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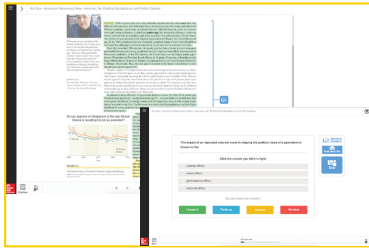


AMERICAN DEMOCRACY NOW

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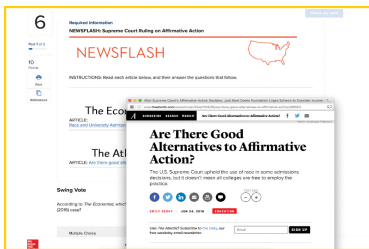
SIXTH EDITION

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:



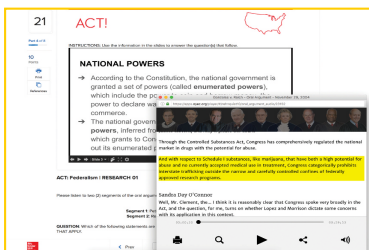
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Described as a “textbook for the 21st century” by a political scientist, SmartBook gives students a road map to success through an adaptive reading experience that changes the way students read. It creates a personalized, interactive reading environment 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.



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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.



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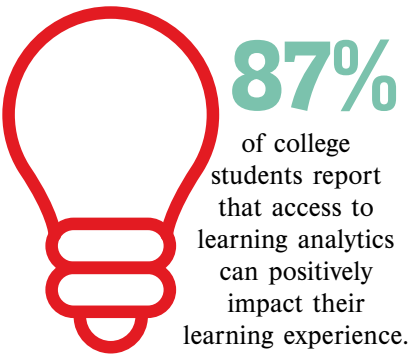
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Expanded to now include audio, Concept Clips are engaging videos that walk students through the more difficult concepts in the American government course (such as the Electoral College, Supreme Court procedures, or how to evaluate a public opinion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



Podcasts

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90%

More time on active learning


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

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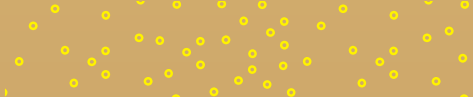
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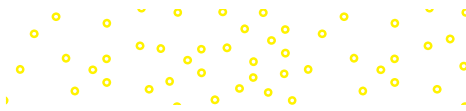
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AMERICAN DEMOCRACY NOW: SIXTH EDITION

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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 Shaqiri*

Lead Content Licensing Specialist: *Carrie Burger*

Cover Image: ©*Trevor Carpenter/Getty Images*

Compositor: *Aptara®*, Inc.

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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.

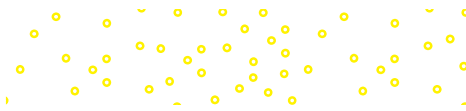
Description: Sixth Edition. | New York : McGraw-Hill Education, [2019]

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://lccn.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.



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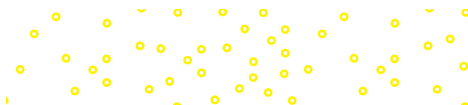
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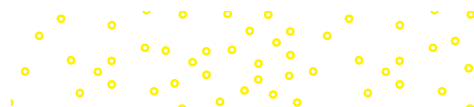
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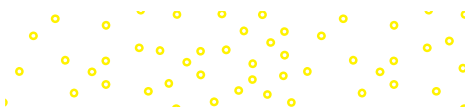
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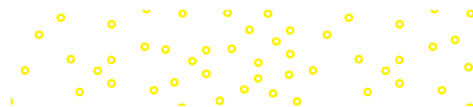
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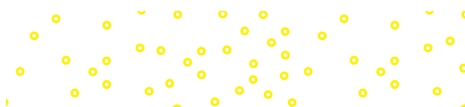
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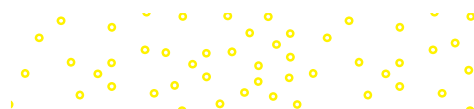
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GLOSSARY G

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*.

