

A vibrant watercolor splash graphic in shades of red, orange, yellow, green, and blue, with scattered black and white dots, set against a white background.

Christine Barbour · Gerald C. Wright

Keeping the
REPUBLIC

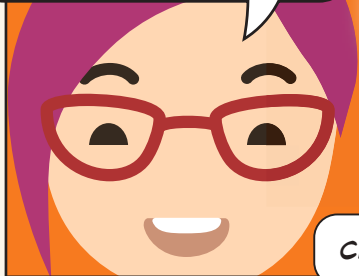
Power and Citizenship in
AMERICAN POLITICS

ESSENTIALS

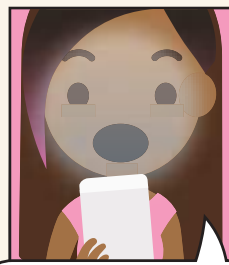
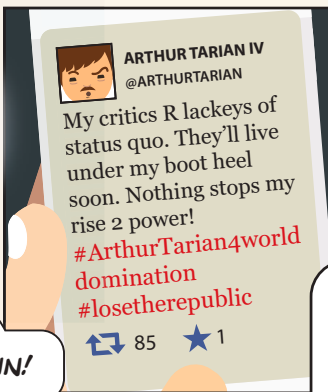
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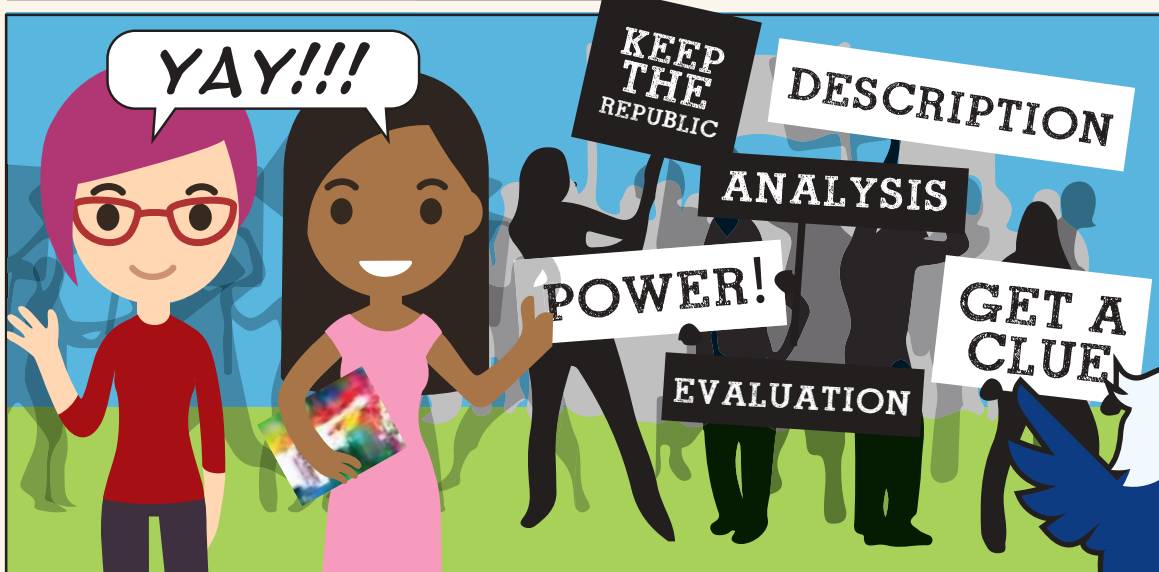
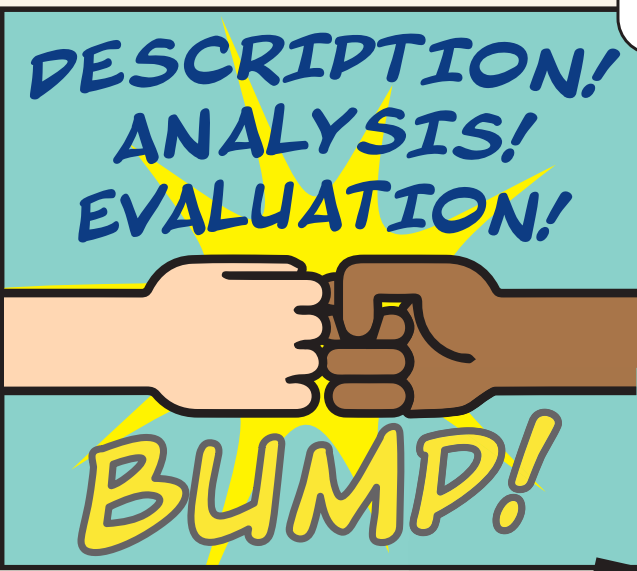
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- **New and updated infographics** better focus on the heart of each topic, such as how citizens engage electronically and how American women compare politically in a global perspective.



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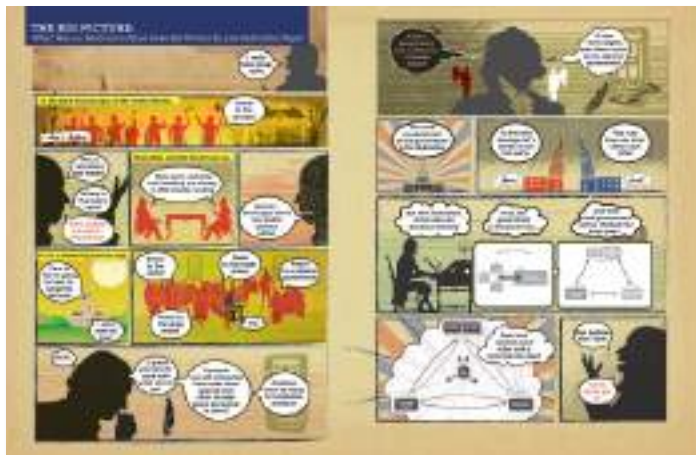
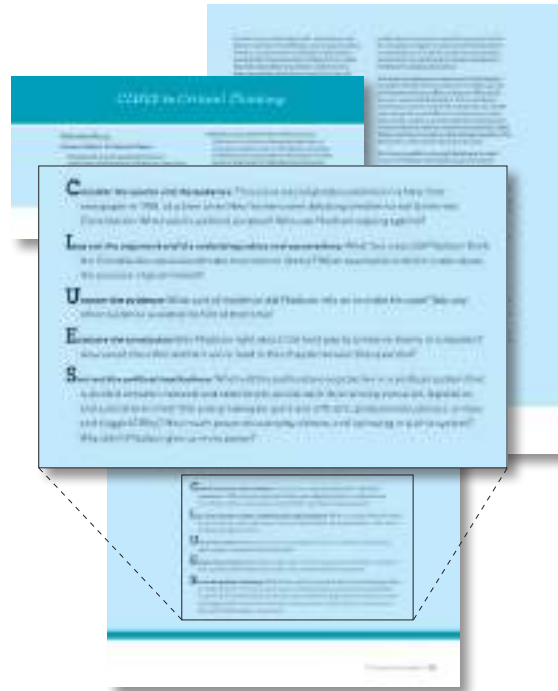
- ▶ **Video:** dive deeper into learning with relevant interviews, lectures, and other clips
- ▶ **Audio:** podcasts and other audio resources enrich key points within the text
- ▶ **Web:** curated web links extend important chapter topics to reinforce learning



INTRIGUING REAL-WORLD EXAMPLES!

