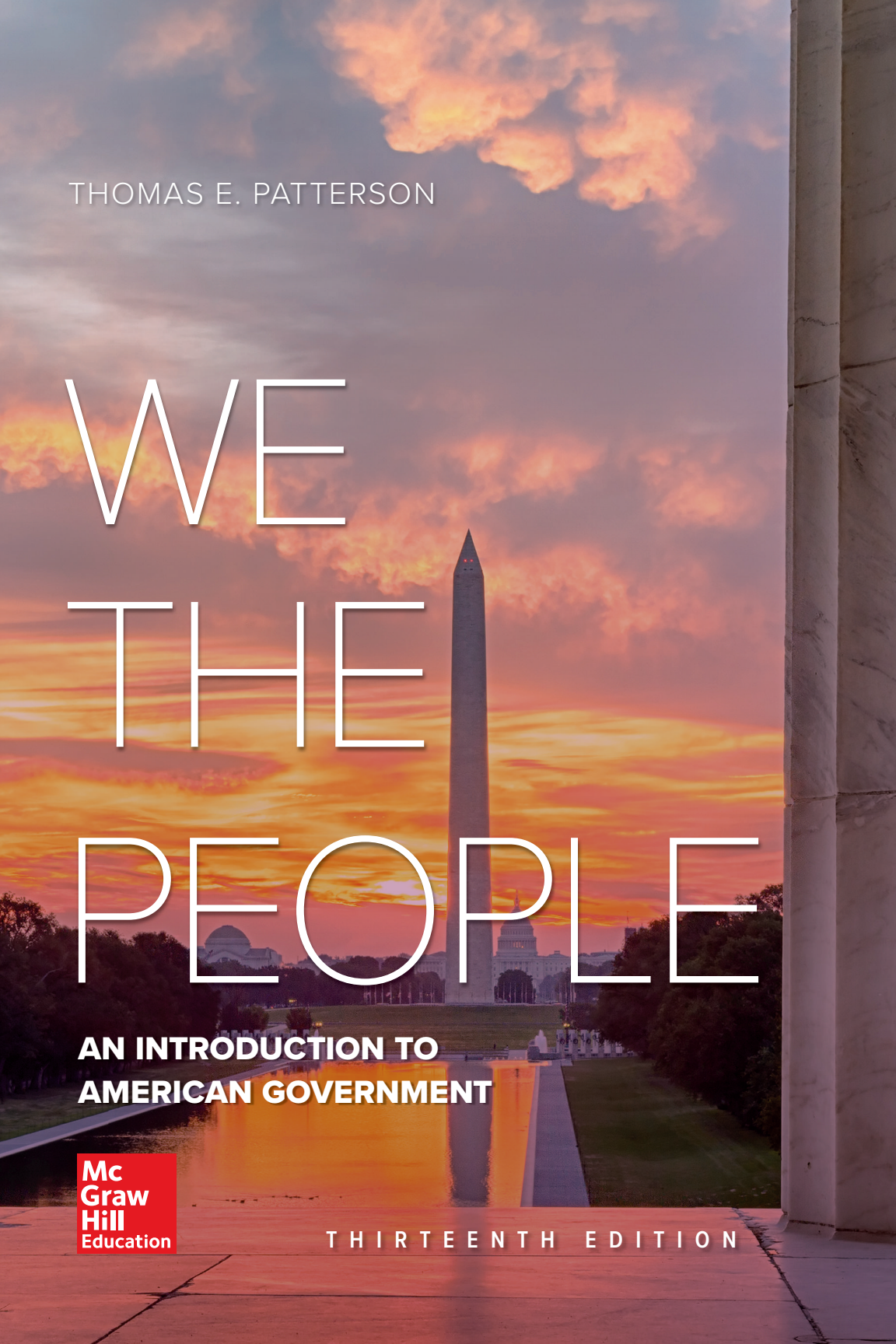

THOMAS E. PATTERSON
WE THE PEOPLE
AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN GOVERNMENT
Mc Graw Hill Education
THIRTEENTH EDITION

connect® Political Science

21st Century Tools, for 21st Century Politics

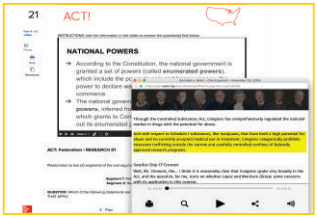
Connect Government is an application-based assignment platform containing engaging, user-friendly tools that help students better understand and connect with the concepts and language used in the American Government course. Political Scientists have reported deeper critical thinking, improved student performance, and increased classroom efficiency as a result of using Connect Government, which includes innovative tools that are often auto-gradable, such as:

SmartBook®

Described as a "textbook for the 21st century" by a political scientist, SmartBook gives students a road map to success through an adaptive reading experience that changes the way students read. It creates a personalized, interactive reading environment by highlighting important concepts, while helping students identify their strengths and weaknesses. This ensures that he or she is focused on the content needed to close specific knowledge gaps, while it simultaneously promotes long-term learning.

NewsFlash

Responding to the need for currency in the American Government course, this new Connect assignment pairs fresh content on a rolling basis with auto-grade questions that allow instructors to assess student understanding of the important news of the day.



Applied Critical Thinking

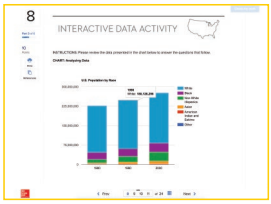
Nicknamed ACT!, these new activities encourage students to apply critical thinking skills to core course content through political research and reflection. First, students assess their understanding of content, then gather applicable political research, and lastly, critically reflect on the results.

Practice Government Missions

Practice Government, McGraw-Hill's educational game focused on the American political system, can now be played inside of Connect American Government! Two introductory missions have now been paired with auto-grade and critical thinking questions that harness the power of "learning by doing" right within Connect. Additional missions are available through mhpractice.com.

Concept Clips

Expanded to now include audio, Concept Clips are engaging videos that walk students through the more difficult concepts in the American government course (such as the Electoral College, Supreme Court procedures, or how to evaluate a public opinion poll).



Interactive Data Analysis

Help your students consume political data in a meaningful way. Students in the American government course now have the ability to interact with political data visualizations to gain insight into important factors that shape our political process. Students can review electoral turnout over time or study how demographic shifts in the American population might affect future elections. These interactive charts and maps are paired with auto-grade and critical thinking questions to enhance student understanding.

87%

of college students report that access to learning analytics can positively impact their learning experience.

75%

of students using adaptive technology report that it is "very helpful" or "extremely helpful" in aiding their ability to retain new concepts.

"I can honestly say that the first time I used SmartBook after reading a chapter I understood what I had just read better than I ever had in the past."
– Nathan Herrmann, Oklahoma State University

"I really enjoy how it has gotten me engaged in the course and it is a great study tool without having to carry around a heavy textbook."
– Madeline Uretsky, Simmons College

"Connect keeps my students engaged and motivated. Requiring Connect assignments has improved student exam grades."
– Sophia Garcia, Tarrant County College

Professors spend:

Less time on administrative tasks **75%**

90% More time on active learning

Mc Graw Hill Education

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To learn more about American government, visit the McGraw-Hill Education American Government page: bit.ly/MHEAmGov

We the People

An Introduction to American Government

Thirteenth Edition

Thomas E. Patterson

Bradlee Professor of Government and the Press
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

Mc Graw Hill Education

WE THE PEOPLE: AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, THIRTEENTH EDITION

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

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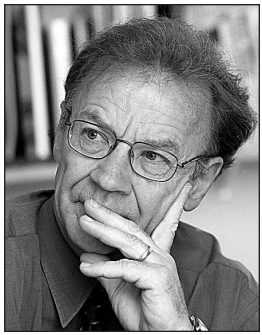
To My Son and Daughter.
Alex and Leigh

About the Author



Courtesy of Thomas Patterson

Thomas E. Patterson is Bradlee Professor of Government and the Press in the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. He was previously Distinguished Professor of Political Science in the Maxwell School of Citizenship at Syracuse University. Raised in a small Minnesota town near the Iowa and South Dakota borders, he attended South Dakota State University as an undergraduate and served in the U.S. Army Special Forces in Vietnam before enrolling at the University of Minnesota, where he received his PhD in 1971.

Since then, he has regularly taught introductory American government. In 2013 he was chosen as teacher of the year and adviser of the year by Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government students, the first time a member of its faculty has received both awards simultaneously.