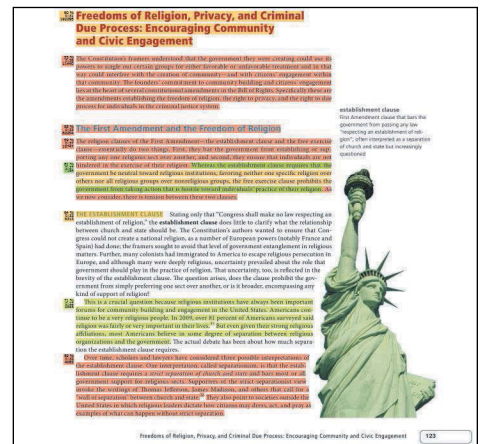
STEP 2. The data from SmartBook were provided to the authors in the form of a **Heat Map**, which graphically illustrated “hot spots” in the text that affected student learning (see image to left).

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.

 SMARTBOOK™

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.

The screenshot shows a web page titled "GOVERNMENT PODCASTS". At the top, it says "Required Information" and "Autocracies, and Oligarchies, and Democracies, Oh My (12 min)". Below this is a large heading "GOVERNMENT PODCASTS". There are instructions: "INSTRUCTIONS: Please listen to the podcast in order to...". The podcast source is listed as "Civics 101" with the episode title "Autocracies, and Oligarchies, and Democracies, Oh My" and a total length of 12 minutes. A disclaimer states that the website is not endorsed by McGraw-Hill Education. Below the disclaimer, there is a section titled "Combination Government" with a sub-heading "According to the Civics 101 podcast, an example of combination". This section contains a multiple-choice question: "Multiple Choice" with two options: "an oligarchy." and "a monarchy." To the right of the text is a podcast player interface for "Civics 101 Episode 37: Autocracies and Oligarchies and...". The player shows a play button, a progress bar, and a "DOWNLOAD TRANSCRIPT" button. At the bottom right, there is a form with the text: "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 policymakers, 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.

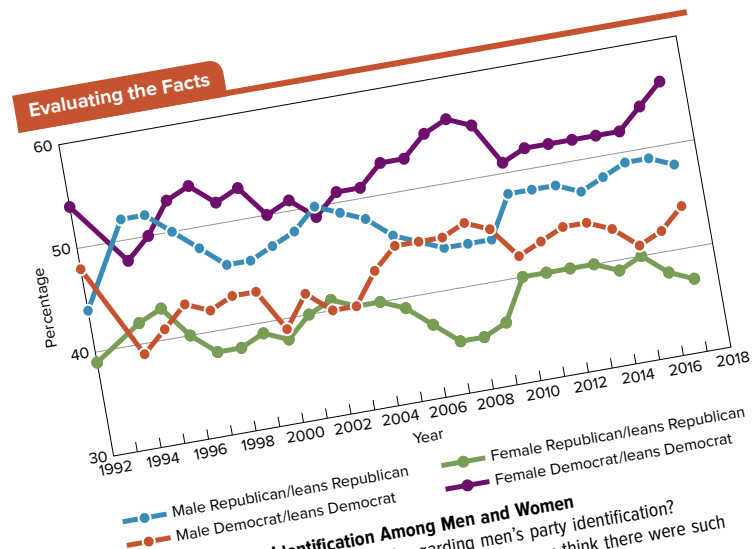


FIGURE 6.3 Party Identification Among Men and Women

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.