IMPROVE STUDENTS' CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS THROUGH APPLICATION

- ***In Your Own Words*** learning objectives help students organize chapter material and reinforce goals.
- ***Don't Be Fooled by*** boxes encourage students to be analytical and skeptical consumers of political information, with a new focus on digital information.
- ***Snapshots of America*** graphics examine data to help students understand the meaning behind the numbers.
- ***CLUES to Critical Thinking*** readings with CLUES questions—perfect for assignments—help students acquire the habit of active and close reading.
- ***Thinking Outside the Box*** marginal discussion questions challenge students' assumptions and provoke thoughtful responses.



CAPTURE YOUR STUDENTS' ATTENTION WITH COMPELLING STORIES AND VISUALS

- ***What's at Stake*** chapter-opening vignettes ask students to think about what people are struggling to get from politics and how the rules affect the outcome of who wins and who loses.
- ***Profiles in Citizenship*** author interviews with inspiring public figures offer insight and advice for getting involved in political action.
- ***The Big Picture*** infographics broaden understanding of big processes, big concepts, and big data.



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“*Keeping the Republic* expertly brings students into the discussion of American politics. The book is well-written and provides context to the factual material, such that **students can see themselves as part of the process** and not simply as winners or losers.”

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Keeping the
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THE ESSENTIALS



Keeping the
REPUBLIC

**Power and Citizenship in
AMERICAN POLITICS
THE ESSENTIALS**

8th
Edition

Christine Barbour

Indiana University

Gerald C. Wright

Indiana University





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*We dedicate this book with love to our parents,
Patti Barbour and John Barbour and
Doris and Gerry Wright,
To our kids, Andrea and Monica,
To our grandkids, Liam, Elena, Paloma, and Asber,
And to each other.*

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

CHRISTINE BARBOUR

Christine Barbour teaches in the Political Science Department and the Hutton Honors College at Indiana University, where she has become increasingly interested in how teachers of large classes can maximize what their students learn. She is working with online course designers to create an online version of her Intro to American Politics class. At Indiana, Professor Barbour has been a Lilly Fellow, working on a project to increase student retention in large introductory courses, and a member of the Freshman Learning Project, a university-wide effort to improve the first-year undergraduate experience. She has served on the *New York Times* College Advisory Board, working with other educators to develop ways to integrate newspaper reading into the undergraduate curriculum. She has won several teaching honors, but the two awarded by her students mean the most to her: the Indiana University Student Alumni Association Award for Outstanding Faculty and the Indiana University Chapter of the Society of Professional Journalists Brown Derby Award. When not teaching or writing textbooks, Professor Barbour enjoys playing with her dogs, traveling with her coauthor, and writing about food. She is the food editor for *Bloom Magazine* of Bloomington and is a coauthor of *Indiana Cooks!* (2005) and *Home Grown Indiana* (2008). She also makes jewelry from precious metals and rough gemstones and if she ever retires, she will open a jewelry shop in a renovated air-stream on the beach in Apalachicola, Florida, where she plans to write another cookbook and a book about the local politics, development, and fishing industry.

GERALD C. WRIGHT

Gerald C. Wright has taught political science at Indiana University since 1981, and he is currently the chair of the political science department. An accomplished scholar of American politics, and the 2010 winner of the State Politics and Policy Association's Career Achievement Award, his books include *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States* (1993), coauthored with Robert S. Erikson and John P. McIver, and he has published more than fifty articles on elections, public opinion, and state politics. Professor Wright has long studied the relationship among citizens, their preferences, and public policy.

He is currently conducting research funded by grants from the National Science Foundation and the Russell Sage Foundation on the factors that influence the equality of policy representation in the states and in Congress. He is also writing a book about representation in U.S. legislatures. He has been a consultant for Project Vote Smart in the past several elections. Professor Wright is a member of Indiana University's Freshman Learning Project, a university-wide effort to improve the first-year undergraduate experience by focusing on how today's college students learn and how teachers can adapt their pedagogical methods to best teach them. In his nonworking hours, Professor Wright also likes to spend time with his dogs, travel, eat good food, fish, and play golf.



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PREFACE

WHEN one of us was a freshman journalism major in college, more years ago now than she cares to remember, she took an introduction to American politics course—mostly because the other courses she wanted were already full. But the class was a revelation. The teacher was terrific, the textbook provocative, and the final paper assignment an eye opener. “As Benjamin Franklin was leaving Independence Hall,” the assignment read, “he was stopped by a woman who asked, ‘What have you created?’ Franklin replied, ‘A Republic, Madam, if you can keep it.’” Have we succeeded in keeping our republic? Had we been given a democracy in the first place? These questions sparked the imagination, the writing of an impassioned freshman essay about the limits and possibilities of American democracy, and a lifetime love affair with politics. If we have one goal in writing this textbook, it is to share the excitement of discovering humankind’s capacity to find innovative solutions to those problems that arise from our efforts to live together on a planet too small, with resources too scarce, and with saintliness in too short a supply. In this book we honor the human capacity to manage our collective lives with peace and even, at times, dignity. And, in particular, we celebrate the American political system and the founders’ extraordinary contribution to the possibilities of human governance.

WHERE WE ARE GOING

Between the two of us, we have been teaching American politics for way more than half a century. We have used a lot of textbooks in that time. Some of them have been too difficult for introductory students (although we have enjoyed them as political scientists!), and others have tried excessively to accommodate the beginning student and have ended up being too light in their coverage of basic information. We wanted our students to have the best and most complete treatment of the American political system we could find, presented in a way that would catch their imagination, be easy to understand, and engage them in the system about which they were learning.

This book is the result of that desire. It covers essential topics with clear explanations, but it is also a thematic book, intended to guide students through a wealth of material and to help them make sense of the content both academically and

personally. To that end we develop two themes that run throughout every chapter: an analytic theme to assist students in organizing the details and connecting them to the larger ideas and concepts of American politics and an evaluative theme to help them find personal meaning in the American political system and develop standards for making judgments about how well the system works. Taken together, these themes provide students a framework on which to hang the myriad complexities of American politics.

The analytic theme we chose is a classic in political science: politics is a struggle over limited power and resources, as gripping as a sporting event in its final minutes, but much more vital. The rules guiding that struggle influence who will win and who will lose, so that often the struggles with the most at stake are over the rule making itself. In short, and in the words of a famous political scientist, *politics is about who gets what, and how they get it*. To illustrate this theme, we begin and end every chapter with a feature called *What’s at Stake . . . ?* that poses a question about what people want from politics—what they are struggling to get and how the rules affect who gets it. At the end of every major chapter section, we pause to revisit Harold Laswell’s definition in context and ask *Who, What, How*. This periodic analytic summary helps solidify the conceptual work of the book and gives students a sturdy framework within which to organize the facts and other empirical information we want them to learn. For the evaluative theme, we focus on the “who” in the formulation of “who gets what, and how.” Who are the country’s citizens? What are the ways they engage in political life? To “keep” a republic, citizens must shoulder responsibilities as well as exercise their rights. We challenge students to view democratic participation among the diverse population as the price of maintaining liberty.

Working in concert with the Who, What, How summary are the *In Your Own Words* goals that provide each chapter’s major points up front to help students organize the material they read. Who, What, How summaries provide the opportunity for students to pause and review these goals and gauge how well they’re understanding and retaining the information.

