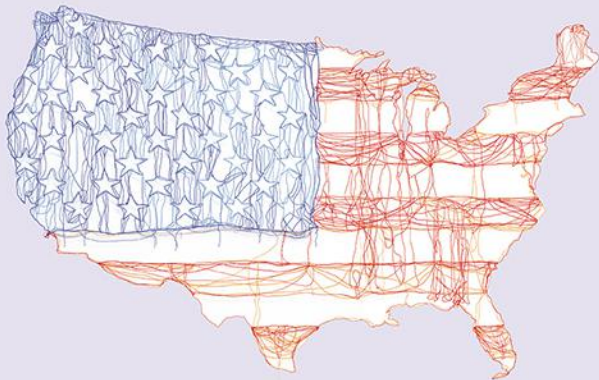


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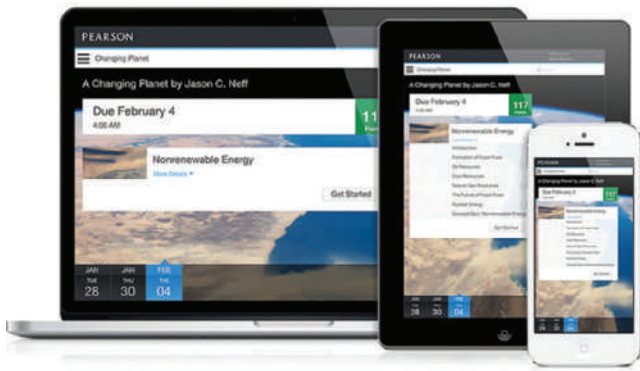
# AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Roots and Reform

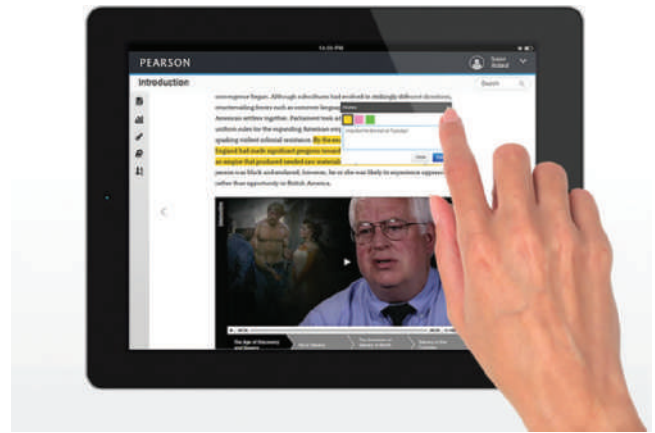


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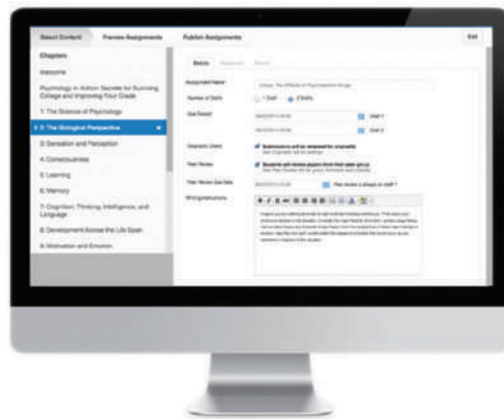




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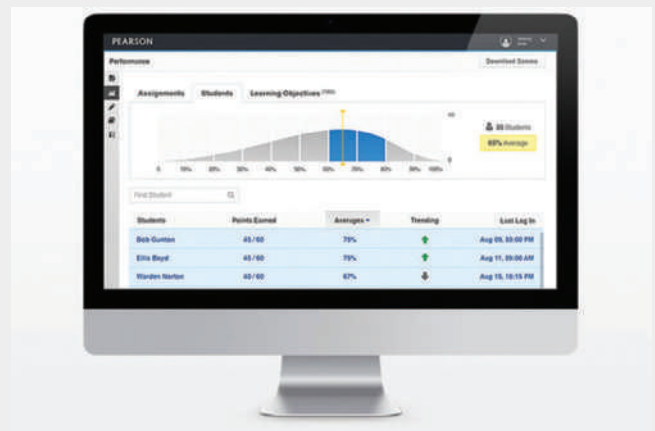
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# AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

## Roots and Reform

2018 Elections and Updates Edition

**Karen O'Connor**

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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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# To the Student

**A**s 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>.

- 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?

**A**merican 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.

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### 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.

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[www.pearson.com/revel](http://www.pearson.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. For example, Chapter 4 on Civil Liberties opens with an article titled "How Absolute Is the Right to Bear Arms?" about the 2018 shooting in Parkland, FL, and Chapter 15 on Domestic and Economic Policy opens with "How Is Republican Control of the Federal Government Changing Domestic Policy?" Many of the Current Event Bulletins will be updated after the 2018 midterms to include key election results as well as outcome of the Brett Kavanaugh nomination.

## Chapter 12 Campaigns, Elections, and Voting

### Should We be Concerned about a Rigged Election?

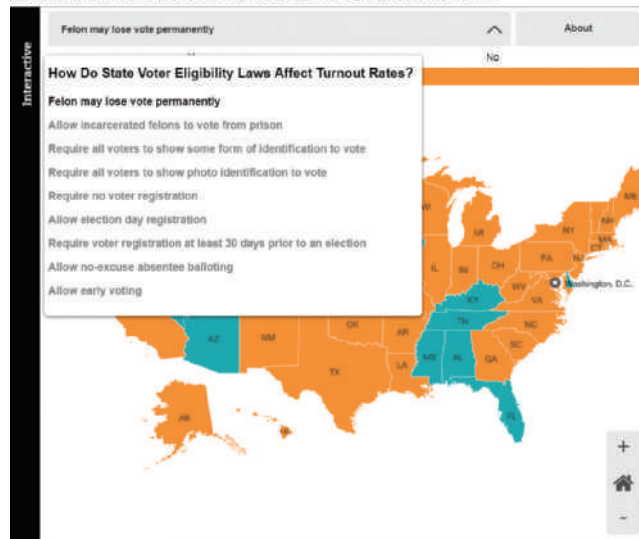
August 2016

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 2018 midterm election campaigns and results, students can explore an interactive map of the United States that details voting laws and voter turnout by state.

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?



- **Pearson Originals for Political Science** are compelling stories about contemporary issues. These short-form documentaries contextualize the complex social and political issues impacting the world today. In addition to helping students better understand core concepts, Pearson Originals inspire students to think critically as empowered citizens who can inspire social and political change. Explaining complex political issues in a simplified and entertaining way, Pearson Originals for Political Science help students become informed members of society. Videos include Marijuana and Federalism: Who's in Charge?; Who Should Be Allowed to Call Themselves "American"?; and What Is the Emoluments Clause and Why Should I Care About It?
- **Pearson's Politics Hidden in Plain Sight** video series does exactly that—provides students with concrete examples of how politics influences the activities of their daily lives—from using their cellphones to going to a convenience store—in ways they likely had not previously noticed.

- Both **Pearson Originals for Political Science and Politics Hidden in Plain Sight** can also be easily accessed from the instructor's Resources folder within Revel.
- **Shared Media activities** allow instructors to assign and grade both pre-written and their own prompts that incorporate video, weblinks, and visuals and ask students riting or by uploading their own video or audio responses. Pre-written assignments around the Pearson Originals for Political Science videos are also available.
- For historical images and political cartoons, **enhanced images** contain contextual "hotspots" highlighting details that students might otherwise miss.

VIEW: WHY ARE ORAL ARGUMENTS IMPORTANT?



