

Approaching Democracy

American Government in Times of Challenge

NINTH EDITION

Larry Berman, Bruce Allen Murphy, Nadia E. Brown,
and Sarah Allen Gershon

Praise for *Approaching Democracy*, Ninth Edition

"The argument that the nation is (or at least should be) moving steadily forward toward a governing ideal resonates with me and my students, and I appreciate that the authors use the notion of 'approaching democracy' as the textbook's organizing theme. The underlying premise is that a gap exists between where we currently are as a nation and where we aspire ultimately to be. Through comprehensive explorations of federal- and state-level politics, elite-level decision making and mass-level activism, domestic and foreign policy, and more, the authors bring this ideals-vs.-reality gap into sharper relief. Is the gap growing or holding steady? If growing, is it because the 'reality' of American democracy is backsliding, or because the 'ideal' is shifting, or both? The authors invite readers to grapple with these and related questions.

Discussions of current social and political developments (e.g., the pandemic, the economic collapse, the Black Lives Matter protests, the 2020 presidential election cycle, etc.) are welcomed additions to this important book. I was also pleased to see that the study of politics and social identity are now prominently featured. After all, the ongoing quests for universal freedom—those taken up, for example, by women, racial and ethnic minorities, people with different abilities, and members of LGBTQ communities—play a major role in pushing an oftentimes reluctant country closer to its ideal."

—Ray Block Jr., The Pennsylvania State University

"*Approaching Democracy* presents the foundations of American politics situated in the context of our unique moment in time. The authors weave together centuries-old concepts underlying American democracy with the consequential and controversial debates that are unfolding today before students' eyes."

—Samara Klar, University of Arizona

"The 9th edition of *Approaching Democracy* is a heartily recommended addition to any introduction to American Government course due to its effective and comprehensive coverage of the institutions and structural elements that make up American democracy as well as its stimulating engagement of current developments and contemporary controversies. Its overarching theme of American politics as a dynamic process where the country is approaching democracy to varying degrees during its history is a compelling and thought-provoking enterprise that successfully connects each chapter into a coherent whole and will necessarily stimulate and improve critical thinking skills of students... *Approaching Democracy* effectively examines both substantive and analytical considerations related to identity politics and those increasingly significant aspects of American life. *Approaching Democracy* is a wonderfully accessible book for lower division college students that will assuredly engage them at the same time it maintains an appropriately rigorous level of scholarly insight and discourse for an introductory course."

—Stephen R. Routh, Stanislaus State University

"This volume is innovative for its approach to the study of American democracy. Features that encourage critical reflections on American exceptionalism and compel readers to place themselves at the center of civic debates facilitate active learning and foster engaged citizenship. This is the right text for our political times when inviting students into the process could not be more critical for democracy."

—Anna Mitchell Mahoney, Tulane University

"I heartily endorse the 9th edition of *Approaching Democracy*. The book has an interesting overarching idea. The idea is that democracy is an ideal as much as a system of government. The book explores the 'paradox of democracy'—namely, that there is a tug-of-war between majority rule (procedural democracy) and minority rights (principled democracy). The battle of political values—order, freedom, and equality—is explained in an interesting way. I have used earlier editions of this textbook and my students at both a community college and California State University found the book interesting, well-written and organized for introductory courses in American Government."

—Richard G. Randall, Merced College

"The new edition of *Approaching Democracy* continues to be well-written at an appropriate level for introductory students. Students find its many in-text resources very useful and professors find that referring to key documents like the US Constitution helps in clarifying important points."

—Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako, Stephen F. Austin State University

"The core theme of *Approaching Democracy*, that the US political system must honestly and vigorously strive to improve its democracy, is all the more relevant in the post-Trump era. Students will find the emphasis on critical challenges to democracy and a new commitment to equality and inclusion an engaging way to study the US political system."

—Roger P. Rose, University of Minnesota—Morris

"*Approaching Democracy* is a well written and accessible book that addresses many of the contemporary challenges to the American democratic experiment. These challenges are not just presented in a vacuum, but rather through a comparative perspective to better assess the evolution of this experiment. Furthermore, given some of the most salient and important issues of the day, the increased focus on diversity and identity in the content and narrative of the material is a welcomed and much needed perspective that puts into better view the continual push and pull struggle of American democracy."

—Stella M. Rouse, University of Maryland

APPROACHING DEMOCRACY

If you're wondering why you need this new edition of *Approaching Democracy: American Government in Times of Challenge*, here are six good reasons!

1. The major change to the ninth edition is the addition of **two new authors**, **Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon**, who bring refreshing intellectual and diverse perspectives to the chapters. Their scholarly expertise in identity politics within American politics is highlighted in this edition. We have paid **more attention to how Americans with historically marginalized identities** traverse federal, state, and local politics in the current era.
2. This newest edition, **written in the midst of a worldwide pandemic and an American presidential election**, includes coverage of the historic changes and challenges to American democracy, including the tumultuous aftermath of the 2020 presidential election, the January 6th, 2021 assault on the Capitol, and the transition to a Biden presidency. We also cover the shifting makeup and operations of the 116th and 117th Congresses. Figures and tables reflect the **latest available data and surveys**.
3. Each chapter contains **two new features**. The **Diversity and Democracy** feature highlights the experiences of America's diverse social groups and the **role of identity politics**. The new **Discussion Questions** feature found at the end of each chapter **assesses your critical thinking skills** of key concepts with the goal of **stimulating civic discussion**.
4. A feature from the last edition has been continued to test your application skills of key chapter concepts. The **Contemporary Challenges to Democracy** feature in each chapter contains issues and questions to help you ponder current challenges to American democracy.
5. An **updated and newly designed Compared to What?** feature provides a comparative perspective for weighing the American experiment in democracy.
6. **Critical contemporary events** are explored throughout the book, including the Trump presidency's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic and vaccine roll out, the attempted coup to overturn an election, Black Lives Matter, and protests in American cities that come to the epicenter of America's approach to democracy, the changes in the Supreme Court and the federal court system, the growth of LGBTQ+ legal rights, and the alteration in American federalism due to the COVID-19 pandemic. New and updated data on public attitudes towards police brutality, DACA, voter suppression, health care, and the global climate movement are also covered.

APPROACHING

American Government in

Ninth Edition

DEMOCRACY

Times of Challenge

Larry Berman

*Professor Emeritus, University of California, Davis
The Honors College, Georgia State University*

Bruce Allen Murphy

Lafayette College

Nadia E. Brown

Purdue University

Sarah Allen Gershon

Georgia State University

WHY DO YOU NEED THIS NEW EDITION?

If you're wondering why you need this new edition of *Approaching Democracy: American Government in Times of Challenge*, here are six good reasons!

1. The major change to the ninth edition is the addition of **two new authors, Nadia E. Brown and Sarah Allen Gershon**, who bring refreshing intellectual and diverse perspectives to the chapters. Their scholarly expertise in identity politics within American politics is highlighted in this edition. We have paid **more attention to how Americans with historically marginalized identities** traverse federal, state, and local politics in the current era.
2. This newest edition, written in the midst of a worldwide pandemic and an American presidential election, includes coverage of the historic changes and challenges to American democracy, including the tumultuous aftermath of the 2020 presidential election, the January 6th, 2021 assault on the Capitol, and the transition to a Biden presidency. We also cover the shifting makeup and operations of the 116th and 117th Congresses. Figures and tables reflect the **latest available data and surveys**.
3. Each chapter contains **two new features**. The **Diversity and Democracy** feature highlights the experiences of America's diverse social groups and the **role of identity politics**. The new **Discussion Questions** feature found at the end of each chapter assesses your **critical thinking skills** of key concepts with the goal of **stimulating civic discussion**.
4. A feature from the last edition has been continued to test your application skills of key chapter concepts. The **Contemporary Challenges to Democracy** feature in each chapter contains issues and questions to help you ponder current challenges to American democracy.
5. An **updated and newly designed Compared to What?** feature provides a comparative perspective for weighing the American experiment in democracy.
6. **Critical contemporary events** are explored throughout the book, including the Trump presidency's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic and vaccine roll out, the attempted coup to overturn an election, Black Lives Matter, and protests in American cities that come to the epicenter of America's approach to democracy, the changes in the Supreme Court and the federal court system, the growth of LGBTQ+ legal rights, and the alteration in American federalism due to the COVID-19 pandemic. New and updated data on public attitudes towards police brutality, DACA, voter suppression, health care, and the global climate movement are also covered.