He has authored numerous books and articles, which focus mainly on elections, the media, and citizenship. His most recent book, *Informing the News*, which was described as "superb" and "mesmerizing" in one review, examines the public misinformation resulting from the emergence of partisan outlets and the decline in citizens' attention to news. An earlier book, *The Vanishing Voter* (2002), describes and explains the long-term decline in voter participation. His book *Out of Order* (1994) received national attention when President Clinton urged every politician and journalist to read it. In 2002 *Out of Order* received the American Political Science Association's Graber Award for the best book of the past decade in political communication. Another of Patterson's books, *The Mass Media Election* (1980), received a Choice award as Outstanding Academic Title, 1980–1981. Patterson's first book, *The Unseeing Eye* (1976), was selected by the American Association for Public Opinion Research as one of the 50 most influential books of the past half century in the field of public opinion.

His research has been funded by major grants from the National Science Foundation, the Markle Foundation, the Smith-Richardson Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Knight Foundation, The Carnegie Corporation, and the Pew Charitable Trusts.

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A Letter from the Author

Anyone who writes an introductory program on American government faces the challenge of explaining a wide range of subjects. One way is to pile fact upon fact and list upon list. It's a common approach to textbook writing, but it turns politics into a pretty dry subject. Politics doesn't have to be dry, and it certainly doesn't have to be dull. Politics has all the elements of drama plus the added feature of affecting the everyday lives of real people.

My goal has been to make this text the most readable one available. Rather than piling fact upon fact, the program relies on narrative. A narrative program weaves together theory, information, and examples in order to bring out key facts and ideas. The response to this approach has been gratifying. As a previous edition was being prepared, I received the following note from a longtime instructor:

> I read this book in about three days, cover to cover.... I have never seen a better basic government/politics textbook. I think reading standard textbooks is "boring" (to use a favorite student word), but this one overcomes that. Dr. Patterson has managed to do something that I heretofore thought could not be done.

When writing, I regularly reminded myself that the readers were citizens as well as students. For this reason, the text encourages "critical thinking," by which I mean the process through which an individual determines what can reasonably be believed and then applies reason and information to reach a thoughtful conclusion. Each chapter has five boxes that ask you to "think critically." Two of these—the "How the U.S. Differs" box and the "How the 50 States Differ" box—ask you to think critically about differences in governing systems. A third box—"Party Polarization"—asks you to critically analyze differences in the Republican and Democratic Parties. A fourth box—"Case Study"—discusses a political event and then asks you to analyze the outcome. The final box—"Fake or Fact?"—asks you to critically assess a factual claim. These boxes are rooted in the idea that critical thinking is a skill that can be nurtured and, once acquired, can help you become a more responsible citizen, whether in casting a vote, forming an opinion about a public policy, or contributing to a political cause.

Improving your ability to think critically is a primary goal of this text. If the only result of reading the text was to increase your factual knowledge of American government, I would judge it a failure. As Albert Einstein once noted, "The value of a college education is not the learning of many facts but the training of the mind to think." Political science courses, like those in other social science and humanities disciplines, should help students hone their critical thinking skills. As I indicated, the five boxes in each chapter are designed for this purpose. So, too, is the "Critical Thinking Zone" at the end of each chapter. This feature asks you to make use of the chapter's information through the application of the three skills—conceptualizing, synthesizing, and analyzing—that are the foundation of critical thinking.

Finally, in this program I have attempted to present American government through the analytical lens of political science but in a way that captures the vivid world of real-life politics. Only a tiny fraction of students in the introductory course are enrolled because they intend to pursue an academic career in political science. Most students take it because they are required to do so or because they have an interest in politics. I have sought to write a book that will deepen your political interest if you are the second type of student, and kindle your interest if you are the first type.

We the People has been in use in college classrooms for more than two decades. During this time, the program has been adopted at more than 1,000 colleges and universities. I am extremely grateful to all who have used it. I am particularly indebted to the many instructors and students who have sent me suggestions on how to strengthen it. As they have done for several editions now, the University of Northern Colorado's Steve Mazurana and his students graciously sent me detailed feedback that broadly informed this edition's revisions. If you have ideas you would like to share, please contact me at the John F. Kennedy School, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138, or by e-mail: thomas_patterson@harvard.edu.

Thomas E. Patterson

PREFACE

RELEVANCY AND READABILITY TO ENGAGE TODAY'S STUDENT

Tom Patterson's *We the People* is a **concise** approach to American government, emphasizing **critical thinking** through **relevant** examples that appeal to today's students. This extremely **readable** text provides opportunities to **engage** with the political process through tools that help students **learn how to think about politics**, utilizing digital resources that connect students with the material in a highly **personalized** way.

BETTER DATA, SMARTER REVISION, IMPROVED RESULTS

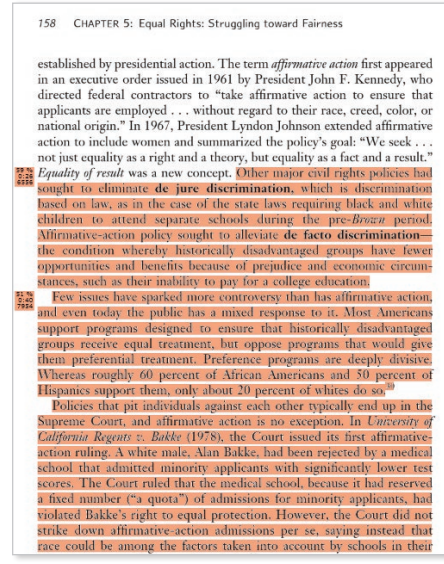
Students helped inform the revision strategy:

STEP 1. Over the course of three years, data points showing concepts that caused students the most difficulty were collected anonymously from McGraw-Hill Education's Connect® American Government's SmartBook for *We the People.*

STEP 2. The data from SmartBook was provided to the author in the form of a ***heat map,*** which graphically illustrated "hot spots" in the text that impacted student learning (see image below).

STEP 3. The author used the ***heat map*** data to refine the content and reinforce student comprehension in the new edition. Additional quiz questions and assignable activities were created for use in Connect American Government to further support student success.

RESULT: Because the ***heat map*** gave the author empirically based feedback at the paragraph and even sentence level, he was able to develop the new edition using precise student data that pinpointed concepts that caused students the most difficulty.



158 CHAPTER 5: Equal Rights: Struggling toward Fairness

established by presidential action. The term *affirmative action* first appeared in an executive order issued in 1961 by President John F. Kennedy, who directed federal contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed . . . without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin." In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson extended affirmative action to include women and summarized the policy's goal: "We seek . . . not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and a result."

Equality of result was a new concept. Other major civil rights policies had sought to eliminate **de jure discrimination**, which is discrimination based on law, as in the case of the state laws requiring black and white children to attend separate schools during the pre-*Brown* period. Affirmative-action policy sought to alleviate **de facto discrimination**—the condition whereby historically disadvantaged groups have fewer opportunities and benefits because of prejudice and economic circumstances, such as their inability to pay for a college education.

Few issues have sparked more controversy than has affirmative action, and even today the public has a mixed response to it. Most Americans support programs designed to ensure that historically disadvantaged groups receive equal treatment, but oppose programs that would give them preferential treatment. Preference programs are deeply divisive. Whereas roughly 60 percent of African Americans and 50 percent of Hispanics support them, only about 20 percent of whites do so.[30]

Policies that pit individuals against each other typically end up in the Supreme Court, and affirmative action is no exception. In *University of California Regents v. Bakke* (1978), the Court issued its first affirmative-action ruling. A white male, Alan Bakke, had been rejected by a medical school that admitted minority applicants with significantly lower test scores. The Court ruled that the medical school, because it had reserved a fixed number ("a quota") of admissions for minority applicants, had violated Bakke's right to equal protection. However, the Court did not strike down affirmative-action admissions per se, saying instead that race could be among the factors taken into account by schools in their

Heat map data also inform the activities and assessments in Connect American Government, McGraw-Hill Education's assignable and assessable learning platform. Where the heat map data indicates that students struggled with specific learning objectives or concepts, we created new Connect assets—Concept Clips, Applied Critical Thinking (ACT), and Newsflash current event activities—to provide another avenue for students to learn and master the content.

SMARTBOOK™

Fueled by LearnSmart, SmartBook is the first and only adaptive reading experience currently available.

Make It Effective. SmartBook creates a personalized reading experience by highlighting significant concepts that a student needs to learn at that moment. This ensures that every minute spent with SmartBook productively contributes to student learning.

Make It Informed. The reading experience continuously adapts by highlighting content based on what the student knows and doesn't know. Real-time reports quickly identify the concepts that require more attention from individual students—or the entire class. SmartBook detects the content a student is most likely to forget and resurfaces it to improve long-term retention.

New to this edition, SmartBook is now optimized for mobile and tablet and is accessible for students with disabilities. And as part of any American government course, SmartBook now focuses on the broader context for and building blocks of the political system. Specifically, it has been enhanced with improved learning objectives to ensure that students gain foundational knowledge while also learning to make connections for broader understanding of government institutions, events, and behavior. SmartBook personalizes learning to individual student needs, continually adapting to pinpoint knowledge gaps and focus learning on topics that need the most attention. Study time is more productive and, as a result, students are better prepared for class and coursework. For instructors, SmartBook tracks student progress and provides insights that can help guide teaching strategies.

