Lesson 7 - Citizen Participation in a Democracy

Section 1 - Introduction

In 1831, a young French aristocrat, Alexis de Tocqueville, began a nine-month tour of the United States. He wanted to learn about American democracy. As he toured the country, he was struck by the vitality of the American people and their engagement in public life.

When he returned home, Tocqueville published a book about American political life called *Democracy in America*. In this book, he wrote that “Americans . . . constantly form associations” to get things done. They formed groups to build hospitals, schools, and churches and to carry out many other civic projects. He argued that this collective action taught Americans political skills and helped to strengthen democracy.

Many years later, in the 1990s, political scientist Robert D. Putnam looked at the role of associations in modern American life. He described quite a different country from the one Tocqueville had visited a century and a half earlier. Far fewer Americans, he found, were taking part in the kind of cooperative efforts that Tocqueville had admired.

Although Americans still joined organizations, they did so mainly as “checkbook” participants. They gave money, but not time or energy, to civic causes. “We remain . . . reasonably well-informed spectators of public affairs,” Putnam wrote, “but many fewer of us actually partake in the game.”

In 2000, Putnam summarized his findings in the book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. The title underscored his concern that the United States was becoming a nation of disengaged citizens. He pointed to a sharp decline in bowling-league membership as a symbol of this change. Increasingly, Americans were choosing not to join bowling leagues, or any other group, but instead went “bowling alone.” Putnam feared the impact this lack of social engagement might have on democracy and civic life.

Are Putnam’s fears justified? Are we becoming spectators rather than players in public affairs? Keep these questions in mind as you read about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and the ways that Americans today engage in the civic and political life of their communities.

Section 2 - Citizenship, Civic Rights, Civic Responsibilities

The U.S. Constitution, as originally written, did not define citizenship. It made reference to citizens and listed some of their rights, particularly in the Bill of Rights. But it did not say how citizenship was to be determined. At the time the Constitution was adopted, it was generally assumed that state citizens would become U.S. citizens. It was also assumed that a person born in the United States was a citizen.

In 1857, however, the Supreme Court handed down a decision that shook up these assumptions. In the case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the Court held that Dred Scott, an enslaved African American born in Virginia, was not a citizen and therefore could not sue for his freedom in federal court. Chief Justice Roger Taney argued that the framers never meant to include slaves under the protections of the Constitution. But if Dred Scott was not a citizen, what was he? And what did this decision mean for other African Americans? What rights could they claim under U.S. law?

The Fourteenth Amendment Defines Citizenship

The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in part to address these issues and reverse the Dred Scott decision. Ratified in 1868, just three years after the Civil War, this amendment clarified who was a citizen under the Constitution. It begins with these words:

*All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.*—Fourteenth Amendment, 1868
The purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment was to extend the rights of citizenship to former slaves. At the same time, it clearly states that all persons born on American soil are to be considered U.S. citizens, no matter where their parents were born. It also says that states cannot discriminate against citizens or deprive them of their rights without due process of law.

African Americans’ Long Struggle for Civil Rights

Although the Fourteenth Amendment was designed to extend the rights of citizenship to African Americans, its immediate effects were limited. In the late 1800s, southern states passed laws, known as Jim Crow laws, that enforced segregation and denied legal equality to blacks. It would take many decades for the courts and Congress to overturn these laws and protect the civil rights of African Americans. The timeline below shows several key events in this long struggle.

An early setback in the struggle for equal rights occurred when the Supreme Court heard Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896. The case centered on Homer Plessy, a black man who had been arrested in Louisiana for sitting in a whites-only railroad car. Plessy challenged his arrest in court. He argued that Jim Crow laws that segregated blacks from whites violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The decision went against Plessy. The Court held that separate facilities for blacks and whites were legal as long as they were equal. This “separate but equal” doctrine was soon applied to almost every aspect of life in southern states. In most cases, however, the facilities provided for black Americans were far inferior to those enjoyed by whites.

Despite this decision, African Americans continued to fight for equal rights. They formed organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to protest racial discrimination in its many forms.

