

BRIGID HARRISON / JEAN HARRIS / MICHELLE DEARDORFF

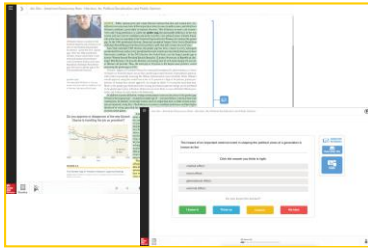


AMERICAN DEMOCRACY NOW

**Mc
Graw
Hill**
Education

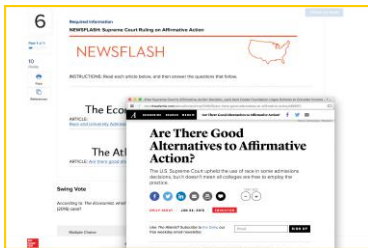
SIXTH EDITION

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



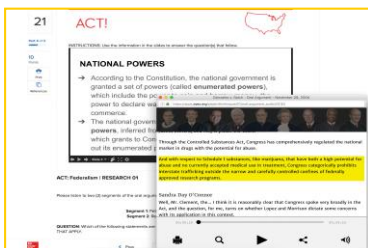
SmartBook®

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



NewsFlash

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



Applied Critical Thinking

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



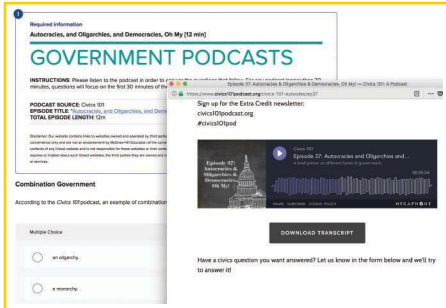
Practice Government Missions

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



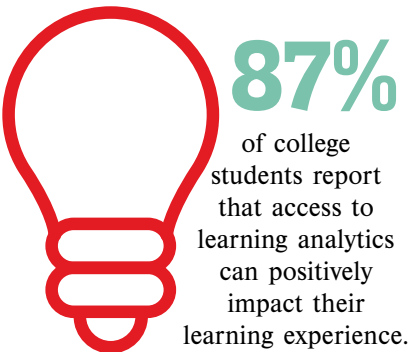
Concept Clips

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



Podcasts

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



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

"I can honestly say that the first time I used SmartBook after reading a chapter I understood what I had just read better than I ever had in the past."

– Nathan Herrmann, Oklahoma State University

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

– Madeline Uretsky, Simmons College

Professors spend:

Less time on administrative tasks

75%

90%

More time on active learning

"Connect keeps my students engaged and motivated. Requiring Connect assignments has improved student exam grades."

– Sophia Garcia, Tarrant County College



Because learning changes everything.™

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



AMERICAN DEMOCRACY NOW

SIXTH EDITION







AMERICAN DEMOCRACY NOW

SIXTH EDITION

BRIGID CALLAHAN HARRISON

Montclair State University

JEAN WAHL HARRIS

University of Scranton

MICHELLE D. DEARDORFF

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

**Mc
Graw
Hill**
Education





AMERICAN DEMOCRACY NOW: SIXTH EDITION

Published by McGraw-Hill Education, 2 Penn Plaza, New York, NY 10121. Copyright © 2019 by McGraw-Hill Education. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Previous editions © 2017, 2015, and 2013. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of McGraw-Hill Education, including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

Some ancillaries, including electronic and print components, may not be available to customers outside the United States.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 LWI 21 20 19 18

ISBN 978-1-259-91239-9 (bound edition)

MHID 1-259-91239-6 (bound edition)

ISBN 978-1-260-16458-9 (loose-leaf edition)

MHID 1-260-16458-6 (loose-leaf edition)

Senior Portfolio Manager: *Jason Seitz*

Product Development Manager: *Dawn Groundwater*

Senior Digital Product Developer: *Sarah Colwell*

Marketing Manager: *Will Walter*

Lead Core Content Project Manager: *Rick Hecker*

Assessment Content Project Manager: *George Theofanopoulos*

Media Content Project Manager: *Sandra Schnee*

Senior Buyer: *Susan K. Culbertson*

Design: *Egzon Shagiri*

Lead Content Licensing Specialist: *Carrie Burger*

Cover Image: ©Trevor Carpenter/Getty Images

Compositor: *Aptara®*, Inc.

All credits appearing on page or at the end of the book are considered to be an extension of the copyright page.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Harrison, Brigid C., author. | Harris, Jean (Jean Wahl), 1960- author.

| Deardorff, Michelle D., author.

Title: American democracy now / Brigid Callahan Harrison, Montclair State University, Jean Wahl Harris, University of Scranton, Michelle D.

Deardorff, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga.

Description: Sixth Edition. | New York : McGraw-Hill Education, [2019]

Identifiers: LCCN 2018046757 | ISBN 9781259912399 (acid-free paper)

Subjects: LCSH: Political participation—United States—Textbooks. | United States—Politics and government—Textbooks.

Classification: LCC JK276 .H36 2019 | DDC 320.473—dc23 LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018046757>

The Internet addresses listed in the text were accurate at the time of publication. The inclusion of a website does not indicate an endorsement by the authors or McGraw-Hill Education, and McGraw-Hill Education does not guarantee the accuracy of the information presented at these sites.

CHAPTER 1	PEOPLE, POLITICS, AND PARTICIPATION	1
CHAPTER 2	THE CONSTITUTION	32
	THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	63
CHAPTER 3	FEDERALISM	86
CHAPTER 4	CIVIL LIBERTIES	118
CHAPTER 5	CIVIL RIGHTS	156
CHAPTER 6	POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PUBLIC OPINION	196
CHAPTER 7	INTEREST GROUPS	226
CHAPTER 8	POLITICAL PARTIES	258
CHAPTER 9	CAMPAIGNS, ELECTIONS, AND VOTING	298
CHAPTER 10	THE MEDIA	334
CHAPTER 11	POLITICS AND TECHNOLOGY	358
CHAPTER 12	CONGRESS	390
CHAPTER 13	THE PRESIDENCY	426
CHAPTER 14	THE BUREAUCRACY	464
CHAPTER 15	THE JUDICIARY	498
CHAPTER 16	ECONOMIC POLICY	532
CHAPTER 17	DOMESTIC POLICY	564
CHAPTER 18	FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY	596
CHAPTER 19	STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT	636

GLOSSARY	G
INDEX	I

Contents

Part I

Foundations of American Democracy

1

PEOPLE, POLITICS, AND PARTICIPATION 1

Why Should You Study American Democracy Now? 1

- How Technology Has Changed Politics 4
- The Political Context Now 4
- Americans' Efficacy 5

- THINKING CRITICALLY: Facts Matter 7
- Civic Engagement: Acting on Your Views 8

What Government Does 8

Types of Government 10

The Origins of American Democracy 11

- Democracy's Origins in Popular Protest: The Influence of the Reformation and the Enlightenment 11
- The Modern Political Philosophy of Hobbes and Locke 12
- The Creation of the United States as an Experiment in Representative Democracy 13

Political Culture and American Values 13

- Liberty 14
- Equality 14
- Capitalism 15
- Consent of the Governed 15
- Individual, Family, and Community 16

Ideology: A Prism for Viewing American Democracy 16

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: A Nation Divided? 17
- Liberalism 17
- Conservatism 18
- Other Ideologies on a Traditional Spectrum: Socialism and Libertarianism 18
- A Multidimensional Political Model 19

The Changing Face of American Democracy 20

- A Population That Is Growing—and on the Move 20
- An Aging Population 21
- A Changing Complexion: Race and Ethnicity in the United States Today 23

- Changing Households: American Families Today 25
- Why the Changing Population Matters for Politics and Government 26

2

THE CONSTITUTION 32

What Is a Constitution? 33

The Creation of the United States of America 35

- British Policies Incite Revolution in the Colonies 35
- The Common Sense of Declaring Independence 37
- The State Constitutions 39
- The Articles of Confederation (1781–1788) 40

Crafting the Constitution of the United States 42

- Areas of Consensus 42
- Conflict and Compromise over Representation 45
- Conflict and Compromise over Slavery 46
- What About a Bill of Rights? 48
- Congress Sends the Constitution to the States for Ratification 49

- THINKING CRITICALLY: A Debate Over One 2020 Census Question 50
- The Ratification Debate: Federalists versus Anti-Federalists 53
- Ratification: Constitution (1788) and Bill of Rights (1791) 54

The Constitution as a Living, Evolving Document 55

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Article V: Convening a Constitutional Convention 56
- Formal Amendment of the Constitution 56
- Interpretation by the U.S. Supreme Court 57

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 63

3

FEDERALISM 86

An Overview of the U.S. Federal System 88

- Unitary System 88
- Confederal System 88
- Federal System 89
- What the Federal System Means for U.S. Citizens 90

Constitutional Distribution of Authority 91

- Concurrent Powers 91
- National Sovereignty 92
- State Sovereignty 94
- State-to-State Relations: Horizontal Federalism 95
- Supreme Court Interpretation of the Constitution 96

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Which Government Has Sovereignty? 97
- Judicial Federalism 99

Evolution of the Federal System 100

- Dual Federalism 101
- Cooperative Federalism 101
- Centralized Federalism 101
- Conflicted Federalism 102
- Partisan Federalism 102

Intergovernmental Relations 103

- Tools of Intergovernmental Relations 104

- THINKING CRITICALLY: Can State Governments Nullify National Marijuana Law? 109
- Intergovernmental Tensions 109
- Advantages and Disadvantages of Today's Federalism 111

Part II

Fundamental Principles

4

CIVIL LIBERTIES 118

Civil Liberties in the American Legal System 119

- The Freedoms Protected in the American System 120
- The Historical Basis for American Civil Liberties: The Bill of Rights 120
- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Balancing the Tension Between Liberty and Security 121
- Incorporation of the Bill of Rights to Apply to the States 122

Freedoms in Practice: Controversy over the Second Amendment and the Right to Bear Arms 124

- Changing Interpretations of the Second Amendment 124
- Citizens Engaged: Fighting for a Safer Nation 125

Freedoms of Speech, Assembly, and the Press: Supporting Civic Discourse 126

- The First Amendment and Political Instability 126
- Freedom of Speech 129
- Freedom of Assembly and Redress of Grievances 132
- Freedom of the Press 133

Freedoms of Religion, Privacy, and Criminal Due Process: Encouraging Civic Engagement 134

- The First Amendment and the Freedom of Religion 134
- The Right to Privacy 138

- The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Amendments: Ensuring Criminal Due Process 141

Civil Liberties Now 145

- Perceived Intrusions on Free Speech and Assembly 146
- Perceived Intrusions on Criminal Due Process 146
- Free Speech on Campus 148
- THINKING CRITICALLY: Should College Campuses Be Allowed to Limit Speech? 149

5

CIVIL RIGHTS 156

The Meaning of Equality Under the Law 157

- #MeToo: Sexual Violence Promotes Inequality 160

Slavery and Its Aftermath 161

- Slavery in the United States 161
- Reconstruction and the First Civil Rights Acts 162
- Backlash: Jim Crow Laws 163
- Governmental Acceptance of Discrimination 164

The Modern Civil Rights Movement 166

- Fighting Back: Early Civil Rights Organizations 166
- The End of Separate but Equal 167
- The Movement Gains National Visibility 167
- Local Organizing and Civil Disobedience Strategies 168

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: A Famous Image from the Civil Rights Era 169

The Government's Response to the Civil Rights Movement 170

- The Civil Rights Act of 1964 170
- The Voting Rights Act of 1965 171
- Impact of the Civil Rights Movement 171

Black Lives Matter 172

- Future of the Movement 173

The Movement for Women's Civil Rights 173

- The First Wave of the Women's Rights Movement 173
- The Second Wave of the Women's Rights Movement 176
- The Third Wave of the Women's Rights Movement 178

Exploring Civil Rights 179

- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Citizens 179
- Native Americans' Rights 181
- Citizens of Latin American Descent 183
- THINKING CRITICALLY: What Is the Impact of Illegal Immigration? 185
- Citizens of Asian Descent 186
- Citizens with Disabilities 187

Is Affirmative Action a Constitutional Solution to Discrimination? 189

- How Affirmative Action Works 189
- Opposition to Affirmative Action 189

Part III

Linkages Between the People and Government

6

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PUBLIC OPINION 196

Political Socialization and Civic Participation 197

- The Process of Political Socialization 198
- Participating in Civic Life 198

Agents of Socialization 199

- Family Influences on Attitudes, Opinions, and Actions 199
- The Media's Ever-Increasing Role in Socialization 200
- Schools, Patriotism, and Civic Participation 200
- Religious Institutions: Faith as an Agent of Socialization 201
- Peers and Group Norms 202
- Political and Community Leaders: Opinion Influencers 202
- Demographic Characteristics: Our Politics Are a Reflection of Us 203

The Socialization and Opinions of Young Americans 208

Measuring Public Opinion 211

- How Public Opinion Polls Are Conducted 212

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Examining Americans' Ideology 213
- Types of Political Polls 214

- THINKING CRITICALLY: Should the United States Have Stricter Gun Safety Laws? 215

What Americans Think About Politics 217

- The Most Important Problem 217
- Public Opinion About Government 217

7

INTEREST GROUPS 226

The Value of Interest Groups 227

- Interest Groups and Civic Participation 229
- Pluralist Theory versus Elite Theory 230
- Key Functions of Interest Groups 231
- The Downside of Interest Groups 232

Who Joins Interest Groups, and Why? 233

- Patterns of Membership 233
- Motivations for Joining Interest Groups 235

How Interest Groups Succeed 236

- Organizational Resources 236
- Organizational Environment 238

Types of Interest Groups 240

- Economic Interest Groups 240
- Public and Ideological Interest Groups 242
- Foreign Policy Interests 244

Interest Group Strategies 245

- Direct Strategies to Advance Interests 245
- Indirect Strategies to Advance Interests 247

- **ANALYZING THE SOURCES:** Evaluating Interest Group Strategies 248

Interest Groups, Politics, and Money: The Influence of Political Action Committees 250

- **THINKING CRITICALLY:** Should Super PACs Enjoy Unlimited Free Speech? 251

8

POLITICAL PARTIES 258

Are Political Parties Today in Crisis? 259

- A Democratic Party Struggling to Define Itself 259
- The Republican Party in the Era of President Trump 260

- **ANALYZING THE SOURCES:** Investigating Party Switchers 261

Parties Today and Their Functions 262

- How Parties Engage Individuals 263
- What Political Parties Do 264
- The Responsible Party Model 265

The Three Faces of Parties 265

- The Party in the Electorate 265
- The Party Organization 268
- The Party in Government 270

Political Parties in U.S. History 272

- The First Party System: The Development of Parties, 1789–1828 272
- The Second Party System: The Democrats' Rise to Power, 1828–1860 273
- The Third Party System: The Republicans' Rise to Power, 1860–1896 274
- The Fourth Party System: Republican Dominance, 1896–1932 275
- The Fifth Party System: Democratic Dominance, 1932–1968 276
- A New Party System? 277

The Party System Today: In Decline, in Resurgence, or a Post-Party Era? 277

- The Party's Over 278
- The Party's Just Begun 279
- A Post-Party Era? 280

Two-Party Domination in U.S. Politics 281

- The Dualist Nature of Most Conflicts 281
- The Winner-Take-All Electoral System 282
- Continued Socialization to the Two-Party System 282
- Election Laws That Favor the Two-Party System 283

Third Parties in the United States 283

- Types of Third Parties 285
- The Impact of Third Parties 286

New Ideologies, New Technologies: The Parties in the 21st Century 287

- Republicans Today: The Establishment, President Trump, and the Tea Party 287
- **THINKING CRITICALLY:** Are Third Parties Bad for the United States? 289
- A Battle for the Soul of the Democratic Party Today 290
- Changing Both Parties: New Technologies 290

9

CAMPAIGNS, ELECTIONS, AND VOTING 298

The Importance of Fair, Independent Elections 299

- Why Election Meddling Matters 299
- Political Participation as an Expression of the Will of the People 300

Elections in the United States 300

- Nominations and Primary Elections 301
- General Elections 302

- **THINKING CRITICALLY:** Should the United States Have a National Primary? 303
- Referendum, Initiative, and Recall 304

The Act of Voting 304

- The 2000 Election and Its Impact 305
- Types of Ballots 306
- Voting by Mail 306

