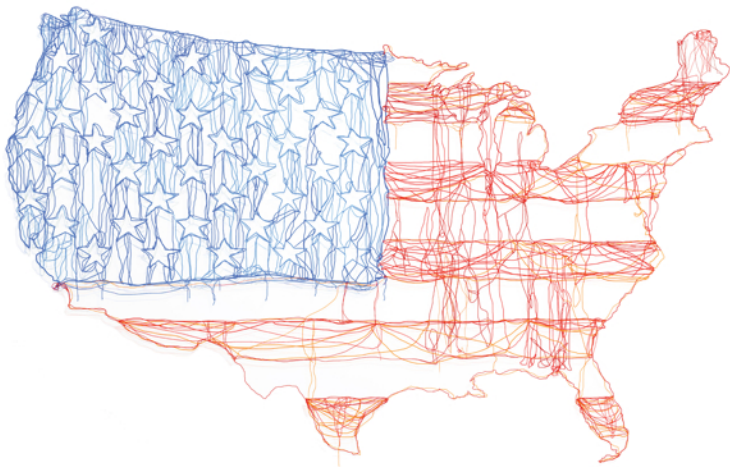


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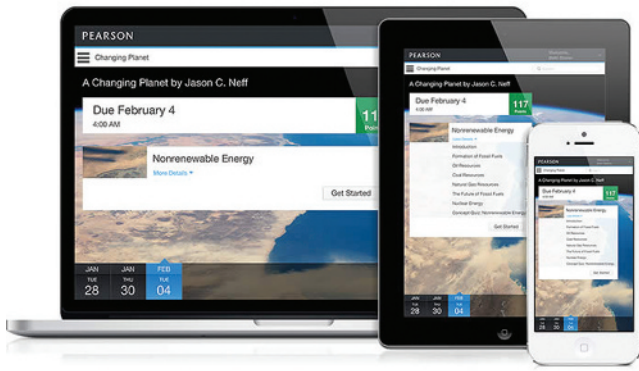
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ROOTS AND REFORM

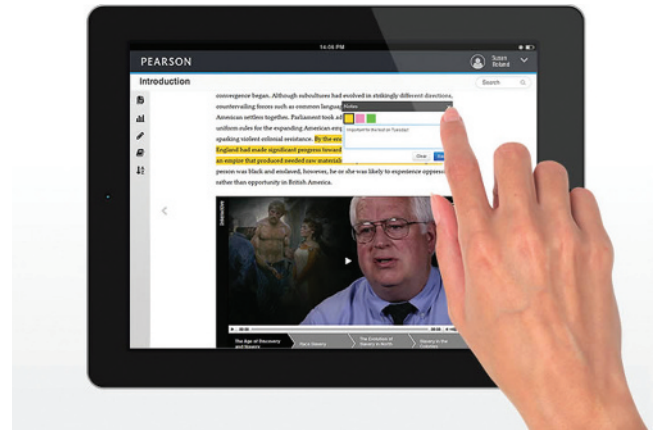


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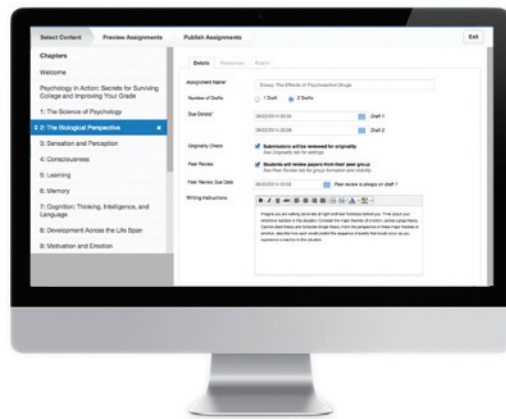
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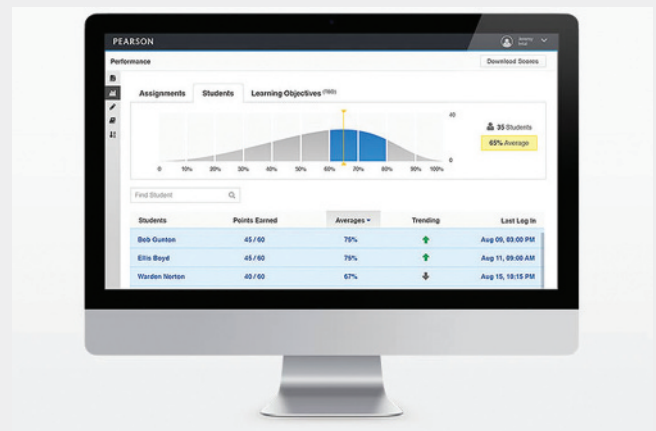
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AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Roots and Reform

2016 Presidential Election Edition, Thirteenth Edition

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Dedications

To Dolly, who at 86 followed politics, an addiction she bequeathed to me.

Karen O'Connor

To my Government 101 students over the years, who all know that "politics is a good thing."

Larry J. Sabato

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As you **open** this **book**, you may be asking yourself, “What possible impact could the Framers of the Constitution—long gone—have on my life in the twenty-first century?” Why is learning about history important to the study of politics today? And how are the ideas of the Framers relevant for understanding modern political issues such as health care, immigration, and abortion rights? We believe that without knowing the history—the roots—of our government, we won’t understand how movements for political change—or reform—came to pass.

As students of the American political process, it can be challenging to identify what is really important and how government truly affects your lives. It is tempting to get caught up in key terms and definitions and miss the major themes that prevail—not only in the American political system, but also around the world.

People like you are still the cornerstone of the political process, something we may forget from time to time. But your vote counts, and executing your rights as a citizen of the United States by taking the time to vote is an important facet of American life that has changed over time to include nearly all citizens, regardless of gender or race.

We hope you will challenge prevailing notions about politics, ideas that suggest government is bloated, inefficient, wasteful, and only for old people. We hope you will come to see that politics can be a good thing, and that government is only able to represent the interests of those who actively pursue their own voice. To this end, we challenge you to identify the issues that affect your everyday lives—education, health care, the economy, just to name a few—and take every opportunity to make your voices heard. Just as the Framers’ decisions in crafting a constitution live on in American political institutions, every decision made by policy makers today will have a lasting impact on your lives tomorrow.

MEET YOUR AUTHORS

Karen O’Connor is the Jonathan N. Helfat Distinguished Professor of Political Science and the Founder and Director Emerita of the Women & Politics Institute at American University. Before coming to American University, Professor O’Connor taught political science for seventeen years at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, where she was the first woman to receive the university’s highest teaching award. She has been recognized by several associations as the most outstanding woman in political science and public administration as well as by the Southern Political Science Association (SPSA) for her contributions to the discipline. She has served on the American Political Science Association (APSA) and SPSA councils and as chair of the Law and Courts and Women and Politics Research sections of the APSA.



Larry J. Sabato is the founder and director of the University of Virginia Center for Politics. A Rhodes Scholar, Professor Sabato has taught more than tens of thousands of students in his career at Oxford University, Cambridge University, and the University of Virginia. At the University of Virginia, he has received every major teaching award, including the university’s highest honor, the Thomas Jefferson Award. In 2013, Professor Sabato won an Emmy award for the documentary *Out of Order*, which he produced to highlight the dysfunctional U.S. Senate, and in 2014, he received a second Emmy award for the PBS documentary based on his *New York Times* bestseller *The Kennedy Half-Century*. Professor Sabato directs the Crystal Ball Web site, which has an unparalleled record of accuracy in predicting U.S. elections. For more information, visit <http://www.centerforpolitics.org>.



To the Instructor

- This country was founded with the express purpose of welcoming immigrants with open arms, providing safe haven from persecution in native lands. Could the Framers have foreseen tough immigration laws like those considered by the Court in *Arizona v. United States* (2012)?
- The Framers saw Congress as a body with limited powers. But modern members of Congress balance the roles of lawmaker, budgeter, and policy maker while also acting as representatives of their district, state, party, and sometimes their race, ethnicity, or gender. How does this affect their behavior?
- The Twenty-Sixth Amendment lowered the voting age to 18. Today, young people are becoming increasingly civically aware and engaged. Could the Framers ever have anticipated how demographic changes would affect public policy?

American Government: *Roots and Reform* provides students with a historical context for understanding modern-day events and legislation. By drawing on more than 250 years of the American political experience, the text aids instructors and students in making comparisons between past and present. In so doing, it helps students realize that some of the challenges we face in American politics today are not new—they are simply new to us. Further, it emphasizes that by learning from the experiences of our predecessors, we may be better able to address these problems efficiently and effectively.

As instructors of American government and politics, we are faced with an increasingly challenging dilemma—persuading students to invest in the American political system at a time when trust in government is at all-time lows, and disillusionment is the norm. But as we well know, this task is perhaps more important than ever. Our students live in a rapidly changing political landscape, in which both the identity of America and its role in the world are dramatically challenged and altered. We explore issues the Framers could never have envisioned and how the basic institutions of governments have changed in responding to these new demands.