In 1954, the NAACP won a major victory in the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. The case focused on the rights of a young African American, Linda Brown, who was prohibited from attending a white school near her home in Topeka, Kansas. In its decision, the Supreme Court concluded that “separate but equal” facilities were by their very nature unequal. This decision paved the way for the desegregation of public schools and the launching of the modern civil rights movement.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the civil rights struggle touched all aspects of American life. The most prominent leader of the movement, Martin Luther King Jr., helped to make Americans aware of the great injustices imposed on people of color. In 1963, King responded to those who argued that blacks should be more patient in their demand for equal rights in his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail."

Just over a year later, on July 2, 1964, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law. This landmark legislation banned discrimination in most areas of American life on the basis of race, sex, religion, or national origin. It also committed the U.S. government to protecting the rights of all Americans, regardless of skin color or country of birth. The improvements in the economic, political, and social aspects of African Americans' lives show the far-reaching effects of this law.
Rights and Responsibilities

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the United States has experienced a huge increase in immigration, both legal and illegal. Once in this country, most lawful permanent residents [lawful permanent resident: an immigrant who is legally authorized to live and work in the United States permanently, but is not a U.S. citizen; also known as a resident alien or legal resident] enjoy most of the same rights as native-born Americans. These include the rights listed in the Bill of Rights, from freedom of speech to freedom from cruel and unusual punishment.

American citizens, whether native born or naturalized, enjoy additional rights. The most important are the right to vote, to hold public office, and to claim certain social and economic benefits. Some forms of welfare payments, for example, are available only to citizens. Most jobs in the federal government are limited to citizens only.
Similarly, all people living in the United States have certain legal responsibilities. They are required to obey laws, pay taxes, and cooperate with public officials. All males who are 18, whether citizens, lawful permanent residents, or undocumented immigrants [undocumented immigrant: a person who has come to the United States to live and work without the required legal papers] must register for military service. This is true even though the United States currently has an all-volunteer army.

Everyone has personal responsibilities, or duties that relate to an individual’s private life, such as taking care of one’s own health. Personal responsibilities apply to helping one’s family and friends, too. Comforting an upset friend and caring for a sick parent are examples of personal responsibility.

Citizens also have civic responsibilities. They are expected to be informed about and participate in public affairs. Volunteering to serve the public good is another civic responsibility. Sometimes the obligation of citizenship requires that personal desires be subordinated to the public good. For example, a woman might have to miss work to attend jury duty or a man might feel obligated to research candidates in an election even though he would rather be playing basketball.

Political engagement is a choice, not a legal requirement. However, democracies function best when citizens choose good leaders and pay close attention to what those leaders do once elected. As Tocqueville observed almost two centuries ago, “The greatness of America lies not in being more enlightened than any other nation, but rather in her ability to repair her faults.” It is up to all of us as citizens to make sure such repairs are made when needed.

Section 3 - Becoming an American Citizen

By 2010, nearly 40 million Americans, or about 13 percent of the U.S. population, were foreign born. Every year, hundreds of thousands of immigrants become U.S. citizens. They usually receive their citizenship at a large ceremony, along with many other new citizens. For most, the occasion is filled with emotion.

For Alberto Olivarez, the citizenship ceremony was a bit different, though no less emotional. In 2006, Olivarez, a Mexican-born teacher at an elementary school in Brighton, Colorado, took his oath of citizenship alone, standing before an audience of students and their parents in his school gymnasium. Like Olivarez, many in the audience were immigrants or children of immigrants.

Olivarez’s wife and three children sat on the stage with him as he pledged to “support and defend the Constitution of the United States.” With this oath, Olivarez became a U.S. citizen, just as he had expected. What came next, however, surprised him. The school principal explained to the audience that Olivarez’s citizenship automatically made his three young sons American citizens as well. Upon hearing this news, Olivarez burst into tears. It was a benefit of citizenship he had never imagined.
There are two ways to become a U.S. citizen. The most common way is by birth. Most Americans are born in the United States, though some are born in another country to parents who are U.S. citizens. Either way, citizens by birth automatically enjoy all the rights, privileges, and protections of citizenship.

The other way to become a citizen is through naturalization. This is the path that Alberto Olivarez and other naturalized citizens have taken. Naturalization is a multistep legal process that, when completed, gives the applicant virtually all the rights and responsibilities of a native-born citizen.