Our citizenship theme has three dimensions. First, in our *Profiles in Citizenship* feature, present in every chapter, we introduce students to important figures in American politics and ask the subjects why they are involved in public service

or some aspect of political life. Based on personal interviews with these people, the profiles model republic-keeping behavior for students, helping them to see what is expected of them as members of a democratic polity. We feel unabashedly that a primary goal of teaching introductory politics is not only to create good scholars but also to create good citizens. Second, at the end of nearly every chapter, the feature *The Citizens and . . .* provides a critical view of what citizens can or cannot do in American politics, evaluating how democratic various aspects of the American system actually are and what possibilities exist for change. Third, we premise this book on the belief that the skills that make good students and good academics are the same skills that make good citizens: the ability to think critically about and process new information and the ability to be actively engaged in one's subject. Accordingly, in our *CLUES to Critical Thinking* feature, we help students understand what critical thinking looks like by modeling it for them, and guiding them through the necessary steps as they examine current and classic readings about American politics. Similarly, the *Don't Be Fooled by . . .* feature assists students to critically examine the various kinds of political information they are bombarded with—from information in textbooks like this one, to information from social networks, to information from their congressional representative or political party. *Thinking Outside the Box* questions prompt students to take a step back and engage in some big-picture thinking about what they are learning.

The book's themes are further illustrated through two unique features that will enhance students' visual literacy and critical thinking skills. Each chapter includes a rich, poster-worthy display called *The Big Picture* that focuses on a key element in the book, complementing the text with a rich visual that grabs students' attention and engages them in understanding *big processes* like how cases get to the Supreme Court, *big concepts* such as when the law can treat people differently, and *big data*, including who has immigrated to the United States and how they have assimilated. In addition, an innovative feature called *Snapshot of America*, reimagined from the Who Are We feature of past editions, describes through graphs, charts, and maps just who we Americans are and where we come from, what we believe, how educated we are, and how much money we make. This recurring feature aims at exploding stereotypes, and *Behind the Numbers* questions lead students to think critically about the political consequences of America's demographic profile. These visual features are the result of a partnership with award-winning designer, educator, and artist Mike Wirth, who has lent his expert hand in information design and data visualization to craft these unique, informative, and memorable graphics.

Marginal definitions of the key terms as they occur and chapter summary material—vocabulary and summaries—help to support the book's major themes and to reinforce the major concepts and details of American politics.

HOW WE GET THERE

In many ways this book follows the path of most American politics texts: there are chapters on all the subjects that instructors scramble to cover in a short amount of time. But in keeping with our goal of making the enormous amount of material here more accessible to our students, we have made some changes to the typical format. After our introductory chapter, we have included a chapter not found in every book: “American Citizens and Political Culture.” Given our emphasis on citizens, this chapter is key. It covers the history and legal status of citizens and immigrants in America and the ideas and beliefs that unite us as Americans as well as the ideas that divide us politically.

Another chapter that breaks with tradition is Chapter 4, “Federalism and the U.S. Constitution,” which provides an analytic and comparative study of the basic rules governing this country—highlighted up front because of our emphasis on the *how* of American politics. This chapter covers the essential elements of the Constitution: federalism, the three branches, separation of powers and checks and balances, and amendability. In each case we examine the rules the founders provided, look at the alternatives they might have chosen, and ask what difference the rules make to who wins and who loses in America. This chapter is explicitly comparative. For each rule change considered, we look at a country that does things differently. We drive home early the idea that understanding the rules is crucial to understanding how and to whose advantage the system works. Throughout the text we look carefully at alternatives to our system of government as manifested in other countries—and among the fifty states.

Because of the prominence we give to rules—and to institutions—this book covers Congress, the presidency, the bureaucracy, and the courts before looking at public opinion, parties, interest groups, voting, and the media—the inputs or processes of politics that are shaped by those rules. While this approach may seem counterintuitive to instructors who have logged many miles teaching it the other way around, we have found that it is not counterintuitive to students, who have an easier time grasping the notion that the rules make a difference when they are presented with those rules in the first half of the course. We have, however, taken care to write the chapters so that they will fit into any organizational framework.

We have long believed that teaching is a two-way street, and we welcome comments, criticisms, or just a pleasant chat about politics or pedagogy. You can email us directly at barbour@indiana.edu and wright1@indiana.edu.

ENHANCING PEDAGOGY WITH TECHNOLOGY

Students today are connected, wired and networked in ways previous generations could not have imagined, and they process information in ways that go way beyond reading the printed word on a paper page. To keep up with them and their quickly evolving world, *Keeping the Republic* is a full-fledged, integrated media experience thanks to the interactive eBook that can be bundled with a new print copy of the book. Through a series of annotated icons at the end of each chapter, students can quickly link to multimedia on the page where a topic is discussed, pointing to articles and background pieces, to audio clips of interviews, to video clips of news stories or foundational concepts, to reference and biography material, to important and current data on such topics as approval ratings and public opinion polls. This allows students to explore an important concept or idea while reading—a reinforcing exercise as well as vetted content that provides depth and added context. It’s an enhanced, enriching, and interactive learning experience.

WHAT’S NEW IN THE EIGHTH EDITION

The 2008 election turned some of the conventional wisdom about who gets what in American politics upside down. Americans elected an African American to the presidency and seriously entertained the idea of a woman president or vice president. Young people, traditionally nonvoters, turned out for the primaries and caucuses, and again for the general election. Changing demographics and the passing of time had blurred the distinction between red states and blue states. Although in 2010, politics looked more like business as usual, by 2012 what one observer calls “the coalition of the ascendant” was back in place, with growing demographic groups such as young people and minorities taking a larger share of the electorate than they traditionally have. As was expected, the 2014 midterm elections marked a return to the lower turnout, older, whiter, and more Republican electorate, giving a majority to Republicans in both houses, with candidates already positioning for a 2016 run for the presidency. We have updated the text throughout to reflect the current balance of power in the House and Senate and tried to put the election results into historical perspective.

And that’s not all. Writing the eighth edition gave us an opportunity to revitalize the book’s theme to reflect the influences of modern technology on power and citizenship. To do that, we looked at the ways that controlling the political narrative has translated into political power and how that power

has shifted with the advent of new and social media. This coverage is integrated throughout each chapter and is especially notable in the *Don’t Be Fooled By...* boxes’ new focus on digital media. New topics addressed include the information bubble, news satire, and clickbait.

Reviews for this edition helped guide some key changes that we hope will make the text even more useful to you and your students. We have sought to streamline both the main narrative and its features to provide a more focused reading experience. We also relocated the *CLUES to Critical Thinking* boxes to the end of each chapter. Instructors shared with us how useful they find this feature, but that it’s often a challenge to incorporate it into class. Its new home at chapter’s end encourages its use as a homework assignment, allowing students to draw on everything they’ve learned from the chapter to dig into thinking critically about the featured piece.

In addition, our efforts to produce a more focused textbook led to the carefully considered decision to remove the local government chapter (formerly Chapter 16). We asked instructors and they answered that this chapter was not one vital to their teaching of the course. For those who *do* rely on the chapter, it is available through a custom option. Also available in the book’s digital resources are full-length *Profiles in Citizenship* interviews, for students interested in reading more on the newly abbreviated *Profiles* in this edition. Two new *Profiles* appear in this edition—journalist Jose Antonio Vargas and activist Dan Savage. With the rationale that students are much more likely to click on a link to engage further with a topic than they are to type in a URL from a textbook, the *Engage* and *Explore* sections that previously appeared at the end of each chapter have been relocated to the book’s digital resources. Exploration of these resources is now literally just a click away.

