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Political Science and
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See p. 2.

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See p. 40.

Our Current Debates series offers students key readings in American government, international relations, comparative politics, and peace and conflict studies

See pps. 9, 20, 36, and 38.
# Political Science and International Relations

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ENGAGE, THINK, DEBATE

BY THE PEOPLE

Debating American Government

THIRD EDITION

James A. Morone, Brown University
Rogan Kersh, Wake Forest University

By the People: Debating American Government, Third Edition, reflects the dynamism of American government and politics with new teaching and learning tools that prepare students to ENGAGE, THINK, and DEBATE now more than ever before. In a storytelling approach that weaves contemporary examples together with historical context, By the People, Third Edition, explores the themes and ideas that drive the great debates in American government and politics. It introduces students to big questions like, Who governs? How does our system of government work? What does government do? and Who are we? By challenging students with these questions, the text gets them to think about, engage with, and debate the historical and current merits of U.S. government and politics.

The third edition includes:
• Analysis of recent events, including the 2016 presidential election campaigns and outcomes, that have shaken our institutions, ideas, and interests alongside new and updated statistics and figures in each chapter
• New data on millennial trends regarding party affiliation, attitudes, and involvement in various types of participation
• Added coverage on the Black Lives Matter movement, the Tea Party movement, and Sanctuary Cities

For chapter-by-chapter revisions, visit us online at www.oup.com/us/morone.

CONTENTS for Brief Third Edition

I. IDEAS AND RIGHTS
  1. Ideas That Shape American Politics
  2. The Constitution
  3. Federalism and Nationalism
  4. Civil Liberties
  5. The Struggle for Civil Rights
II. POLITICAL BEHAVIOR
  6. Public Opinion and Political Participation
  7. The Media
  8. Campaigns and Elections
  9. Interest Groups and Political Parties
III. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS
  10. Congress
  11. The Presidency
  12. Bureaucracy
  13. The Judicial Branch
IV. POLICYMAKING
  14. Domestic and Foreign Policy

CONTENTS for Comprehensive Third Edition

I. IDEAS AND RIGHTS
  1. The Spirit of American Politics
  2. The Ideas That Shape America
  3. The Constitution
  4. Federalism and Nationalism
  5. Civil Liberties
  6. The Struggle for Civil Rights
II. POLITICAL BEHAVIOR
  7. Political Participation
  8. Public Opinion
  9. The Media
  10. Campaigns and Elections
  11. Political Parties
  12. Interest Groups
III. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS
  13. Congress
  14. The Presidency
  15. Bureaucracy
  16. The Judicial Branch
IV. POLICYMAKING
  17. Public Policy Making and Budgeting
  18. Foreign Policy

"By the People, Third Edition, is a well-written, comprehensive textbook with an engaging structure and eye-catching design. It will challenge students of all abilities and provide professors with a high-quality book to complement their course in U.S. government.”
—Andrew Sanders, Texas A&M University, San Antonio

“This is a very slick textbook—in terms of its look and approach to American politics. It confronts three issues that should remain at the forefront of all analyses of politics: values, power, and narrative. The authorial positions are laid bare at the outset and throughout every chapter; thus, the reader gains some sense of what compels the author and politics is not transformed into a litany of past saints. The role of power winds its way throughout each chapter.”
—Matt Evans, Northwest Arkansas Community College
DOLORES WAS FRIGHTENED because her child was seriously ill. Yet she was afraid to drive him to the hospital because she is an undocumented person. She had no driver’s license and no legal right to be in the United States. If the police stopped her car or made a sweep through the hospital waiting room, they would ask for proof of her status, and when she failed to provide it, they would hold her in jail until federal agents arrived to pick her up and start deportation procedures. Doñitas, like many of the 12 million undocumented people in the United States, live in the shadows—afraid to report a crime, visit a school, or drive a child to a hospital.

In response, cities such as Houston, Texas, have become “sanctuary cities”—the police do not ask about legal status during routine encounters. Immigrant advocacy groups argue that the policy protects the basic human rights of undocumented people.