"John Lewis will be a founding father of that fuller, fairer, better America."

—President Barack Obama's eulogy for the late US Representative
John Robert Lewis (D-Georgia)

**To the memory of John Lewis
and the struggle for democracy in America**

Ninth edition published 2021
by Routledge
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2021 Larry Berman, Bruce Allen Murphy, Nadia E. Brown, and Sarah Allen Gershon

The right of Larry Berman, Bruce Allen Murphy, Nadia E. Brown, and Sarah Allen Gershon to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Eighth edition published by Pearson Education, Inc., 2013.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Berman, Larry, 1951– author. | Murphy, Bruce Allen, author. | Brown, Nadia E., author. | Gershon, Sarah Allen, author.

Title: Approaching democracy : American government in times of challenge / Larry Berman, Professor Emeritus, University of California, Davis The Honors College, Georgia State University, Bruce Allen Murphy, Lafayette College, Nadia E. Brown, Purdue University, Sarah Allen Gershon, Georgia State University.

Description: Ninth edition. | New York, NY : Routledge, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020040414 (print) | LCCN 2020040415 (ebook) | ISBN 9780367252694 (paperback) | ISBN 9780367679088 (hardback) | ISBN 9781003133346 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: United States—Politics and government. | Democracy—United States.

Classification: LCC JK276 .B47 2021 (print) | LCC JK276 (ebook) | DDC 320.973—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020040414>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020040415>

ISBN: 978-0-367-67908-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-25269-4 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-13334-6 (ebk)

Typeset in ITC Giovanni Std
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Access the Support Material: www.routledge.com/9780367252694

BRIEF CONTENTS

<i>Detailed Contents</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Preface</i>	<i>xxxi</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>xxxvii</i>
<i>Supplements</i>	<i>xxxix</i>
<i>About the Authors</i>	<i>xli</i>

PART I Foundations of American Democracy

1	Approaching Democracy	2
2	The Founding and the Constitution	32
3	Federalism	88

PART II Institutions of American Democracy

4	Congress	146
5	The Presidency	192
6	The Judiciary	242
7	The Bureaucracy	298

PART III Processes of American Democracy

8	Public Opinion	334
9	Political Parties	366
10	Participation, Voting, and Elections	400
11	Interest Groups	442
12	The Media	478

PART IV Liberties and Rights in American Democracies

13	Civil Liberties	518
14	Civil Rights and Political Equality	588

PART V Policy Making in American Democracy

15	Domestic and Economic Policy	652
16	Foreign Policy	690

APPENDICES

1	Introducing the Concept of Approaching Democracy	A-3
2	Presidents and Congresses, 1789–January 2021	A-5
3	Supreme Court Justices	A-9
4	The Declaration of Independence	A-13
5	The Constitution of the United States	A-17
6	<i>The Federalist</i> , No. 10, James Madison	A-41
7	<i>The Federalist</i> , No. 51, James Madison	A-45

<i>Glossary</i>	G-1
-----------------	-----

<i>Photo Credits</i>	C-1
----------------------	-----

<i>Index</i>	I-1
--------------	-----

DETAILED CONTENTS

<i>Preface</i>	xxxi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxxvii
<i>Supplements</i>	xxxix
<i>About the Authors</i>	xli

PART I Foundations of American Democracy

1	Approaching Democracy	2
	Democracy as an Evolutionary Process	3
	Forming a Picture of Democracy	7
	<i>Direct and Representative Democracy</i>	11
	The Ideals of Democracy	14
	<i>Freedom and Equality</i>	17
	<i>Order and Stability</i>	19
	<i>Majority Rule and Protection of Minority Rights</i>	20
	<i>Participation</i>	21
	The Elements of Democracy	24
	<i>A System for Popular Participation</i>	24
	<i>A Commitment to Preserve Freedom and Equality for All</i>	25
	<i>An Independent Judiciary and Protecting the Rule of Law</i>	26
	<i>Civilian Control of the Military and the Police</i>	27
	Compared to What? Brexit and Populism	8
	Diversity and Democracy: White Privilege	15
	Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: From Voter Suppression to Record Turnout in Georgia	22
	Discussion Questions	29
	Key Terms	29
	Suggested Readings	29
	Notes	30

2	The Founding and the Constitution	32
	The Constitution, Approaching Democracy, and the Impeachment of President Donald J. Trump	33
	The Road to Democracy	34
	<i>Early Colonial Governments</i>	35
	<i>Social Contract Theorists</i>	36
	<i>First Moves Toward a Union</i>	38
	Revolution and the Stirrings of a New Government	39
	<i>The First Continental Congress</i>	39
	<i>The Second Continental Congress</i>	40
	Common Sense	40
	<i>The Declaration of Independence</i>	41
	The First New Government: A Confederation of States	44
	<i>The Articles of Confederation (1781–1789)</i>	44
	<i>Shays' Rebellion: The Failure of the Articles of Confederation</i>	45
	The Need for a More Perfect Union: The Annapolis Convention of 1787	47
	The "Miracle at Philadelphia": The Constitutional Convention	48
	<i>The Task</i>	48
	<i>The Participants</i>	48
	<i>Plans for a New Government</i>	50
	<i>Debate and Compromise: The Turning Point of the Convention</i>	52
	<i>The Issue of Slavery</i>	54
	<i>The Nature of the Presidency</i>	55
	The Miracle: Results of the Convention	57
	<i>A Republican Form of Government</i>	57
	The Governmental Powers	58
	<i>Horizontal Powers</i>	58
	<i>The Modern Failure of the Horizontal Checks and Balances/Separation of Powers System</i>	60
	<i>Vertical Powers</i>	62
	<i>The Articles of the Constitution</i>	64

Ratification: The Battle for the Constitution	68
The Federalist Papers	68
<i>Federalists Versus Antifederalists</i>	69
<i>Ratification by Way of Compromise: A Bill of Rights</i>	71
<i>Politics the Old-Fashioned Way: A Look at the Battle for Ratification</i>	72
<i>Adoption of the Bill of Rights</i>	75
Updating the Constitution	76
<i>Updating the Constitution Through the Amendment Process</i>	77
<i>Updating the Constitution by Judicial Interpretation</i>	82
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: "Trading Civil Liberties for More National Security?"	60
<i>Compared to What? The Damaging Effect of the COVID-19 Crisis on the World's Democracies</i>	72
Diversity and Democracy: Will the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) Finally Be Ratified?	80
Conclusion	82
Discussion Questions	83
Key Terms	84
Suggested Readings	84
Notes	85
3 Federalism	88
Federalism and Democracy	89
Federalism Defined	91
<i>Federalism: Advantages and Disadvantages</i>	92
Federalism in the Constitution	96
<i>The Fulcrum of Powers</i>	96
The Division of Powers	101
The Development of Federalism	107
<i>Debating the National Role: Hamilton versus Jefferson</i>	107
<i>Asserting National Power: McCulloch v. Maryland</i>	108
<i>Expanding National Power Further: Gibbons v. Ogden</i>	109
<i>Asserting State Power: Nullification</i>	110

<i>Developing a System of Separation: Dual Federalism</i>	111
<i>Creating a Cooperative System: The New Deal Era</i>	115
<i>Seeking Uniformity: Federalism in the Post-New Deal Era</i>	116
<i>Creating a Coercive Federalism System: Federal Grants and Federal Mandates Since 1968</i>	118
Federalism Today	124
<i>Four Events Reshaping 21st-Century Federalism</i>	124
<i>George W. Bush, 2001–2008</i>	126
<i>Barack Obama, 2009–2016</i>	127
<i>Donald Trump, 2017–2020</i>	128
<i>The Impact of COVID-19 on American Federalism</i>	130
<i>The Rehnquist and Roberts Court and the Future of Federalism</i>	131
Diversity and Democracy: Federalism and Native Americans	102
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Drug Policy at the State and Federal Levels	112
<i>Compared to What? Evolving Federalism in Iraq</i>	124
Conclusion	136
Discussion Questions	137
Key Terms	138
Suggested Readings	138
Notes	139

PART II **Institutions of American Democracy**

4 Congress	146
Congress and Democracy	147
The Structure and Powers of Congress	147
<i>What the Framers Had in Mind</i>	148
<i>Limits on Congress's Power</i>	151
The Members of Congress	152
<i>Who Are the Members?</i>	152
<i>Congressional Districts</i>	152
<i>Majority–Minority Districts and the Approach to Democracy</i>	156

