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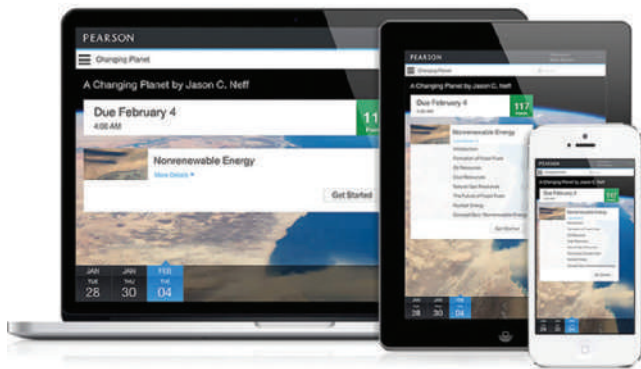


THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

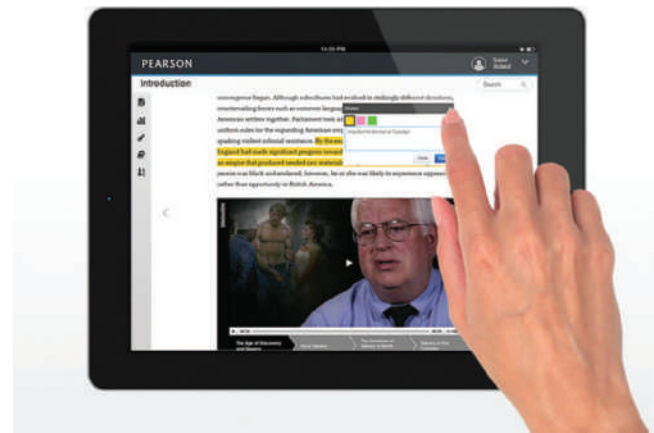
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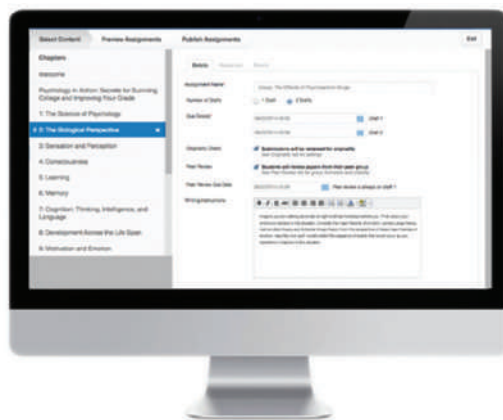
Edward S. Greenberg
Benjamin I. Page



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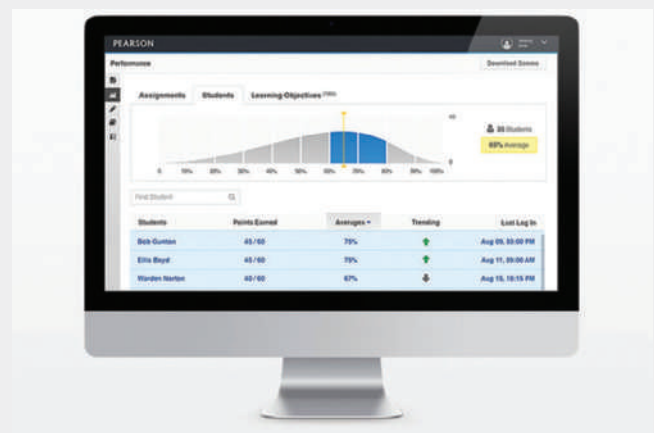
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THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

2018 Elections and Updates Edition

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THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

2018 Elections and Updates Edition

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Why study American government and politics, and why read this textbook to do it? Here's why: Only by understanding how our complex political system operates and how government works can you play a role in deciding what government does. Only by understanding the obstacles that stand in your way as you enter the political fray, as well as the abundant opportunities you have to advance your ideas and values in the political process, can you play an effective role.

You can learn this best, we believe, by studying what political scientists have discovered about American politics and government. Political science is the systematic study of the role that people and groups play in determining what government does; how government goes about implementing its policy decisions; and what social, economic, and political consequences flow from government actions. The best political science research is testable, evidence-based, and peer-reviewed—as free as possible from ideological and partisan bias as it can be.