In this edition, we continued to work with Mike Wirth, an award-winning designer, educator, and artist who specializes in information design and data visualization, to translate the book’s abstract concepts and data into concrete knowledge. *The Big Picture* and *Snapshot of America* graphics that we’ve created together are designed to enhance students’ visual literacy and critical thinking skills and bring the book’s themes to life. These two unique and exciting features are key to creating a more visual text for today’s students. They explore a range of topics, from how the founders from the Articles of Confederation to the U.S. Constitution and what must have been in Madison’s mind as he wrote *Federalist* no. 51 to how we voted in recent elections. As always, graphs in every chapter reflect the newest data available, and the book now features over 200 images and cartoons, the majority of them brand new. New *What’s at Stake . . . ?* vignettes examine such topics as immigration reform, the changing racial makeup of America, Internet regulation, and the dangers of a media information bubble.

DIGITAL RESOURCES

We know how important good resources can be in the teaching of American government. Our goal has been to create resources that not only support but also enhance the text's themes and features. **SAGE edge** offers a robust online environment featuring an impressive array of tools and resources for review, study, and further exploration, keeping both instructors and students on the cutting edge of teaching and learning. SAGE edge content is open access and available on demand. Learning and teaching has never been easier! We gratefully acknowledge Ann Kirby-Payne; Alicia Fernandez, California State University, Fullerton; Sally Hansen, Daytona State College; Craig Ortsey, Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne; and Theresa Marchant-Shapiro, Southern Connecticut State University, for developing the digital resources on this site.

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 - Diagnostic chapter **pre-tests and post-tests** identify opportunities for improvement, track student progress, and ensure mastery of key learning objectives
 - **Test banks** built on Bloom's Taxonomy provide a diverse range of test items with ExamView test generation
 - **Activity and quiz options** allow you to choose only the assignments and tests you want
 - **Instructions** on how to use and integrate the comprehensive assessments and resources provided
- **Assignable data exercises** build students' data literacy skills with interactive data visualization tools

from **SAGE Stats** and **U.S. Political Stats**, offering a dynamic way to analyze real-world data and think critically of the narrative behind the numbers

- **Chapter-specific discussion questions** help launch engaging classroom interaction while reinforcing important content
- **SAGE Premium video with corresponding multimedia assessment tools** bring concepts to life that increase student engagement and appeal to different learning styles.
 - **SAGE original *Topics in American Government* videos with corresponding multimedia assessment tools** recap the fundamentals of American politics—from the Bill of Rights to voter turnout to the powers of the presidency—bringing concepts to life, increasing student engagement, and appealing to different learning styles
 - ***American Government News Clips* with corresponding multimedia assessment tools** bring current events into the book, connecting brief, 2- to 4-minute news clips with core chapter content
- **Video resources** bring concepts to life, are tied to learning objectives and make learning easier
- **EXCLUSIVE, influential SAGE journal and reference content**, built into course materials and assessment tools, that ties important research and scholarship to chapter concepts to strengthen learning
- Editable, chapter-specific **PowerPoint® slides** offer flexibility when creating multimedia lectures so you don't have to start from scratch but you can customize to your exact needs
- **Integrated links to the interactive eBook** make it easy for your students to maximize their study time with this “anywhere, anytime” mobile-friendly version of the text. It also offers access to more digital tools and resources, including SAGE Premium Video
- **All tables and figures** from the textbook

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- Mobile-friendly **practice quizzes** that allow you to assess how much you've learned and where you need to focus your attention
- A customized online **action plan** that includes tips and feedback on progress through the course and materials
- **Chapter summaries** with learning objectives that reinforce the most important material
- **Video resources** that bring concepts to life, are tied to learning objectives, and make learning easier
- Full-length **Profiles in Citizenship** interviews that expand on the brief presentations in the print book allow students to delve deeper into the ways that everyday citizens engage in politics
- Multimedia **Engage** and **Explore** sections, now available only online, that allow students to take action directly with a click of the mouse
- **Exclusive access to influential SAGE journal and reference content**, that ties important research and scholarship to chapter concepts to strengthen learning

A number of instructors helped to guide the development of the new **Topics in American Government** videos available with this edition. These SAGE original videos are accompanied by assessment questions and can be assigned through a coursepack and accessed through an IEB, making them a valuable resource for instructor assignments and student study. We appreciate the time and thought our reviewers put into their feedback, which helped us to refine the material and ensure that we provide content useful to both instructors and students. We offer special thanks to Christina B. Lyons, ByLyons LLC; Justin S. Vaughn, Boise State University; and to:

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**Christine Barbour
Gerald C. Wright**

TO THE STUDENT

SUGGESTIONS ON HOW TO READ THIS TEXTBOOK

1. As they say in Chicago about voting, do it **early and often**. If you open the book for the first time the night before the exam, you will not learn much from it and it won't help your grade. Start reading the chapters in conjunction with the lectures, and you'll get so much more out of class.
2. Pay attention to the **chapter headings** and **In Your Own Words** goals. They tell you what we think is important, what our basic argument is, and how all the material fits together. Often, chapter subheadings list elements of an argument that may show up on a quiz. Be alert to these clues.
3. **Read actively**. Constantly ask yourself: Why is this important? How do these different facts fit together? What are the broad arguments here? How does this material relate to class lectures? How does it relate to the broad themes of the class? When you stop asking these questions, you are merely moving your eyes over the page, and that is a waste of time.
4. **Highlight or take notes**. Some people prefer highlighting because it's quicker than taking notes, but others think that writing down the most important points helps in recalling them later. Whichever method you choose (and you can do both), be sure you're doing it properly.
 - **Highlighting**. An entirely highlighted page will not give you any clues about what is important. Read each paragraph and ask yourself: What is the basic idea of this paragraph? Highlight that. Avoid highlighting all the examples and illustrations. You should be able to recall them on your own when you see the main idea. Beware of highlighting too little. If whole pages go by with no marking, you are probably not highlighting enough.
5. **Note all key terms**, and be sure you understand the definition and significance.
6. Do not skip **tables and figures**. These things are there for a purpose, because they convey crucial information or illustrate a point in the text. After you read a chart or graph or *Big Picture* infographic, make a note in the margin about what it means.
7. **Do not skip the boxes**. They are not filler! The *Don't Be Fooled by...* boxes provide advice on becoming a critical consumer of the many varieties of political information that come your way. Each *Profile in Citizenship* box highlights the achievements of a political actor pertinent to that chapter's focus. They model citizen participation and can serve as a beacon for your own political power long after you've completed your American government course. And the *Snapshot of America* boxes help you understand who Americans are and how they line up on all sorts of dimensions.
8. Make use of the book's web site at <http://edge.sagepub.com/barbour8e>. There you will find chapter summaries, flashcards, and practice quizzes that will help you prepare for exams.

SAGE was founded in 1965 by Sara Miller McCune to support the dissemination of usable knowledge by publishing innovative and high-quality research and teaching content. Today, we publish over 900 journals, including those of more than 400 learned societies, more than 800 new books per year, and a growing range of library products including archives, data, case studies, reports, and video. SAGE remains majority-owned by our founder, and after Sara's lifetime will become owned by a charitable trust that secures our continued independence.