Running for Office: The Choice to Run 308

- Formal Eligibility Requirements 309
- Informal Eligibility Requirements 309

The Nature of Political Campaigns Today 310

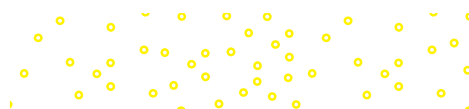
- The Professionalization of Political Campaigns 311
- The Media: Transforming Political Campaigns 312
- Revolutionizing the Campaign: New Technologies 312

Money and Politics 313

- Early Efforts to Regulate Campaign Finance 314
- The Court Weighs In: Money = Speech 315
- Independent Expenditures 316
- The Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act of 2002 316
- Circumventing the Rules: 527s and 501(c)4s 317
- The Court Weighs In (Again): The Birth of Super PACs 317

Presidential Campaigns 318

- Party Conventions and the General Election Campaign 318
- The Electoral College 318



Who Votes? Factors in Voter Participation 319

- Education Level—The Number-One Predictor of Voting 319
- The Age Factor 319
- Race, Ethnicity, and Voter Participation 320
- **ANALYZING THE SOURCES:** Exploring Race and Voting 321
- Income—A Reliable Predictor of Voting 321
- Party Competitiveness and Voter Turnout 322

How Voters Decide 322

- Major Factors in Voter Decision Making 323
- Campaign Influences on Voter Choice 323

Why Some People Do Not Vote 324

- Lack of Efficacy 324
- Voter Fatigue and Negative Campaigns 325
- The Structure of Elections 325
- Rational Choice Theory 326
- The Consequences of Nonvoting 326

10

THE MEDIA 334

The Modern Media 335

The Political Functions of the Media 336

- Providing Information 336
- **ANALYZING THE SOURCES:** Confidence in the Media 337
- Interpreting Matters of Public Interest and Setting the Public Agenda 337
- Providing a Forum for Conversations About Politics 338
- Socializing Children to Political Culture 338

The Press and Politics: A Historical View 339

- The Early Role of the Press 339
- Yellow Journalism and Muckraking 340
- A Widening War for Readership 341
- Increasing Diversity in Newsrooms 342

The Media Go Electronic: The Radio and Television Revolutions 342

- How Radio Opened Up Political Communication 342
- Television and the Transformation of Campaigns and Elections 343
- How Americans Use the Media to Get Political Information 344

Media Consolidation 346

The Proliferation of News Sources and Greater Scrutiny 347

- The Cell-Phone Watchdogs 348
- Blogs: The New Penny Papers? 348

Biased Media? 349

- The Question of Ideological Bias 349
- The Issue of Corporate Bias 350

Regulation of the Media: Is It Necessary? 350

- **THINKING CRITICALLY:** Should Television Be Subject to Stricter Regulations Than Other Media Are? 351

11

POLITICS AND TECHNOLOGY 358

The Modern Technological Revolution:

The Internet and Cellular Technology 360

- Who Uses the Internet? 360
- New Forms of Community 361

Technology Now: Changing How Candidates

Campaign and Citizens Participate 362

- Politics on Demand 363
- Technological Tools: Paving the Two-Way Communication Street 364
- New Campaign Strategies and Modes of Political Participation 365

Technology Now: Revolutionizing How

Governments Work 369

What Is the Impact of Technology on Political Life? 371

- Technology Is a Powerful Tool for Protesters and Activists 371
- Technology Increases the Amount of Political Information Available 372
- What's Next: How Technology Will Continue to Transform the Political Landscape 372

The Downside of Technology in Politics 374

- Election Infiltration 374
- **ANALYZING THE SOURCES:** Trolling for Votes 375
- Cyber Threats 376
- Domestic Surveillance, Data Breaches, and Other Privacy Issues 376
- Fake News and the Issue of Accuracy 378
- A Tool for Terrorists: Recruiting, Communicating, Operationalizing 379
- Fomenting Polarized Partisanship and Extremism 380
- The Dominance of "Big Tech" 381
- The Internet and Free Speech 381

Regulation of the Internet: Is It Necessary? 382

- **THINKING CRITICALLY:** Should We Regulate the Internet Infrastructure? 383

12

CONGRESS 390

The Origins of Congress 391**Congressional Elections 392**

Incumbency 393

Reapportionment and Redistricting 394

Gerrymandering 394

- THINKING CRITICALLY: Are Congressional Elections “Rigged” Through Gerrymandering? 395
- Increased Partisanship and Congressional Redistricting 396
- Majority-Minority Districts 397

Powers of Congress 397

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Mapping Majority-Minority Districts 398

Functions of Congress 399

Representation Comes in Many Forms 399

Policy Making: A Central Responsibility 401

Oversight: A Check on the Executive Branch 401

Agenda Setting and Civic Engagement 402

Managing Societal Conflict 402

The House and the Senate Compared 403**The Legislative Process 404**

Introducing a Bill 406

The Bill in Committee 406

Debate on the House and Senate Floor 407

Presidential Action 410

Congressional Leadership 410

Leadership in the House of Representatives 410

Leadership in the Senate 411

Decision Making in Congress: The Legislative Context 412

Political Parties and Partisanship in Decision Making 412

Colleagues and Staff: Trading Votes and Information 414

Interest Groups: Influence Through Organization 415

The President’s Effect on Decision Making 415

Constituents: The Last Word 415

The People and Their Elected**Representatives 416**

The Year of the Woman Redux? 417

Racial and Ethnic Diversity in Congress 419

13

THE PRESIDENCY 426

Presidential Elections 427

- THINKING CRITICALLY: Should We Abolish the Electoral College? 428

Presidential Roles and Responsibilities 429

Chief of State 429

The President’s Role in Congressional Agenda Setting 429

Manager of the Economy 432

Chief Diplomat 433

Party Leader 433

Chief Executive 434

The President and the Executive Branch 434

The Vice President’s Role 434

The Cabinet 436

The Executive Office of the President 438

Presidential Succession 440

When the President Dies in Office 440

When the President Cannot Serve: The Twenty-Fifth Amendment 441

Sources of Presidential Power 441

The Constitution: Expressed Powers 442

The Constitution: Inherent Powers 442

Statutory Powers 443

Special Presidential Powers 443

The People as a Source of Presidential Power 445

The President and the Bully Pulpit 446

The President and Public Approval 446

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Presidential Job Approval 447

Technology and the Media as a Tool of Presidential Influence 449

The Evolution of Presidential Power 449

Early Presidents and the Scope of Presidential Power 450

The Watershed 1970s: The *Pentagon Papers*, Watergate, and the “Imperial Presidency” 451

The Post-Watergate Presidency 453

Impeachment: A Check on Abuses of Presidential Power 453

Women and the Presidency 454

The First Lady 455

14

THE BUREAUCRACY 464

Bureaucrats and Bureaucracy 466

- Who Are the Bureaucrats? 466
- The Bureaucratic Structure 468

Federal Bureaucrats 469

- Political Appointees 470
- Senior Executives 470
- Civil Servants 471

State, Local, and Shadow Bureaucrats 474

The Evolution of the Federal Bureaucracy 474

- Departments 476
- Independent Administrative Agencies 476
- THINKING CRITICALLY: Is the Federal Government Too Big? 477
- Independent Regulatory Commissions 479
- Government Corporations 479
- Executive Office of the President 479

The Work of Bureaucrats 480

- Agenda Setting 480
- Policy Formulation 482
- Policy Approval 482
- Appropriation Approval 483
- Policy Implementation 483
- Policy Evaluation 484

Bureaucratic Accountability 484

- Accountability to the People 484
- Accountability to the Courts 485
- Accountability to Congress 486
- Accountability to the President 486
- Internal Accountability 487

Can Bureaucratic Performance Be Improved? 488

- The Best-Performing Bureaucracies 488
- Does Contracting-Out Improve Performance? 489

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Is It Government Performance or Partisanship? 490
- Citizens' Role in Bureaucratic Performance 492

15

THE JUDICIARY 498

What Do Courts Do? 499

- Sources of Law in the United States 500
- Resolving Legal Disputes 502

The Federal Court System 506

- Jurisdiction of Federal Courts 506
- The Structure of the Federal Courts 506

Appointing Federal Judges 509

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Judicial Independence: Is It Needed? Has It Been Achieved? 510
- Selection Criteria 511
- THINKING CRITICALLY: Should There Be a Retirement Age for Supreme Court Justices? 514
- The Senate's Role: Advice and Consent 514

How the U.S. Supreme Court Functions 515

- Choosing Cases for Review 516
- Considering Legal Briefs and Oral Arguments 516
- Resolving the Legal Dispute: Deciding How to Vote 517
- Legal Reasoning: Writing the Opinions 518

Judges as Policymakers 519

- From Judicial Review to Judicial Policy Making 519
- Judicial Activism, Living Constitution, Judicial Restraint, and Originalism 520
- Constraints on Judicial Policy Making 522

The Supreme Court Today: The Roberts Court 524

Part V

Public Policy

16

ECONOMIC POLICY 532

The American Dream and the American Economy 533

- The American Dream 534
- The American Economy 535

Measuring Economic Health 535

- Traditional Measures of Economic Health 536
- Other Measures of Economic Health 536
- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: How Is the U.S. Economy Doing? 538

Economic Theories That Shape Economic Policy 539

- Laissez-Faire Economics: An Unrealized Policy 540
- Keynesian Economics 541

Supply-Side Economics 542
Monetarism 543
Should One Economic Theory Predominate? 543

Fiscal Policy 543

Tax Policy 544
Spending Policy 546
National Budget Process: Creating Fiscal Policy 546
Today's Federal Budget Realities 549

Monetary Policy: The Federal Reserve System 551

Regulatory Policy 552

Business Regulation 552
Social Regulation 553
The Benefits and Costs of Regulation 555

Trade Policy in the Global Economy 555

The American Dream in Today's Economy 557

- THINKING CRITICALLY: Should College Tuition Be Free? 558

17 DOMESTIC POLICY 564

Citizen Engagement and Domestic Policy 565

- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Partisan Differences on Top Policy Priorities for President Trump and Congress 567

Tools of Domestic Policy 568

Laws and Regulations 568
Direct Provision of Public Goods 569
Cash Transfers 569
Loans, Loan Guarantees, and Insurance 570
Grants-in-Aid and Contracting-Out 570

- THINKING CRITICALLY: Should the Federal Government Mandate Flood Insurance? 571

Environmental Policy 572

Environmental Degradation 572
Environmental Protection 573

Energy Policy 576

Income Security Programs 578

Social Security 578
Unemployment Compensation 579
Minimum Wage 580
Earned Income Tax Credit and Child Tax Credit 581
Temporary Assistance for Needy Families 581
Other Safety Net Programs 582

Health Care Policy 584

Medicaid 584
Medicare 584

The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) 585

Immigration Policy 586

Authorized and Unauthorized Immigration 586
Proposed Immigration Policy Reforms 588

18 FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY 596

The Tools of U.S. Foreign Policy 597

Diplomacy 598
Trade and Economic Policies 598
The Military Option 600

Who Decides? The Creators and Shapers of Foreign Policy 601

The President and the Executive Branch 602
Congress 603
The Military-Industrial Complex 603
The Media and New Technologies 604
Public Opinion 605
Private Citizens 605

U.S. Foreign Policy in Historical Context 606

The Constitutional Framework and Early Foreign Policy Making 606
Hegemony and National Expansion: From the Monroe Doctrine to the Roosevelt Corollary 608
World War I and the End of U.S. Isolationism 609
Internationalism and the League of Nations 610
World War II: U.S. Foreign Policy at a Crossroads 610

The Postwar Era: The United States as Superpower 611

International Agreements and Organizations 611
The Cold War: Superpowers in Collision 614
U.S. Efforts to Contain Communism: Korea, Cuba, and Vietnam 615
Détente: A Thaw in the Cold War Chill 617
The Reagan Years and Soviet Collapse 619
Post-Soviet Times: The United States as Solo Superpower in an Era of Wars 619

U.S. Foreign Policy in the 21st Century 621

- The Bush Doctrine: A Clash of Civilizations 621
- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Major U.S. Troop Deployments Overseas 622
- The Obama Doctrine: A More Conciliatory Approach to Foreign Policy 625
- The Trump Doctrine: America First 625



- THINKING CRITICALLY: Do the Geneva Conventions Apply When Terrorists Have So Drastically Altered the Rules of War? 626

Future Challenges in American Foreign Policy 627

- Trade Policy 627
- The Ongoing Threat of Terrorism 628

- Russian Expansion and Influence 628
- Nuclear Proliferation 628
- Environmental and Health Issues 629
- Technology's Potential in Foreign Affairs 630

Part VI

State and Local Government

connect CHAPTER 19 STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT 636

Constitutions: National, State, and Local 637

- The Elements of State Constitutions 637
- Local Charters 638
- Direct Democracy: Letting the People Decide 638
- THINKING CRITICALLY: Is Direct Democracy the Fix for Misrepresentation in a Representative Democracy? 641
- Intergovernmental Relations 642

Diversity Between and Within States 643

- Political Culture and Its Effect on Governing 643
- People: Dealing with Demographics 644
- Environment and Resources: Variations in Needs and Taxes 645

State and Local Government Budgets 646

- Balanced Budgets 646
- State and Local Expenditures 647
- State Government Revenues 648

- Local Government Revenues 650
- The Federal Government as a Fiscal Equalizer 651

Responsibilities of State Governments in National Politics 651

- States in National Politics: Formal Roles 652
- States in National Politics: Informal Functions 652
- ANALYZING THE SOURCES: Comparison of Select State Voting Laws 653

Institutions of State Government 655

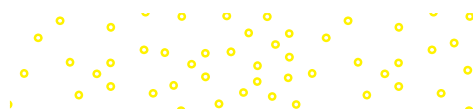
- Legislative Branch: Formulating and Approving Policy 655
- Executive Branch: Putting Policy into Action 656
- Judicial Branch: Resolving Legal Conflicts 658

Local Governments 661

- General-Purpose Local Governments 661
- Special-Purpose Local Governments 663

GLOSSARY G

INDEX I



Currency, Compelling Content,

American Democracy Now **engages** students in American politics through **relevant** content and supportive digital tools that **enrich and reinforce learning**. **Accessible** to students at all levels, the narrative is brought to life through **compelling features**, such as **rich visuals and graphics** and the **Then, Now, Next** framework, helping students gain a **comprehensive** understanding of American government yesterday, today, and through development of **critical thinking skills**, tomorrow.

Better Data, Smarter Revision, Improved Results

Students helped inform the revision strategy:

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

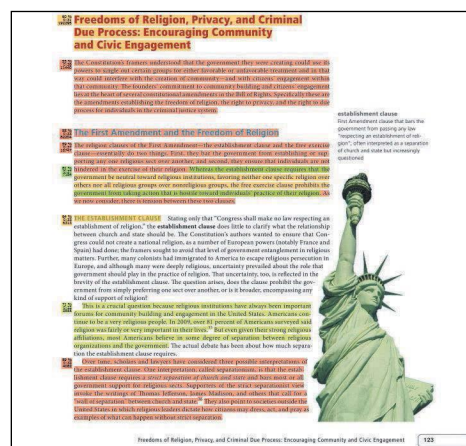
STEP 2. The data from SmartBook were provided to the authors in the form of a **Heat Map**, which graphically illustrated “hot spots” in the text that affected student learning (see image to left).

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

RESULT: Because the **Heat Map** gave the authors empirically based feedback at the paragraph and even sentence level, they were able to develop the new edition using precise student data that pinpointed concepts that caused students the most difficulty.

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

Make It Effective. SmartBook creates a personalized reading experience by highlighting the most impactful concepts a student needs to learn at that moment in time. This ensures that every minute spent with SmartBook is returned to the student as the most value added minute possible.



Comprehensive: *American Democracy Now*

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

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



Informing and Engaging Students on American Government Concepts

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



©Image Credit

At the *remember* and *understand* levels of Bloom's taxonomy, **Concept Clips** help students break down key concepts in American Government. Using easy-to-understand audio narration, visual cues, and colorful animations, Concept Clips provide a step-by-step presentation that aids in student retention. New Concept Clips for this edition include the following:

- What are the Types of Government?
- Federalists and Antifederalists
- What is Devolution?
- Regulation of the Media

- Who Participates?
- Presidency: Going Public
- U.S. Foreign Policy

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

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

Also at the remember and understand levels of Bloom's taxonomy **NewsFlash** exercises tie current news stories to key American government concepts and learning objectives. After interacting with a contemporary news story, students are assessed on their ability to make the connections between real-life events and course content. Examples include the 2018 midterm election results, 2017 tax reform legislation, and trade tariffs.

