

# AMERICAN GOVERNMENT



## AND POLITICS TODAY:

### THE ESSENTIALS

Bardes | Shelley | Schmidt

2013–2014 EDITION

# American Government and Politics Today:

THE ESSENTIALS  
2013–2014 EDITION

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EPA/MATTHEW CAVANAUGH/Newscom

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Jim Weber/ZUMA Press/Corbis



The 2012 elections were billed as among the most important ever. If the nation were to reelect Democratic president Barack Obama, then the reforms adopted during his first two years in office would finally come to fruition. These involved wide-ranging changes to the financial industry, but above all, they included the full implementation of the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, nicknamed “Obamacare.” This act’s most important features were not scheduled to go into effect until January 2014.

As an alternative, if Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney were to win the election and the Republicans were to take control of the U.S. Senate, they promised to set the country on a dramatic new limited-government trajectory. Obamacare would be repealed. Tax rates would fall. The nation’s complex program of domestic spending would undergo its most dramatic pruning ever.

For most of 2012, the outcome seemed close. The political campaigns were bitter and hugely expensive. The economy remained troubled, and the unemployment rate was high. In the end, though, Obama prevailed and the Democrats held the Senate. All of these developments and more are covered in the 2013–2014 edition of *American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials*.

## 2012 Election Results Included and Analyzed

Because we have learned that students respond to up-to-date information about political events, we have included results of the November 2012 elections. We have updated all of the text to reflect these results and have analyzed how the results will affect political processes at all levels of government. In each **2012 elections** feature, we place the election results in the context of the chapter’s subject matter.

## The Interactive Focus of This Text—Participation

Whether the topic is voter turnout, terrorism, or the problems that face the president, we constantly strive to involve the student in the analysis. We make sure that the student comes to understand that politics is not an abstract process but a very human enterprise. We emphasize how different outcomes can affect students’ civil rights and liberties, employment opportunities, and economic welfare.

### Emphasis on Critical Thinking

Throughout the text, we encourage the student to think critically. Almost all of the features end with questions designed to engage the student’s critical-thinking and analytical skills. A feature titled **Which Side Are You On?** challenges the student to find a connection between controversial issues facing the nation and the student’s personal positions on these issues.

### End-of-Chapter Questions for Discussion and Analysis

We continue our tradition of engaging students with a section titled **“Questions for Discussion and Analysis,”** which appears at the end of each chapter. This section consists of a series of four questions, each of which asks the student to explore a particular issue relating to a topic covered in the chapter.

## Other Interactive Features

We further encourage interaction with the political system by ending each chapter with a feature titled *Why Should You Care about . . . ?*, along with a subsection called **“How You Can Make a Difference.”** These show students how to become politically involved and why it is important that they do so.

## Special Pedagogy and Features

The 2013–2014 edition of *American Government and Politics Today: The Essentials* contains many pedagogical aids and high-interest features to assist both students and instructors. The *Skill Prep: A Student Study Skills Module*, *Learning Outcomes*, *Social Media in Politics*, and the end-of-chapter quizzes are new to this edition. The following list summarizes the special elements that can be found in each chapter:

- *Skill Prep: A Student Study Skills Module*—A new introductory section that opens the book, outlining tips for studying, writing papers and essays, and taking tests.
- *Learning Outcomes*—Listed on the opening page of each chapter, they are designed to help improve students’ understanding of the chapter.
- *What If . . .*—A chapter-opening feature that discusses a hypothetical situation concerning a topic to be covered in the chapter.
- *Margin Definitions*—For all important terms.
- *Social Media in Politics*—A margin feature that explains how students can find relevant materials using Facebook, Twitter, and other social media platforms.
- *Did You Know . . . ?*—A margin feature presenting various facts and figures that add interest to the learning process.
- *Which Side Are You On?*—A feature designed to challenge students to take a stand on controversial issues.
- *Politics and . . .*—A feature that examines the influence of politics on a variety of issues. *Politics and Economics* is a common topic, but subjects range from *Politics and Religion* to *Politics and Property Rights*.
- *Beyond Our Borders*—A feature that provides a context for American institutions by looking at the experiences of other countries.
- *Why Should You Care about . . . ?*—A chapter-ending feature that gives the student some specific reasons to care about the topics covered in the chapter and that provides ways in which the student can become actively involved in American politics.
- *Questions for Discussion and Analysis*—A series of questions at the end of each chapter that are designed to promote in-class discussions.
- *Key Terms*—A chapter-ending list, with page numbers, of all terms in the chapter that are **boldfaced** in the text and defined in the margins.
- *Chapter Summary*—A point-by-point summary of the chapter text.
- *Quizzes*—Both fill-in-the-blanks and multiple-choice quizzes, allowing students to test their comprehension of the material.
- *Suggested Readings and Media Resources*—An annotated list of suggested scholarly readings as well as popular and timely books, films, and documentaries relevant to chapter topics.
- *E-mocracy*—A feature that discusses politics and the Internet and that offers Web sites and Internet activities related to the chapter’s topics.

## Appendices

Because we know that this book serves as a reference, we have included important documents for the student of American government to have close at hand. A **fully**



**annotated copy of the U.S. Constitution** appears at the end of Chapter 2, as an appendix to that chapter. In addition, we have included the following appendices at the end of this text:

- The Declaration of Independence
- How to Read Case Citations and Find Court Decisions
- *Federalist Papers* Nos. 10, 51, and 78
- Justices of the United States Supreme Court since 1900
- Party Control of Congress since 1900
- The Presidents of the United States

Useful material is also located immediately inside the front and back covers of this text. Inside the front cover, you will find a cartogram that distorts the size of the various states to indicate their relative weight in the Electoral College. Inside the back cover, you will find a pictorial diagram of the Capitol of the United States.

## Supplements for the Instructor

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## For Users of the Previous Edition

We thank you for your past support of our work. We have made numerous changes to this volume for the 2013–2014 edition, many of which we list below. We have rewritten the text as necessary, added many new features, and updated the book to reflect the events of the past two years.

- **Chapter 1 (The Democratic Republic)**—A new *What If . . .* feature asks what would happen if we had no Bill of Rights. The description of *legitimacy* is updated. The Tea Party and Occupy movements receive new coverage. The section describing American attitudes toward “big government” has been rewritten. The definitions of *conservatism* and *liberalism* are expanded. A final section describes the recent environment of partisanship and gridlock, and connects these attitudes to the 2012 elections.
- **Chapter 2 (The Constitution)**—A new feature discusses the constitutionality of the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare). Other new features explain France's role in defeating the British in the Revolutionary War and the importance of the post-revolutionary economic downturn. *How You Can Make a Difference* has been revised with more-current examples.
- **Chapter 3 (Federalism)**—New sections describe *fiscal federalism* and *competitive federalism*. New features cover the crisis of the European Union, state spending in hard times, and the debate over public employee pensions.
- **Chapter 4 (Civil Liberties)**—The *imminent lawless action test* for advocacy speech is defined. A new section describes the right of assembly. Material on the civil liberties of immigrants has been moved into the chapter. New features deal with gun rights and online piracy.
- **Chapter 5 (Civil Rights)**—The sections on gay and lesbian rights were substantially updated. A major new section details the review standards employed by the United States Supreme Court in assessing potential discrimination—*strict scrutiny*, *intermediate scrutiny*, and *rational basis review*. A new feature examines the experience of African Americans in the criminal justice system.
- **Chapter 6 (Public Opinion and Political Socialization)**—This chapter received some of the most thorough revisions in the book. The sections on public opinion polls

have been completely redone. New stress is placed on the statistical nature of polling. We also focus on modern polling issues, such as *weighting samples*, *house effects*, and *robopolls*. A new section discusses the overall political mood of the country. The issue of *framing* is addressed in the text and in a feature. Other new features deal with social media and the growing cultural gap between rich and poor. The many charts and tables have been updated.

- **Chapter 7 (Interest Groups)**—New topics include the political environment faced by the labor movement, global warming and the coal interests, the consumer movement, ideological groups, and identity groups. Features discuss the Keystone XL oil pipeline and the American Legislative Exchange Council.
- **Chapter 8 (Political Parties)**—The section on recent developments is entirely new. It discusses *wave elections* and political overreach by the Democrats and the Republicans. The discussion of proportional representation has been sharpened and includes examples. A new feature addresses the “top-two candidates” primary system in California.
- **Chapter 9 (Campaigns, Elections, and the Media)**—Large-scale revisions include redoing the entire section on campaign finance. *Super PACs* and other independent committees such as *527 and 501(c)4 groups* are now central to the discussion. The concept of the *moneybomb* is introduced. We describe recent changes to the ways in which primaries are managed. A new section discusses photo voter ID laws and the attempts to restrict voter-registration drives. We cover the Republican primary debates and the debates between Obama and Romney. The media section has an enhanced discussion of new media and its appeal to younger citizens.
- **Chapter 10 (The Congress)**—New topics include *reconciliation* and recent attempts to curb earmarks. The section on gerrymandering is enhanced and includes easy-to-understand examples and a feature. Another feature discusses “Taxmageddon,” the end-of-2012 financial cliff.
- **Chapter 11 (The President)**—Material on the president’s popularity is updated. There is an added discussion of policy “czars” in the White House. A new feature discusses the impact of the state of the economy on the reelection chances of an incumbent president.
- **Chapter 12 (The Bureaucracy)**—A new section provides considerable detail on federal spending, as opposed to federal employment. New features discuss military bureaucracy and Obama’s campaign against national security leaks.
- **Chapter 13 (The Courts)**—We clarify how individuals can appeal decisions by bureaucratic agencies. The history of Supreme Court confirmation battles now includes the fight over Robert Bork. The discussion of the Roberts Court contrasts the Court’s style of conservatism with the beliefs of the broader conservative movement. A new feature examines *sharia* law.
- **Chapter 14 (Domestic and Economic Policy)**—The sections on health care and immigration are updated. The section on energy and the environment is substantially revised. The impact of energy prices—including the low cost of natural gas—receives fresh treatment, and we discuss such new technologies as *fracking*. The economic policy section now covers conservative criticisms of Keynes and recent proposed changes to the tax system. A new feature addresses the problem of long-term unemployment, and another asks what would happen if we returned to the gold standard.
- **Chapter 15 (Foreign Policy)**—The chapter has new discussions of the “Arab Spring” and the death of Osama bin Laden. We have updated the descriptions of sanctions against Iran and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. A new section covers the economic crisis in Europe. A new feature asks whether we should attack Iran’s nuclear enrichment sites, and another looks at cyberspace attacks against Iran and by China.

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Any errors remain our own. We welcome comments from instructors and students alike. Suggestions that we have received in the past have helped us to improve this text and to adapt it to the changing needs of instructors and students.

**Barbara Bardes      Mack Shelley      Steffen Schmidt**



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Barbara A. Bardes is professor emerita of political science and former dean of Raymond Walters College at the University of Cincinnati. She received her B.A. and M.A. from Kent State University. After completing her Ph.D. at the University of Cincinnati, she held faculty positions at Mississippi State University and Loyola University in Chicago. She returned to Cincinnati, her hometown, as a college administrator. She has also worked as a political consultant and directed polling for a research center.

Bardes has written articles on public opinion and foreign policy, and on women and politics. She has authored *Thinking about Public Policy*; *Declarations of Independence: Women and Political Power in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction*; and *Public Opinion: Measuring the American Mind* (with Robert W. Oldendick).

Bardes's home is located in a very small hamlet in Kentucky called Rabbit Hash, famous for its 150-year-old general store. Her hobbies include traveling, gardening, needlework, and antique collecting.

### MACK C. SHELLEY II



Mack C. Shelley II is professor of political science and statistics at Iowa State University. After receiving his bachelor's degree from American University in Washington, D.C., he completed graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, where he received a master's degree in economics and a Ph.D. in political science. He taught for two years at Mississippi State University before arriving at Iowa State in 1979.