Informing and Engaging Students on Political Concepts

Using Connect American Government, students can learn the course material more deeply and study more effectively than ever before.

At the *remember* and *understand* levels of Bloom's taxonomy, **Concept Clips** help students break down key concepts in American government. Using easy-to-understand audio narration, visual cues, and colorful animations, Concept

Clips provide a step-by-step presentation that aids in student retention. New Concept Clips for this edition include the following:

- What are the Types of Government?
- Federalists and Antifederalists
- What is Devolution?
- Regulation of the Media
- Who Participates?
- Presidency: Going Public
- U.S. Foreign Policy

In addition to the concept-based clips, the new edition also offers several skills-based clips that equip students for work within and outside the classroom. These skills-based clips include the following:

- Evaluating the News
- Critical Thinking
- How to Read a Court Case
- How to Understand Charts and Graphs
- Political Cartoons
- How to Avoid Plagiarism

Also at the *remember* and *understand* levels of Bloom's taxonomy, **Newsflash** ties current news stories to key American government concepts and learning objectives. After evaluating a related news story, students are assessed on their ability to connect it to the course content. Examples include the 2018 midterm election results, 2017 tax reform legislation, and trade tariffs.

Deepen understanding of how politics happens in the real world by leveraging the most popular podcasts available with our new **Podcast Assignments.** These assignments allow you to bring greater context and nuance to your courses while engaging students through the storytelling power of podcasts.

At the *apply, analyze,* and *evaluate* levels of Bloom's taxonomy, **critical thinking activities** allow students to engage with the political process and learn by doing.

- Quiz: What Is Your Political Ideology?
- Poll: Americans' Confidence in the Police
- Research: Find Your Senator
- Infographic: Compare the Courts

Practice Government, McGraw-Hill's educational game focused on the American political system, is fully integrated inside of Connect American Government! A set of focused introductory missions are paired with auto-grade and critical thinking.

Content Changes

In addition to thorough updates of the data and figures throughout the text, fresh new photographs and other images in every chapter, and a new "Fake or Fact?" boxed feature (individual boxes listed below) to help students negotiate misinformation in today's social media–driven and increasingly partisan media, the revisions to Chapters 6, 10, and 13 were guided by the student heat map data mentioned earlier.

Finally, *We the People*, Thirteenth Edition, includes the following specific chapter-by-chapter changes:

Chapter 1, Critical Thinking and Political Culture: Becoming a Responsible Citizen

- New introduction focused on the impact of the current wave of misinformation on Americans' beliefs (using the 2016 Edgar Maddison Welch "pizzagate" shooting and other examples) as an introduction to the book's strong emphasis on critical thinking
- Thoroughly revised "Learning to Think Critically" section (previously "Learning to Think Politically") emphasizing how the skill of critical thinking—and the avoidance of confirmation bias—is more important than ever in light of our current culture of misinformation
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Do Immigrants Commit More Crimes?") in the "Political Culture: Americans' Enduring Beliefs" section

Chapter 2, Constitutional Democracy: Promoting Liberty and Self-Government

- New introduction focused on John McCain's acceptance speech upon receiving the National Constitution Center's Liberty Medal as a segue into the chapter's focus on the idealism that has shaped America from its beginning
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Were Millions of Illegal Votes Cast in Favor of Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Election?") in the "Providing for Representative Government" section

Chapter 3, Federalism: Forging a Nation

- New introduction focused on the conflict between Donald Trump's immigrant deportation policy and the establishment of sanctuary cities as a segue into the chapter's focus on national versus state power
- New "Case Study" box ("The Power of Government") in the "Federalism: National and State Sovereignty" section
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Do States Have Final Authority over Marijuana Laws?") in the "Federalism: National and State Sovereignty" section

Chapter 4, Civil Liberties: Protecting Individual Rights

- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Do You Have a Right to Speak Freely on Campus?") in the "Freedom of Expression" section
- New discussion of the Supreme Court ruling in the 2018 *Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado Civil Rights Division* case in the "Freedom of Expression" section
- New discussion of the Supreme Court ruling in the 2018 *Carpenter v. United States* case in the "Rights of Persons Accused of Crimes" section

Chapter 5, Equal Rights: Struggling toward Fairness

- Reorganized and streamlined discussion of equal rights throughout the chapter
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Is Justice Color Blind?") in the "Equality through Law" section

Chapter 6, Public Opinion and Political Socialization: Shaping the People's Voice

- New chapter introduction focused on public opinion and the gun control debate in the wake of the Parkland school shooting
- Fully updated discussions of opinion dimensions (with marijuana legalization and Trump approval rating examples) and problems with polls in "The Measurement of Public Opinion" section
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Can the Polls Be Trusted?") in "The Measurement of Public Opinion" section
- New introduction to the "Political Socialization: The Origins of Americans' Opinions" section, focused on opinion regarding free trade, as well as updated discussion of national pride (including a fully revised "How the U.S. Differs" box)
- Updated discussions of religion and economic class group orientations in the "Frames of Reference: How Americans Think Politically" section
- Updated discussion of partisanship with new examples in "The Influence of Public Opinion of Policy" section

Chapter 7, Political Participation: Activating the Popular Will

- Updated discussion of midterm participation, voter ID laws, European voter participation, and the Hispanic vote in the "Voter Participation" section
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Are Our Attention Spans Shrinking?") in the "Voter Participation" section
- Thoroughly updated discussions of the Black Lives Matter, #MeToo, and anti-gun violence movements (as well as factors in the success of various political movements) in the "Unconventional Activism: Political Movements and Protest" section

Chapter 8, Political Parties, Candidates, and Campaigns: Defining the Voter's Choice

- New chapter introduction focused on the results of the 2018 midterm elections
- Expanded discussion of the history of party partisanship from the 1960s to today in the "Party Competition and Majority Rule" section
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Are Strong Partisans the Most Informed Citizens?") in the "Party Competition and Majority Rule" section

- Updated coverage of third parties, as well as fully revised discussion of the decline of moderate voters and the characteristics of Republican and Democratic voters in the "Electoral and Party Systems" section
- Fully revised and restructured section on "Parties and Candidates in the Campaign" (formerly "Party Organizations")
- Expanded discussion of voter accountability in the "Parties, Candidates, and the Public's Influence" section

Chapter 9, Interest Groups: Organizing for Influence

- New introduction discussing the unprecedented number of corporate lobbyists who sought a steep cut in the corporate tax rate during congressional deliberations on the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act
- New discussion of the power of the National Rifle Association as an example of outside lobbying in the "Outside Lobbying: Seeking Influence through Public Pressure" section
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Do 'the People' Decide?") in "The Group System: Indispensable but Biased in Favor of Economic Groups" section

Chapter 10, The News Media and the Internet: Communicating Politics

- New chapter title (formerly "The News Media: Communicating Political Images") reflecting the ever-increasing importance of the Internet as a source of political communication
- New chapter introduction focused on the extremely disparate messages coming from American news sources
- Fully revised (and newly titled) section on "Media Change: From the Nation's Founding to Today," with a new introduction, new organization, an expanded section on the rise of cable TV and partisan talk shows, and a new section on the rise of the Internet
- Fully revised (and newly titled) section on "The Media: Content and Functions," with a new introduction, new organization, a thoroughly revised section on information-centered communication, new discussion of Trump and tweeting, a new "How the U.S. Differs" box ("Russian Interference in Western Elections"), and a new section on partisan-centered communication
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Are the Traditional News Media Politically Biased?") in "The Media: Content and Functions" section
- Fully revised (and newly titled) section on "Media Audiences and Effects," with a new introduction, new organization, a new section on the traditional audience, and thoroughly revised sections on partisan and inattentive audiences

Chapter 11, Congress: Balancing National Goals and Local Interests

- New chapter introduction focused on bipartisan support of the 2018 budget bill
- Revised "Congress as a Career: Election to Congress" section, with updated and expanded discussions of gerrymandering, personal misconduct, and challenges to incumbents.
- Revised "Parties and Party Leadership" section, with expanded discussion of partisanship, new discussion of the Hastert Rule, and a new section on party leaders and their members
- New discussion of the effects of polarization in the "Committees and Committee Leadership" section
- Revised "Congress's Policymaking Role" section, with new discussions of partisanship in relation to immigration reform, policy deadlock, and the House Intelligence Committee's investigation into Russian meddling in the 2016 presidential election
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Are Policy Problems Simple and Easy to Fix?") in the "Congress: An Institution Divided" section