Our philosophy remains the same as always—roots and reform. By providing students with information about the roots of government and by explaining why it is important, they come to understand how their participation influences policy reforms today. And, we hope students will come to see that politics can be, and most often is, a good thing.

REVEL™

Educational Technology Designed for The Way Today's Students Read, Think, and Learn

The most noticeable change in this new edition is the incorporation of Revel, a new educational technology designed for the way today's students read, think, and learn. When students are engaged deeply, they learn more effectively and perform better in their courses. This simple fact inspired the creation of Revel: an immersive learning experience designed for the way today's students read, think, and learn. Built in collaboration with educators and students nationwide, Revel is the newest, fully digital way to deliver respected Pearson content.

Revel enlivens course content with media interactives and assessments—integrated directly within the authors' narrative—that provide opportunities for students to read

about and practice course material in tandem. This immersive educational technology boosts student engagement, which leads to better understanding of concepts and improved performance throughout the course.

Learn more about Revel

<http://www.pearsonhighered.com/revel/>

Rather than simply offering opportunities to read about and study American government, Revel facilitates deep, engaging interactions with the concepts that matter most. For example, when learning about American Government, students are presented with an interactive map of the U.S. that shows voting laws and voter turnout by state or a video that explains gerrymandering in terms of the 2010 census and GOP redistricting. By providing opportunities to read about and interact with the text in tandem, Revel engages students directly and immediately, which leads to a greater mastery of course material. A wealth of student and instructor resources and interactive materials can be found within Revel, such as:

- Chapter-opening **Current Events Bulletins** feature author-written articles that put breaking news and current events into the context of American government. Examples include the meaning of the U.K.'s "Brexit" as it relates to federalism; the latest case on abortion rights, *Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt* (2016); Obama's stalled nomination of Merrick Garland to the U.S. Supreme Court; and the 2016 Republican and Democratic National Conventions.

Chapter 12 Campaigns, Elections, and Voting

Should We be Concerned about a Rigged Election?

August 2016

In August, Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump told supporters that he is "afraid the election is going to be rigged." Trump tied his comments to a recent string of court decisions overturning or rolling back voter identification laws in North Carolina, Wisconsin, and Kansas. He called the decisions "scary" and linked the idea of a rigged election to the felled laws.

Political scientists and journalists were quick to point out this sort of rhetoric has the potential to undermine public confidence in the democratic process. However, Trump's statement aligns with one of his key campaign messages—that the political system is like a

- **Interactive figures and maps** feature Social Explorer technology that allows updates with the latest data, toggles to illustrate movement over time, and clickable hot spots with pop-ups of images and captions. For example, when learning about the 2016 presidential campaigns and election results, students can examine a map that shows the phenomenon of frontloading or explore an interactive map of the United States that details voting laws and voter turnout by state.

FIGURE 12.8: WHEN DO STATES CHOOSE THEIR NOMINEE FOR PRESIDENT?

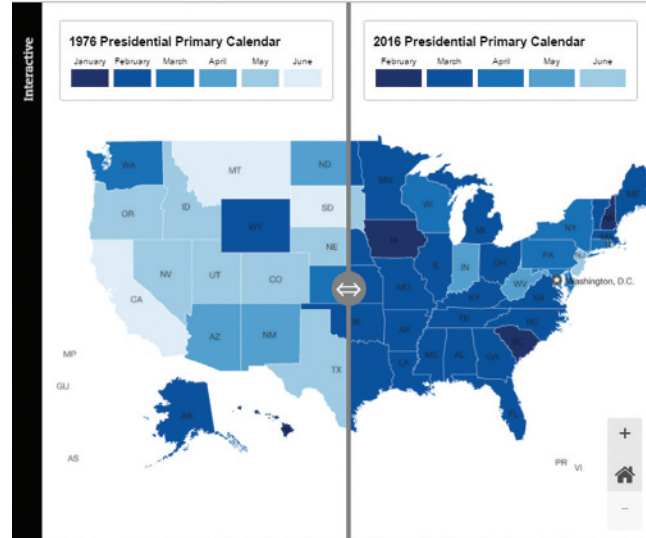
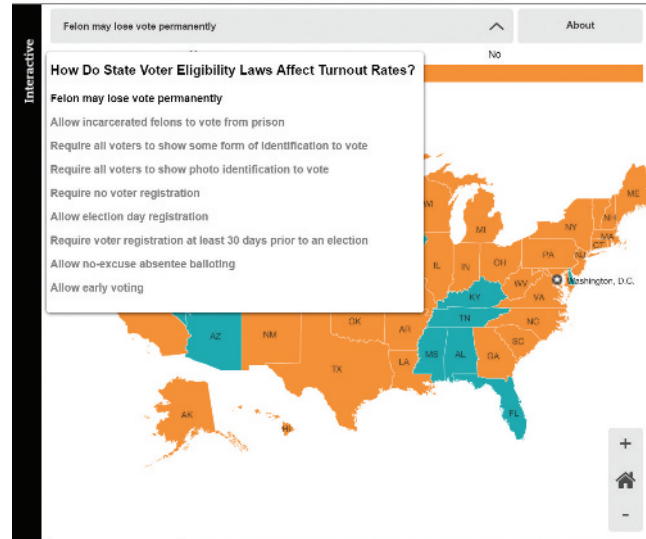


FIGURE 12.9: HOW DO STATES REGULATE VOTER ELIGIBILITY?



- Newsclips and historical **videos** bring to life chapter contents and key moments in American government. For example, to augment coverage of gerrymandering, students can watch a short Associated Press report that explains the 2010 Republican redistricting plan known as RedMap, and when reading about the civil rights movement, students can watch a historical newsreel from the 1960s.

WATCH: HOW DOES GERRYMANDERING AFFECT WHO IS ELECTED TO CONGRESS?

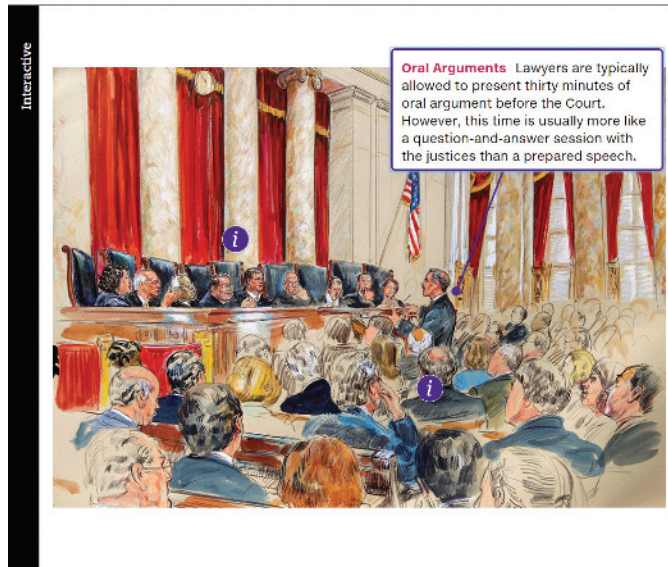


WATCH: HOW WAS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT DEPICTED BY MEDIA OUTLETS?



- For historical images and political cartoons, **enhanced images** contain contextual “hotspots” highlighting details that students might otherwise miss.

VIEW: WHY ARE ORAL ARGUMENTS IMPORTANT?



- **Interactive tables** give students the opportunity, after viewing the information in a table, to check their understanding of the connections by removing the information in a given column and then “dragging and dropping” it back to the correct place.

TABLE 2.4: WHAT ARE THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF ENACTING A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT?

Interactive

Study the details of the Constitutional and Political Dimensions of Enacting a Constitutional Amendment. When you are ready to test your knowledge, click “Check Your Understanding” below.

| How are the parts of government involved? | What constitutional support is required? | What are the political implications? |
|---|---|---|
| House | Proposal by a vote of 2/3 of all members | This is a supermajority of 288 out of 435 members, requiring at least some bipartisan support. |
| Senate | Proposal by a vote of 2/3 of all members | This is a supermajority of 67 out of 100 members, requiring at least some bipartisan support. |
| States | Ratification by a vote of 3/4 of the state legislatures. | This is a supermajority of at least 38 out of 50 states. A simple majority must vote for ratification in each of the state's legislative chambers. This requires at least some bipartisan support across multiple parts of the country. |
| Presidents and Governors | Presidents and governors play no formal institutional role. | Presidents and governors may offer their political support or opposition. They may also influence how the provisions of an amendment are later applied in practice. |

- Each chapter concludes with an interactive deck of **key term flashcards** that review important concepts, names to know, events, and court cases.

Learn the Terms

LEARN THE TERMS: CHAPTER 2

Start Over Swap 0/49 REVIEWED · 0 MASTERED

Interactive

inherent powers

Previous Next Got it!