Shelley has published numerous articles, books, and monographs on public policy. From 1993 to 2002, he served as elected coeditor of the *Policy Studies Journal*. His published books include *The Permanent Majority: The Conservative Coalition in the United States Congress*; *Biotechnology and the Research Enterprise* (with William F. Woodman and Brian J. Reichel); *American Public Policy: The Contemporary Agenda* (with Steven G. Koven and Bert E. Swanson); *Redefining Family Policy: Implications for the 21st Century* (with Joyce M. Mercier and Steven Garasky); and *Quality Research*

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### STEFFEN W. SCHMIDT



Steffen W. Schmidt is professor of political science at Iowa State University. He grew up in Colombia, South America, and studied in Colombia, Switzerland, and France. He obtained his Ph.D. in public law and government from Columbia University in New York.

Schmidt has published 12 books and more than 120 journal articles. He is also the recipient of numerous prestigious teaching prizes, including the Amoco Award for Lifetime Career Achievement in Teaching and the Teacher of the Year award. He is a pioneer in the use of Web-based and real-time video courses, as well as a member of the American Political Science Association's section on computers and multimedia. He is on the editorial board of the *Political Science Educator* and is the technology and teaching editor of the *Journal of Political Science Education*.

Schmidt has a political talk show on WOI radio, where he is known as Dr. Politics. The show has been broadcast live from various U.S. and international venues. He is a frequent political commentator for *CNN en Español* and the British Broadcasting Corporation. He is the co-founder of the new Internet magazine InsiderIowa.com.

Schmidt likes to snow ski, ride hunter jumper horses, race sailboats, and scuba dive.



# SKILL PREP

## A STUDY SKILLS MODULE

### WHAT'S INSIDE

After reading through and practicing the material in this study skills module, you will be better prepared to . . .

- **Make good choices**  
(LifePrep, p. SP-3)
- **Manage your time**  
(TimePrep, p. SP-5)
- **Be engaged in your studies**  
(StudyPrep, p. SP-7)
- **Study for quizzes and exams**  
(TestPrep, p. SP-11)
- **Read your textbook for learning**  
(ReadPrep, p. SP-13)
- **Write your papers**  
(WritePrep, p. SP-15)
- **Deliver a speech**  
(SpeechPrep, p. SP-20)

# Welcome!

With this course and this textbook, you've begun what we hope will be a fun, stimulating, and thought-provoking journey into the world of American government and politics. In this course, you will learn all about the foundation of the American system, civil rights and liberties, public opinion, interest groups, political parties, campaigns, elections, the media, our governing institutions, and public policy. Knowledge of these basics will help you think critically about political issues and become an active citizen.

To help you get the most out of this course, and this textbook, we have developed this study skills module. You may be a recent high school graduate, or a working professional continuing your education, or an adult making your way back to the classroom after a few years. Whatever type of student you are, you want **RESULTS** when you study. You want to be able to understand the issues and ideas presented in the textbook, to be able to talk about them intelligently during class discussions, and to be able to remember them as you prepare for exams and papers.

This kind of knowledge doesn't just come from natural talent. Instead, it comes from the use of good study skills. This module is designed to help you develop the skills and habits you'll need to get the results that you want from this course. With tips on lifestyle decisions, how to manage your time more effectively, how to be more engaged when you study, how to get the most out of your textbook, how to prepare for quizzes and exams, how to write papers, and how to prepare and deliver a speech, this guide will help you become the best learner you can be!

istockphoto.com/blackred

# LIFE PREP

Paul Ijsendoorn/iStockphoto.com

It takes several things to succeed in a class—hard work, concentration, and commitment to your studies. In order to work hard, concentrate, and demonstrate commitment, you need energy. When you are full of energy, time seems to pass quickly, and it is easier to get things done. When you don't have energy, time feels as if it is standing still, and even your favorite activities can feel like a burden. To have the energy you need to be a great learner, it is important to make good lifestyle choices. You need to get enough sleep, eat well, take care of yourself, and maintain good relationships. An important part of being a successful student is to pay attention to what goes on in your life so that you have all the ingredients you need to maintain your focus and energy.

Here are some suggestions that you can use to keep up your energy and develop other aspects of your life so that you can succeed in everything you do.

- Too often, we become so busy with other aspects of our lives that we neglect our health. It is crucial that you eat a balanced diet, exercise regularly, and get enough sleep. If you don't take care of your physical well-being, other areas of your life will inevitably suffer.
- Hearing is not the same thing as listening. Many people are not good listeners. We often hear what we want to hear as we filter information through our own experiences and interests. When talking with friends, instructors, or family members, focus carefully on what they say—it may reveal something unexpected.



Robert Churchill/iStockphoto.com



## Most people who succeed have a plan.

- Be very careful about what you post on the Internet. A good rule of thumb is "Don't post anything that you wouldn't want the world to know." Many employers search the Internet for information concerning potential employees, and one embarrassing photo or tweet can have long-term damaging consequences.
- Most people who succeed have a plan—what they want to accomplish and when. Do you have a life plan? If not, you can start by making a list of your lifetime goals, even though they may change later on. You can also create a career plan that includes a list of skills you will need to succeed. Then, choose classes and extracurricular activities that will help you develop these skills.
- When we start doing something new, whether in school or in other areas of life, we usually aren't very good at it. We need feedback from those who are good in that area—such as instructors—to improve and succeed. Therefore, you should welcome feedback, and if it isn't given, you should ask for it.
- Many studies have shown that exercise benefits the mind as well as the body. Students at all levels who participate in organized sports or who regularly engage in their own training programs often do better on standardized math and reading tests than those students who do not. Regular exercise in whatever form should become a part of your daily routine. Not only will you feel great, you'll become a better learner. In other words, exercise should become a habit.



- Do you want to become a better writer? Your college or university probably has a writing center with resources to help you with your writing assignments. If not, you should be able to find a tutor who will help you figure out what you are trying to communicate and how to put it effectively on paper.



- Filing systems are an easy way to keep track of your money. First, label file folders for different categories of income, such as paycheck stubs, bank statements, and miscellaneous. Then, do the same for expenses, such as clothes, food, and entertainment. If you find you need another category, just set up a new folder.
- Do you want to become a better public speaker? Consider using your campus's audiovisual resources to develop this difficult but rewarding skill. Record yourself speaking and then critique your performance. Join a school organization such as a debate or drama club to gain confidence in front of a live audience.



- If you feel that you are overly dependent on family or friends, nurture skills that lead to independence. For example, learn how to cook for yourself. Get a job that does not interfere (too much) with your schoolwork. Save money and pay your own bills. Rent your own living space. Most important, have confidence in yourself.
- More often than not, in school and life, things do not go as planned. When this happens, you need to be flexible. Do not focus on your disappointment. Instead, try to accept the situation as it is, and deal with it by looking at the future rather than dwelling on the past.
- Be thankful for the people who care about you. Your family and good friends are a precious resource.



When you have problems, don't try to solve them by yourself. Talk to the people in your life



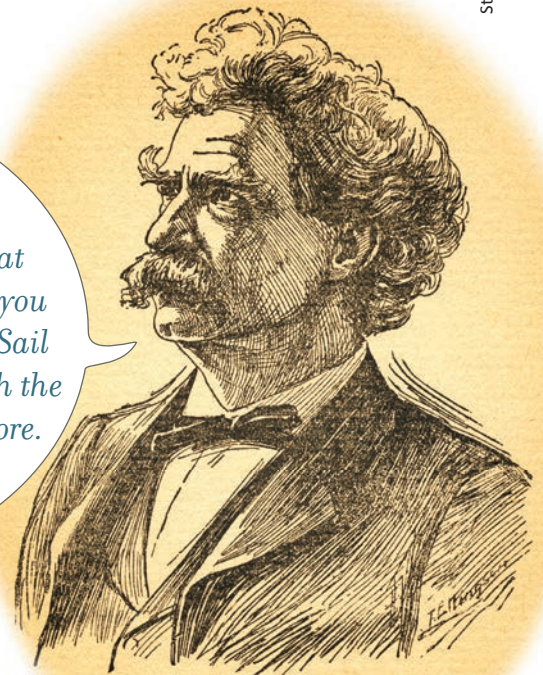
who want you to succeed and be happy, and listen to their advice.

- Critical thinking is a crucial skill, and, as with any other skill, one gets better at it with practice. So, don't jump to conclusions. Whether you are considering a friend's argument, a test question, a major purchase, or a personal problem, carefully weigh the evidence, balance strengths and weaknesses, and make a reasoned decision.

- Rather than constantly seeking approval from others, try to seek approval from the person who matters the most—yourself. If you have good values, then your conscience will tell you when you are doing the right thing. Don't let worries about what others think run, or ruin, your life.

If you don't take care of your **physical well-being**, other areas of your life will inevitably suffer.

*"Twenty years from now you will be more disappointed by the things that you didn't do than by the ones you did. So throw off the bowlines. Sail away from the safe harbor. Catch the trade winds in your sails. Explore. Dream. Discover."*



**Mark Twain**  
(American author, 1835–1910)

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# TIME PREP



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Taking a college-level course involves a lot of work. You have to go to class, read the textbook, pay attention to lectures, take notes, complete homework assignments, write papers, and take exams. On top of that, there are other things in the other areas of your life that

call for your time and attention. You have to take care of where you live, run daily errands, take care of family, spend time with friends, work a full- or part-time job, and find time to unwind. With all that you're involved in, knowing how to manage your time is critical if you want to succeed as a learner.

The key to managing your time is to know how much time you have and to use it well. At the beginning of every term, you should evaluate how you use your time. How much time is spent working? How much caring for your home and family? On entertainment? How much time do you spend studying? Keep a record of what you do hour by hour for a full week. Once you see where all your time goes, you can decide which activities you might modify in order to have "more" time.

*To manage your time well, you need to know where it is going.*

Here are some other helpful tips on how to make the most of your time.

- Plan your study schedule in advance. At the beginning of each week, allocate time for each subject that you need to study. If it helps, put your schedule down on paper or use one of the many "calendar" computer programs for efficient daily planning.
- Don't be late for classes, meetings with professors, and other appointments. If you find that you have trouble being on time, adjust your planning to arrive fifteen minutes early to all engagements. That way, even if you are "late," in most cases you will still be on time.
- To reduce the time spent looking for information on the Internet, start with a clear idea of your

Paul Ijendoorn/Stockphoto.com

research task. Use a trusted search engine and focus only on that subject. Do not allow yourself to be sidetracked by other activities such as checking e-mail or social networking.

- Set aside a little time each day to assess whether you are going to meet the deadlines for all of your classes—quizzes, papers, and exams. It is critical to ensure that deadlines don't "sneak up" on you. A great way to do this is to use a calendar program or app, which can help you keep track of target dates and even give you friendly reminders.
- Nothing wastes more time—or is more aggravating—than having to redo schoolwork that was somehow lost on your computer. Back up all of your important files periodically. You can copy them onto an external hard drive, a DVD, or a USB flash drive.



## Concentrate on doing one thing at a time.

Concentrate on doing one thing at a time. Multitasking is often a trap that leads you to do several things quickly but poorly. When you are studying, don't carry on a text conversation with a friend or have one eye on the

Internet at the same time.

- Set deadlines for yourself, not only with schoolwork but also with responsibilities in other areas of your life. If you tell yourself, "I will have this task done by Monday at noon and that other task finished before dinner on Wednesday," you will find it much easier to balance the many demands on your time.
- Regularly checking e-mail and text messages not only interrupts the task at hand, but also is an easy excuse for procrastination. Set aside specific times of the day to check and answer e-mail, and, when necessary, make sure that your cell phone is off or out of reach.
- Sometimes, a task is so large that it seems impossible, making it more tempting to put off. When given a large assignment, break it into a



series of small assignments. Then, make a list of the assignments, and as you finish each one, give yourself the satisfaction of crossing it off.

