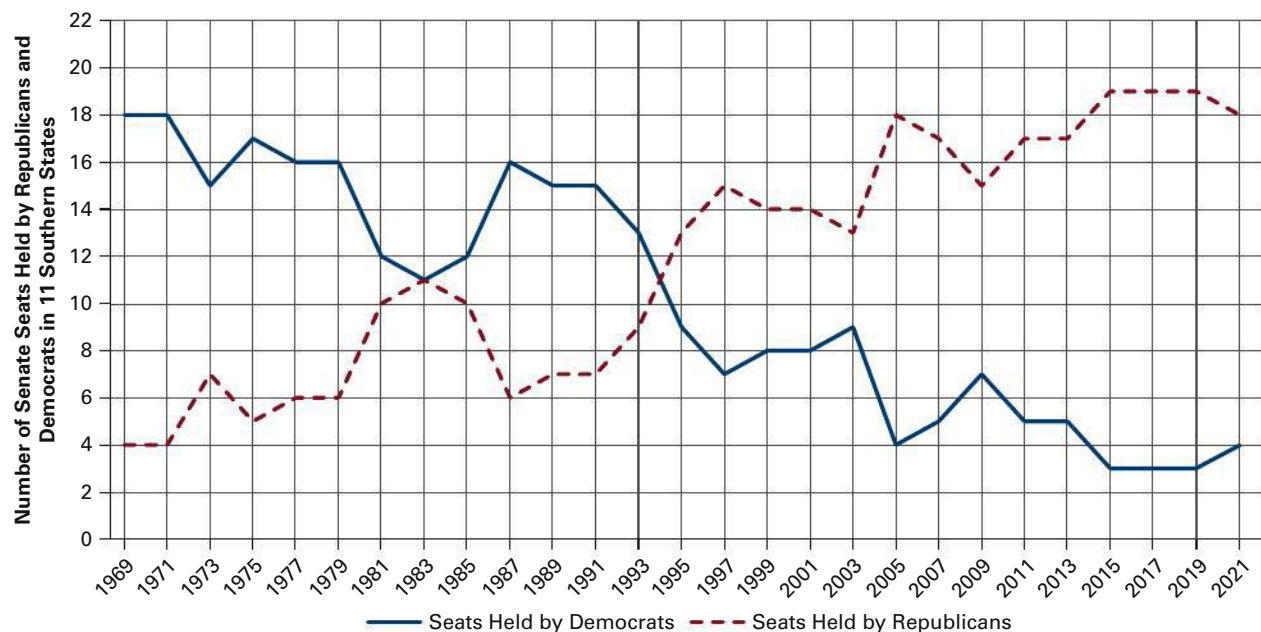
Source: Gallup Poll, May 1–13, 2020.

The second kind of figure, a *bar graph*, displays quantitative information by using rectangles (bars) set within two perpendicular lines, a vertical axis and a horizontal axis. Bar graphs are most frequently used to show and compare the values of multiple entities at a given point in time. Categories (such as groups of people or countries) are set along one axis and a scale (time or numbers, for example) is on the other axis. The length of each bar corresponds to its value on the scale. This makes it easy to visually contrast the values for multiple entities. For example, in the bar graph shown here, which uses a scale measuring poverty rates, you can see that the bars representing African Americans, Latinos, adults without a high school degree, and unmarried females are the longest, indicating that they are the most likely to be living in poverty. The characteristics of people are on the vertical axis and the percentage in poverty is shown on the horizontal axis.



The third type of figure, a *line graph*, illustrates quantitative information by means of lines. Typically, the vertical axis of a line graph represents a quantitative scale (such as percentages) and the horizontal axis represents a category (such as presidents or a sequence of dates). Specific numbers are represented as points on the graph between the two axes and are connected with a line. Sometimes there is more than one line on a graph, as when numbers are shown for two different sets of information—for example, elections for both the House and Senate, state and federal expenditures, or exports and imports. The two lines can be compared to each other, or, in some cases, the distance

between the two lines can be analyzed. In the following line graph, which charts a single set of quantitative information, the number of Senate seats held by each party in the South is shown on the vertical axis and the horizontal axis represents years of presidential elections. The rising line in red indicates that the Republicans have generally gained Southern Senate seats since the early 1990s, although it can also be seen that they lost ground in the 2020 election.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

By remembering these key features of charts and graphs, you can more accurately assess the information presented in *Government in America*, as well as interpret such figures wherever you encounter them—in other textbooks, in newspapers and magazines, or on the web.

## MYLAB<sup>®</sup> POLITICAL SCIENCE FOR *GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA*

*MyLab<sup>®</sup> Political Science* is the teaching and learning platform that empowers you to reach *every* student. When combined with educational content written by respected scholars across the curriculum, MyLab Political Science helps deliver the learning outcomes that students and instructors aspire to. Below are some of its features.