Many Americans oppose the idea of sanctuary cities. Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump turned up the heat on this issue when he publicized a terrible incident that occurred in San Francisco. Juan Francisco Lopez-Sanchez, an undocumented Mexican, had been convicted of seven felonies (and had been deported five times), shot and killed Kathryn Steinle. Because San Francisco is a sanctuary city, Lopez had avoided police custody after a prior arrest. He has become a symbol for Americans who want to get tougher on illegal immigrants.

Some states have passed laws requiring the local police to check the status of anyone they suspect may be undocumented. In Texas, Senator Charles Perry of Lubbock submitted a bill to end sanctuary practices. Governor Greg Abbott weighed in by declaring that sanctuary cities will “no longer be tolerated in Texas.”

Here is the odd thing about the debate in Texas. The Constitution clearly gives the federal government—not the cities or the states—authority over immigrants. However, in the immigration debate, the lines of authority—flowing between federal, state, municipal, and city governments—have gotten all tangled up. The Houston police, responsible for public safety, were operating

In the last chapter, we traced the constitutional checks and balances in government, sharing and squabbling over power. This complex interplay among national and state governments stretches all the way back to the founding era. Between Federalists (who wanted a strong national government) and Anti-Federalists (who sought more power for the states), the division of national, state, and local government reflects longstanding American exceptionalism. Of course, every nation is distinctive in some way. The United States is exceptional in large part because of seven key ideas that guide our politics. Most of them can be traced back to the Declaration of Independence because of seven key ideas that guide our politics. Most of them can be traced back to the Declaration of Independence.

Most people have heard that line so often that it has lost its force, but it is one of the phrases that bind and shape nationalism, the force that holds and shapes our federalist polity.

In this chapter, you will:

- Learn what federalism is.
- Explore the strengths of federal and state governments.
- Examine how federalism works—and how it has evolved.
- Review the contemporary conflicts that surround federalism.
- Explore American nationalism, the force that binds and shapes our federalist polity.

In this chapter, you will explore:

- The Bottom Line
- Federalism and Nationalism
- The Democratic Party
- The Republican Party
- American Ideals
- The Bottom Line

American Ideas

Rank of Americans in terms of self-reported happiness compared to more than 100 other nations, according to the latest World Happiness Report: 15

Number of times the word “rights” appears in the Declaration of Independence: 11

Number of times the word “rights” appears in the Constitution: 14

Number of times the word “democracy” appears in the Constitution: 15

Percentage of Americans who say that the gap between the rich and everyone else has increased in the last 30 years: 65

Percentage of Americans who say that government should act to reduce economic inequality: 69

Percentage of Republicans and Democrats, respectively, who say that “it is the role of the government to take care of people who cannot care for themselves": 66, 56, 23

Percentage of Americans who say that religion is “very important” to them: 50

Percentage of Spaniards, British, and French who say the same: 32, 17, 13

Percentage of Americans who disagree that “All men are created equal": 22

Percentage of Americans who agreed that “most people who work hard will get ahead” in 2000: 74

Percentage of Americans who agreed in 2016: 62

Percentage of millennials (aged 18–29), in a Harvard study who say “The American...
INFO/DATA: Limits to Free Speech? Most Americans say “No!”

Most Americans ardently support free speech—even if it means protecting offensive statements against minorities. The only group that is somewhat mixed are millennials: 40 percent would censor offensive statements about minorities. In recent years, the defense of free speech tends to evaporate for one group: anti-American Muslims.

1. How has tolerance for unpopular speech changed over time and across generations?
2. Where do you stand? Should we censor offensive statements about minorities? How about speeches made by named anti-American groups? Is there a limit to free speech? Or should the Constitution protect all speakers, even if the message is unpopular or anti-American?

U.S. millennials more likely to support censoring offensive statements about minorities?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Support Censoring (% of Youths Voting for Censoring)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-white</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Girl</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen X (35–50)</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>27%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
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<tr>
<td>White non-Hispanic</td>
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<tr>
<td>High school or less</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College degree or more</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns high school or less</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>19%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Who should be allowed to give a speech in your community?