The Struggle for Democracy not only introduces you to that research but also gives you tools to decode the American political system, analyze its pieces, consider its linkages, and identify opportunities to make a difference. A simple but powerful framework will guide you in discovering how government, politics, and the larger society are intertwined and how government policies are a product of the interactions of actors and institutions across these domains.

Our hope and expectation is that *The Struggle for Democracy* will enable your success in your introduction to American government and politics course. But we are interested in more than your classroom experiences. We believe that knowing how politics and government work and how closely they conform to our democratic values will also enable a lifetime of productive choices. Put all naïveté aside, however. Making a mark on public policies is never easy. Like-minded individuals need to do more than vote. Those who gain the most from government policies have, after all, substantial resources to make certain that government treats them well.

But you have resources to make changes, too. Beyond voting, opportunities for affecting change may come from your involvement in political campaigns, from using social media to persuade others of your views or to organize meetings and demonstrations, from participating in social movements, from contributing to groups and politicians who share your views, and from many more such avenues. So, much like waging war, making your voice heard requires that you know the “lay of the land,” including the weapons you have at your disposal (we would call them political tools) and the weapons of those arrayed against you. But, much like peacemaking, you need to know how and when compromises can be reached that serve the interests of all parties.

Lest all of the above seems too daunting, we also have tried to make this book enjoyable, accessible, and fun. If your experience in reading *The Struggle for Democracy* comes close to the pleasure we had in writing it, we have come as near as possible to achieving our goal.

Meet Your Author

EDWARD S. GREENBERG is Professor Emeritus of Political Science and Research Professor of Behavioral Science at the University of Colorado, Boulder. Ed's research and teaching interests include American government and politics, domestic and global political economy, and democratic theory and practice, with a special emphasis on workplace issues. His multi-year longitudinal panel study, funded by the NIH, examining the impact of technological change and the globalization of production on Boeing managers and employees, is reported in more than a dozen journal articles and in his book *Turbulence: Boeing and the State of American Workers and Managers* (Yale University Press, 2010, co-authored with Leon Grunberg, Sarah Moore, and Pat Sikora). He is currently doing research on the global competition between Boeing and Airbus and its impact on people who work in these firms.

Ben Page and I decided to write this book because, as instructors in introductory American government courses, we could not find a book that provided students with usable tools for critically analyzing our political system and making judgments about how well our government works. *The Struggle for Democracy* does not simply present facts about government and politics—it also provides several analytical and normative frameworks for putting the flood of facts we ask our students to absorb into a more comprehensible form. By doing so, I believe we have made it easier and more satisfying for instructors to teach the introductory course.

Our goal all along was to create a textbook that treats students as adults, engages their intellectual and emotional attention, and encourages them to be active learners. Every element in this text is designed to promote the kind of critical thinking skills scholars and instructors believe students need to become the engaged, active, and informed citizens that are so vital to any democracy. Over the next several sections, I show the elements we created to meet these objectives.

Features

APPROACH *The Struggle for Democracy* provides several analytical and normative frameworks for putting the flood of facts teachers ask their students to absorb into a more comprehensible form. Although all topics that are common and expected in the introductory American government and politics course are covered in this textbook, the two main focal points—an analytical framework for understanding how politics and government work and the normative question “How democratic are we?” (addressed in concluding remarks at the end of each chapter under the “Using the Democracy Standard” headline)—allow for a fresh look at traditional topics.

This book pays great attention to *structural factors*—which include the American economy, social and demographic change in the United States, technological innovations and change, the American political culture, and changes in the global system—and examines how they affect politics, government, and public policy. These factors are introduced in Chapter 4—a chapter unique among introductory texts—and they are brought to bear on a wide range of issues in subsequent chapters.

The Struggle for Democracy attends very carefully to issues of *democratic political theory*. This follows from a critical thinking objective, which asks students to assess the progress of, and prospects for, democracy in the United States and from a desire to present American history as the history of the struggle for democracy. For instance, *Struggle* examines how the evolution of the party system has improved democracy in some respects in the United States, but hurt it in others.

Struggle also includes more *historical perspective* because it provides the necessary context for thinking comprehensively and critically about contemporary political debates. It shows, for example, how the expansion of civil rights in the United States is tied to important historical events and trends.