**Learn more about MyLab** [www.PearsonMyLabandMastering.com](http://www.PearsonMyLabandMastering.com).

- The eText offers a **full digital version** of the print book—all accessible on any device via the Pearson eText app, which makes it available offline.
- **Data Visualizations**—Data visualizations featuring Social Explorer technology—new to this edition—seamlessly connect users of *Government in America* with the data that underlies policy decisions. With side-by-side mapping, custom annotations, clickable layers, and storytelling progressions that collect and render data, the figures in each chapter of *Government in America*, once static, are now dynamic presentations that make complex issues interesting and understandable.
- **Current Events Bulletins**—Chapters open with current events bulletins (refreshed twice yearly) that keep students informed about in-the-news events and issues that affect American government, their lives, and their communities.
- **Videos**—Dozens of videos offer a mix of historical and contemporary content, doses of humor, useful explanations, and instructive examples of key concepts. Videos include many author-filmed segments that will help students extract insights about how to approach chapter content and become better decision makers. New to the 2020 Presidential Election Edition are the following new video series:
  - **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?” and “What Is the Emoluments Class and Why Should I Care About It?”
  - **Pearson’s *Politics Hidden in Plain Sight*** video provides students with concrete examples of how politics influences the activities of their daily lives—from using their smartphones to going to a convenience store—in ways they likely had not previously noticed.
  - **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 MyLab.
- **Interactive Maps and Diagrams**—Custom-built interactive maps and diagrams, with chronological layers, panning and zooming, hotspots, and related functionality, provide students with multiple ways of engaging with visual content.
- **Primary Source Documents**—When deemed useful for students who want access to primary sources relevant to the study of American government, *Government in America* links to primary sources, such as articles and clauses in the Constitution, where transcripts of those sources can be viewed or listened to. The Primary Source Documents can be found within the Appendix.
- **Assessments**—Multiple-choice quizzes appear at the end of every major section, allowing instructors and students to track progress and get immediate feedback as they progress through chapters. Chapter Exams, at the end of every chapter, measure the extent to which students have achieved desired learning outcomes.

## TEACHING AND LEARNING RESOURCES

It is increasingly true today that as valuable as a good textbook is, it is still only one element of a comprehensive learning package. The teaching and learning package that accompanies *Government in America*, is the most comprehensive and integrated on the market. We have made every effort to provide high-quality instructor resources that will save you preparation time and will enhance the time you spend in the classroom.

### MyLab<sup>®</sup> Political Science

MyLab<sup>®</sup> Political Science is an online homework, tutorial, and assessment program that truly engages students in learning. It helps students better prepare for classes, quizzes, and exams—resulting in better performance in the course—and provides educators with a dynamic set of tools for gauging individual and class progress. MyLab Political Science comes from Pearson, your partner in providing the best digital learning experience.

### Instructor Resources

A robust set of instructor resources and multimedia accompanies the text and can be accessed through MyLab Political Science.

- **Test Bank**—Evaluate learning at every level. Reviewed for clarity and accuracy, the Test Bank measures this material’s learning objectives with multiple choice questions. You can easily customize an assessment to work in any major learning management system and to match what is covered in your course. Word, PDF, and Blackboard versions are available within MyLab Political Science.
- **AP Exam Style Test Bank**—The new AP Exam Style Test Bank provides test items in the format of the new AP<sup>®</sup> United States Government and Politics exam. The questions are organized into five units, arranged by the units of the course: Foundations of American Democracy (15-22%), Interactions among Branches of Government (25-36%), Civil Liberties and Civil Rights (13-18%), American Political Ideologies and Beliefs (10-15%), Political Participation (20-27%). These percentages show the emphasis given to each unit on the exam. Multiple Choice and Free Response Questions for each section will help students prepare for the exam. The new Answer Key provides the correct answer, the Big Idea addressed, and the Learning Objective.
- **Correlation to AP<sup>®</sup> United States Government and Politics Curriculum**—A full correlation of the text to the Curriculum Framework for AP<sup>®</sup> United States Government and Politics provides teachers with a helpful tool for lesson and class planning for their course. Available within MyLab Political Science.
- **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 Manual**—Create a comprehensive roadmap for teaching classroom, online, or hybrid courses. Designed for new and experienced instructors, the Instructor’s Manual includes a lecture and discussion suggestions, activities for in or out of class, and essays on teaching American government. Available within MyLab Political Science.
- **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 MyLab Political Science.

---

## PREVIEW AND ADOPTION PROCESS

Upon textbook purchase, students and teachers are granted access to MyLab Political Science. High school teachers can obtain preview or adoption access to MyLab Political Science in one of the following ways:

### Preview Access

Teachers can request preview access by visiting [Savvas.com/Access\\_Request](https://www.savvas.com/Access_Request). Select Initial Access then using Option 2, select your discipline and title from the dropdown menu and complete the online form. Preview Access information will be sent to the teacher via email.

### Adoption Access

Upon purchase teachers can request course adoption access by visiting [Savvas.com/Access\\_Request](https://www.savvas.com/Access_Request). Select Initial Access then using Option 3, select your discipline and title from the drop-down menu and complete the online form. Access codes and registration instructions will be sent to the requester via email.

### Students, Ask Your Teacher About Access

Pearson and Savvas Learning Company reserve the right to change and/or update technology platforms, including possible edition updates to customers during the term of access. This will allow Pearson and Savvas Learning Company to continue to deliver the most up-to-date content and technology to customers. Customer will be notified of any change prior to the beginning of the new school year.

---

## FOR THE STUDENT

The following is available for purchase.

### Pearson Test Prep Series: AP<sup>®</sup> United States Government and Politics

The Test Prep workbook for AP U.S. Government has been created specifically for *Government in America 18th Edition* and has been completely revised to meet the College Board's new Curriculum Framework for AP U.S. Government and Politics course. The workbook provides students with the type of questions they will encounter on the exam while offering helpful test-taking strategies and an explanation on the grading procedure used by the College Board. Students can complete new exam-style practice drills within each section of the workbook. For even more practice, the Test Prep includes two full-length sample AP Government and Politics Exams. These will help students practice taking the exam under real-life testing conditions.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Finally, the authors wish to thank the many professors and researchers who provided detailed feedback on how to improve content and who gave their invaluable input during professional conferences and Pearson-sponsored events. They gave generously of their time and expertise, and we are, as always, in their debt.