This screenshot shows an interactive term card. At the top, it says 'LEARN THE TERMS: CHAPTER 2'. Below that are two buttons: 'Start Over' and 'Swap'. To the right, it shows '0/49 REVIEWED · 0 MASTERED'. On the left side, there is a vertical label 'Interactive'. The main area of the card is a light gray rectangle with the text 'inherent powers' centered in the middle. At the bottom right of this rectangle is a small white arrow icon. Below the main area are three buttons: 'Previous', 'Next', and 'Got it!'.

- **Adaptive scenarios or simulations** at the end of every chapter allow students to explore critical issues and challenges that the country’s Founders faced and that elected officials, bureaucrats, and political activists still face today. They provide students with an opportunity to apply key chapter concepts to realistic situations.

SIMULATION: YOU ARE A POLICE OFFICER

Interactive

Introduction



Every person in the United States has certain rights and freedoms that the government is not allowed to take away. Many civil liberties have been defined through Supreme Court cases that interpret parts of the Bill of Rights. In this simulation, you will learn about civil liberties guaranteed by the First and Fourth Amendments.

You are a New York City police officer trying to get a promotion. Your Chief has told you that you must resolve your next six challenges without violating citizens’ civil liberties.

Reset Back Next

This screenshot shows the introduction to a simulation. At the top, it says 'SIMULATION: YOU ARE A POLICE OFFICER'. On the left, there is a vertical label 'Interactive'. Below that is the word 'Introduction'. In the center, there is a photograph of a police officer in uniform interacting with a person on the ground near a red car. Below the photo, there is a paragraph of text explaining that the simulation is about civil liberties guaranteed by the First and Fourth Amendments. Another paragraph states that the user is a New York City police officer trying to get a promotion and must resolve six challenges without violating citizens' civil liberties. At the bottom, there are three buttons: 'Reset', 'Back', and 'Next'.

- **End-of-section and end-of-chapter assessment questions** allow instructors and students to track progress and get immediate feedback.

PEARSON

Chapter Quiz: Congress

Version 1 of 14

Worth: 5 Points

Which of the following is true of the Senate?

- Its members are elected to six-year terms.
- Its members are policy specialists.
- It has 100 members.
- Its members are selected by state legislatures.

Submit

| Points Earned | 0/1pt |
|---------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 2 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 3 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 4 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 5 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 6 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 7 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 8 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 9 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 10 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 11 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 12 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |
| 13 | <input type="radio"/> No Attempt |

AA

This screenshot shows a Pearson assessment question. At the top, it says 'PEARSON'. Below that, it says 'Chapter Quiz: Congress'. To the right, it says 'Version 1 of 14'. Below that, it says 'Worth: 5 Points'. The question is 'Which of the following is true of the Senate?'. There are four radio button options: 'Its members are elected to six-year terms.', 'Its members are policy specialists.', 'It has 100 members.', and 'Its members are selected by state legislatures.'. Below the options is a 'Submit' button. To the right of the question is a table with two columns: 'Points Earned' and '0/1pt'. The table has 13 rows, each with a number from 1 to 13 and a radio button labeled 'No Attempt'. At the bottom right, there is a small 'AA' icon.

- **Integrated Writing Opportunities** Writing opportunities help students reason more logically and write more clearly. Each chapter offers three types of writing prompts that measure comprehension and critical thinking:
 - The **Journal prompts** provide students with an opportunity to write short answers in response to the learning objectives in each section. Journal prompts are not graded and can be used as a note-taking feature for readers.

PEARSON

Journal 6.4

Should members be required to spend more time in the chamber listening to their colleague's speeches and participating in the legislative process? What would be the positives and negatives of this requirement?

The response entered here will appear in the performance dashboard and can be viewed by your instructor.

Submit

When the day arrives for floor debate, the House may choose to form a Committee of the Whole. This procedure allows the House to deliberate with only one hundred members present to expedite consideration of the bill. During this time, members may offer amendments, and the full House ultimately takes a vote. If the bill survives, it goes to the Senate for consideration if that body did not consider it simultaneously.

Unlike the House, whose size necessarily limits debate, the Senate may hold up bills by a hold or a filibuster. A **hold** is a procedure by which a senator asks to be informed before a particular bill (or nomination) is brought to the floor. It signals Senate leadership and the sponsors of the bill that a colleague may have objections to the bill (or nomination) and should be consulted before further action is taken. A hold can be placed for any reason—including reviewing, negotiating changes, or attempting to kill a bill.

- The **Shared Writing prompts** encourage students to address multiple sides of a comparative issue by sharing their own views and responding to each other's viewpoints, encouraging all students to expand their thinking to countries beyond the borders of the United States.

PEARSON

Shared Writing 6

Write a response

Consider the discussion in "The Living Constitution" feature. Is social justice by the U.S. Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services and other government entities an appropriate action in the name of national security? Why or why not?

A minimum number of characters is required to post and earn points. After posting, your response can be viewed by your class and instructor, and you can participate in the class discussion.

Post

0 characters | 140 minimum

- The **Essay prompts** in each chapter are from Pearson's Writing Space, where instructors can assign both automatically graded and instructor-graded prompts.

To access your own Revel account and get more information about the tools and resources in Revel, go to www.pearsonhighered.com/revel.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND COVERAGE UPDATES

While the 2016 election edition stays true to its historical approach and emphasis on currency, the overall content of the book has been significantly streamlined and shortened for greater readability and ease of comprehension. Instead of 18 chapters, the book is now 16 chapters long.

- In this edition, **Chapter 12 on Campaigns, Elections, and Voting** combines the coverage of Chapters 12 and 13 from the previous edition.
- Also in this edition, **Chapter 15 on Social and Economic Policy** combines the coverage of Chapters 15 and 16 from the previous edition.
- To maintain greater focus on the core content and narrative, “The Living Constitution” and “Take a Closer Look” boxed features have been incorporated in the main text or dropped. One feature appears in every chapter—“**American Politics in Comparative Perspective**”—as a window into other systems of government around the world.

As always, we strive to present a currency unparalleled by any other book in the market. *American Government: Roots and Reform* includes updated examples, figures, and tables that draw on experiences in American government in the here and now that are relevant to students’ lives. At the same time, the book’s historical approach has been strengthened with new opening vignettes and key examples. A better understanding of how American government has developed over time is a critical dimension that makes the content interesting to students.

- The entire book has been updated with examples and data from the **2016 presidential election results** as well as decisions from the **2015–2016 term of the Supreme Court**.
- **Chapter 1** has been significantly shortened. Coverage of ideology has been moved to Chapter 10 on Public Opinion and Political Socialization, and coverage of the types of government has been moved to Chapter 3 on the Federal System.
- **Chapter 2** opens with a vignette about the Twenty-Sixth Amendment and includes a new table that lists the twenty-seven amendments by number, year, historical era, main topic, and main area of impact.
- **Chapter 3** opens with a new vignette about the Iroquois Confederacy. Coverage of different types of government (from Chapter 1) now appears in this chapter.
- **Chapter 4** opens with a new vignette about the *Crown v. Zenger* (1735) case that set the standard for civil liberties and freedom of the press. It also includes updates of cases such as *Whole Woman’s Health v. Hellerstedt* (2016) and the current state of *Roe v. Wade* in 2016.
- **Chapter 5** opens with a new vignette and photo about Harriet Tubman. Updates include coverage of cases such as *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) and developments that have expanded the rights of same-sex couples and transgender people serving in the military.
- **Chapter 6** opens with a new vignette about the 1865 incident between Representative Preston Brooks and Senator Charles Sumner and includes the latest results from the 2016 elections.
- **Chapter 7** includes the results of the 2016 presidential election with a revised section titled “Presidential Spouses” instead of “First Ladies.” General updates focus on the modern aspects of the presidency and the Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Texas* (2016) about President Obama’s use of executive agreements as it relates to immigration.
- **Chapter 8** opens with a new vignette about George Washington’s first cabinet appointees: Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Knox, and

Edmund Randolph. The chapter includes a new section on how the bureaucracy is staffed.

- **Chapter 9** opens with a new vignette about John Adams and the Judiciary Act of 1801. Updates include coverage of cases heard in 2015–2016 and President Obama’s stalled nomination choice to replace Justice Antonin Scalia, Judge Merrick Garland.
- **Chapter 10** includes the latest data from the 2016 election coverage and coverage of political ideology (moved from Chapter 1).
- **Chapter 11** opens with a new vignette about the results of the 2016 presidential election and the role of partisan polarization in the divided electorate. The rest of the chapter has been updated to reflect party development in the 2016 election.
- **Chapter 12** opens with a new vignette that highlights similarities between the campaigns of Theodore Roosevelt and Donald Trump and also illustrates how campaigns have changed over time or (in many ways) have stayed the same. In this edition, Chapter 12 combines coverage of campaigns, elections, and voting into a single chapter that reflects the latest results and data from the 2016 election.
- **Chapter 13** has been updated to include new coverage that reflects the major presence of the Internet and social media influence in political news coverage, and several new figures show where different age groups obtain their news coverage; how media coverage of the 2016 presidential candidates might have influenced election outcomes; and how media outlets align with party affiliation.
- **Chapter 14** opens with a new vignette that hearkens back to James Madison’s cautions over the dangers of factions in *Federalist No. 10*.
- **Chapter 15** is thoroughly revised and updated and combines coverage of social and economic policy into a single chapter. It begins with a new vignette about the Affordable Care Act and includes overviews of the following topics: the policy-making process, fiscal policy, monetary policy, health policy, education policy, and social welfare policy.
- **Chapter 16** opens with a new vignette that charts U.S. foreign policy between the Cold War and 9/11. The rest of the chapter has been streamlined and updated to include coverage of the continued existence of the prison at Guantanamo Bay and the continuing threats by terrorist groups like ISIS.