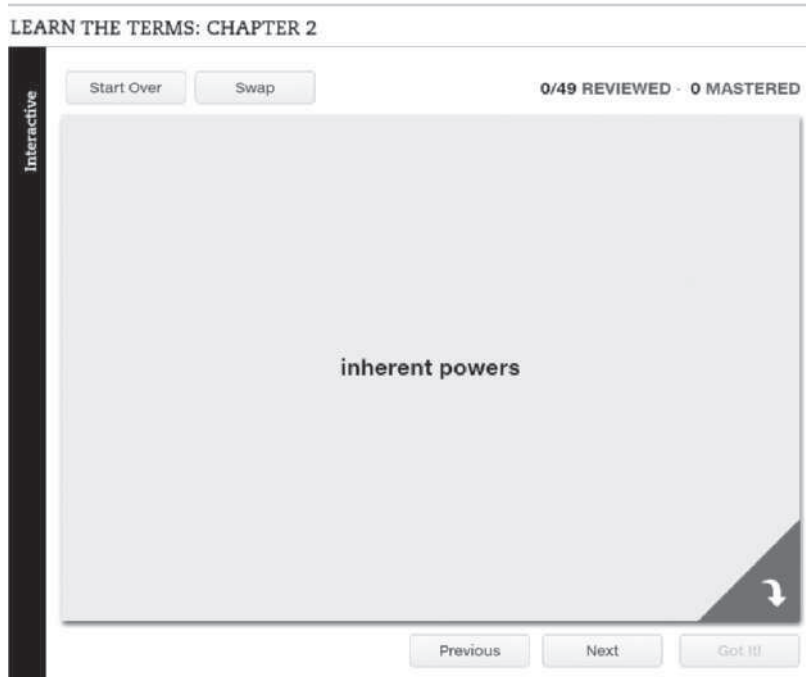
- **Interactive tables** give students the opportunity, after viewing the information in a table, to check their understanding of the connections by removing the information in a given column and then "dragging and dropping" it back to the correct place.

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

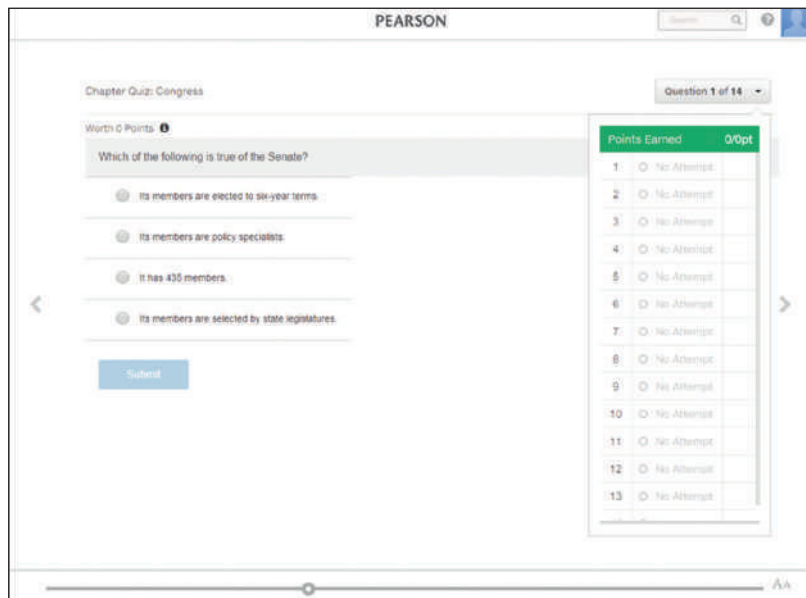
Interactive	Study the details of the Constitutional and Political Dimensions of Enacting a Constitutional Amendment. When you are ready to test your knowledge, click "Check Your Understanding" below.		
	How are the parts of government involved?	What constitutional support is required?	What are the political 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



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



- **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. In addition, select Social Explorer visualizations are now followed up with a journal prompt to encourage data literacy and deeper analysis.

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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

Share your views

Consider the discussion in "The Living Constitution" feature. Is racial profiling 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 view posts. After posting, your response can be viewed by your class and instructor, and you can participate in the class discussion.

Post

0 characters | 140 maximum

- **Essay Prompts** are from Pearson's Writing Space, where instructors can assign both automatically graded and instructor-graded prompts. Writing Space is the best way to develop and assess concept mastery and critical thinking through writing. Writing Space provides a single place within Revel to create, track, and grade writing assignments; access writing resources; and exchange meaningful, personalized feedback quickly and easily to improve results. For students, Writing Space provides everything they need to keep up with writing assignments, access assignment guides and checklists, write or upload completed assignments, and receive grades and feedback—all in one convenient place. For educators, Writing Space makes assigning, receiving, and evaluating writing assignments easier. It's simple to create



new assignments and upload relevant materials, see student progress, and receive alerts when students submit work. Writing Space makes students' work more focused and effective, with customized grading rubrics they can see and personalized feedback. Writing Space can also check students' work for improper citation or plagiarism by comparing it against the world's most accurate text comparison database available from Turnitin.

**LEARNING MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS** Pearson provides Blackboard Learn™, Canvas™, Brightspace by D2L, and Moodle integration, giving institutions, instructors, and students easy access to Revel. Our Revel integration delivers streamlined access to everything your students need for the course in these learning management system (LMS) environments. *Single Sign-on*: With single sign-on, students are ready on their first day. From your LMS course, students have easy access to an interactive blend of authors' narrative, media, and assessment. *Grade Sync*: Flexible, on-demand grade synchronization capabilities allow you to control exactly which Revel grades should be transferred to the LMS gradebook.

To access your own Revel account and get more information about the tools and resources in Revel, go to [www.pearson.com/revel](http://www.pearson.com/revel).

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## STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND COVERAGE UPDATES

While the 2018 midterm 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 Trump's first two years in office, the **2018 midterm election results** as well as decisions from the **2017–2018 term of the Supreme Court**.
- **Chapter 1** includes new 2018 coverage on these topics: Trump's immigration bans, the burgeoning opioid crisis, the Russian hacking of the 2018 elections, and the toxic political partisanship that pervades our current government. Two figures have been updated with the latest available data: Figure 1.4 “How Does Population Correlate with Representation?” and Figure 1.5 “Do Americans Have Confidence in American Institutions?” Finally, imagery in this chapter now includes a shot of President Trump holding “empathy” notes during his listening session with survivors of gun violence.