**Reviewers** James Adair, Dyersburg State Community College; Patrizio Amezcua, San Jacinto College–North; David Dulio, Oakland University; Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, University of North Texas; Chris Farnung, Wake Technical Community College; Jeneen Hobby, Cleveland State University; Heather Mbaye, University of West Georgia; Tamra Ortgies-Young, Georgia State University; William Parent, San Jacinto College North Campus; Dave Price, Santa Fe College–Northwest; Erich Saphir, Pima Community College; Kevin Weekley, Grand Junction High School; Reed Welch, West Texas A&M University.

**APSA TLC 2018** Mujahid Nyahuma, Community College of Philadelphia; Tahiya Nyahuma, NCAT; Christopher Lawrence, Middle Georgia State University; Jason Robles, University of Colorado; Tim Reynolds, Alvin Community College; Marilyn C. Buresh, Lake Region State College; Frances Marquez, Gallaudet University; Natasha Washington, Liberal Arts and Communications; Jonathan Honig, University of Tennessee–Knoxville; Ayesha Ahsanuddin, University of Tennessee–Knoxville; Arjun Banerjee, The University of Tennessee Knoxville; Jesse R. Cragwall, Tusculum College and Pellissippi State Community College; Amnah H. Ibraheem, University of Tennessee–Knoxville; Karl Smith, Delaware Technical Community College; Richard Waterman, University of Kentucky; Peggy R. Wright, ASU–Jonesboro; Christopher Hallenbrook, Bloomsburg University; Eric Loepp, UW–Whitewater; Robert Glover, University of Maine; Heather Rice, Slippery Rock University; Shawn Easley, Cuyahoga Community College; Benjamin Arah, Bowie State University; Andrew Straight, University of Tennessee; Rachel Fuentes, University of Tennessee at Knoxville; Stephanie A. Slocum–Schaffer, Shepherd University; Will Jennings, University of Tennessee

**APSA 2017** Jooeun Kim, Georgetown; Leonard L. Lira, San José State University; Abigail Post, University of Virginia; Jamilya Ukudeeva, Chabot College; Shannon Jenkins, University of Massachusetts–Dartmouth; Matthew Platt, Morehouse College; Sara Angevine, Whittier College; Andy Aoki, Augsburg University; Stephen Meinhold, University of North Carolina–Wilmington; Manoutchehr Eskandari–Qajar, Santa Barbara City College; Clayton Thyne, University of Kentucky; Alice Jackson, Morgan State University; Mark Rom, Georgetown University; Krista Wiegand, University of Tennessee; Geoffrey Wallace, University of Washington; Precious Hall, Truckee Meadows Community College; Patrick Larue, University of Texas at Dallas; Margot Morgan, Indiana University Southeast; Patrick Wohlfarth, University of Maryland; Christian Grose, University of Southern California; Clinton Jenkins, George Washington University; Jeffrey W. Koch, U.S. Air Force Academy and SUNY Geneseo; Albert Ponce, Diablo Valley College; Justin Vaughn, Boise State University; Joe Weinberg, University of Southern Mississippi; Cindy Stavrianos, Gonzaga University; Kevan M. Yenerall, Clarion University; Katherine Barbieri, University of South Carolina; Elsa Dias, Metropolitan State University of Denver; Maria Gabryszewska, Florida International University; Erich Saphir, Pima Community College; Mzilikazi Kone, College of the Desert; Mary McHugh, Merrimack College; Joel Lieske, Cleveland State University; Joseph W. Roberts, Roger Williams University; Eugen L. Nagy, Central Washington University; Henry B. Sirgo, McNeese State University; Brian Newman, Pepperdine University; Bruce Stinebrickner, DePauw University; Amanda Friesen, IUPUI; LaTasha Chaffin, College of Charleston; Richard Waterman, University of Kentucky



**MPSA 2018** Adam Bilinski, Pittsburg State University; Daniel Chand, Kent State University; Agber Dimah, Chicago State University; Yu Ouyang, Purdue University Northwest; Steven Sylvester, Utah Valley University; Ben Bierly, Joliet Junior College; Mahalley Allen, California State University, Chico; Christian Goergen, College of DuPage; Patrick Stewart, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville; Richard Barrett, Mount Mercy University; Daniel Hawes, Kent State University; Niki Kalaf–Hughes, Bowling Green State University; Gregg R. Murray, Augusta University; Ryan Reed, Bradley University; Kimberly Turner, College of DuPage; Peter Wielhouwer, Western Michigan University; Leena Thacker Kumar, University of Houston–DTN; Debra Leiter, University of Missouri Kansas City; Michael Makara, University of Central Missouri; Ola Adeoye, University of Illinois–Chicago; Russell Brooker, Alverno College; Dr. Royal G. Cravens, Bowling Green State University; Vincent T. Gawronski, Birmingham–Southern College; Benjamin I. Gross, Jacksonville State University; Matthew Hitt, University of Northern Colorado; Megan Osterbur, New England College; Pamela Schaal, Ball State University; Edward Clayton, Central Michigan University; Ali Masood, California State University, Fresno; Joel Lieske, Cleveland State University; Patrick Wohlfarth, University of Maryland; Steven Greene, North Carolina State University; Will Jennings, University of Tennessee; Haroon Khan, Henderson State University; Kyle Kopko, Elizabethtown College; Hyung Lae Park, El Paso Community College; Linda Trautman, Ohio University–Lancaster.