In 2011, nearly 700,000 people became U.S. citizens through naturalization. The largest group of new citizens came from Mexico, but tens of thousands also came from India, the Philippines, China, Columbia, Cuba, and other countries.

Immigrants must meet several requirements to be eligible for naturalization. They must be at least 18 years old and lawful permanent residents of the United States. In most cases, such immigrants, also known as resident aliens, must have lived in this country for at least five years to be eligible for naturalization.

After meeting those requirements, the next step is to complete an application for naturalization. If the application is approved, the applicant has an interview with an immigration official. At this meeting, applicants are tested on their ability to speak, read, and write English. They also take a civics test to show basic knowledge of American history and government. Sample questions from the test appear at the end of this lesson.

The final step in the naturalization process is the citizenship ceremony. Here, applicants answer a few more questions. Then they take the oath of allegiance to the United States and receive a certificate of naturalization.

Naturalization gives new citizens the right to vote and run for any public office except that of vice president or president. The Constitution says that only native-born citizens can hold these offices. Critics of this rule argue that it is no longer necessary or fair because it excludes qualified foreign-born officials. However, supporters of the clause highlight its important in preventing foreign influence over the U.S. government.

The Status of Lawful Permanent Residents

Immigrants do not need to become citizens to stay in the United States legally, however. They may remain here indefinitely as lawful permanent residents. In 2011, the U.S. government granted permanent residency to more than 1 million people.

Immigrants seeking permanent resident status also go through an application process with the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services. Preference is given to immigrants whose job skills are needed by U.S. businesses or who are related by birth or marriage to a U.S. citizen. Those who successfully complete the application process receive an identification card known as a green card. A green card provides proof that its holder has a legal right to live and work in the United States.

Resident aliens enjoy most of the rights of citizens. These include the right to travel freely outside the country. However, if resident aliens plan to be away for more than a year, they must apply for a reentry permit. Without this permit, they may be refused reentry to the United States. Resident aliens may also lose their permanent resident status and be deported if they are convicted of criminal activity.

Section 4 - Political Culture in the United States

Citizens and residents of the United States operate within a political culture. This is a society’s framework of shared values, beliefs, and attitudes concerning politics and government. It is the political environment in which Americans exercise their rights and responsibilities.
Political culture can take many forms and be expressed in many ways. The strong surge of patriotism after the 9/11 terrorist attacks of 2001 was an expression of American political culture. At the time, many Americans flew the flag to show their love of country. In quite a different way, the civil rights protests of the 1950s and 1960s were also an expression of American political culture. The millions of Americans who supported the civil rights movement shared the belief that all citizens should enjoy equal rights and opportunities.

Americans’ Shared Political Values

Although Americans often disagree on specific issues, they share a number of core beliefs and values. These beliefs, some of which are listed below, shape our political culture. Keep in mind that individuals may vary in terms of their attachment to these core values.

Liberty. Americans believe they are entitled to the greatest amount of liberty possible as long as they do no harm to others. They believe firmly that citizens should be able to express their views openly, without fear of punishment by the government.

Equality. Americans embrace equality of opportunity, without regard to race, religion, or gender. They believe that all citizens should enjoy the right to vote, to receive an education, to have a job, and to succeed in life.

Democracy. Americans support a democratic system of government. They believe that political authority comes from the people and that public officials should be accountable to the voters. The importance of majority rule and the protection of minority rights are important related beliefs.

Individualism. Americans believe in personal freedom and personal responsibility. As a general rule, they believe that every citizen is responsible for his or her own actions and well-being. This contrasts with the more collective view in some countries, where greater emphasis is placed on the government’s role in meeting people’s needs.

Free enterprise. Americans support capitalism and a free-market economy in which private businesses compete with relatively limited regulation by government. They accept the fact that such a system creates winners and losers in terms of wealth and economic status.

Justice and the rule of law. Americans believe that society should be governed by a system of laws that are fairly and equally applied. They believe that the rights of ordinary citizens should not be arbitrarily restricted or infringed on by government.