<i>Delegates Versus Trustees</i>	159
<i>Name Recognition and the Incumbency Factor</i>	160
How Congress Organizes Itself	162
<i>Congressional Leadership</i>	163
<i>Congressional Committees: The Laboratories of Congress</i>	166
<i>Why Does Congress Use Committees?</i>	167
Congress in Session	168
<i>The Rules and Norms of Congress</i>	168
<i>How Members Make Voting Decisions</i>	174
How a Bill Becomes a Law	178
<i>The Congressional Agenda</i>	178
<i>Congress Considers the Bill</i>	178
The President Considers the Bill	181
<i>Obstacles to Passage of a Bill</i>	181
<i>Overcoming the Legislative Obstacles</i>	182
<i>Compared to What? Sovereign States: Tribal Governments</i>	154
Diversity and Democracy: Representation in a Diversifying Congress	160
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Age Limits and Representation in Congress	176
Conclusion	183
Discussion Questions	184
Key Terms	184
Suggested Readings	185
Notes	186
5 The Presidency	192
The Presidency and Democracy	193
The Constitutional Design	195
<i>Who Is Eligible to Be President?</i>	196
<i>Presidential Powers</i>	196
Functional Roles of the President	206
Two Views of Executive Power	216

Expanding Presidential Power: Moving Beyond the Constitution	217
<i>The Doctrine of Inherent Powers and Presidential Character</i>	219
<i>Conducting Foreign Policy and Making War</i>	220
The Challenges of Presidential Leadership	222
<i>The Power to Persuade</i>	222
<i>Going Public</i>	223
<i>Paradoxes of the Presidency</i>	226
The Institutionalized Presidency	226
<i>The White House Office</i>	226
<i>The Executive Office of the President</i>	229
<i>The Cabinet</i>	230
<i>The Vice Presidency</i>	230
Compared to What? Avoiding a Presidential Paradox—the Queen of England as Chief of State	208
Diversity and Democracy: MAGA	214
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Reconsidering the Intent of the Framers: No Term Limits on a President	235
Conclusion	234
Discussion Questions	236
Key Terms	236
Suggested Readings	236
Notes	237
6 The Judiciary	242
The Courts and Democracy	243
The Origins and Development of Judicial Power	244
<i>Creating the “Least Dangerous Branch”</i>	244
<i>Marbury v. Madison: The Source of Judicial Power</i>	245
<i>Judicial Review: The Court’s Ultimate Power</i>	247
<i>Other Powers of the Supreme Court</i>	248
<i>Independence of the Judiciary</i>	248
The Organization of the American Court System	250
<i>Types of Courts</i>	251

<i>Types of Cases</i>	252
<i>Organization of the Federal Courts</i>	253
Court Appointments: The Process and the Politics	257
<i>The Supreme Court Appointment Process</i>	257
<i>The Impact of Presidential Appointments on the Supreme Court</i>	264
<i>Staffing the Lower Federal Courts</i>	265
How the Supreme Court Operates	266
<i>Selecting Cases</i>	269
<i>The Process of Deciding Cases</i>	271
<i>Marshaling the Court: The Opinion-Drafting Process</i>	273
<i>The Announcement of Opinions</i>	274
<i>Law Clerks: The Tenth Justices?</i>	275
Analyzing Supreme Court Decisions	277
<i>The Use of Precedent and Other Legal Factors</i>	277
<i>The Mind-Set of Individual Justices</i>	279
<i>Voting Blocs</i>	282
<i>Compared to What? The Evolving Supreme Court in Great Britain</i>	253
Diversity and Democracy: Presidents and Judicial Diversity in America	267
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Reforming the Supreme Court?	287
Conclusion	287
Discussion Questions	289
Key Terms	290
Suggested Readings	290
Notes	292
7 The Bureaucracy	298
Bureaucracy and Democracy	299
Background on the Bureaucracy	300
Evolution of the Bureaucracy	301
<i>Growth of the Federal Bureaucracy</i>	301
<i>Evolution of the Bureaucracy: Creating the Civil Service</i>	305

Meet the Bureaucracy	308
<i>What the Bureaucracy Does</i>	309
<i>The Structure of the Federal Bureaucracy</i>	312
<i>Constraints on the Bureaucracy and Bureaucratic Culture</i>	316
Bureaucratic Accountability	318
<i>Presidential Control</i>	319
<i>Congressional Control</i>	323
What the Public Thinks of the Bureaucracy	324
<i>Are the Criticisms Justified?</i>	326
Reforming the Bureaucracy	326
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: The Merits of a Career Civil Service System	309
Diversity and Democracy: Environmental Justice	314
Compared to What? Who's in Charge? The Japanese Bureaucracy and Government Responsiveness	318
Conclusion	328
Discussion Questions	328
Key Terms	328
Suggested Readings	329
Notes	329

PART III Processes of American Democracy

8 Public Opinion	334
Public Opinion and Democracy	335
What Is Public Opinion?	336
Measuring Public Opinion	337
<i>Sample Size</i>	339
<i>Random Sampling</i>	339
<i>Reliability</i>	340
<i>The Importance of Polls</i>	341
Political Socialization	342
<i>Media Messaging and Public Opinion</i>	344

How Do People Think About Politics? Social and Attitudinal Variables That Influence Opinion Formation	346
<i>Socioeconomic Status</i>	347
<i>Identity and Public Opinion</i>	348
<i>Regional Differences</i>	350
American Political Culture	350
<i>Core Values</i>	350
<i>Political Ideology</i>	352
<i>Tolerance</i>	353
The State of American Public Opinion	354
<i>Political Awareness and Involvement</i>	354
<i>How Do People Think About Politics?</i>	356
<i>Stability and Change in Public Opinion</i>	357
<i>How Changeable Is Public Opinion?</i>	358
From Public Opinion to Public Policy	359
Diversity and Democracy: Polling Latinx and Asian American Voters	342
Compared to What? Public Opinion About Immigration	346
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: What If the Voice of the People Really Ruled?	359
Conclusion	360
Discussion Questions	361
Key Terms	361
Suggested Readings	361
Notes	362
9 Political Parties	366
Political Parties and Democracy	367
A Brief History of the American Party System	368
<i>The Foundations of the Party System (1790s–1824)</i>	369
<i>The First Institutional Party System (1828–1854)</i>	371
<i>The Second Party System (1854–1890s)</i>	371
<i>The Third Party System (1896–1932)</i>	371

<i>The Fourth Party System (1933–1968)</i>	372
<i>The Fifth Party System (1969–)</i>	373
Functions of American Political Parties	375
<i>Parties Organize the Election Process</i>	376
<i>Parties Represent Group Interests</i>	377
<i>Parties Simplify Political Choices</i>	377
<i>Parties Organize Government and Policy Making</i>	378
Party Organization	379
<i>Parties at the Grassroots</i>	379
<i>The Party Machine</i>	380
<i>National Party Organization</i>	381
<i>Party Similarities and Differences</i>	382
Nominating a President: Parties and Elections	382
<i>Nominating Candidates</i>	382
<i>Reforming the Nominating Process</i>	385
Why a Two-Party System?	387
<i>Institutional Factors</i>	387
<i>Cultural Factors</i>	388
<i>Party Identification</i>	389
Minor Parties	389
<i>Why Minor Parties Appear</i>	390
<i>Minor-Party Performance</i>	391
<i>Functions of Minor Parties</i>	394
Diversity and Democracy: Political Parties and Women Running for Office	378
Compared to What? Gender Quotas	392
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Changing the Electoral College and Its Effect on the Party Structure	394
Conclusion	395
Discussion Questions	396
Key Terms	396
Suggested Readings	396
Notes	397