# INTRODUCING GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

## CHAPTER OUTLINE AND LEARNING OBJECTIVES

### GOVERNMENT

**1.1** Identify the key functions of government and explain why they matter.

### POLITICS

**1.2** Define politics in the context of democratic government.

### THE POLICYMAKING SYSTEM

**1.3** Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.

### DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

**1.4** Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.

### THE SCOPE OF GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

**1.5** Outline the central arguments of the debate in America over the proper scope of government.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT MATTER—that is the single most important message of this book. Consider, for example, the following list of ways that government and politics may have already impacted your life:

- During the coronavirus pandemic of 2020, your state and local authorities established guidelines for when people in your area could leave their homes and what businesses could remain in operation.
- Chances are pretty good that you or someone in your family has recently been the recipient of one of the 80 million payments made to individuals by the federal government every month. In 2019, nearly 20 percent of the money that went into Americans' wallets was from government payments like jobless benefits, food stamps, Social Security payments, veterans' benefits, and so on.
- Any public schools you attended were prohibited by the federal government from discriminating against women and minorities and from holding prayer sessions led by school officials. Municipal school boards regulated your education, and the state certified and paid your teachers.
- The ages at which you could get your driver's license, drink alcohol, purchase a gun, and vote were all determined by state and federal governments.

- Before you could get a job, the federal government had to issue you a Social Security number, and you have been paying Social Security taxes every month that you have been employed. If you worked at a low-paying job, your starting wages were likely determined by state and federal minimum-wage laws.
- If you are in college, you may be drawing student loans financed by the government. The government even dictates certain school holidays.
- Even when gasoline prices have risen substantially in the United States, federal policy has continued to make it possible for Americans to drive long distances relatively cheaply compared to citizens in most other democracies. In many other advanced industrialized nations, such as England and Japan, gasoline is twice as expensive as in the United States because of the high taxes their governments impose on fuel.
- If you apply to rent an apartment, by federal law landlords cannot discriminate against you because of your race or religion.

This list could, of course, be greatly extended. And it helps explain the importance of politics and government. As Barack Obama said when he first ran for public office, “Politics does matter. It can make the difference in terms of a benefits check. It can make the difference in terms of school funding. Citizens can’t just remove themselves from that process. They actually have to engage themselves and not just leave it to the professionals.”<sup>1</sup>

More than any other recent presidential campaign, Obama’s 2008 run for the White House was widely viewed as having turned many young Americans on to politics. *Time* magazine even labeled 2008 as the “Year of the Youth Vote,” noting that Obama was “tapping into a broad audience of energized young voters hungry for change.”<sup>2</sup> And young people did more than display enthusiasm at massive rallies for Obama. By supporting Obama by a two-to-one margin, they provided him with a key edge in the 2008 election. Many observers proclaimed that the stereotype of politically apathetic American youth should finally be put to rest.

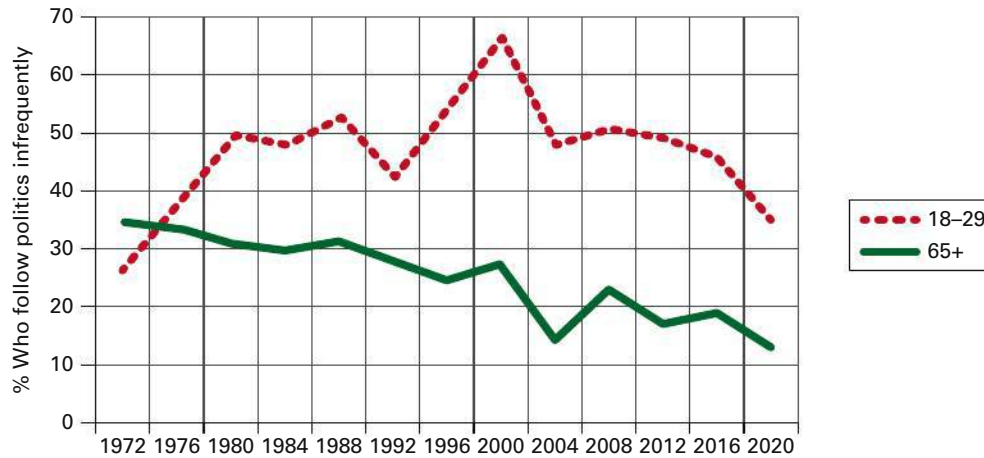
Stereotypes can be outdated or even off the mark; unfortunately, the perception that young Americans are less engaged in politics than older people has been and continues to be supported by solid evidence. Whether because they think that politicians don’t listen to them, that they can’t make a difference, or that the political system is corrupt, or they just don’t care, many young Americans are clearly apathetic about public affairs. And while political apathy isn’t restricted to young people, a tremendous gap has opened up between young adults and the elderly on measures of political interest, knowledge, and participation.

We will consider some data from the American National Election Studies (ANES), which conducts a nationally representative survey in each presidential election year. In 2020, when ANES asked a nationwide sample of people about their general level of interest in politics, 35 percent of Americans under the age of 30 said they paid little attention to politics compared to just 13 percent among those over the age of 65. One might think that this is a normal pattern, with young people always expressing less interest in politics than older people. But notice, in Figure 1.1, that there was no generation gap in political interest in the 1970s. Something has happened in the years since that has resulted in young adults being substantially less interested in politics than the elderly.