- Many of us have a particular time of day when we are most alert—early morning, afternoon, or night. Plan to do schoolwork during that time, when you will be most efficient, and set aside other times of the day for activities that do not require such serious concentration.
- Because we like to be helpful, we may have a hard time saying “no” when others ask for favors that take up our time. Sometimes, though, unless the person is experiencing a real emergency, you have to put your schoolwork or job first. If you are worried that the person will be offended, explain why and trust that she or he will understand how important your schoolwork or job is.
- Slow down. You may think that you are getting more work done by rushing, but haste inevitably leads to poor decisions, mistakes, and errors of judgment, all of which waste time. Work well, not quickly, and you will wind up saving time.
- If you can, outsource. Give someone else some of your responsibilities. If you can afford to, hire someone to clean your house. Send your dirty clothes to a laundry. If money is tight, split chores with friends or housemates so that you can



better manage your work-life responsibilities.

- In marketing, *to bundle* means to combine several products in one. In time management, it means combining two activities to free up some time. For example, if you need to exercise and want to socialize, bundle the two activities by going on a jog with your friends. Take along some schoolwork when you head to the laundromat—you can get a lot done while you’re waiting for the spin cycle. Or you can record class lectures (ask the professor for permission) so that you can review class material while you’re out running errands.
- Develop a habit of setting time limits for tasks, both in and out of school. You will find that with a time limit in mind, you will waste less time and work more efficiently.
- Even the best time management and organization can be waylaid by forgetfulness. Most e-mail systems have free calendar features that allow you to send e-mail reminders to yourself concerning assignments, tests, and other important dates.
- A Chinese adage goes, “The longest journey starts with a single step.” If you are having trouble getting started on a project or assignment, identify the first task that needs to be done. Then do it! This helps avoid time-wasting procrastination.



Paul Ijseendoorn/iStockphoto.com

• *Bundling, or combining two activities, will help you save time.*

Rubberball/iStockphoto.com

# STUDY PREP

What does it take to be a successful student? Like many people, you may think that success depends on how naturally smart you are, that some people are just better at school than others. But in reality, successful students aren't born, they're made. What this means is that even if you don't consider yourself naturally "book smart," you can do well in this course by developing study skills that will help you understand, remember, and apply key concepts.

There are five things you can do to develop good study habits:

be engaged  
ask questions  
take notes  
make an outline  
mark your text

## BE ENGAGED

If you've ever heard elevator music, you know what easy listening is like—it stays in the background. You know it's there, but you're not really paying attention to it, and you probably won't remember it after a few minutes. That is *not* what you should be doing in class. You have to be engaged. Being *engaged* means listening to discover (and remember) something. In other words, listening is more than just hearing. Not only do you have to hear what the professor is saying in class, you have to pay attention to it. And as you listen with attention, you will hear what your instructor believes is important. One way to make sure that you are listening attentively is to take notes. Doing so will help you focus on the professor's words and will help you identify the most important parts of the lecture.

## ASK QUESTIONS

If you are really engaged in your American government course, you will ask a question or two whenever you do not understand something. You can also ask a question to get your instructor to share her or his opinion on a subject. However you do it, true engagement requires you to be a participant in your class. The more you participate, the more you will learn (and the more your instructor will know who you are!).

## TAKE NOTES

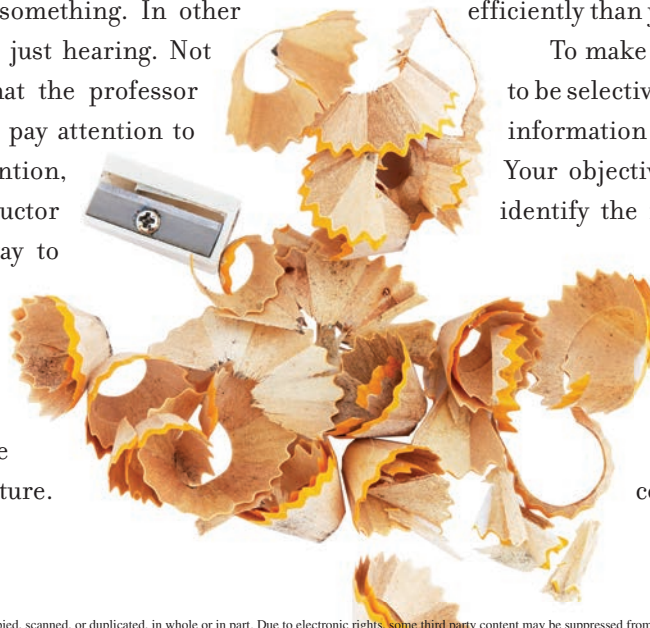
Note-taking has a value in and of itself, just as outlining does. The physical act of writing makes you a more efficient learner. In addition, your notes provide a guide to what your instructor thinks is important. That means you will have a better idea of what to study before the next exam if you have a set of notes that you took during class.

## MAKE AN OUTLINE

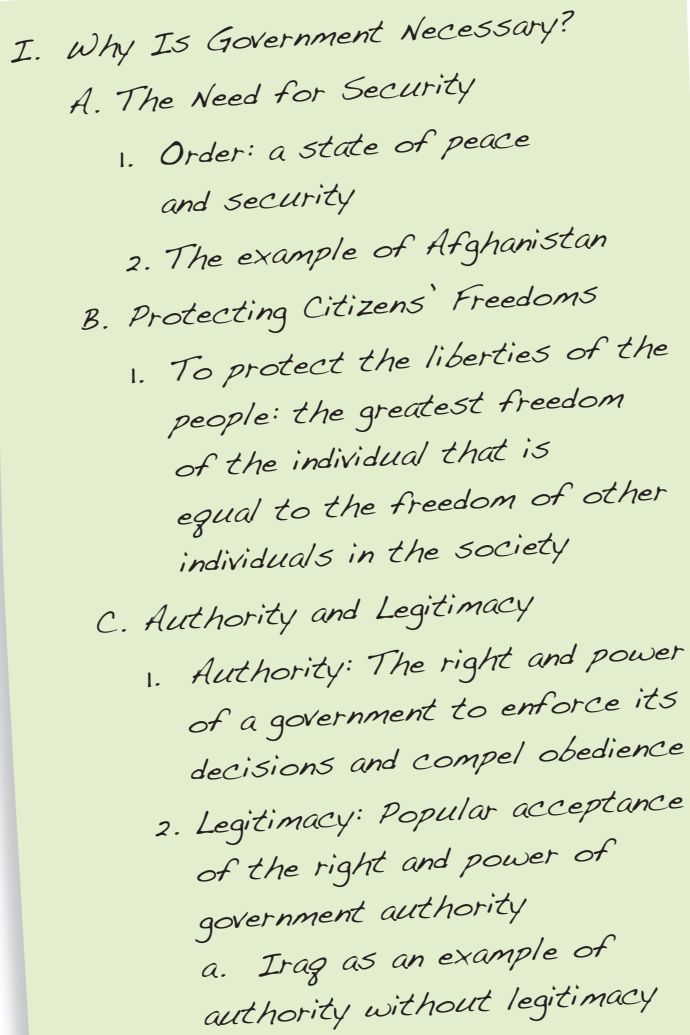
As you read through each chapter of your textbook, you might want to make an outline—a simple method for organizing information. You can create an outline as part of your reading or at the end of your reading. Or you can make an outline when you reread a section before moving on to the next. The act of physically writing an outline for a chapter will help you retain the material in this text and master it, thereby obtaining a higher grade in class. Even if you make an outline that is no more than the headings in this text, you will be studying more efficiently than you would be otherwise.

To make an effective outline, you have to be selective. Outlines that contain all the information in the text are not very useful. Your objectives in outlining are, first, to identify the main concepts and, then, to add the details that support those main concepts.

Your outline should consist of several levels written in a standard format. The most important concepts are assigned Roman



numerals; the second most important, capital letters; the third most important, numbers; and the fourth most important, lowercase letters. Here is a quick example:

- 
- I. Why Is Government Necessary?
- A. The Need for Security
1. Order: a state of peace and security
  2. The example of Afghanistan
- B. Protecting Citizens' Freedoms
1. To protect the liberties of the people: the greatest freedom of the individual that is equal to the freedom of other individuals in the society
- C. Authority and Legitimacy
1. Authority: The right and power of a government to enforce its decisions and compel obedience
  2. Legitimacy: Popular acceptance of the right and power of government authority
    - a. Iraq as an example of authority without legitimacy

## MARK YOUR TEXT

Now that you own your own textbook for this course, you can greatly improve your learning by marking your text. By doing so, you will identify the most important concepts of each chapter, and at the same time, you'll be making a handy study guide for reviewing material at a later time.

**WAYS OF MARKING** The most common form of marking is to underline important points. The sec-

ond most commonly used method is to use a felt-tipped highlighter, or marker, in yellow or some other transparent color. Marking also includes circling, numbering, using arrows, jotting brief notes, or any other method that allows you to remember things when you go back to skim the pages in your textbook prior to an exam.



IMPORTANT

## WHY MARKING IS

**IMPORTANT** Marking is impor-

tant for the same reason that outlining is—it helps you to organize the information in the text. It allows you to become an active participant in the mastery of the material. Researchers have shown that the physical act of marking, just like the physical acts of note-taking during class and outlining, helps you better retain the material. The better the material is organized in your mind, the more you'll remember. There are two types of readers—passive and active. The active reader outlines or marks. Active readers typically do better on exams. Perhaps one of the reasons that active readers retain more than passive readers is that the physical act of outlining and/or marking requires greater concentration. It is through greater concentration that more is remembered.

## TWO POINTS TO REMEMBER WHEN MARKING



Read one section at a time before you do any extensive marking. You can't mark a section until you know what is important, and you can't know what is important until you read the whole section.



Don't overmark. Just as an outline cannot contain everything that is in a text (and notes can't include everything), marking can't cover the whole book. Don't fool yourself into thinking that you have done a good job just because each page is filled up with arrows, asterisks, circles, and underlines. If you do mark the whole book, when you go back to review the material, your markings will not help you remember what was important.

Take a look at the two paragraphs below:

In our democratic republic, citizens play an important role by voting. Although voting is extremely important, it is only one of the ways that citizens can exercise their political influence. Americans can also join a political organization or interest group, stage a protest, or donate funds to a political campaign or cause. There are countless ways to become involved. Informed participation begins with knowledge, however, and this text aims to provide you with a strong foundation in American government and politics. We hope that this book helps introduce you to a lifetime of political awareness and activity.

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The second paragraph, with all of the different markings, is hard to read and understand because there is so much going on. There are arrows and circles and underlines all over the place, and it is difficult to identify the most important parts of the paragraph. The first paragraph, by contrast, has highlights only on a few important words, making it much easier to identify quickly the important elements of the paragraph. The key to marking is *selective* activity. Mark each page in a way that allows you to see the most important points at a glance. You can follow up your marking by writing out more in your subject outline.

With these skills in hand, you will be well on your way to becoming a great student. Here are a few more hints that will help you develop effective study skills.

## We study **best** when we are **free from distractions**.

- Read textbook chapters actively! Underline the most important topics. Put a check mark next to material that you do not understand. After you have completed the entire chapter, take a break. Then, work on better comprehension of the check-marked material.
- As a rule, do schoolwork as soon as possible when you get home after class. The longer you wait,



the more likely you will be distracted by television, video games, phone calls from friends, or social networking.

- Many students are tempted to take class notes on a laptop computer. This is a bad idea for two reasons. First, it is hard to copy diagrams or take other “artistic” notes on a computer. Second, it is easy to get distracted by checking e-mail or surfing the Web.
- We study best when we are free from distractions such as the Internet, cell phones, and our friends. That’s why your school library is often the best place to work. Set aside several hours a week of “library time” to study in peace and quiet.
- Reward yourself for studying! From time to time, allow yourself a short break for surfing the Internet, going for a jog, taking a nap, or doing something else that you enjoy. These interludes will refresh your mind and enable you to study longer and more efficiently.
- When you are given a writing assignment, make sure you allow yourself enough time to revise and polish your final draft. Good writing takes time—you may need to revise a paper several times before it’s ready to be handed in.
- A neat study space is important. Staying neat forces you to stay organized. When your desk is covered with piles of papers, notes, and textbooks, things are being lost even though you may not realize it. The only work items that should be on your desk are those that you are working on that day.



