

# The Enduring Democracy



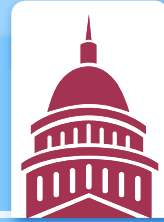
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Fifth Edition

# The Enduring Democracy



**Kenneth Dautrich**

Associate Professor of Public Policy  
University of Connecticut

**David A. Yalof**

Department Head and  
Professor of Political Science  
University of Connecticut

**Christina E. Bejarano**

Associate Professor of Political Science  
University of Kansas



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Fifth Edition**  
**Kenneth Dautrich, David A. Yalof,  
Christina E. Bejarano**

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# Letter to Instructors

This is a textbook about American government, the success of which depends upon a responsible citizenry willing to ask tough questions of its leaders and demand reasonable answers in return. This book encourages student readers to hone their critical thinking skills, ask the tough questions, and become responsible citizens. We encourage students to become educated citizens through two paths: (1) by learning how the problems and controversies characterizing American government today have been successfully tackled in America's past; and (2) by examining how the changing demographics of America have affected its political landscape.

The first path to understanding focuses on history. Certainly history tends to repeat itself, and we can learn much of importance from the lessons of history to better address the problems we face today. American government and politics have changed dramatically in the more than two centuries of the nation's existence, yet certain issues persist. The challenge facing instructors of American government is how to take adequate account of all these changes while never losing sight of the issues and events from the nation's past and their significance today. We thus offer in this fifth edition of *The Enduring Democracy* all the nuts and bolts of the U.S. government and how it works, but we also seek to educate students about American politics in ways that go beyond the essentials by [placing current political issues and debates in historical perspective](#). This theme runs throughout the book's narrative and is reflected in its organization. The book begins with a discussion of how the roadmap of history provides a guide to the future, how the use of a historical perspective on American politics can add to and help shape our understanding of contemporary problems and the creation and evolution of its institutions and processes, before diving into the foundations of U.S. government, the institutions of government formed under the Constitution, and then later to political behavior and public policy.

The second path examines diversity by [considering the changing demographic of our polity, and the various ways in which those changes have an impact on our politics](#). Over and over during the 2016 presidential campaign, America's diverse character became a focal point for discussion, as both major parties' candidates faced an electorate more diverse than ever before. These changing demographics also have a sizeable impact on governing political institutions, their public policy formulation, and nearly all types of informal political behavior as well, including media coverage and interest group dynamics. Accordingly, this textbook considers American politics in ways that are informed by these fundamental changes in the political landscape. Throughout the book's narrative, we take note of the ways in which traditional institutions and entities have successfully (or in some cases, not so successfully) taken account of this changing political reality.

Many of the book's past features support these themes, and they return in the fifth edition. For example, [Then and Now](#) boxes continue to give ample attention to the premise that American political history has a habit of repeating itself through examples of contemporary problems and controversies that have been identified, tackled, and in some cases resolved in earlier years. [Supreme Court](#) feature boxes in nearly every chapter provide an account of how important Supreme Court decisions in recent history affect the political landscape today, as well as how our political institutions and behavior influence Supreme Court decision making. Cases such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) remind us that the high Court often accelerates the very change that some political entities may be resisting; yet just as often the high Court stubbornly relies on principles that no longer apply to ever-changing multi-racial and multicultural landscape. Finally, the end-of-chapter sections continue to tie the [Chapter Summary](#) and [Test Yourself](#) quizzes to clearly defined [Learning Objectives](#), creating an in-text study guide for students to review and assess their comprehension of each chapter's key concepts.

## New to This Edition

- *The Enduring Democracy* has been updated to include complete coverage of the 2016 election results and a brief consideration of the challenges facing the new administration; a reflection and analysis of the policy agenda for the final two years of the Obama administration;

a primer on how the polls, parties, and other elements of the political environment shaped (and were shaped by) the 2016 election campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, as well as important down ballot races; new perspectives on President Obama’s executive orders; the most current domestic and foreign policy events, including incidents of gun violence in Orlando and elsewhere, as well as the more general growth of ISIS; and much more.

- A completely revised civil rights, equality, and social movements chapter more comprehensively considers racial/ethnic politics, especially Latino politics, and the evolution of discrimination against disadvantaged groups in the political arena as well as in the courts.
- All new “Who Are You?” exercises at the outset of every chapter encourage students to consider how their own views and assumptions (and in some cases, biases) shape their positions on contemporary issues in American politics; students then have the opportunity to discover how their views compare with other subgroups, or with the population as a whole.
- “Diversity Dilemma” boxes found within every chapter offer examples and illustrations of how America’s changing demographics and increased diversity have altered the political landscape. This feature touches on many contemporary political debates, such as voting rights and immigration policy, across the broad range of American politics. Our ever-changing population poses significant challenges that must be addressed by local institutions such as schools, and by national institutions including Congress, executive agencies, and the U.S. Supreme Court. Students will consider these dilemmas, and then address questions that seek students’ reflections on how we as a society should most effectively address the challenges and opportunities presented with our diversity.