Lack of interest often leads to lack of information. The ANES always asks a substantial battery of questions about participants’ knowledge of politics. As you can see in Figure 1.2, which shows the average percentage of correct answers for various age groups in 1972 and 2016, in 2016 young people were correct only 47 percent of the time, whereas people over 65 were correct 62 percent of the time. Whether the question concerned identifying partisan control of the House and Senate or accurately estimating the unemployment rate or identifying prominent politicians, the result was the same in 2016: young people were clearly less knowledgeable than the elderly. This pattern of age differences in political knowledge has been found time and time again in surveys in recent years.<sup>3</sup> By contrast, Figure 1.2 shows that in 1972

**FIGURE 1.1** POLITICAL APATHY AMONG YOUNG AND OLD AMERICANS, 1972–2020

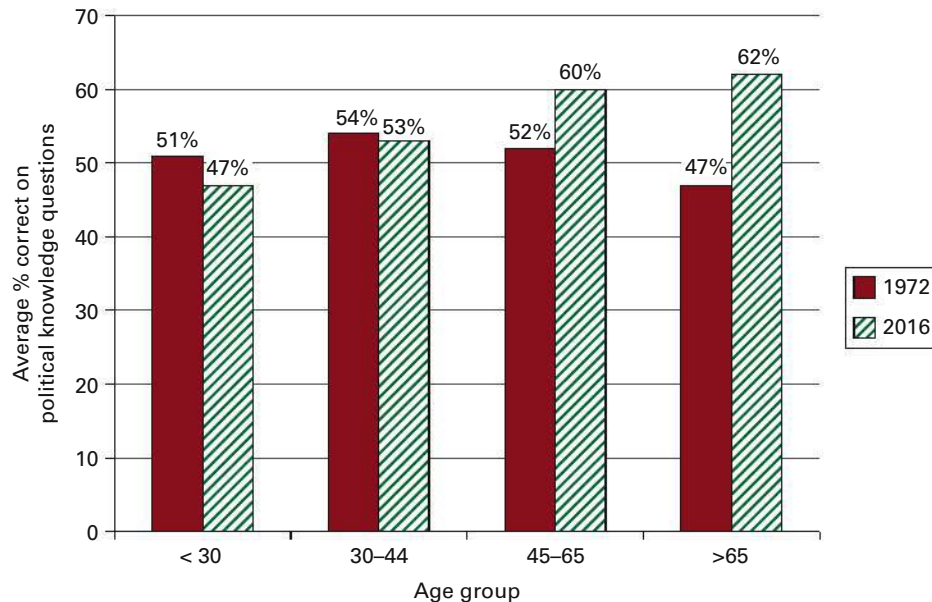
In every presidential election from 1972 to 2020, the American National Election Studies has asked a cross-section of the public how often they follow what’s going on in government and public affairs. Below we have graphed the percentage who said they followed politics on an infrequent basis. Lack of political interest among young people hit a record high during the 2000 campaign between Bush and Gore, when over two-thirds said they rarely followed public affairs. Since then, political interest among young people has recovered somewhat; however, compared to senior citizens, they are still much more likely to report low political interest.



**SOURCE:** Authors’ analysis of 1972–2020 American National Election Studies data.

**FIGURE 1.2** AGE AND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, 1972 AND 2016

This figure shows the percentage of correct answers to five questions in 1972 and 10 questions in 2016 by age group. In 1972, the relationship between age and political knowledge was basically flat: each age group displayed roughly the same level of information about basic political facts, such as which party currently had more seats in the House of Representatives. By 2016, the picture had changed quite dramatically, with young people being substantially less likely to know the answer to such questions than older people.



**SOURCE:** Authors’ analysis of 1972 and 2016 American National Election Studies data.

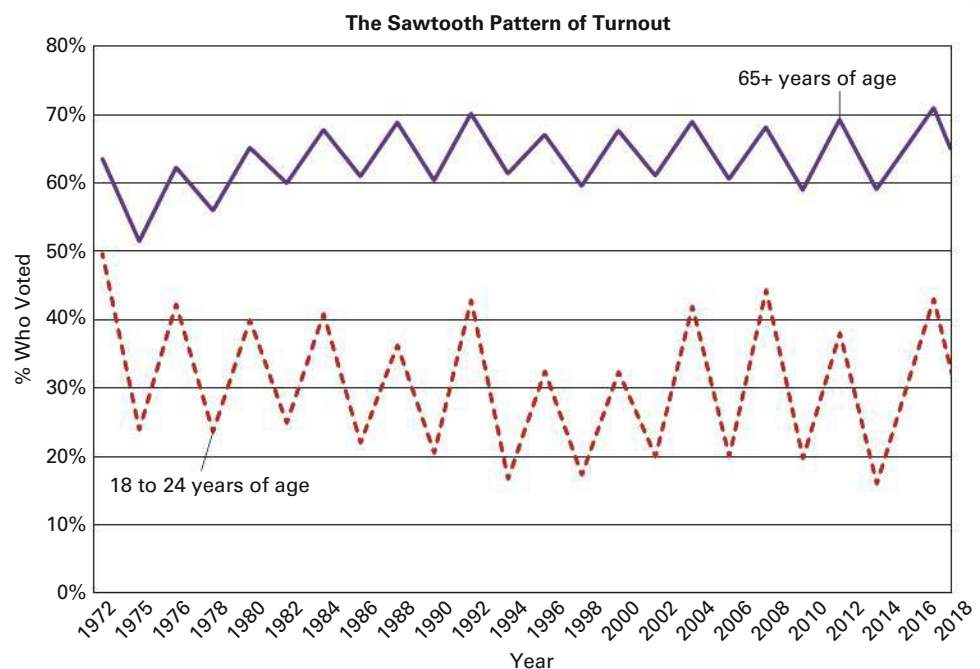
there was virtually no pattern by age, with those under 30 actually scoring 4 percent higher than those over 65.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas Jefferson once said that there has never been, nor ever will be, a people who are politically ignorant and free. If this is indeed the case, write Stephen Bennett and Eric Rademacher, then “we can legitimately wonder what the future holds” if young people “remain as uninformed as they are about government and public affairs.”<sup>5</sup> While Bennett and Rademacher may well be overreacting, there definitely are important consequences when citizens lack political information. In *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*, Michael Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter make a strong case for the importance of staying informed about public affairs. Political knowledge, they argue, (1) fosters civic virtues, such as political tolerance; (2) helps citizens to identify what policies would truly benefit them and then incorporate this information in their voting behavior; and (3) promotes active participation in politics.<sup>6</sup> If you’ve been reading about the debate on immigration reform, for example, you’ll be able to understand the proposed legislation, and that knowledge will then help you identify and vote for candidates whose views agree with yours.