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

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

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

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

At the heart of *American Democracy Now* is a rich set of instructional tools that move students along the path to critical thinking.

Required Information
Autocracies, and Oligarchies, and Democracies, Oh My (12 min)

GOVERNMENT PODCASTS

INSTRUCTIONS: Please listen to the podcast in order to answer the questions below. The podcast is 12 minutes long. Questions will focus on the first 30 minutes of the podcast.

PODCAST SOURCE: Civics 101
EPISODE TITLE: "Autocracies, and Oligarchies, and Democracies, Oh My"
TOTAL EPISODE LENGTH: 12m

Combination Government
According to the Civics 101 podcast, an example of combination government is...

Multiple Choice

☐ an oligarchy.

☐ a monarchy.

Sign up for the Extra Credit newsletter:
civics101podcast.org
#civics101pod

Episode 37: Autocracies and Oligarchies and Democracies, Oh My!

DOWNLOAD TRANSCRIPT

Have a civics question you want answered? Let us know in the form below and we'll try to answer it!

A “**Then, Now, Next**” framework encourages students to understand historical contexts and precedents so that they can weigh them against current political events and actions, begin to formulate an informed judgment about politics, and consider how the past and present might shape the future. For example, in Chapter 9 on interest groups, the feature highlights how group participation has changed in the United States since the 1960s and asks students to consider how media technology might affect interest-group mobilization, for better or worse, in the future.

THEN NOW NEXT

How Group Participation Has Changed in the United States

Then (1960s)	Now
Individuals joined bowling leagues, civic associations, and community service organizations.	People join virtual communities and use social networking sites to keep in touch with others who share their personal and public interests.
Many people entertained and socialized a great deal at home.	People are more likely to visit with friends and relatives in restaurants, cafés, and other public settings, as well as online through “virtual visits,” like Facetiming and Snapchatting.
Groups used traditional activities to communicate their interests to policy-makers, including letter writing and lobbying.	Groups rely on traditional activities but also increasingly use social media, including Twitter, to communicate with members, to fund-raise, and to lobby policymakers.

WHAT’S NEXT?

- > What new media technologies and strategies might shape how interest groups organize and mobilize members in the future?
- > Are there *negative* consequences to relying on the Internet as an organizing tool? What obstacles will some Internet-based organizations face in mobilizing their supporters around a given issue?
- > In what ways will technology change how policymakers are influenced in the future?

Analyzing the Sources

TROLLING FOR VOTES

In the 18 months leading up to the 2016 presidential election, about 126 million Americans saw Facebook content that included ads and posts generated by Russian operatives. Using bots, the Russians sought to influence the outcome of the election and foment divisions and dissent among the American people. Using Facebook’s advertiser tools, the Russians targeted Americans based on their self-professed “likes”—algorithms that indicate users’ political preferences—and demographic characteristics including age, sex, and geography.

Source: BM (Facebook event)

Source: Being Patriotic (Facebook event)

Practice Analytical Thinking

1. Why would Russian operatives seek to create divisions within the American electorate?
2. What are the obstacles to preventing such covert disinformation attacks?
3. How can social media users protect themselves from being the target of disinformation campaigns?

“**Analyzing the Sources**” guides students in interpreting data, images, maps, and primary sources and poses questions that prompt analytical thinking. For example, in Chapter 11 on politics and technology, the feature asks students to evaluate whether Facebook ads generated by Russian operatives were effective.

Thinking Critically

Should College Campuses Be Allowed to Limit Speech?

The Issue: The faculty and administrators of public universities are struggling with the meaning of the First Amendment's free speech protections on college campuses. As student bodies become more diverse, students expect to have their identities and beliefs treated with respect, and current student bodies often do not want to hear perspectives that are directly different from their own. Speech in the United States has become more polarized and extreme, and speakers who gain fame from social media often are not temperate or reasoned in their analysis, but focus on being provocative.

All Speech Should Be Allowed: Without exposure to sometimes offensive and difficult views, future Americans will not be capable of engaging in a public debate that forces one to confront contrary perspectives. In light of our great polarization as a nation, the onus is on universities to educate our students to be capable citizens in our democracy. And at the heart of our democracy is the First Amendment, with its guarantee that all citizens can participate in the debates that will direct our governance.

Free speech has historically been essential to advancing equal rights and political equality. Students do not know the history of free speech or the ways in which contrary views have been shut down and dissenters persecuted by the government. The First Amendment and the value of academic freedom are clear. The Supreme Court clearly states that public institutions cannot punish speech or exclude speakers based on the content of their speech.

found in a 2015 survey that 40 percent of college students believe that the government should prevent people from making statements offensive to minority groups. They want to make campuses inclusive for all, and they know that hate speech is harmful, especially to those who have been traditionally excluded from higher education. The university is a special place. It exists to educate and create knowledge, both of which require the evaluation of the quality of ideas. We teach students to do this and grade them on the merit of their own arguments and understandings. Faculty teach content discrimination, and their ideas are evaluated based on their judgments regarding content. A classroom and the university are not an open forum. They promote freedom of ideas, but this does not mean that all ideas have equal value; universities must teach students the skill of facing and evaluating threatening and dangerous ideas. This does not mean that students should be exposed to abuse and threatening language. For a university to do its job, it must encourage and tolerate offensive ideas while rejecting and refusing personal incivility.

What do you think?

1. Is there a difference between speakers sponsored by professors and departments versus those sponsored by student organizations? Explain your answer.
2. What role should a university play in distinguishing between the quality of ideas and the manner in which they are

“Thinking Critically” is a debate feature that gives students a comprehensive appreciation of multiple sides of a political issue and an opportunity to formulate their own positions by evaluating the data, information, or sources provided. For example, in Chapter 4 on civil liberties, the feature explores the current debate regarding whether college campuses should be allowed to limit speech.

“Evaluating the Facts”

seeks to create students who are wise consumers of information by developing critical thinking skills that will assist them in evaluating information they encounter daily and determining both the legitimacy of the source and the motivation or agenda of the source. For example, Chapter 6 on political socialization focuses on the gender gap in party identification, asking students to identify trends over time and consider reasons for these trends.

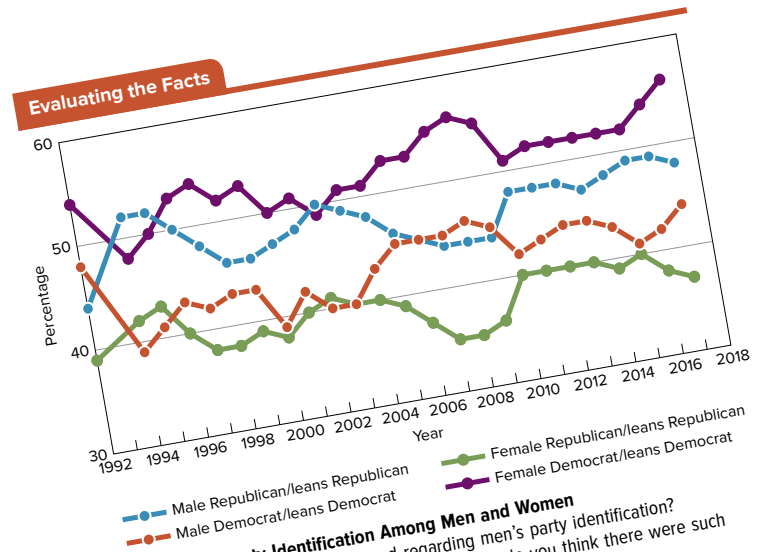


FIGURE 6.3 Party Identification Among Men and Women

1. In general, what has been the trend regarding men's party identification?
2. When has the gender gap been the largest? Why do you think there were such differences between men's and women's party identification then?
3. When has the gender gap been the smallest? In those times, which party attracted the greater proportion of supporters?

SOURCE: Pew Research Center.

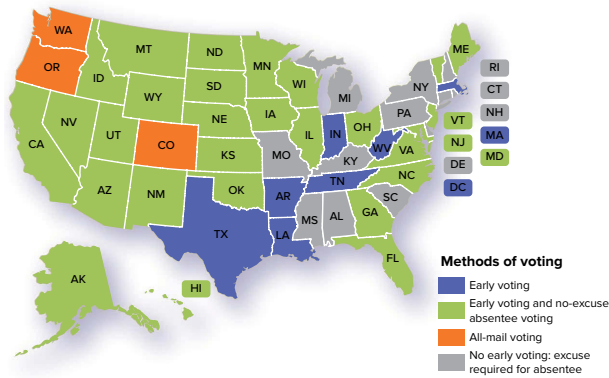


FIGURE 9.2 ■ Methods of Voting in the States What is the most prevalent available form of voting in the states? Where do we find the strictest voting laws? What effect would the available method of voting have on voter turnout?

SOURCE: National Conference of State Legislatures, "Absentee and Early Voting," 2017.

Students continue to build skills through additional tools, such as “**Interpreting Images**,” which encourages the development of analytic skills to interpret original-source visual elements, including photographs, documents, maps, tables, and graphs. For example, in Chapter 9 on campaigns, elections, and voting, the feature presents data on the varied methods of voting across the country and asks students to consider patterns and possible impacts.

Staying Current

This edition reflects the November 2018 election results. Also, as mentioned, the authors revised in response to student Heat Map data that pinpointed the topics and concepts with which students struggled the most. This Heat Map-directed revision is reflected primarily in Chapters 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, and 18. Other content changes include the following:

CHAPTER 1 PEOPLE, POLITICS, AND PARTICIPATION

- Added new discussion on the importance of tolerant, civic discourse in our nation.
- Updated discussion of the current political context, including Russian intervention in the 2016 presidential election and U.S. engagement with North Korea.
- Updated voter turnout data.
- Added new discussion of the politics of Generation Z.
- Added new Analyzing the Sources that frames the issues of increased ideological polarization in the United States by generation.
- Updated data about the U.S. population.

CHAPTER 2 THE CONSTITUTION

- Revised section “British Policies Incite Revolution in the Colonies.”
- Revised Then, Now, Next feature.
- Added new Thinking Critically feature on Census 2020.
- Revised Analyzing the Sources feature on convening a Constitutional Convention.
- Revised the section on “The Constitution as a Living, Evolving Document.”
- Updated inquiry questions in the annotated Constitution.

CHAPTER 3 FEDERALISM

- Reorganized chapter sections to foster understanding of foundational structures and concepts of our federal system.
- Added new section on “Partisan Federalism.”
- Revised Thinking Critically feature, “Can State Governments Nullify National Marijuana Law?”
- Revised section on “Tools of Intergovernmental Relations,” including new sections on “Nullification” and “Intergovernmental Tensions.”
- Revised Then, Now, Next feature, “Americans’ Trust in Their Governments.”
- Updated Recommended Readings.

CHAPTER 4 CIVIL LIBERTIES

- Updated statistics, data, and Supreme Court rulings from the previous edition.
- Provided a greater emphasis on selective incorporation and its significance.
- Introduced decisions and policies of the Trump administration, as opposed to prior focus on the Obama administration.
- Updated campus policies on concealed weapons.
- Moved focus from Millennials to Generation Z.
- Introduced a new section on free speech on campus.

CHAPTER 5 CIVIL RIGHTS

- Updated statistics, data, and Supreme Court rulings from the previous edition.
- Included coverage of current issues, such as the #MeToo movement and diversity within the Asian American community.
- Added new Thinking Critically on the impact of illegal immigration.
- Updated all references and citations.

CHAPTER 6 POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PUBLIC OPINION

- Added new Thinking Critically feature that asks whether the United States should have stricter gun safety laws.
- Explored new data concerning the gender gap in political party identification between men and women.
- Evaluated new data about the policy priorities of men and women in the 2016 presidential election.
- Evaluated the gender gap in presidential vote choice in 2016.
- Updated information about the opinions of Millennials.
- Added new information on the politics of Generation Z.
- Included new discussion of the new “most important problem.”
- Included new data concerning trust in government.

CHAPTER 7 INTEREST GROUPS

- Included a new discussion of the Women’s March protests.
- Included additional explanation of the role of group competition in determining interest group success.
- Included a discussion of the effect of *Janus v. United States* on interest groups.
- Updated information on the top lobbying interests in the United States.

CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER CHANGES

- Included more detailed discussion of *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*.
- Added a new Analyzing the Sources feature demonstrating the importance of considering interest groups' perspective when evaluating interest group ratings.

CHAPTER 8 POLITICAL PARTIES

- Included a new discussion titled "A Democratic Party Struggling to Define Itself."
- Included a new discussion titled "The Republican Party in the Era of President Trump."
- Updated data concerning Americans' opinions of the two political parties.
- Added new information about the role of the parties in the 2018 midterm congressional elections.
- Updated the discussion of the responsible party model.
- Provided new data concerning post-2018 election party control of state legislatures.
- Added a new Analyzing the Sources feature that asks students to evaluate the characteristics of voters who have switched political party preference since 2011.
- Updated data on Americans' support for a third party.

CHAPTER 9 CAMPAIGNS, ELECTIONS, AND VOTING

- Explained the U.S. Intelligence Community's conclusions about Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election.
- Enhanced the discussion of the importance of fair, independent elections.
- Explained why election meddling matters.
- Highlighted the idea of political participation as an expression of the will of the people.
- Discussed 2018 ballot initiatives in the states.
- Explained campaign finance regulations for the 2018 elections.
- Updated data concerning age and presidential election turnout.
- Revised an Analyzing the Sources feature examining race and presidential elections.
- Included new research concerning reasons for low voter turnout.

CHAPTER 10 THE MEDIA

- Contextualized the current debate about media accuracy.
- Revised the Analyzing the Sources feature examining new data on confidence in the media.

- Added new data on the increasing diversity in newsrooms.
- Included new research on the demographics of increasing online news consumption.
- Reexamined the question of media bias.

CHAPTER 11 POLITICS AND TECHNOLOGY

- Discussed social media hacking and data breaches.
- Updated data on Internet usage.
- Updated research on the use of technology in the 2018 elections.
- Added information on the use of social media as a tool of macro-protests, including facilitating the #MeToo movement.
- Added a new Analyzing the Sources feature that asks students to evaluate whether Facebook ads generated by Russian operatives were effective.
- Added new information and research on election infiltration.
- Described the effects of FCC Chairman Ajit Pai's rollback of the net neutrality order.

CHAPTER 12 CONGRESS

- Added a new Thinking Critically feature that asks whether congressional elections are "rigged" through gerrymandering.
- Described new trends regarding the use of congressional earmarks.
- Added a new discussion of the filibuster.
- Updated the congressional leadership section.
- Discussed the role of Congress in supporting special counsel Robert Mueller.
- Added updates on the 2018 elections and the party composition of Congress.
- Described congressional action on President Trump's policy agenda, including the overhaul of the federal tax plan.
- Included new discussion on the diversity in Congress after the 2018 elections.

CHAPTER 13 THE PRESIDENCY

- Examined the revolutionizing effect on the presidency of President Trump's use of social media.
- Added new discussion of the Electoral College.
- Examined President Trump's role in managing the economy, looking at the issue of tariffs and the overhaul of the federal tax structure.

- Updated information on Trump administration officials, including the cabinet.
- Included new comparative data on women and minorities appointed to presidential cabinets.
- Updated discussion of the use of executive privilege.
- Included new comparative data on presidential public approval.
- Examined the geographical variation of President Trump's popularity.
- Added information on First Lady Melania Trump's priorities for her role.

CHAPTER 14 THE BUREAUCRACY

- Added new Then, Now, Next feature, "Federal Civil Service Hiring Process."
- Added new discussion of President Trump's budget proposals and their potential impact on federal civil service hiring.
- Updated data on pay scale for white-collar (GS) federal civil servants.
- Revised section on "State, Local, and Shadow Bureaucrats."
- Revised (to make more clear and concise) sections on bureaucratic accountability.
- Updated data and analysis in section "Can Bureaucratic Performance Be Improved?"
- Added new Analyzing the Sources feature, "Is it Government Performance or Partisanship?"
- Updated discussion and analysis in section "Does Contracting-Out Improve Performance?"
- Updated Recommended Readings.