- Often, studying involves pure memorization. To help with this task, create flash (or note) cards. On one side of the card, write the question or term. On the other side, write the answer or definition. Then, use the cards to test yourself on the material.
- Mnemonic (pronounced ne-mon-ik) devices are tricks that increase our ability to memorize. A well-known mnemonic device is the phrase ROY G BIV, which helps people remember the colors of the rainbow—Red, Orange, Yellow, Green, Blue, Indigo, Violet. Of course, you don't have to use mnemonics that other people made. You can create your own for whatever you need to memorize. The more fun you have coming up with mnemonics for yourself, the more useful they will be.
- Take notes twice. First, take notes in class. Then, when you get back home, rewrite your notes. The



rewrite will act as a study session by forcing you to think about the material. It will also, invariably, lead to questions that are crucial to the study process.

2x

- Notice that each major section heading in this textbook has been written in the form of a question. By turning headings or subheadings in all of your textbooks into questions—and then answering them—you will increase your understanding of the material.
- Multitasking while studying is generally a bad idea. You may think that you can review your notes and watch television at the same time, but your ability to study will almost certainly suffer. It's OK to give yourself TV breaks from schoolwork, but avoid combining the two.



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# TEST PREP

You have worked hard throughout the term, reading the book, paying close attention in class, and taking good notes. Now it's test time, when all that hard work pays off. To do well on an exam, of course, it is important that you learn the concepts in each chapter as thoroughly as possible, but there are additional strategies for taking exams. You should know which reading materials and lectures will be covered. You should also know in advance what type of exam you are going to take—essay or objective or both. (Objective exams usually include true/false, fill-in-the-blank, matching, and multiple-choice questions.) Finally, you should know how much time will be allowed for the exam. By taking these steps, you will reduce any anxiety you feel as you begin the exam, and you'll be better prepared to work through the entire exam.

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## FOLLOW DIRECTIONS

Students are often in a hurry to start an exam, so they take little time to read the instructions. The instructions can be critical, however. In a multiple-choice exam, for example, if there is no indication that there is a penalty for guessing, then you should never leave a question unanswered. Even if only a few minutes are left at the end of an exam, you should guess on the questions that you remain uncertain about.

Additionally, you need to know the weight given to each section of an exam. In a typical multiple-choice exam, all questions have equal weight. In other types of exams, particularly those with essay questions, different parts of the exam carry different weights. You should use these weights to apportion your time accordingly. If the essay portion of an exam accounts for 20 percent of the total points on the exam, you should not spend 60 percent of your time on the essay.

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Finally, you need to make sure you are marking the answers correctly. Some exams require a No. 2 pencil to fill in the dots on a machine-graded answer sheet. Other exams require underlining or circling. In short, you have to read and follow the instructions carefully.

## OBJECTIVE EXAMS

An objective exam consists of multiple-choice, true/false, fill-in-the-blank, or matching questions that have only one correct answer. Students usually commit one of two errors when they read objective/exam questions: (1) they read things into the questions that do not exist, or (2) they skip over words or phrases. Most test questions include key words such as:

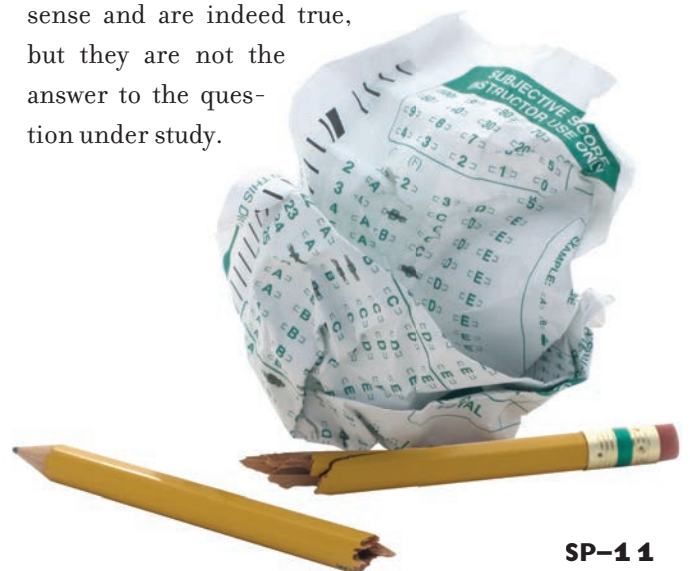
- all
- never
- always
- only

If you miss any of these key words, you may answer the question wrong even if you know the information. Consider the following example:

*True or False?  
The First Amendment to the  
U.S. Constitution prohibits all  
restrictions on free speech.*

In this instance, you may be tempted to answer "True," but the correct answer is "False," because the First Amendment applies only to governmental restrictions on free speech. In addition, certain types of speech, such as obscenity, are not protected by the First Amendment.

Whenever the answer to an objective question is not obvious, start with the process of elimination. Throw out the answers that are clearly incorrect. Typically, the easiest way to eliminate incorrect answers is to look for those that are meaningless, illogical, or inconsistent. Often, test authors put in choices that make perfect sense and are indeed true, but they are not the answer to the question under study.



If you follow the above tips, you will be well on your way to becoming an efficient, results-oriented student. Here are a few more that will help you get there.

- Instructors usually lecture on subjects they think are important, so those same subjects are also likely to be on the exam. Therefore, be sure to take extensive notes in class. Then, review your notes thoroughly as part of your exam preparation.
- At times, you will find yourself studying for several exams at once. When this happens, make a list of each study topic and the amount of time needed to prepare for that topic. Then, create a study schedule to reduce stress and give yourself the best chance for success.
- When preparing for an exam, you might want to get together a small group (two or three other students) for a study session. Discussing a topic out loud can improve your understanding of that topic and will help you remember the key points that often come up on exams.
- If the test requires you to read a passage and then answer questions about that passage, read the questions first. This way, you will know what to look for as you read.
- When you first receive your exam, look it over quickly to make sure that you have all the pages. If you are uncertain, ask your professor or exam proctor. This initial scan may uncover other problems as well, such as illegible print or unclear instructions.
- Grades aren't a matter of life and death, and worrying too much about a single exam can have a negative effect on your performance. Keep exams in perspective. If you do poorly on one test, it's not the end of the world. Rather, it should motivate you to do better on the next one.
- Review your lecture notes immediately after each class, when the material is still fresh in your mind.

Then, review each subject once a week, giving yourself an hour to go back over what you have learned. Reviews make tests easier because you will feel comfortable with the material.

- Some professors make old exams available, either by

## Grades aren't a matter of life and death, and worrying about them can have a negative effect on your performance.

posting them online or by putting them on file in the library. Old tests can give you an idea of the kinds of questions the professor likes to ask. You can also use them to take practice exams.

- With essay questions, look for key words such as "compare," "contrast," and "explain." These will guide your answer. If you have time, make a quick outline. Most important, get to the point without wasting your time (or your professor's) with statements such as "There are many possible reasons for . . . ."
- Cramming just before the exam is a dangerous proposition. Cramming tires the brain unnecessarily and adds to stress, which can severely hamper your testing performance. If you've studied wisely, have confidence that the information will be available to you when you need it.
- When you finish a test early, your first instinct may be to hand it in and get out of the classroom as quickly as possible. It is always a good idea, however, to review your answers. You may find a mistake or an area where some extra writing will improve your grade.
- Be prepared. Make a list of everything you will need for the exam, such as a pen or pencil, watch, and calculator. Arrive at the exam early to avoid having to rush, which will only add to your stress. Good preparation helps you focus on the task at hand.

- Be sure to eat before taking a test. Having food in your stomach will give you the energy you need to concentrate. Don't go overboard, however. Too much food or heavy foods will make you sleepy during the exam.

**Cramming**  
*just before the exam is*  
**a dangerous**  
*proposition.*



# READPREP

This textbook is the foundation for your introduction to American government. It contains key concepts and terms that are important to your understanding of what American government is all about. This knowledge will be important not only for you to succeed in this course, but for your future as you pursue a career in politics and government, or learn to be a good citizen. For this reason, it is essential that you develop good reading skills so that you get the most out of this textbook.

Of course, all students know how to read, but reading for a college-level course goes beyond being able to recognize words on a page. As a student, you must read to learn. You have to be able to read a chapter with the goal of understanding its key points and how it relates to other chapters. In other words, you have to be able to read your textbook and be able to explain what it is all about. To do this, you need to develop good reading habits and reading skills.

## READING FOR LEARNING REQUIRES FOCUS

Reading (and learning from) a textbook is not like reading a newspaper or a magazine or even a novel. The point of reading for learning isn't to get through the material as fast as you can or to skip parts to get to the stuff you're interested in. A textbook is a source of information about a subject, and the goal of reading a textbook is to learn as much of that information as you can. This kind of reading requires attention. When you read to learn, you have to make an effort to focus on the book and tune out other distractions so that you can understand and remember the information it presents.

## READING FOR LEARNING TAKES TIME

When reading your textbook, you need to go slow. The most important part of reading for learning is not how many pages you get through or how fast you get through them. Instead, the goal is to learn the key concepts of American government that are presented in each chapter. To do that, you need to read slowly, carefully, and with great attention.

Andrzej Tokarski/Stockphoto.com

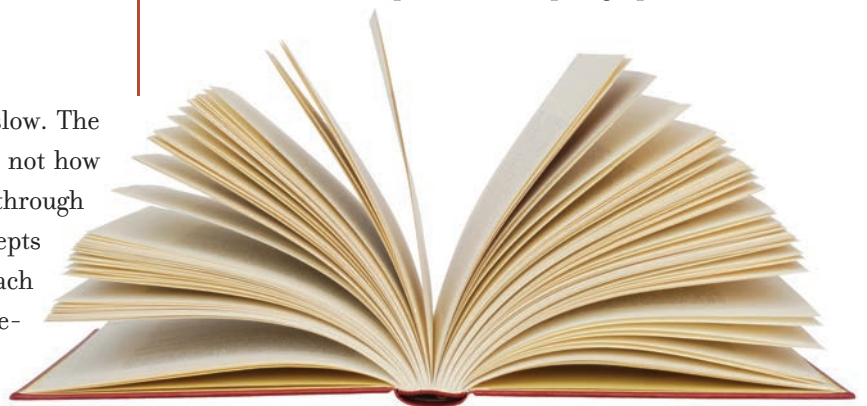
## READING FOR LEARNING TAKES REPETITION

Even the most well-read scholar will tell you that it's difficult to learn from a textbook just by reading through it once. To read for learning, you have to read your textbook a number of times. This doesn't mean, though, that you just sit and read the same section three or four times. Instead, you should follow a preview-read-review process. Here's a good guide to follow:

**THE FIRST TIME** The first time you read a section of the book, you should preview it. During the preview, pay attention to how the chapter is formatted. Look over the title of the chapter, the section headings, and highlighted or bolded words. This will give you a good preview of the important ideas in the chapter. You should also pay close attention to any graphs, pictures, illustrations, or figures that are used in the chapter, since these provide a visual illustration of important concepts. You should also pay special attention to the first and last sentence of each paragraph. First sentences usually introduce the main point of the paragraph, while last sentences usually sum up what was presented in each paragraph.

The goal of previewing the section is to answer the question "What is the main idea?" Of course, you may not be able to come up with a detailed answer yet, but that's not the point of previewing. Instead, the point is to develop some general ideas about what the section is about so that when you do read it in full, you can have a guide for what to look for.

**THE SECOND TIME** After the preview, you'll want to read through the passage in detail. During this phase, it is important to read with a few of questions in mind: What is the main point of this paragraph? What does



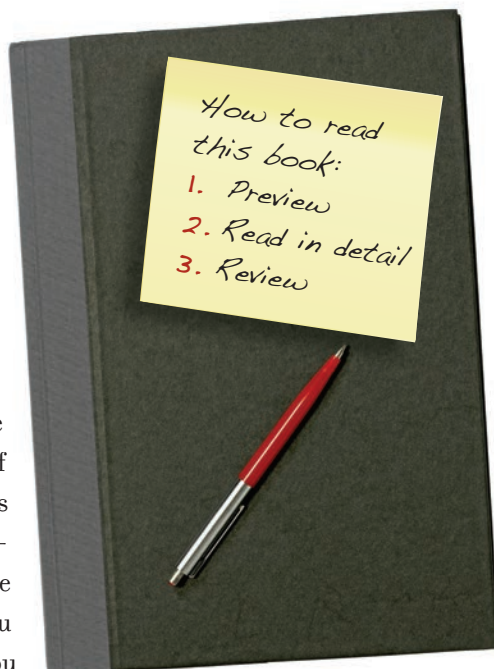
the author want me to learn from this? How does this relate to what I read before? Keeping these questions in mind will help you to be an attentive reader who is actively focusing on the main ideas of the passage.