As you will see throughout this book, those who participate in the political process are more likely to benefit from government programs and policies. Young people often complain that the elderly have far more political clout than they do—turnout statistics make clear why this is the case. As shown in Figure 1.3, in recent decades the voter turnout rate for people under 25 has consistently been much lower than that for senior citizens, particularly for midterm elections. Whereas turnout rates for the young have generally been going down, turnout among people over 65 has actually gone up slightly since 1972. Political scientists used to write that the frailties of old age led to

**FIGURE 1.3** ELECTION TURNOUT RATES OF YOUNG AND OLD AMERICANS, 1972–2018

This graph shows the turnout gap between young and old Americans in all presidential and midterm elections from 1972 through 2018. The sawtooth pattern of both lines illustrates how turnout always drops off between a presidential election and a midterm congressional election (e.g., from 2016 to 2018). The ups and downs in the graph are much more evident among young people because they are less interested in politics and hence less likely to be regular voters.



SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Surveys.

a decline in turnout after age 60; now such a decline occurs only after age 80. Greater access to medical care because of the passage of Medicare in 1965 must surely be given some of the credit for this change. Who says politics doesn't make a difference?

More than any other age group, the elderly know that they have much at stake in every election, with much of the federal budget now devoted to programs that help them, such as Medicare and Social Security. In recent decades these programs have consumed more and more of the federal domestic (non-military) budget as the population has aged and the costs of medical care have skyrocketed. Furthermore, these costs are projected to continue to grow as the baby boom generation retires. In contrast, the share of domestic federal spending that benefits children, though substantial, has generally declined. Julia Isaacs et al. estimate that in 2029 spending on Social Security benefits and health care for the elderly will make up 51 percent of domestic federal spending, as compared to just 7.5 percent for programs that benefit children.<sup>7</sup>

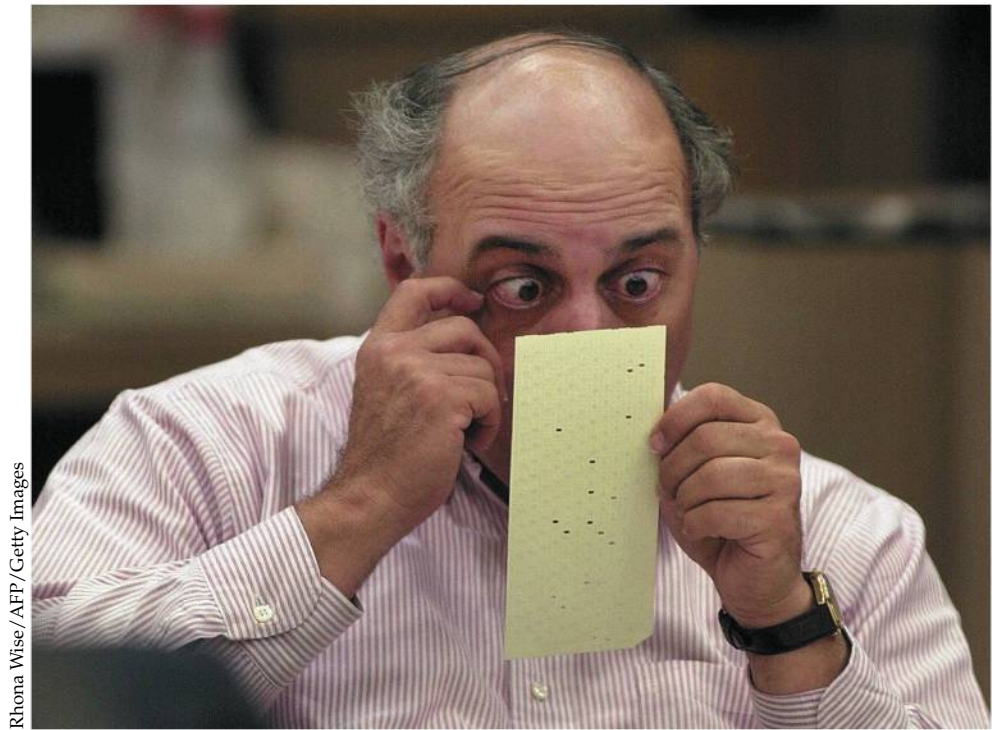
Of course, today's youth have not been affected by any policy in the way that previous generations were affected by, say, the introduction of Medicare or the military draft and the Vietnam War. However, the causes of young people's political apathy probably run deeper. Today's young adults have grown up in an environment in which news about political events has been much easier to avoid than in the past. When CBS, NBC, and ABC dominated the airwaves, from the 1950s to the mid-1980s, their extensive coverage of presidential speeches, political conventions, and presidential debates frequently left little else to watch on TV. As channels proliferated over subsequent decades, it became much easier to avoid exposure to politics by switching the channel—and of course, the Internet has exponentially broadened the choices. Major political events were once shared national experiences; now such shared national experiences are relatively rare, such as the events of September 11, 2001 or the killing of Osama Bin Laden 10 years later.