CHAPTER 15 THE JUDICIARY

- Reorganized sections to foster understanding of foundational structures and concepts of the federal judiciary.
- Added new Analyzing the Sources features on judicial independence.
- Revised Then, Now, Next feature, "Supreme Court Diversity."
- Updated data on demographics of federal judges to include those confirmed during first years of the Trump administration.
- Revised discussion on judicial policy making, including comparisons of judicial activism, judicial restraint, and originalism and the Constitution as a living document
- Added discussion of the most recent personnel changes to the Roberts Court and their potential ramifications.

CHAPTER 16 ECONOMIC POLICY

- Integrated discussion of the Trump administration's economic policy initiatives supporting supply-side economics, including the Tax Cuts & Jobs Act (2017) and deregulation.
- Updated survey data on Americans' views about the American dream.
- Reorganized sections to foster understanding of foundational concepts and theories.

- Added new Then, Now, Next feature on tax law.
- Updated data on the health of the U.S. economy.
- Updated federal budget data.
- Reviewed the use of continuing resolutions in the FY 2018 budget process.
- Revised (and streamlined) discussion of trade policy.
- Revised section on "The American Dream and the American Economy," which integrates Trump administration policies and Americans' policy preferences.

CHAPTER 17 DOMESTIC POLICY

- Added new Analyzing the Sources feature, "Partisan Differences on Top Priorities for President Trump and Congress."
- Added new Critically Thinking feature, "Should the National Government Mandate Flood Insurance?"
- Added new Then, Now, Next feature, "Federal Websites and Climate Change."
- Integrated the Trump administration's environmental, energy, health care, and immigration policy initiatives.
- Updated data on safety net programs (income security, housing security, health insurance programs).
- Updated data on immigrants.
- Eliminated section on Homeland Security policy.

CHAPTER 18 FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

- Described the context for current foreign policy.
- Updated the "The Military Option" section to include U.S. air strikes in Syria.
- Updated coverage of the use of new technologies in foreign policy.
- Added new Analyzing the Sources feature that asks students to evaluate recent U.S. troop deployment.
- Examined President Trump's America First foreign policy in the context of Huntington's clash of civilizations thesis.
- Described future challenges in foreign policy, including trade policy, the renewed threat of terrorism, and Russian expansion and efforts to increase influence.

CHAPTER 19 STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT connect

- Added new Thinking Critically feature, "Is Direct Democracy the Fix for Misrepresentation in a Representative Democracy?"
- Relocated the direct democracy section to earlier in chapter.
- Added new section on "Intergovernmental Relations."
- Added new data on citizens' trust in state and local governments.
- Updated data on state and local government revenues and expenditures.
- Revised Analyzing the Sources feature comparing state voting laws.
- Updated data on diversity in state governments.

Acknowledgments

We owe a debt of thanks to all of the people who contributed their thoughts and suggestions to the development of *American Democracy Now*.

Manuscript Reviewers

Stephen Anthony, *Georgia State University*
Stephen Baker, *Jacksonville University*
Michael Baranowski, *Northern Kentucky University*
Kyle Barbieri, *Georgia Perimeter College*
Donna Bennett, *Trinity Valley Community College*
Amy Brandon, *El Paso Community College—Valle Verde*
Wendell Broadwell, *Georgia Perimeter College*
Monique Bruner, *Rose State College*
Joseph Campbell, *Rose State College*
Kathleen Collihan, *American River College*
Joe Corrado, *Clayton State University*
Vida Davoudi, *Lone Star College—Kingwood*
Julia Decker, *Texas State University—San Marcos*
William Delehanty, *Missouri Southern State University*
Jacqueline DeMerritt, *University of North Texas*
Kevin Dockerty, *Kalamazoo Valley Community College*
Cecil Dorsey, *San Jacinto College*
Walle Engedayehu, *Prairie View A&M University*
Matthew Eshbaugh-Soha, *University of North Texas*
Heather Evans, *Sam Houston State University*
Glen Findley, *Odessa College*
David Fistein, *Gulf Coast Community College*
John Forshee, *San Jacinto College*
Myrtle Freeman, *Tarrant County College—South*
Crystal Garrett, *Georgia Perimeter College*
Sandra Gieseler, *Palo Alto College*
Dana Glencross, *Oklahoma City Community College*
James Michael Greig, *University of North Texas*
Alexander Hogan, *Lone Star College—CyFair*
Richard Kiefer, *Waubonsee Community College*
Robert King, *Georgia Perimeter College—Dunwoody*
Melinda Kovacs, *Sam Houston State University*
Nancy Kral, *Lone Star College—Tomball*
Fred Lokken, *Truckee Meadows*
Becky Lubbers, *Saint Clair County Community College*
Joseph Mancos, *Lenoir-Rhyne University*
Roger Marietta, *Darton College*
Vinette Meikle-Harris, *Houston Community College—Central*

Brooke Miller, *Middle Georgia State College*
Shea Mize, *Georgia Highlands College*
Fran Moran, *New Jersey City University*
Joseph Moskowitz, *New Jersey City University*
Yamini Munipalli, *Florida State College*
Kathleen Murnan, *Ozarks Technical Community College*
Martha Musgrove, *Tarrant County College—South*
Glynn Newman, *Eastfield College*
John Osterman, *San Jacinto College—Pasadena*
Cecil Larry Pool, *El Centro College*
Robert K. Postic, *University of Findlay*
Sean Reed, *Wharton County Junior College*
Shauna Reilly, *Northern Kentucky University*
Elizabeth Rexford, *Wharton County Junior College*
Sonja M. Siler, *Cuyahoga Community College*
Shyam Sriram, *Georgia Perimeter College*
Adam Stone, *Georgia Perimeter College*
Steve Tran, *Houston Community College*
Dennis Toombs, *San Jacinto College—North*
David Uranga, *Pasadena City College*
Ronald Vardy, *University of Houston—Houston*
Sarah Velasquez, *Fresno Community College*
Peter Wielhouwer, *Western Michigan University—Kalamazoo*
Robert Wilkes, *Atlanta Metropolitan State College*

American Government Symposia

Since 2006, McGraw-Hill has conducted several symposia in American Government for instructors from across the country. These events offered a forum for instructors to exchange ideas and experiences with colleagues they might not have met otherwise. They also provided an opportunity for editors from McGraw-Hill to gather information about what instructors of American Government need and the challenges they face. The feedback we have received has been invaluable and has contributed—directly and indirectly—to the development

of *American Democracy Now*. We would like to thank the participants for their insights:

Melvin Aaron, Los Angeles City College
Yan Bai, Grand Rapids Community College
Leslie Baker, Mississippi State University
Evelyn Ballard, Houston Community College
Robert Ballinger, South Texas College
Nancy Bednar, Antelope Valley College
Jeffrey Birdsong, Northeastern Oklahoma A&M College
Madelyn Bowman, Tarrant County College—South
Amy Brandon, San Jacinto College—North
Jane Bryant, John A. Logan College
Dan R. Brown, Southwestern Oklahoma State University
Monique Bruner, Rose State College
Anita Chadha, University of Houston—Downtown
John Clark, Western Michigan University—Kalamazoo
Kathleen Collihan, American River College
Steven Collins, Oklahoma State University—Oklahoma City
Daphne Cooper, Indian River State College, Central
John Davis, Howard University
Kevin Davis, North Central Texas College
Paul Davis, Truckee Meadows Community College
Vida Davoudi, Lone Star College—Kingwood
Robert De Luna, Saint Philips College
Jeff DeWitt, Kennesaw State University
Hien Do, San Jose State University
Kevin Dockerty, Kalamazoo Valley Community College
Cecil Dorsey, San Jacinto College—South
Jay Dow, University of Missouri—Columbia
Manar Elkhaldi, University of Central Florida
Emily Erdmann, Blinn College, Bryan
Henry Esparza, University of Texas at San Antonio
Karry Evans, Austin Community College
Kahlib Fischer, Helms School of Government, Liberty University
Marie Flint, San Antonio College
Reynaldo Flores, Richland College
Pearl Ford, University of Arkansas—Fayetteville
John Forshee, San Jacinto College—Central
Ben Riesner Fraser, San Jacinto College
Daniel Fuerstman, Dutchess Community College
Marilyn Gaar, Johnson County Community College
Jarvis T. Gamble, Owens Community College
Crystal Garrett, Perimeter College at Georgia State University—Dunwoody
Michael Gattis, Gulf Coast Community College
Patrick Gilbert, Lone Star College—Tomball
William Gillespie, Kennesaw State University
Dana K. Glencross, Oklahoma City Community College

Larry Gonzalez, Houston Community College—Southwest
Nirmal Goswami, Texas A&M University—Kingsville
Daniel Gutierrez, El Paso Community College
Richard Gutierrez, University of Texas, El Paso
Precious Hall, Truckee Meadows Community College
Michelle Kukoleca Hammes, St. Cloud State University
Cathy Hanks, University of Nevada, Las Vegas
Wanda Hill, Tarrant County Community College
Joseph Hinchliffe, University of Illinois at Urbana—Champaign
John Hitt, North Lake College
Mark Jendrysik, University of North Dakota
Brenda Jones, Houston Community College—Central
Franklin Jones, Texas Southern University
Lynn Jones, Collin County Community College
James Joseph, Fresno City College
Jason Kassel, Valdosta State University
Manoucher Khosrowshahi, Tyler Junior College
Rich Kiefer, Waubensee Community College
Robert J. King, Georgia Perimeter College
Orin Kirshner, Florida Atlantic University
Melinda Kovacs, Sam Houston State University
Chien-Pin Li, Kennesaw State University
Fred Lokken, Truckee Meadows Community College
Mary Louis, Houston Community College
Kenneth Mariano, Rowan College at Burlington County
Jan McCauley, Tyler Junior College
John Mercurio, San Diego State University
Janna Merrick, University of South Florida
Joe Meyer, Los Angeles City College
Eric Miller, Blinn College
Kent Miller, Weatherford College
Charles Moore, Georgia State University
Patrick Moore, Richland College
Eduardo Munoz, El Camino College
Kay Murnan, Ozarks Technical Community College
Carolyn Myers, Southwestern Illinois College
Sharon Navarro, University of Texas at San Antonio
Blaine Nelson, El Paso Community College
Theresa Nevarez, El Paso Community College
James A. Norris, Texas A&M International University
Kent Park, U.S. Military Academy at West Point
Sylvia Peregrino, El Paso Community College
Amy Perry, Texas State University
Eric Rader, Henry Ford Community College
Elizabeth Rexford, Wharton County Junior College
Tara Ross, Keiser University
Carlos Rovelo, Tarrant Community College—South
Ryan Rynbrandt, Collin County Community College
Ray Sandoval, Richland College
Craig Scarpelli, California State University—Chico
Louis Schubert, City College of San Francisco

Edward Senu-Oke, *Joliet Junior College*
Mark Shomaker, *Blinn College*
Thomas Simpson, *Missouri Southern University*
Henry Sirgo, *McNeese State University*
Amy Smith, *North Lake College*
Daniel Smith, *Northwest Missouri State University*
John Speer, *Houston Community College–Southwest*
Jim Startin, *University of Texas at San Antonio*
Matt Stellges, *Blinn College, Bryan*
Sharon Sykora, *Slippery Rock University*
Tressa Tabares, *American River College*
Beatrice Talpos, *Wayne County Community College*
Alec Thomson, *Schoolcraft College*
Judy Tobler, *Northwest Arkansas Community College*
Steve Tran, *Houston Community College*
Beth Traxler, *Greenville Technical College*
William Turk, *University of Texas–Pan American*
Ron Vardy, *University of Houston*
Sarah Velasquez, *Fresno City College*
Ron VonBehren, *Valencia Community College–Osceola*
Albert C. Waite, *Central Texas College*
Van Allen Wigginton, *San Jacinto College–Central*
Geoffrey Willbanks, *Tyler Junior College*
Charlotte Williams, *Pasadena City College*
Theodore Williams, *Kennedy-King College, City Colleges
of Chicago*
Ike Wilson, *U.S. Military Academy*
Paul Wilson, *San Antonio College*
John Wood, *University of Central Oklahoma*
Robert Wood, *University of North Dakota*
Larry Wright, *Florida A&M University*
Ann Wyman, *Missouri Southern State University*
Kathryn Yates, *Richland College*

Personal Acknowledgments

We must thank our team at McGraw-Hill: Katie Stevens, managing director; Jason Seitz, portfolio manager; Dawn Groundwater, product development manager; Will Walter, marketing manager; Susan Messer, product developer; and David Tietz, photo researcher. We are extraordinarily grateful to all of you.

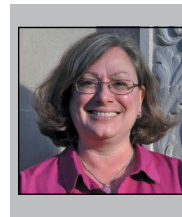
For their patience, understanding, and support, the authors also wish to thank: Paul Meilak; Caroline, Alexandra, and John Harrison; Rosemary Fitzgerald; Patricia Jillard; Kathleen Cain; John Callahan; Teresa Biebel; Thomas Callahan; Michael Harris; Audrey Wahl and the Wahl “girls”—Eileen Choynowski, Laura McAlpine, Audrey Messina, and Jaimee Conner; David Deardorff; Amy Donaldson; and Michael, Kelly, Logan, and Lauren Donaldson.

John and Rosemary Callahan, Jim and Audrey Wahl, and Earl and Fonda Donaldson first began the conversation of democracy with us, and we thank them and all of the students and colleagues, friends, and family members who continue that conversation now.

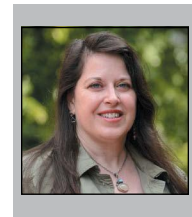
BRIGID CALLAHAN HARRISON
JEAN WAHL HARRIS
MICHELLE D. DEARDORFF



©Mike Peters



©Eileen Notarianni



©Jaimie Davis

Welcome to the sixth edition of *American Democracy Now!* In this program, we share our passion for politics while providing students with the foundation they need to become informed citizens in a rapidly changing democracy.

In creating the first edition of *American Democracy Now*, we merged our years of experience as classroom instructors and our desire to captivate students with the compelling story of their democracy into a student-centered program. We refined those goals with an integrated learning program for American government to maximize student performance in the second edition. The third edition revolutionized how we think about American democracy by incorporating for the first time a chapter on Politics and Technology, demonstrating the extent to which technology has become integral to how citizens participate in their democracy and how governments serve their citizenry. The fifth edition continued this tradition, tackling new ways in which technology is changing how politics happens—for both the good and the bad. The goals of the sixth edition stem from the necessities of our times: We seek to help students navigate the vast array of information that technology provides by strengthening their ability to evaluate information for accuracy. We also hope to encourage civil discourse by providing students with critical thinking skills that will enable them to develop an empathy with understanding of the positions held by those whose views differ from their own.

More than any previous edition, the sixth edition of *American Democracy Now* relies on technological advances to improve how we deliver information to students in a way that they can best understand, enjoy, and share our passion for political life. Informed by data garnered from thousands of students who have used our Connect and SmartBook platforms, we have revised our program to ensure greater clarity in areas that have proven complex for past student readers. We have continued to integrate an examination of the increasing role technology is playing in politics. And we have continued our quest to create a student-centered program that increases students' sense of political efficacy by exciting them about the political conversations of the day and by integrating a critical thinking framework that not only explains the past and present of politics, but also asks them to think critically about the future: What's next for their democracy? In *American Democracy Now*, sixth edition, students learn how the fundamental principles of American democracy inform their understanding of the politics and policies of today so that they can think about the policies they would like to see take shape tomorrow. In short, they learn to inquire: How do *then* and *now* shape what's going to happen *next*? This "Then, Now, Next" approach to critical thinking serves as the basis for student participation.

American Democracy Now, sixth edition, takes a broader, more contemporary view of participation than other programs. To us, participation encompasses a variety of activities from the modest, creative, local, or even personal actions students can take to the larger career choices they can make. And choosing how to participate makes American government matter.

Today's hyper-partisan politics and ever-changing technology provide challenges for those seeking to ensure that the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are protected, and they present opportunities for those striving to fulfill the

responsibilities that come with living in a constitutional democracy. *American Democracy Now*, sixth edition, enables students to garner a solid understanding of the essential elements, institutions, and dynamics of national government and politics, while fostering critical thinking skills that are essential to meeting these novel challenges and realizing these new opportunities.

Facilitating success—as students, but also as citizens and participants—means honing their critical thinking skills, harnessing their energy, and creating tools that foster success in the American government course and in our polity. We know we have succeeded when students apply their knowledge and sharpened skills to consider the outcomes they—as students, citizens, and participants—would like to see.