CONTENT HIGHLIGHTS

Every chapter in this text uses history to serve three Institutions of Government, purposes: first, to show how institutions and processes have evolved to their present states; second, to provide some of the color that makes information memorable; and third, to provide students with a more thorough appreciation of the fact that our government was born amid burning issues of representation and power—issues that continue to smolder today. A richer historical texture helps to explain the present.

With roots and reform providing the foundation from which all topics and concepts in this book are discussed, the text is divided into four parts. Part I, Foundations of Government, covers the American government’s roots, context, and culture. Through a discussion of the Constitution, it considers those broad concepts associated with government in the United States: The federal system, civil liberties, and civil rights. Part I sets the stage for the coverage in Part II, Institutions of Government, which introduces students to the institutions of government through its discussion of Congress, the presidency, the executive branch and the federal bureaucracy, and the judiciary. Political Behavior, Part III, delves into the ideas and processes that make democracy what it is: public opinion and political socialization, political parties, elections and voting, the campaign process, the news media, and interest groups. Part IV, Public Policy, rounds out the coverage with detailed discussions of domestic policy, economic

policy, and foreign and defense policy. Coverage in these chapters makes use of the most current data and debates to frame discussions of health care, energy and the environment, education, and the United States' role on the global political stage.

Each chapter also includes the following pedagogical features:

- **Roots of and Toward Reform** sections highlight the text's emphasis on the importance of the history of American government as well as the dynamic cycle of reassessment and reform that allows the United States to continue to evolve. Every chapter begins with a "Roots of" section that gives a historical overview of the topic at hand and ends with a "Toward Reform" section devoted to a particularly contentious aspect of the topic discussed.
- **American Politics in Comparative Perspective** is a new visual feature meant to expose readers to other systems of government around the world. Each feature includes a photo essay, table, figure, or map that compares some aspect of U.S. government to two or more countries. For example, in Chapter 2, the feature highlights the relative brevity of the U.S. Constitution as compared to similar documents in fifteen other countries. In Chapter 6, the feature examines three different types of legislature: unicameral, asymmetric bicameral, and symmetric bicameral houses. In Chapter 11, the feature compares the U.S. Electoral College system to others in Afghanistan, Israel, Brazil, and France. Each box concludes with critical thinking questions that challenge readers to consider the similarities and differences of each system, analyze relative advantages and disadvantages, and better understand America's system as it compares with the rest of the world.
- **New photos** capture major events from the last few years, of course, but also illustrate politics' relevancy; they show political actors and processes as well as people affected by politics, creating a visual narrative that enhances rather than repeats the text. Historical photos further illustrate how the past informs the present.
- **Key terms** related to the chapter content are defined throughout the text to help students identify new and important concepts and again in a comprehensive glossary.
- A focus on **qualitative literacy** helps students analyze, interpret, synthesize, and apply visual information—skills essential in today's world. We receive information from the written and spoken word, but knowledge also comes in visual forms. We are used to thinking about reading text critically, but we do not always think about "reading" visuals in this way. A focus on qualitative literacy encourages students to think about the images and informational graphics they will encounter throughout this text as well as those they see every day in the newspaper, in magazines, on the Web, on television, and in books. Critical thinking questions assist students in learning how to analyze visuals.
- **Tables** consist of textual information and/or numerical data arranged in tabular form in columns and rows. Tables are frequently used when exact information is required and when orderly arrangement is necessary to locate and, in many cases, to compare the information. All tables in this edition include questions and encourage critical thinking.
- **Charts, graphs, and maps** depict numerical data in visual forms. Examples that students will encounter throughout this text are line graphs, pie charts, and bar graphs. Line graphs show a progression, usually over time (as in how the U.S. population has grown over time). Pie charts (such as ones showing population demographics) demonstrate how a whole (total American population) is divided into its parts (different racial and ethnic groups). Bar graphs compare values across categories, showing how proportions are related to each other (as in how much money each party raised in presidential election years). Bar graphs can present data either horizontally or vertically. All charts and graphs in this edition are based on questions that encourage critical thinking.

- Some of the most interesting commentary on American politics takes place in the form of **political cartoons**. The cartoonist's goal is to comment on and/or criticize political figures, policies, or events. The cartoonist uses several techniques to accomplish this goal, including exaggeration, irony, and juxtaposition. For example, the cartoonist may point out how the results of governmental policies are the opposite of their intended effects (irony). In other cartoons, two people, ideas, or events that do not belong together may be joined to make a point (juxtaposition). Knowledge of current events is helpful in interpreting political cartoons.

INSTRUCTOR AND STUDENT RESOURCES

Make more time for your students with instructor resources that offer effective learning assessments and classroom engagement. Pearson's partnership with educators does not end with the delivery of course materials; Pearson is there with you on the first day of class and beyond. A dedicated team of local Pearson representatives will work with you to not only choose course materials but also integrate them into your class and assess their effectiveness. Our goal is your goal—to improve instruction with each semester.

Pearson is pleased to offer the following resources to qualified adopters of *Government by the People*. Several of these supplements are available to instantly download from Revel or on the Instructor Resource Center (IRC); please visit the IRC at www.pearsonhighered.com/irc to register for access.

- **TEST BANK** Evaluate learning at every level. Reviewed for clarity and accuracy, the Test Bank measures this material's learning objectives with multiple-choice, true/false, fill-in-the-blank, short-answer, and essay questions. You can easily customize the assessment to work in any major learning management system and to match what is covered in your course. Word, Black-Board, and WebCT versions are available on the IRC, and Respondus versions are available on request from www.respondus.com.
- **PEARSON MYTEST** This powerful assessment generation program includes all of the questions in the Test Bank. Quizzes and exams can be easily authored and saved online, and then printed for classroom use, giving you ultimate flexibility to manage assessments anytime and anywhere. To learn more, visit www.pearsonhighered.com/mytest.
- **INSTRUCTOR'S RESOURCE MANUAL** Create a comprehensive roadmap for teaching classroom, online, or hybrid courses. Designed for new and experienced instructors, the Instructor's Manual includes learning objectives, lecture and discussion suggestions, activities for in or out of class, research activities, participation activities, and suggested readings, series, and films as well as a Revel features section. Available within Revel and on the IRC.
- **POWERPOINT PRESENTATION WITH Learning Catalytics™** Make lectures more enriching for students. The PowerPoint Presentation includes a full lecture outline and photos and figures from the textbook and Revel edition. With integrated Learning Catalytics™ questions, get immediate feedback on what your students are learning during a lecture. Available within Revel and on the IRC.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank those who reviewed the text at the various stages of revision; they gave generously of their time and expertise and we are, as always, in their debt.

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Karen further acknowledges the help and encouragement of Steve Gilbert, Beth Mutha, Jerry Share, Christina Stayeas, and Armistead Williams, III. She also is appreciative of the constant companionship of Penny Louise, who asks for nothing more than any dog would, and keeps Karen (and often "Aunt Ali") from going crazy as we work to keep this book current and student-friendly; and her brother, TR, who starts her Sundays with a Starbucks mixture of soy that actually doesn't taste that bad.

Last, but certainly not least, Karen needs to recognize the support of her daughter, Meghan O'Connor McDonogh. She grew up with this book and considers Eric Stano, our editor during her college and doctoral studies, to be a quasi big brother, which sometimes frightens Karen. And, despite her vow never to teach or coach, she does both at The Catholic University of America, proving that old adage that the apple sometimes does not fall far from the tree.

Particular thanks goes to Ray Smith at Columbia University and New York University, who tackled the revisions of the chapters on domestic and economic policy as well as the rapidly shifting landscape of foreign and defense policy for this edition. Our continued thanks go to Christopher Simon at the University of Utah, Glenn Hastedt of James Madison University, Steven Koven at the University of Louisville, Daniel S. Papp of Kennesaw State University, and Kiki Caruson of the University of South Florida whose earlier work on policy content continues to serve as a strong foundation.

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toward the successful completion of this volume, including chief of staff Ken Stroupe and communications director Kyle Kondik. Their commitment to excellence is also obvious in their work for the Center's Crystal Ball website (www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball)—a very useful resource in completing this volume.