Consider some contrasting statistics about audiences for presidential speeches. Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter all got an average Nielsen rating of 50 for their televised addresses, meaning that half the population was watching. In contrast, President Obama averaged only about 23 for his nationally televised appearances from 2009 to 2016.<sup>8</sup> Political conventions, which once received more TV coverage than the Summer Olympics, have been relegated to an hour per night and draw abysmal ratings. The Trump-Clinton presidential debates drew the biggest debate audiences of the twenty-first century, but they were still far below the normal audiences for when there were just three television networks.

In sum, young people today have never known a time when most citizens paid attention to major political events. As a result, most of them have yet to get into the habit of following and participating in politics. For example, in the December 2019 American National Election Study Pilot Survey, 32 percent of young adults said they followed politics most of the time compared to 70 percent of senior citizens. Young people have grown up in an environment in which hundreds of TV channels and millions of Internet sites have, on the one hand, provided them with a rich and varied socialization experience; on the other hand, those channels and sites have also enabled young people to easily avoid political events. It has become particularly difficult to convince a generation that has channel- and Internet-surfed all their lives that politics really does matter.

How will further expansion of channels and, especially, blogs and other websites affect youth interest in and knowledge of politics? Political scientists see both opportunities and challenges. Some optimistic observers see these developments as offering "the prospect of a revitalized democracy characterized by a more active and informed citizenry."<sup>9</sup> Political junkies will certainly find more political information available than ever before, and electronic communications will make it easier for people to express their political views in various forums and directly to public officials. However, with so many media choices for so many specific interests, it will also be easy to avoid the subject of public affairs. It may also be easier to avoid a range of opinions. Political scientist Jeremy Mayer argues that "if we all get to select exactly how much

The narrow 537-vote margin by which George W. Bush carried the state of Florida in 2000 proved the old adage that “every vote counts.” Here, an election official strains to figure out how to interpret a voter’s punch in the tedious process of recounting ballots by hand.



Rhona Wise / AFP / Getty Images

campaign news we will receive, and the depth of that coverage, it may be that too many Americans will choose shallow, biased sources of news on the Internet.”<sup>10</sup>

Groups that are concerned about low youth turnout are focusing on innovative ways of reaching out to young people via newer technologies, such as social networking sites like Facebook, to make them more aware of politics. In doing so, they are encouraged and spurred by the fact that young people are far from inactive in American society and in recent years have been doing volunteer community service at record rates. As two college students who wrote a book on this subject rightly pointed out, “Young people are some of the most active members of their communities and are devoting increasing amounts of their time to direct service work and volunteerism.”<sup>11</sup> It is only when it comes to politics that young people seem to express indifference about getting involved.

It is our hope that after reading this book, you will be persuaded that paying attention to politics and government is important. Government has a substantial impact on all our lives. But it is also true that we have the opportunity to have a substantial impact on government. Involvement in public affairs can take many forms, ranging from simply becoming better informed by browsing through political websites to running for elected office. In between are countless opportunities for *everyone* to make a difference.

## GOVERNMENT

### 1.1 Identify the key functions of government and explain why they matter.

The institutions that make public policy decisions for a society are collectively known as **government**. In the case of our own national government, these institutions are Congress, the president, the courts, and federal administrative agencies (“the bureaucracy”). Fifty state governments and over 87,000 local governing bodies also decide on policies that influence our lives. There are about 520,000 elected officials in the United States.<sup>12</sup> Thus, policies that affect you are being made almost constantly.

Because government shapes how we live, it is important to understand the process by which decisions are made as well as what is actually decided. Two fundamental questions about governing serve as themes throughout this book:

### government

The institutions through which public policies are made for a society.

- *How should we govern?* Americans take great pride in calling their government democratic. This chapter examines the workings of democratic government; the chapters that follow will evaluate the way American government actually works compared to the standards of an “ideal” democracy. We will continually ask, “Who holds power, and who influences the policies adopted by government?”
- *What should government do?* This book explores the relationship between *how* American government works and *what* it does. It addresses the question, “Does our government do what we want it to do?” Debates over the scope of governmental power are among the most important in American political life today. Some people would like to see the government take on more responsibilities; others believe it already takes on too much.