Chapter 12, The Presidency: Leading the Nation

- New introduction on the unprecedented nature of the first year of Trump's presidency
- Revised "Choosing the President" section, with new discussion of Democrats expected to run in the 2020 presidential election, the effects of Gary Johnson and Jill Stein on the 2016 presidential elections, and the total price tag for the 2016 presidential elections
- New discussion of the firing of Rex Tillerson in the "Staffing the Presidency" section
- Revised "Factors in Presidential Leadership" section, with new discussion of Trump's relationship with Congress during his first two years, Americans' approval of Trump's missile strikes on Syrian installations, and Trump's unprecedented media coverage
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Do Trump's Supporters Believe His Claims?") in the "Factors in Presidential Leadership" section

Chapter 13, The Federal Bureaucracy: Administering the Government

- New examples within the discussions of regulatory agencies and presidential commissions, as well as new discussion of the Department of Homeland Security in the "Origin and Structure of the Federal Bureaucracy" section
- New examples throughout "The Budgetary Process" section
- Updated discussion of clientele groups in the "Policy and Power in the Bureaucracy" section

- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Is There a 'Deep State'?") in the "Policy and Power in the Bureaucracy" section
- Fully revised "Party Polarization" box ("The Politicization of the Bureaucracy") and updated discussions of the EPA and SES in the "Democracy and Bureaucratic Accountability" section

Chapter 14, The Federal Judicial System: Applying the Law

- Updated coverage of filibustering of Supreme Court nominees, the Neil Gorsuch and Brett Kavanaugh Supreme Court nominations, and women and minority appointees to the federal court in the "Federal Court Appointees" section
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Would Democracy Do Better If Presidents Could Ignore the Courts?") in "The Nature of Judicial Decision Making" section

Chapter 15, Economic and Environmental Policy: Contributing to Prosperity

- Updated discussion of partisan views on regulation in the "Government as Regulator of the Economy" section, focusing on the Democrat-supported 2010 Dodd-Frank Act and the Republican-supported 2018 Economic Growth, Regulatory Relief, and Consumer Protection Act
- New discussion of Trump's withdrawal from the Paris accord in the "Government as Protector of the Environment" section
- New discussion of the 2018 Supreme Court decision on mandatory union dues in the "Government as Promoter of Economic Interests" section
- New coverage of the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act in the "Fiscal Policy as an Economic Tool" section
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Would Eliminating Foreign Aid Balance the Budget?") in the "Fiscal Policy as an Economic Tool" section

Chapter 16, Income, Welfare, and Education Policy: Providing for Personal Security

- New introduction focused on the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act
- New discussion of Trump's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership and corporate lobbying for the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act in the "Income Politics and Policies" section
- Updated coverage of entitlement programs in the "Welfare Politics and Policies" section
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Do Citizens Who Claim to Know the Most about Policy Issues Actually Know the Most?") in the "Education Politics and Policies" section

Chapter 17, Foreign Policy: Protecting the American Way

- New introduction focused on Trump's withdrawal from the Trans-Pacific Partnership
- Fully revised (and newly titled) "The Pattern of U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy" section, with reorganized and updated discussions of the Islamic State, Russia, and China
- New "Fake or Fact?" box ("Did Russia Try to Influence the 2016 Election?") in "The Pattern of U.S. Foreign and Defense Policy" section
- Updated "How the U.S. Differs" box and updated military spending data in "The Military Dimension of National Security Policy" section
- New discussion of Donald Trump's "America First" policy, a new "Case Study" box ("Trade with China"), and updated coverage of American foreign aid in "The Economic Dimension of National Security Policy" section

Acknowledgments

Nearly two decades ago, when planning the first edition of *We the People,* my editor and I concluded that it would be enormously helpful if a way could be found to bring into each chapter the judgment of those political scientists who teach the introductory course year in and year out. Thus, in addition to soliciting general reviews from a select number of expert scholars, we sent each chapter to a dozen or so faculty members at U.S. colleges and universities of all types—public and private, large and small, two-year and four-year. These political scientists, 213 in all, had well over 1,000 years of combined experience in teaching the introductory course, and they provided countless good ideas.

Since then, several hundred other political scientists have reviewed subsequent editions. These many reviewers will go unnamed here, but my debt to all of them remains undiminished by time. For the thirteenth edition, I have benefited from the thoughtful advice of the many who responded to McGraw-Hill's online survey.

I also want to thank those at McGraw-Hill Education and who contributed to the thirteenth edition: Katie Stevens, Jason Seitz, Dawn Groundwater, Elisa Odoardi, Rick Hecker, Will Walter, Sarah Colwell, Kelly Heinrichs, and Ann Marie Jannette, as well as freelance product developer Bruce Cantley and photo researchers Steve Rouben and Danny Meldung at Photo Affairs, Inc. At Harvard, I had the ongoing support of Emily Roseman and Eric Singerman.

Thomas E. Patterson

CHAPTER 1

Critical Thinking and Political Culture: Becoming a Responsible Citizen

"The worth of the state, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it."

John Stuart Mill[1]

It was a bright Sunday afternoon in the nation's capital when Edgar Maddison Welch walked into Comet Ping Pong pizza restaurant and, after telling customers to flee, searched the restaurant and opened fire. After his arrest, police recovered a pistol and an assault rifle at the scene and another gun in his pickup truck.

What prompted Welch to shoot up a pizzeria? He didn't have a grudge against a former boss or fellow employee. Welch had driven his truck from North Carolina to "self-investigate" a story he had seen online.[2] The fake story claimed that coded e-mails on Hillary Clinton's private server revealed the pizza shop was a front for a child sex-ring in which she and other top Democrats were involved. The victims were allegedly imprisoned in vaults hidden below the shop. As it turned out, there was no sex-ring, and the pizza shop didn't even have a basement.

As senseless as Edgar Maddison Welch's act might seem, he was not alone in his thinking. A poll taken after Welch's arrest found that a third of Americans thought the sex-ring allegation was "definitely" or "probably" true.[3]

In addition to its grim side, misinformation has its comic side. In one poll, 10 percent of respondents thought that Judith Sheindlin ("Judge Judy") holds a seat on the Supreme Court.[4] But the grim side is alarming. It's easy today to find policy issues on which millions of Americans are wildly misinformed. Never in the history of scientific opinion polls, which date to the 1930s, has misinformation clouded the minds of so many people.[5]

Some degree of political misinformation is to be expected. Politics is largely a second-hand experience—something we hear about from others. We would understand it better if we experienced it directly. A skier who has just smacked into a tree has a reality check denied to the citizen who's convinced that payments to welfare recipients account for half the federal budget.

Today's volume of misinformation is unprecedented. A full list of Americans' false beliefs would fill many pages. Here are just a few of the more prominent ones from recent years, along with the rough percentage of Americans who believed they were true at the time:

- Crime has gone up in the past decade (70 percent).[6]
- Donald Trump won the popular vote in the 2016 election (30 percent).[7]
- The 2010 Affordable Care Act included "death panels" (40 percent).[8]
- The federal budget deficit could be eliminated by cutting government waste and fraud (70 percent).[9]
- China owns more than half of U.S. debt (50 percent).[10]
- Social Security will go totally broke in my lifetime (50 percent).[11]

Early opinion polls revealed that Americans didn't know much about public affairs.[12] An alarming number of citizens couldn't answer simple questions like "What is the name of your state's governor?" Polls since then have found the same tendency, which has led analysts to question whether citizens are equipped to play the role that democracy asks of them. Political scientist James David Barber wrote that the uninformed "are dangerously unready when the time comes for choice."[13]

But whatever risks the uninformed pose, they pale alongside the risks posed by the misinformed. The uninformed know what they don't know, whereas the misinformed think they know something but don't know that they're wrong. It's the difference between ignorance and irrationality.[14] If large numbers of citizens are misinformed, and make policy and candidate choices on that basis, politics becomes aimless. Whether in forming an opinion or casting a vote,

People respond, not to the world as it is, but to the world as they *think* it is. That's as true today as during the time when people thought the world was flat and wouldn't sail out to sea because they feared sailing off the edge. Many of today's citizens hold opinions that are wildly at odds with reality. (*Source:* Swedish National Library)

citizens need to know what's at issue, so that they can make a reasoned judgment. When they lose touch with reality, such judgments are impossible.[15] The problem with misinformed voters is not their logic. Their decisions make perfect sense given what they believe. The problem is that they're living in an alternative world.