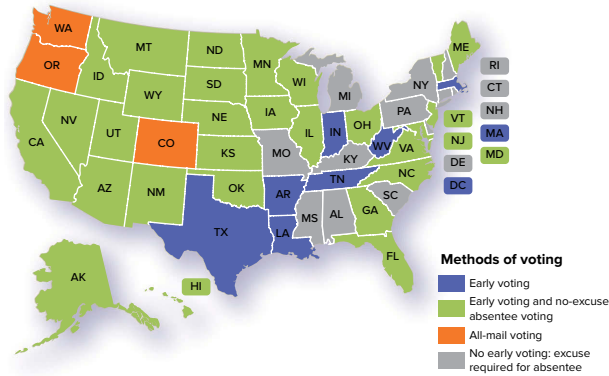


FIGURE 9.2 ■ Methods of Voting in the States What is the most prevalent available form of voting in the states? Where do we find the strictest voting laws? What effect would the available method of voting have on voter turnout?

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

- 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*.

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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*
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Robert De Luna, *Saint Philips College*
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Hien Do, *San Jose State University*
Kevin Dockerty, *Kalamazoo Valley Community College*
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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*
Kahlil 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, *Waubonsee 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*
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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*

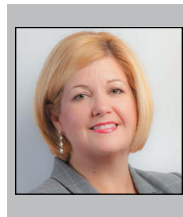
Personal Acknowledgments

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.

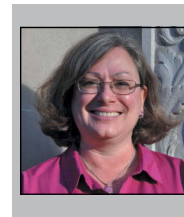
For their patience, understanding, and support, the authors also wish to thank: Paul Meilak; Caroline, Alexandra, and John Harrison; Rosemary Fitzgerald; Patricia Jillard; Kathleen Cain; John Callahan; Teresa Biebel; Thomas Callahan; Michael Harris; Audrey Wahl and the Wahl “girls”—Eileen Choynowski, 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.

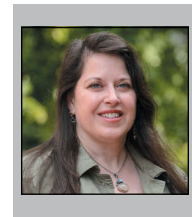
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Welcome to the sixth edition of *American Democracy Now!* In this program, we share our passion for politics while providing students with the foundation they need to become informed citizens in a rapidly changing democracy.

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.

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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



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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, microtargeting, 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.

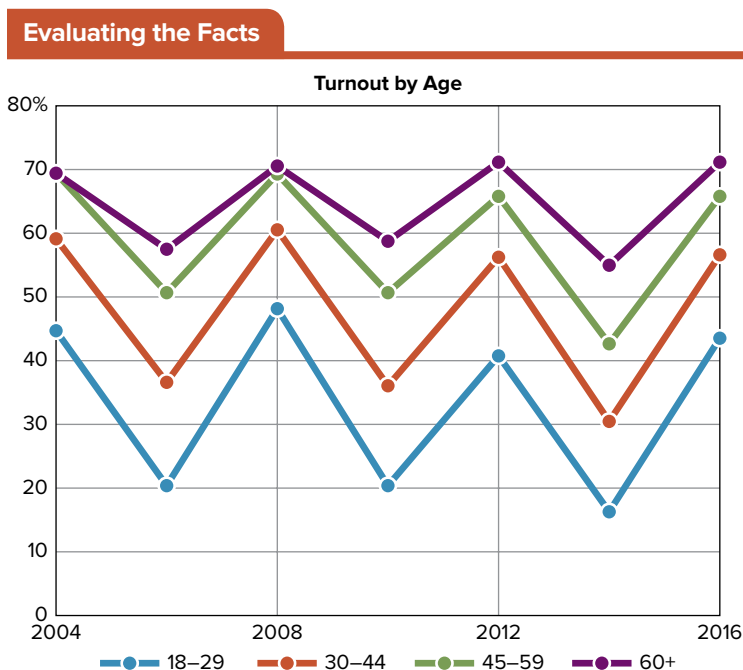


FIGURE 1.1 ■ **Voter Turnout in Presidential Elections (2004–2016) by Voter Age.** How has the turnout rate changed over time for voters aged 18–29? For other age groups?

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

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.



>One way individuals articulate their political views is through the products they purchase. In 2017, Procter & 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 boycotted a manufacturer because of your political views?

Source: BBDO NY for Procter 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.

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 fundraising 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

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.