- **Chapter 2** now concludes with 2018 election coverage in the section “Toward Reform: Methods of Amending the U.S. Constitution.” Imagery in this chapter has also been updated to include a photo of Trump’s first State of the Union Address.
- **Chapter 3** concludes with new coverage about Neil Gorsuch’s replacement of Justice Scalia and Brett Kavanaugh’s nomination to replace Justice Kennedy as it relates to “Federalism and the Courts.” Two figures have been updated with the latest available data: Figure 3.3 “How Many Governments Exist in the United States?” and 3.7 “How Do Federal Grants Help State Governments?”
- **Chapter 4** includes updates related to Trump’s immigration bans, *Masterpiece Cakeshop v. Colorado Civil Rights Commission* (2018); hate speech on college campuses; the debate over gun control after the Parkland, FL, shooting; and the latest developments related to abortion in Arkansas and California court cases.
- **Chapter 5** is updated with coverage of Trump’s zero-tolerance policy toward undocumented immigrants of separating children from their parents; his administration’s poor handling of aid to Puerto Rico after Hurricane Maria; and in the section titled “A New Movement for Women,” significant new updates that detail the Women’s March after Trump’s inauguration, the #Metoo movement, and the many public figures who have resigned due to allegations of sexual harassment and assault.
- **Chapter 6** includes the latest available results from the 2018 midterm elections. In particular, coverage on the topics of incumbency, redistricting, Paul Ryan’s resignation, and the Senate Judiciary Committee Hearings of Brett Kavanaugh and Christine Blasey-Ford have been added. Figure 6.1 “How Well Does the House of Representatives Reflect the American People?,” Figure 6.4 “What Is the Partisan Composition of the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress?,” and Figure 6.6 “What Do Americans Think of Congress?” have been updated to reflect the latest available data.
- **Chapter 7** includes new coverage of President Trump’s first two years in office, his controversial cabinet appointments, the high numbers of White House staff turnover, the public Twitter dismissals of Rex Tillerson and James Comey, the president’s relationships with Vladimir Putin and Kim Jong-un.
- **Chapter 8** concludes with new coverage related to executive control and President Trump’s moves to reduce the regulatory authority of the government in various ways. Related examples include his appointments to organizations such as the EPA and the Department of Education, and his administration’s drastic cuts to government programs such as Medicaid and the budgets of The Department of State. New Figure 8.1 details the demographics those who work in the federal executive branch.
- **Chapter 9** is updated to include coverage of cases heard in 2017–2018, President Trump’s appointment of Neil Gorsuch to replace Antonin Scalia, and his nomination of Brett Kavanaugh to replace retiring justice Anthony Kennedy. A new photo of Kavanaugh from the first day of his confirmation hearings is included in the chapter, and Figure 9.3 “Who Are Federal Judges?” has been updated with demographic information of Trump’s appointments.
- **Chapter 10** includes the latest available information on 2018 election coverage. And Figure 10.3 “What Does a Tracking Poll Look Like?” and Figure 10.4 “What Are Americans’ Political Ideologies?” have been updated with the latest numbers.
- **Chapter 11** opens with a new vignette based on the outcomes of the 2018 midterm election and the role of partisan polarization in the divided electorate. New photos feature some of the women candidates who beat strong incumbent opponents, and Figure 11.4 “How Much Money Do Parties Raise?” and Figure 11.5 “How Much Has Public Trust in Government Declined?” have been updated with new data.
- **Chapter 12** opens with a revised vignette that recaps Donald Trump’s 2016 campaign and subsequent revelations of Russian meddling. This chapter has been thoroughly updated with the latest available results, photos, and data from the 2018 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 contains a new Figure 13.4 titled “How Does Partisanship Relate to Public Confidence in the Media?”
- **Chapter 14** includes new 2018 coverage related to union membership, religious organizations as interest groups, lightning-quick fundraising through social media, lobbying related to the Courts, and the recent surge of grassroots lobbying. Figure 14.1 “Where is Union Membership Highest?,” Figure 14.2 “How Many Lobbyists Are There? How Much Do They Spend?,” and Figure 14.3 “How Much Money Do Top PACs Spend on National Elections?” are all updated with the latest available data.
- **Chapter 15** begins with a newly revised vignette about the Affordable Care Act and includes new coverage of the Republican’s efforts to repeal Obamacare, the 2017 Republican tax cut bill, a new photo of Jerome Powell, the latest Chairman of the Federal Reserve, and brief overviews of the Trump Administration’s handling of policies related to the environment and education. Figures 15.3 “How Do State Unemployment Rates Vary?” has been updated with the latest available data, and in Revel, this chapter includes a new video about the Laffer Curve and supply side economics.
- **Chapter 16** has been streamlined and updated to include coverage of important developments during the Trump administration including Trump’s controversial appointments to Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense, his recent moves toward a trade war with China, his withdrawal from the TPP and renegotiation of NAFTA, his withdrawal from the Paris Climate Agreement, and his public statements of admiration for North Korean leader Kim Jong-un and Russia’s Vladimir Putin.

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## CONTENT HIGHLIGHTS

Every chapter in this text uses history to serve three 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.

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## 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](http://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, Blackboard, and WebCT versions are available on the IRC, and Respondus versions are available on request from [www.respondus.com](http://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](http://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.
- **LECTURE POWERPOINTS** Make lectures more enriching for students. The accessible PowerPoint presentations include full lecture outlines and photos and figures from the book. Available within Revel and on the IRC.
- **LECTURE LIVESLIDE POWERPOINTS** These PowerPoint presentations include full lecture outlines, photos, and figures from the book—with an exciting enhancement. Figures that are Social Explorer visualizations appear as dynamic LiveSlides. This gives you a direct path to the live Social Explorers in the Revel course. Social Explorer visualizations are data-rich interactive maps and figures that enable students to visually explore demographic data to understand how local trends impact them, while improving data and statistical literacy. Available within Revel and on the IRC.

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important ways 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](http://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.

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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 Southwest 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 had to 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.

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## ROOTS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: WE THE PEOPLE

### 1.1 Trace the origins of American government.

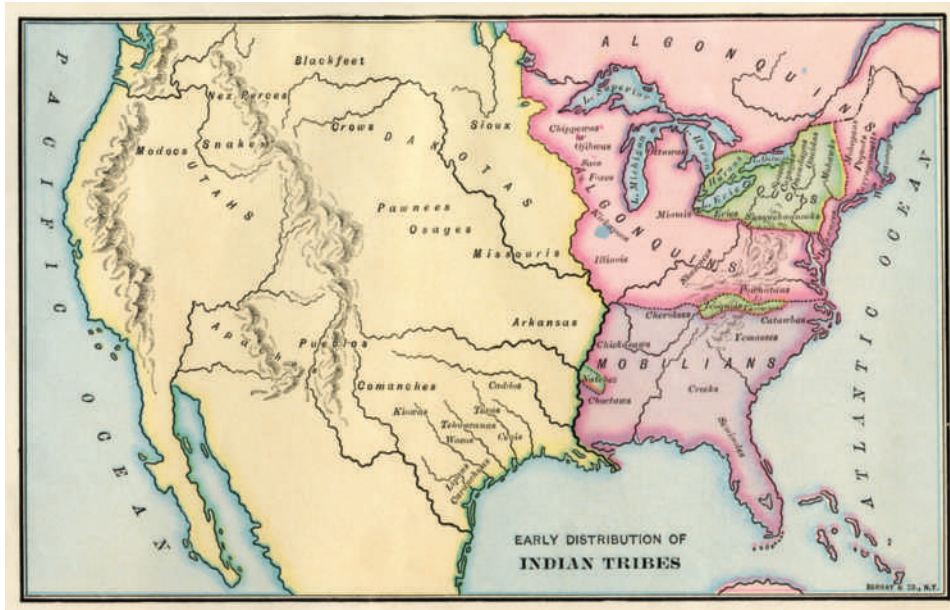
Much has changed since the earliest explorers and settlers came to the New World. The people who live in America today differ greatly from those early inhabitants. In this section, we lay the groundwork for the study of the United States today by looking at the earliest inhabitants of the Americas, their 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 (See Figure 1.1).

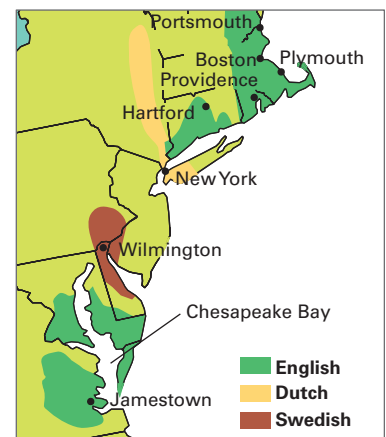
## The First Colonists

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. The settlement of three colonial powers English; Dutch; and Swedish are as follows:



### 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.

### William Penn

Quaker leader and supporter of religious tolerance who founded Pennsylvania.

### Thomas Hooker

A minister who believed that Puritans were too narrow-minded. He founded the colony of Connecticut where all men were given the right to vote, regardless of religious views or property qualifications.

### 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 with the encouragement of Roger Williams, went on to found a new settlement at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, attracting many women to her views on Christianity. When her views became more controversial, the mother of fifteen moved to New York City. There, however, she was burned at the stake because of what church leaders believed was heresy.