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By examining the current state of American politics through the lens of American history and the nation’s changing demographics, we hope to encourage students to think critically about the significance of certain persons, places, and events in American politics and consider all the different ways in which they might be viewed and interpreted. The historical perspective and the materials that address American politics from students’ own perspectives—do not interfere with the description of essential foundations. Rather, they spark student interest in revisiting what they learned in high school, from the media, and elsewhere about American politics with a more discerning and critical eye. Perhaps many students will take this critical approach beyond the course itself and become actual participants in the process. If they do so with a more critical and skeptical eye, our democratic system can only benefit.

Sincerely,

*Kenneth J. Dautrich*  
k.dautrich@uconn.edu

*David A. Yalof*  
david.yalof@uconn.edu

*Christina E. Bejarano*  
cbejaran@ku.edu

# Letter to Students

The idea that “history repeats itself” is not merely a piece of conventional wisdom. Looking back provides important lessons applicable to today’s challenges. In examining the past we find that some of our new and “unprecedented” political controversies are neither new nor unprecedented. By the same token, changes in the demographics of our population should force a reconsideration of many aspects of American political behavior, past and present. The faces may have changed and the policies may have been modernized, but the challenges the nation faces today are often newer versions of past dilemmas and problems.

In *The Enduring Democracy*, you will learn the essentials of American government with a dual focus on placing current issues and controversies into historical perspective, as well as on considering how the changing face of the American public influences those issues and controversies. By adopting these perspectives, you’ll gain a greater appreciation for American government—both its flaws and its successes – as well as its challenges. At the conclusion of each chapter we frame contemporary problems from the perspective of what they mean to college students like you, so that you can see the relevance of American government in your life.

## Special Features

- **Learning Objectives** open each chapter and serve as a road map to the key concepts and major sections you’ll find within, helping you focus on the most important points and assess your comprehension as you read. We conclude each chapter with a review of those objectives and a **Test Yourself** quiz that you can use to gauge your mastery of the chapter’s material. Additionally, within each chapter **key terms** are highlighted in boldface type and defined in the margins of the pages. These key terms are also listed at the end of the chapter, and the terms and definitions are repeated in a glossary at the end of the book.
- **Who Are You?** exercises at the outset of every chapter force you to consider how your own views and assumptions shape your views on contemporary issues in American politics; After answering the questions at the end of each exercise, you will have the opportunity to discover how your views actually compare with other political or demographic subgroups, or with the population as a whole.
- **Diversity Dilemma** boxes found within every chapter offer examples and illustrations of how America’s changing demographics and increased diversity change the American political landscape. The feature touches on many contemporary political debates, such as voting rights and immigration policy, across the broad range of American politics. Our ever-changing population poses significant challenges that must be addressed by local institutions such as schools, and by national institutions including Congress, executive agencies, and the U.S. Supreme Court itself. You will have the opportunity to consider these dilemmas, and then address questions that seek your reflections on how we as a society should most effectively address the challenges and opportunities presented by our diversity.
- **Then and Now** boxes show that although the specific names and details change, most contemporary problems and controversies have been identified, tackled, and in some cases outright resolved over and over at different points in the past. It is thus no wonder that “those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it.”
- **From Your Perspective** features consider contemporary political issues from the unique perspective of college students like yourself, tapping into the experiences you bring to the table when studying American government. They’ll help you consider your own views and find opportunities to get involved in your community and American politics.
- **Supreme Court** boxes provide a deeper look at a variety of important Supreme Court cases, what influenced their outcomes, and how they affect your life today.
- **Critical Thinking** questions at the end of every thematic box help you think about the material in new and interesting ways and may spark discussions with your classmates.

## The Benefits of Using MindTap as a Student

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A thorough examination of past problems, issues, and conflicts does not negate the uniqueness of the current American condition, but it does offer a better understanding of contemporary issues. In some cases, studying the past assures us that the political process does work in a positive way; in other cases, it reminds us that we are not the first to face certain difficulties, and it suggests that we may want to seek more direction from the past about what works and what does not. We hope that this exploration encourages you not only to succeed in your intro class, but also to join the conversation on a larger scale and become an active participant in your community and *your* American government.

Sincerely,

*Kenneth J. Dautrich*  
k.dautrich@uconn.edu

*David A. Yalof*  
david.yalof@uconn.edu

*Christina E. Bejarano*  
cbejaran@ku.edu

# Resources

## Students

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**ISBN: 9781337093118**

This Instructor Companion Website is an all-in-one multimedia online resource for class preparation, presentation, and testing. Accessible through [Cengage.com/login](http://Cengage.com/login) with your faculty account, you will find available for download: book-specific Microsoft® PowerPoint® presentations; a Test Bank compatible with multiple learning management systems (LMSs); an Instructor Manual; Microsoft® PowerPoint® Image Slides; and a JPEG Image Library.

The Test Bank, offered in Blackboard, Moodle, Desire2Learn, Canvas, and Angel formats, contains learning objective-specific multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter. Import the Test Bank into your LMS to edit and manage questions, and to create tests.

The Instructor's Manual contains chapter-specific learning objectives, an outline, key terms with definitions, and a chapter summary. Additionally the Instructor's Manual features a critical-thinking question, a lecture-launching suggestion, and an in-class activity for each learning objective.