Comparisons of developments, practices, and institutions in the United States with those in other nations add another dimension to our understanding. We can better comprehend how our system of social welfare works, for example, when we see how other rich democratic countries deal with the problems of poverty, unemployment, and old age.

COVERAGE In an effort to build a ground-up understanding of American politics and the policy outcomes it does (and does not) produce, the chapters in *Struggle* mirror the structure of our analytical pyramid framework. Part 1 includes an introduction to the textbook, its themes, and the critical thinking tools used throughout the book. Part 2 covers the *structural foundations* of American government and politics, addressing subjects such as the U.S. economy and political culture and its place in the international system; the constitutional framework of the American political system; and the development of federalism. Part 3 focuses on *political linkage* institutions such as parties, elections, public opinion, social movements, and interest groups that convey the wants, needs, and demands of individuals and groups to public officials. Part 4 concentrates on the central institutions of the national government, including the presidency, Congress, and the Supreme Court. Part 5 describes the kinds of policies the national government produces and analyzes how effective government is at solving pressing social and economic problems. The analytical framework used in this book also means that the subjects of *civil liberties* and *civil rights* are not treated in conjunction with the Constitution in Part 2, which is the case with many introductory texts, but in Part 5, on public policy. This is because we believe that the real-world status of civil liberties and civil rights, while partly determined by specific provisions of the Constitution, is better understood as the outcome of the interaction of structural, political, and governmental factors. For example, the status of civil rights for gays, lesbians, and transgendered people depends not only on constitutional provisions but also on the state of public opinion, degrees of support from elected political leaders, and the decisions of the Supreme Court.

PEDAGOGY *The Struggle for Democracy* offers unique features that help students better understand, interpret, and critically evaluate American politics and government.

- **Chapter-opening** stories provide useful frames of reference for defining why the principal topic of each chapter matters to the citizens of our American democracy.
- A unique visual tool that maps out the many influences in the American political process and how they shape political decisions and policies, the **Applying the Framework** model makes clear that government, politics, and society are deeply intertwined in recognizable patterns. The framework simplifies complex associations, builds on the “deep structures” that underlay American politics and government—the economy, society, political culture, and the constitutional rules—and encourages holistic comprehension of American politics.
- More than one hundred **figures and tables** strengthen the narrative and help students extract meaning and insights from data that drive political decision making and government action.
- **Timelines** appear throughout this book to help students develop a sense of historical context and to clarify the chronology of a particular period. Timeline topics include federalism milestones and a history of the civil rights movement.
- Every chapter includes a **marginal glossary of key terms** to support students’ understanding of new and important concepts at first encounter. For easy reference, key terms from the marginal glossary are repeated at the end of each chapter and in the end-of-book glossary.
- Every chapter includes a **Using the Democracy Standard** section to help students consolidate their thinking about the American political system as a whole by using a normative democracy “yardstick” that asks students to assess the degree to which the United States has become more or less democratic.
- **Review the Chapter** sections organized around chapter learning objectives is included at the end of each chapter to help students better understand and retain information and to think critically about the material.

New to This Edition

Key updates to *The Struggle for Democracy* include the following:

- Substantial coverage of the contentious 2018 national midterm elections with special attention to the partisan aspects of the election in Chapter 9, the voting and campaign aspects in Chapter 10, the consequences for Congress in Chapter 11, and the impact on the presidency in Chapter 12.
- Coverage throughout, but especially in Chapters 3, 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17, on **important rulings by the Supreme Court** on religious liberty, LGBTQ rights, congressional district gerrymandering, voting rights, and presidential powers.
- Consideration, especially in Chapter 12, “The Presidency,” and Chapter 18, “Foreign Policy and National Defense,” on the changing relationships with America’s traditional allies, efforts to tame the nuclear weapons and missile programs in North Korea and Iran, China’s emergence as a competing world power, and Russia’s growing military aggressiveness in Europe and the Middle East, as well as its continuing interference in the politics of democratic countries.
- Increased attention to the **growing partisan bitterness** in Washington and across much of the nation that affects how government addresses or fails to address virtually every major problem facing the nation whether it be energy, illegal immigration, climate change, or the shrinking middle class (Chapters 5, 9, 10, 11, and 17).
- Questions of whether and to what degree income and wealth inequality has increased, and if it has, with what political and public policy consequences were thoroughly considered during this revision. We also look closely at **globalization and technological change and their impact on Americans**, with extensive research and analysis of particular note evident in Chapters 4 and 18.
- The ways in which social, economic, and technological trends shape government action are also considered, including executive orders increasing border security, tightening immigration asylum processing, intensifying the expulsion of undocumented immigrants, and rolling back financial industry and environmental regulations (Chapters 4, 15, 17, and 18).
- **Photos** in this edition were selected not only to capture major events from the last few years but to illustrate the relevancy of politics in our daily lives. They show political actors and processes as well as people affected by politics, creating a visual narrative that enhances rather than repeats the text. Each includes critical thinking questions that allow readers to engage with the material more intensely.
- The data in all of the **figures and tables** have been updated throughout with the intention of helping users think critically not only about political decisions in retrospect but also about pending government action.