## 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**. Originating in Europe, the Enlightenment was a period of time in which philosophers believed that liberty, and thus domestic tranquility, required tolerance of individual differences; they criticized the role of religion and political abuses, and rejected the role of an all-powerful monarch as antithetical to a peaceful society. 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.

### 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.



## How Much of the World Is “Free”?

### FIGURE 1.3 HOW DOES FREEDOM COMPARE AROUND THE WORLD?



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## 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 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.”

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# THE CHANGING AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE

## 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, mostly white, came to America, often in waves, fleeing war 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 326 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). It is also increasingly apparent that some feel threatened by the racial or religious attributes of new immigrants.

## 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

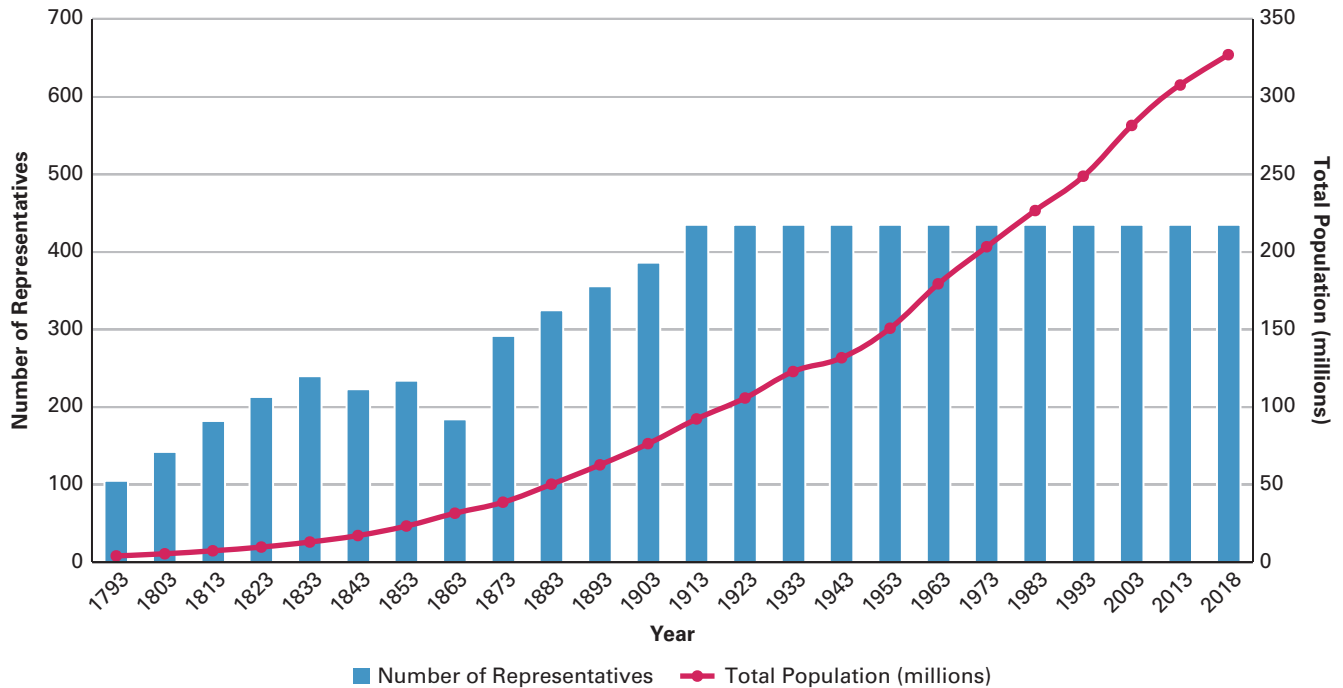
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\* In this text, we have made the decision to refer to those of Spanish, Latin American, Mexican, Cuban, and Puerto Rican descent as Hispanic instead of Latino/a. Although this label is not accepted universally by the community it describes, Hispanic 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](http://www.pewhispanic.org).

**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](http://www.census.gov).



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. Issues concerning immigration of Mexican, Central, and South American individuals were often brought up during the 2016 presidential election. President Donald Trump’s promise to “build a wall” to keep out immigrants from our southern borders continues to be a rallying cry for many Republicans.

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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 forty-five to fifty-four 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.<sup>2</sup> Widespread opioid abuses are central to this problem, with many government

agencies seeking to limit their use. At the same time, several states and the District of Columbia have legalized marijuana, which some critics view as a gateway drug to other, often harder, substances.

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, 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.<sup>3</sup> 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. When President Trump fulfilled a campaign promise and moved the U.S. embassy from Israel's capital city, Tel Aviv, to Jerusalem, many American Jews were irate while evangelical Christians cheered the move.

## 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. As an example, one just needs to look at online retail giant Amazon's search for a second corporate headquarters. Issues such as how state laws treat members of the LGBTQ communities (with restrictions far more common in southern states) have undergone strict scrutiny.

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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

## Family and Family Size

In the past, familial gender roles were clearly defined. Women did housework and men worked in the fields. Large families were imperative; children were a source of cheap farm labor. Industrialization and knowledge of birth control methods, however, began to put a dent in the size of American families by the early 1900s. No longer needing children to work for survival of the household, couples began to limit family size.

In 1949, 49 percent of those polled thought that four or more children constituted the “ideal” family size; today, most Americans believe that having no children or two children at most is “best.” In 1940, nine of ten households were traditional family households. Today, 35 percent of children under eighteen live with just one of their parents; the majority of those live with their mother. Moreover, nearly one-third of all households consist of a single person, a trend that reflects, in part, the aging American population and declining marriage rate.<sup>6</sup> Nearly half of Americans have never been

### WHAT DOES THE TYPICAL AMERICAN FAMILY LOOK LIKE?

As the demographics of American society change over time, the composition of American families has become increasingly heterogeneous. Here, the cast members of the sitcom *Modern Family* exemplify the age, ethnic, and diversity of sexual orientation in families today, making the “typical American family” difficult to describe.



married. The “families” polled in the 1940s were conventional ones that no longer exist in the large proportions found in earlier decades. Now, same-sex couples often have children. The number of unmarried teenage mothers has declined, and the greatest growth in women having babies is among women over forty, an age long ago considered too old for motherhood.

Even the institution of marriage has undergone tremendous change. Since the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015), same-sex marriage is legal in all states.<sup>7</sup> These changes in composition of households, lower birthrates, marriage, and the prevalence of single-parent families affect the kinds of demands people place on government. Single-parent families, for example, may be more likely to support government-subsidized day care or after-school programs.

## TOWARD REFORM: PEOPLE AND POLITICS

### 1.4 Characterize changes in Americans’ attitudes toward and expectations of government.

As the American population has changed over time, so has the American political process. **Politics** is the study of who gets what, when, and how—the process by which policy decisions are made. The evolving nature of the American citizenry deeply affects this process. Competing demands often lead to political struggles, which create winners and losers within the system. A loser today, however, may be a winner tomorrow in the ever-changing world of politics. The political ideologies of those in control of Congress, the executive, and state houses also have a huge impact on who gets what, when, and how.

Nevertheless, shared American values continue to bind citizens together. Many Americans share the common goal of achieving the **American Dream**—an American ideal of a happy and successful life in which education, freedom, and home ownership are core elements. Although manifestations of the American Dream have changed over time, it often includes wealth, a house, a better life for one’s children, and, for some, the opportunity to grow up to be president. Many voters for President **Donald J. Trump** saw the American Dream falling from their or their childrens’ grasp.

In roughly the first 150 years of our nation’s history, the federal government had few responsibilities, and citizens had few expectations of it beyond national defense, printing money, and collecting tariffs and taxes. The state governments were generally far more powerful than the federal government in matters affecting the everyday lives of Americans.