In the now many years we have been writing and rewriting this book, we have been blessed to have been helped by many people at Pearson Education. For this edition, our editor, Jeff Marshall, has responded to our fiery personalities and endless ideas with a few tricks—and a whole lot of enthusiasm—of his own. We were lucky to have two development editors for this edition: Angela Kao brought a quiet efficiency to the process; she has demonstrated great flexibility, advising us on content, developing facets of the digital edition, and doing all the behind-the-scenes work that too often goes underappreciated; Melissa Mashburn brought her editorial know-how, good humor, patience, enthusiasm, and careful eye to our updates and new features. Our thanks also go to the team at Ohlinger Publishing Services for their work on the interactive aspects of this revision: Debbie Coniglio, Kim Norbuta, and Natalee Sperry. And, we would be remiss not to thank our former editor, Eric Stano, who guided this book for more than ten years. We would also like to acknowledge the tireless efforts of the Pearson Education sales force. In the end, we hope all of these talented people see how much their work and support have helped us to write a better book.

Finally, the authors wish to thank the many professors and researchers who provided detailed feedback on how to improve content, especially John Kincaid at Lafayette College. Additionally, we thank many other colleagues for their invaluable input during professional conferences and Pearson-sponsored events. They gave generously of their time and expertise and we are, as always, in their debt.

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2016 WebEx meetings for REVEL: Maria Albo, University of North Georgia; Henedel Cerphy, Palm Beach State College; Karl Clark, Coastal Bend College; Amy Colon, SUNY Sullivan; Lishan Desta, Collin College; Agber Dimah, Chicago State University; Dr. Barbara, Arkansas State University; Kathleen Ferraiolo, James Madison University; Terri Susan Fine, University of Central Florida; Maria Gonzalez, Miami Dade College; Joe Gaziano, Lewis University; Dion George, Atlanta Metropolitan State College; Colin Glennon, East Tennessee State University; Mike Green, Southern New Hampshire University; Jan Hardt, University of Central Oklahoma; Kathryn Hendricks, MCC – Longview; Julie Hershenberg, Collin College; Jeneen Hobby, Cleveland State University; Andy Howard, Rio Hondo College; Nikki Isemann, Southeast Community College; Nicole Kalaf-Hughes, Bowling Green State University; Frederick M. Kalisz, Bridgewater State University; Lance Kelley, NWTC; Eric Loepp, University of Wisconsin, Whitewater; Benjamin Melusky, Franklin and Marshall College; David Monda, Mt. San Jacinto College; Laura Pellegrini, LBCC; Dave Price, Santa Fe College; Jennifer Sacco, Quinnipiac University; Larry W. Smith, Amarillo College; J. Joel Toivanche, Tarrant County College.

Spring 2016 WebEx Meetings: Cathy Andrews, Austin Community College; Yan Bai, Grand Rapids Community College; Richard Bilsker, College of Southern Maryland; Jonathan Buckstead, Austin Community College; Adriane M. Raff Corwin, Bergen & Brookdale Community Colleges; Carlos Cunha, Dowling College; Margaret Dwyer, Milwaukee School of Engineering; Jacqueline Holland, Lorain County Community

College; Nadia Jilani-Hyler, Augusta University; Nancy Lind, Illinois State University; Eric D. Loepp, UW-Whitewater; Abbie Luoma, Saint Leo University; Martha Musgrove, Tarrant County College – South College; Steven Nawara, Lewis University; Maryam Stevenson, Troy University; Lee Trepanier, Saginaw Valley State University; Elizabeth G. Williams, PhD., Santa Fe College.

2016 Texas WebEx Meetings: Ralph Angeles, Lone Star College; Delina Barrera, University of Texas Pan American; Jennifer Boggs, Angelo State University; Bryan Calvin, Tarrant County College Northwest; William Carroll, Sam Houston State University; Anita Chadha, University of Houston-Downtown; Jennifer Danley-Scott, Texas Woman’s University; Bianca Easterly, Lamar University; Reynaldo Flores, Richland College; Katie Fogle Deering, North Central Texas University; Sylvia Gonzalez-Gorman, Texas Tech; Peyton Gooch, Stephen F. Austin; Donald Gooch, Stephen F. Austin; Cheri Hobbs, Blinn College; Cynthia Hunter-Summerlin, Tarrant County College Trinity River; Joe Ialenti, North Central Texas College; Dominique Lewis, Blinn College; Eric Lundin, Lonestar College; Sharon Manna, North Lake College; Holly Mulholland, San Jacinto College Central; Hillel Ofek, University of Texas at Austin; Lisa Palton, San Jacinto Community College; William Parent, San Jacinto College Central; Cecil Pool, El Centro College; Jennifer Ross, Brookhaven College DCCCD; Lane Seever, Austin Community College; Max Seymour, West Texas A&M University; Les Stanaland, North Central Texas College; Dustin Tarver, Blinn College; James Tate, Richland College; Blake Tritico, Sam Houston State University; Karen Webb, Texas Woman’s University.

May 2016 Hoboken / Boston Focus Groups: Flannery Amdahl, Hunter College; Thomas Arndt, Rowan University; Ben Christ, Harrisburg Area Community College; Mary Anne Clarke, RI College; Ken Cosgrove, Suffolk University; Melissa Gaeke, Marist College; Todd M. Galante, Rutgers University-Newark; Jack Hunt, University of Southern Maine; Ed Johnson, Brookdale Community College; Frederick M. Kalisz, Jr., Bridgewater State University; M. Victoria Perez-Rios, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY; Francois Pierre-Louis, Queens College, CUNY; John Seymour, El Paso Community College; Ursula C. Tafe, University of Massachusetts Boston; Anh Tran, Baruch College; John Trujillo, Borough of Manhattan Community College; Aaron Zack, John Jay College.

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WHAT HAPPENED WHEN EUROPEANS REACHED THE AMERICAS?

Attitudes in the United States towards explorers such as Christopher Columbus have shifted sharply in recent decades. Columbus once was heralded for “discovering” the Americas and a federal holiday still honors him each October. However, emphasis has been placed increasingly on explorers’ negative impacts on native peoples and broader critiques of European colonialism.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: ROOTS, CONTEXT, AND CULTURE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- 1.1** Trace the origins of American government.
- 1.2** Explain the functions of American government.
- 1.3** Analyze the changing characteristics of the American public.
- 1.4** Characterize changes in Americans’ attitudes toward and expectations of government.

government

The formal vehicle through which policies are made and affairs of state are conducted.

In 1492, Christopher Columbus, with the support of the king and queen of Spain, landed in the Bahamas in the “New World” on his journey to find a quicker water route to India and its riches. Believing he had landed in India, he named the native peoples Indians. After the news of Columbus’s expedition, other explorers sponsored by Spain, such as Hernando de Soto and Juan Ponce de Leon, traveled west looking for gold, furs, and rich soil. Adventurers such as John Cabot and Sir Frances Drake from England and Giovanni da Verrazano, an Italian sponsored by France, soon launched their own expeditions.

These explorers were not interested in establishing permanent residences. The monarchies supporting them wanted to claim native lands for themselves. Spain, France, and England more than welcomed the gold, furs, and new agricultural riches, which greatly enlarged their national treasuries.

As nations began to compete for lands, Pope Alexander VI, who claimed all lands for God and thus the Roman Catholic Church, issued a proclamation in 1494 that drew a north/south line through the Western Hemisphere, giving the west to Spain and the east to Portugal. Spain occupied settlements in Florida and eventually the entire South-west and what later became known as the Louisiana Purchase.

By the mid-1500s, France, Holland, and Great Britain were engaged in exploring North America. French fur trappers moved throughout what is now the eastern parts of Canada and established a settlement in Quebec. To facilitate trade, trappers knew that they must establish good working relationships with several Indian tribes. In sharp contrast, the Spanish enslaved American Indians and treated them with brutality. It wasn’t too long before France, Holland, and Great Britain recognized the potential offered by the New World and sought to seek land previously claimed by Spain.



In this text, we explore the American political system through a historical lens. This perspective allows us to analyze the ways that the ideas and actions of a host of different Americans—from European explorers, to Indians, to colonists, to the Framers of the Constitution as well as the global citizens of today—have affected how our **government**—the formal vehicle through which policies are made and affairs of state are conducted—works.