Revel™

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

Learn more about Revel at www.pearson.com/revel.

- Chapter-opening **Current Events Bulletins** feature author-written articles that put breaking news and current events into the context of American government. Examples include the 2016 elections in context, the strained relationship between the U.S. and Russia, and how Democratic turnout in the 2016 election helps to explain Trump’s victory.

Chapter 10

Voting, Campaigns, and Elections

Current Events Bulletin

Current Events Bulletin
☰

Interactive

The 2018 House Elections and Partisan Redistricting

July 2018

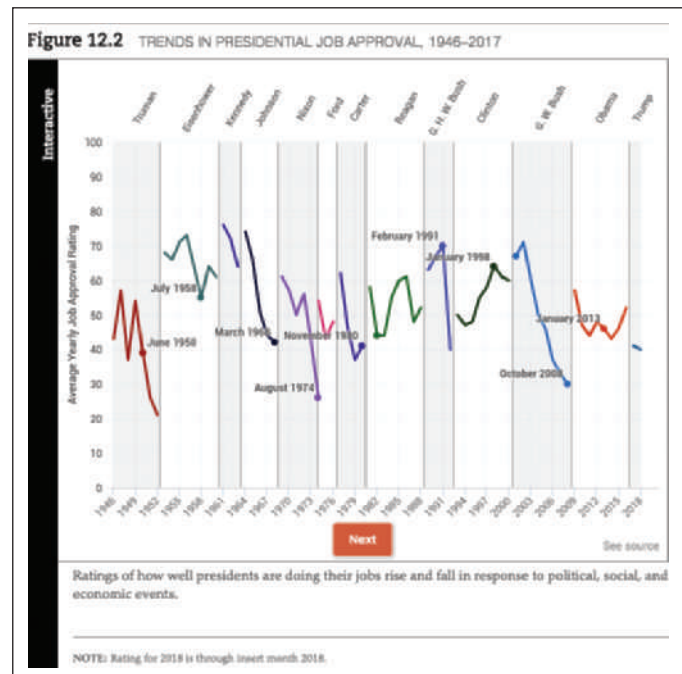
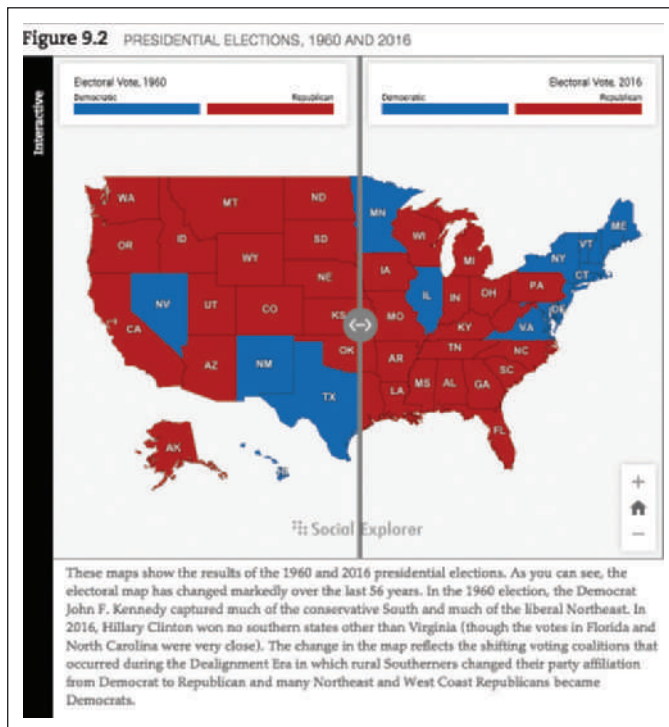
As you will learn in this chapter, congressional elections are held every two years, when all seats in the House of Representatives, and approximately one-third of Senate seats, are contested. Currently, both the House and Senate are controlled by the Republican Party, which holds a small majority in each. Typically, the president's party does poorly in midterm elections for a variety of reasons. After two years, the honeymoon period is over, and as a natural result of trying to govern, presidents have accumulated broken promises and failures, which in turn anger different constituencies. Voters are ready for a change, and send that message through congressional elections. In fact, since World War II, only in 1998 and 2002 did the president's party gain seats in the House in a midterm election. The president's party typically loses between 15 and 30 seats in the House, with losses minimized when a president's approval rating is high, generally considered to be over 50 percent.