As the nation and its economy grew in size and complexity, the federal government took on more responsibilities, such as regulating some businesses, providing poverty relief, and inspecting food. With these new roles come greater demands on government, although many citizens often do not realize how much they depend on government programs, be it income tax deductions for home mortgages, subsidies for the high costs of heating (in northern states) or cooling (in southern states), or grants that support highly popular programming such as *Sesame Street* (prior to 2017) or the arts.

The debate over the repeal of the Affordable Care Act, often called Obamacare, is illustrative of the conflicts individuals experience in terms of how much government they want. Most Americans were happy to see that their medical insurance provider was forced to extend medical coverage to their children until they were twenty-six. Appeals to force insurers to cover preexisting conditions, however, was greeted with mixed results—often based on the perspectives of those who had (or had friends or family) with preexisting conditions that could have left them without insurance or coverage for medical treatment for life-threatening conditions.

Today, many Americans lack faith in the country’s institutions (see Figure 1.5). These concerns make it even easier for citizens to blame the government for all kinds

### politics

The study of who gets what, when, and how—or how policy decisions are made.

### American Dream

An American ideal of a happy, successful life, which often assumes wealth, a house, and a better life for one’s children.

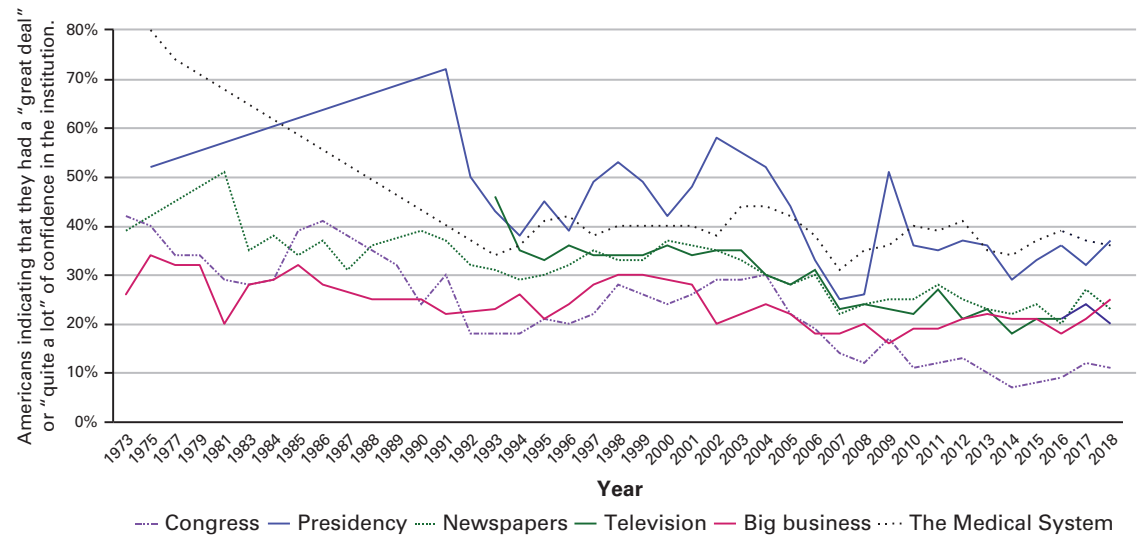
### Donald J. Trump

The forty-fifth president, a Republican, elected in 2016; first president elected without prior political or military experience; an experienced businessman.

**FIGURE 1.5** DO AMERICANS HAVE CONFIDENCE IN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS?

The line graph below shows the percentages of Americans declaring they have a “great deal” or “quite a lot” of confidence in American institutions. Note the declining trend of trust in all political institutions, as well as Americans’ record low levels of trust in Congress.

**SOURCE:** Gallup, accessed November 12, 2018 at: <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1597/confidence-institutions.aspx>.



of woes—personal as well as societal—or to fail to credit it for those things it does well. Many Americans, for example, enjoy a remarkably high standard of living, and much of it is due to governmental programs and protections.

Partisanship and political acrimony is at the highest levels we have seen in years. The 2016 presidential campaign was particularly divisive, as name-calling, bullying, and “alternative facts” came into vogue. Adding to distrust of government was the fact that many “facts” uttered by political candidates (and later by President Trump) and then checked by the *Washington Post* proved to be unfounded. It labeled 488 statements spoken or tweeted by President Donald Trump during his first 100 days in office as false or misleading. Hillary Clinton was also not immune from making false or “pants-on-fire” claims during the campaign, but her tally fell far short of those made by Trump. Perhaps more troubling, a May 2018 Gallup poll found that only 37 percent of its respondents believed that the ethical standards of members of the Trump administration were good or excellent.

In 2018, we also learned conclusively that the Russian government participated in a massive effort to use Facebook and other forms of social media to push voters toward Trump. Americans, for the first time and on a pervasive level, were bombarded with false news designed to further influence their political leanings. With no way of sorting through the flood of misleading information, the preexisting political loyalties of many were only strengthened. Soon after the 2016 election, Facebook pledged to do more to block fake or inflammatory news. And congressional committees are investigating the role that the Russian government played in that process.

It is not surprising, then, that frustration with government and politics has produced a new level of public protest. The Million Woman March on Washington, D.C., which also saw participation in all fifty states and across six continents, was estimated to attract far more protestors than President Trump’s inauguration did attendees the day before. And in 2017, after another deadly mass shooting in a school in the United States (this time in Parkland, Florida), many students finally said, “Enough.” They used social media to enhance their voices, called on legislatures to strengthen gun control laws, and organized a national march on Washington, D.C., to draw attention to the fact that they were future voters. Other marches for the environment, science,

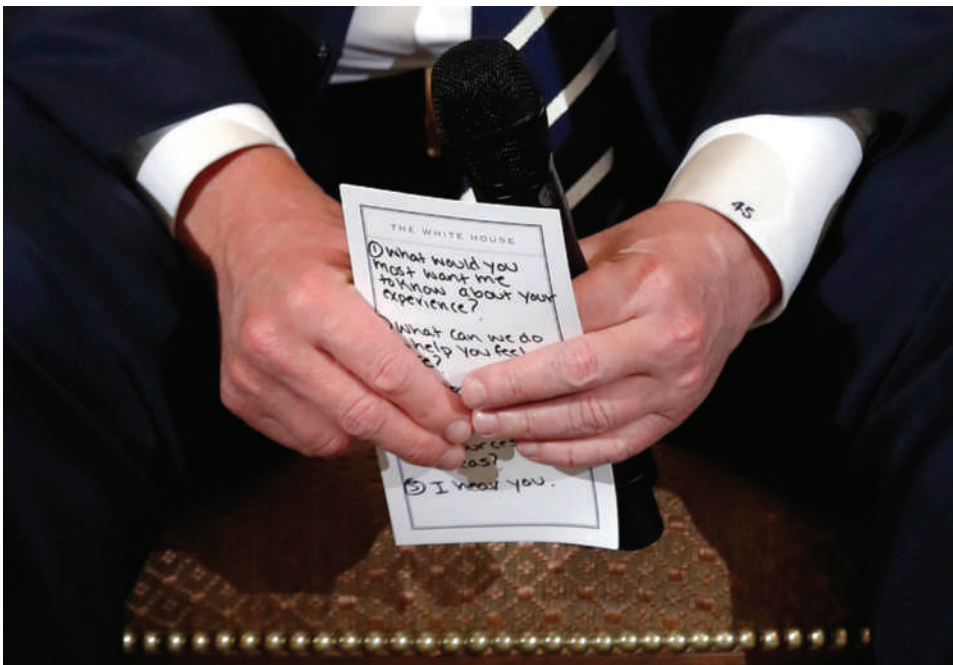
students against guns, and even a Tax Day protest urging the president to release his tax returns (as all former living presidents have done), may signal a new burst in political activity unseen in years gone by on both sides.