It is helpful to take notes while reading in detail. There are several different methods of doing this—you can write notes in the margin, highlight important words and phrases, or write an outline. Whatever method you prefer, taking notes will help you read actively, identify important concepts, and remember them. Then when it comes time to review for the exam, the notes you've made will make your studying more efficient. Instead of reading through the entire chapter again, you can focus your studying energy on the areas that you've identified as most important.

After you have completed a detailed read of the chapter, take a break so that you can rest your mind (and your eyes). Then you should write up a summary or paraphrase of what you just read. You don't need to produce a detailed, lengthy summary of the whole chapter. Instead, try to produce a brief paraphrase that covers the most important ideas of the chapter. This paraphrase will help you remember the main points of the chapter, check the accuracy of your reading, and provide a good guide for later review.

**THE THIRD TIME (AND BEYOND)** After you've finished a detailed reading of the chapter, you should take the time to review the chapter (at least once, but maybe even two, three, or more times). During this step, you should review each paragraph and the notes you made, asking this question: "What was this paragraph about?" At this point, you'll want to answer the question in some detail—that is, you should develop a fairly good idea of the important points of what you read before.

A reading group is a great way to review the chapter. After completing the reading individually, group members should meet and take turns sharing what they



learned from their reading. Sharing what you learned from reading and explaining it to others will reinforce and clarify what you already know. It also provides an opportunity to learn from others. Getting a different perspective on a passage will increase your knowledge, since different people will find different things important during a reading.

Whether you're reading your textbook for the first time or reviewing it for the final exam, here are some tips that will help you be an attentive and attuned reader.

### ***Set aside time and space.***

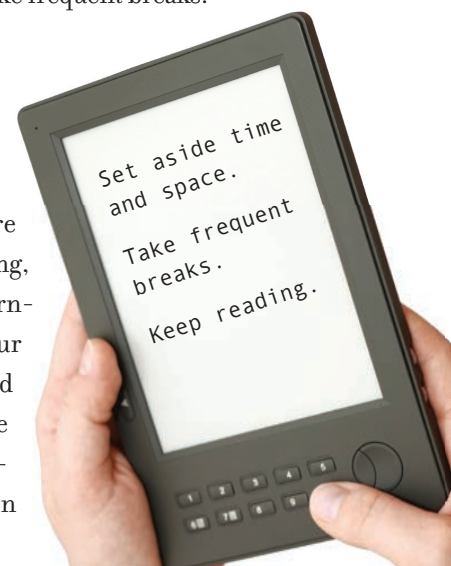
To read effectively, you need to be focused and attentive, and that won't happen if your phone is ringing every two minutes, if the TV is on in the background, if you're updating Twitter, or if you're surrounded by friends or family. Similarly, you won't be able to focus on your book if you're trying to read in a room that is too hot or too cold, or sitting in an uncomfortable chair. So when you read, find a quiet, comfortable place that is free from distractions where you can focus on one thing—learning from the book.

### ***Take frequent breaks.***

Reading your textbook shouldn't be a test of endurance. Rest your eyes and your mind by taking a short break every twenty to thirty minutes. The concentration you need to read attentively requires lots of energy, and you won't have enough energy if you don't take frequent breaks.

### ***Keep reading.***

Effective reading is like playing sports or a musical instrument—practice makes perfect. The more time that you spend reading, the better you will be at learning from your textbook. Your vocabulary will grow, and you'll have an easier time learning and remembering information you find in textbooks.



# WRITE PREP

A key part of succeeding as a student is learning how to write well. Whether writing papers, presentations, essays, or even e-mails to your instructor, you have to be able to put your thoughts into words and do so with force, clarity, and precision. In this section, we outline a three-phase process that you can use to write almost anything.

1. Getting ready to write
2. Writing a first draft
3. Revising your draft

## PHASE 1: GETTING READY TO WRITE

First, make a list. Divide the ultimate goal—a finished paper—into smaller steps that you can tackle right away. Estimate how long it will take to complete each step. Start with the date your paper is due and work backward to the present: For example, if the due date is December 1, and you have about three months to write the paper, give yourself a cushion and schedule November 20 as your targeted completion date. Plan what you want to get done by November 1, and then list what you want to get done by October 1.

**PICK a TOPIC** To generate ideas for a topic, any of the following approaches work well:

- **Brainstorm with a group.** There is no need to create in isolation. You can harness the energy and the natural creative power of a group to assist you.
- **Speak it.** To get ideas flowing, start talking. Admit your confusion or lack of clear ideas. Then just speak. By putting your thoughts into words, you'll start thinking more clearly.
- **Use free writing.** Free writing, a technique championed by writing teacher Peter Elbow, is also very effective when trying to come up with a topic. There's only one rule in free writing: Write without stopping. Set a time limit—say, ten minutes—and keep your fingers dancing across

the keyboard the whole time. Ignore the urge to stop and rewrite. There is no need to worry about spelling, punctuation, or grammar during this process.

**REFINE YOUR IDEA** After you've come up with some initial ideas, it's time to refine them:

- **Select a topic and working title.** Using your instructor's guidelines for the paper or speech, write down a list of topics that interest you. Write down all of the ideas you think of in two minutes. Then choose one topic. The most common pitfall is selecting a topic that is too broad. "Political Campaigns" is probably not a useful topic for your paper. Instead, consider "The Financing of Political Campaigns."
- **Write a thesis statement.** Clarify what you want to say by summarizing it in one concise sentence. This sentence, called a *thesis statement*, refines your working title. A thesis is the main point of the paper; it is a declaration of some sort. You might write a thesis statement such as "Recent decisions by the Supreme Court have dramatically changed the way that political campaigns are funded."

**SET GOALS** Effective writing flows from a purpose. Think about how you'd like your reader or listener to respond after considering your ideas.

- If you want someone to think differently, make your writing clear and logical. Support your assertions with evidence.
- If your purpose is to move the reader into action, explain exactly what steps to take and offer solid benefits for doing so.

To clarify your purpose, state it in one sentence—for example, "The purpose of this paper is to discuss and analyze the various explanations for the increasing partisanship in Congress."

**BEGIN RESEARCH** At the initial stage, the objective of your research is not to uncover specific facts about your topic. That comes later. First, you want to gain an overview of the subject. Say that you want to persuade the reader to vote against a voter ID requirement in your state. You must first learn enough about voter ID laws to summarize for your reader the problems such laws may cause for some voters and whether the laws actually deter voting fraud.

**MAKE AN OUTLINE** An outline is a kind of map. When you follow a map, you avoid getting lost. Likewise, an outline keeps you from wandering off topic. To create your outline, follow these steps:

1. Review your thesis statement and identify the three to five main points you need to address in your paper to support or prove your thesis.
2. Next, look closely at those three to five major points or categories and think about what minor points or subcategories you want to cover in your paper. Your major points are your big ideas. Your minor points are the details you need to fill in under each of those ideas.
3. Ask for feedback. Have your instructor or a classmate review your outline and offer suggestions for improvement. Did you choose the right categories and subcategories? Do you need more detail anywhere? Does the flow from idea to idea make sense?

**DO IN-DEPTH RESEARCH** Three-by-five-inch index cards are an old-fashioned but invaluable tool for in-depth research. Simply write down one idea or piece of information per card. This makes it easy to organize—and reorganize—your ideas and information. Organizing research cards as you create them saves time. Use rubber bands to keep *source cards* (cards that include the bibliographical information for a source)

separate from *information cards* (cards that include nuggets of information from a source) and to maintain general categories.

When creating your cards, be sure to:

- Copy all of the information correctly.
- Always include the source and page number on information cards.
- Be neat and organized. Write legibly, using the same format for all of your cards.

In addition to source cards and information cards, generate *idea cards*. If you have a thought while you are researching, write it down on a card. Label these cards clearly as containing your own ideas.

## PHASE 2: WRITING A FIRST DRAFT

To create your draft, gather your index cards and confirm that they are arranged to follow your outline. Then write about the ideas in your notes. It's that simple. Look at your cards and start writing. Write in paragraphs, with one idea per paragraph. As you complete this task, keep the following suggestions in mind:

- **Remember that the first draft is not for keeps.** You can worry about quality later. Your goal at this point is simply to generate lots of words and lots of ideas.
- **Write freely.** Many writers prefer to get their first draft down quickly and would advise you to keep writing, much as in free writing. Of course, you may pause to glance at your cards and outline. The idea is to avoid stopping to edit your work.
- **Be yourself.** Let go of the urge to sound "official" or "scholarly" and avoid using unnecessary big words or phrases. Instead, write in a natural voice.

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Address your thoughts not to the teacher but to an intelligent student or someone you care about. Visualize this person, and choose the three or four most important things you'd say to her about the topic.

- **Make writing a habit.** Don't wait for inspiration to strike. Make a habit of writing at a certain time each day.
- **Get physical.** While working on the first draft, take breaks. Go for a walk. Speak or sing your ideas out loud. From time to time, practice relaxation techniques and breathe deeply.
- **Hide your draft in your drawer for a while.** Schedule time for rewrites before you begin, and schedule at least one day between revisions so that you can let the material sit. The brain needs that much time to disengage itself from the project.

## PHASE 3: REVISING YOUR DRAFT

During this phase, keep in mind the saying "Write in haste; revise at leisure." When you are working on your first draft, the goal is to produce ideas and write them down. During the revision phase, however, you need to slow down and take a close look at your work. One guideline is to allow 50 percent of writing time for planning, researching, and writing the first draft. Then use the remaining 50 percent for revising.

There are a number of especially good ways to revise your paper:

### 1. Read it out loud.

The combination of voice and ears forces us to pay attention to the details. Is the thesis statement clear and supported by enough evidence? Does the introduction tell your reader what's coming? Do you end with a strong conclusion that expands on what's in your introduction rather than just restating it?

### 2. Have a friend look over your paper.

This is never a substitute for your own review, but a friend can often see mistakes you miss. Remember, when other people criticize or review your work, they are not attacking you. They're just commenting on your paper. With a little



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practice, you will learn to welcome feedback because it is one of the fastest ways to approach the revision process.

### 3. Cut.

Look for excess baggage. Avoid at all costs and at all times the really, really terrible mistake of using way too many unnecessary words, a mistake that some student writers often make when they sit down to write papers for the various courses in which they participate at the fine institutions of higher learning that they are fortunate enough to attend. (Example: The previous sentence could be edited to "Avoid unnecessary words.") Also, look for places where two (or more sentences) could be rewritten as one. Resist the temptation to think that by cutting text you are losing something. You are actually gaining a clearer, more polished product. For maximum efficiency, make the larger cuts first—sections, chapters, pages. Then go for the smaller cuts—paragraphs, sentences, phrases, words.

### 4. Paste.

In deleting both larger and smaller passages in your first draft, you've probably removed some of the original transitions and connecting ideas. The next task is to rearrange what's left of your paper or speech so that it flows logically. Look for

consistency within paragraphs and for transitions from paragraph to paragraph and section to section.