Donald Trump was historically unpopular when elected as compared to other new presidents; his campaign was highly divisive, he lost the popular vote, and many believe he never reached

- Captivating **videos** bring to life chapter content and key moments in American government. Videos are incorporated into the chapters, where pertinent, and can also be easily accessed from the instructor's Resources folder within Revel.
- *ABC News footage* and *Smithsonian short documentary videos* provide examples from both current and historical events. Examples of footage include FDR visiting the newly completed Boulder Dam (Hoover Dam), an NRA lobbyist's proposition to put guns in schools one week after the Sandy Hook tragedy, important events in African Americans' struggle for equality, how war and the preparation for war increased the role of the federal government, and President Obama's struggle to make a case for air strikes in Syria.
- *Pearson Originals for Political Science* are compelling stories about contemporary issues. These short-form documentaries contextualize the complex social and political issues impacting the world today. In addition to helping students better understand core concepts, *Pearson Originals* inspire students to think critically as empowered citizens who can inspire social and political change. Explaining complex political issues in a simplified and entertaining way, *Pearson Originals for Political Science* help students become informed members of society. Videos in these short-form documentary series include Marijuana and Federalism: Who's in Charge?; Who Should Be Allowed to Call Themselves "American"?; and What Is the Emoluments Clause and Why Should I Care About It?
- Pearson's *Politics Hidden in Plain Sight video series* does exactly that—provides students with concrete examples of how politics influences the activities of their daily lives—from using their cellphones to going to a convenience store—in ways they likely had not previously noticed.
- In addition, each chapter concludes with an *author-narrated video* subtitled "Why It Matters," helping students to put chapter content in a real-world context. For example, Chapter 16, "Civil Rights: The Struggle for Political Equality," concludes with a discussion of the real-life implications of affirmative action in college admission and on campus—a topic immediately relevant to today's undergraduate students.



- **Shared Media activities** all allow instructors to assign and grade both pre-written and their own prompts that incorporate video, weblinks, and visuals and ask students to respond in a variety of formats, in writing or by uploading their own video or audio responses. Pre-written assignments around the *Pearson Originals for Political Science videos* are available.
- **Interactive maps, figures, and tables** featuring innovative Social Explorer technology allow for inputting the latest data, toggling to illustrate movement over time, and clicking on hot spots with pop-ups of images and captions. Examples include Figure 12.2: Trends in Presidential Job Approval, 1946–2018 (line graph); Figure 9.2: Presidential Elections, 1960 and 2012 (map); and Figure 11.2: Women and Minorities in the U.S. Congress (bar chart).



- **Interactive simulations** in every chapter (beginning with Chapter 2) allow students to explore critical issues and challenges that the country's Founders faced and that elected officials, bureaucrats, and political activists still face today. Students apply key chapter concepts in realistic situations. For example, in Chapter 3, students have the opportunity to imagine themselves as federal judges; in Chapter 8, they lead a social movement; and in Chapter 15, they are police officers.