10	Participation, Voting, and Elections	400
	Political Participation and Democracy	401
	Who Participates	402
	A Brief History of Voting in the United States	403
	Voting	408
	<i>Voter Turnout</i>	409
	<i>Explaining Turnout</i>	409
	Who Votes?	411
	<i>A Voting Trend: Direct Democracy</i>	413
	Vote Choice	416
	<i>Party</i>	417
	<i>Candidate Appeal</i>	418
	<i>Policies and Issues</i>	419
	<i>Campaigns</i>	420
	Non-Electoral Forms of Political Participation	421
	<i>Campaign and Election Activities</i>	421
	<i>Protest and Civil Disobedience</i>	421
	Congressional Elections	423
	<i>Presidential Coattails</i>	424
	Presidential Elections	425
	<i>The Electoral College: The Framers' Intention</i>	427
	<i>How the Electoral College Works Today</i>	428
	<i>The Electoral College and Strategies for Campaigning</i>	430
	<i>Interpreting Presidential Elections</i>	431
	Money and Elections	432
	<i>Federal Matching Funds</i>	433
	Diversity and Democracy: Race and Felon Disenfranchisement	406
	Compared to What? Party List Proportional Representation: Voting for the Person or the Party	412
	Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Making Voting Mandatory	416
	Conclusion	435
	Discussion Questions	435

Key Terms	435
Suggested Readings	436
Notes	437
11 Interest Groups	442
Interest Groups and Democracy	443
Interest Groups: A Tradition in American Politics	444
<i>What Is an Interest Group?</i>	445
<i>A Long History of Association</i>	447
<i>The Development of Modern Interest Groups</i>	448
Functions of Interest Groups	450
<i>Interest Groups Allow for Collective Action</i>	451
<i>Interest Groups Provide Information</i>	452
Types of Interest Groups	454
<i>Economic Interest Groups</i>	454
<i>Public Interest Groups</i>	456
<i>Government Interest Groups</i>	457
<i>Ideological Interest Groups</i>	457
<i>Religious Interest Groups</i>	458
<i>Civil Rights Interest Groups</i>	458
<i>Single-Issue Interest Groups</i>	458
Characteristics of Interest Groups	459
<i>Interest Group Membership</i>	459
<i>Other Characteristics of Interest Groups</i>	461
Interest Group Strategies	462
<i>Lobbying</i>	463
<i>Grassroots Activity</i>	465
<i>Using the Courts and Lobbying the Political Branches</i>	466
Political Action Committees	467
Regulation of Interest Groups	470
Assessing the Impact of Interest Groups	471
Diversity and Democracy: #MeToo	450

Compared to What? Interest Groups and American Policy Abroad	452
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Interest Groups and Campaign Contributions	468
Conclusion	473
Discussion Questions	474
Key Terms	474
Suggested Readings	474
Notes	475
12 The Media	478
The Media and Democracy	479
Freedom of the Press	480
Emergence of the Media	483
<i>Newspapers and Democracy</i>	483
<i>Muckraking and Yellow Journalism</i>	485
News Sources and Consumption	486
<i>Newspapers</i>	486
<i>Magazines</i>	486
<i>Radio</i>	488
<i>Television</i>	488
<i>New Media Technologies</i>	489
Functions of the Media	492
<i>Media as Watchdog</i>	492
<i>Interpretation</i>	492
<i>Viewer Knowledge and Attitudes</i>	494
<i>Socialization</i>	495
Limits on Media Freedom	496
<i>Regulating the Media</i>	496
<i>Prior Restraint Versus the Right to Know</i>	498
Ideology, Reporting, and Media Control	500

The Media, Campaigns, and Elections	504
<i>Press Coverage</i>	504
<i>Television and Elections</i>	506
<i>Political Advertising</i>	507
Compared to What? The Courage to Inform	482
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Reinstating the Fairness Doctrine	499
Diversity and Democracy: Women Candidates and the News Media	508
Conclusion	510
Discussion Questions	510
Key Terms	511
Suggested Readings	511
Notes	512

PART IV Liberties and Rights in American Democracies

13 Civil Liberties	518
Civil Liberties and Democracy	519
Defining and Examining Civil Liberties and Civil Rights	521
<i>The Dawn of Civil Liberties and Civil Rights in America</i>	522
A History of the Application of Civil Liberties to the States	523
<i>The Fourteenth Amendment</i>	526
<i>The Clear and Present Danger Test</i>	527
<i>The Beginnings of Incorporation</i>	528
<i>Selective Incorporation of the Bill of Rights</i>	529
Freedom of Religion	530
<i>Establishment of Religion</i>	530
<i>Free Exercise of Religion</i>	535
Freedom of Speech	540
<i>Political Speech</i>	541
<i>Public Speech</i>	543
<i>Symbolic Speech</i>	543
<i>The Roberts Court and Free Speech</i>	546

Freedom of the Press	548
<i>Prior Restraint</i>	548
<i>Libel</i>	549
<i>Obscenity</i>	550
The Rights of Defendants	553
<i>The Fourth Amendment</i>	553
<i>21st-Century Digital Surveillance and the Fourth Amendment</i>	560
<i>The Fifth and Sixth Amendments</i>	565
<i>The Death Penalty and the Eighth Amendment</i>	568
The Expanding Nature of Implied Rights	571
<i>Privacy</i>	571
<i>The Right of Abortion</i>	572
<i>The Roberts Court and the Future of Roe v. Wade?</i>	574
<i>The Right to Die</i>	577
Compared to What? The Crisis of Press Freedom in Great Britain and Worldwide	550
Diversity and Democracy: Racial Profiling and Searches and Seizures	558
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Fighting the COVID-19 Crisis and the Constitution	564
Conclusion	579
Discussion Questions	580
Key Terms	581
Suggested Readings	581
Notes	582
14 Civil Rights and Political Equality	588
Civil Rights and Democracy	589
Defining Civil Rights	591
Establishing Constitutional Equality	592
<i>The Dred Scott Case</i>	592
<i>The Civil War and Reconstruction</i>	593
Creating Legal Segregation	594
<i>Separate but Equal?</i>	594

<i>The Disenfranchisement of African American Voters</i>	595
Establishing Legal Equality	595
<i>The White House and Desegregation</i>	596
<i>Seeking Equality in the Schools</i>	596
<i>State and Federal Responses</i>	597
The Civil Rights Movement	599
<i>The Civil Rights Acts</i>	600
<i>The Supreme Court and Civil Rights</i>	602
<i>De Jure Versus De Facto Discrimination</i>	602
<i>The End of Brown v. Board of Education and the 1965 Voting Rights Act?</i>	605
Affirmative Action	607
<i>Seeking Full Equality: Opportunity or Result?</i>	607
<i>Affirmative Action in the Reagan–Bush Era</i>	609
<i>The Future of Affirmative Action in the 21st Century?</i>	610
<i>#BlackLivesMatter and the 2020 George Floyd Protests</i>	614
Women’s Rights	619
<i>Two Steps Forward, One Step Back</i>	620
<i>The Struggle for Suffrage</i>	620
<i>The Road to Equality</i>	621
<i>Seeking Equality Through the Courts</i>	623
Civil Rights and Other Minorities	627
<i>Gay Rights</i>	627
<i>The Battle for LGBTQ+ Rights</i>	628
<i>The Victory for Same-Sex Marriage Rights</i>	630
<i>Hispanic Americans</i>	635
<i>Native Americans</i>	640
Emerging Minority Groups Seek Prominence	641
<i>Americans With Disabilities</i>	641
<i>The Elderly</i>	643
<i>Compared to What? Trump, Birthright Citizenship, and DACA?</i>	636
Diversity and Democracy: Transgender Equal Protection Rights and the Roberts Court	632

Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: COVID-19, The #Black Lives Matter Protests, and the Constitution	617
Conclusion	643
Discussion Questions	644
Key Terms	644
Suggested Readings	644
Notes	646

PART V Policy Making in American Democracy

15 Domestic and Economic Policy	652
Public and Economic Policy	653
Types of Policies	654
The Policy-Making Process	655
<i>The Life Cycle of Policy Making</i>	655
Joining the Public Agenda	657
Regulatory Policy	661
<i>Regulating the Environment</i>	662
Social Welfare Policy	667
<i>The Social Security Act</i>	667
<i>The War on Poverty</i>	669
Economic Policy	672
<i>The Goals of Economic Policy</i>	672
The Politics of the Federal Budget	675
<i>The President Proposes, Congress Disposes</i>	675
Taxing	677
<i>Sources of Tax Dollars</i>	678
<i>Tax Reform</i>	679
Spending	680
The Politics of International Economic Policy	681
Diversity and Democracy: The CROWN Act	658
Compared to What? Climate Change: Different Solutions to This Global Problem	664

Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: The Pink Tax	680
Conclusion	682
Discussion Questions	683
Key Terms	683
Suggested Readings	683
Notes	684
16 Foreign Policy	690
Foreign Policy and Democracy	691
An Overview of American Foreign Policy	694
<i>Isolationism and Regionalism</i>	695
<i>World War I</i>	696
<i>World War II</i>	697
<i>Globalism and the Cold War</i>	698
<i>The Post–Cold War Era</i>	704
The Constitution and Foreign Policy	710
<i>The President Versus Congress</i>	710
<i>The War Powers Resolution</i>	711
The Foreign Policy Bureaucracy	712
<i>The State Department</i>	713
<i>The Defense Department</i>	713
<i>The National Security Council</i>	715
<i>The CIA and Intelligence Gathering</i>	717
<i>The Agencies Behind Economic Policy Making</i>	718
Democratic Checks on Foreign Policy	719
<i>The Media</i>	719
<i>The Public</i>	720
Diversity and Democracy: “America First” as an Identity and Ideology	693
Compared to What? Supporting the World Health Organization	708
Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Transparency and the CIA	717

Conclusion	721
Discussion Questions	722
Key Terms	722
Suggested Readings	722
Notes	723

APPENDICES

1	Introducing the Concept of Approaching Democracy	A-3
2	Presidents and Congresses, 1789–January 2021	A-5
3	Supreme Court Justices	A-9
4	The Declaration of Independence	A-13
5	The Constitution of the United States	A-17
6	<i>The Federalist</i> , No. 10, James Madison	A-41
7	<i>The Federalist</i> , No. 51, James Madison	A-45

Glossary	G-1
Photo Credits	C-1
Index	I-1

PREFACE

The ninth edition of *Approaching Democracy: American Government in Times of Challenge* situates an examination of America's continually evolving democratic experiment within current, historical, and comparative political contexts. We are living in tumultuous times. We completed our revisions in the wake of the House of Representatives' second impeachment of Donald Trump for inciting an insurrection aimed at overturning a free and fair election. Although he was not convicted, Trump suffered the most bipartisan rebuke in history in favor of convicting a president in an impeachment trial.

The pursuit of a democratic republic, a notable goal of the nation's founders, has been tested several times over the 200 plus years of our country's existence, but perhaps no more than in the two months following the November presidential elections. The Trump presidency and the polarized, populist movement, together with the COVID-19 pandemic and the government's fractured response to that crisis, have tested this system in ways not seen in the last century. In this edition of the textbook, we include more diverse voices to better understand in thoughtful and nuanced ways the opportunities and challenges facing America's democracy. Our desire is that this text provides students with the necessary information to develop critical thinking skills and a set of analytical frameworks that asks, how has America's democratic experiment persevered, what are the challenges that it currently faces, and what might be the future of our political system?

Approaching Democracy also provides students with a framework to ask and hopefully answer questions about this nation's governmental structure, national institutional development and activity, and social movement political involvement, as well as compare it to that of other countries. The 2020 pro-democracy demonstrations in Hong Kong in response to China's communist regime and the imposition of a harsh national security law threaten basic freedoms. Schools and libraries have been forced to pull books from the shelves and purge history texts. Political opposition leaders have been locked up. This globalizing perspective gives students critically needed information and analytical lenses essential for a reasoned understanding of governance issues and challenges to democracy here and elsewhere. In these difficult times of political hyper-partisanship, populist voter uprisings, balanced ideological voting blocs for the last two decades, attention to identity politics, and governmental gridlock and dysfunction, there is no better time to bring *Approaching Democracy* before this generation of undergraduate students.

ORGANIZATION

PART I presents the foundations of American government. Our theme is introduced in Chapter 1, in which we identify goals and elements useful in evaluating America's approach to democracy. We also start thinking about identity politics and how Americans with historically marginalized identities traverse federal, state, and local politics in the current era.

PART II explores the institutions of American democracy. It describes the various governmental arenas—the judiciary, Congress, executive branch, and bureaucracy—where the struggle over democratic ideals plays out.

PART III focuses on the processes of American government and democracy. Through the avenues of public opinion, political parties, elections, interest groups, and the media, citizens can reach and direct their government to achieve their desired goals.

PART IV provides a detailed analysis of various issues of civil rights and liberties. They include the most fundamental rights of Americans, such as freedom of speech and religion, and are considered by many to be the foundation of our democracy.

PART V addresses the policy-making process and its consequences. How well national policy makers respond to the challenges of policy making and how democratic the policies are remain crucial questions as American government continues the process of approaching democracy.

CHANGES IN THE NINTH EDITION

Approaching Democracy: American Government in Times of Challenge is intended as a student-friendly and faculty-friendly introductory textbook that builds in students the skills and knowledge to be critical consumers of political information and analysis, thus making them better and more engaged citizens.

- Each chapter has a “Contemporary Challenges to Democracy” box wherein an in-depth examination of a prominent controversy related to consideration of democratic principles in the American context is presented.
- Each chapter has a “Compared to What?” box that presents how an element of the topics considered in that chapter is experienced outside of the American context for the sake of useful contrast to the American manifestation.
- Each chapter has a “Diversity and Democracy” box where issues centered on politically marginalized groups are examined in fuller detail. Here we bring to bear political issues, policy preferences, and historical factors that animate today’s politics or their role in American democracy.
- Each chapter has a number of key terms and definitions laid out in the margins as well as at the end of each chapter, along with a glossary of all these key terms at the book’s end.
- At the end of each chapter is a “Discussion Questions” section posing questions that allow students to think critically about the material presented in that chapter.

NEW AND UPDATED MATERIAL

Chapter 1 introduces our theme of approaching democracy and discusses contemporary issues such as voter suppression, the global rise of populism, and White privilege. We also provide the foundational tool kit for analyzing the status of American democracy in times of crises by discussing the rise of popular movements, the Black Lives Matter protests, President Trump’s use of presidential powers in sending federal troops to American cities, and later urging his supporters to upend the results of a free and democratic election. These actions led the Joint Chiefs of Staff to issue a letter condemning “sedition and insurrection” and informing all forces that on January 20, 2021 Joe Biden would be inaugurated as the country’s 46th Commander-in-Chief. Finally, we introduce the elements of democracy and Freedom House’s most recent 2020 survey data.

Chapter 2 on the Founding and the Constitution analyzes the differences between the Obama/Bush administrations and the Trump administration and the Senates during those periods and the effect of the constitutionality of the government’s actions during the COVID-19 crisis. This chapter also examines the damaging effect of the COVID-19 crisis and the populist movements on the state of the world’s democratic governments. There is new material on the trading of civil liberties for national security in the COVID-19 crisis, comparing it to the post-9/11 anti-terrorism battle. A study is made of the two Trump impeachments and their effect on the Constitution. And there is a study of the pro-ratification vote for the Equal Rights Amendment in Virginia in 2020 and an exploration of whether this means that this amendment might finally be added to the Constitution.

Chapter 3 on Federalism looks at the enormous changes wrought on the federalism system, especially on the nature of the relationships between the federal government and the 50 states by the Trump administration and then compounded by the COVID-19 health care challenges. A full exploration of the many crises facing the Trump administration, as well as the COVID-19 state lockdown, societal and business reopening, and mask-wearing battles between Trump and the governors are included. The devolution of governmental power is also shown here. There is a full exploration of the four events in the 21st century that have reshaped American federalism. And there is a companion discussion of the resulting federalism changes in the “progressive federalism” of the Obama administration and the “coercive and Jenga federalism” of the Trump

administration, frustrated by a new form of “progressive federalism” undercutting those policies. And, there is a study of the landmark decision by the Supreme Court in the context of a full study of federalism and its effect on the Native American population. More is discussed in this edition about the legal challenges to the Obama healthcare reform law, illustrating the great challenges of a federal system of government. There is a complete update of the changes in the extent and nature of national spending in the states through grants-in-aid through the second Obama term and the Trump term of office.

Chapter 4 on Congress examines the structures and powers of the first branch of government. This chapter includes a focus on the increasing diversification of Congress. We ask readers to think about the ways that having representatives from varying ethno-racial backgrounds, gender identification, age, religious affiliation, and socioeconomic status may influence policy making. The presence of previously excluded representatives leads to new legislation, such as the Violence Against Women Act, that we feature in this chapter. We also include demographic data from the 2020 elections to demonstrate that Congress is becoming more diverse but remains fundamentally a White male-dominated institution.