While citizens often disagree about what their government should do for them, all governments have certain functions in common. National governments throughout the world perform the following functions:

- *Maintain a national defense.* A government protects its national sovereignty, usually by maintaining armed forces. In the nuclear age, some governments possess awesome power to make war through highly sophisticated weapons. The United States currently spends over \$700 billion a year on national defense.
- *Provide public goods and services.* Governments in this country spend billions of dollars on schools, libraries, hospitals, highways, and many other public goods and services. These goods and services are of two types. Some are what is called **collective goods**; if they exist, by their very nature they cannot be denied to anyone and therefore must be shared by everyone. Clean air or clean water or access to highways, for example, cannot be denied to anyone. Since the private sector has no incentive to provide goods and services that everyone automatically has access to, these can be provided only by government. Other public goods and services, such as college or medical care, can be provided to some individuals without being provided to all; these are widely provided by the private sector as well as by government.
- *Preserve order and protect public safety.* Every government has some means of maintaining order. When people protest in large numbers, governments may resort to extreme measures to restore order. For example, the National Guard was called in to stop looting and arson after rioting broke out in some cities following the death of George Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis police in 2020.
- *Socialize the young.* Governments politically socialize the young—that is, instill in children knowledge of and pride in the nation and its political system and values. Most modern governments pay for education, and school curricula typically include a course on the theory and practice of the country’s government. Rituals like the daily Pledge of Allegiance seek to foster patriotism and love of country.
- *Collect taxes.* Approximately \$1 out of every \$3 earned by American citizens goes to national, state, and local taxes—money that pays for the public goods and services the government provides.

All these governmental tasks add up to weighty decisions that our political leaders must make. For example, how much should we spend on national defense as opposed to education? How high should taxes for Medicare and Social Security be? We answer such questions through politics.

### collective goods

Goods and services, such as clean air and clean water, that by their nature cannot be denied to anyone.

For over two centuries, power was transferred peacefully in the United States via elections. The riot at the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021 tarnished this legacy, as the Capitol building was invaded by violent protestors who challenged the election results. The Vice President and the members of both Houses of Congress were forced to shelter in place until the mob was removed by the National Guard.







Alex Wong/Getty Images News/Getty Images

One of the basic functions of any government is maintaining order. In 2020, after the tragic death of George Floyd, protests against police brutality sprung up all over the country. When some of these protests turned violent, the National Guard was called in to help keep the peace.

### politics

The process of determining the leaders we select and the policies they pursue. Politics produces authoritative decisions about public issues.

### political participation

All the activities by which citizens attempt to influence the selection of political leaders and the policies they pursue. Voting is the most common means of political participation in a democracy. Other means include contacting public officials, protest, and civil disobedience.

Pro-life and pro-choice groups are single-minded and usually uncompromising. Few issues stir up as much passion as whether abortion should be permitted and, if so, under what conditions.



Alex Wong/Getty Images News/Getty Images

## POLITICS

### 1.2 Define politics in the context of democratic government.

**Politics** determines whom we select as our governmental leaders and what policies these leaders pursue. Political scientists often cite Harold D. Lasswell's famous definition of politics: "Who gets what, when, and how."<sup>13</sup> It is one of the briefest and most useful definitions of politics ever penned. Admittedly, this broad definition covers a lot of ground (office politics, sorority politics, and so on) in which political scientists are generally not interested. They are interested primarily in politics related to governmental decision making.

The media usually focus on the *who* of politics. At a minimum, this includes voters, candidates, groups, and parties. *What* refers

to the substance of politics and government—benefits, such as medical care for the elderly, and burdens, such as new taxes. *How* refers to the ways in which people participate in politics. People get what they want through voting, supporting, compromising, lobbying, and so forth. In this sense, government and politics involve winners and losers. Behind every arcane tax provision or item in an appropriations bill, there are real people getting something or getting something taken away.

The ways in which people get involved in politics make up their **political participation**. Many people judge the health of a government by how widespread political participation is. America does quite poorly when judged by its voter turnout, which is one of the lowest in the world. Low voter turnout has an effect on who holds political power. Because so many people do not show up at the polls, voters are a distorted sample of the public as a whole. Groups with a high turnout rate, such as the elderly, benefit, whereas those with a low turnout rate, such as young people, lack political clout.

Voting is only one form of political participation. For a few Americans, politics is a vocation: they run for office, and some even earn their livelihood from holding

political office. In addition, many Americans treat politics as critical to their interests. Many of these people are members of **single-issue groups**—groups so concerned with one issue that members often cast their votes on the basis of that issue only, ignoring a politician’s stand on everything else. Groups of activists dedicated either to outlawing abortion or to preserving abortion rights are good examples of single-issue groups.

Individual citizens and organized groups get involved in politics because they understand that public policy choices made by governments affect them in significant ways. Will all those who need student loans receive them? Will everyone have access to medical care? Will people be taken care of in their old age? Is the water safe to drink? These and other questions tie politics to policymaking.

**single-issue groups**

Groups that have a narrow interest on which their members tend to take an uncompromising stance.

**THE POLICYMAKING SYSTEM**

**1.3** Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.

Americans frequently expect the government to do something about their problems. For example, the president and members of Congress are expected to keep the economy humming along; voters will penalize them at the polls if they do not. It is through the **policymaking system** that our government responds to the priorities of its people. Figure 1.4 shows a skeletal model of this system, in which people shape policies and in turn are affected by them. The rest of this book will flesh out this model, but for now it will help you understand how government policy comes into being and evolves over time.

**policymaking system**

The process by which policy comes into being and evolves. People’s interests, problems, and concerns create political issues for government policymakers. These issues shape policy, which in turn impacts people, generating more interests, problems, and concerns.

**FIGURE 1.4** THE POLICYMAKING SYSTEM

In the policymaking system, people’s concerns get transmitted to linkage institutions. The issues that they choose to address form the policy agenda. Political institutions then make decisions in the form of policies. Policies, in turn, affect people.