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Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero is a flexible, online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage Test Bank content from multiple Cengage Learning solutions; create multiple test versions in an instant; and deliver tests from your LMS, your classroom, or wherever you want. The Test Bank for *The Enduring Democracy, 5e*, contains learning objective-specific multiple-choice and essay questions for each chapter.



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# Reviewers

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Michael Lenaghan, *Miami Dade College*  
Randolph Lightfoot, *Saint Petersburg College—Tarpon Springs*  
Kara Lindaman, *Winona State University*  
Gary Malecha, *University of Portland*  
Roger Marietta, *Darton College*  
Scott Meinke, *Bucknell College*  
Rhonda Miller, *Dallas County Community College*  
Jason Mycoff, *University of Delaware*  
Chris Newman, *Elgin Community College*  
Timothy Oye, *Texas Woman’s University*  
Richard Pacelle, *Georgia Southern University*  
Greg Rabb, *Jamestown Community College*  
Lee Rademacher, *Purdue University, Calumet*  
Cherry Rain, *Redlands Community College*  
Mitzi Ramos, *University of Illinois at Champaign*  
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David Ross Stark, *State College of Technology*  
Dari Sylvester, *University of the Pacific*  
Roy Tate, *Redlands Community College*  
Robert Wood, *University of North Dakota*

# About the Authors

## Kenneth J. Dautrich

(Ph.D., Rutgers, 1995) is an associate professor of public policy at the University of Connecticut. He is also the founder and former director of the Center for Survey Research & Analysis at the University of Connecticut. Previously, Dr. Dautrich was a Research Fellow at the Media Studies Center in New York and has served as a senior faculty fellow at the Heldrich Center at Rutgers. His first book, *How the News Media Fail American Voters* (Columbia University Press, 1997), received scholarly praise in numerous political science circles. He also co-authored *The First Amendment and the Media in the Court of Public Opinion* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) and *The Future of the First Amendment* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008). Dr. Dautrich's research and teaching focus on public opinion and American elections. For the past four years he has directed a set of national surveys on civic literacy in the American public and the role of higher education in advancing knowledge about American government. He directs an annual national survey on the *State of the First Amendment* for the Freedom Forum's Newseum Institute and a bi-annual survey of the millennial generation on the *Future of the First Amendment* for the Knight Foundation.

## David A. Yalof

(Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University, 1997; J.D., University of Virginia, 1991) is department head and professor of political science at the University of Connecticut in Storrs. His first book, *Pursuit of Justices: Presidential Politics and the Selection of Supreme Court Nominees* (University of Chicago Press, 1999), was awarded the American Political Science Association's Richard E. Neustadt Award as the best book published on presidential studies in 1999. His most recent book is *Prosecution Among Friends: Presidents, Attorneys General and Executive Branch Wrongdoing* (Texas A & M University Press, 2012). He is also the co-author of *The First Amendment and the Media in the Court of Public Opinion* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), *The Future of the First Amendment* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), and another textbook, *Constitutional Law: Civil Liberty and Individual Rights* (Foundation Press, 2007). Dr. Yalof has written extensively on issues in constitutional law and Supreme Court appointment politics—his work has been published in *Political Research Quarterly*, *Judicature*, *Constitutional Commentary*, and various other journals.

## Christina E. Bejarano

(Ph.D. and M.A., University of Iowa; B.A., University of North Texas) is an associate professor of political science at the University of Kansas. Her research and teaching interests are in American politics, in particular the areas of gender, race/ethnicity, and political behavior. She is particularly interested in studying the conditions under which racial/ethnic minorities and women successfully compete for U.S. electoral office, which is reflected in her book, *The Latina Advantage: Gender, Race, and Political Success* (University of Texas Press, 2013). Her work also focuses on how racial/ethnic minorities and women can shape or influence the current electoral environment, which is reflected in her book, *The Latino Gender Gap in U.S. Politics* (Routledge Press, 2014). Professor Bejarano has also written journal articles for publication in *Political Research Quarterly* and *Politics & Gender*.

# Career Opportunities: Political Science

## Introduction

It is no secret that college graduates are facing one of the toughest job markets in the past fifty years. Despite this challenge, those with a college degree have done much better than those without since the 2008 recession. One of the most important decisions a student has to make is the choice of a major; many consider future job possibilities when making that call. A political science degree is incredibly useful for a successful career in many different fields, from lawyer to policy advocate, pollster to humanitarian worker. Employer surveys reveal that the skills that most employers value in successful employees—critical thinking, analytical reasoning, and clarity of verbal and written communication—are precisely the tools that political science courses should be helping you develop. This brief guide is intended to help spark ideas for what kinds of careers you might pursue with a political science degree and the types of activities you can engage in now to help you secure one of those positions after graduation.

## Careers in Political Science

### LAW AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Do you find that your favorite parts of your political science classes are those that deal with the Constitution, the legal system, and the courts? Then a career in law and criminal justice might be right for you. Traditional jobs in the field range from lawyer or judge to police or parole officer. Since 9/11, there has also been tremendous growth in the area of homeland security, which includes jobs in mission support, immigration, travel security, as well as prevention and response.

### PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The many offices of the federal government combined represent one of the largest employers in the United States. Flip to the bureaucracy chapter of this textbook and consider that each federal department, agency, and bureau you see looks to political science majors for future employees. A partial list of such agencies would include the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Federal Trade Commission. There are also thousands of staffers who work for members of Congress or the Congressional Budget Office, many of whom were political science majors in college. This does not even begin to account for the multitude of similar jobs in state and local governments that you might consider as well.

### CAMPAIGNS, ELECTIONS, AND POLLING

Are campaigns and elections the most exciting part of political science for you? Then you might consider a career in the growing industry based around political campaigns. From volunteering and interning to consulting, marketing and fundraising, there are many opportunities for those who enjoy the competitive and high-stakes electoral arena. For those looking for careers that combine political knowledge with statistical skills, there are careers in public opinion polling. Pollsters work for independent national organizations such as Gallup and YouGov, or as part of news operations and campaigns. For those who are interested in survey methodology there are also a wide variety of nonpolitical career opportunities in marketing and survey design.

### INTEREST GROUPS, INTERNATIONAL AND NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Is there a cause that you are especially passionate about? If so, there is a good chance that there are interest groups out there that are working hard to see some progress made on similar issues. Many of the positions that one might find in for-profit companies also exist in their

non-profit interest group and nongovernmental organization counterparts, including lobbying and high-level strategizing. Do not forget that there are also quite a few major international organizations—such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and the International Monetary Fund—where a degree in political science could be put to good use. While competition for those jobs tends to be fierce, your interest and knowledge about politics and policy will give you an advantage.

## FOREIGN SERVICE

Does a career in diplomacy and foreign affairs, complete with the opportunity to live and work abroad, sound exciting for you? Tens of thousands of people work for the State Department, both in Washington, D.C. and in consulates throughout the world. They represent the diplomatic interests of the United States abroad. Entrance into the Foreign Service follows a very specific process, starting with the Foreign Service Officers Test (FSOT)—an exam given three times a year that includes sections on American government, history, economics, and world affairs. Being a political science major is a significant help in taking the FSOT.

## GRADUATE SCHOOL

While not a career, graduate school may be the appropriate next step for you after completing your undergraduate degree. Following the academic route, being awarded a Ph.D. or Master's degree in political science could open additional doors to a career in academia, as well as many of the professions mentioned earlier. If a career as a researcher in political science interests you, you should speak with your advisors about continuing your education.

# Preparing While Still on Campus

## INTERSHIPS

One of the most useful steps you can take while still on campus is to visit your college's career center in regards to an internship in your field of interest. Not only does it give you a chance to experience life in the political science realm, it can lead to job opportunities later and add experience to your resume.

## SKILLS

In addition to your political science classes, there are a few skills any number of which will prove useful as a complement to your degree:

**Writing:** Like anything else, writing improves with practice. Writing is one of those skills that is applicable regardless of where your career might take you. Virtually every occupation relies on an ability to write cleanly, concisely, and persuasively.

**Public Speaking:** An oft-quoted 1977 survey showed that public speaking was the most commonly cited fear among respondents. And yet oral communication is a vital tool in the modern economy. You can practice this skill in a formal class setting or through extracurricular activities that get you in front of a group.

**Quantitative Analysis:** As the Internet aids in the collection of massive amounts of information, the nation is facing a drastic shortage of people with basic statistical skills to interpret and use this data. A political science degree can go hand-in-hand with courses in introductory statistics.

**Foreign Language:** One skill that often helps a student or future employee stand out in a crowded job market is the ability to communicate in a language other than English. Solidify or set the foundation for your verbal and written foreign language communication skills while in school.

## STUDENT LEADERSHIP

One attribute that many employers look for is “leadership potential” which can be quite tricky to indicate on a resume or cover letter. What can help is a demonstrated record of involvement in clubs and organizations, preferably in a leadership role. While many people think immediately of student government, most student clubs allow you the opportunity to demonstrate your leadership skills.

## Conclusion

Hopefully reading this has sparked some ideas on potential future careers. As a next step, visit your college’s career placement office, which is a great place to further explore what you have read here. You might also visit your college’s alumni office to connect with graduates who are working in your field of interest. Political science opens the door to a lot of exciting careers, have fun exploring the possibilities!



## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

### 1-1 Millennials, History, Diversity, and American Politics

- The influence of millennials on American politics
- Analyzing current problems and issues in American government by applying historical perspectives
- The “diversity dilemma” in American politics

### 1-2 Forms and Functions of Government

- Explain the philosophical underpinnings of the American political system through the exploration of important theories such as the “social contract” theory and the concept of the “natural law”
- Compare and contrast democracy with other forms of government

### 1-3 American Government and Politics

- Assess the importance of the value of popular sovereignty, and how that value is realized through “representative democracy” in the United States

### 1-4 American Political Culture

- Define *political culture* and describe the unique combination of political beliefs and values that form the American political culture, including majority rule, liberty, limited government, diversity, individualism, and equality of economic opportunity

### 1-5 Is American Democracy in Decline?

- Assess the health of American democracy and evaluate whether the American system is in decline by applying a historical perspective on contemporary politics
- Evaluate contemporary problems by placing them in historical context

# 1



## Introduction to the Enduring Democracy

**T**he final outcome of the 2016 elections surprised many journalists, pollsters, politicians, political scientists and citizens. Donald Trump, who had never before run for political office of any kind, defeated 16 other Republican candidates earlier in the year to win the GOP nomination. Despite lagging behind Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton in the polls for much of the general election campaign, Trump managed a clear electoral college victory on Election Day, even as he narrowly lost the popular vote to his Democratic rival in one of the most negative presidential contests in history.

The 2016 elections also provided the Republican Party with continued majorities in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Thus, for the first time in more than a decade, the GOP achieved “united” Republican government. The last time either party controlled the two political branches was during the first two years of Barack Obama’s presidency (2009–2010). By controlling the White House and the Congress at the outset, the Democrats were able to pass landmark legislation such as the Affordable Care Act, to overhaul the U.S. healthcare system, the Dodd-Frank Act, which reformed the financial industry, and a trillion-dollar stimulus spending bill to jump-start an economy in recession.

Since the beginning of 2017, the new President and a united Republican Congress have had ample opportunities to make their own legislative mark on the country; with a vacancy on the high court, the Republicans also were able to make an immediate appointment to the United States Supreme Court. In this book we present the actors, institutions and rules governing how this new government is able to operate.



## Do You Think Like the “Typical” Millennial?

While authors and social scientists often like to characterize the values, opinions, and beliefs of various generations (such as millennials, baby boomers, and Gen Xers), those characterizations tend to describe general tendencies and stereotypical behavior. The truth is that while millennials as a group exhibit patterns unique from other generations, there is tremendous diversity of



of millennials prefer the Democratic Party, many side with the GOP. How do you compare to the “typical” millennial when it comes to your own political attitudes? How would you answer the following questions?

thought and behavior among this group. For example, millennials (age 18-33) are much more likely to identify with the Democratic Party than the Republican Party, while their older counterparts are about equally divided between the two parties.<sup>1</sup> Still, while a majority

- Which candidate did you support in the 2016 presidential election?
- For you personally, is the idea of the American dream dead or alive?
- Do you consider yourself to be a liberal, conservative or moderate?
- How confident are you in the U.S. judicial system’s ability to fairly judge people without bias for race and ethnicity?

To see how your answers compare to others, take the [Who Are You?](#) poll in MindTap!

## 1-1 | Millennials, History, Diversity, and American Politics

### The Millennial Generation and American Politics

The millennial generation, normally defined as those born between the early 1980s and early 2000s, has already made its mark on American politics. It is a generation that was school-age during the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, and so the terrible events of that day play an important role in the formation of their political attitudes. In addition, the great recession of 2007–2009 soured the economic prospects for this generation as it entered the workforce for the first time, presenting unique financial pressures on this cohort. On social issues, millennials tend to be more socially liberal on issues such as same-sex marriage, abortion rights, and the legalization of marijuana.

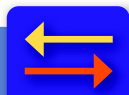
Moreover, this generation has had a profound impact on presidential politics, as it contributed significantly to the victories of Barack Obama in 2008 and 2012, and

**TABLE 1-1** Presidential Vote in 2016 by Age

	Hillary Clinton	Donald Trump
18–29	55%	37%
30–44	50%	42%
45–64	44%	53%
65 and older	45%	53%

Source: [www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls/national/president](http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls/national/president)

also to the support that Hillary Clinton received in the 2016 presidential election, as seen in Table 1-1. In addition, Millennials were the key driving force behind Senator Bernie Sanders' bid to win the Democratic nomination in 2016. Given the significance of the millennial generation, this book emphasizes the critical role that it plays in the American political system.



## Then & Now

### When the Popular Vote and the Electoral Vote Diverge

The Electoral College offers a unique, if sometimes controversial system for selecting America's chief executive every four years. Occasionally, the Electoral College and the popular vote even produce different results in the same contest.

#### Then

**I**n 1888, the presidential race featured a contentious face-off between the Republican challenger, Benjamin Harrison, and the Democratic incumbent, President Grover Cleveland. On November 6th, voters cast their ballots and the national vote tally provided nearly 100,000 more votes to Cleveland. However, the result in the Electoral College, which decides

presidential elections, gave Harrison nearly 60 more electoral votes, and thus a resounding victory. This electoral vote/popular vote divergence came only 12 years after the same event occurred in the course of Rutherford B. Hayes' victory over Samuel Tilden in 1876. That time too, the Republican rode to victory, courtesy of the Electoral College.