Chapter 5 on the Presidency provides an overview of the development of presidential roles and powers and addresses major policy implications from the Obama to the conclusion of the Trump presidency. We look at historical usage of executive privilege and pardons, the assassination of Qasem Soleimani, the Twitter presidency, leadership and lack thereof during a pandemic, President Trump’s first impeachment, and then his second impeachment, President Trump’s claims to sweeping emergency, and President Joe Biden’s flurry of new executive orders in the first week of his presidency powers. The chapter also includes a discussion of the lasting effects of the 30,573 false or misleading claims made by Trump during his presidency, nearly half of which came in his final year.¹

Chapter 6 on the Judiciary analyzes the dramatic changes on the Supreme Court as a result of the Merrick Garland non-confirmation to replace Antonin Scalia, followed by the appointment of three justices by Donald Trump, Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh and Amy Coney Barrett, and their Antonin Scalia-like Originalism and Textualism decision-making theories, that have made the Court even more conservative. Also examined is the resulting new role, after the Anthony Kennedy retirement in 2018, of Chief Justice John Roberts as the center, tipping point justice on the Court. And, a discussion is included with the addition of Justice Barrett of the possible impact on the voting and median justice identity in the next Court. In addition, there is a full analysis of the dramatic effect of the elimination of the filibuster in the appointments of federal court justices and judges that has allowed Donald Trump and Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell to reshape the federal court system with 220 Article III conservative judges. There is also a full analysis of the increasing politicization of the Supreme Court, and its justices individually, along with the many calls for “reforming” the Court and thus potentially limiting its independence and its power.

Chapter 7 focuses on the Bureaucracy; this “fourth branch” of government is defined by unity and organizational hierarchies, whereas plurality is a signature of democracy. In this chapter we compare and contrast how the executive branch has expanded and constricted the role of the bureaucracy. We highlight President Trump’s rollback of oversight agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency and its influence on American life and politics. We note the high turnover rate of bureaucrats in the Trump administration, particularly after the insurrection on January 6, 2020, to highlight the important role that civil servants play in a functioning democracy. This chapter presents students with partisan views of the modern bureaucracy and how Americans may disagree on the role of the fourth branch of government.

Chapter 8 presents readers with a cursory understanding of the role of Public Opinion in a representative democracy. In this chapter we present why some members of historically marginalized groups hold different political views than do groups that have held dominant positions in American politics. We showcase the Black Lives Matter movement as an example of how rapidly Americans have shifted in racial attitudes, an anomaly in public opinion data. The chapter also includes an analysis of several politically divisive issues such as gun control, Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, and school prayer in public schools. We discuss the role of

and present of critique of cancel culture in contemporary American politics. This chapter presents an analysis of difficulties in securing reliable polling data and its impact on the 2020 election.

Chapter 9 discusses the role of Political Parties in American democracy. We begin with the role that Black women have played in modern elections, delivering several key electoral victories to the Democratic Party. We ask readers to assess the role that political parties should play in prioritizing the policy preferences and supporting the candidacies of members from historically marginalized groups. We include how protest politics have led politicians affiliated with the Tea Party and Black Lives Matter to enter partisan politics and win seats in Congress in 2012 and 2018 respectively. We also include an expansive discussion about the role of political parties in recruiting women and including women's issues on their party platforms. We present the 2020 election as a case of political parties needed to work together as the Democrats have the narrowest of margins in both the House and Senate. The 2020 election also has governing implications for the Republican party as rifts between Trump loyalists and conservative ideologues have become increasingly apparent.

Chapter 10 on Participation, Voting, and Elections includes the results of the 2020 elections as well as voting patterns in the 2016 and 2018 elections, paying attention to trends among different groups of voters, including women, racial and ethnic minorities, and young voters. The chapter also discusses the 2020 election as having the highest voter turnout in nearly a century and highlights the role of voting rights activists such as Stacey Abrams in increasing voter education and mobilization. In this chapter we also point to recent political campaigns and movements, including the historic elections in 2016 as well as the Black Lives Matter and Women's March protest movements. Finally, this chapter engages contemporary voting issues in American politics, offering, for example, a new "Diversity and Democracy" feature examining race and felon disenfranchisement.

Chapter 11 on Interest Groups includes an updated discussion of interest groups in contemporary politics, leading with a new discussion of how power, advantage, and marginalization shape the ways in which interest groups may advance their goals through policy change. This chapter contextualizes the historic role of interest groups in American politics with a new discussion of the ways in which interest groups operate in contemporary American politics through new feature boxes focusing on issues such as the #MeToo movement and the powerful role of interest groups in campaigns in the era following the Supreme Court's decision in *Citizens United*.

Chapter 12 on the Media provides students with an updated overview of recent trends in media consumption, with a particular focus on the different sources of news by partisanship and generational status. This chapter also includes a more detailed discussion of the ways in which the media shapes opinions about politics and political candidates. For example, the chapter includes a new "Diversity and Democracy" feature box exploring the role of candidate gender in shaping candidates' press coverage. Finally, the chapter includes an updated discussion of the role of social media—particularly Twitter—in contemporary political campaigns and discourse. We note that President Trump had his Twitter account permanently suspended and the rise of conspiracy theories that circulated via social media to introduce the concept of Cancel Culture. This phenomenon, as amplified in the 2020 elections, showcases the growing distrust that Americans have in the media as an institution.

Chapter 13 on Civil Liberties contains new information on a number of significant Supreme Court cases impacting civil liberties. This chapter includes a detailed discussion of the new phase of the post-2010, and later 2018, Roberts Court and its effect on the freedom of speech, freedom of religion, the Fourth Amendment search and seizure (including the fascinating rulings on digital electronic surveillance information searches), and the right of abortion. This account includes an analysis of the "Kennedy Court," from 2010 to 2018, when Justice Anthony Kennedy was the key "swing justice" determining the case outcomes. Then, it explores the effect of the Merrick Garland "lost seat," the appointments of the Trump justices Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh, and Amy Coney Barrett, and the rise of Chief Justice John Roberts as the new "median" justice replacing Anthony Kennedy as a swing justice, along with the recent case rulings that change First Amendment free speech rights.

Chapter 14 on Civil Rights includes entirely new sections on the legal evolution of LGBTQ+ rights in the United States, a new section on John Lewis and the #BlackLivesMatter George Floyd protests, including the destruction of monuments throughout the nation, an update on the Roberts Court and affirmative action, an update on Native American rights after the 2020 Justice Neil Gorsuch opinion in *Bostock v. Clayton County*, an update on the Roberts Court, President Trump, and the DACA issue, an analysis of the Roberts Court and the end of *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the issue of birthright citizenship and Donald Trump. There is a new section on the changing nature of state abortion law decisions, and the future of *Roe v. Wade*, by the new Court, including Trump Justices Neil Gorsuch, Brett Kavanaugh, and Amy Coney Barrett.

Chapter 15 on Domestic and Economic Policy includes several updates designed to highlight the significance of this topic through contemporary political issues often debated in the United States such as environmental regulation, gun control, and calls to defund law enforcement. This updated version also includes new figures showcasing public support for various policies as well as “Diversity and Democracy” and “Contemporary Challenges to Democracy” feature boxes on the CROWN Act, the COVID-19 vaccine roll out and the so-called Pink Tax, which allow students to consider the ways policy might impact different Americans.

Chapter 16 on Foreign Policy includes new material on the global status of American democracy and the dramatic shifts in foreign policy from isolationism to anti-communism to democracy building in the Middle East, American exceptionalism, MAGA, and “America First.” This chapter also provides new material on America’s relationship with the World Health Organization during the COVID-19 pandemic, the trade war with China, nuclear weapons, the increasing role of coercive diplomacy in America’s approach to foreign policy, and the likely direction of the Biden presidency.

NOTE

- 1 Glenn Kessler, “Trump Made 30,573 False or Misleading Claims as President. Nearly Half Came in his Final Year,” Washington Post, January 23, 2021, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/01/24/trumps-false-or-misleading-claims-total-30573-over-four-years/>.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We want to thank Senior Editor–Politics at Routledge Jennifer Knerr for believing in our theme, for her faith in the authors, and for her wisdom in guiding us through the ninth edition. We are four very fortunate authors to be working with Jennifer! We would also like to thank Editorial Assistant Jacqueline Dorsey and to the book’s talented production team at Routledge, as well as Autumn Spalding at Apex CoVantage.