Simulation YOU ARE THE CHAIR OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE

Interactive

CHALLENGE 1: Slowing Economy

The Fed is preparing to hold its monthly meeting. In the past three months, the economy has slowed down after a period of relatively strong growth. Unemployment has started to rise. Inflation has been holding steady. So far, the Fed has kept the interest rate unchanged, preferring to see if conditions signify longer-term trends or simply minor fluctuations in growth. You are beginning to think that you may need to do something with the interest rate to address signs of a slowing economy.

Before you make your decision, you review the most recent economic data from the Federal Advisory Council:

- In the last month, the economy grew at an annual rate of less than 1 percent.
- First-time claims for unemployment rose for the second month in a row to 15,000.
- The threat of inflation seems quite low at 0.75 percent, and prices have risen very slowly over the last 30 days.

The president is pushing you to lower interest rates to avoid a spike in unemployment. Remember that the Fed's goal is to maintain economic growth between 2 and 3 percent every year, but also keep unemployment lower than 5 percent. However, the Fed's other mandate is to keep inflation below 2 and 3 percent every year, which becomes more difficult as interest rates drop.

Reset Back Next

- **Interactive Conclusion and Review** summaries using video, learning objectives, image galleries, and flashcards featuring key terms and definitions allow students to review chapter content. In addition, a common, recent events bulletin called “The Struggle for Democracy in Context” appears in every chapter and briefly examines how recent events relate to the material presented in the text.
- **Assessments** tied to primary chapter sections, as well as full chapter exams, allow instructors and students to track progress and get immediate feedback.
- **Integrated Writing Opportunities** To help students reason and write more clearly, each chapter offers two varieties of writing prompts:
 - **Journal prompts** in nearly every section across the narrative ask students to consider critical issues that are first presented in a relevant photograph and associated photo caption. These questions are designed to reinforce one of the material’s primary goals: to equip students to engage critically with American government and thereby ensure a healthy, thriving democracy.

Journal: But Let Me Tell You, Mr. President

Why is immigration enforcement the responsibility of the federal government and not the state governments?

The response entered here will appear in the performance dashboard and can be viewed by your instructor.

Submit

- **Shared writing prompts**, following each chapter's Conclusion and Review section, encourage students to consider how to address the challenges described in the chapter in an essay format. For example, in Chapter 3, students must argue for or against the proposition that the federal government should not provide funds to support large infrastructure projects, such as the construction and expansion of interstate highways. Through these shared writing prompts, instructors and students can address multiple sides of an issue by sharing their own views and responding to each other's viewpoints.

Shared Writing: Federalism: States and Nation

Worth 20 Points ⓘ

The federal interstate highway system is so much a part of our lives and has been for so many years that it is hard to imagine a time in America when long-distance car and truck travel was limited to two-lane roads.

Before the interstate, car travel and commercial truck transportation was painfully slow and fairly dangerous. Accidents at crossroads were frequent. Innumerable access points to and from businesses, schools, and homes continually disrupted the flow of traffic. Congestion increased in population centers, where stoplights and stop signs were common.

Legislation for a new federal transportation system of limited-access multilane highways was proposed by Republican president Dwight Eisenhower and passed by Congress in 1956. Planned construction was completed in the early 1980s, but more miles of interstate have been added each year since.

Today the length of the U.S. interstate system is nearly 48,000 miles and it carries about one-fourth of all traffic in the United States. The system is funded by a tax of 18.4 cents per gallon on gasoline—unchanged since 1993—with most outlays paying for maintenance and repair.

Now construct a brief argument for or against this proposition: The federal government should not provide funds to support large infrastructure projects, such as the construction and expansion of interstate highways.

A minimum number of characters is required to post and earn points. After posting, your response can be viewed by your class.