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Keeping the
REPUBLIC 8th Edition
THE ESSENTIALS



In Your Own Words

After you've read this chapter, you will be able to

- Describe the role that politics plays in determining how power and resources, including control of information, are distributed in a society.
- Compare how power is distributed between citizens and government in different economic and political systems.
- Explain the historical origins of American democracy.
- Describe the enduring tension in the United States between self-interested human nature and public-spirited government.
- Apply the five steps of critical thinking to this book's themes of power and citizenship in American politics.

Spencer Platt/Getty Images

1

POLITICS: WHO GETS WHAT, AND HOW?

What's at Stake . . . in "Hashtag Activism"?

LIKE SO MANY OTHERS, twenty-four-year-old Matthew Brandi heard the call through the Internet. "I actually decided to go protest after seeing online videos of protesters being arrested, with the caption, 'for each one they take away, two will replace them!'" He says, "It's like it was my duty to go. I owed it to the person who got arrested. They stepped up and got taken out, so someone had to replace them." And so, on October 1, 2011, Matt and his friends marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to protest the growing income gap between the top 1 percent of income earners in this country and everyone else. The Occupy Wall Street movement claimed that economic inequality was the result of a rigged system, that politicians by themselves could not solve the problem because they were a central part of it. The protestors' rallying cry—"We are the 99%!"—was particularly attractive to young Americans, struggling in the difficult economy and frustrated with the status quo that seemed to enrich the few at the expense of the many. It was a message fired up and sustained via Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and other forms of electronic messaging.



Scott Olson/Getty Images

America, in Black and White

More than a year after Laquan McDonald, a black teenager, was shot to death by a white Chicago police officer, the city released video footage of the encounter, revealing that McDonald, armed only with a knife, was shot multiple times, from a distance of about 10 feet, by a single officer who had just arrived on the scene. Sensing an attempt to cover up the incident, demonstrators with Black Lives Matter converged on City Hall, calling for resignations from the mayor and the county state's attorney.

Like the Occupy movement and occurring at about the same time, the It Gets Better Project was fueled and spread by the Internet. Appalled by a number of highly publicized suicides by young lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender kids who were bullied at school and online, gay activist and writer Dan Savage (see *Profiles in Citizenship*) and his husband Terry Miller created a YouTube video to tell vulnerable kids that, despite the torment they were experiencing, their lives would indeed “get better” as they grew older. The video went viral and inspired others to record their stories of hope and encouragement. Eventually the It Gets Better Project grew to a collection of more than 50,000 videos made by celebrities, politicians, sports figures, and everyday people. The videos have surpassed 50 million views, the movement has spread to over thirteen countries, and in 2012 the project was recognized with a special Emmy Award for setting a “great example of strategically, creatively and powerfully utilizing the media to educate and inspire.”²

The hashtag *#blacklivesmatter* took off on social media in 2012 as a protest after the acquittal of George Zimmerman, the self-appointed vigilante who killed Trayvon Martin, a young black man, in Florida. In 2014, when police killed Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and Eric Garner in New York City, Black Lives Matter (BLM) organized street protests and demonstrations, which continued as other African Americans—including Tamir Rice, Sandra Bland, Freddie Gray, and Laquan McDonald—were killed by police or died in police custody. BLM activists embraced the concept of intersectionality—the idea that if you identified with more than one oppressed group (if you were black and female, black and gay or transgender, black and disabled, for instance), then your struggle was compounded and more

likely to be unrecognized by the traditional limits and channels of the civil rights movement. By 2015, BLM members were meeting with Senator Bernie Sanders and former secretary of state Hillary Clinton and their presidential campaigns, pushing the candidates to take a stand on the idea that black lives matter in all respects and across all elements of society.

Young people have been notoriously uninvolved in politics, often seeing it as irrelevant to their lives and the things they really care about. Knowing that they pay little attention and tend not to vote in large numbers, politicians feel free to ignore their concerns, reinforcing their cynicism and apathy. Young people did turn out in 2008 and 2012 in larger-than-usual numbers, and they were excited by the 2016 presidential candidacy

of Sanders, who emphasized many of the same themes as the Occupy movement. In the general election they supported Hillary Clinton over Donald Trump by 55 to 37 percent, but nearly 10 percent supported a third party candidate. Traditional political channels didn't seem as attractive to them, but the Internet opened up a whole new realm of political action.

The American founders weren't crazy about the idea of mass movements, political demonstrations, or even political parties, but they did value political engagement and they knew that democracies needed care and attention in order to survive. In 1787, when Benjamin Franklin was asked by a woman what he and other founders of the Constitution had created, he replied, “A republic, madam, if you can keep it.” Today, many commentators worry that we are not “keeping the republic” and that, as new generations who find politics a turn-off become disaffected adults, the system will start to unravel. As one writer says, “a nation that hates politics will not long thrive as a democracy.”³

Yet protesters like Matt Brandi, organizers like Dan Savage, and all the voices of Black Lives Matter sound as committed to democracy as Benjamin Franklin could have wished, even though their efforts are not focused on voting or traditional methods of political engagement. Is a nation of these young activists a nation in trouble, or can movements begun over an Internet even Benjamin Franklin could not have imagined help to keep the republic? What, exactly, is at stake in *hashtag activism*—what one writer called a “netroots outcry” to follow an online call to political action? We return to this question after we learn more about the meaning of politics and the difference it makes in our lives. <<

HAVE you got grand ambitions for your life? Do you want a powerful position in business, influence in high places, money to make things happen? Perhaps you would like to make a difference in the world, heal the sick, fight for peace, feed the poor. Or maybe all you want from life is a good education; a well-paying job; a comfortable home; and a safe, prosperous, contented existence. Think politics has nothing to do with any of those things? Think again.

All the things that make those goals attainable—a strong national defense, student loans, economic prosperity, favorable mortgage rates, secure streets and neighborhoods, cheap and efficient public transportation, and family leave protections—are influenced by or are the products of politics.

Yet, if you listen to the news, politics may seem like one long campaign commercial: eternal bickering and finger-pointing by public servants who seem more interested in winning an argument against their ideological opponents than actually solving our collective problems. Way more often than not, political actors with the big bucks seem to have more influence over the process than those of us with normal bank accounts. Politics, which we would like to think of as a noble and even morally elevated activity, can take on all the worst characteristics of the business world, where we expect people to take advantage of each other and pursue their own private interests. Can this really be the heritage of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln? Can this be the “world’s greatest democracy” at work?

In this chapter we get to the heart of what politics is, how it relates to other concepts such as power, government, rules, economics, and citizenship. We propose that politics can best be understood as the struggle over who gets power and resources in society, and the fight to control the narrative, or story, that defines each contestant. Politics produces winners and losers, and much of the reason it can look so ugly is that people fight desperately to be the former, and to create and perpetuate narratives that celebrate their wins and put the best face possible on their losses. It can get pretty confusing for the average observer.

As we will see, it is the beauty of a democracy that *all* the people, including the everyday people like us, get to fight for what they want. Not everyone can win, of course, and many never come close. There is no denying that some people bring resources to the process that give them an edge, and that the rules give advantages to some groups of people over others.

politics who gets what, when, and how; a process of determining how power and resources are distributed in a society without recourse to violence

power the ability to get other people to do what you want

But the people who pay attention and who learn how the rules work can begin to use those rules to increase their chances of getting what they want, whether it is a lower personal tax bill, greater pollution controls, a more aggressive foreign policy, safer streets, a better-educated population, or more public parks. If they become very skilled citizens, they can even begin to change the rules so that they can fight more easily for the kind of society they think is important, and so that people like them have a greater chance to end up winners in the high-stakes game we call politics.