Learning to Think Critically

This book aims to help students, as citizens, learn to think critically about politics. Critical thinking is not the mere act of having an opinion. Critical thinking is defined instead by the process through which conclusions are reached. **Critical thinking** involves determining what can reasonably be believed and then using the information to reach a thoughtful conclusion. It enables citizens to act responsibly, whether in casting a vote, forming an opinion on a political issue, or contributing to a political cause. It involves the careful evaluation of information in the process of forming a judgment about the issue at hand. Opinions not reached in this way are likely to be incomplete at best, perhaps even wildly off base.[16]

Critical thinking requires a willingness to listen to alternative points of view and a desire to know the facts. Critical thinking takes effort. Citizens who make that effort will often reach different conclusions about what policies or leaders are best for the country. Critical thinking involves judging information in the context of one's values and interests, which differ from one citizen to the next and can lead reasonable people to make different choices. But sound

judgment is blunted when the citizen is mired in misinformation or hears only what one side has to say. The true test of an opinion is not whether it seems solid but whether it holds up when judged against other views. "He who knows only his one side of the case knows little of that," philosopher John Stuart Mill wrote. "His reasons may be good, and no one may have been able to refute them. But if he is equally unable to refute the reasons of the opposite side, if he does not so much as know what they are, he has no ground for preferring either opinion."[17]

Democracy liberates the individual. Authoritarian governments suppress individuality, forcing people to think and act in prescribed ways or risk punishment. Democracy frees the mind, but the individual citizen determines how that freedom will be used. Citizens can develop the habit of critical thinking, or they can invent cockeyed visions of reality. There is nothing to stop them from thinking the world is flat rather than round, but in such cases they can only blame themselves for how their choices turn out. They will make choices—forming an opinion on this issue or that one, voting for this candidate or that one—but the result will not be what they expect. Consider that many Americans supported the 2003 invasion of Iraq because they thought the war would end in weeks, given that the Iraqi army was no match for the U.S. military. A decade later the war was still going on as a result of the ethnic and religious strife that was unleashed by the U.S. invasion. If a decade-long war might have been difficult to predict, the thought that the war would end in weeks was wishful thinking, not critical thinking.

Obstacles to Critical Thinking

The obstacles to critical thinking have increased in recent decades. Our media system has changed markedly, as first cable and then the Internet expanded our sources of information. Many of the newer sources are not to be trusted. Some talk-show hosts, bloggers, and website creators care little about the accuracy of the claims they make. They routinely slant or invent information to suit their purpose while hiding contradictory information. During the 2016 presidential campaign, for example, a fake story headlined "Pope Francis Shocks World, Endorses Donald Trump for President, Releases Statement" was widely circulated on the Internet. A poll found that three-fourths of Donald Trump's supporters and half of Hillary Clinton's supporters who had seen the story believed it,[18] although a moment's reflection should have told them otherwise.[19] Popes do not endorse political candidates, whether they're running for office in the United States or elsewhere.

Political leaders have also contributed to the rise in misinformation. Deception has always been part of our politics. During the Vietnam conflict, the

Johnson and Nixon administrations told Americans that the conflict was going well when in fact it was going poorly. Nevertheless, the public at an earlier time was less tolerant of deceptive claims, and leaders were less inclined to make them. In recent years, as our politics has become more heated and divisive, we've become more tolerant of leaders who slant the facts, and they've become more willing to do it.[20] For instance, during the 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders claimed that free trade agreements were the major killer of factory jobs. Foreign trade has indeed cost America factory jobs, but it's not anywhere near the biggest job killer. It accounts for only one in eight lost factory jobs. Automation is the real killer. Since the 1950s, manufacturing has shed two-thirds of its jobs, but its productive output has increased sixfold because of automation.[21]And that problem will only worsen as advances in artificial intelligence enable machines to take over more and more jobs.

We're also behind the rise in misinformation. **Confirmation bias** refers to our tendency to interpret information in ways that reinforce what we already believe.[22] Given the same information, Republicans and Democrats will often construe it in ways that fit their partisan bias, which can lead them to false conclusions. For example, as the rumor spread that Democrat Hillary Clinton was part of a child sex-ring run out of a pizza shop (see the beginning of this chapter), Republicans were far more likely than Democrats to think it was true.[23] After 9/11, when it was rumored that Republican president George W. Bush

Critical thinking is what enables citizens to act responsibly and effectively when forming opinions and choosing candidates. The challenges to critical thinking have increased in recent years with the rise of misinformation. Many of the political messages that today's citizens see and hear are factually wrong. (©master_art/Shutterstock)

personally knew in advance of the terrorist attack and let it happen to further his geopolitical ambitions, Democrats were far more likely than Republicans to believe the false claim.[24]

Many citizens choose to immerse themselves in "echo chambers," where what they hear is what they want to hear. Conservative talk-show programs, for example, have an audience made up largely of conservatives, while liberal programs have a heavily liberal audience. On many of these programs, listeners are fed a distorted version of truth. "A sociopathic alternative reality" is one observer's description.[25] People who wouldn't consider asking their plumber to diagnose a persistent cough accept without thinking what a favorite talk-show host tells them about the intricacies of foreign policy. People who spend hours listening to partisan talk shows have the distinction of being among America's most misinformed citizens.[26]

What Political Science Can Contribute to Critical Thinking

This text will not try to tell you *what* to think politically. There is no correct way of thinking when it comes to the "what" of politics. People differ in their political values and interests and, thus, also differ in their political opinions.

Instead, this text will help you learn *how* to think critically by providing you with analytical tools that can sharpen your understanding of American politics. The tools are derived from **political science**—the systematic study of government and politics. Political science has developed largely through the work of scholars, but political practitioners and writers have also contributed. One of America's foremost political scientists was the chief architect of the U.S. Constitution and later a president. Even today, James Madison's essays on constitutional design (two of which can be found in this book's appendixes) are masterpieces of political science.

As a discipline, political science is descriptive and analytical—that is, it attempts to depict and explain politics. This effort takes place through various frameworks, including rational choice theory, institutional analysis, historical reasoning, behavioral studies, legal reasoning, and cultural analysis. Political science offers a set of analytical tools that can increase one's ability to think critically:

- Reliable information about how the U.S. political system operates
- Systematic generalizations about major tendencies in American politics
- Terms and concepts that precisely describe key aspects of politics

These tools will broaden your understanding of American politics and help you think critically about it.

Like any skill, critical thinking needs to be developed through practice. For this reason, each of the text's chapters includes boxes that ask you to think critically. Some boxes deal with perennial questions, such as about the president's war powers and the proper relation between the nation and the states. Other boxes ask you to think critically by comparing how politics in the United States and in your state differs from that of other nations and states. Still other boxes present cases of actual events and ask you to think critically by analyzing these developments. Other boxes provide information and ask you to assess whether the claim is fake or fact. Finally, some boxes deal with current controversies, including the rising level of party polarization in America.

POLITICAL CULTURE: AMERICANS' ENDURING BELIEFS

An understanding of U.S. politics properly begins with an assessment of the nation's political culture. Every country has its **political culture**—the widely shared and deep-seated beliefs of its people about politics.[27] These beliefs derive from the country's traditions and help define the relationship of citizens to their government and to each other.

Although every country has a distinctive political culture, the United States, as the British writer James Bryce observed, is a special case.[28] Americans' beliefs are the foundation of their national identity. Other people take their identity from the common ancestry that led them gradually to gather under one flag. Thus, long before there was a France, Germany, or Japan, there were French, German, and Japanese people, each a kinship group united through ancestry. Not so for Americans. They are a multitude of people from different lands—England, Germany, Ireland, Africa, Italy, Poland, Mexico, and China, to name just a few (see "How the U.S. Differs"). Americans are linked not by a shared ancestry but by allegiance to a common set of ideals. The French writer Alexis de Tocqueville was among the first to recognize how thoroughly certain beliefs were embedded in the American mind. "Habits of the heart" was how he described them.

America's core ideals are rooted in the European heritage of the first white settlers. They arrived during the Enlightenment period, when people were awakening to the idea of individual potential, which could be pursued with less difficulty in the more equal society of the New World than in the more stratified society—of nobles and commoners—of the Old World. Ultimately, the colonists overturned the European way of governing. The American Revolution was the first successful large-scale rebellion in human history driven largely by

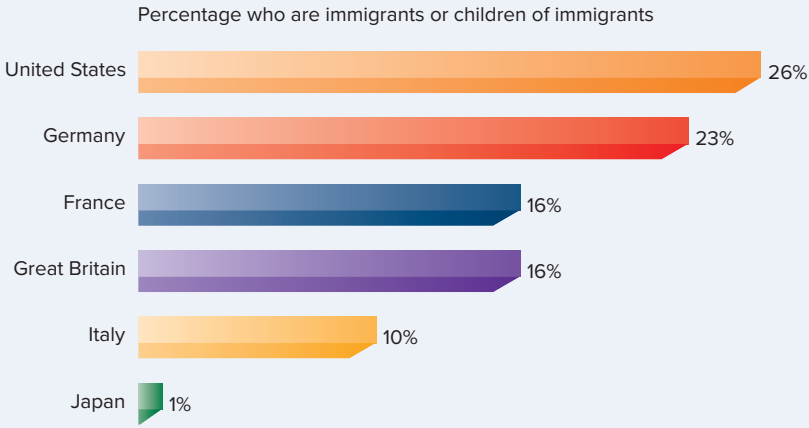
HOW THE U.S. DIFFERS

CRITICAL THINKING THROUGH COMPARISONS

A Nation of Immigrants

The United States has been called a "nation of immigrants." Americans can trace their ancestral roots to nearly every country on earth. Even today, one in every seven Americans is an immigrant. If the children of immigrants are included, the figure is one in every four Americans.