Creating this success means joining increasingly diverse students where they are so that they can see the relevance of politics in their everyday lives. Instagram, YouTube, Snapchat, and Twitter are not only powerful social networking tools, but also powerful political and educational tools. New technologies help politicians to communicate with citizens, citizens to communicate with each other, and you to communicate with your students. The sixth edition of *American Democracy Now* further integrates technology into our students' study of politics so that their engagement with content is seamless.

We are excited to present you with the sixth edition of *American Democracy Now*, and we wish you and your students success.

BRIGID CALLAHAN HARRISON

JEAN WAHL HARRIS

MICHELLE D. DEARDORFF

BRIGID CALLAHAN HARRISON specializes in the civic engagement and political participation of Americans, especially the Millennial generation and Generation Z, the U.S. Congress, and the presidency. Brigid has taught American government for 24 years at Montclair State University in New Jersey. She takes particular pride in creating a learning experience in the classroom that shapes students' lifelong understanding of American politics, sharpens their critical thinking about American government, and encourages their participation in civic life. She enjoys supervising student internships in political campaigns and government and is a frequent commentator in print and electronic media on national and New Jersey politics. She is past president of the New Jersey Political Science Association and of the National Women's Caucus for Political Science. She received her B.A. from Stockton University; her M.A. from Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey; and her Ph.D. from Temple University. Harrison lives in Longport, New Jersey, with her husband, Paul Meilak, a retired New York City police detective. She has three children: Caroline (24), Alexandra (18), and John (16). Born and raised in New Jersey, Harrison is a fan of Bruce Springsteen and in her spare time, she enjoys reading on the beach, traveling, cycling, and binge-watching political thrillers on Netflix. Like her on Facebook at Brigid Callahan Harrison, and follow her on Twitter @BriCalHar.

JEAN WAHL HARRIS'S research interests include political socialization and engagement, federalism, and the gendered nature and effects of U.S. politics. She teaches introductory courses in local, state, and national government and upper-level courses in public administration, public policy, and judicial politics. As a faculty member in the Political Science Department and the director of the Women's & Gender Studies Program at the University of Scranton, Jean seeks to cultivate students' sense of political efficacy, empowering and inspiring them to

engage in local, state, national, and/or international politics. She earned her B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from the State University of New York at Binghamton. In 1994, the University of Scranton named her its CASE (Council for Advancement and Support of Education) professor of the year. She was an American Council on Education (ACE) Fellow during the 2007–2008 academic year. Jean lives in Nicholson, Pennsylvania, with her husband, Michael. She enjoys reading on her deck overlooking the Endless Mountains of Northeast Pennsylvania.

MICHELLE D. DEARDORFF'S teaching and research focus on the constitutional and statutory protections surrounding gender, race, and religion. She particularly enjoys developing classes that allow students to apply their understandings of law, politics, and political theory to current events; she seeks to foster critical citizens prepared to participate in governing our communities and nation. Deardorff is currently head of Political Science and Public Service at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. Before coming to UTC, she spent 10 years teaching at Jackson State, a historically black university in Mississippi, and another decade at Millikin University, a small private college in Illinois. She recently served on the Council of the American Political Science Association and is a founding faculty member of the Fannie Lou Hamer National Institute on Citizenship and Democracy, a coalition of academics who promote civic engagement and popular sovereignty through the study of the struggle for civil rights in the United States. She lives in Chattanooga with her husband, David, where they enjoy kayaking, hiking, live music, and reading in beautiful places.

The Sixth Edition of *American Democracy Now* is dedicated to the memory of Jim Wahl and Sue Tolchin, both of whom taught us a lot about politics.

CHAPTER 1

People, Politics, and Participation



©Kevork Djansezian/Getty Images

THEN

Cynicism, distrust, and apathy characterized Americans' relationship with their government for the past generation.

NOW

Anger and divisiveness characterize segments of the American electorate, but new information technologies, generational politics, and a diversifying population give some cause for optimism as the nation responds to today's challenges, including terrorism, inequality, and violence.

NEXT

Will the present generation break the cycle of cynicism and increasingly, anger, that has pervaded the politics of the recent past?

Will new information technologies continue to facilitate and energize political participation?

Will our nation's increasing diversity continue to tear our nation apart or eventually serve to create compassion, respect, and unity?

The United States was

founded by individuals who believed in the power of democracy to respond to the will of citizens. Historically, citizen activists have come from all walks of life, but they have shared one common attribute: the belief that, in the ongoing conversation of democracy, their government listens to *people like them*. This idea is vital if individuals are to have an impact on their government; people who don't believe they can have any influence rarely try. The story of the United States is the story of people who are involved with their government, who know what they want their government to do, and who have confidence in their ability to influence its policies.¹ *American Democracy Now* tells the story of how today's citizen activists are participating in the conversation of democracy in a tumultuous and transformational time in which an increasingly diverse population faces sweeping technological changes and unprecedented global change. This story is the next chapter in America's larger story.

The history of democracy in the United States is rife with examples of ordinary people who have made and are making a difference.² Throughout this book, we describe the effects that individuals and groups have had, and continue to have, in creating and changing the country's institutions of government. We also explore how individuals have influenced the ways in which our governments—national, state, and local—create policy.³ These stories are important not only in and of themselves but also as motivators for all of us who want to live in a democracy that responds to all its citizens.

A fundamental principle underlying this book is that your beliefs and your voice—and ultimately how you use those beliefs and that voice—matter. Whatever your beliefs, it is important that you come to them thoughtfully, by employing introspection and critical thinking, and it is our hope that you leave this course with the tools to discuss and advocate and act for your views civilly, in a manner that contributes to the tolerant, civic discourse of our nation. This book seeks both to inform and to inspire your participation. A sentiment voiced by American anthropologist Margaret Mead expresses a powerful truth: “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it's the only thing that ever has.”

Learning Objectives

After reading this chapter, students should be able to:

- Define *politics*.
- Describe the functions of government.
- Explain the types of government.
- Explain the origins of American democracy.
- Identify and describe the key components of American political culture.
- Understand the concept of political ideology.
- Explain how the demographic characteristics of the U.S. population are changing.

Why Should You Study American Democracy Now? Or, Why Should You Study American Democracy Now?

politics

The process of deciding who gets benefits in society and who does not.

Politics as practiced today is not your parents’ brand of politics. **Politics**—the process of deciding who benefits in society and who does not—is a much different process today than it was even a decade ago. Advances in technology have altered the political landscape in many ways. In some countries, these advances have facilitated the overthrow of governments. In other countries, they are changing how voters and candidates communicate with each other, how governments provide information to individuals, how people get their news about events, and how governments administer laws. The political landscape has also changed because of world events.

THEN NOW NEXT

Technology and Political Participation

Then (1970s)	Now
47 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds voted in the 1976 presidential election.	About 50 percent of 18- to 20-year-olds voted in the 2016 presidential election.
People got their national news from one-half-hour-long nightly news broadcasts.	People get their news from an array of sources, including Twitter feeds, Internet news services, and 24-hour news networks available on demand via computers and cell phones.
Many people participated in civic life primarily through demonstrations, protests, and voting.	Internet activism is now mainstream: Online protests and petitions are commonplace, and Facebook groups designed to express viewpoints and mobilize activists have replaced many in-real-life (IRL) groups.

WHAT’S NEXT?

- > Will the upswing of voter participation by 18- to 20-year-olds continue?
- > How might advancing media technologies further transform the ways that people “consume” their news?
- > What new forms of civic participation will emerge?

How Technology Has Changed Politics

It would be difficult to overstate the influence of the technological revolution on politics as it is practiced today. President Donald Trump regularly relies on Twitter to voice his views and to make major policy statements. But he is not alone. In electoral politics, faster computers, the Internet, micro-targeting, and social media have revolutionized a process that, until the advent of the personal computer, the Internet, and cellular technology, was not very different in 1990 from the way it was carried out in 1890. Today, many voters get much of their information from Facebook, Twitter, and Internet-based news sites and blogs. Campaigns rely on e-mail and text messaging, and they use websites and social networking sites such as Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter to communicate with and organize supporters. State governments rely on computers to conduct elections, and cities use computers to provide services to their residents.

Because of these unprecedented shifts in the ways politics happens and how government is administered, Americans today face both new opportunities and new challenges. Evidence demonstrating Russia’s efforts to influence the 2016 election using social media have led many citizens to ask how we might use technology to ensure that elections are conducted fairly.

How might the abundance and reach of media technology be directed toward informing and enriching us rather than overwhelming us or perpetuating the citizen cynicism of recent years? What privacy rights can we be sure of in the present digital age? Whatever your age, as a student, you are a member of one of the most tech-savvy groups in the country, and your input, expertise, and participation are vital to sorting out the opportunities and obstacles of this next stage of American democracy. Throughout this text, we examine the many ways in which people are using technology to link with each other and with the branches of government in an effort to influence those branches.

The Political Context Now

The political context today centers on a debate taking place in Washington, D.C., and throughout the nation about the appropriate size and role of government. Should economic development be fostered through tax cuts to corporations, in the hope that they will increase wages and create jobs, or should the federal government spend more money on services that benefit people directly, such as schools? Should the federal government repeal all aspects of the health care plan passed during the Obama administration? What is the obligation of the federal government in guaranteeing that law enforcement and the criminal justice system treat all Americans fairly and impartially? These issues have sparked great passion among many Americans on both sides of these and many other issues. Government officials today seek to walk a fine line between placating those demanding action by the government and those who fear that increased government action will result in too strong a government with too much power over its people.

Also part of the U.S. political context is a global environment characterized by uncertainty and instability on many fronts: uncertainty is still the guiding principle concerning North Korea and its nascent nuclear program; Russia seems bent on increasing its sphere of influence, both formally and subversively. In the meantime, China stands by, awaiting a coherent and consistent policy from the Trump administration, as a multitude of mixed signals emanate from Washington, D.C.⁴ And the United States and the rest of the world continue to cope with multiple issues in the Middle East, where the retaliatory wars fought in Afghanistan and Iraq by the United States after the September 11, 2001, attacks, increased violence and instability. In recent years, ISIS—the insurgent group also known as Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, spawned in part by the power vacuum left when the United States pulled out of Iraq in 2011—perpetrated terror attacks by beheading Western journalists and aid workers. In response to those attacks, and the ongoing civil wars in those nations, the United States initiated air strikes first in Iraq and then in Syria, targeting areas where ISIS had taken control.

Americans' Efficacy

Since the early 1970s—a decade blemished by the intense unpopularity of the Vietnam War and by scandals that ushered in the resignation of President Richard Nixon in 1974—Americans' attitudes about government have been dismal.⁵ Numerous surveys of the American public, including an ongoing Gallup poll, have demonstrated low levels of trust in government and of confidence in government's ability to solve problems, and today those levels have reached historically

efficacy

Citizens' belief that they have the ability to achieve something desirable and that the government listens to people like them.

low numbers, with only 20 percent of Americans saying they trust the government to do what's right always or most of the time.⁶ Young people's views have mirrored those of the nation as a whole.⁷ Distrust; lack of **efficacy**, which is a person's belief that he or she has the ability to achieve something desirable and that the government genuinely listens to individuals; and apathy are prevalent among young people.

These attitudes are expressed through one of the most easily measured contexts: voter turnout. Figure 1.1 shows the trend of participation by young voters in presidential elections. From Figure 1.1, we see that about 43 percent of young Americans (aged 18–29) voted in 2016, a slight increase from the 2012 presidential election. Since the drastic uptick in youth voter participation in 2004, majorities of young American typically have supported Democratic candidates for president, especially Barack Obama, whose 2008 candidacy generated record turnout and support among young Americans. But early research shows that the youngest of the young voters—members of Generation Z—may be somewhat more likely to support Republican candidates than were Millennials.

Despite the complexity of the youth vote issue, there remain lingering media characterizations of a cynical, nonparticipatory youth electorate. But evidence indicates that many young people are enthusiastic participants in civic and political life.⁸ Others are taking part in ways that have not traditionally been thought of, and measured as, participation, including Internet activism and using one's power as a consumer to send political messages. For many students, that foundation of political participation, volunteerism, or community action has already provided them with a rationale for increasing their knowledge of, and participation in, their communities.

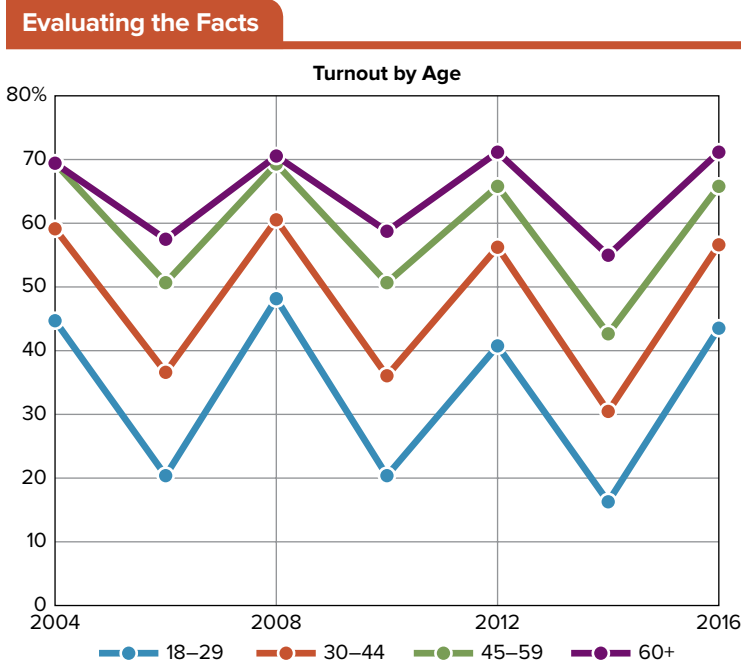


FIGURE 1.1 ■ Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections (2004–2016) by Voter Age. How has the turnout rate changed over time for voters aged 18–29? For other age groups?

SOURCE: United States Elections Project.

Individuals who engage in politics and civic life experience many benefits. Engaged citizens are knowledgeable about public issues; actively communicate with policymakers and others; press government officials to carry out the people's will; advocate for their own self-interest and the interests of others; and hold public officials accountable for their decisions and actions. You will find that advocating for your own interests or working with others in similar situations sometimes (perhaps to your surprise) leads to desired outcomes. This is efficacy in action. And you will discover that with experience you will become more effective at advocacy—the more you do, the better you get. Furthermore, you will derive social and psychological benefits from being civically engaged.

In addition, and equally important, local communities, states, and the nation benefit from an engaged populace. Governments are more effective when people voice their views. As we will see as we explore *American Democracy Now*, today's citizens and others have more opportunities to influence

Thinking Critically

Facts Matter

In 1971, a whistleblower employee of the Department of Defense, Daniel Ellsberg, leaked a document that would come to be known as the Pentagon Papers, which was a history of the United States' political-military involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967. Published by *The New York Times*, the Papers demonstrated that successive presidents had "systematically lied, not only to the public but also to Congress." The Pentagon Papers caused a huge controversy at the time and undermined the confidence of the American people in their government, generally, and in the presidency, specifically.

Since then, it seems that Americans have more to worry about than their government lying to them. Thanks to the Internet, information is abundant but often unreliable. And increasingly, those who disseminate misinformation appear to be doing so as a political tactic, a strategy made particularly effective with the advent of social media.

Consider: During the presidential campaign, a physician "diagnosed" Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton with Parkinson's disease, despite the fact that he had never examined her, and he posted a YouTube video of his diagnosis. Today, more than 800,000 websites repeat this claim in some form, even though Clinton's physician has rejected the diagnosis.

A website announced that "Pope Francis Shocks World, Endorses Donald Trump for President." The story gained enough traction that Pope Francis noted in a press conference that he does not endorse political candidates.

After President Donald Trump was inaugurated, and during a tour of the Oval Office, a *Time* magazine reporter tweeted that the incoming president had removed a bust of iconic Civil Rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Twenty-three minutes later, the reporter tweeted that he was mistaken, claiming someone was standing in front of the bust so he couldn't see it, but by then the claim had gone viral.

How can a student think critically about the facts and determine whether information being presented is accurate? In each chapter that follows, "Thinking Critically" will coach students in evaluating facts and data and in considering perspective and biases in their analyses. This kind of careful evaluation occurs on three tiers:

- **Tier One—Gut Check:** Using common sense, ask yourself: Is the information consistent with what I already know about the subject? Is the claim outlandish or implausible? Does the source appear legitimate? Red flags for fake news include a multitude of exclamation marks, misspelled words, all caps headlines, or claims of "Not a Hoax!"