ROOTS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: WE THE PEOPLE

1.1 Trace the origins of American government.

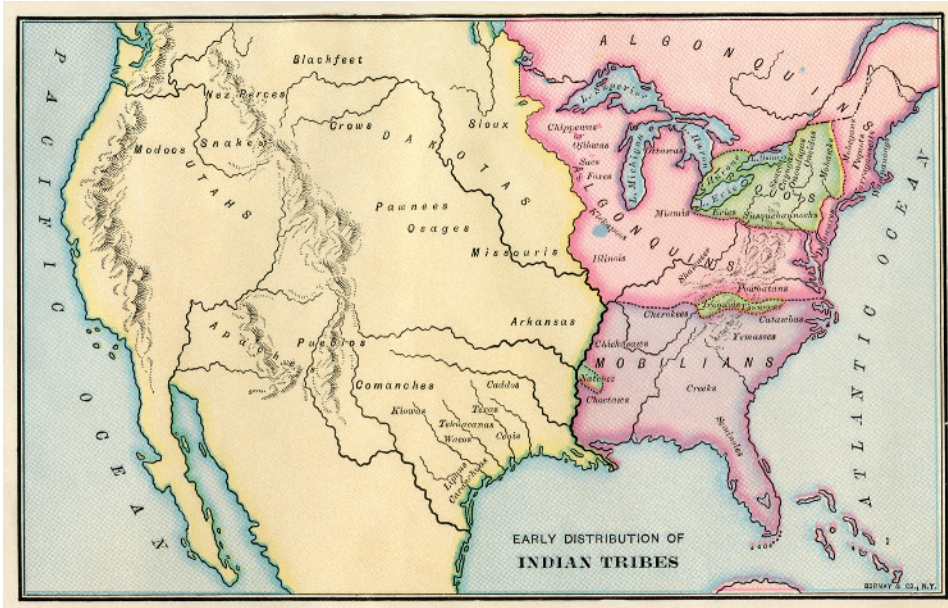
Much has changed since the earliest explorers and settlers came to the New World. The people who live in America today differ greatly from those early inhabitants. In this section, we lay the groundwork for the study of the United States today by looking at the earliest inhabitants of the Americas, their initial and ongoing interactions with European colonists, and how new Americans continually built on the experiences of the past to create a new future.

The Earliest Inhabitants of the Americas

By the time the first colonists arrived in what is now known as the United States, indigenous peoples had been living in the area for more than 30,000 years. Most historians and archaeologists believe that these peoples migrated from present-day Russia through the Bering Strait into North America and then dispersed throughout the American continents. Some debate continues, however, about where they first appeared and whether they crossed an ice bridge from Siberia or arrived on boats from across the Pacific. Other peoples came from the Southern Hemisphere and settled in the Southwest.

FIGURE 1.1 WHAT DID TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION LOOK LIKE BEFORE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT?

The first peoples of North America were extremely diverse, with hundreds of different cultures, languages, and traditions dispersed across North America before the arrival of European settlers.



The indigenous peoples were not a homogeneous group; their cultures, customs, and values varied widely, as did their political systems. The number of these indigenous peoples, who lived in all parts of what is now the United States, is impossible to know for certain. Estimates by scholars, however, range from 100 million people to many more. These numbers quickly diminished as colonists brought with them to the New World a range of diseases to which the indigenous peoples had not been exposed. In addition, warfare with the European settlers as well as within tribes not only killed many American Indians but also disrupted previously established ways of life. And, the European settlers displaced Indians, repeatedly pushing them westward as they created settlements and, later, colonies.

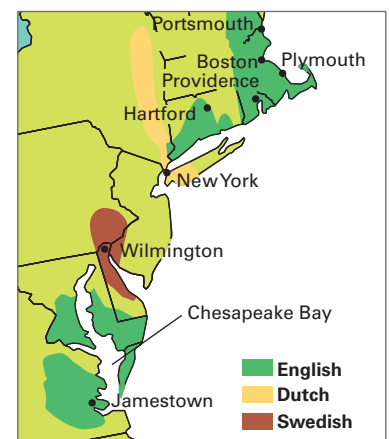
The First Colonists

Colonists journeyed to North America for a variety of reasons. Many wealthy Englishmen and other Europeans left home seeking to enhance their fortunes. With them came a host of laborers who hoped to find their own opportunities for riches. In fact, commerce was the most common initial reason for settlement in North America.

The first permanent English settlement was established in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607 by a joint stock company seeking riches in the New World. In 1619, the first slaves arrived there. In 1609, the Dutch New Netherland Company settled along the Hudson and lower Delaware Rivers, calling the area New Netherlands. Later, in 1626, the Dutch West India Company purchased Manhattan Island from an Indian tribe and established trading posts on the Hudson River. Both Fort Orange, in what is now Albany, New York, and New Amsterdam, New York City's Manhattan Island, were populated not by colonists but by salaried employees. Among those who flocked to New Amsterdam (renamed New York in 1664) were settlers from Finland, Germany, and Sweden. The varied immigrants also included free blacks. This ethnic and racial mix created its own system of cultural inclusiveness that continues to make New York City and its citizenry unique today (see Figure 1.2).

FIGURE 1.2 WHAT DID COLONIAL SETTLEMENT LOOK LIKE BEFORE 1700?

Prior to 1700, pockets of colonial settlement existed along the east coast of what became the United States, from present-day Virginia to what is now Maine. These settlements were divided among a number of colonial powers, including the English in the northeast and around the Chesapeake Bay, the Dutch in what is present-day New York, and the Swedes, largely in present-day Delaware.



Mayflower

The ship carrying Pilgrim settlers from England whose arrival in Massachusetts in 1620 is considered a founding moment for the nation.

Roger Williams

Seventeenth century religious and political leader who was expelled by Puritans in Massachusetts and then established the colony of Providence Plantations that later became Rhode Island.

Anne Hutchinson

Seventeenth century political leader and thinker who supported religious liberty.

Thomas Hooker

Colonial-era politician who supported expanded voting rights.

William Penn

Quaker leader and supporter of religious tolerance who founded Pennsylvania.

WHO WAS ANNE HUTCHINSON?

Anne Hutchinson was a midwife and minister who challenged the prevailing religious thinking of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. She was expelled from the colony and went on to found a new settlement at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, attracting many women to her views on Christianity.

**A Religious Tradition Takes Root**

In 1620, a group of Protestants known as Puritans left Europe aboard the *Mayflower*. Destined for Virginia, they found themselves off course and landed instead in Plymouth, in what is now Massachusetts. These new settlers differed from those in Virginia and New York, who saw their settlements as commercial ventures. Adhering to Calvinist religious beliefs, the Puritans (also called Pilgrims, a term used to describe religious travellers) came instead as families bound together by a common belief in the powerful role of religion in their lives. They believed the Old Testament charged them to create “a city on a hill” that would shine as an example of righteousness. To help achieve this goal, they enforced a strict code of authority and obedience, while simultaneously stressing the importance of individualism.

Soon, the ideas at the core of these strict puritanical values faced challenges. In 1631, **Roger Williams** arrived in Boston, Massachusetts. He preached extreme separation from the Church of England and even questioned the right of Europeans to settle on Indian lands. He believed that the Puritans went too far when they punished settlers who deviated from their strict code of morality, arguing that it was God, not people, who should punish individuals for their moral shortcomings. These “heretical views” prompted local magistrates to banish him from the colony in 1635. Williams then helped to establish the colony of Providence Plantations. Providence, now the capital of present-day Rhode Island, was named for “God’s merciful Providence,” which Williams believed had allowed his followers to find a place to settle.

A later challenge to the Puritans’ religious beliefs came from midwife **Anne Hutchinson**. She began to share her view that the churches established in Massachusetts had lost touch with the Holy Spirit. Many of her followers were women who were attracted to her progressive ideas on the importance of religious tolerance, as well as on the equality and rights of women. Authorities in Massachusetts tried Hutchinson for blasphemy for her views and banished her from the colony. She and her followers eventually settled in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, which became a beacon for those seeking religious toleration and popular—as opposed to religious—sovereignty.

Thomas Hooker, too, soon found himself at odds with the Calvinist Puritans in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Hooker believed they were too narrow-minded; in his view, all men should have the right to vote regardless of religious views or property qualifications. He and his supporters thus relocated to the new colony of Connecticut, where they developed a settlement at Hartford. Hooker’s words inspired the drafting of the Connecticut constitution, thought to be the first to establish a representative government.

Later colonies in the New World were established with religious tolerance in mind. In 1632, King Charles I granted a well-known English Catholic, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, a charter to establish the Catholic colony of Maryland in the New World. In 1681, King Charles II bestowed upon **William Penn** a charter giving him sole ownership of a vast area of land just north of Maryland. The king called the land Pennsylvania, or Penn’s Woods. Penn, a Quaker, eventually also purchased the land that is present-day Delaware. In this area, Penn launched what he called “the holy experiment,” attracting other persecuted Europeans, including German Mennonites and Lutherans, and French Huguenots. The survival of Penn’s colony is largely attributable to its ethnic and religious diversity.

FUNCTIONS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT**1.2** Explain the functions of American government.

The people who settled in colonial America were a diverse lot. They were driven to settle in the New World for a variety of reasons, including religious freedom and economic gain. Thus, when the colonists declared independence from Great Britain in 1776, it was no easy task to devise a system of government that served all of these citizens’ interests.