## 5. Fix.

Now it's time to look at individual words and phrases. Define any terms that the reader might not know, putting them in plain English whenever you can. In general, focus on nouns and verbs. Using too many adjectives and adverbs weakens your message and adds unnecessary bulk to your writing. Write about the details, and be specific. Also, check your writing to ensure that you are:

- Using the active voice. Write "*The research team began the project*" rather than (passively) "*A project was initiated.*"
- Writing concisely. Instead of "*After making a timely arrival and perspicaciously observing the unfolding events, I emerged totally and gloriously victorious,*" be concise with "*I came, I saw, I conquered.*"
- Communicating clearly. Instead of "*The speaker made effective use of the television medium, asking in no uncertain terms that we change our belief systems,*" you can write specifically, "*The senatorial candidate stared straight into the television camera and said, 'Take a good look at what my opponent is doing! Do you really want six more years of this?'*"

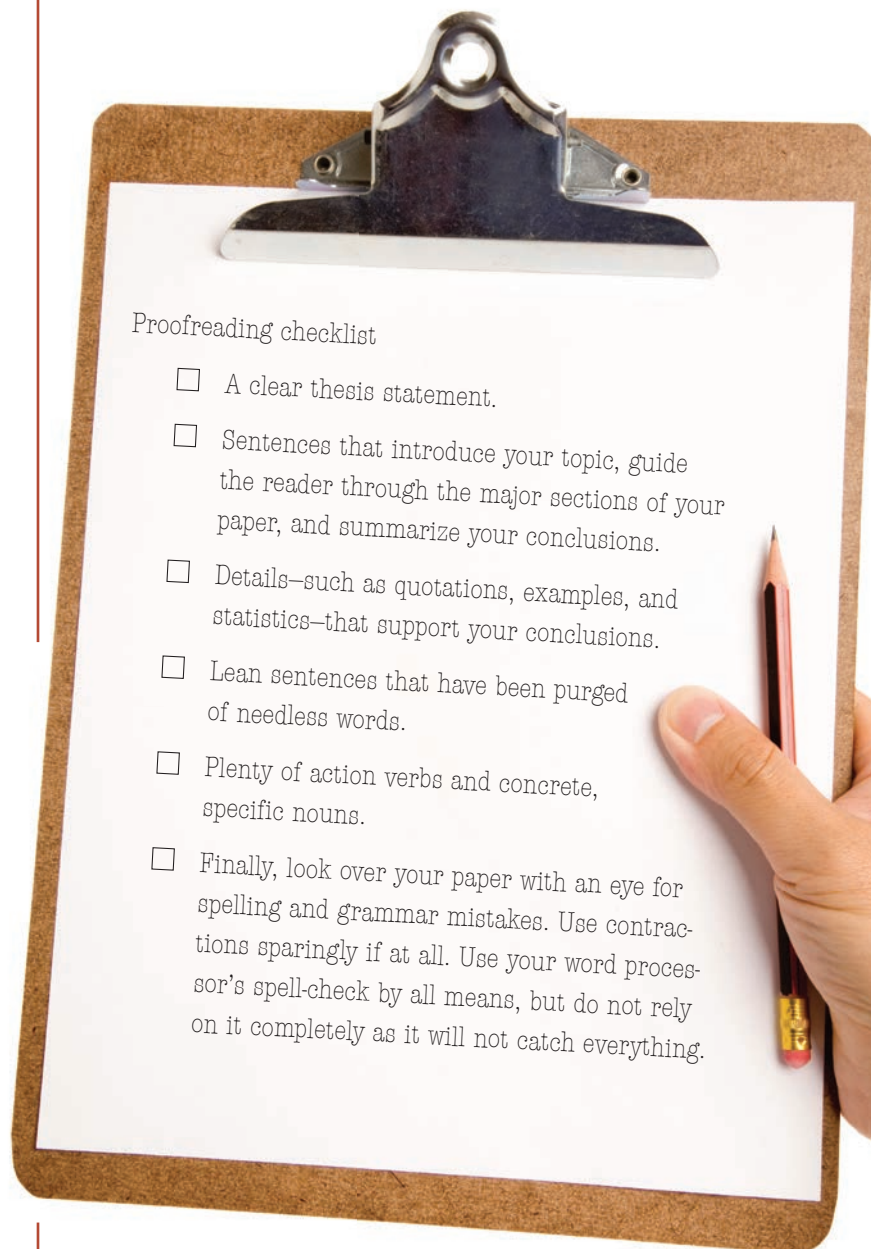
## 6. Prepare.

In a sense, any paper is a sales effort. If you hand in a paper that is wearing wrinkled jeans, its hair tangled and unwashed and its shoes untied, your instructor is less likely to buy it. To avoid this situation, format your paper following accepted standards for margin widths, endnotes, title pages, and other details. Ask your instructor for specific instructions on how to cite the sources used in writing your paper. You can find useful guidelines in the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*, a book from the Modern Language Association. If you cut and paste material from a Web page directly into your paper, be sure to place that material in quotation marks and cite the source. Before referencing an e-mail message, verify the sender's identity. Remember that

anyone sending e-mail can pretend to be someone else. Use quality paper for the final version of your paper. For an even more professional appearance, bind your paper with a plastic or paper cover.

## 7. Proof.

As you ease down the home stretch, read your revised paper one more time. This time, go for the big picture and look for the following:



### Proofreading checklist

- A clear thesis statement.
- Sentences that introduce your topic, guide the reader through the major sections of your paper, and summarize your conclusions.
- Details—such as quotations, examples, and statistics—that support your conclusions.
- Lean sentences that have been purged of needless words.
- Plenty of action verbs and concrete, specific nouns.
- Finally, look over your paper with an eye for spelling and grammar mistakes. Use contractions sparingly if at all. Use your word processor's spell-check by all means, but do not rely on it completely as it will not catch everything.

When you are through proofreading, take a minute to savor the result. You've just witnessed something of a miracle—the mind attaining clarity and resolution. That's the *aha!* in writing.

# ACADEMIC INTEGRITY: AVOIDING

# PLAGIARISM

Using another person's words, images, or other original creations without giving proper credit is called *plagiarism*. Plagiarism amounts to taking someone else's work and presenting it as your own—the equivalent of cheating on a test. The consequences of plagiarism can range from a failing grade to expulsion from school. Plagiarism can be unintentional. Some students don't understand the research process. Sometimes, they leave writing until the last minute and don't take the time to organize their sources of information. Also, some people are raised in cultures where identity is based on group membership rather than individual achievement. These students may find it hard to understand how creative work can be owned by an individual.

To avoid plagiarism, ask an instructor where you can find your school's written policy on this issue. Don't assume that you can resubmit a paper you wrote for another class for a current class. Many schools will regard this as plagiarism even though you wrote the paper. The basic guidelines for preventing plagiarism are to cite a source for each phrase, sequence of ideas, or visual image created by another person. While ideas cannot be copyrighted, the specific way that an idea is *expressed* can be. You also need to list a source for any idea that is closely identified with a particular person. The goal is to clearly distinguish your own work from the work of others. There are several ways to ensure that you do this consistently:

- **Identify direct quotes.** If you use a direct quote from another writer or speaker, put that person's words in quotation marks. If you do research online, you might find yourself copying sentences or paragraphs from a Web page and pasting them directly into your notes. This is the same as taking direct quotes from your source. To avoid plagiarism, identify such passages in an obvious way.
- **Paraphrase carefully.** Paraphrasing means restating the original passage in your own words, usually making it shorter and simpler. Students who copy a passage word for word and then just rearrange or delete a few phrases are running a serious risk of plagiarism. Remember to cite a source for paraphrases, just as you do for direct quotes. When you use the same sequence of ideas as one of your sources—even if you have not paraphrased or directly quoted—cite that source.
- **Note details about each source.** For books, details about each source include the author, title, publisher, publication date, location of publisher, and page number. For articles from print sources, record the article title and the name of the magazine or journal as well. If you found the article in an academic or technical journal, also record the volume and number of the publication. A librarian can help identify these details. If your source is a Web page, record as many identifying details as you can find—author, title, sponsoring organization, URL, publication date, and revision date. In addition, list the date that you accessed the page. Be careful when using Web resources, as not all Web sites are considered legitimate sources. Wikipedia, for instance, is not regarded as a legitimate source, but the National Institute of Justice's Web site is.
- **Cite your sources as endnotes or footnotes to your paper.** Ask your instructor for examples of the format to use. You do not need to credit wording that is wholly your own. Nor do you need to credit general ideas, such as the suggestion that people use a to-do list to plan their time. When you use your own words to describe such an idea, there's no need to credit a source. But if you borrow someone else's words or images to explain the idea, do give credit.

# SPEECH PREP



In addition to reading and writing, your success as a student will depend on how well you can communicate what you have learned. Most often, you'll do so in the form of speeches. Many people are intimidated by the idea of public speaking, but it really is just like any other skill—the more often you do it, the more you practice, the better you will get.

Developing a speech is similar to writing a paper. Begin by writing out your topic, purpose, and thesis statement. Then carefully analyze your audience by using the strategies listed below.

## If your topic is new to listeners . . .

- Explain why your topic matters to them.
- Relate the topic to something that they already know and care about.
- Define any terms that they might not know.

## If listeners already know about your topic . . .

- Acknowledge this fact at the beginning of your speech.
- Find a narrow aspect of the topic that may be new to listeners.

- Offer a new perspective on the topic, or connect it to an unfamiliar topic.

## If listeners disagree with your thesis . . .

- Tactfully admit your differences of opinion.
- Reinforce points on which you and your audience agree.
- Build credibility by explaining your qualifications to speak on your topic.
- Quote experts who agree with your thesis—people whom your audience is likely to admire.
- Explain to your listeners that their current viewpoint has costs for them and that a slight adjustment in their thinking will bring significant benefits.

## If listeners might be uninterested in your topic . . .

- Explain how listening to your speech can help them gain something that matters deeply to them.
- Explain ways to apply your ideas in daily life.

Remember that audiences generally have one question in mind: *So what?* They want to know that your presentation relates to their needs and desires. To convince people that you have something worthwhile to say, think of your main topic or point. Then see if you can complete this sentence: I'm telling you this because . . .

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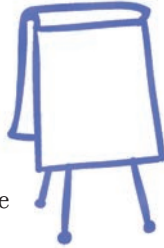




# ORGANIZE YOUR PRESENTATIONS

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Consider the length of your presentation. Plan on delivering about one hundred words per minute. Aim for a lean presentation—enough words to make your point but not so many as to make your audience restless. Leave your listeners wanting more. When you speak, be brief and then be seated. Speeches are usually organized in three main parts: the introduction, the main body, and the conclusion.



## 1. The introduction.

Rambling speeches with no clear point or organization put audiences to sleep. Solve this problem by making sure your introduction conveys the point of your presentation. The following introduction, for example, reveals the thesis and exactly what's coming. It reveals that the speech will have three distinct parts, each in logical order:

*Illegal immigration is a serious problem in many states. I intend to describe the degree of illegal immigration around the country, the challenges it presents, and how various states are addressing the issue.*

Some members of an audience will begin to drift during any speech, but most people pay attention for at least the first few seconds.

Highlight your main points in the beginning sentences of your speech. People might tell you to open your introduction with a joke, but humor is tricky. You run the risk of falling flat or offending somebody. Save jokes until you have plenty of experience with public speaking and know your audiences well. Also avoid long, flowery introductions in which you tell people how much you like them and how thrilled you are to address them. If you lay it on too thick,

**Speeches** are usually organized in three main parts: the **introduction**, the **main body**, and the **conclusion**.

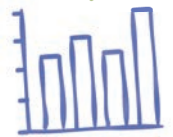
your audience won't believe you. Draft your introduction, and then come back to it after you have written the rest of your speech.



In the process of creating the main body and conclusion, your thoughts about the purpose and main points of your speech might change.

## 2. The main body.

The main body of your speech accounts for 70 to 90 percent of your speech. In the main body, you develop your ideas in much the same way that you develop a written paper. Transitions are especially important in speeches. Give your audience a signal when you change points. Do so by using meaningful pauses, verbal emphasis, and transitional phrases: "On the other hand, until the public realizes what is happening to children in these countries . . ." or "The second reason that the national debt is . . ." In long speeches, recap from time to time. Also preview what's to come. Hold your audience's attention by using facts, descriptions, expert opinions, and statistics.