#### Now

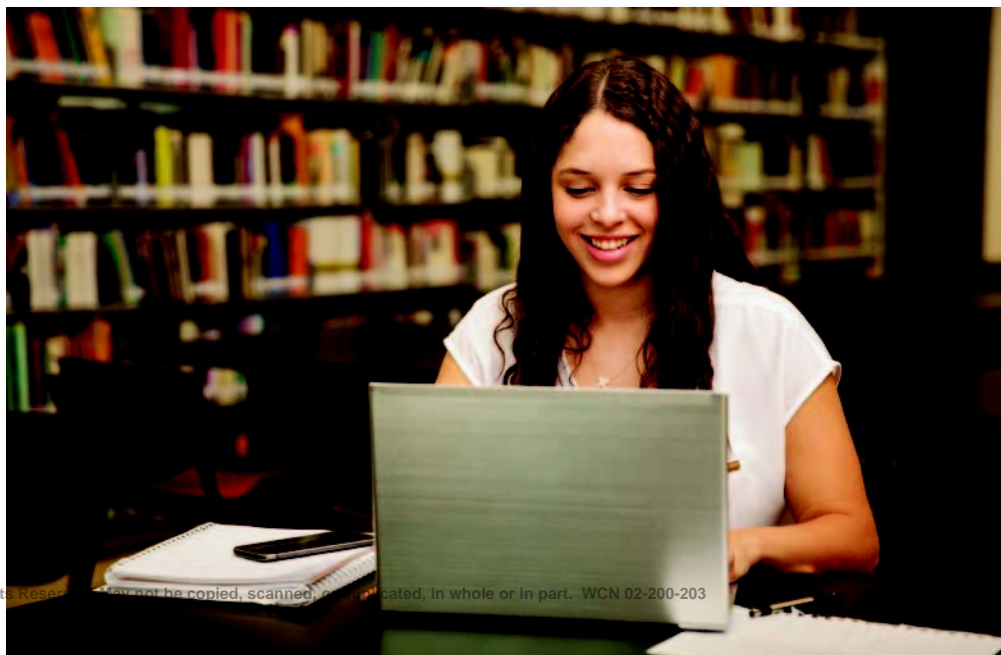
**I**n 2016, at the conclusion of the most recent presidential contest, voters cast their ballots for Democrat Hillary Clinton, Republican Donald Trump, or one of two third-party candidates. After the election, the popular vote favored Clinton by about 700,000. Still, Donald Trump managed to

muster about 60 more electoral votes than Clinton to put him over the top in the Electoral College count. This electoral vote/popular vote divergence came only 16 years after the same anomaly resulted in George W. Bush's victory over Al Gore.

## History Repeats Itself

The patterns of history provide a powerful tool for understanding American government today. In recent years, for example, the Internet and social media have revolutionized American politics. In 2008, presidential candidate Barack Obama used Facebook to build extensive volunteer networks and campaign donations to the tune of a half billion dollars. Obama captured the attention of young people and those affected by the Great Recession of 2008, offering a message of hope and change. His campaign actively encouraged social networking to mobilize voters to his cause. The result: voter turnout and interest spiked, and helped to pave the way to victory. Other politicians have tried to duplicate Obama's model; by 2016, social media began to dominate the campaign process. Voters of all political persuasions use social media to connect with their favorite campaigns. Consider the possibilities: in 2014 Facebook subscribed 134 million voting-age users in

*Many college students report that they get most of their information about campaigns and politics from social media.*





Libri Library Photo by Democratic National Committee

*“Daisy Girl,” featured in the 1964 political commercial of the Lyndon Johnson campaign, is shown above. The ad cut to a mushroom cloud explosion of an atomic bomb as the girl pulled off the last petal of the daisy.*

the United States. Not only is this a massive audience, but it is an active audience, as social networks allow users to trade and share information and opinions with their friends and families. In the past, political strategists were forced to rely on the paid TV spot as the primary way to communicate with voters. Today, however, there is a noticeable shift toward using social media to send messages, raise money, and mobilize voters. Why? A message from a friend is considered much more personal, powerful, and effective than an impersonal TV spot.

Of course, social network sites like Facebook are not the only type of breakthrough technology to revolutionize political campaigns. Although Barack Obama was the first candidate to win the presidency by making extensive use of social media, John F. Kennedy pioneered the use of television to win the White House

over a half century ago. When he ran for the presidency in 1960, TV was dramatically changing American society, just as social media are changing it today. As a relatively new medium with a mass audience in Kennedy’s time, TV provided prospective voters with what no communications platform had offered ever before—the chance to see the candidates’ campaign on a daily basis. Television audiences could tune in to watch TV spots, and they could see the candidates actually debate each other live in their own living rooms; voters saw the candidates in action. Kennedy’s youth and enthusiasm made effective use of television commercials touting his candidacy. His ability to “out-charisma” Richard Nixon in the 1960 debates led to a surge in turnout, and helped to pave the way for a Kennedy victory. Kennedy’s use of this new medium provided a model for how presidents would interact with voters over the next four decades. By 1964, candidates had mastered the art of the 30-second spot, as evidenced by Lyndon Johnson and his now-famous “Daisy Girl” commercial.