- **Essay prompts** are from Pearson's *Writing Space*, where instructors can assign both automatically graded and instructor-graded prompts. *Writing Space* is the best way to develop and assess concept mastery and critical thinking through writing. *Writing Space* provides a single place within Revel to create, track, and grade writing assignments; access writing resources; and exchange meaningful, personalized feedback quickly and easily to improve results. For students, *Writing Space* provides everything they need to keep up with writing assignments, access assignment guides and checklists, write or upload completed assignments, and receive grades and feedback—all in one convenient place. For educators, *Writing Space* makes assigning, receiving, and evaluating writing assignments easier. It's simple to create new assignments and upload relevant materials, see student progress, and receive alerts when students submit work. *Writing Space* makes students' work more focused and effective, with customized grading rubrics they can see and personalized feedback. *Writing Space* can also check students' work for improper citation or plagiarism by comparing it against the world's most accurate text comparison database available from Turnitin.
- **Learning Management Systems** Pearson provides Blackboard Learn™, Canvas™, Brightspace by D2L, and Moodle integration, giving institutions, instructors, and students easy access to Revel. Our Revel integration delivers streamlined access to everything your students need for the course in these learning management system (LMS) environments. *Single Sign-on*: With single sign-on, students are ready on their first day. From your LMS course, students have easy access to an interactive blend of authors' narrative, media, and assessment. *Grade Sync*: Flexible, on-demand grade synchronization capabilities allow you to control exactly which Revel grades should be transferred to the LMS gradebook.
- **Revel Combo Card** The Revel Combo Card provides an all-in-one access code and loose-leaf print reference (delivered by mail).

Supplements

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

Pearson is pleased to offer the following resources to qualified adopters of *The Struggle for Democracy*. Several of these supplements are available to instantly download on the Instructor Resource Center (IRC); please visit the IRC at www.pearsonhighered.com/irc to register for access.

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

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

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL Create a comprehensive roadmap for teaching classroom, online, or hybrid courses. Designed for new and experienced instructors, the Instructor's Manual includes a sample syllabus, lecture and discussion suggestions, activities for in or out of class, and essays on teaching American Government. Available on the IRC.

POWERPOINT PRESENTATION Make lectures more enriching for students. The PowerPoint Presentation includes a full lecture outline and full-color images of maps and art. All PowerPoints are ADA compliant.

LIVESLIDES Social Explorers are data-rich interactive maps and figures that enable students to visually explore demographic data to understand how local trends impact them while improving data and statistical literacy. LiveSlides are dynamic lecture slides, which give you a direct path to all the Social Explorers within your Revel course. Available within Revel and on the IRC.

Acknowledgments

Heartfelt thanks and gratitude go to Ben Page, friend and long-time collaborator, who co-authored many editions of this book, though not this one. For over a year after I first broached the idea about our doing a textbook together, we hashed out whether it was possible to write a textbook that would be consistent with our standards as teachers and scholars, offer a perspective on American government and politics that was unique in the discipline, and do well in the marketplace. Once we concluded that it was possible to produce a textbook that hit these benchmarks and that we passionately wanted to make happen, we spent more than two years writing what became the First Edition of *The Struggle for Democracy*. When Ben and I started this process, we were only acquaintances. Over the years, in the process of collaborating on the publication of several editions of this textbook, we became and remain very good friends.

Though Ben has not been an active co-author on this edition of *Struggle*, his brilliant insights, analytical approach, and elegant writing are visible on virtually every page, and it is why his name sits next to mine on the cover and the title page. Ben Page, of course, is one of the most brilliant, cited, visible, and admired political scientists in the world, and hardly needs additional praise from me. But, I will say that I feel extraordinarily lucky to have worked with him for a good part of my academic career.

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I also want to thank the many students, teaching assistants, and faculty at the University of Colorado and other universities, colleges, and two-year institutions who have used this book over the years as a learning and teaching tool and who have let me know what worked and what didn't work in previous editions. I appreciate their insight and candor.

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**AT LONG LAST, THE RIGHT TO VOTE**

The 1965 Voting Rights Act allowed African Americans in the Deep South to vote for the first time without fear. In this photo from the period, African Americans wait to enter the Haywood County Courthouse to register to vote, unimpeded by the brutalities and humiliations of Jim Crow. Passage of the act, an example of the struggle for democracy at work in American politics, put an end to a long history of refusing to protect the voting rights of minorities.

Do measures such as voter ID requirements for voting, recently implemented in a number of states, and which mostly affect the youngest and oldest voters, rural people, and racial and ethnic minorities, suggest that the struggle for democracy must continue? Or does it mean that our democracy has matured and we no longer need worry about access to the voting booth?

DEMOCRACY AND AMERICAN POLITICS

CHAPTER OUTLINE AND LEARNING OBJECTIVES

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

- 1.1** Explain democracy as the standard by which American government and politics can be evaluated.

HOW DO GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS WORK?

- 1.2** Construct an analytical framework for examining how government and politics work.