For the ninth edition, we want to thank the following reviewers for their helpful input: Kwame Badu Antwi-Boasiako, Nicole Casiere, Jennifer Bryson Clark, Agber Dimah, Murray Henner, Jacek Lubecki, Satoshi Machida, Mohsen Omar, Nicholas Tomb, Brian Turnbull, Lowell F. Wolf, and Robert W. Velez.

We also wish to thank the reviewers of the two most recent editions of *Approaching Democracy* for their valuable suggestions: Philip C. Aka, Kevin Anderson, Anouar Boukhars, Steven Brown, Eric Click, Denise DeGarmo, Monte Freidig, Kenneth Hicks, Marianne Ide, William E. Kelley, Jeremy R.T. Lewis, Kimberly Nalder, Rolfe Peterson, Richard Randall, Stephen Routh, Daniel W. Skubik, Katherine Stenger, Linda Valenty, and John Wood.

Larry Berman would especially like to thank his research assistant Jenny Pham for her extraordinary research and input into the ninth edition. Larry shares with Jenny all credit for his contributions. Jenny understands the theme and approach as well as anyone. Larry also acknowledges the early role of Professor Stephen Routh in creating the template for a ninth edition and for making the initial contact with Routledge. Steve’s energy helped us traverse the challenge of moving to a new publisher for this ninth edition. Larry also acknowledges with appreciation the support of his immediate family Nicole, Scott, Lindsay, Juan, Isabel, and Ian. In their collective and separate ways, each has lived this book and its theme. Finally, Larry’s friendship and collaboration with Bruce Murphy has enriched his life in ways well beyond the nine editions of this book. With Nadia and Sarah on the team, the future of *Approaching Democracy* is in the best of hands.

Bruce Allen Murphy wishes to thank his wife, Carol Lynn Wright, for her life-sustaining love and always wise counsel, his now grown children Emily and Geoffrey who have cheered on each of these editions, his son-in-law, Adam Glickman, and his wondrous twin five-year-old granddaughters, G. G. and Teddy, for their never-ending love, support, and encouragement. He would also like to thank his undergraduate students at Lafayette College for challenging him to think of even better ways to teach this subject. He also thanks his colleagues in the Government and Law Department, most especially Ilan Peleg, and Department Head, Helena Silverstein, for always providing a listening ear. And many thanks to his colleague, John Kincaid, for his comprehensive critique of the Federalism chapter. Thanks also go to the wonderful research librarians in the Kirby and Skillman Libraries, including Ana Ramirez Luhrs and Ben Jahre. A thousand thanks, too, to the late Fred Morgan Kirby and his family for their generous support of the chair that Bruce now holds. Finally, many thanks to his Excel scholar, Arielle Dana, and to Larry’s student assistant, Jenny Pham, for their comprehensive assistance on this project. And a final thanks to Larry, for his friendship and support throughout each one of these nine editions, and to our two new co-authors, Nadia and Sarah, for their professionalism and for breathing new life into this book to help us better understand American democracy in these challenging times.

Nadia is indebted to the collegiality of her Purdue colleagues: Rosie Clawson, Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, Keith Shimko, Tara Grillos, Molly Scudder, Kyle Haynes Mark Tilton, Pat Boling, and Harry Targ. She also wishes to thank her graduate students: Guillermo Caballero, Jasmine Jackson, Michael Simrak, India Leneer, and M. J. Strawbridge. Nadia extends her deepest gratitude to her mother, Nadine E. Medley, for selflessly moving in with her and Brian in 2015 to help care for her young family. It is because of her that Nadia was able to write this book—knowing that the girls were well cared for and loved while she was working. Nile,

Nadia's eldest, recommended that Rep. John Lewis (D-GA) be included in this acknowledgment. The civil rights icon died in July 2020, the month that we finalized the book's initial submission. Nadia's family spent time reflecting on Lewis's life and political actions. The girls grew to appreciate Lewis's spirit of love, kindness, and relentless passion to advance "good trouble." It is Nadia's sincere hope that readers of this text seek to live the principles that Lewis embodied as they recognize their role in American government. Next, Nadia is grateful for her co-authors. It has been a pleasure to write with such a group of dedicated, thoughtful, and collegial scholars. She is thankful for Larry's leadership on this project, Bruce's expertise, and Sarah's unwavering friendship and support. This project is richer because of our collaboration. Lastly, Nadia sends heartfelt appreciation for her husband, Brian M. Lawrence, who is her anchor, biggest cheerleader, and voice of reason.

Sarah is grateful to all of the colleagues and teachers who have supported her work over the years. In particular, she would like to thank her colleagues at Georgia State University, Carrie Manning and Nancy Mansfield, as well as all of the staff, faculty, students, and community partners at the WomenLead Center for their support. She is also grateful for the research assistance of Abigail Bowen and Sydney Price. Their exceptional work and thoughtful suggestions have been indispensable during the revision of this book. Sarah is grateful to her co-authors Bruce and Larry for including her in this new edition and their encouragement throughout this process. She is grateful to Nadia for her friendship, inspiration, and support throughout their many projects together! Sarah is thankful for the patience and support of her husband Matt and their three wonderful children: Hank, Maddie, and Charlotte. Finally, Sarah would like to thank all of the outstanding students she has encountered at Georgia State University, whose passion for politics and leadership in the world has served as a constant inspiration to her.

Because no four scholars can master all the fields in the political science discipline, we express gratitude to our extended colleagues for their many contributions from which we drew while writing this book as well as to our students for providing suggestions after teaching with previous editions, thus improving this new ninth edition revision.

Larry Berman
Bruce Allen Murphy
Nadia E. Brown
Sarah Allen Gershon

SUPPLEMENTS

The following supplements have been developed to accompany this text and facilitate its use in any class:

- For Instructors:
 - An **Instructors Manual**, including learning objectives, classroom activities, discussion questions, lecture outlines, and additional resources.
 - **PowerPoint Lecture Slides** with images from the book
 - A robust **Test Bank** of multiple-choice, true/false, and essay questions
- For Students:
 - **Chapter Outlines** to introduce each chapter's content
 - **Learning Objectives** to help guide their reading
 - **Thinking Critically** questions to apply their knowledge of key chapter concepts
 - **Quick Reviews** of each chapter's key points
 - **Test Yourself Questions** to assess comprehension and prepare for exams or quizzes
 - **Approaching Democracy Timelines** that showcase the book's historical perspective by highlighting the evolution of American democracy

These are available on the webpage for the book at www.routledge.com/9780367252694 and the instructor resources are linked to the password-protected Instructor Resources Download Hub.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

LARRY BERMAN (PhD, Princeton University) is Professor Emeritus at the University of California, Davis, and former Founding Dean of the Honors College at Georgia State University. His research and publications focus on the presidency, foreign policy, and Vietnam. He has written four books on the war in Vietnam, *Perfect Spy: The Incredible Double Life of Pham Xuan An, Time Magazine Reporter & Vietnamese Communist Agent* (2007), and *No Peace, No Honor: Nixon, Kissinger and Betrayal in Vietnam* (2001). His most recent book is *Zumwalt: The Life and Times of Admiral Elmo Russell "Bud" Zumwalt, Jr.* (2012). His work has been featured on C-Span's *Book TV*, the History Channel's *Secrets of War*, Bill Moyers's PBS series *The Public Mind*, David McCullough's *American Experience* series, and *Vietnam: A Television History*.



Photo 0.1 Larry Berman

Photo courtesy of Meg Laskey Buscema

Berman has received fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the National Science Foundation and research grants from several presidential libraries. He has received the Outstanding Mentor of Women in Political Science Award from the Women's Caucus for Political Science. He is also a co-recipient of the Richard E. Neustadt Award, given annually for the best book published during the year in the field of the American presidency. Berman received the Bernath Lecture Prize given annually by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations to a scholar whose work has most contributed to our understanding of foreign relations. He has been a Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, and scholar in residence at the Rockefeller Foundation's Center in Bellagio, Italy.

Berman's class on the American presidency has been cited in *Lisa Birnback's New and Improved College Book* as one of the most recommended classes for undergraduates at the University of California, Davis. He is the 2010 recipient of the highest honor that the Davis Division of the Academic Senate accords its members: The Faculty Research Lecturer Award. In June 2010, Berman was also awarded the Chancellor's Award for Excellence in Mentoring Undergraduate Research. He received his BA magna cum laude from The American University in Washington, DC, and his PhD from Princeton University in 1977.