The government our founders created for us gives us a remarkable playing field on which to engage in that game. Like any other politicians, the designers of the American system were caught up in the struggle for power and resources, and in the desire to write laws that would maximize the chances that they, and people like them, would be winners in the new system. Nonetheless, they crafted a government impressive for its ability to generate compromise and stability, and also for its potential to realize freedom and prosperity for its citizens.

WHAT IS POLITICS?

A peaceful means of determining who gets power and influence in society

Over two thousand years ago, the Greek philosopher Aristotle said that we are political animals, and political animals we seem destined to remain. The truth is that politics is a fundamental and complex human activity. In some ways it is our capacity to be political—to cooperate, bargain, and compromise—that helps distinguish us from all the other animals out there. Politics may have its baser moments, but it also allows us to reach more exalted heights than we could ever achieve alone, from dedicating a new public library or building a national highway system, to curing deadly diseases or exploring the stars.

Since this book is about politics, in all its glory as well as its dishonor, we need to begin with a clear definition. One of the most famous definitions, put forth by the well-known political scientist Harold Lasswell, is still one of the best, and we use it to frame our discussion throughout this book. Lasswell defined **politics** as “who gets what when and how.”⁴ Politics is a way of determining, without recourse to violence, who gets power and resources in society, and how they get them. **Power** is the ability to get other people to do what you want them to do. The resources in question here might be government jobs, tax revenues, laws that help you get your way, or public policies that work to your advantage. A major political resource that helps people to gain and maintain power is the ability to control the channels through which



Water Under the Bridge

Political parties and their leaders frequently clash on issues and ideology—but when politics is out of the picture, the nature of the game can change. President Barack Obama and former House Speaker John Boehner lampooned their retirement from public life in a viral video for the White House Correspondents' Dinner in 2016.

White House

people get information about politics. These days we live in a world of so many complex information networks that sorting out and keeping track of what is actually happening around us is a task in itself. Anyone who can influence the stories that are told has a big advantage.

Politics provides a process through which we can try to arrange our collective lives in some kind of **social order** so that we can live without crashing into each other at every turn, and to provide ourselves with goods and services we could not obtain alone. But politics is also about getting our own way. Our way may be a noble goal for society or pure self-interest, but the struggle we engage in is a political struggle. Because politics is about power and other scarce resources, there will always be winners and losers in politics. If we could always get our own way, politics would disappear. It is because we cannot always get what we want that politics exists.

Our capacity to be political gives us tools with which to settle disputes about the social order and to allocate scarce resources. The tools of politics are compromise and cooperation; discussion and debate; deal making, horse trading, bargaining, storytelling; even, sometimes, bribery and deceit. We use those tools to agree on the principles that should guide our handling of power and other scarce resources and to live our collective lives according to those principles. Because there are many potential theories about how to manage power—who should have it, how it should be used, how it should be

transferred—agreement on those principles can break down. What is key about the tools of politics is that they do not include violence. When people resort to armed confrontation to solve their differences—when they drop bombs, blow themselves up, or fly airplanes into buildings—it means that they have tried to impose their ideas about the social order through nonpolitical means. That may be because the channels of politics have failed, because they cannot agree on basic principles, because they don't share a common understanding and trust over what counts as bargaining and negotiation and so cannot craft compromises, because they are unwilling to compromise, or because they don't really care about deal making at all—they just want to impose their will or make a point. The threat of violence may be a political tool used as leverage to get a deal, but when violence is employed, politics has broken down. Indeed, the human history of warfare attests to the fragility of political life.

It is easy to imagine what a world without politics would be like. There would be no resolution or compromise between conflicting interests, because those are certainly political activities. There would be no agreements struck, bargains made, or alliances formed. Unless there were enough of every valued resource to go around, or unless the world were big enough that we could live our lives without coming into contact with other human beings, life would be constant conflict—what the philosopher Thomas Hobbes called in the seventeenth century a “war of all against all.” Individuals, unable to cooperate with one another (because cooperation is essentially political), would have no option but to resort to brute force to settle disputes and allocate resources. Politics is essential to our living a civilized life.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Although the words *politics* and *government* are sometimes used interchangeably, they refer to different things. Politics, we know, is a process or an activity through which power and resources are gained and lost. **Government**, by contrast, is a system or organization for exercising authority over a body of people.

social order the way we organize and live our collective lives

government a system or organization for exercising authority over a body of people

American politics is what happens in the halls of Congress, on the campaign trail, at Washington cocktail parties, and in neighborhood association meetings. It is the making of promises, deals, and laws. American government is the Constitution and the institutions set up by the Constitution for the exercise of authority by the American people, over the American people.

Authority is power that citizens view as **legitimate**, or “right”—power to which we have given our implicit consent. You can think of it this way: as children, we probably did as our parents told us, or submitted to their punishment if we didn’t, because we recognized their authority over us. As we became adults, we started to claim that our parents had less authority over us, that we could do what we wanted. We no longer saw their power as wholly legitimate or appropriate. Governments exercise authority because people recognize them as legitimate even if they often do not like doing what they are told (paying taxes, for instance). When governments cease to be regarded as legitimate, the result may be revolution or civil war, unless the state is powerful enough to suppress all opposition.

RULES AND INSTITUTIONS

Government is shaped by the process of politics, but it in turn provides the rules and institutions that shape the way politics continues to operate. The rules and institutions of government have a profound effect on how power is distributed and who wins and who loses in the political arena. Life is different for people in other countries not only because they speak different languages and eat different foods but also because their governments establish rules that cause life to be lived in different ways.

Rules can be thought of as the *how* in the definition “who gets what . . . and how.” They are directives that determine how resources are allocated and how collective action takes place—that is, they determine how we try to get the things we want. The point of the rules is to provide some framework for us to solve without violence the problems that our collective lives generate.

Because the rules we choose can influence which people will get what they want most often, understanding the rules

authority power that is recognized as legitimate, or right
legitimate accepted as “right” or proper
rules directives that specify how resources will be distributed or what procedures govern collective activity
institutions organizations in which government power is exercised
political narrative persuasive story about the nature of power, who should have it and how it should be used

is crucial to understanding politics. Consider for a moment the impact a change of rules would have on the outcome of the sport of basketball, for instance. What if the average height of the players could be no more than 5’10”? What if the baskets were lowered? What if foul shots counted for two points rather than one? Basketball would be a very different game, and the teams recruited would look quite unlike the teams for which we now cheer. So it is with governments and politics: change the people who are allowed to vote or the length of time a person can serve in office, and the political process and the potential winners and losers change drastically.

We can think of **institutions** as the *where* of the political struggle, though Lasswell didn’t include a “where” in his definition. They are the organizations where government power is exercised. In the United States, our rules provide for the institutions of a representative democracy—that is, rule by the elected representatives of the people, and for a federal political system. Our Constitution lays the foundation for the institutions of Congress, the presidency, the courts, and the bureaucracy as a stage on which the drama of politics plays itself out. Other systems might call for different institutions—perhaps an all-powerful parliament, or a monarch, or even a committee of rulers.

These complicated systems of rules and institutions do not appear out of thin air. They are carefully designed by the founders of different systems to create the kinds of society they think will be stable and prosperous, but also where people like themselves are likely to be winners. Remember that not only the rules but also the institutions we choose influence who most easily and most often get their own way.