Patriotism. Americans feel great pride and loyalty toward their country. Many believe that the United States is the greatest nation in the world. They also take pride in the values of American democracy.

Optimism. In general, Americans are upbeat and optimistic. They see themselves as “can-do” people. They tend to believe that their lives and life in general will be better in the future.

Civic duty. Americans believe that for democracy to flourish, citizens should vote and participate in civic and political affairs. Many also see volunteering for military service or giving back to their communities through volunteer activities as an aspect of civic duty.

Two Widely Held Ideologies: Liberalism and Conservatism

Although Americans share a common political culture, they do not all hold to the same ideology [ideology: a basic set of political beliefs about the roles of government and the individual in society], or basic political beliefs. For example, they often disagree on the role government should play with respect to economic policy and moral values. The most widely held ideologies in U.S. politics today are held by Americans who define themselves as liberals or conservatives.

Liberalism [liberalism: an ideology favoring an active role for government in efforts to solve society’s problems] is an ideology that favors an active role for the government in solving society’s problems. Liberals generally support government efforts to regulate business and the economy. They support policies designed to reduce economic inequality and to help the poor. They also favor the use of government regulation to protect the environment and improve the health care system.
As their name suggests, liberals strongly defend liberty and resist government efforts to interfere in people’s personal lives. On a political spectrum, with moderates in the middle, liberals are said to be “left of center.” They tend to associate themselves with the Democratic Party.

Conservatism, on the other hand, is an ideology that calls for a limited role for government in economic affairs. Conservatives generally oppose government regulation of business. Most want to limit the size of government, reduce taxes, and cut back on government programs. Instead, they look to private initiative, or efforts by nongovernmental groups such as religious congregations, charities, service organizations, and businesses, to deal with many of society’s problems.

In contrast to liberals, conservatives are more likely to support government action on moral issues. Conservatives are said to be “right of center” on the political spectrum. They generally associate themselves with the Republican Party.

Over the past few decades, more Americans have identified themselves as conservatives than as liberals. Since the late 1960s, the percentage of self-identified conservatives has varied from 30 to 40 percent. The percentage of people calling themselves liberal has remained more constant, at around 20 percent.

Three Other Ideologies: Socialism, Libertarianism, and Environmentalism

Three other ideologies—socialism, libertarianism, and environmentalism—also play a role in American politics. Although these ideologies have fewer followers than liberalism and conservatism, they have inspired and motivated many people over the years.

Socialism. The oldest of these ideologies is socialism. The main goal of socialism is to limit economic inequality by ensuring a fair distribution of wealth. In a socialist system, the government owns or controls most of the economic resources needed for the production of goods and services. In theory, a socialist government manages the economy in a way that benefits the majority of citizens.

In 1901, reformers and workers who believed in socialism formed the Socialist Party of America. The party’s greatest electoral success came in 1912 when its presidential candidate, Eugene Debs, won nearly a million votes. That was just 6 percent of the
Socialism never became as popular in the United States as it did in other countries, in part because it conflicted with America’s political culture. A strong faith in capitalism and the free enterprise system made most Americans leery of socialists’ call for government control of economic resources.

Most American socialists today support what is known as **Democratic Socialism** [Democratic Socialism: an ideology that advocates socialism as a basis for the economy and democracy as a governing principle]. This is an ideology that advocates socialism as a basis for the economy and democracy as a governing principle. In countries that have adopted this ideology, elected leaders supervise a “mixed economy” of public and private industry.

**Libertarianism.** Modern libertarianism is an ideology based on a strong belief in personal freedom. A 2012 statement of libertarian principles began with these words:

*As Libertarians, we seek a world of liberty; a world in which all individuals are sovereign over their own lives and no one is forced to sacrifice his or her values for the benefit of others.*

—National Platform of the Libertarian Party, 2012

Libertarians tend to be conservative on economic issues and liberal on social issues. For example, they favor lower taxes and a free-market economy, while opposing bans on abortion or gay marriage. Libertarians want a small government and resist government regulation of any kind.

Formed in 1971, the Libertarian Party has attracted a small but loyal following. According to Pew Research Center, 9 percent of Americans had libertarian beliefs in 2011. Libertarian candidates regularly run for office in local, state, and national elections. So far their success has been limited to the local level, where they have won election to such positions as mayor, city council member, and sheriff.