Eventually, leaders fashioned a political system with the people at the center of power. Many citizens, however, were uncomfortable with calling this new system a **democracy** because it conjured up fears of the people and mob rule. They instead preferred the term **republic**, which implied a system of government in which the interests of the people were represented by more educated or wealthier citizens who were responsible to those who elected them. Today, the words democracy and republic often are used interchangeably. Yet, in the United States, we still pledge allegiance to our “republic,” not our democracy.

The first words of the new Constitution—“We, the People”—left little doubt about the source of power in the new political system. In attempting “to form a more perfect Union,” the Framers, through the Constitution, set forth several key functions of American government, as well as governmental guarantees to the people, which have continuing relevance today. These principal functions of government and the guarantees they provide to citizens permeate our lives. Whether it is your ability to obtain a low-interest student loan, health insurance, or be licensed to drive a car at a particular age, government plays a major role.

Establishing Justice

One of the first tasks expected of any government is the creation of a system of laws allowing individuals to abide by a common set of principles. Societies adhering to the rule of law allow for the rational dispensing of justice by acknowledged legal authorities. Thus, the Constitution authorizes Congress to create a federal judicial system to dispense justice. The Bill of Rights contains several amendments geared toward the administration of justice including the right to a trial by jury, the right for those charged with crimes to be informed of the charges against them, and the right to be tried in a courtroom presided over by an impartial judge and a jury of one’s peers.

Ensuring Domestic Tranquility

As we discuss throughout this text, the role of governments in ensuring domestic tranquility is a subject of much debate and has been since the period between 1715 and 1789 known as the **Enlightenment**. In crises, the federal government, as well as state and local governments, can take extraordinary measures to contain the threat of terrorism from abroad as well as within the United States. Governments also maintain many agencies designed to ensure our safety. Local governments have police forces, states have national guards, and the federal government has both the armed services and the ability to call up state militias to quell any threats to order.

Providing for the Common Defense

The Framers recognized that a major purpose of government is to provide defense for its citizens against threats of foreign aggression. In fact, in the early years of the republic, many believed that the major function of government was to protect the nation from foreign threats, such as the British invasion of the United States in the War of 1812 and the continued problem of piracy on the high seas. Thus, the Constitution calls for the president to be commander in chief of the armed forces, and Congress has the authority to raise an army. The defense budget continues to be a considerable and often controversial proportion of all federal outlays.

Promoting the General Welfare

When the Framers added “promoting the general Welfare” to their list of key governmental functions, they never envisioned how governmental involvement at all levels would expand so tremendously. In fact, promoting the general welfare was more of an ideal than a mandate for the new national government. Over time, though, our notions of what governments should do have expanded along with governmental size to

democracy

A system of government that gives power to the people, whether directly or through elected representatives.

republic

A government rooted in the consent of the governed; a representative or indirect democracy.

Enlightenment

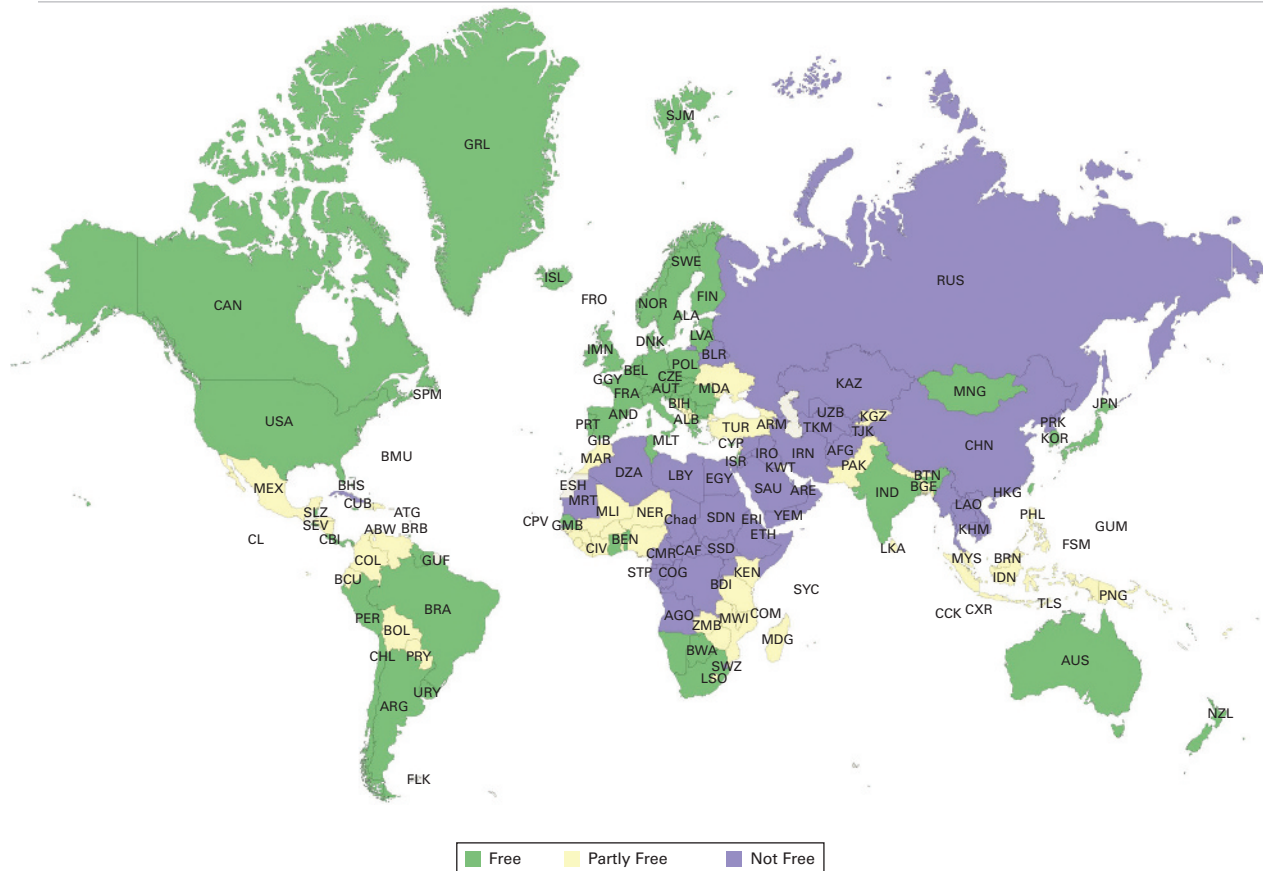
A philosophical movement in eighteenth-century Europe; its adherents advocated liberty and tolerance of individual differences, decried religious and political abuses, and rejected the notion of an absolute monarch.

AMERICAN POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

How Much of the World Is “Free”?

The international nongovernmental organization Freedom House produces an annual map of “Freedom in the World” that evaluates the overall level of political rights and civil liberties in 195 countries. The group creates a composite score for each country based on 25 different indicators related to areas such as voting, freedom of expression, and minority rights. Each country is then assigned an overall status of “Free,” “Partly Free,” or “Not Free.” The methodology, which is derived from the United Nation’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights, assesses the real-world rights and freedoms enjoyed by individuals, rather than governments or government performance per se. The 2016 map scored 86 countries as “Free,” 50 countries as “Not Free,” and 59 countries with mixed records were rated as “Partly Free.” As reflected in the map, most of Europe and the Americas are rated as “Free,” alongside other important outposts of freedom in southern Africa, India, and Oceania. However, large swathes of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East contain repressive countries whose abuse of political rights and civil liberties led them to be scored as “Not Free.”

FIGURE 1.3 HOW DOES FREEDOM COMPARE AROUND THE WORLD?



CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

1. What broad geographic patterns do you note in this map? How would you explain them?
2. What outliers do you note within regions, such as countries that are “not free” in otherwise “free” areas, or vice versa? How might you account for these?
3. What other values could be measured that you believe to be of equal or nearly equal importance to freedom?

include Social Security, federal interstate highways, and funding for local public schools. As we discuss throughout this text, however, the proper scope of government is a source of much disagreement and debate among Americans and their elected representatives.

Securing the Blessings of Liberty

Americans enjoy a wide range of liberties and opportunities to prosper. They are able to criticize the government and to petition it when they disagree with its policies or have a grievance. People can act as they wish so long as their actions don't infringe on the rights of others. This freedom to criticize and to petition is perhaps the best way to "secure the Blessings of Liberty."