Migrants make up a larger percentage of the population in the United States than they do in nearly every other country. Here are selected comparisons, based on the percentage of the population of high school age who are immigrants or the children of immigrants.



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2016.

Q: How might more recent U.S. immigrants differ from those who came to the United States earlier in its history?

A: The great majority of early immigrants to America came from Europe, which was due in part to restrictions on immigrants from other parts of the globe. Legislation was enacted in 1965 that eased restrictions on immigration from Latin America and Asia. Since then, most immigrants have come from those regions.

the desire to create a radically different form of society.[29] In the words of the Declaration of Independence:

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

A decade later, in the drafting of the Constitution of the United States, some of these ideas were put into writing: Leaders would be required to govern within a set of rules designed to protect people's rights and interests.

Core Values: Liberty, Individualism, Equality, and Self-Government

An understanding of America's cultural ideals begins with recognition that the individual is paramount. Government is secondary. Its role is to serve the people, as opposed to a system where people are required to serve government. No clearer statement of this principle exists than the Declaration of Independence's reference to "unalienable rights"—freedoms that belong to each and every citizen and that cannot lawfully be taken away by government.

Liberty, individualism, equality, and self-government are widely regarded as America's core political ideals. **Liberty** is the principle that individuals should be free to act and think as they choose, provided they do not infringe unreasonably on the freedom and well-being of others.[30] Political liberty was nearly a birthright for early Americans. They did not have to accept the European system of absolute government when greater personal liberty was as close as the next area of unsettled land. Religious sentiments also entered into the thinking of the early Americans. Many of them had fled Europe to escape religious persecution and came to look upon religious freedom as part of a broader set of rights, including freedom of speech. Unsurprisingly, these early Americans were determined, when forming their own government, to protect their liberty. The Declaration of Independence rings with the proclamation that people are entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The preamble to the Constitution declares that the U.S. government was founded to secure "the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity."

Early Americans also enjoyed unprecedented economic opportunities. Unlike Europe, America had no hereditary nobility that owned virtually all the land. The New World's great distance from Europe and its vast stretches of open

Americans' cultural beliefs have their roots in the nation's formative years. The challenges and opportunities of North America's vast wilderness helped foster in settlers a commitment to liberty, equality, self-reliance, and self-determination. This 19th-century portrayal of frontier life is a hand-painted Currier & Ives lithograph created by Frances Flora Bond Palmer. She was one of the era's leading lithographic artists. (*Source:* Yale University Art Gallery)

territory gave ordinary people the chance to own property, provided they were willing to work hard enough to make it a success. Out of this experience grew a sense of self-reliance and a culture of "rugged individualism." **Individualism** is a commitment to personal initiative and self-sufficiency. Observers from Tocqueville onward have seen fit to note that liberty in America, as in no other country, is tied to a desire for economic independence. Americans' chief aim, wrote Tocqueville, "is to remain their own masters."[31]

A third American political ideal is **equality**—the notion that all individuals are equal in their moral worth and thereby entitled to equal treatment under the law. Europe's rigid system of aristocratic privilege was unenforceable in frontier America. It was this natural sense of personal equality that Thomas Jefferson expressed so forcefully in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." However, equality has always been America's most elusive ideal. Even Jefferson professed not to know its exact meaning. A slave owner, Jefferson distinguished between free citizens, who were entitled to equal rights, and slaves, who were not. After

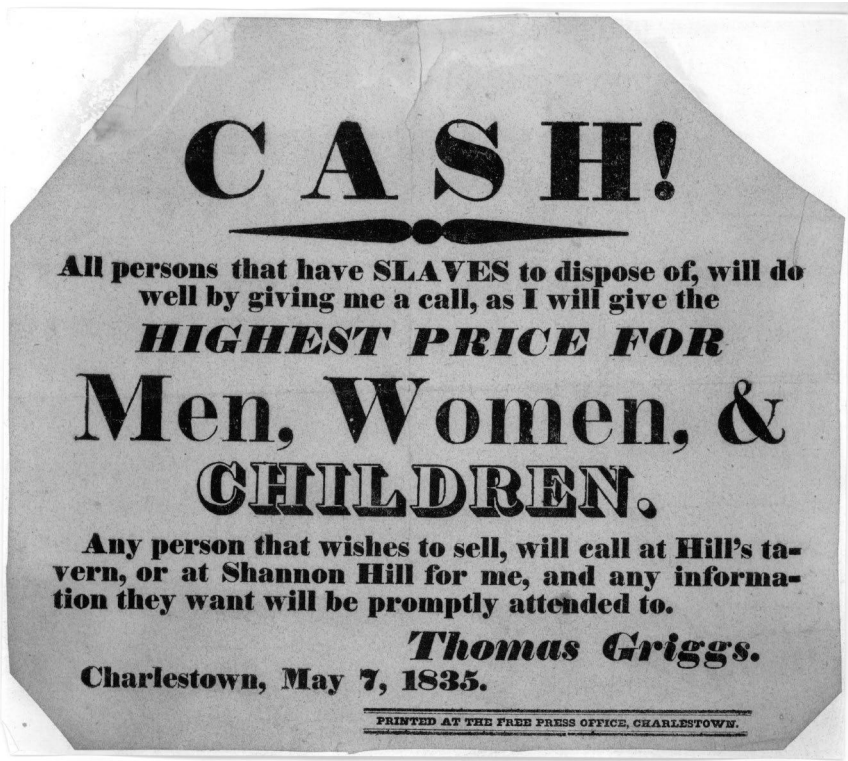
slavery was abolished, Americans continued to argue over the meaning of equality, and the debate continues today. Does equality require that wealth and opportunity be widely shared? Or does it merely require that artificial barriers to advancement be removed? Despite differing opinions about such questions, an insistence on equality is a distinctive feature of the American experience. Americans, said Bryce, reject "the very notion" that some people might be "better" than others merely because of birth or position.[32]

America's fourth great political ideal is **self-government**—the principle that the people are the ultimate source of governing authority and should have a voice in their governing. Americans' belief in self-government formed in colonial America. The Old World was an ocean away, and European governments had no option but to give the American colonies a degree of self-determination. Out of this experience came the vision of a self-governing nation that led tens of thousands of ordinary farmers, merchants, and tradesmen to risk their lives fighting the British during the American Revolution. "Governments," the Declaration of Independence proclaims, "deriv[e] their just powers from the consent of the governed." The Constitution of the United States opens with the words "We the People." Etched in a corridor of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., are the words Alexander Hamilton spoke when asked about the foundation of the nation's government: "Here, sir, the people govern."

The Limits and Power of Americans' Ideals

America's cultural beliefs are idealistic. They hold out the promise of a government of high purpose, in which power is widely shared and used for the common good, and where individuals are free, independent, and equal under the law.

Yet high ideals do not come with a guarantee that people will live up to them. The clearest proof in the American case is the human tragedy that began nearly four centuries ago and continues today. In 1619 the first black slaves were brought in chains to America. Slavery lasted 250 years. Slaves worked in the fields from dawn to dark (from "can see, 'til can't"), in both the heat of summer and the cold of winter. The Civil War brought an end to slavery but not to racial oppression. Slavery was followed by the Jim Crow era of legal segregation: Black people in the South were forbidden by law to use the same schools, hospitals, restaurants, and restrooms as white people. Those who spoke out against this system were subjected to beatings, firebombings, rapes, and murder—hundreds of African Americans were lynched in the early 1900s by white vigilantes. Today, African Americans have equal rights under the law, but in fact they are far from equal. Compared with white children, black children are twice as likely to live in poverty and to die in infancy.[33] There have always been two Americas, one for whites and one for blacks.



The largest stain on America's founding principles is the nation's treatment of its black citizens. For more than two centuries, they were bought and sold as slaves and, after being freed by the Civil War, were denied equal citizenship throughout the South. That legacy carries into today, as evidenced by the extraordinarily high levels of poverty and joblessness in the black community. For the nation's blacks, America's promise of equality has always been a hollow one. (*Source:* Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division [LC-USZ62-62799])

Despite the lofty claim that "all men are created equal," equality has never been an American birthright. In 1882, Congress suspended Chinese immigration on the assumption that the Chinese were an inferior people. Calvin Coolidge in 1923 asked Congress for a permanent ban on Chinese immigration, saying that people "who do not want to be partakers of the American spirit ought not to settle in America."[34] Not to be outdone, California enacted legislation prohibiting individuals of Japanese descent from purchasing property in the state. Not until 1965 was discrimination against the Chinese, Japanese, and other Asians eliminated from U.S. immigration laws. For more on America's conflicted relationship with immigrants (see "Fake or Fact? Do Immigrants Commit More Crimes?").