- Does the Media Enhance Democracy?
- Civil Liberties around the World
- Disagree: Media harms democracy. The belief of voices hastens national decline by fostering resentment and fomenting conflict. New media in particular erodes our news-producing capacity, increases inequalities, and offers dark corners that incubate malice.
- Agree: A thriving media enhances American democracy. Media offers new ways to process news, build networks, and interact with leaders. All of this works as a robust new form of political action.
- Returns to the question that opened this chapter. When you think about the American media, what do you see for the future of democracy and politics? Are you with the optimists or the pessimists?

What Do You Think? features ask students to take a stand and reflect upon important issues and debate their point of view.

“Comparing Nations” features expose students to how other nations govern, giving them opportunities to debate the merits of what is distinctive about American government and politics.

Instructor and Student Resources
- The Ancillary Resource Center (ARC) includes an Instructor’s Manual and Test Bank, a Computerized Test Bank, downloadable and customizable PowerPoint slides, and CNN video clips.
- The free and open-access Companion Website includes learning objectives, key concepts, chapter quizzes and exams, essay questions, web activities, links, QR code content, YouTube clips, glossary terms, flashcards, and Interactive Media Activities and Tutorials.
- Course Cartridge options containing student and instructor resources are available through most learning management systems. Contact your local Oxford University Press representative for details.


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<td>By the People, 3E</td>
<td>OUP</td>
<td>2016</td>
<td>696</td>
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<td>We the People, Full 11E (cloth)</td>
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Civil Liberties around the World

Every democracy protects civil liberties differently. Each makes choices based on its culture, history, and who wields power. Consider some international differences.

The right to free speech is stronger in the United States. In Germany and France, it is against the law to deny that the Nazis murdered five million Jews between 1941 and 1945. In Turkey, the government will punish you for discussing the Ottoman Turkish genocide of Armenians in 1915. In Thailand, it is a serious crime to criticize the king. In Canada, there are strict limits on pornography because it demeans women. Most Americans despise Nazis, Holocaust deniers, and pornographers. However, the Constitution protects them all—at least in some cases. When it comes to speech, Germany, France, Turkey, and Canada all tilt toward community needs, whereas the United States drastically emphasizes individual rights. The United States is unique in protecting gun rights. No other nation explicitly mentions the right to bear arms in its constitution. The United States puts special emphasis on property rights. For example, the Fifth Amendment forbids the government from taking private property “without just compensation.” By contrast, the Canadian constitution does not even mention private property.

Most nations forbid the death penalty. Ninety-eight countries have abolished the death penalty. Almost all industrial democracies have done so (Japan, Taiwan, and Korea are the only exceptions). Abolishing the death penalty is a precondition for joining the European Union (the federation of European nations). In 2015, authorities in the United States executed twenty-eight people in six states (some 3,000 more have been sentenced to executions and are on death row). Only China, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and North Korea executed more people—although Iranian governments are notorious for murdering people outside the criminal justice system and these deaths would not show up in these tallies. Americans debate whether a clause in the Bill of Rights, the prohibition on “cruel and unusual punishment,” should push the United States away from the death penalty.¹² American rights are mostly negative; they tell the government what it may not do. Other constitutions include positive rights—things that the government must do—such as educate all citizens, provide universal healthcare, or ensure that women are well represented in the national legislature.
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Uses the myths of American government to introduce students to its realities

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT
Myths and Realities
2016 ELECTION EDITION

Alan R. Gitelson, Loyola University of Chicago
Robert L. Dudley, George Mason University
Melvin J. Dubnick, University of New Hampshire

American Government: Myths and Realities, 2016 Election Edition, encourages students to challenge preconceived myths about government and politics with their realities. Clearly and distinctively woven into each chapter, the myths-and-realities theme provides a pedagogical framework that engages students with interesting questions while effectively covering the core concepts of American government.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

• Analysis of recent events, including the 2016 presidential election campaigns and outcomes, that have shaken our institutions, ideas, and interests alongside new and updated statistics and figures in each chapter
• Updated coverage concerning media and politics and the impact of social media
• New and updated “Policy Connection” features throughout the text

For chapter-by-chapter revisions, visit us online at www.oup.com/us/gitelson.