POWER AND INFORMATION

These days we take for granted the ease with which we can communicate ideas to others all over the globe. Just a hundred years ago, radio was state of the art and television had yet to be invented. Today many of us carry access to a world of information and instant communication in our pockets. Control of political information has always been a crucial resource when it comes to making and upholding a claim that one should be able to tell other people how to live their lives, but it used to be a power reserved for a few. Creation and dissemination of **political narratives**—the stories that people believe about who has power, who wants power, who deserves power, and what someone has done to get and maintain power—were the prerogative of authoritative sources like priests, kings, and their agents.

Before the seventeenth-century era known as the Enlightenment, individuals—most unable to read or write—had

no way to decide for themselves if power was legitimate. There may have been competing narratives about who had claims to power, but they were not that hard to figure out. People's allegiance to power was based on tribal loyalties, religious faith, or conquest. Governments were legitimate through the authority of God or the sword, and that was that.

Even when those theories of legitimacy changed, information was still easily controlled because literacy rates were low and horses and wind determined the speed of communication until the advent of steam engines and radios. Early newspapers were read aloud, shared, and re-shared, and a good deal of the news of the day was delivered from the pulpit. As we will see when we discuss the American founding, there were lively debates about whether independence was a good idea and what kind of political system should replace our colonial power structure, but by the time information reached citizens, it had been largely processed and filtered by those higher up the power ladder. Even the American rebels were elite and powerful men who could control their own narratives. Remember the importance of this when we read the story behind the Declaration of Independence in Chapter 3.

In today's world, governed by instant communication and 24/7 access to news from any source we opt to follow, the only filters on the information we get are ones we choose. We may not choose them knowingly, but if that is the case, then we have only ourselves to blame for not exercising due diligence. It is now possible to self-select the information we like or want to get by following only sources that reinforce our own views, and by "liking" people in social networks who repeat those views. As a result, it is easy to find ourselves living in a closed **information bubble**, where all the information we receive reinforces what we

already think and no new ideas get in to challenge what we think we know. Living in an information bubble is a way to deal with the abundance of information out there without the anxiety that dealing with multiple sources and figuring out the right answers on our own may give us. A lot of people with a lot of money and power would prefer that people stay tucked neatly inside their bubbles, buying the narratives they are fed by the rich and powerful as people have done through history simply because their information options were limited.

However, the old adage that knowledge is power is true, and, although we may opt to abdicate our power by remaining in a cozy bubble, the digital age also allows us to grab some narrative-telling power of our own with the use of a little critical thinking (see *Don't Be Fooled by . . . Your Own Information Bubble*). The Occupy, It Gets Better, and Black Lives Matter movements we discussed in the chapter opener are excellent examples of citizens seizing the initiative and using available communication resources to change or create their own narratives to compete with those of the powerful. Like those activists, we can read many sources, compare them, fact-check them, think critically about them, and figure out what is really going on in the political world around us. We can publish our conclusions in a variety of ways and, if what we say is compelling, we can influence those around us and develop a following. Many major electronic news sources today were started by people with few or no resources. The Internet and social media give all of us a megaphone if we choose to use it.

The power and information equation is much more complicated today than it used to be. Sophisticated communication gives those with resources many more ways to control information, but as we saw in *What's at Stake . . . ?*, it also gives those without any resources at all the opportunity to fight back. We will pay close attention to this anomaly throughout this book and emphasize critical thinking as a key way for people to take back power from those who would like to monopolize it.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

Whereas politics is concerned with the distribution of power and resources in society, **economics** is concerned specifically with the production and distribution of society's wealth—material goods such as bread, toothpaste, and housing, and services such as medical care, education, and entertainment. Because both politics and economics focus on the distribution of society's resources, political



PARESH NATH, THE KHALEEJ TIMES, UAE via Cagle Cartoons



DON'T BE FOOLED BY ...

Your Own Information Bubble

Technologies that enable citizens to connect with one another, to engage in lively debate, and to organize for common

purposes hold great promise for democracy. The power to communicate on a massive scale was once held only by governments and those with access to print or broadcast media outlets, but today it is in the hands of anyone who has access to a cell phone. As every superhero learns quickly, along with great power comes great responsibility. There is no guarantee that what you learn through social media is true, and if you are sharing information that isn't reality-based, you are helping to perpetuate a false narrative.

In addition, your social media feeds and even your browser are working against you, ensuring that the news that comes your way is tailored to your interests and preconceptions, creating what one observer calls a filter bubble.⁵ Whether your news feed is custom made or crowd sourced, always look before you “like” since social media algorithms can channel information to you that reinforces the narrative you get about “who gets what and how” in today's political world.

What to Watch Out For

- **Don't create your own echo chamber.** Social networking sites and other tools make it easy to create your own custom news channel, ensuring that you see stories from sources you like, about subjects that interest you. Important stories can easily slip past you, and your understanding of political matters will suffer. But if you follow only the political sources you like, that will get you in trouble, too. So open yourself up to alternative sources of news and opinions that you might find offensive or wrong. If what's showing up in your news feed does not challenge your ideas and
- **beliefs from time to time, consider whether you've been censoring news that you don't like. Make sure you're getting all sides of the story, not just the one that you want to hear.⁶**
- **Don't trust your browser.** It's not just your self-selected social media feeds that are shaping your information diet: every link you click and word you search is fed into complex algorithms that tailor your results into a custom feed of “things you might like.” Just as Amazon knows what items to suggest on your personal Amazon front page based on your browsing and purchase history, your Google results are similarly parsed and packaged for your viewing pleasure. Two people searching on a particular topic will get very different results.⁷ Search around—don't just click on the first links offered to you.
- **Separate truth from truthiness.** Some of the most compelling (and viral) political material on the Internet comes from people who are intent on selling you on their narrative. Their arguments may be valid, and their evidence may be strong—but bear in mind that an opinion piece is different from a statement of fact. Take care to seek out news sources that strive for objectivity and don't have an ax to grind (such as the Associated Press or the news pages of the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, or Politico) alongside those that offer analysis and argument.
- **Don't be complacent about conventional news sources.** While you are watching your social networks and second-guessing Google algorithms, don't neglect old-fashioned news sources. If you watch television news, make a point of changing the channel often, especially if one of the stations has an ideological agenda like Fox or MSNBC. Ditto on the radio shows and late night comedy. In fact, try to have political discussions with different groups of people too. The more sources you use to gather information, the harder it will be for you to lose touch with political reality.

and economic questions often get confused in contemporary life. Questions about how to pay for government, about government's role in the economy, and about whether

government or the private sector should provide certain services have political and economic dimensions. Because there are no clear-cut distinctions here, it can be difficult to keep these terms straight.