## 3. The conclusion.

At the end of the speech, summarize your points and draw your conclusion. You started with a bang—now finish with drama. The first and last parts of a speech are the most important. Make it clear to your audience when you have reached the end. Avoid endings such as "This is the end of my speech." A simple standby is "So, in

conclusion, I want to reiterate three points: First . . ." When you are finished, stop speaking. Although this sounds quite obvious, a good speech is often ruined by a speaker who doesn't know when, or how, to wrap things up.



## SUPPORT YOUR SPEECH WITH NOTES AND VISUALS

To create speaking notes, you can type out your speech in full and transfer key words or main points to a few three-by-five-inch index cards. Number the cards so that if you drop them, you can quickly put them in order again. As you finish the information on each card, move it to the back of the pile. Write information clearly and in letters large enough to be seen from a distance. The disadvantage of the index card system is that it involves card shuffling—so some speakers prefer to use standard outlined notes.

You can also create supporting visuals. Presentations often include visuals such as PowerPoint slides or handwritten flip charts. These visuals can reinforce your main points and help your audience understand how your presentation is organized. Use visuals to *complement* rather than *replace* speech. If you use too many visuals or visuals that are too complex, your audience might focus on them and forget about you. To avoid this fate, follow these tips:

- *Use fewer visuals rather than more. For a fifteen-minute presentation, a total of five to ten slides is usually enough.*
- *Limit the amount of text on each visual. Stick to key words presented in short sentences or phrases and in bulleted or numbered lists.*
- *Use a consistent set of plain fonts. Make them large enough for all audience members to see.*
- *Stick with a simple, coherent color scheme. Use light-colored text on a dark background or dark text on a light background.*

## OVERCOME FEAR OF PUBLIC SPEAKING

You may not be able to eliminate fear of public speaking entirely, but you can take steps to reduce and manage it.

**PREPARE THOROUGHLY** Research your topic thoroughly. Knowing your topic inside and out can create a baseline of confidence. To make a strong start, memorize the first four sentences that you plan to deliver, and practice them many times. Delivering them flawlessly when you're in front of an audience can build your confidence for the rest of your speech.

**ACCEPT YOUR PHYSICAL SENSATIONS** You have probably experienced the physical sensations that are commonly associated with stage fright: dry mouth, a pounding heart, sweaty hands, muscle jitters, shortness of breath, and a shaky voice. One immediate way to deal with such sensations is to simply notice them. Tell yourself, "Yes, my hands are clammy. Yes, my stomach is upset. Also, my face feels numb." Trying to deny or

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ignore such facts can increase your fear. In contrast, when you fully accept sensations, they start to lose power.

**FOCUS ON CONTENT, NOT DELIVERY** If you view public speaking simply as an extension of a one-to-one conversation, the goal is not to perform but to communicate your ideas to an audience in the same ways that you would explain them to a friend. This can reduce your fear of public speaking. Instead of thinking about yourself, focus on your message. Your audience is more interested in what you have to say than in how you say it. Forget about giving a “speech.” Just give people valuable ideas and information that they can use.

## PRACTICE YOUR PRESENTATION

The key to successful public speaking is practice.

- ❑ **Use your “speaker’s voice.”** When you practice, do so in a loud voice. Your voice sounds different when you talk loudly, and this fact can be unnerving. Get used to it early on.
- ❑ **Practice in the room in which you will deliver your speech.**
- ❑ **Get familiar with the setting.** If you can’t practice your speech in the actual room in which it will be given, at least visit the site ahead of time. Also make sure that the materials you will need for your speech, including any audiovisual equipment, will be available when you want them.
- ❑ **Make a recording.** Many schools have video recording equipment available for student use. Use it while you practice. Then view the finished recording to evaluate your presentation. Pay special attention to your body language—how you stand, your eye contact, how you use your hands.
- ❑ **Listen for repeated words and phrases.** Examples include *you know*, *kind of*, and *really*, plus any instances of *uh*, *umm*, and *ah*. To get rid of them, tell yourself that you intend to notice every time they pop up in your daily speech.
- ❑ **Keep practicing.** Avoid speaking word for word, as if you were reading a script. When you know your material well, you can deliver

it in a natural way. Practice your presentation until you could deliver it in your sleep. Then run through it a few more times.

## DELIVER YOUR PRESENTATION

Before you begin, get the audience’s attention. If people are still filing into the room or adjusting their seats, they’re not ready to listen. Wait for people to settle into their seats before you begin.

For a great speech, keep these tips in mind:

**DRESS FOR THE OCCASION** The clothing you choose to wear on the day of your speech delivers a message that’s as loud as your words. Consider how your audience will be dressed, and then choose a wardrobe based on the impression you want to make.

**PROJECT YOUR VOICE** When you speak, talk loudly enough to be heard. Avoid leaning over your notes or the podium.

**MAINTAIN EYE CONTACT** When you look at people, they become less frightening. Remember, too, that it is easier for people in the audience to listen to someone when that person is looking at them. Find a few friendly faces around the room, and imagine that you are talking to each of these people individually.



**NOTICE YOUR NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION, YOUR BODY LANGUAGE** Be aware of what your body is telling your audience. Contrived or staged gestures will look dishonest. Hands in pockets, twisting your hair, chewing gum, or leaning against a wall will all make you appear less polished than you want to be.

**WATCH THE TIME** You can increase the impact of your words by keeping track of the time during your speech. It's better to end early than to run late.

**PAUSE WHEN APPROPRIATE** Beginners sometimes feel that they have to fill every moment with the sound of their voice. Release that expectation. Give your listeners a chance to make notes and absorb what you say.

**HAVE FUN** Chances are that if you lighten up and enjoy your presentation, so will your listeners.

## REFLECT ON YOUR PRESENTATION



Review and reflect on your performance. Did you finish on time? Did you cover all of the points you intended to cover? Was the audience attentive? Did you handle any nervousness effectively? Welcome evaluation from others. Most of us find it difficult to hear criticism about our speaking.



Be aware of resisting such criticism, and then let go of your resistance. Listening to feedback will increase your skill.

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## TALKING ABOUT PRACTICE

When practicing your speech, you'll need to do more than just read through it silently. While it's good to use practice sessions to memorize the contents of your speech, they are also important times to work on how you use your voice and body as you speak. To make your practice time efficient and beneficial, follow the two-step process shown below and repeat it two or three (or more times) until you're ready to deliver a masterful speech.

### 1. Practice

- If possible, practice your speech in the location where you will be actually giving it. If this is not possible, make your practice setting as similar to the actual setting as possible.
- Record your practice so that you can analyze it later.
- Working from your outline or notes, go through the entire speech without stopping. If you make mistakes, try to fix them as you go along.

### 2. Review

Watch the recording of your first practice and ask yourself:

- Did I leave out important ideas?
- Did I focus too much on one point and not enough on others?
- Did I talk too fast or too slow?
- Did I speak clearly?
- Was my body language distracting or helpful?
- Did I maintain good eye contact?

After watching the recording, write down three or four specific changes that you will make to improve your speech.







# 1 The Democratic Republic

The eight learning outcomes below are designed to help improve your understanding of this chapter. After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- **Learning Outcome 1:** Define the terms *politics* and *government*.
- **Learning Outcome 2:** Explain some of the ways in which Americans interact with their government.
- **Learning Outcome 3:** State what is meant by the words *order*, *liberty*, *authority*, and *legitimacy*.
- **Learning Outcome 4:** Distinguish the major features of direct democracy and representative democracy.
- **Learning Outcome 5:** Describe majoritarianism, elite theory, and pluralism as theories of how democratic systems work.
- **Learning Outcome 6:** Summarize the conflicts that can occur between the principles of liberty and order, and also those of liberty and equality.
- **Learning Outcome 7:** Discuss conservatism, liberalism, and other popular American ideological positions.
- **Learning Outcome 8:** Determine how the basic political principles addressed in this chapter were reflected in the 2012 elections.

U.S. flags wave in front of Los Angeles City Hall during a ceremony to mark the tenth anniversary of the 9/11 terror attacks. (© Yang Lei/ZUMA Press/Newscom)

# What if...

**GRAND THEFT AUTO** is a violent video game. With no Bill of Rights, would it likely be unavailable to children?

## WE HAD NO BILL OF RIGHTS?

### BACKGROUND

You know that you have the right to speak freely about the government without fear of being arrested for what you say. You have probably heard of the right to bear arms. These rights come from the Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution. Because of these amendments, the government may not pass laws that limit freedom of speech, religion, and many other freedoms. You will learn more about the civil liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in Chapter 4, on pages 113–114.

The Bill of Rights is built into the founding document that guides our government. As a result, it commands a certain reverence. Merely by its existence, it can dissuade citizens and government leaders from impairing the civil liberties of fellow Americans.

### WHAT IF WE HAD NO BILL OF RIGHTS?

Because the Bill of Rights protects our fundamental liberties, some people jump to the conclusion that, without it, we would have no rights. Consider, though, that almost all state constitutions enumerate many of the same rights. It is true that if the rights of the people were not written into state and national constitutions, these rights would be entirely dependent on the political process—on elections and on laws passed by the U.S. Congress and state legislatures. Popular rights would still be safe. Unpopular ones would be in danger.

### THE RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS

Take as an example the Second Amendment, which guarantees to citizens the right to bear arms. If the Bill of Rights did not exist, would it mean that individuals would be unable to keep firearms in their homes? Probably not. Few localities in the United States have tried to ban handguns completely. Almost all states have gun laws that are far more permissive than they have to be under the Constitution. Indeed, it was not until 2008 and 2010 that the highest court in the land, the Supreme Court, even addressed this issue. The Court ruled that complete bans on possessing handguns are unconstitutional.

### THE RIGHTS OF CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS

According to the Sixth Amendment, accused individuals have the right to a speedy and public trial. Also, according to the Fifth Amendment, no accused “shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law.” These rules protect people who are accused of crimes. Certainly, without the Bill of Rights, we could imagine many more restrictions on the rights of criminal defendants. Why? Because those accused of crimes are not a popular group of people. Many of the protections now given to criminal defendants would probably not exist if there were no Bill of Rights.

### FREE SPEECH

Without the Bill of Rights, we would probably see many more laws restricting political contributions and advertising. We could expect laws against violent video games and pornography on the Internet. In contrast, given current popular attitudes, it is unlikely that “subversive” speech would be greatly restricted. Most Americans and their elected representatives support the right to denounce the government.

### FOR CRITICAL ANALYSIS

1. *The Fifth Amendment guarantees that no one can lose her or his liberty or property without due process. Yet, during World War II, we imprisoned tens of thousands of Japanese American citizens, based solely upon their race. Could that happen today to some other group of citizens, such as Muslim Americans? Why or why not?*
2. *Which of the rights mentioned in this feature do you think are the most important? Why?*



Politics, for many people, is the “great game”—better than soccer, better than chess. Scores may be tallied only every two years, at elections, but the play continues at all times. The game, furthermore, is played for high stakes. Politics can affect what you spend. It can determine what you can legally do in your spare time. (The *What If . . .* feature that opened this chapter examined some of the ways in which your freedoms might be restricted if the Bill of Rights did not exist.) In worst-case circumstances, politics can even threaten your life.

Few topics are so entertaining as politics—and so important. How did the great game turn out in the elections held on November 6, 2012? We address that question in the *Elections 2012* feature on the following page.

In our democratic republic, citizens play an important role by voting. Although voting is extremely important, it is only one of the ways that citizens can exercise their political influence. Americans can also join a political organization or interest group, stage a protest, or donate funds to a political campaign or cause. There are countless ways to become involved. Informed participation begins with knowledge, however, and this text aims to provide you with a strong foundation in American government and politics. We hope that this book helps introduce you to a lifetime of political awareness and activity.

## Politics and Government

What is politics? **Politics** can be understood as the process of resolving conflicts and deciding, as political scientist Harold Lasswell put it in his classic definition, “who gets what, when, and how.”<sup>1</sup> More specifically, politics is the struggle over power or influence within organizations or informal groups that can grant benefits or privileges.

We can identify many such organizations and groups. In families, all members may meet to decide on values, priorities, and actions. In every community that makes decisions through formal or informal rules, politics exists. For example, when a church group decides to construct a new building or hire a new minister, the decision is made politically. Politics can be found in schools, social groups, and any other organized collection of individuals. Of all the organizations that are controlled by political activity, however, the most important is the government.