- **Tier Two—Credibility Check:** Is the information current (i.e., the timing of information can matter)? Is the material copyrighted (typically indicated after the headline or at the bottom of a news story)? Is the website a legitimate one (beware of slight adaptations of traditional news outlets, and consult Snopes' list of fake news sites [www.snopes.com/2016/01/14/fake-news-sites/])? Is the source known to be a reliable one, and if so, how does he or she have access to the information being described? Is the information from a satirical site, meant to be funny, like the *Onion* or the *Borowitz Report*? Does the source seem to have an agenda? Is the author or source of information a recognized expert?
- **Tier Three—Accuracy Check:** Can the information be independently verified or corroborated? Just because information appears on multiple sites does not mean that it is corroborated. Rather, look to see if multiple sources are independently reporting similar versions of events. Do sources contain links to verifiable data sources, independent accounts of events, or other verifying statements? Multiple resources are available for you to double-check accuracy, particularly before you pass information on. These include websites like Snopes, factcheck.org, and PolitiFact's Truth-O-Meter.

What do you think?

Each chapter's *Thinking Critically* will ask students to evaluate how a source of data, the perspective of a reporter or viewer, and/or the timing of information can affect the interpretation of "facts." For example:

1. In evaluating Hillary Clinton health, Dr. Ted Noel characterized Clinton as "a politician who lies about everything." In addition, he is an anesthesiologist and would likely have little experience in diagnosing Parkinson's disease. A quick gut check reveals the flaws with this claim.
2. A credibility check of the original Pope Francis post, on the WTOE 5 News website, reveals that the site lacks credibility. In its "About" page, it says, "WTOE 5 News is a fantasy news website."
3. An accuracy check shows that *Time*'s Zeke Miller was the only reporter to note the removal of the Martin Luther King Jr. bust, and then White House Spokesman Sean Spicer tweeted a rebuttal photo, showing the bust in place, indicating the claim was inaccurate.



governmental action than at any other time in history. If you have the knowledge and tools, you should be able to make the most of these opportunities.

Civic Engagement: Acting on Your Views

One vitally important goal of this book is to encourage you to engage in a respectful, continuing conversation about your views and to make the connection between having ideas and opinions and acting on them. Political scientist Michael Delli Carpini has defined **civic engagement** as

individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern. Civic engagement can take many forms, from individual voluntarism to organizational

involvement to electoral participation. It can include efforts to directly address an issue, work with others in a community to solve a problem or interact with the institutions of representative democracy.⁹

The possibilities for citizen involvement are so broad and numerous that the idea of civic engagement encompasses a range of activities. Civic engagement might include everything from tutoring an underprivileged child to volunteering at a conservative think tank. In this book, we focus in particular on civic engagement that takes the form of **political engagement**—that is, citizen actions that are intended to solve public problems through political means. As you read this book, you will find that a variety of political actions are possible, from boycotting and *buycotting* (buying goods produced by companies whose policies you agree with) to running for office.

We hope that this book not only empowers you by teaching you about the institutions, policies, and processes of government but also inspires you to become civically and politically engaged. Today, many students choose to stick their toes into the waters of political activism by using the Internet—by following an elected official on Twitter, for example. You can take part in your democracy by joining a Facebook group advocating for an issue you care about, organizing a fund-raising event, signing an e-petition, joining a volunteer group, volunteering for a campaign, or even participating in a protest march, to name just a few of the many options available to you. Consider which potential volunteer activities pique your interest. Think about what might best suit your schedule, lifestyle, and personal and professional goals. By taking part, you will ensure that your voice is heard, and you will derive the satisfaction of knowing that your community and the nation benefit from your actions as well.

What Government Does

In this section, we look at the nature of government and the functions a government performs. **Government** is an institution that creates and implements the policy and laws that guide the conduct of a nation and its citizens. **Citizens** are

>One way individuals articulate their political views is through the products they purchase. In 2017, Proctor & Gamble created a stir with an ad called *The Talk*, in which African American mothers talk to their children about racial bias. The company paired the ads with a social media campaign encouraging everyone to #talkaboutbias. The ads were met with widespread support among many African Americans who identified with the theme of the ads, but critics, including the conservative-leaning *National Review*, characterized the ad as “identity-politics pandering.” Have you ever boycotted or buycotted a manufacturer because of your political views?

Source: BBDO NY for Proctor and Gamble

civic engagement

Individual and collective actions designed to identify and address issues of public concern.

political engagement

Citizen actions that are intended to solve public problems through political means.

government

The institution that creates and implements policy and laws that guide the conduct of the nation and its citizens.

citizens

Members of the polity who, through birth or naturalization, enjoy the rights, privileges, and responsibilities attached to membership in a given nation.

those members of a political community—town, city, state, or country—who, through birth or naturalization, enjoy the rights, privileges, and responsibilities attached to membership in a given nation. **Naturalization** is the process of becoming a citizen by means other than birth, as in the case of immigrants. Although governments vary widely in how well they perform, most national governments share some common functions.

To get a clear sense of the business of government, consider the following key functions performed by government in the United States and many other national governments:

- **To protect their sovereign territory and their citizenry and to provide national defense.** Governments protect their *sovereign territory* (that is, the territory over which they have the ultimate governing authority) and their citizens at home and abroad. Usually they carry out this responsibility by maintaining one or more types of armed services, but governments also provide for the national defense through counterterrorism efforts.

In the United States, the armed services include the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, and Coast Guard. Governments also preserve order domestically. In the United States, domestic order is preserved through the National Guard and federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies.

- **To preserve order and stability.** Governments also preserve order by providing emergency services and security in the wake of disasters. Governments also maintain stability by providing a political structure that has **legitimacy**: a quality conferred on government by citizens who believe that its exercise of power is right and proper.¹⁰
- **To establish and maintain a legal system.** Governments create legal structures by enacting and enforcing laws that restrict or ban certain behaviors. In the United States, the foundation of this legal structure is the federal Constitution.¹¹ Governments also provide the means to implement laws through the actions of local police and other state and national law enforcement agencies. By means of the court system, governments administer justice and impose penalties.
- **To provide services.** Governments distribute a wide variety of services to their citizens. In the United States, government agencies provide services ranging from inspecting the meat we consume to ensuring the safety of our workplaces. Federal, state, and local governments provide roads, bridges, transportation, education, and health services. They facilitate communication, commerce, air travel, and entertainment.

Many of the services governments provide are called **public goods** because their benefits, by their nature, cannot be limited to specific groups or individuals. For example, everyone enjoys national defense, equal access to clean air and clean water, airport security, highways, and other similar services. Because the value and the benefits of these goods are extended to everyone, government makes them available through revenue collected by taxes.

- **To raise and spend money.** All the services that governments provide, from national protection and defense to health care, cost money.¹² Governments at all levels spend money collected through taxes. Depending on personal income, between 25 and 35 cents of every dollar earned by those working in the United States and earning above a certain level goes toward federal, state, and local income taxes. Governments also tax *commodities* (commercially exchanged goods and services) in various ways—through sales taxes, property taxes, “sin” taxes, and luxury taxes.

naturalization

The process of becoming a citizen by means other than birth, as in the case of immigrants.

legitimacy

A quality conferred on government by citizens who believe that its exercise of power is right and proper.

public goods

Goods whose benefits cannot be limited and that are available to all.



> Children are socialized to the dominant political culture from a very early age. When children emulate police officers, for example, they begin the process of learning about the functions governments perform.

©Huntstock/AGE Fotostock

monarchy

Government in which a member of a royal family, usually a king or queen, has absolute authority over a territory and its government.

oligarchy

Government in which an elite few hold power.

democracy

Government in which supreme power of governance lies in the hands of its citizens.

totalitarianism

System of government in which the government essentially controls every aspect of people's lives.

authoritarianism

System of government in which the government holds strong powers but is checked by some forces.

- **To socialize new generations.** Governments play a role in *socialization*, the process by which individuals develop their political values and opinions. Governments perform this function, for example, by providing funding for schools, by establishing standards for curriculum, by introducing young people to the various “faces” of government (perhaps through a police officer’s visiting a school or a mayor’s bestowing an honor on a student), and by facilitating participation in civic life through institutions such as libraries, museums, and public parks. In these ways, governments transmit cultural norms and values such as patriotism and build commitment to fundamental values such as those we explore later in this chapter. For a detailed discussion of political socialization, see Chapter 6.

Types of Government

When social scientists categorize the different systems of government operating in the world today, two factors influence their classifications. The first factor is *who participates in governing or in selecting those who govern*. These participants vary as follows, depending on whether the government is a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy:

- In a **monarchy**, a member of a royal family, usually a king or a queen, has absolute authority over a territory and its government. Monarchies typically are inherited—they pass down from generation to generation. Most modern monarchies, such as those in Great Britain and Spain, are *constitutional monarchies*, in which the monarch plays a ceremonial role but has little say in governance, which is carried out by elected leaders. In contrast, in traditional monarchies, such as the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the monarch is both the ceremonial and the governmental head of state.
- In an **oligarchy**, an elite few hold power. Some oligarchies are *dictatorships*, in which a small group, such as a political party or a military junta, supports a dictator. North Korea is a present-day example of an oligarchy.
- In a **democracy**, the supreme power of governance lies in the hands of citizens. The United States and most other modern democracies are *republics*, sometimes called *representative democracies*, in which citizens elect leaders to represent their views. We discuss the republic form of government in Chapter 2.

When classifying governments, social scientists also consider *how governments function and how they are structured*:

- Governments that rule according to the principles of **totalitarianism** essentially control every aspect of their citizens’ lives. In these tyrannical governments, citizens enjoy neither rights nor freedoms, and the state is the tool of the dictator. Totalitarian regimes tend to center on a particular ideology, religion, or personality. North Korea is a contemporary example of a totalitarian regime.
- When a government rules by the principles of **authoritarianism**, it holds strong powers, but they are checked by other forces within the society. China and Cuba are examples of authoritarian states, because their leaders are restrained in their exercise of power by political parties, constitutions, and the military. Individuals living under an authoritarian regime may enjoy some rights, but often those rights are not protected by the government.

- **Constitutionalism**, a form of government structured by law, provides for **limited government**—a government that is restricted in what it can do so that the rights of the people are protected. Constitutional governments can be democracies or monarchies. In the United States, the federal Constitution created the governmental structure, and this system of government reflects both the historical experiences and the norms and values of the founders.

The Constitution's framers (authors) structured American government as a *constitutional democracy*. In this type of government, a constitution creates a representative democracy in which the rights of the people are protected. We can trace the roots of this modern constitutional democracy back to ancient times.

constitutionalism

Government that is structured by law, and in which the power of government is limited.

limited government

Government that is restricted in what it can do so that the rights of the people are protected.

The Origins of American Democracy

The ancient Greeks first developed the concept of a democracy. The Greeks used the term *demokratia* (literally, “people power”) to describe some of the 1,500 *poleis* (“city-states”; also the root of *politics*) on the Black and the Mediterranean Seas. These city-states were not democracies in the modern sense of the term, but the way they were governed provided the philosophical origins of American democracy. For example, citizens decided public issues using majority rule in many of the city-states. However, in contrast to modern democracies, the Greek city-states did not count women as citizens. The Greeks also did not count slaves as citizens. American democracy also traces some of its roots to the Judeo-Christian tradition and the English common law, particularly the ideas that thrived during the Protestant Reformation.¹³

Democracy's Origins in Popular Protest: The Influence of the Reformation and the Enlightenment

We can trace the seeds of the idea of modern democracy almost as far back as the concept of monarchy—back to several centuries ago, when the kings and emperors who ruled in Europe claimed that they reigned by divine sanction, or God's will. The monarchs' claims reflected the political theory of the **divine right of kings**, articulated by Jacques-Benigne Bossuet (1627–1704), who argued that monarchies, as a manifestation of God's will, could rule absolutely without regard to the will or well-being of their subjects. Challenging the right of a monarch to govern or questioning one of his or her decisions thus represented a challenge to the will of God.

divine right of kings

The assertion that monarchies, as a manifestation of God's will, could rule absolutely without regard to the will or well-being of their subjects.

At odds with the theory of the divine right of kings was the idea that people could challenge the Crown and the church—institutions that seemed all-powerful. This idea took hold during the Protestant Reformation, a movement to reform the Catholic Church. In October 1517, Martin Luther, a German monk who would later found the Lutheran Church, affixed his *95 Theses*, criticizing the harmful practices of the Catholic Church, to the church at Wittenberg Castle. The Reformation continued throughout the sixteenth century, during which time reform-minded Protestants (whose name is derived from *protest*) challenged basic tenets of Catholicism and sought to *purify* the church.

In England, some extreme Protestants, known as Puritans, thought that the Reformation had not gone far enough in reforming the church. Puritans asserted their right to communicate directly with God through prayer rather than through an intermediary such as a priest. This idea that an individual could speak directly with God lent support to the notion that the people could govern themselves. Faced with persecution in England, congregations of Puritans, known to us today



> In his scientific work, Sir Isaac Newton demonstrated the power of science to explain phenomena in the natural world and discredited prevalent ideas based on magic and superstition. Newton's ideas laid the foundation for the political philosophers of the Enlightenment.

©Pixtal/AGE Fotostock

social contract

An agreement between people and their leaders in which the people agree to give up some liberties so that their other liberties are protected.

natural law

The assertion that standards that govern human behavior are derived from the nature of humans themselves and can be applied universally.

popular sovereignty

The theory that government is created by the people and depends on the people for the authority to rule.

as the Pilgrims, fled to America, where they established self-governing colonies, a radical notion at the time. Before the Pilgrims reached shore in 1620, they drew up the Mayflower Compact, an example of a **social contract**—an agreement between people and their leaders, whereby the people give up some liberties so that their other liberties will be protected. In the Mayflower Compact, the Pilgrims agreed to be governed by the structure of government they formed, thereby establishing the idea of consent of the governed.

In the late seventeenth century came the early beginnings of the Enlightenment, a philosophical movement that stressed the importance of individuality, reason, and scientific endeavor. Enlightenment scientists such as Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) drastically changed how people thought about the universe and the world around them, including government. Newton's work in physics, astronomy, math, and mechanics demonstrated the power of science and repudiated prevalent ideas based on magic and superstition. Newton's ideas about **natural law**, the assertion that the laws that govern human behavior are derived from the nature of humans themselves and can be applied universally, laid the foundation for the ideas of the political philosophers of the Enlightenment.

The Modern Political Philosophy of Hobbes and Locke

The difficulty of individual survival under the rule of an absolute monarch is portrayed in British philosopher Thomas Hobbes's book *Leviathan* (1651). Hobbes (1588–1679), who believed in the righteousness of absolute monarchies, argued that the strong naturally prey on the weak and that through a social contract, individuals who relinquish their rights can enjoy the protection offered by a sovereign. Without such a social contract and without an absolute monarch, Hobbes asserted, anarchy prevails, describing this state as one lived in “continual feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short.”¹⁴

John Locke (1632–1704) took Hobbes's reasoning concerning a social contract one step further. In the first of his *Two Treatises on Civil Government* (1689), Locke systematically rejected the notion that the rationale for the divine right of kings is based on scripture. By providing a theoretical basis for discarding the idea of a monarch's divine right to rule, Locke paved the way for more radical notions about the rights of individuals and the role of government. In the second *Treatise*, Locke argued that individuals possess certain unalienable (or natural) rights, which he identified as the rights to life, liberty, and property, ideas that would prove pivotal in shaping Thomas Jefferson's articulation of the role of government and the rights of individuals found in the Declaration of Independence. Locke, and later Jefferson, stressed that these rights are inherent in people as individuals; that is, government can neither bestow them nor take them away. When people enter into a social contract, Locke said, they do so with the understanding that the government will protect their natural rights. At the same time, according to Locke, they agree to accept the government's authority; but if the government fails to protect the inherent rights of individuals, the people have the right to rebel.

The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) took Locke's notion further, stating that governments formed by social contract rely on **popular sovereignty**, the theory that government is created by the people and depends on

the people for the authority to rule. **Social contract theory**, which assumes that individuals possess free will and that every individual possesses the God-given right of self-determination and the ability to consent to be governed, would eventually form the theoretical framework of the Declaration of Independence.