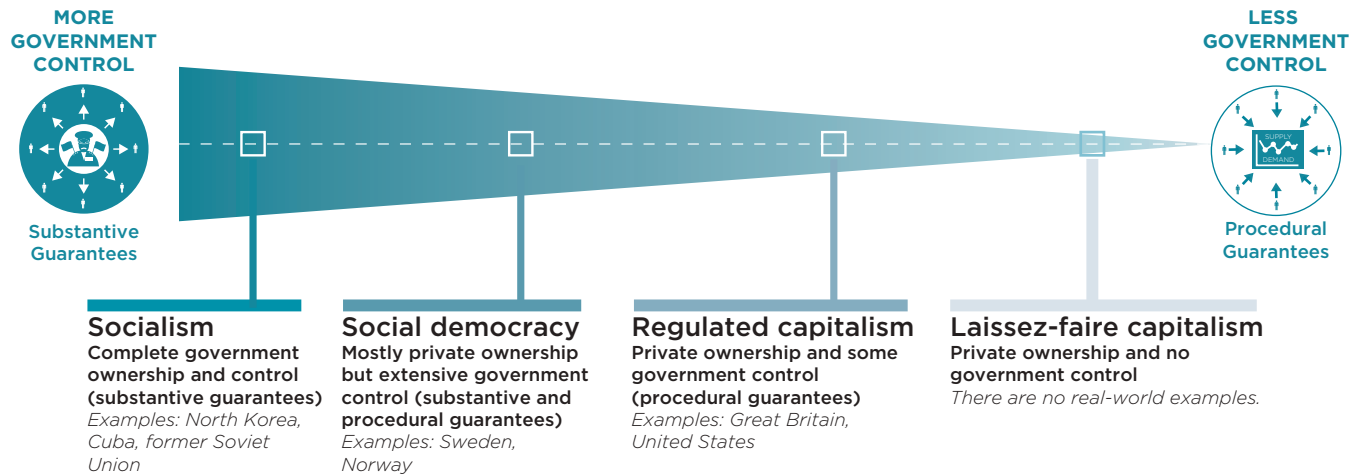
The sources of the words *politics* and *economics* suggest that their meanings were once more distinct than they are today. The Greek source of the word *political* was *polis*, or “city-state,” the basic political unit of ancient Greece. For the free male citizens of the city-state of Athens (by no means the majority of the inhabitants), politics was a prestigious and jealously restricted

information bubble a closed cycle in which all the information we get reinforces the information we already have, solidifying our beliefs without reference to outside reality checks

economics production and distribution of a society's material resources and services

FIGURE 1.1

A Comparison of Economic Systems



Economic systems are defined largely by the degree to which government owns the means by which material resources are produced (for example, factories and industry) and controls economic decision making. On a scale ranging from socialism—complete government ownership and control of the economy (on the left)—to laissez-faire capitalism—complete individual ownership and control of the economy (on the right)—social democracies would be located in the center. These hybrid systems are characterized by mostly private ownership of the means of production but considerable government control over economic decisions.

activity. However, the public, political world of Athens was possible only because a whole class of people (slaves and women) existed to support the private world, the *oikonomia*, or “household.” This early division of the world into the political and the economic clearly separated the two realms. Political life was public, and economic life was private. Today that distinction is not nearly so simple. What is public and private now depends on what is controlled by government. The various forms of possible economic systems are shown in Figure 1.1.

CAPITALISM In a pure **capitalist economy**, all the means used to produce material resources (industry, business, and land, for instance) are owned privately, and decisions about production and distribution are left to individuals operating through the free-market process. Capitalist economies rely on the market—the process of supply and demand—to decide how much of a given item to produce or how much to charge for it. In capitalist countries, people do not believe that the government is capable of making such judgments (like how much toothpaste to produce), and they want to keep such decisions out of the hands of government and in the hands of individuals who they believe know best about what they want. The philosophy that corresponds with this belief is called **laissez-faire capitalism**, from a French term that, loosely translated, means “let people do as they wish.” The government has no economic role at all in such a system. However, no economic system today maintains a purely unregulated form of capitalism, with the government completely uninvolved.

Like most other countries today, the United States has a system of **regulated capitalism**. It maintains a capitalist economy and individual freedom from government interference remains the norm, but it allows government to step in and regulate the economy to guarantee individual rights and to provide **procedural guarantees** that the rules will work smoothly and fairly. Although in theory the market ought to provide everything that people need and want, and should regulate itself as well, sometimes the market breaks down, or fails. In regulated capitalism, the government steps in to try to fix it.

Markets have cycles, with periods of growth often followed by periods of slowdown or recession. Individuals and businesses look to government for protection from these cyclical effects. For example, President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Works Progress Administration to get Americans back to work during the Great Depression, and more recently, Congress acted to stabilize the economy in the wake of the financial collapse caused

capitalist economy an economic system in which the market determines production, distribution, and price decisions, and property is privately owned

laissez-faire capitalism an economic system in which the market makes all decisions and the government plays no role

regulated capitalism a market system in which the government intervenes to protect rights and make procedural guarantees

procedural guarantees government assurance that the rules will work smoothly and treat everyone fairly, with no promise of particular outcomes

by the subprime mortgage crisis in the fall of 2008. Government may also act to ensure the safety of the consumer public and of working people, or to encourage fair business practices (like prevention of monopolies), or to provide goods and services that people have no incentive to produce themselves.

Highways, streetlights, libraries, museums, schools, Social Security, national defense, and a clean environment are some examples of the goods and services that many people are unable or unwilling to produce privately. Consequently, government undertakes to provide these things (with money provided by taxpayers) and, in doing so, becomes not only a political actor but an economic actor as well. To the extent that government gets involved in a capitalist economy, we move away from laissez-faire to regulated capitalism.

SOCIALISM In a **socialist economy** like that of the former Soviet Union (based loosely on the ideas of German economist Karl Marx), economic decisions are made not by individuals through the market but rather by politicians, based on their judgment of what society needs. Rather than allowing the market to determine the proper distribution of material resources, politicians decide what the distribution ought to be and then create economic policy to bring about that outcome. In other words, they emphasize not procedural guarantees of fair rules and process, but rather **substantive guarantees** of what they believe to be fair outcomes.

According to the basic values of a socialist or communist system (although the two systems have some theoretical differences, for our purposes they are similar), it is unjust for some people to own more property than others and to have power over them because of it. Consequently, the theory goes, the state or society—not corporations or individuals—should own the property (like land, factories, and corporations). In such systems, the public and private spheres overlap, and politics controls the distribution of all resources. The societies that have tried to put these theories into practice have ended up with very repressive political systems, but Marx hoped that eventually socialism would evolve to a point where each individual had control over his or her own life—a radical form of democracy.

socialist economy an economic system in which the state determines production, distribution, and price decisions, and property is government owned

substantive guarantees government assurance of particular outcomes or results

social democracy a hybrid system combining a capitalist economy and a government that supports equality



Building a Better Rocket?

SpaceX, headed by Tesla Motors CEO Elon Musk, is a private company that develops launch vehicles and spacecraft, including the Dragon unmanned shuttle that has been delivering cargo to the International Space Station since 2012. Capitalism enables ambitious entrepreneurs like Musk, but technological advances like space travel would not be possible (or profitable) without the years—and billions of dollars—of previous government investment in space technology.

Patrick T. Fallon/Bloomberg via Getty Images

Many theories hold that socialism is possible only after a revolution that thoroughly overthrows the old system to make way for new values and institutions. This is what happened in Russia in 1917 and in China in the 1940s. Since the socialist economies of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have fallen apart, socialism has been left with few supporters, although some nations, such as China, North Korea, and Cuba, still claim allegiance to it. Even China, however, introduced market-based reforms in the 1970s and in 2015 ranked as the world's second largest economy, after the United States.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY Some countries in Western Europe, especially the Scandinavian nations of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, have developed hybrid economic systems. As noted in Figure 1.1, these systems represent something of a middle ground between socialist and capitalist systems. Primarily capitalist, in that they believe most property can be held privately, proponents of **social democracy** argue nonetheless that the values of equality promoted by socialism are attractive and can be brought about by democratic reform rather than revolution. Believing that the economy does not have to be owned by the state for its effects to be controlled by the state, social democratic countries attempt to strike a difficult balance between providing substantive guarantees of fair outcomes and procedural guarantees of fair rules.