Although revolutionary, TV was not the first communications medium to transform political campaigns. Radio, which by 1932 had reached most U.S. households, enabled voters to listen to the candidates’ voices, instead of just reading their speeches or statements. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) and President Herbert Hoover both used radio addresses and advertising extensively during the 1932 campaign. However, whereas Roosevelt’s voice on the radio inspired confidence and enthusiasm for tackling the ills of the Great Depression, Hoover’s logical and monotone monologue was far less effective. From that point forward, candidates could not just focus on the words that they used; they also had to excel in articulating those words with passion. FDR’s use of radio eventually mobilized voters, particularly those who were most negatively affected by the economic doldrums of the Great Depression. After winning the 1932 election, FDR continued to use radio to personally connect with voters and inspire them through his “fireside chats,” which he broadcast for the next 12 years.

One hundred years earlier, yet another communications revolution occurred that had a lasting impact on political campaigns. By the 1830s, newspapers were changing in a number of ways. The invention of the “rotary press” in 1815 facilitated the mass production of affordable newspapers, and eventually gave way to the so-called penny press. A decade later, the invention of the telegraph enabled penny-press papers to quickly produce stories on breaking-news events. Further, the laying of railroads to all parts of the country to accommodate rapid westward expansion paved the way for mass distribution of newspapers. Americans gobbled up this new source of information, and Andrew Jackson used this medium to engage voters, bypass the political elite,

and communicate his message of rugged individualism and “the rise of the common man” to help him capture the White House in 1832. The newspaper, which became a common person’s medium, enabled Jackson to distribute his message widely to an audience that was willing and eager to read what he had to say. Jackson’s use of the newspaper was critical to his success, just as Obama’s use of social media was critical to his own success. Never again would presidential political campaigns be targeted exclusively at political elites, thanks to Jackson’s use of the penny press to effectively appeal to the masses.

This book explores the role of history as a guide to understanding contemporary American politics.

## The Diversity Dilemma in American Politics

As part of this book’s exploration of our country’s history, we also highlight the country’s ongoing struggles with our growing diversity. It is critical to highlight and understand the unique role of diversity in our evolving democracy. We take a broad view of diversity to examine how differences in various identity characteristics (such as gender, race, ethnicity, and sexuality) can impact not only our place in society but also our opportunities to have a voice in American government. We hope to challenge you to think broadly not only on “who are you” but also on how your particular identity impacts your understanding and participation in American politics.

Some people worry that growing diversity introduces an essential dilemma in American politics since it requires society and government to evolve and change. Even during the 2016 presidential campaign, for example, Donald Trump stirred up racial and religious tension by speaking negatively about our nation’s diversity, especially in terms of the supposed dangers brought by the Latino and Muslim populations in the country. However, throughout this book we will highlight not only how our diversity has always been viewed as a potential challenge, but also how it has been seen as a source of our country’s strength. In the first diversity dilemma the country faced, the U.S. government was challenged to define who was a citizen for purposes of the U.S. Census population count. Even though our definition of a citizen was rather limited at our country’s founding, we have thankfully evolved our understanding of the American people. We are now challenged to keep working on our country’s evolution, which includes a discussion of how far we still need to go.

In this book we examine the major topics and concepts in American government and politics. We attempt to answer sweeping questions about how American government works: How does policy get made? Who are the major players and institutions that make the laws? How do these players achieve their position? How do disputes get resolved? What are the role and power of the people? Throughout these discussions, we pay special attention to the millennial generation, the contributions and challenges of diversity, and how we might better understand American government today by observing the patterns of history.

**government** The collection of public institutions in a nation that establish and enforce the rules by which the members of that nation must live.

*President Barack Obama speaks to a gathering of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples (NAACP) at the group’s 100th anniversary celebration in July 2009.*

## 1-2 | Forms and Functions of Government

**Government** is the collection of public institutions in a nation that establish and enforce the rules by which the

Saul Loeb/AFP/Getty Images





# The Diversity Dilemma

## Changing Racial Categories in the U.S. Census

Since 1790, the U.S. government has implemented a nationwide census to count the population in the country every 10 years. This population information is used for a variety of reasons, including distribution of federal spending and planning for the growing population. The U.S. Census questionnaire has evolved since 1790, often as a result of the changing understanding of diversity. The first census collected very rudimentary information on racial makeup of the country, which was restricted to asking if you were white and if you had slaves. The census racial categories have evolved; however, they are still limited to five very basic categories, including White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander.

It was not until 1970 that the Census began to ask respondents about their ethnicity, which was restricted to asking a subsample of respondents whether they had a Hispanic family origin. In addition, the Census began to allow respondents to choose more than one racial category after 2000. We are now challenged with understanding the

9. What is Person 1's race? Mark  one or more boxes.

- White
- Black, African Am., or Negro
- American Indian or Alaska Native – Print name of enrolled or principal tribe. ↴

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- Asian Indian     Japanese     Native Hawaiian
- Chinese     Korean     Guamanian or Chamorro
- Filipino     Vietnamese     Samoan
- Other Asian – Print race. For example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on. ↴
- Other Pacific Islander – Print race. For example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on. ↴

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- Some other race – Print race. ↴

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The 2000 U.S. Census was the first to allow respondents to self-identify as a member of more than one race.

true diversity of the U.S. population, which may require further Census revisions.