**Environmentalism.** This last ideology, environmentalism, unites Americans who are deeply concerned about conservation and protection of the environment. Environmentalists advocate policies designed to reduce pollution and preserve natural resources. In contrast to libertarians, they support government regulation of industry and the economy to achieve those ends.

Many members of conservation organizations such as the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth identify themselves as environmentalists. So do members of the Green Party of the United States. “Greens” are committed to what they call “ecological and economic sustainability.” By this they mean meeting the needs of the world’s people today without damaging the ability of future generations to provide for themselves. As their party platform states,

*We support a sustainable society which utilizes resources in such a way that future generations will benefit and not suffer from the practices of our generation. To this end we must practice agriculture which replenishes the soil; move to an energy efficient economy; and live in ways that respect the integrity of natural systems.*


Like the Libertarian Party, the Green Party has been most successful in electing candidates at the local level. The party is stronger in Europe, however, and has won national offices in a number of countries.

**The Moderates in the Middle: Centrism**

Most Americans don’t fit neatly into any ideological camp. They consider themselves moderates, or middle-of-the-road voters. These are people who sit at the center of the political spectrum, between the ideologies of left and right.

In recent years, U.S. politics have become more polarized, meaning that political parties have adopted more extreme policies. The Republican Party has grown more conservative, and the Democratic Party more liberal. This polarization is especially evident in the current Congress, which remains divided on a number of issues.
These strong divisions often push voters to be drawn to centrism [centrism: an ideology at the middle of the political spectrum that combines elements of both liberal and conservative thought]. Many surveys show that moderates, along with people who describe themselves as slightly conservative or slightly liberal, make up the largest group of U.S. voters.

Unlike people with a strong ideological point of view, centrists may hold a mix of liberal, conservative, and perhaps environmental views. Centrism is not an ideology with its own political party. At election time, they often cross party lines, depending on the candidates and issues of the day.

Section 5 - How Americans Engage in Civic Life

For most Americans, voting is the first thing that comes to mind when they hear the words “civic duty.” In a democracy, voting is one of the most basic and important ways to engage in civic life.

Volunteering in the United States

There are many other ways to be an active citizen, however. You can read newspapers or watch the news on television to stay informed about current events. You can talk to friends about political issues or put a political bumper sticker on your car to express your opinion or demonstrate your support. You can become a volunteer with a community group or write a letter to a public official. By doing any of these things, you are engaging in civic life.

Civil Society: The “Social Capital” of Democracy

At the start of this chapter, you read about Robert D. Putnam’s work on civic engagement. Putnam concluded that Americans today are less likely to participate in civic associations than they were in the past. He further believes that such participation is crucial to democracy.

Putnam argues that social clubs and civic organizations are building blocks of what political scientists call civil society [civil society: associations and other voluntary groups that form a middle layer in society between government and individual families]. This term refers to a middle layer of voluntary associations and institutions that exists between government on the one hand and individuals and families on the other.

Many political scientists argue that a strong civil society is essential in a democracy. The organizations that make up civil society, they point out, are nourished by citizen involvement. This involvement helps to expand a society’s social capital [social capital: the attitude, spirit, and willingness of people to engage together in civic activities; the connections and bonds that
people can draw on to solve common problems]. Putnam defines social capital as “connections among individuals” that are forged through their participation in voluntary associations.

To understand how social capital works, consider this simple example. In many communities, parents of school-age children join the local Parent Teacher Association. Through their PTA, parents work together to improve their children’s schools.

While working on PTA projects, parents form new social networks and exchange information about their community. Through these networks, they may create new groups to work on other local issues. In this way, the connections forged within the PTA help to generate new energy and ideas that benefit the larger community. This is social capital in action.

Of course, the PTA is only one of thousands of volunteer organizations that one might choose to join. As the graphs above show, Americans get involved in many types of volunteer activities and for varying amounts of time. All of these efforts help to strengthen civil society and build social capital.