THE CHANGING AMERICAN PEOPLE

1.3 Analyze the changing characteristics of the American public.

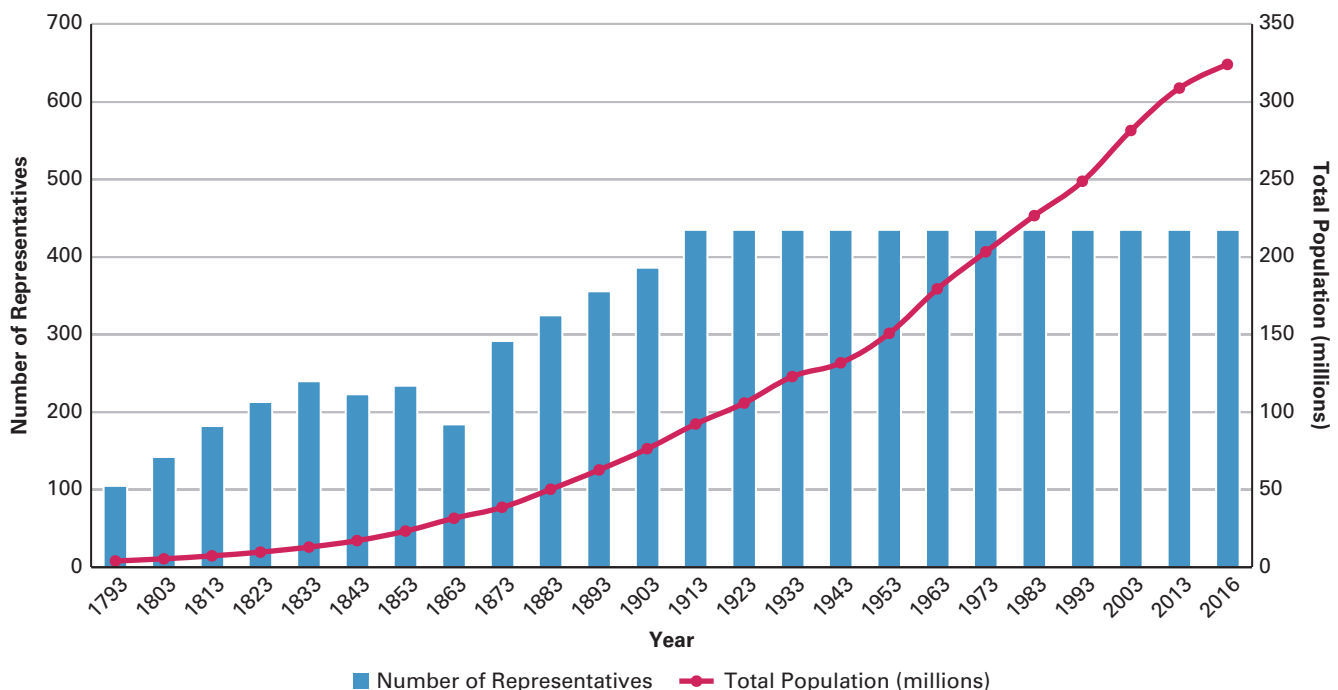
One year after ratification of the U.S. Constitution, fewer than 4 million people lived in the thirteen states. Most of those people shared a single language and a Protestant-Christian heritage, and those who voted were white male property owners. The Constitution mandated that the number of members of the House of Representatives should not exceed one for every 30,000 people and set the size of the first House at sixty-five members.

As the nation grew westward, hundreds of thousands of new immigrants came to America, often in waves, fleeing war or famine or simply in search of a better life. Although the geographic size of the United States has remained stable since the addition of Alaska and Hawaii as states in 1959, the population has grown to over 323 million inhabitants. As a result of this population growth, most people today feel far removed from the national government and their elected representatives (see Figure 1.4).

FIGURE 1.4 HOW DOES POPULATION CORRELATE WITH REPRESENTATION?

The population of the United States has grown dramatically since the nation's founding. Larger geographic area, immigration, and living longer have contributed to this trend. The size of the House of Representatives, however, has not kept pace with this expansion.

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau Population Projections, www.census.gov.



Racial and Ethnic Composition

The American population, originally settled by immigrants, has changed constantly as new people arrived from various regions—Western Europeans fleeing religious persecution in the 1600s to early 1700s; slaves brought in chains from Africa in the mid to late 1700s; Chinese laborers arriving in California to work on the railroads following the Gold Rush in 1848; Irish Catholics settling in the Northeast to escape the potato famine in the 1850s; Northern and Eastern Europeans from the 1880s to 1910s; and, most recently, South and Southeast Asians, Cubans, and Mexicans, among others. Today, almost 15 percent of Americans can be classified as immigrants.

Immigration has led to significant alterations in American racial and ethnic composition. The balance in America has changed dramatically over the past fifty years, with the proportion of Hispanics* overtaking African Americans as the second largest racial or ethnic group. The Asian American population, moreover, is now the fastest growing minority group in the United States. The majority of babies born in the United States are now members of a minority group, a fact that will have a significant impact not only on the demographics of the American polity but also on how America “looks.”

In states such as California, Hawaii, New Mexico, and Texas, members of minority groups already are the majority of residents. Nevada, Maryland, and Georgia are soon to follow. In a generation, minorities are likely to be the majority in America.

Aging

Just as the racial and ethnic composition of the American population is shifting, so too is the average age. “For decades, the U.S. was described as a nation of the young because the number of persons under the age of twenty greatly outnumber[ed] those sixty-five and older,” but this is no longer the case.¹ Because of changes in patterns of fertility, life expectancy, and immigration, the nation’s age profile has altered drastically. At the founding of the United States, the average life expectancy was thirty-five years; today, it is nearly eighty years, although studies show that whites aged 45 to 54 have experienced a 22 percent increase in death rates, making them the only group to experience declines in longevity. Explanations include rapidly rising suicide rates and illnesses and deaths related to drug addiction and alcohol abuse.² Whites in other democracies are not part of this trend.

An aging population places a host of costly demands on the government. An aging America also imposes a great financial burden on working Americans, whose proportion in the population is rapidly declining. These changes could potentially pit younger people against older people and result in dramatic cuts in benefits to the elderly and increased taxes for younger workers. Moreover, the elderly often vote against programs favored by younger voters, such as increases to public education spending. At the same time, younger voters are less likely to support issues important to seniors, such as Medicare and Social Security benefits.

Religious Beliefs

As we have discussed throughout this chapter, many of the first settlers came to America to pursue their religious beliefs free from governmental intervention. Although these early immigrants were members of a number of different churches,

*In this text, we have made the decision to refer to those of Spanish, Latin American, Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican descent as Hispanic instead of Latino/a. Although this label is not accepted universally by the community it describes, Hispanic is the term used by the U.S. government when reporting federal data. In addition, a 2008 survey sponsored by the Pew Charitable Trusts found that 36 percent of those who responded preferred the term Hispanic, 21 percent preferred the term Latino, and the remainder had no preference. See www.pewhispanic.org.

nearly all identified with Christian sects. Moreover, they viewed the Indians' belief systems, which included multiple gods, to be savage and unholy. Records exist of early Jewish colonists as well as Muslims from Africa brought to the New World as slaves, but the numbers of early Americans practicing these faiths were small in comparison to Christian settlers.³ Thus, references to Christianity and Christian values permeate American social and political systems.

While many citizens view the United States as a Christian nation, a great number of religious groups—including Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, and Muslims—have established roots in this country. With this growth have come different political and social demands. For example, some American Jews continually work to ensure that America's policies in the Middle East favor Israel, while some Muslims demand more support for a Palestinian state.

Regional Growth and Expansion

Regional sectionalism emerged almost immediately in the United States. Settlers from the Virginia Colony southward largely focused on commerce. Those seeking various forms of religious freedom populated many of the settlements from the mid-Atlantic and Northeast. That search for religious freedom also came with puritanical values, so that New England evolved differently from the South in many aspects of culture.

Sectional differences continued to emerge as the United States developed into a major industrial nation and waves of immigrants with various religious traditions and customs entered the country, often settling in areas where other immigrants from their homeland already lived. For example, thousands of Scandinavians flocked to Minnesota, and many Irish settled in the urban centers of the Northeast, as did many Italians and Jews. All brought with them unique views about numerous issues and varying demands on government as well as different ideas about the role of government. Subsequent generations have often handed down these political views, and many regional differences continue to affect public opinion today.

One of the most long-standing and dramatic regional differences in the United States is that between the South and the North. During the Constitutional Convention, most Southerners staunchly advocated for a weak national government. The Civil War was later fought in part because of basic philosophical differences about government as well as slavery, which many Northerners opposed. As we know from modern political polling, the South continues to lag behind the rest of the nation in supporting civil rights, while still favoring return of power to the states and downsizing the national government.

The West, too, has always appeared unique compared with the rest of the United States. Populated first by those seeking free land and then by many chasing dreams of gold, the American West has often been characterized as "wild." Its population today is a study in contrasts. Some people have moved there to avoid city life and have an anti-government bias. Other Westerners are attracted to the region's abundant sunshine and natural resources and seek governmental solutions to problems like drought and environmental degradation.

Significant differences in attitude also arise in rural versus urban areas. Those who live in rural areas are much more conservative than those in large cities.⁴ One need only look at a map of the vote distribution in recent presidential elections to see stark differences in candidate appeal. Democratic candidates have carried almost every large city in America; Republicans have carried most rural voters as well as most of America's heartland.⁵