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1. Making Sense of American Politics
2. Constitutional Foundations
3. Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations
4. Civil Liberties
5. Civil Rights
6. Public Opinion and Political Participation
7. Political Parties
8. Campaigns and Elections
9. Interest Groups
10. Media and Politics
11. Congress
12. The Presidency
13. Bureaucracy
14. Courts, Judges, and the Law

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• In addition to the unique “Policy Connection” essays in each chapter, instructors interested in providing more coverage of domestic and foreign policies can refer students to Chapters 15 and 16, located on the Companion Website at www.oup.com/us/gitelson
The myths-and-realities theme is incorporated into each chapter through chapter-opening questions

The Continuing Struggle Against Racism

American Government: Myths and Realities, Seventh Edition, and American Government: Myths & Realities 2016 Election Edition, are two of the most widely used political science texts in the United States. Americans have always been interested in their political system, and political science texts and courses have played a crucial role in this fascination. Political science texts and courses have a long history in the United States, beginning with the founding of the nation and continuing to the present day.

The myths-and-realities theme is incorporated into each chapter through chapter-opening questions. This theme encourages students to analyze and consider the facts and assumptions behind political issues and policies. By asking students to consider both the myths and the realities of political issues, the themes encourage critical thinking and help students develop a deeper understanding of the political process.

The theme of the myths-and-realities is also incorporated into the exercise of making informed decisions about political issues. Students are encouraged to consider the potential consequences of political decisions, and they are asked to evaluate the evidence and arguments presented to them. By doing so, students are better able to make informed decisions about political issues.

The theme of the myths-and-realities is also incorporated into the exercise of evaluating political decisions. Students are asked to consider the potential consequences of political decisions, and they are asked to evaluate the evidence and arguments presented to them. By doing so, students are better able to make informed decisions about political issues.

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THE book to address how race and inequality have shaped—and continue to shape—our government and politics

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IN BLACK AND WHITE
Diversity and Democracy
THIRD EDITION
Paula D. McClain, Duke University
Steven C. Tauber, University of South Florida

American Government in Black and White: Diversity and Democracy, Third Edition, is a unique introduction to American government in which matters of race and ethnicity are brought to the forefront. Authors Paula D. McClain and Steven C. Tauber address issues of inequality in major facets of American government, including the U.S. Constitution, key political institutions, and the making of public policy. Engaging the original voices of racial and ethnic actors in our nation’s history, they show students how to measure and evaluate the importance of equality in America, from its founding up to today.

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• New material on the growing racial tensions in the U.S., including discussions of the Walter Scott shooting and the Black Lives Matter movement
• Revised “Evaluating Equality” features with new focus on debates in American government
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• “Evaluating Equality” boxes contain scenarios that invite students to use the central points of the chapters as a basis for thinking critically about aspects of our political system

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* = New to this Edition

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* The Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, July 4, 1776.

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* Fredrick Douglass, “What to the Slave is the Fourth of July?”

Section 3: The Constitution
* Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia’s comments before Senate Hearing 112–137 “Considering the Role of Judges Under the Constitution of the United States.” October 5, 2011.

Section 4: Federalism and Nationalism

Section 5: Civil Liberties

Section 6: The Struggle for Civil Rights

PART II: POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

Section 7: Public Opinion
* Benjamin Ginsberg, “The Perils of Polling,” presented to the 2008 conference on Polling and Democracy, Miller Center, University of Virginia, April, 2008.

Section 8: Political Participation
* Stephen Colbert, “Of Course Your Vote Counts.”
* Howard Zinn, “The Problem is Civil Obedience”

Section 9: Media, Technology, and Government

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Section 10: Campaigns and Elections

*Ari Shapiro, “No Big Money or TV Ads — What’s With The U.K.’s Low-Key Election?” NPR News, March 10, 2015.