In his spare time, Berman enjoys early morning lap swimming, participating in Iron Chef competitions, and attending baseball games in any city he visits.



Photo 0.2 Bruce Murphy

Photo courtesy of Craig M. Lampa



Photo 0.3 Nadia E. Brown

Photo courtesy of Brian M. Lawrence

BRUCE ALLEN MURPHY (PhD, University of Virginia) is the Fred Morgan Kirby Professor of Civil Rights in the Department of Government and Law at Lafayette College. He is a nationally recognized judicial biographer and scholar on the American Supreme Court, civil rights and liberties, judicial behavior, and judicial biography.

Murphy is the author of many publications, including *Scalia: A Court of One*, which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize, and *Wild Bill: The Legend and Life of William O. Douglas*, which was selected by the Book-of-the-Month and History book clubs. He also wrote *Fortas: The Rise and Ruin of a Supreme Court Justice*, which was nominated for both the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Award. His bestselling *The Brandeis-Frankfurter Connection: The Secret Political Activities of Two Supreme Court Justices*, which received the American Bar Association's Certificate of Merit, was listed among *The New York Times'* Best Books for 1983 and was serialized by *The Washington Post*. In addition, he edited *Portraits of American Politics: A Reader*.

Murphy has received numerous teaching and research awards for his courses and writing in American politics, civil rights and liberties, and constitutional law. He has been a finalist in the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education's National Professor of the Year competition and was cited as a Best Professor in *Lisa Birnback's New and Improved College Book*. He has also received the Albert Nelson Marquis Lifetime Achievement Award by *Who's Who*.

NADIA E. BROWN (PhD, Rutgers University) is a university faculty scholar and Associate Professor of Political Science and African American Studies at Purdue University. She specializes in Black women's politics and holds a graduate certificate in women's and gender studies. Brown's research interests lie broadly in identity politics, legislative studies, and Black women's studies. While trained as a political scientist, her scholarship on intersectionality seeks to push beyond disciplinary constraints to think more holistically about the politics of identity. Brown's *Sisters in the Statehouse: Black Women and Legislative Decision Making* (Oxford University Press, 2014) has been awarded the National Conference of Black Political Scientists' 2015 W.E.B. DuBois Distinguished Book Award, the 2015 Anna Julia Cooper Award from the Association for the Study of Black Women and Politics, and the 2015 Center for Research on Diversity and Inclusion at Purdue University Faculty Research Award. Along with Sarah Allen Gershon, Brown co-edited *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics* (Routledge Press, 2016) and is the lead editor of *Politics, Groups and Identities*. She is active in the American Political Science Association, serving as chair of the Ralph Bunche Advisory Committee, on the Thelma

Presidential Task Force, and on the American Political Science Review 2019 Search Committee. Brown is part of the #MeTooPoliSci Collective where she spearheads efforts to stop sexual harassment in the discipline. Alongside Elizabeth Sharrow, Stella Rouse, and Rebecca Gill, Brown has been awarded a collaborative grant totaling \$1,000,794 from the National Science Foundation's ADVANCE program. The project, titled "#MeTooPoliSci Leveraging a Professional Association to Address Sexual Harassment in Political Science," capitalizes on the power that professional associations have to model, facilitate, and incentivize change in the climate and culture of the disciplines they serve through a substantial partnership with the American Political Science Association. She regularly teaches the following courses: Black Political Participation, Black Women Rising, Introduction to African American Studies, and Race and Ethnicity in American Politics. Starting in July 2021, Brown will be a full professor of government and the Director of the Women's and Gender Studies Program at Georgetown University.

SARAH ALLEN GERSHON (PhD, Arizona State University) is an Associate Professor of Political Science at Georgia State University. Gershon's research focuses on the incorporation of traditionally underrepresented groups (including women and racial and ethnic minorities) into the American political system as office holders, candidates, voters, and citizens. In studying these groups, Gershon's research emphasizes the role of beliefs, behavior, and communication. Her research has been published in numerous journals, and she co-edited (with Nadia E. Brown) *Distinct Identities: Minority Women in U.S. Politics* (Routledge Press, 2016). Gershon is also a coordinating editor for the journal *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. Her research has been funded by the National Science Foundation and the CS-PAN Educational Foundation. She teaches classes on women and politics, American government and politics, campaigns and elections, and research methods. Gershon is also engaged in Georgia State University's WomenLead Program, holding the Ray and John Uttenhove WomenLead professorship and regularly teaching a course entitled WomenLead in Policy and Politics.



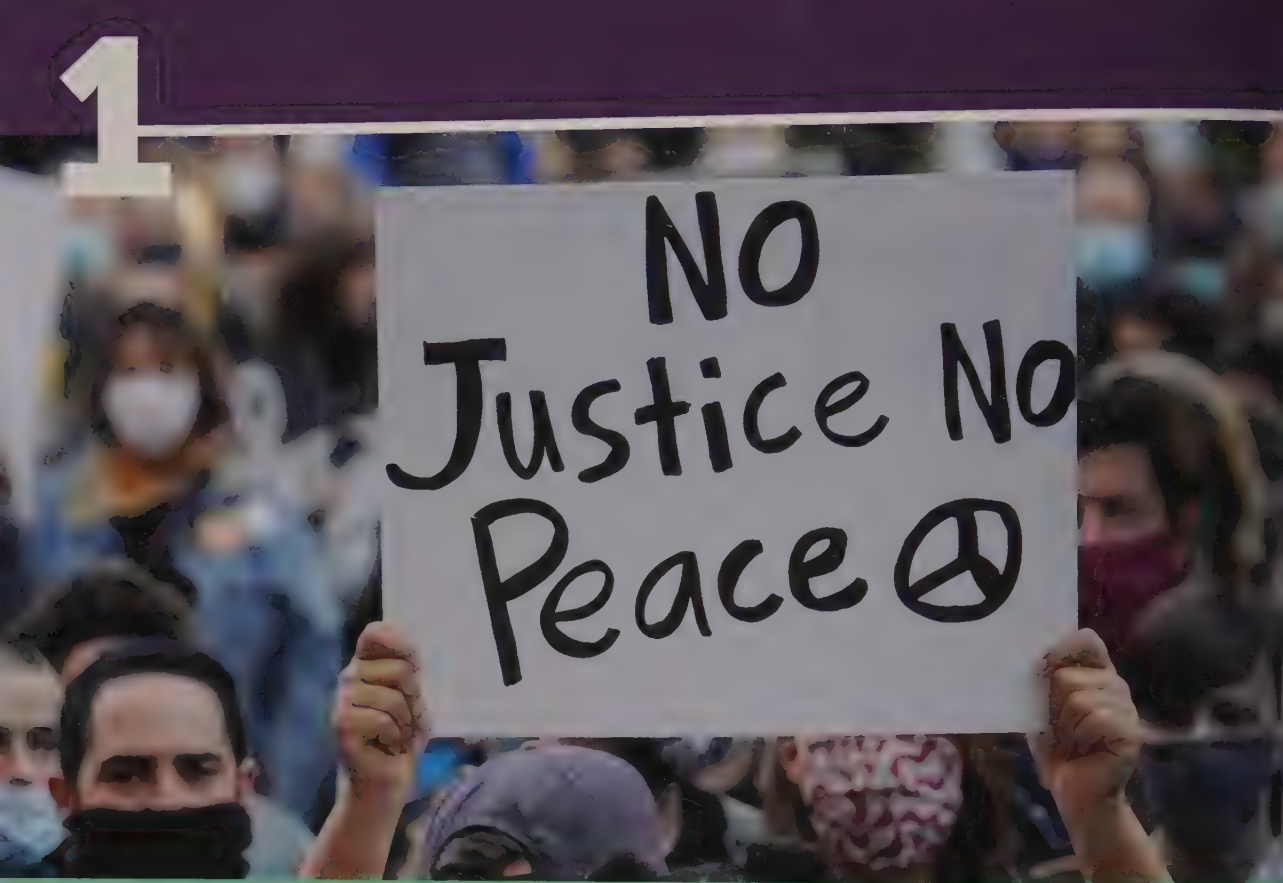
Photo 0.4 Sarah Allen Gershon

Photo courtesy of Melanie Fan and Georgia State University

PART I

FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

1



NO
Justice No
Peace ☺

APPROACHING DEMOCRACY