America's callous treatment of some groups is not among the stories that the American people like to tell about themselves. A University of Virginia

Detecting Misinformation

Do Immigrants Commit More Crimes?

America is portrayed as a nation that opens its arms to immigrants. At the base of the Statue of Liberty are the words of Emma Lazarus's oft-cited poem, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free."

©Everett Historical/Shutterstock

Yet, many Americans have opposed the entry of immigrants, particularly those with different backgrounds. In the mid-1800s, Catholic immigrants from Ireland and Germany were widely reviled by Protestants already here. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, hostility was directed at new arrivals from southern and eastern Europe—Italians, Greeks, Poles, Hungarians, Jews, Russians, and others. Congress in 1924 passed a law that largely blocked further immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Congress had earlier closed the nation's shores to immigrants from Asia.

An argument that was heard in those earlier periods, and is heard again today, is that immigrants are undesirable because they pose a threat to public safety. A Pew Research Center poll found that Americans by a ratio of seven to one believe that immigrants are more likely than native-born Americans to commit crimes.[35]

Is that claim fact, or is it fake?

Government in past times did not compile systematic statistics on crime, so there's no way to show conclusively whether earlier immigrants had unusually high crime rates. But we do know whether the claim is true today. There has been substantial research on the issue, including recent studies by the National Academy of Sciences and the conservative Cato Institute. The studies have found that immigrants are more law abiding than are native-born Americans. The 2017 Cato Institute study, for example, found that immigrants are 69 percent less likely to be incarcerated than are the native born. That's true also of illegal immigrants, who are 44 percent less likely than the native born to have been convicted of crime and imprisoned.[36]

survey found that American adults are far more likely to want children to be taught about the nation's achievements than its shortcomings. For example, more than four out of five of those surveyed said children should be taught that "with hard work and perseverance anyone can succeed in America," while less than three in five said the same about teaching children of the nation's "cruel mistreatment of blacks and American Indians." Selective memory can be found among all peoples, but the tendency to recast history is perhaps exaggerated in the American case because Americans' beliefs are so idealistic. How could a nation that claims to uphold the principle of equality have barred the Chinese, enslaved blacks, declared wives to be the "property" of their husbands,[37] and killed Indians in order to steal their lands?

Although America's ideals obviously do not determine exactly what people will do, they are far from empty promises. If racial, gender, ethnic, and other forms of intolerance constitute the nation's sorriest chapter, the centuries-old struggle of Americans to build a more equal society is among its finest. Few nations have battled so relentlessly against the insidious discrimination that stems from superficial human differences such as the color of one's skin. The abolition and suffrage movements of the 1800s and the more recent civil rights movements of black Americans, women, Hispanics, and the LGBTQ community testify to Americans' persistent effort to build a more equal society. In 1848, at the first-ever national convention on women's rights, the delegates issued the Declaration of Sentiments, which read in part: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal." A century later, speaking at the Lincoln Memorial at the peak of the black civil rights movement, Martin Luther King Jr. said: "'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'"[38]

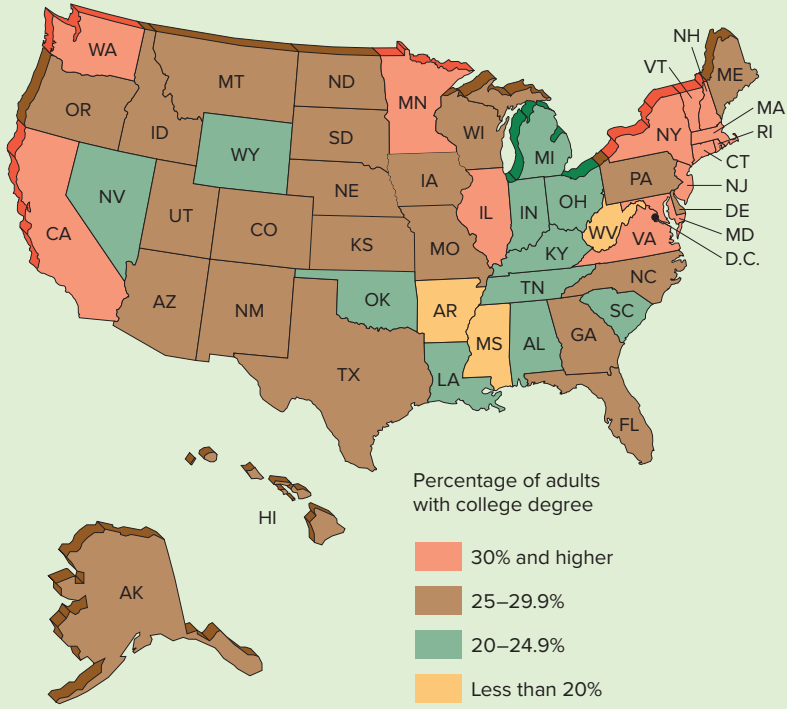
Americans' determination to build a more equal society can also be seen in its public education system. In the early 1800s, the United States pioneered the idea of a free public education for children—this at a time when education in Europe was reserved for children of the wealthy. Even today, the United States spends more heavily on public education than do European countries. Compared with Great Britain or France, for example, the United States spends about 30 percent more per pupil annually on its primary and secondary schools. The United States also has the world's most elaborate system of higher education, which includes roughly 4,000 two-year and four-year institutions. Although some of America's youth do not have a realistic chance of attending college, the nation's college system is a relatively open one. Nearly a third of Americans over the age of 25 have a college degree, which ranks second only to Canada worldwide. Even the American states with the lowest proportion of college graduates have a higher percentage of residents with a bachelor's degree than does the typical European country (see "How the 50 States Differ").

HOW THE 50 STATES DIFFER

CRITICAL THINKING THROUGH COMPARISONS

A College Education

Reflecting their belief in individualism and equality, Americans have developed the world's largest college system—comprising roughly 4,000 institutions. According to U.S. Census Bureau figures, nearly one in three Americans over the age of 25 is a college graduate. Even the lowest-ranking state—West Virginia with one in six—has a higher percentage of college graduates than do most European countries.



Q: Why do the northeastern and western coastal states have a higher percentage of adults with college degrees?

A: The northeastern and western coastal states are wealthier and more urbanized than most states. Accordingly, young people in these states can better afford the costs of college and are more likely to pursue careers that require a college degree.

The principle of self-government has also shaped American society. No country holds as many elections as does the United States, or has anywhere near as many publicly elected officials. There are roughly a half million American elected officials, everyone from the president of the United States to the local council member. The United States is also nearly the only country to use primary elections as the means of choosing party nominees.

The principles of liberty and individualism have also shaped American society. Few people have pursued their individual rights—ranging from freedom of expression to fair-trial protections—as relentlessly as have Americans. And there are few countries where individualism is as deeply ingrained as in the United States (see "Case Study: Social Welfare Policy"). Political analysts William Watts and Lloyd Free described the United States as "the country of individualism *par excellence.*"[39]

America's distinctive cultural beliefs are only one of the elements that affect the nation's politics, as subsequent chapters will show. The rest of this chapter introduces concepts and distinctions that are basic to an informed understanding of politics.

Politics and Power in America

Political scientist Harold Lasswell described politics as a conflict over "who gets what, when, and how."[40] Politics would be a simple matter if everyone thought alike and could have everything they pleased. But people do not think alike, and society's resources are limited. Conflict is the inevitable result. **Politics** is the means by which society settles its conflicts and allocates the resulting benefits and costs.

Those who prevail in political conflicts are said to have **power,** a term that refers to the ability of persons, groups, or institutions to influence political developments.[41] Power is basic to politics. The distribution of power in a society affects who wins and who loses when policy decisions are made. Those with enough power can raise or cut taxes, permit or prohibit abortions, impose or relax trade barriers, and make war or declare peace. With so much at stake, it is not surprising that Americans, like people elsewhere, seek political power.