Through 2018, Republicans and conservatives controlled all three branches of government offering little-to-no check on the powers of the president. One of the highlights of President Trump's first 100 days was the fairly easy confirmation of Judge Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court. Trump was dealt another critical opportunity when Justice Anthony Kennedy, often the swing voter on many 5-4 decisions of the Court, opted to retire. In contentious hearings involving charges of sexual assault, Trump's second nominee, Judge Brett Kavanaugh, was confirmed, solidifying a conservative majority on the nation's highest Court for decades to come.

Conversely, many of President Trump's comments about women, his judicial appointments, and proposals to roll back federal legal protections for women, which, for example, is likely to happen in the area of reproductive rights, energized more women to run in 2017 and 2018 in greater numbers than ever before. These women, mostly Democrats, are expected to push back hard on Trump favored policies including Republican's positions against funding birth control, health screenings for women, and access to abortion providers.

America truly stands at a crossroads. We are a nation of immigrants, but the president has vowed not only to deport illegal aliens, but to ban the admission of Muslims from certain countries. In so doing, he has also implemented a policy of separating families at various border crossings, even when parents are seeking legal asylum, photos of which shocked many Americans. President Trump's agenda for the country is different in substance and style than any past presidents. Responses to his administration and proposed policies have drawn attention to the many deep divisions in this country, and it is a crucial time to study and be involved in American politics.

In this text, we present you with the tools needed to understand how our political system has evolved and to understand changes yet to come. Approaching the study of American government and politics with an open mind should help you become a better citizen. We hope that you learn to ask questions, to comprehend how various issues have come to be important, and to see why a particular law was enacted, how it was implemented, and if it needs reform. We further hope that you will learn not to accept at face value everything you see on the TV news, hear on the radio, or read



#### WHAT IS THE ROLE OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT?

The most important responsibility of American government is to protect its citizens. Thus, despite their disillusionment with the government, citizens in a time of need often turn to political leaders for support. Here, President Donald Trump holds notes prompting empathetic questions during a listening session with survivors of gun violence after the deadly shootings in Parkland, Florida.



on social media, especially in the blogosphere and Twitterverse. Work to understand your government, and use your vote and other forms of participation to help ensure that your government works for you.

We recognize that the discourse of politics has changed dramatically, most notably in the unprecedented events surrounding the 2016 presidential election. There is no doubt that politics often appears to have devolved into a nasty sport, a fact that has led many voters to question what government does for them. There is also a real threat that American politics could get even nastier as politicians look forward to the 2020 elections in which the president again will be on the ballot and far more Republicans senators will seek to defend their seats than occurred in 2018.

We hope that Americans will pay increasing attention to our democracy and consider carefully what we want from government. We challenge you to consider how government regulations and policies affect your life. For example, after graduation, do you plan to stay on your parent's health insurance? Do you believe the poor should get housing and food assistance? Do you believe in climate change, and should we, as a country, take steps to reduce pollution? It is easier than ever before to become informed about the political process and to get involved in campaigns and elections.

We believe that a thorough understanding of the workings of government will allow you to question and think about the political system—the good parts and the bad—and decide for yourself whether proposed changes and reforms are advantageous or disadvantageous. Equipped with such an understanding, we hope you will become a better informed and a more active participant in the political process and remain aware of the possibilities and limitations of government as we enter a period where after two years, the House of Representatives may begin to assert itself in the policy process and curtail or stall the implementation of policy positions favored by President Trump.

## CONCLUSION AND REVIEW

### Roots of American Government: We the People

#### 1.1 Trace the origins of American government.

American government is rooted in the cultures and experiences of early European colonists as well as interactions with the indigenous populations of the New World. The first colonists sought wealth. Later pilgrims came for religious freedom. The colonies set up systems of government that differed widely in terms of form, role, and function. As the colonies developed, they sought more independence from the British monarchy.

### Functions of American Government

#### 1.2 Explain the functions of American government.

The functions of American government include establishing justice, ensuring domestic tranquility, providing for the common defense, promoting the general welfare, and securing the blessings of liberty.

### The Changing American Public

#### 1.3 Analyze the changing characteristics of the American public.

Several characteristics of the American electorate can help us understand how the system continues to evolve and change. Among these are changes in size and population, racial and ethnic composition, age, religious beliefs, regional growth and expansion, and family and family size.

### Toward Reform: People and Politics

#### 1.4 Characterize changes in Americans' attitudes toward and expectations of government.

Shifts in population have created controversy in the American electorate throughout America's history. Americans have high and often unrealistic expectations of government, yet often fail to appreciate how much their government actually does for them. Americans' failing trust in institutions also explains some of the dissatisfaction among the American electorate.

## LEARN THE TERMS

American Dream  
Anne Hutchinson  
democracy  
Donald J. Trump

Enlightenment  
government  
Mayflower  
politics

republic  
Roger Williams  
Thomas Hooker  
William Penn





#### HOW MANY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS HAVE ADDRESSED VOTING?

Many constitutional amendments have addressed voting rights. Above, President Richard M. Nixon signs the Twenty-Sixth Amendment, which guaranteed eighteen-year-olds the right to vote in all elections. Robert Kunzig, the General Services Administrator, waits to certify the document, and members of the singing group "Young Americans" also signed the amendment.

# THE CONSTITUTION

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- 2.1** Identify the causes of the American Revolution and the ideals on which the United States and the Constitution are based.
- 2.2** Identify the components of the Articles of Confederation and the reasons for their failure.
- 2.3** Outline the issues resolved by the compromise during the writing of the Constitution.
- 2.4** Describe the framework for government expressed in the Constitution.
- 2.5** Outline the arguments for and against ratification of the Constitution.
- 2.6** Describe the processes by which the Constitution can be amended.

**A**t age eighteen, all American citizens are eligible to vote in state and national elections. This has not always been the case. It took an amendment to the U.S. Constitution—one of only seventeen that have been added since ratification of the Bill of Rights in 1791—to guarantee the vote in national elections to those younger than twenty-one years of age.

In 1942, during World War II, Representative Jennings Randolph (D-WV) proposed a constitutional amendment that would lower the voting age to eighteen, believing that since young men were old enough to be drafted, go to war, and fight and die for their country, they also should be allowed to vote. He continued to reintroduce his proposal during every session of Congress and in 1954 President Dwight D. Eisenhower endorsed the idea in his State of the Union Address. Presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon—men who had also called upon the nation’s young men to fight on foreign shores—echoed his appeal.<sup>1</sup>

During the 1960s, the campaign to lower the voting age took on a new sense of urgency as the draft sent hundreds of thousands of young men to fight in the unpopular war in Vietnam, and thousands of men and women were killed in action. “Old Enough to Fight, Old Enough to Vote” was one popular slogan of the day. By 1970, four states—the U.S. Constitution allows states to set the eligibility requirements for their voters—had lowered their voting ages to eighteen. Later that year, Congress passed legislation lowering the voting age in national, state, and local elections to eighteen.

The state of Oregon, however, challenged the constitutionality of the law in court, arguing that the Constitution did not give Congress the authority to establish a uniform voting age in state and local government elections. The U.S. Supreme Court agreed.<sup>2</sup> The decision from the divided Court meant that those under age twenty-one could vote in national elections but that the states were free to prohibit them from voting in state and local elections. The decision presented the states with a logistical nightmare. States setting the voting age at twenty-one would be forced to keep two sets of registration books: one for voters twenty-one and over and one for voters under twenty-one.