What is the government? Certainly, it is an **institution**—that is, an ongoing organization that performs certain functions for society and that has a life separate from the lives of the individuals who are part of it at any given moment in time. The **government** can be defined as an institution within which decisions are made that resolve conflicts and allocate benefits and privileges. The government is also the preeminent institution within society because it has the ultimate authority for making these decisions.

## Government Is Everywhere

The government is even more important than politics. Many people largely ignore politics, but it is impossible to ignore government. It is everywhere, like the water you drink and the air you breathe. Both air and water, by the way, are subject to government pollution standards. The food you eat comes from an agricultural industry that is heavily regulated and subsidized by the government. Step outside your residence, and almost immediately you will walk down a government-owned street or drive on a government-owned highway.

### did you know?

The Greek philosopher Aristotle favored enlightened authoritarianism over democracy, which to him meant mob rule.

■ **Learning Outcome 1:**  
Define the terms *politics* and *government*.

#### Politics

The process of resolving conflicts and deciding “who gets what, when, and how.” More specifically, politics is the struggle over power or influence within organizations or informal groups that can grant benefits or privileges.

#### Institution

An ongoing organization that performs certain functions for society.

#### Government

The preeminent institution within society in which decisions are made that resolve conflicts and allocate benefits and privileges. It is unique because it has the ultimate authority for making these decisions.

1. Harold Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, and How* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith Publisher, 1990; originally published in 1936).

■ **Learning Outcome 2:**  
**Explain some of the ways in which Americans interact with their government.**

## From Your Birth

The county government records your birth. Your toys, crib, and baby food must meet government safety standards. After a few years, you'll start school, and 86 percent of all children attend public—which is to say, government—schools. Some children attend private schools or are home schooled, but their education must also meet government standards. Public school students spend many hours in an environment designed and managed by teachers and other government employees. If you get into trouble, you'll meet government employees you'd rather not see: the police, court employees, or even jail staff.

## Throughout Your Life

Most young people look forward eagerly to receiving their government-issued driver's license. Many join the military on graduating from high school, and for those who do, every minute of the next several years will be 100 percent government issue. (That's why we call soldiers "GIs.") A majority of young adults attend college at some point, and if you are reading this textbook, you are probably one of them. Many private colleges and universities exist, but 73 percent of all college students attend public institutions. Even most private universities are heavily dependent on government support.

In nearly all states, you began paying sales taxes from the moment you had your own funds to spend. Some of those funds are made up of currency issued by the government. When you enter the workforce, you'll begin paying payroll and income taxes to the government. If, like most people, you are an employee, government regulations will set many of your working conditions. You might even work for the government itself—17 percent of employees do. If you are unfortunate enough to lose a job or fall into poverty, government programs will lend you a hand.

# 2012 elections

## THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTION

Throughout 2012, political observers predicted a very close election. To a degree, that prediction was accurate. Democratic president Barack Obama was reelected. The Democrats kept control of the U.S. Senate, adding two seats for a total of fifty-five out of one hundred. Democratic gains in the U.S. House, however, were not even close to the number necessary to take that chamber away from the Republicans. The estimated result was 201 Democrats and 234 Republicans. (These figures, though, include some close races in which the outcome could change.) Elections for state governors and legislatures were somewhat of a wash for both parties.

The election year 2010 had been a "wave" year for the Republicans, who took control of the U.S. House with a large num-

ber of seats. By 2012, however, the Republican advantage had largely disappeared. In 2010, many Americans were concerned about the perceived growth in the size of the federal government. Conservative voters turned out in large numbers, while many other voters stayed home. The effects of the Great Recession also hurt the incumbent Democrats.

If the Democrats engaged in overreach in 2009 and 2010, the Republicans also went overboard in 2011 and 2012. They advocated economic and social policies that many moderate voters found unpalatable. Voter turnout among Democratic-oriented groups was also well up in 2012. The result was a nation once again divided right down the middle in its political preferences.

## To Your Death

Later in life, you may have health problems. One way or another, the government provides 50 percent of all health-care spending, and that is without President Barack Obama's health-care plan, which was approved in 2010. Much of that spending comes from the federal Medicare program, which funds health care for almost everyone over the age of sixty-five. At that point in your life, you'll probably receive Social Security, the national government's pension plan that covers most employees. Eventually, the county government will record your death, and a government judge will oversee the distribution of your assets to your heirs.

## Why Is Government Necessary?

Perhaps the best way to assess the need for government is to examine circumstances in which government, as we normally understand it, does not exist. What happens when multiple groups compete with one another for power within a society? There are places around the world where such circumstances exist. A current example is the African nation of Somalia. Since 1991, Somalia has not had a central government capable of controlling the country. The regions of the country are divided among various warlords and factions, each controlling a block of territory. When Somali warlords compete for control of a particular locality, the result is war, generalized devastation, and famine. Normally, multiple armed forces compete by fighting, and the absence of a unified government is equivalent to ongoing civil war.

## The Need for Security

As the example of Somalia shows, one of the original purposes of government is the maintenance of security, or **order**. By keeping the peace, a government dispenses justice and protects its people from violence at the hands of private or foreign armies and criminals. If order is not present, it is not possible for the government to provide any of the other benefits that people expect from it.

■ **Learning Outcome 3:**  
State what is meant by the words *order*, *liberty*, *authority*, and *legitimacy*.

### Order

A state of peace and security. Maintaining order by protecting members of society from violence and criminal activity is one of the oldest purposes of government.

**These protestors** in Libya are burning the “green book” of Muammar Qaddafi, their dictator, which instructed them on politics and how to conduct their lives. When Qaddafi was overthrown and killed, what happened to security in that nation?



(AA/ABACA/Newscom)

**The Example of Afghanistan.** Consider the situation in Afghanistan. The former rulers of that country, the Taliban, were allied with the al Qaeda network, which organized the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, from bases in Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> Soon after the attacks, the United States, Britain, and other nations intervened to overthrow the Taliban regime by providing air support and special operations assistance to the Northern Alliance, an Afghan faction at war with the Taliban. The Northern Alliance soon occupied Kabul, the capital of the nation.

**The Loss of Security in Afghanistan.** Unfortunately, the new Afghan government never gained full control of its territory. The Taliban regrouped, and its units killed humanitarian workers, blew up newly constructed wells, and burned schools. The government, afflicted by massive corruption, survived only because the United States and its allies moved substantial ground forces into the country.

Today, millions of Afghans do not enjoy the benefits of personal security, pinned as they are between the Taliban and the government's international allies. Afghanistan has the highest infant mortality rate in the world. It has been rated as having the world's second most serious corruption problem (after Somalia). A third of the economy is based on the production of illegal drugs. Clearly, Afghanistan has a considerable distance to go before order is restored. Order is a political value to which we will return later in this chapter.

## Limiting Government Power

A complete collapse of order and security, as seen in Somalia and parts of Afghanistan, is actually an uncommon event. Much more common is the reverse—too much government control. In 2012, the human rights organization Freedom House judged that 48 of the world's countries were “not free.” These nations contain 35 percent of the world's population. Such countries may be controlled by individual dictators. Libya's Muammar Qaddafi and Hosni Mubarak of Egypt were obvious examples. Alternatively, a political party, such as the Communist Party of China, may monopolize all the levers of power. The military may rule, as in Myanmar (also called Burma).

In all of these examples, the individual or group running the country cannot be removed by legal means. Freedom of speech and the right to a fair trial are typically absent. Dictatorial governments often torture or execute their opponents. Such regimes may also suppress freedom of religion. Revolution, whether violent or nonviolent, is often the only way to change the government.

In short, protection from the violence of domestic criminals or foreign armies is not enough. Citizens also need protection from abuses of power by their own government. To protect the liberties of the people, it is necessary to limit the powers of the government.

**Liberty**—the greatest freedom of the individual consistent with the freedom of other individuals—is a second major political value, along with order. We discuss this value in more detail later in this chapter.

## Authority and Legitimacy

Every government must have **authority**—that is, the right and power to enforce its decisions. Ultimately, the government's authority rests on its control of the armed forces and the police. Few people in the United States, however, base their day-to-day activities on fear of the government's enforcement powers. Most people, most of the time, obey the law because this is what they have always done. Also, if they did not obey the law, they would face the disapproval of friends and family. Consider an example: Do you avoid

### Liberty

The greatest freedom of the individual that is consistent with the freedom of other individuals in the society.

### Authority

The right and power of a government or other entity to enforce its decisions.

2. *Taliban* means “students” in the Pashto language of Afghanistan. *Al Qaeda* is Arabic for “the base.”

injuring your friends or stealing their possessions because you are afraid of the police—or because if you undertook these actions, you no longer would have friends?

Under normal circumstances, the government's authority has broad popular support. People accept the government's right to establish rules and laws. When authority is broadly accepted, we say that it has **legitimacy**. Authority without legitimacy is a recipe for trouble.

Events in several Arab nations in 2011 serve as an example. The dictators who ruled Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia had been in power for decades. All three dictators had some popular support when they first gained power. None of these nations had a tradition of democracy, and so it was possible for dictatorial rulers to enjoy a degree of legitimacy. After years of oppressive behavior, however, these regimes slowly lost that legitimacy. The rulers survived only because they were willing to employ violence against any opposition. In Egypt and Tunisia, the end came when soldiers refused to use force against large numbers of demonstrators. Having lost all legitimacy, the rulers of these two countries now lost their authority as well. Unfortunately, the downfall and death of Qaddafi in Libya came only after a seven-month civil war.

## Democracy and Other Forms of Government

The different types of government can be classified according to which person or group of people controls society through the government.

### Types of Government

At one extreme is a society governed by a **totalitarian regime**. In such a political system, a small group of leaders or a single individual—a dictator—makes all decisions for the society. Every aspect of political, social, and economic life is controlled by the government. The power of the ruler is total (thus, the term *totalitarianism*).

A second type of system is authoritarian government. **Authoritarianism** differs from totalitarianism in that only the government itself is fully controlled by the ruler. Social and economic institutions, such as churches, businesses, and labor unions, exist that are not under the government's control.

Many of our terms for describing the distribution of political power are derived from the ancient Greeks, who were the first Western people to study politics systematically. One form of rule was known as **aristocracy**, literally meaning “rule by the best.” In practice, this meant rule by wealthy members of ancient families. Another term from the Greeks is **theocracy**, which literally means “rule by God” (or the gods). In practice, theocracy means rule by religious leaders, who are typically self-appointed. Iran is a rare example of a country in which supreme power is in the hands of a religious leader, the grand ayatollah Ali Khamenei. One of the most straightforward Greek terms is **oligarchy**, which simply means “rule by a few.”

**Anarchy** is a term derived from a Greek word meaning the absence of government. Advocates of anarchy envision a world in which each individual makes his or her own rules for behavior. In reality, the absence of government typically results in rule by competing armed factions, many of which are indistinguishable from gangsters. This is the state of affairs in Somalia, which we described earlier.

Finally, the Greek term for rule by the people was **democracy**. Within the limits of their culture, some of the Greek city-states operated as democracies. Today, in much of the world, the people will not grant legitimacy to a government unless it is based on democracy.

### Legitimacy

Popular acceptance of the right and power of a government or other entity to exercise authority.

■ **Learning Outcome 4:**  
Distinguish the major features of direct democracy and representative democracy.

### Totalitarian Regime

A form of government that controls all aspects of the political, social, and economic life of a nation.

### Authoritarianism

A type of regime in which only the government itself is fully controlled by the ruler. Social and economic institutions exist that are not under the government's control.

### Aristocracy

“Rule by the best”; in reality, rule by members of the upper class.

### Theocracy

“Rule by God,” or the gods; in practice, rule by religious leaders, typically self-appointed.

### Oligarchy

“Rule by a few.”

### Anarchy

The condition of no government.

### Democracy

A system of government in which political authority is vested in the people. The term is derived from the Greek words *demos* (“the people”) and *kratos* (“authority”).