The Creation of the United States as an Experiment in Representative Democracy

The American colonists who eventually rebelled against Great Britain and who became the citizens of the first 13 states were shaped by their experiences of living under European monarchies. Many rejected the ideas of absolute rule and the divine right of kings, which had been central to rationalizing the monarchs' authority. The logic behind the rejection of the divine right of kings—the idea that monarchs were not chosen by God—was that people could govern themselves.

In New England, where many colonists settled after fleeing England to escape religious persecution, a form of **direct democracy**, a structure of government in which citizens discuss and decide policy through majority rule, emerged in *town meetings* (which still take place today). In every colony, the colonists themselves decided who was eligible to participate in government, and so in some localities, women and people of color who owned property participated in government well before they were granted formal voting rights under amendments to the federal Constitution.

Beyond the forms of direct democracy prevalent in the New England colonies, nearly all the American colonies had councils structured according to the principle of representative democracy, sometimes called **indirect democracy**, in which citizens elect representatives who decide policies on their behalf. These representative democracies foreshadow important political values that founders such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison would incorporate into key founding documents, including the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Political Culture and American Values

American democracy rests on a set of ideals rooted in the founding of our republic—concepts of liberty, freedom, and equality that were born of the Enlightenment. These and other core values—capitalism; consent of the governed; and the importance of the individual, family, and community—shape our beliefs about government and inform our views as we react and reconsider our values and beliefs in our dynamic, rapidly changing society. While the importance we place on certain ideals may ebb and flow—for example, in an age of terrorism, some might weigh security more important than liberty—nonetheless, their underpinnings remain constant. These ideals are part of American

social contract theory

The idea that individuals possess free will, and every individual is equally endowed with the God-given right of self-determination and the ability to consent to be governed.

direct democracy

A structure of government in which citizens discuss and decide policy through majority rule.

indirect democracy

Sometimes called a *representative democracy*, a system in which citizens elect representatives who decide policies on behalf of their constituents.



> Thomas Jefferson's ideas about the role of government shaped the United States for generations to come. In 2008, descendants of Thomas Jefferson, including those he fathered with his slave, Sally Hemings, who was also his wife's half-sister, posed for a group photo at his plantation, Monticello, in Charlottesville, Virginia.

©Paul J. Richards/AFP/Getty Images

political culture

The people's collective beliefs and attitudes about government and political processes.

political culture—the people's collective beliefs and attitudes about government and the political process. Individuals' differing perception of these core values—and how they weight the importance of each—affects not only the relationship citizens have with their federal government, but also the relationship they have with each other. Indeed, much of the political division seen in recent times in the United States lies in individuals' differing concepts of our core values and the relative importance of these values.

Liberty

liberty

The most essential quality of American democracy; it is both the freedom from governmental interference in citizens' lives and the freedom to pursue happiness.

The most essential quality of American democracy, **liberty** is both freedom from government interference in our lives (limited government) and freedom to pursue happiness. Many of the colonies that eventually became the United States were founded by people who were interested in one notion of liberty: religious freedom. Those who fought in the War of Independence were intent on obtaining economic and political freedom. The framers of the Constitution added to the structure of the U.S. government many other liberties,¹⁵ including freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of association.¹⁶

Throughout history and to the present day, liberties have often conflicted with efforts by the government to ensure a secure and stable society by exerting restraints on liberties. When government officials infringe on personal liberties, they often do so in the name of security, arguing that such measures are necessary to protect the rights of other individuals, institutions (including the government itself), or society as a whole. Such was the case when it was revealed that the National Security Agency had recorded information about 125 million cell phone communications in a 30-day period in 2013, including 3 million communications originating in the United States.

The meaning of liberty—how we define our freedoms—is constantly evolving. Today, technological innovation prompts new questions about individual privacy, including what information the government should be privy to. Should the government be permitted to collect metadata—data about communications data (the length of calls, for example)—of members of suspected terror cells? Should government officials be able to monitor phone calls and text messages to individuals in these cells? What if that person is suspected of plotting a terrorist attack—should officers be required to obtain a warrant first in that situation? Should law enforcement officers be allowed to track a person's movements using GPS (Global Positioning System) if that person is suspected of a crime? Or should they be required to get a warrant first? What if one of the suspected plotters is not a U.S. citizen?

Equality

The Declaration of Independence states that “all men are created equal...” But the founders' notions of equality were vastly different from those that prevail today. Their ideas of equality evolved from the emphasis the ancient Greeks placed on equality of opportunity. The Greeks envisioned a merit-based system in which educated freemen could participate in democratic government rather than inheriting their positions as a birthright. The Judeo-Christian religions also emphasize the idea of equality. All three major world religions—Christianity, Judaism, and Islam—stress that all people are equal in the eyes of God. These notions of equality informed both Jefferson's assertion about equality in the Declaration of Independence and, later, the framers' structuring of the U.S. government in the Constitution.¹⁷

The idea of equality evolved during the 19th and 20th centuries. In the early American republic, all women, as well as all men of color, were denied fundamental

rights, including the right to vote. Through long, painful struggles—including the abolition movement to free enslaved people; the suffrage movement to gain women the right to vote; various immigrants' rights movements; and later the civil rights, Native American rights, and women's rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Chapter 5)—members of these disenfranchised groups won the rights previously denied to them. Several groups are still engaged in the struggle for legal equality today, notably those that advocate for equality in the criminal justice and legal systems, including groups that fight for the rights of transgender, bisexual, gay, and lesbian individuals, and of immigrants.

Beyond these questions of legal equality, today many arguments focus on issues of economic equality, a concept about which there is substantial disagreement. Many people in the United States believe that the government should do more to eliminate disparities in wealth—by taxing wealthy people more heavily than others, for example, or by providing more subsidies and services to the poor. Others disagree, however, and argue that although people should have equal opportunities for economic achievement, their attainment of that success should depend on factors such as education and hard work, and that success should be determined in the marketplace rather than through government intervention.

Capitalism

Although the founders valued the notion of equality, capitalism was enormously important to them. **Capitalism** is an economic system in which the means of producing wealth are privately owned and operated to produce profits. In a pure capitalist economy, the marketplace determines the regulation of production, the distribution of goods and services, wages, and prices. In this type of economy, for example, businesses pay employees the wage that they are willing to work for, without the government's setting a minimum wage by law. Although capitalism is an important value in American democracy, the U.S. government imposes certain regulations on the economy. For example, it mandates a minimum wage, regulates and inspects goods and services, and imposes tariffs on imports and taxes on domestically produced goods that have an impact on pricing.

One key component of capitalism is **property**—anything that can be owned. There are various kinds of property: businesses, homes, farms, the material items we use every day, and even ideas are considered property. Property holds such a prominent position in American culture that it is considered a natural right, and the Constitution protects some aspects of property ownership.

capitalism

An economic system in which the means of producing wealth are privately owned and operated to produce profits.

property

anything that can be owned

Consent of the Governed

The idea that, in a democracy, the government's power derives from the consent of the people is called the **consent of the governed**. As we have seen, this concept, a focal point of the rebellious American colonists and eloquently expressed in Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, is based on John Locke's idea of a social contract. Implicit in Locke's social contract is the principle that the people agree to the government's authority, and if the government no longer has the consent of the governed, the people have the right to revolt.

The concept of consent of the governed also implies **majority rule**—the principle that, in a democracy, only policies with 50 percent plus one vote are enacted. Governments based on majority rule include the idea that the majority has the right of self-governance and typically also protect the rights of people in the minority. A particular question about this ideal of governing by the consent of

consent of the governed

The idea that, in a democracy, the government's power derives from the consent of the people.

majority rule

The idea that in a democracy, only policies with 50 percent plus one vote are enacted, and only candidates that win 50 percent plus one vote are elected.

the governed has important implications for the United States in the early 21st century: Can a democracy remain stable and legitimate if less than a majority of its citizens participate in elections?

Individual, Family, and Community

Emphasis on the individual is a preeminent feature of American democratic thought. In the Constitution, rights are bestowed on, and exercised by, the individual. The importance of the individual—an independent, hearty entity exercising self-determination—has powerfully shaped the development of the United States, both geographically and politically.

Family and community have also played central roles in the U.S. political culture, both historically and in the present day. A child first learns political behavior from his or her family, and in this way the family serves to perpetuate the political culture. From the earliest colonial settlements to Snapchat today, communities have channeled individuals’ political participation. Indeed, the intimate relationship between individualism and community life is reflected in the First Amendment of the Constitution, which ensures individuals’ freedom of assembly—one component of which is their right to form or join any type of organization, political party, or club without penalty.

Ideology: A Prism for Viewing American Democracy

Besides focusing on the demographic characteristics of the U.S. population, we can also analyze political events and trends by looking at them through the prism of ideology. **Political ideology** is an integrated system of ideas or beliefs about political values in general and the role of government in particular (see “Analyzing the Sources”). Political ideology provides a framework for thinking about politics, about policy issues, and about the role of government in society. In the United States, one key component of various ideologies is the *extent* to which adherents believe that the government should have a role in people’s everyday lives. Table 1.1 summarizes the key ideologies we consider in this section.

political ideology
An integrated system of ideas or beliefs about political values in general and the role of government in particular.

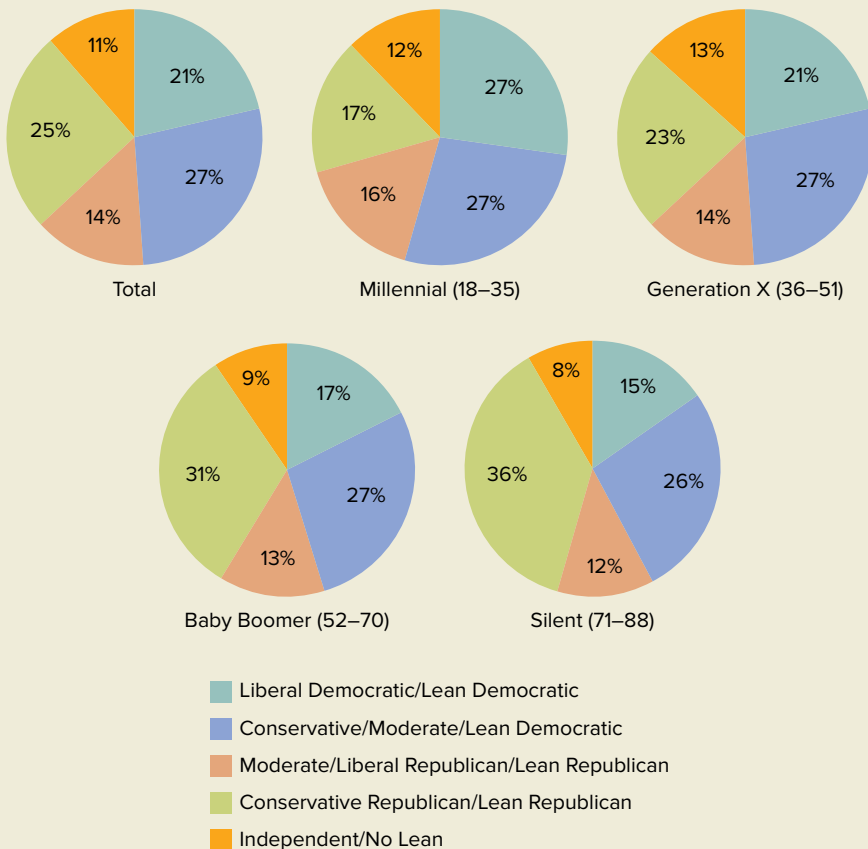
TABLE 1.1 The Traditional Ideological Spectrum

	SOCIALISM	LIBERALISM	MIDDLE OF ROAD (MODERATE)	CONSERVATISM	LIBERTARIANISM
GOAL OF GOVERNMENT	Equality	Equality of opportunity; protection of fundamental liberties	Nondiscrimination in opportunity; protection of some economic freedoms; security; stability	Traditional values; order; stability; economic freedom	Absolute economic and social freedom
ROLE OF GOVERNMENT	Strong government control of economy	Government action to promote opportunity	Government action to balance the wants of workers and businesses; government fosters stability	Government action to protect and bolster capitalist system; few limitations on fundamental rights	No governmental regulations of economy; no limitations on fundamental rights

A NATION DIVIDED?

The figure below shows the ideological affiliation of generations of Americans.

Percentage of each generation who are . . .



SOURCE: Pew Research Center

Practice Analytical Thinking

1. Contrast the ideological affiliations of Millennials and Gen Xers compared with Boomers and the Silent Generation. What is the major difference between these two groups?
2. Historically, Baby Boomers were known to be a liberal generation, but like previous generations, they became more conservative as they have grown older. In addition, initial data indicate that the generation following Millennials—Generation Z—is more conservative than Millennials. Given these trends, analyze what you believe this distribution will look like in 10 years.
3. In the United States, most large cities tend to vote Democratic (liberal), while rural areas are more Republican (conservative). With these facts in mind, can you make any deductions about specific areas where Millennials are most likely to live? What about members of the Silent Generation?

Liberalism

Modern **liberalism** in the United States is associated with the ideas of liberty and political equality; its advocates favor change in the social, political, and economic realms to better protect the well-being of individuals and to produce equality within society. They emphasize the importance of civil liberties, including freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, as outlined in the Bill of Rights. Modern liberals also advocate the separation of church and state, often opposing measures that bring religion into the public realm, such as prayer in the public schools. In addition, they support political equality, advocating contemporary movements that

liberalism

An ideology that advocates change in the social, political, and economic realms to better protect the well-being of individuals and to produce equality within society.

promote the political rights of gay and lesbian couples and voting rights for the disenfranchised.

The historical roots of modern liberalism reach back to the ideals of classical liberalism: freedom of thought and the free exchange of ideas, limited governmental authority, the consent of the governed, the rule of law in society, the importance of an unfettered market economy, individual initiative as a determinant of success, and access to free public education. These also were some of the founding ideals that shaped American democracy as articulated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

Modern liberalism, which emerged in the early 20th century, diverged from its classical roots in a number of ways. Most important, modern liberals expect the government to play a more active role in ensuring political equality and economic opportunity. Whereas classical liberals emphasized the virtues of a free market economy, modern liberals, particularly after the Great Depression that began in 1929, advocated government involvement in economic affairs. Today, we see this expectation in action when liberals call for prioritizing economic policies that benefit the poor and middle class, including job creation and tax policies. In modern times, liberals also are likely to advocate for universal health care; increases in social welfare programs such as Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid; and government regulation of business and workplace conditions.

Conservatism

conservatism

An ideology that emphasizes preserving tradition and relying on community and family as mechanisms of continuity in society.

Advocates of **conservatism** recognize the importance of preserving tradition—of maintaining the status quo, or keeping things the way they are. Conservatives emphasize community and family as mechanisms of continuity in society. Ironically, some modern conservative ideals are consistent with the views of classical liberalism. In particular, the emphasis on individual initiative, the rule of law, limited governmental authority, and an unfettered market economy are key components of both classical liberalism and contemporary conservatism.

Traditionally, one of the key differences between modern liberals and conservatives has been their view of the role of government in regulating the marketplace and addressing social issues. In fact, one of the best ways of determining your own ideology is to ask yourself, “To what extent should the government be involved in people’s everyday lives?” Modern liberals believe that the government should play a role in ensuring the public’s well-being, whether through the regulation of industry or the economy, through antidiscrimination laws, or by providing an economic “safety net” for the neediest members of society. By contrast, conservatives believe that government should play a more limited role in people’s everyday lives. They think that government should have a smaller role in regulating business and industry and that market forces, rather than the government, should largely determine economic policy. Conservatives believe that families, faith-based groups, and private charities should be more responsible for protecting the neediest and the government less so. When governments must act, conservatives prefer decentralized action by state governments rather than a nationwide federal policy.

Other Ideologies on a Traditional Spectrum: Socialism and Libertarianism

Although liberals and conservatives dominate the U.S. political landscape, other ideologies reflect the views of some Americans. In general, those ideologies tend

to be more extreme than liberalism or conservatism. Advocates of certain of these ideologies call for *more* governmental intervention than modern liberalism does, and supporters of other views favor even *less* governmental interference than conservatism does.

For example, **socialism**—an ideology that stresses economic equality, theoretically achieved by having the government or workers own the means of production (businesses and industry)—lies to the left of liberalism on the political spectrum.¹⁸ Socialists play a very limited role in modern American politics, though 2016 Democratic presidential candidate Bernie Sanders, who identifies himself as a “democratic socialist,” brought new focus to this ideology’s ideals, which were once more prominent in American politics.¹⁹ In the early part of the 20th century, socialists had a good deal of electoral success, electing two members of Congress, more than 70 mayors of cities of various sizes, and numerous state legislators.