Jennings Randolph, by then a senator from West Virginia, reintroduced his proposed amendment to lower the national voting age to eighteen.<sup>3</sup> Within three months of the Supreme Court’s decision, Congress sent the proposed Twenty-Sixth amendment to the states for their ratification. The required three-fourths of the states approved the amendment within three months—making its adoption on June 30, 1971, the quickest in the history of the constitutional amending process. In the aftermath of the 2018 Parkland school shooting and subsequent march on Washington, D.C., many newspapers and magazines called for lowering the voting age to sixteen. The *New York Times*, for example, noted that several countries, including Argentina, Austria, and Brazil, allow sixteen-year-olds to vote and that their voter turnout is significantly higher than older Americans. The District of Columbia was the first to allow sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds to vote in national elections.



The Framers never intended the U.S. Constitution to be easily changed. They made the amendment process time consuming and difficult. Over the years, thousands of amendments—including those to prohibit child labor, provide equal rights for women, grant statehood to the District of Columbia, balance the federal budget, and ban flag burning—have been debated or sent to the states for approval, only to die slow deaths. Only twenty-seven amendments have made their way into the Constitution. What the Framers wrote in Philadelphia has continued to work, in spite of increasing demands on and dissatisfaction with our national government. Although Americans often clamor for reform, perhaps they are happier with the system of government created by the Framers than they realize. The ideas that went into the making

**New World**

The Western Hemisphere of Earth, also called The Americas, which was unknown to Europeans before 1492.

**Benjamin Franklin**

A brilliant inventor and senior statesman at the Constitutional Convention who urged colonial unity as early as 1754, twenty-two years before the Declaration of Independence.

**French and Indian War**

The American phase of what was called the Seven Years' War, fought from 1754 to 1763 between Britain and France with Indian allies.

**mercantilism**

An economic theory designed to increase a nation's wealth through the development of commercial industry and a favorable balance of trade.

of the Constitution and the ways it has evolved to address the problems of a growing and changing nation form the core of our discussion in this chapter.

## ROOTS OF THE U.S. CONSTITUTION

### 2.1 Identify the causes of the American Revolution and the ideals on which the United States and the Constitution are based.

Beginning in the early seventeenth century, colonists came to the **New World** for a variety of reasons. Often, they sought a new start on a continent where land was plentiful or saw business opportunities to be gained in the New World. Others wished to escape religious persecution. The independence and diversity of the settlers in the New World complicated the question of how best to rule the new colonies. Almost all of the colonists agreed that the king ruled by divine right, but British monarchs allowed the colonists significant liberties in terms of self-government, religious practices, and economic organization. For 140 years, this system worked fairly well.<sup>4</sup> By the early 1750s, however, after a century and a half of physical separation, development of colonial industry and relative self-governance by the colonies led to weakening ties with—and loyalties to—the Crown.

As early as 1754, at the urgings of **Benjamin Franklin**, more than twenty representatives from the Mid-Atlantic and Northern colonies met in Albany, New York. Their chief concern was their role in the **French and Indian War** being fought in the colonies between the French and English. The resultant Albany Plan of Union, however, was rejected by the states but bits found their way into the Articles of Confederation.

By the early 1760s, each of the thirteen colonies had drafted its own constitution, which provided the fundamental rules or laws by which it operated. Moreover, many of the most oppressive British traditions—feudalism, a rigid class system, and the absolute authority of the king—were absent in the colonies. Land was abundant. The guild and craft systems that severely limited entry into many skilled professions in Great Britain were not part of life in the colonies because individuals could freely pursue skilled crafts. And although religion was central to the lives of most colonists, no single state church existed, so the colonists did not follow the British practice of compulsory tithing (giving a fixed percentage of one's earnings to the state-sanctioned and state-supported church).

## Trade and Taxation

**Mercantilism**, an economic theory designed to increase a nation's wealth through the development of commercial industry and a favorable balance of trade, justified Britain's maintenance of strict import/export controls on the colonies. From 1650 until well into the 1700s, Britain tried to control colonial imports and exports, believing it critical to export more goods than it imported as a way of increasing the gold and silver in its treasury. Britain found it difficult to enforce these policies, however, and the colonists, seeing little self-benefit in their operation, widely ignored them.

This fragile arrangement was soon put to the test. The French and Indian War, fought from 1754 to 1763 on the western frontier of the colonies and in Canada, was part of a global war initiated by the British—then the greatest power in the world. This American phase of what was called the Seven Years' War was fought between Britain and France with American Indians as French allies. To raise money to pay for the war as well as the expenses of administering the colonies, Parliament enacted the Sugar Act in 1764. This act placed taxes on sugar, wine, coffee, and other products commonly exported to the colonies. A postwar colonial depression heightened resentment of the tax. Major protest, however, failed to materialize until imposition of the Stamp Act by the British Parliament in 1765. This law required that all paper items—from playing cards to books—bought and sold in the colonies carry a stamp mandated

by the Crown. The colonists feared this act would establish a precedent for the British Parliament not only to control commerce in the colonies but also to raise revenues from the colonists without approval of the colonial governments. The political cry “no taxation without representation” rang out across the colonies. To add insult to injury, in 1765, Parliament passed the Quartering Act, which required colonists to furnish barracks or provide living quarters within their own homes for British troops.

Most colonists, especially those in New England, where these acts hit merchants hardest, were outraged. Men throughout the colonies organized the Sons of Liberty and women formed the Daughters of Liberty. Protests against the Stamp Act were violent and loud. Riots, often led by the Sons of Liberty, broke out. These were especially violent in Boston, where an angry mob burned the colonial governor’s home and protesters threatened British stamp agents charged with collecting the tax. The outraged colonists also organized a boycott of goods needing the stamps as well as a boycott of British imports.

## First Steps Toward Independence

In 1765, at the urging of **Samuel Adams**, nine of the thirteen colonies sent representatives to a meeting in New York City where they drafted a detailed list of crown violations of the colonists’ fundamental rights. Known as the **Stamp Act Congress**, this gathering was the first official meeting of the colonies and the first step toward creating a unified nation. Attendees defined what they thought to be the proper relationship between colonial governments and the British Parliament; they ardently believed Parliament had no authority to tax them without colonial representation in that body, yet they still remained loyal to the king. In contrast, the British believed that direct representation of the colonists was impractical and that members of Parliament represented the best interests of all the British, including the colonists, who were British subjects.

The Stamp Act Congress and its petitions to the Crown did little to stop the onslaught of taxing measures. Parliament did, however, repeal the Stamp Act and revise the Sugar Act in 1766, largely because of the uproar made by British merchants who were losing large sums of money as a result of the boycotts. Rather than appeasing the colonists, however, these actions emboldened them to increase their resistance. In 1767, Parliament enacted the Townshend Acts, which imposed duties on all kinds of colonial imports, including tea. Responses from the **Sons and Daughters of Liberty** was immediate. Protesters announced another boycott of tea, and almost all colonists gave up their favorite drink in a united show of resistance to the tax and British authority.<sup>5</sup> Tensions continued to run high, especially after the British sent 4,000 troops to Boston. On March 5, 1770, British troops opened fire on an unruly mob that included disgruntled dockworkers, whose jobs had been taken by British soldiers, and members of the Sons of Liberty, who were taunting the soldiers and throwing objects at British sentries stationed in front of the Boston Customs House where taxes were collected. The troops killed five colonists, including **Crispus Attucks**, an African American and the first American to die in the early days of unrest before the Revolution, in what became known as the Boston Massacre. The Massacre and Revere’s print are credited with transforming public opinion. Following this confrontation, the British Parliament lifted all duties except those on tea. The tea tax, however, continued to be a symbolic irritant. To keep this revolutionary fervor going, in 1772, at the suggestion of Samuel Adams, colonists created the Committees of Correspondence to keep each other abreast of developments with the British.