Section 11: Political Parties


Section 12: Interest Groups

*Alexis de Tocqueville, “Political Associations in the United States,” from Democracy in America, 1835.
The Presidency AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

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Perspectives on the Arms Race

OBJECTIVE
The goal of this exercise is to help you draw conclusions on a national security policy or national strategy for the United States with regard to nuclear weapons. After discussing national security and in your own words, you will write an essay comparing your position to national security and national strategy.

PROCEDURE
This is not a debate but a discussion. You should try to consider the assumptions of national security from three significant groups participating in arms debates within the United States. There are the major groups:

- Arms advocates (realists)
- Arms control advocates (liberals)
- Disarmament advocates (select an Alternative Theory, see Chapter 3)

- Review with your classmates the basic worldviews and corresponding policy positions of each group (review Chapters 2 and 3).

FOLLOW-UP
Take the writing to review your readings from the semester so far (this textbook and supplementary readings your professor has assigned). Make short notes on materials that are significant to your position, which you will use in your next class. During class, your professor might choose to have your group leader write these statements on the board and ask others in the class to respond to your selection.

THINKING ABOUT GLOBAL POLITICS

Central America: A Perpetual Pursuit of Union?

THE ISSUE
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BACKGROUND
Following independence, the Capitular Government of Guatemala divided the Federal Republic of Central America (1823–1839) before splitting into Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Remembrance of this union has been a constant theme in international discussions. Yet Central America was a case of communities that a clearly defined overarching entity. Non-Guatemalan elites resisted leadership by Guatemalan, and Costa Rica early on showed a tendency toward isolationism. Nationalism grew, conflict erupted understandings, and outside involvement in and across the region. We can draw some conclusions from this period that combined a powerful psychological valence.

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1990, with conflicts in El Salvador and Nicaragua ended, the Cold War over, and a new wave of regional integration across the world, a new period began with the creation of the Central American Integration System (SICA). This system proved to remain a global approach to integration, with four subphases—political, economic, social, and cultural.

RECENT HISTORY
Although the Central American Parliament is directly elected, it has no powers and it does not include Costa Rica. As of 2017, only Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua participated in the Central American Court of Justice. There have been repeated discussions of institutions to consolidate an integration agreement between the countries. In the last decade, the movement to this end has reached a new peak, with the central American countries again beginning to move forward in 2004. International agreements can also shaping the future of Central America. The Central American countries

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John M. Owen is the recipient of fellowships from the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard, the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford, and the Center of International Studies at Princeton. His research has been funded by the MacArthur, Earhart, and Donchian foundations. He is the editor of Security Studies, a member of the editorial board of International Security, and a Faculty Fellow at the University of Virginia’s Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture. Professor Owen is the author of Liberal Peace, Liberal War: American Politics and International Security and The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510–2010.

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Great Britain, the United Kingdom, or Neither? State and Nation in England and Scotland

Perhaps the simplest tool in comparative politics is the single case study (often a country, as noted in chapter 2). Through this type of examination, we can gather information to develop hypotheses that cut across other cases. Case analysis can help us identify key mechanisms and define general relationships. Debates in comparative politics are seldom ended on the basis of a single case study, but this approach nonetheless has much to contribute. Here we will consider how looking at the single case of the United Kingdom (from England to Great Britain) might help us think about theories of state formation.

The island now known as Great Britain was long made up of distinct kingdoms (Map 3.1). For much of their political history, state-building projects were specific to those kingdoms. The most influential of these in political history has been England, which comprises a large share of the island’s territory (with Wales to the west and Scotland to the north).

A number of scholars have considered the English state-building project to be a paradigmatic case. To some extent, the nobility’s power to rule over the inhabitants of the countryside was curbed as early as the 800s, but with the Magna Carta of 1215 the crown also took on some limitations. After Henry VIII in the sixteenth century, the state was independent of the Roman Catholic Church, having separated from Rome and created its own church with the monarch as its head. Over the course of the seventeenth century, despite—and perhaps because of—civil conflict, parliamentary power grew, and nationalism and national identity were strengthened. By the close of the century, a truly constitutional monarchy was established. Slowly, England developed the characteristics of a fully fledged modern state: effective local administration developed into a centralized bureaucracy, which resulted in a standing army and the authority to collect taxes routinely after 1688.

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