Putting Social Capital to Work in Texas

Social capital promotes civic engagement not only in local communities, but also in state and national affairs. Such was the case in Texas in 2006 when various citizen groups rose up to oppose the construction of new coal-fired power plants across the state. Coal is a fossil fuel that produces large amounts of air pollution and greenhouse gases. The power company that planned to build these plants assured the public that they would not pollute the air. But many Texans believed otherwise.

The first protests against the power company’s plan were organized by citizens living in communities where the new plants were to be built. They argued that the coal-burning plants would harm air quality and give rise to health problems.

As opposition grew, local business leaders began to get involved in the issue. They feared that increased pollution from the plants would harm local economies by discouraging tourism and other business activity. Local public officials—including the mayors of Dallas, Houston, and other cities—began to voice their concerns.

In time, local protest groups banded together to form larger organizations with names like Stop the Coal Rush, the Texas Clean Sky Coalition, and Texas Business for Clean Air. Civic activists sent e-mails and letters to newspapers and public officials. They attended hearings to oppose the power company’s application for building permits. They also created Web sites and held fundraisers to raise money and get their message out.

These efforts peaked in February 2007 with a large rally at the state capitol in Austin. The next day, activists met with their state representatives and other public officials to argue their case. Before lawmakers could act, however, the company that was planning to build the power plants announced that it was being sold.

The organized efforts of Texans to stop the new power plants from being built were nonetheless effective. The new buyers of the power company immediately announced their intention to scale back the project and explore alternatives to building more coal-fired power plants.

Four Categories of Civic Engagement: Which One Fits You?

As the Texas story illustrates, civic engagement can have a real impact, especially when people work together toward common goals. But just how engaged are most Americans?

To answer that question, political scientists survey Americans about their civic and political activities. Using those data, scholars at the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE) have determined that most people fall into one of four broad categories of civic engagement.

Electoral specialists. This category includes those whose main engagement is through the election process. People in this group vote, volunteer in political campaigns, and try to persuade others to vote as well.
Civic specialists. People in this group focus on improving their communities and helping others. They join local civic groups, support nonprofit organizations, and take part in fundraising activities for worthy causes.

Dual activists. This category is made up of people who engage in both electoral and civic activities. They may be found passing out leaflets in a political campaign one day and volunteering in a homeless shelter the next.

The disengaged. This group is made up of people who are not significantly engaged in civic life. They don’t vote or pay attention to civic affairs.

The graph on the opposite page shows that Americans young and old fall into all four groups. What about you? Which category best matches your level of civic engagement? And are you satisfied with your answer?

Summary

Civic participation is essential in a democracy. Citizens who get involved in civic and community groups help to strengthen civil society. At the same time, they tend to become more engaged in the political process.

Rights and responsibilities of Americans U.S. citizens have many rights. Over time, many of these rights have been extended to lawful permanent residents. Both groups also share many responsibilities, including obeying the law, paying taxes, and, for males, registering for military service.

Becoming a citizen There are two types of U.S. citizens: native born and naturalized. Naturalization is a process that takes many months. Naturalized citizens receive most of the benefits enjoyed by native-born citizens.

Political culture Most Americans share a common set of beliefs and values about politics and government. This political culture helps to unite Americans, even when they differ over ideology. The two most prominent political ideologies in this country are liberalism and conservatism.

Civic engagement Citizens can engage in civic life in many ways. When they do so, they help to build a stronger civil society.
Civic engagement takes many forms, from writing letters to organizing protests. These photographs illustrate just some of the ways citizens can make their voices heard.

**Attend a Public Meeting**
Find out what’s going on in your community by attending a public meeting. You might be surprised to discover how many decisions affecting your life are made close to home.

**Circulate a Petition**
Take part in a petition drive for a cause you care about. Often you can even sign a petition online.

**Volunteer in a Political Campaign**
Get involved in a political campaign. Share the excitement of election night as volunteers wait for the votes to be counted.

**Organize a Fundraiser**
Raise money for a worthy cause. The challenge is to help people feel good about both asking for donations and giving them.

**Organize a Demonstration**
Put your passion to work by organizing a demonstration. Sometimes actions really do speak louder than words.

**Get Involved in a Service Project**
Find a way to give back to your community. You will feel good about yourself while making a difference.