According to **libertarianism**, in contrast, government should take a “hands-off” approach in most matters. This ideology can be found to the right of conservatism on a traditional ideological spectrum. Libertarians believe that the less government intervention, the better. They chafe at attempts by the government to foster economic equality or to promote a social agenda, whether that agenda is the equality espoused by liberals or the traditional values espoused by conservatives. Libertarians strongly support the rights of property owners and a *laissez-faire* (French for “let it be”) capitalist economy.

socialism

An ideology that advocates economic equality, theoretically achieved by having the government or workers own the means of production (businesses and industry).

libertarianism

An ideology whose advocates believe that government should take a “hands off” approach in most matters.

A Multidimensional Political Model

A one-dimensional ideological continuum is limited, however, because it sometimes fails to reflect the complexity of many individuals’ views. For example, although an individual may believe that government should play a strong role in regulating the economy, he or she may also believe that the government should allow citizens a high degree of personal freedom of speech or religion. Even the traditional ideologies do not always fit easily into a single continuum that measures the extent to which the government should play a role in citizens’ lives. Liberals supposedly advocate a larger role for the government. But although this may be the case in matters related to economic equality, liberals generally take a more *laissez-faire* approach when it comes to personal liberties, advocating strongly for privacy and free speech. And although conservatives support less governmental intervention in the economy, they sometimes advocate government action to promote traditional values, such as constitutional amendments to ban gay marriage, flag burning, and abortion and laws that mandate prayer in public schools.

Scholars have developed various *multidimensional scales* that attempt to represent people’s ideologies more accurately.²⁰ Many of these scales measure people’s opinions on the proper role of government in the economy—whether the government should act aggressively to ensure economic equality (fiscal liberalism) or prioritize a hands-off approach to the economy (social conservatism) on one axis and their beliefs about personal freedom on social issues on a second axis. These scales demonstrate that traditional liberals and traditional conservatives believe in social liberty and economic equality, and economic liberty and social conservatism, respectively. But the scale also acknowledges that some people prioritize economic equality and social order, whereas others embrace economic liberty and social order.

Ideology is one of the most important factors influencing people’s belief structure about the types of issues they prioritize and the solutions they see to various policy challenges. But ideology alone does not explain priorities and preferred

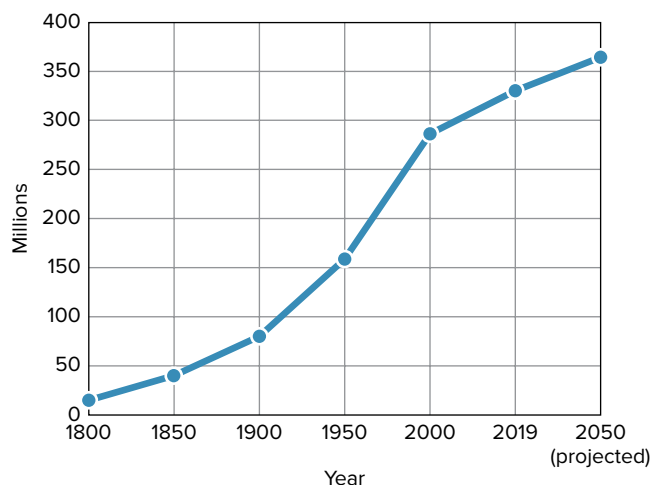


FIGURE 1.2 ■ Growth of the U.S. Population from 1800 to 2050 The U.S. population increased gradually, and it did not reach 100 million until the second decade of the 20th century. What factors caused the steep rise during the 20th century? How will these forces continue to affect the size of the U.S. population during this century?

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau.

solutions. Also important are the characteristics of who we are, as these characteristics often make us more likely to identify certain issues as important, or render us more likely to favor one policy solution over another.

The Changing Face of American Democracy

Figure 1.2 shows how the U.S. population has grown since the first census in 1790. At that point, there were fewer than 4 million Americans. By 2019, the U.S. population had reached more than 330 million.

Immigrants have always been part of the country's population growth, and over the centuries they have made innumerable contributions to American life and culture.²¹ Immigrants from lands all around the world have faced the kinds of struggles that today's undocumented immigrants encounter. And efforts to improve the lot of immigrant populations are not new either: Chinese Americans, for example, were instrumental in pioneering the West and completing the construction of the transcontinental rail-

road in the mid-19th century, but the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1881 prevented them from becoming U.S. citizens. Faced with the kinds of persecution that today would be considered hate crimes, Chinese Americans used civil disobedience to fight against the so-called Dog Tag Laws that required them to carry registration cards. In one incident, in 1885, they fought back against unruly mobs that drove them out of the town of Eureka, California, by suing the city for reparations and compensation.²²

A Population That Is Growing—and on the Move

Between the 1960 census and the Census Bureau's 2017 Population Estimates, the population of the United States increased by more than 50 percent. As the population increases, measures of who the American people are and what percentage of each demographic group makes up the population have significant implications for the policies, priorities, values, and preferred forms of civic and political participation of the people. All the factors contributing to U.S. population growth—including immigration, the birth rate, falling infant mortality rates, and longer life spans—influence both politics and policy.

Accompanying the increase in population over the years has been a shift in the places where people live. Figure 1.3 shows that much of the population in the United States is concentrated in just a few densely populated areas: the Northeast, the Great Lake states, the Carolinas, Florida, Texas, and California. Between 2000 and 2010, the South and West accounted for 84 percent of the country's increase in population. Though not shown in Figure 1.3, census data indicates that many of the states in the Midwest are facing an out-migration of population, particularly of younger residents who are moving to metropolitan areas seeking employment. Over the past 10 years, all of the 10 most populous metropolitan areas grew, as

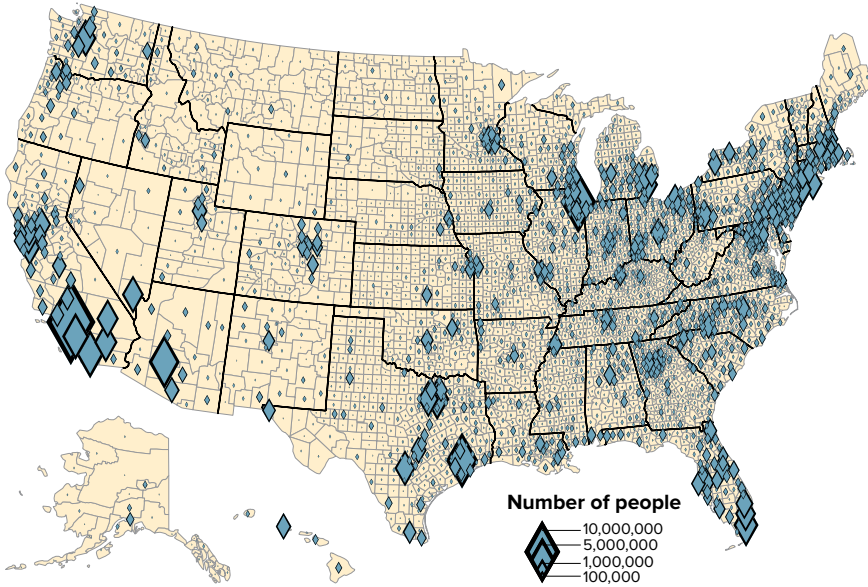


FIGURE 1.3 ■ Population Distribution by County The area of each diamond symbol is proportioned by the number of people in a county. The legend presents example symbol sizes from the many symbols shown on the map. Where are the largest population centers in the United States? What areas have comparatively sparse population?

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau.

did 9 of the 10 most populous cities. In part of the rural Midwest, though, some of this out-migration is counterbalanced by migration into these areas by families and retirees attracted by the comparatively low cost of living characteristic of such places.

An Aging Population

As the U.S. population increases and favors new places of residence, it is also aging. Figure 1.4 shows the distribution of the population by age and by sex as a series of three pyramids for three different years. The 2000 pyramid shows the “muffin top” of the Baby Boomers, who were 36–55 years old in that year. A quarter century later, the echo boom of the Millennials, who will be between the ages of 30 and 55 in 2025, is clearly visible. The pyramid evens out and thickens by 2050, showing the effects of increased population growth and the impact of extended longevity, with a large number of people (women, in particular) expected to live to the age of 85 and older.

Some areas of the United States are well-known meccas for older Americans. For example, the reputation of Florida and the Southwest as the premier retirement destinations in the United States is well-earned, and many senior citizens also reside in a broad north-south band that runs down the United States’ midsection. Older people are concentrated in the Midwest and Plains states because of the high levels of out-migration from these areas by younger Americans, who are leaving their parents behind to look for opportunity elsewhere.

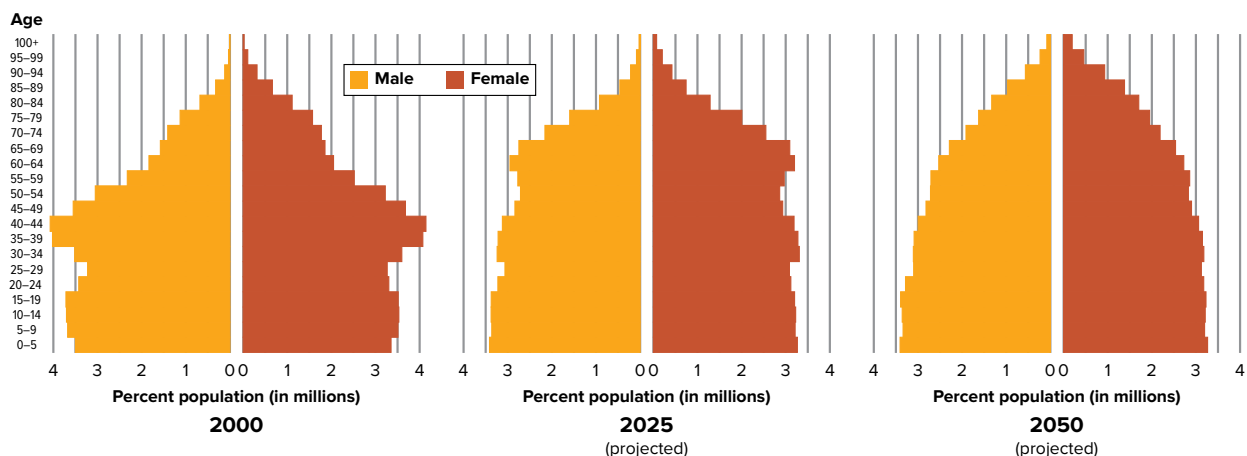


FIGURE 1.4 ■ The Aging U.S. Population, 2000–2050 What effect will the changing age distribution of the U.S. population have on demand for services in 2025? In 2050? Given what you know about the racial composition of the Millennial generation, what will that mean for the racial composition of the U.S. population as it ages?

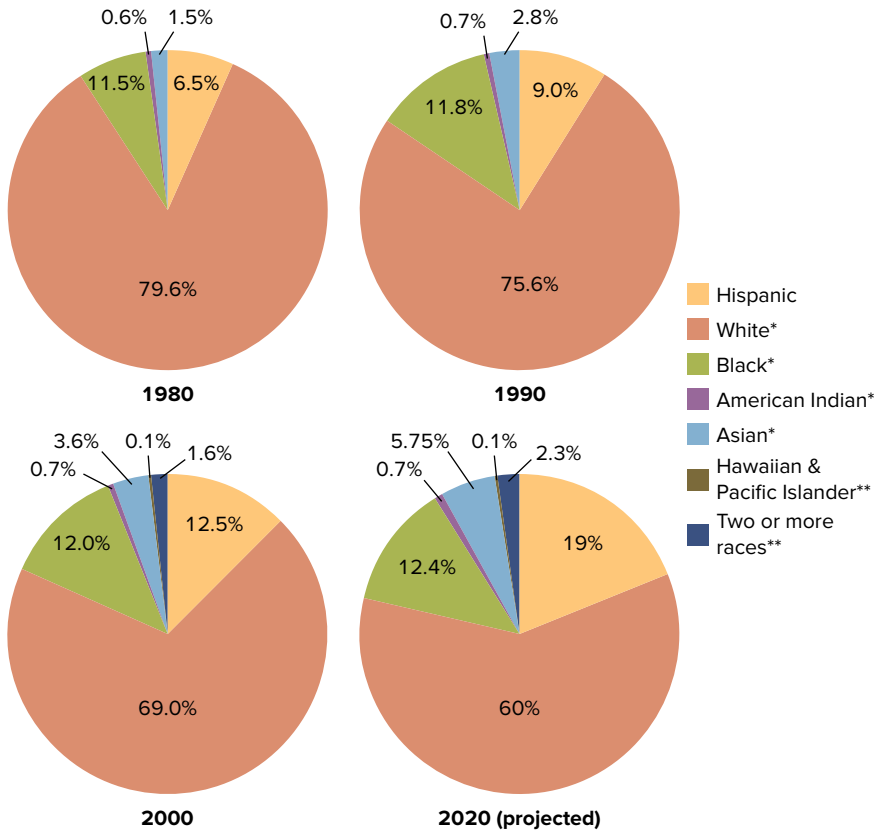
SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau.

A Changing Complexion: Race and Ethnicity in the United States Today

The population of the United States is becoming not only older but also more racially and ethnically diverse. Today, non-Hispanic whites constitute a majority of the population, with 62 percent of Americans identifying themselves as “white alone.” But according to the Census Bureau, by 2060, non-Hispanic whites will be only 44 percent of the U.S. population. Figure 1.5 shows the racial and ethnic composition of the U.S. population over time. Notice that Hispanics* now make up a greater proportion of the U.S. population than do blacks. As Figure 1.5 also shows, this trend has been continuous over the past several decades. Figure 1.5 also indicates that the percentage of Asian Americans has more than doubled in recent decades, from just over 2 percent of the U.S. population in 1980 to nearly 6 percent today, and is projected to increase to 12 percent by 2060. The Native American population remains just below 1 percent of the whole population. Figure 1.5 also shows the proportion of people reporting that they belonged to two or more racial groups—2.3 percent of the population today. This category was not an option on the census questionnaire until 2000, and the population proportion of this group has nearly doubled since that time. It will double again to over 6 percent by 2060. The increasing diversity of the U.S. population can be seen too in the Census Bureau’s population projections: by 2044, more than half of all Americans will belong to a minority group (any group other than non-Hispanic white alone); and by 2060, nearly one in five of the nation’s total population will be foreign born.²³

* A note about terminology: When discussing data for various races and ethnicities to make comparisons, we use the terms *black* and *Hispanic* because these labels are typically used in measuring demographics by the U.S. Census Bureau and other organizations that collect this type of data. In more descriptive writing that is not comparative, we use the terms *African American* and *Latino* and *Latina*, which are the preferred terms at this time. Although the terms *Latino* and *Latina* exclude Americans who came from Spain (or whose ancestors did), these people compose a very small proportion of this population in the United States.

Evaluating the Facts



*Non-Hispanic only; in 1980 and 1990 "Asians" included Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders.

**Option available for the first time in 2000 census.

FIGURE 1.5 ■ Population by Race, 1980–2020 Describe the general trend regarding the racial distribution of the U.S. population. Analyze whether you believe this trend will continue or whether it will change in some way. Why?

SOURCES: Social Science Data Analysis Network, University of Michigan; and U.S. Census Bureau.

As Figures 1.6 and 1.7 show, minority populations tend to be concentrated in different areas of the United States. Figure 1.6 shows the concentration of non-Hispanic African Americans. At over 13 percent of the population, African Americans are the largest racial minority in the United States. (Hispanics are an ethnic minority.) As the map illustrates, the African American population tends to be centered in urban areas and in the South, where, in some counties, African Americans constitute a majority of the population.

Hispanics, in contrast, historically have tended to cluster in Texas, Arizona, and California along the border between the United States and Mexico and in the urban centers of New Mexico (as shown in Figure 1.7), but recent years have seen significant growth in the number of Hispanics living in the South. Since 2000, there have been sizable increases in Hispanic populations in Florida and the Northeast as well. Hispanics are the fastest-growing ethnic group in the United States, with over 17 percent of the U.S. population identifying themselves as Hispanic in 2014, an increase of over 180 percent since 1980. By 2060, the Hispanic population is projected to grow to nearly 120 million, a 115 percent increase from today. Among