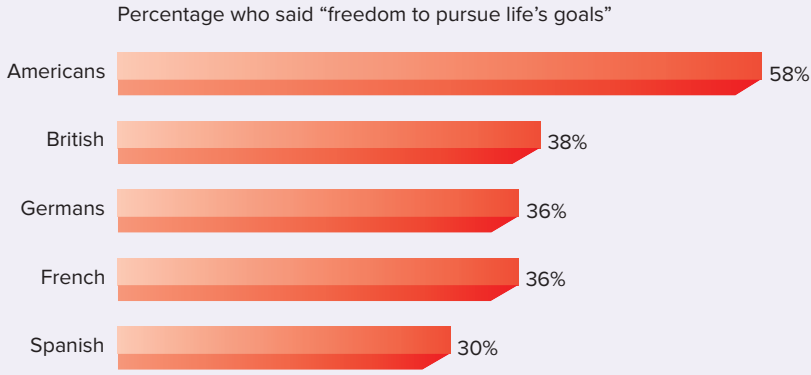
French philosopher Michel Foucault called politics "war by other means,"[42] a phrase that literally describes politics in some countries. An **authoritarian government** is one that openly represses its political opponents, mostly through intimidation and prohibitions on free expression but sometimes by brutalizing opposition leaders. Such regimes are backed by the country's police and armed forces, forego free and fair elections, and exert tight control over the media. The authoritarian regime in China, for example, blocks Facebook, Twitter,

CASE STUDY

Politics in Action

Social Welfare Policy

Americans' cultural beliefs distinguish them from people of other nations. An example is Americans' commitment to individualism. Although individualism is also part of European culture, it takes exaggerated form in the United States, as can be seen from a Pew Research Center survey. Respondents in four European countries and the United States were asked whether they thought "freedom to pursue life's goals" or making sure that "nobody is in need" was the more important value. Americans were easily the most likely to say that "freedom to pursue life's goals" was the more important.



Source: Pew Research Center Global Attitudes & Trends survey, 2011.

The effect of these differences can be seen in welfare policy. The United States—though having a higher poverty rate than European countries—spends much less on programs for the poor. Americans are not necessarily less sympathetic with the poor. Compared with Europeans, they are twice as likely to donate to charities. But Americans are less inclined than Europeans to support welfare policies that could relieve people of the responsibility to care of themselves.

Q: Can you think of another major policy area where the United States and Europe differ as a result of the emphasis that their citizens place on individual achievement?

ASK YOURSELF: What activity gives you a monetary benefit? Which government policy affects how much of this benefit you get to keep and how much of it goes to the government?

YouTube, and other outlets—including those within the country—that convey messages contrary to what the Chinese government wants its people to hear.[43]

The United States operates by a different standard. It has "rules" designed to keep government in check. These rules—democracy, constitutionalism, and a free market—determine which side will prevail when conflict occurs, as well as what is off limits to the winning side (see Table 1-1).

A Democratic System

The word *democracy* comes from the Greek words *demos,* meaning "the people," and *kratis,* meaning "to rule." In simple terms, **democracy** is a form of government in which the people govern, either directly or through elected representatives. A democracy is thus different from an *oligarchy* (in which control rests with a small group, such as top-ranking military officers or a few wealthy families) and from an *autocracy* (in which control rests with a single individual, such as a king or dictator).

In practice, democracy has come to mean majority rule through the free and open election of representatives. More direct forms of democracy exist, such as town meetings in which citizens vote directly on issues affecting them, but the impracticality of such an arrangement in a large society has made majority rule through elections the operative form of democratic government, including that of the United States (see Chapter 2).

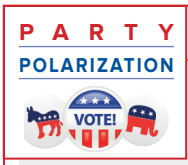
When political leaders respond to the policy desires of the majority, the result is **majoritarianism.**[44] In the American case, majoritarianism occurs primarily through the competition between the Republican and Democratic Parties (see "Party Polarization: Conflict between the Political Parties Has Intensified in Recent Years"). In the 2016 presidential campaign, for instance, Republican

table 1-1 GOVERNING SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL POWER

System	Description and Implications
Democratic	A system of majority rule through elections; empowers majorities (majoritarianism), groups (pluralism), and officials (authority)
Constitutional	A system based on rule of law, including legal protections for individuals; empowers individuals by enabling them to claim their rights in court (legal action)
Free market	An economic system that centers on the transactions between private parties; empowers business firms (corporate power) and the wealthy (elitism)

nominee Donald Trump and Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton differed sharply in their positions on immigration, health care, the environment, and other major policy issues, giving voters a choice over the direction of national policy.

However, majoritarianism has its limits. The public as a whole takes an interest in only a few of the hundreds of policy decisions that officials make each year (see Chapter 6). Even if they wanted to, party leaders would have difficulty getting the majority to pay attention to most issues. Accordingly,



Conflicting Ideas

Conflict between the Political Parties Has Intensified in Recent Years

Conflict between America's two major parties—the Republicans and the Democrats—has intensified in the past few decades. Partisan divisions have surfaced on nearly every major issue, and the fights have been bitter and prolonged, so much so that the term **party (partisan) polarization** is used to characterize today's party politics. Subsequent chapters will examine various aspects of this polarization, but two things should be noted at the outset: The situation is much different than it was a few decades ago but is not very different from what it was during much of the nation's history.

A high level of bipartisanship—cooperation between the parties—marked the period from the end of World War II in 1945 until the late 1960s. Leaders and voters of both parties agreed on the need to contain Soviet communism. In addition, Republican leaders had largely abandoned their effort to turn back the New Deal policies of Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt, which had given the federal government a larger role in economic security (for example, the Social Security program) and economic regulation (for example, oversight of the stock market).

During much of their previous history, however, Americans disagreed strongly over policy and, in the case of the Civil War, took their fight to the battlefield. In fact, periods of bipartisanship are the exception rather than the rule. President George Washington's first years in office, the so-called Era of Good Feeling in the early 1800s, and the World War I and World War II periods are among the few times Americans have put partisan differences largely aside.

Q: Do you see any contradiction in the fact that Americans share a common set of ideals and yet often find themselves on opposite sides when it comes to party politics?

most policies are formulated in response to the groups with a direct interest in the issue. Farmers, for example, have more influence over agricultural subsidies than do other groups, even though these subsidies have far-reaching effects, including the price that shoppers pay for food. Some political scientists, like Yale's Robert Dahl, argue that democracies more often operate as pluralistic (multi-interest) systems than as majoritarian systems.[45] **Pluralism** holds that, on most issues, the preference of the special interest largely determines what government does (see Chapter 9).

A democratic system also bestows another form of power. Although officials are empowered by the majority, they also exercise power in their own right as a result of the positions they hold. When President Trump decided in 2017 to withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement on climate change, he did so despite polls that showed two-thirds of Americans wanted the United States to honor its commitment.[46] In making the decision, Trump was exercising his constitutional authority as chief executive. Such grants are a special kind of power. **Authority** is the recognized right of officials to exercise power. Members of Congress, judges, and bureaucrats, as well as the president, routinely make authoritative decisions, only some of which are a response to power asserted by the majority or special interests.

Authority is a term for the recognized right of officials to exercise power. The President of the United States, for example, exercises authority through the powers granted the office by the Constitution. That authority includes, for example, the power to implement the laws, to veto acts of Congress, and to appoint high-ranking executive officials. (*Source:* Official White House Photo by Shealah Craighead)

A Constitutional System

In a democracy, the votes of the majority prevail over those of the minority. If this principle were unlimited, the majority could treat the minority in any manner of its choosing, including depriving it of its liberty and property. As fanciful as this possibility might seem, it preoccupied the writers of the U.S. Constitution. The history of democracies was filled with examples of majority tyranny, and the nation's early experience was no exception. In 1786, debtors had gained control of Rhode Island's legislature and made paper money a legal means of paying debts, even though contracts called for payment in gold. Creditors were then hunted down and held captive in public places so that debtors could come and pay them in full with worthless paper money. A Boston newspaper wrote that Rhode Island ought to be renamed Rogue Island.

To guard against oppressive majorities, the writers of the Constitution devised an elaborate system of checks and balances, dividing authority among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches so that each branch could check the power of the others (see Chapter 2). The Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution a few years later as a further check on the majority. For example, Congress was prohibited from enacting laws that abridge freedom of speech, press, or religion. These limits reflect the principle of **constitutionalism**—the idea that there are lawful restrictions on government's power. Officials are obliged to act within the limits of the law, which include the protection of individual rights.

The Bill of Rights in combination with an independent judiciary and a firm attachment to private property have made **legal action**—the use of the courts as a means of asserting rights and interests—a channel through which ordinary citizens exercise power. Americans have an expansive view of their rights and turn more readily to the courts to make their claims than do people elsewhere (see Chapters 4 and 5).[47] A handwritten note by a penniless convict, for example, triggered the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark *Gideon v. Wainwright* ruling.[48] Clarence Gideon had been made to stand trial in Florida without the aid of a lawyer for breaking into a pool hall. When he appealed his conviction, the Supreme Court concluded that his constitutional right to counsel had been violated. The ruling established a new policy: If the accused is too poor to hire a lawyer, the government must provide one.

A Free-Market System

Politics is not confined to the halls of government. Many of society's costs and benefits are allocated through the private sector, although economic systems differ in the degree of government intervention. Under *communism,* which characterized the former Soviet Union and is practiced most fully today