### For Critical Thinking and Discussion

1. How would you answer the Census question on race and Hispanic ethnicity?
2. Do you believe the current Census questions are sufficient?

**anarchy** A state of lawlessness and discord in the political system caused by lack of government.

**social contract** From the philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, an agreement people make with one another to form a government and abide by its rules and laws, and, in return, the government promises to protect the people's rights and welfare and promote their best interests.

**authority** The ability of public institutions and the officials within them to make laws, independent of the power to execute them.

members of that nation must live. Even the most primitive of societies have found government to be necessary. Without government, society would be in a state of **anarchy**, a situation characterized by lawlessness and discord in the political system. Thomas Hobbes, a seventeenth-century British political philosopher, wrote that without government, life would be “solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.”<sup>2</sup> Government is necessary to make the rules by which citizens must abide, promoting order, stability, and protection for the society. It exists in part to resolve conflicts that naturally arise when people live in communities. Elaborating on the role of government, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, an eighteenth-century French philosopher, posited that in fact a “social contract” exists.<sup>3</sup> A **social contract** is an agreement people make with one another to form a government and abide by its rules and laws. In return, the government promises to protect the people's rights and welfare and to promote their best interests.

A government's **authority** over its citizens refers to the ability of public institutions and the officials within them to make laws, independent of the power to execute them. People obey authority out of respect, whereas they obey power out of fear. Numerous different forms of government with governing authority can be found around the nations of the world. One such form—the form that will receive extended

attention throughout this book—is **democracy**, defined as a government in which the people, either directly or through elected representatives, hold power and authority. The word *democracy* is derived from the Greek *demos kratos*, meaning “rule by the people.”

By contrast, an **oligarchy** is a form of government in which a small exclusive class, which may or may not attempt to rule on behalf of the people as a whole, holds supreme power. In a **theocracy**, a particular religion or faith plays a dominant role in the government; Iran is just one example of a theocratic nation in the world today. A **monarchy** is a form of government in which one person, usually a member of a royal family or a royal designate, exercises supreme authority. The monarch may be a king or queen, such as Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain. In the past, monarchies were quite common; today they are rarely practiced in the absolute sense. Although the United Kingdom continues to pay homage to its royalty, true political power rests in the Parliament, the members of which are elected by the people.

Many of the nations in the world today have an **authoritarian** form of government in which one political party, group, or person maintains such complete control over the nation that it may refuse to recognize, and may even choose to suppress, all other political parties and interests. The nation of Iraq, before the American military intervention in 2003, was considered by most to be an authoritarian government under the dictatorial rule of Saddam Hussein. North Korea under Kim Jong-un is an authoritarian government in existence today.

An important characteristic of any government, whether democratic or not, is its power to exercise authority over people. **Power** is the capacity to get individuals to do something that they may not otherwise do, such as pay taxes, stop for red lights, or submit to a search before boarding an airplane. Without power, it would be very difficult for a government to enforce rules. The sustained power of any government largely rests on its legitimacy. **Legitimacy** is the extent to which the people (or the “governed”) afford the government the authority and right to exercise power. The more that people subscribe to the goals of a government, and the greater the degree to which that government guarantees the people’s welfare (for example, by supporting a strong economy or providing protection from foreign enemies), the higher will be the government’s level of legitimacy. When the governed grant a high level of legitimacy to their government, the government wields its power to make and enforce rules more successfully.

## 1-3 | American Government and Politics

**Politics** is defined as the way in which the institutions of government are organized to make laws, rules, and policies, and how those institutions are influenced. More than 70 years ago, political scientist Harold Lasswell proposed a brief but very useful definition of politics as “who gets what, when and how.”<sup>4</sup> In American politics, the “who” includes actors within and outside the formal government, such as citizens, elected officials, interest groups, and state and local governments. The “what” are the decisions the government makes and take the form of what government funds, the way it raises revenue, and the policies it produces and enforces. The “when” relates to setting priorities about what government does. The concerns and issues that government addresses differ in importance, and issues of greater importance tend to be addressed more quickly. Finally, the “how” refers to the way in which the government goes about its work, based on the political institutions that exist and the formal and informal procedures and rules that define the governing process. In describing American politics, this book provides answers to Lasswell’s “who gets what, when and how?”<sup>3</sup>

**democracy** Form of government in which the people, either directly or through elected representatives, hold power and authority. The word *democracy* is derived from the Greek *demos kratos*, meaning “rule by the people.”

**oligarchy** A form of government in which a small exclusive class, which may or may not attempt to rule on behalf of the people as a whole, holds supreme power.

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**monarchy** A form of government in which one person, usually a member of a royal family or a royal designate, exercises supreme authority.

**authoritarian** A form of government in which one political party, group, or person maintains such complete control over the nation that it may refuse to recognize and may even suppress all other political parties and interests.

**power** The ability to get individuals to do something that they may not otherwise do, such as pay taxes, stop for red lights, or submit to a search before boarding an airplane.

**legitimacy** The extent to which the people afford the government the authority and right to exercise power.

**politics** The way in which the institutions of government are organized to make laws, rules, and policies, and how those institutions are influenced.