Meanwhile, despite dissent in Britain over treatment of the colonies, Parliament passed another tea tax designed to shore up the sagging sales of the East India Company, a British exporter of tea. The colonists’ boycott had left that trading company with more than 18 million pounds of tea in its warehouses. To rescue British merchants

### Samuel Adams

Cousin of President John Adams and an early leader against the British and loyalist oppressors, he played a key role in developing the Committees of Correspondence and was active in Massachusetts and colonial politics.

### Stamp Act Congress

A gathering of nine colonial representatives in 1765 in New York City where a detailed list of Crown violations was drafted; first official meeting of the colonies and the first official step toward creating a unified nation.

### Sons and Daughters of Liberty

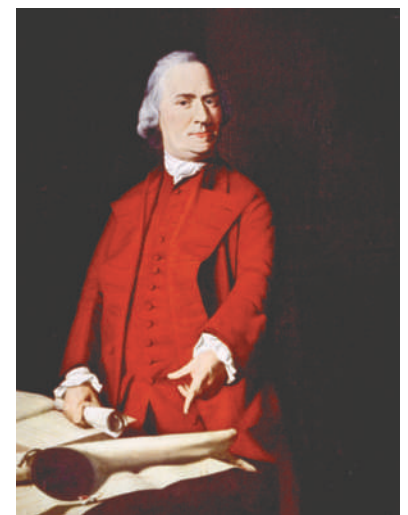
Loosely organized groups of patriotic American colonists who were early revolutionaries.

### Crispus Attucks

An African American and first American to die in what became known as the Boston Massacre in 1770.

### WHY WAS SAMUEL ADAMS IMPORTANT?

Samuel Adams (1722–1803), cousin of President John Adams, was an early leader against the British and loyalist oppressors. He played a key role in developing the Committees of Correspondence and was active in Massachusetts and colonial politics. Today, he is known for the beer that bears his name, which is ironic, considering he bankrupted his family’s brewery business.





### WHAT REALLY HAPPENED AT THE BOSTON MASSACRE?

Paul Revere's famous engraving of the Boston Massacre played fast and loose with the facts. While the event occurred on a cold winter's night, the engraving features a clear sky and no ice or snow. Crispus Attucks, the revolution's first martyr, was African American, although the engraving depicts him as a white man seen lying on the ground closest to the British soldiers. Popular propaganda such as this engraving—and even dubbing the incident a “massacre”—did much to stoke anti-British sentiment in the years leading up to the Revolutionary War.



from disaster, in 1773, Parliament passed the Tea Act, which granted a monopoly to the financially strapped East India Company to sell tea imported from Britain. This act allowed the company to funnel business to American merchants loyal to the Crown, thereby undercutting dissident colonial merchants who could sell only tea imported from other nations. This practice drove down the price of tea and hurt colonial merchants who were forced to buy tea at higher prices from other sources.

When the next shipment of tea from Britain arrived in Boston, the colonists responded by throwing the Boston Tea Party; other colonies held similar tea parties up and down the eastern coast. King George III flew into a rage upon hearing of the actions of his disloyal subjects. “The die is now cast,” the king told his prime minister. “The colonies must either submit or triumph.”

King George III's first act of retaliation was to persuade Parliament to pass the Coercive Acts of 1774. Known in the colonies as the Intolerable Acts, they contained a key provision calling for a total blockade of Boston Harbor, cutting off Bostonians' access to many foodstuffs until restitution was made for the tea. Another provision reinforced the Quartering Act. It gave Massachusetts's royal governor the authority to house British soldiers in the homes of Boston citizens, allowing Britain to send an additional 4,000 soldiers in a show of force.

### The First and Second Continental Congresses

The British could never have guessed how the cumulative impact of these actions would unite the colonists. The Committees of Correspondence spread the word, and the people of Boston received food and money from all over the thirteen colonies. The tax itself was no longer the key issue; now the extent of British authority over the colonies presented the far more important question. At the request of the colonial assemblies of Massachusetts and Virginia, all but Georgia's colonial assembly agreed to select a group of delegates to attend a continental congress authorized to communicate with the king on behalf of the now-united colonies.

The **First Continental Congress**, comprising fifty-six delegates, met in Philadelphia from September 5 to October 26, 1774. The colonists had yet to think of breaking with Great Britain; at this point, they simply wanted to iron out their differences with the king. By October, they had agreed on a series of resolutions to oppose the Coercive Acts and to establish a formal organization to boycott British goods. The Congress also drafted a Declaration of Rights and Resolves, which called for colonial rights of petition and assembly, trial by peers, freedom from a standing army, and the selection of representative councils to levy taxes. The Congress further agreed that if the King did not capitulate to its demands, it would meet again in Philadelphia in May 1775.

King George III refused to yield, tensions continued to rise, and a Second Continental Congress was deemed necessary. Before it could meet, fighting broke out on April 19, 1775, at **Lexington and Concord**, Massachusetts, with what was later called “the shot heard ‘round the world.” Eight colonial soldiers, called Minutemen, were killed, and 16,000 British troops besieged Boston.

When the **Second Continental Congress** convened in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775, delegates were united by their increased hostility to Great Britain. In a final attempt to avert conflict, the Second Continental Congress adopted the Olive Branch Petition on July 5, 1775, asking the king to end hostilities. King George III rejected the petition and sent an additional 20,000 troops to quell the rebellion; he labeled all in attendance traitors to the king and subject to death. The King’s refusal to even look at the petition was the equivalent of signing an act of war. It crystallized in the minds of many colonists the need for a clean break with Great Britain.

In January 1776, **Thomas Paine** issued (at first anonymously) *Common Sense*, a pamphlet paid for by statesman Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, forcefully arguing for independence from Great Britain. In frank, easy-to-understand language, Paine denounced the corrupt British monarchy and offered reasons to break with Great Britain. “The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries ‘Tis Time to Part,’” wrote Paine. *Common Sense*, widely read throughout the colonies, helped to change minds in a very short time. In its first three months of publication, *Common Sense* sold 120,000 copies—one for every thirteen people in the colonies.

*Common Sense* galvanized the American public against reconciliation. On May 15, 1776, Virginia became the first colony to call for independence. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia rose to move “that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, and that all connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, dissolved.” His three-part resolution—which called for independence, the formation of foreign alliances, and preparation of a plan of confederation—triggered hot debate among the delegates. A proclamation of independence from Great Britain constituted treason, a crime punishable by death. Although six of the thirteen colonies had already instructed their delegates to vote for independence, the Second Continental Congress was suspended to allow its delegates to return home to their respective colonial legislatures for final instructions. Independence was not a move the colonists took lightly.

## The Declaration of Independence

The Congress set up committees to consider each point of Richard Henry Lee of Virginia’s proposal. The Committee of Five (Chair **Thomas Jefferson**, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Robert Livingston, and Robert Sherman) began work on the **Declaration of Independence**, which drew heavily on the works of the Enlightenment period. On July 2, 1776, twelve of the thirteen colonies (with New York abstaining) voted for independence. Two days later, on July 4th, the Second Continental Congress voted to adopt the Declaration of Independence. On July 9, 1776, the document, now with the approval of New York, was read aloud in Philadelphia.<sup>6</sup>

### First Continental Congress

Meeting held in Philadelphia from September 5 to October 26, 1774, in which fifty-six delegates (from every colony except Georgia) adopted a resolution in opposition to the Coercive Acts.

### Lexington and Concord

The first sites of armed conflict between revolutionaries and British soldiers, remembered for the “shot heard ‘round the world” in 1775.

### Second Continental Congress

Meeting that convened in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775, at which it was decided that an army should be raised and George Washington of Virginia was named commander in chief.

### Thomas Paine

The influential writer of *Common Sense*, a pamphlet that advocated for independence from Great Britain.

### Common Sense

A pamphlet written by Thomas Paine that challenged the authority of the British government to govern the colonies.

### Thomas Jefferson

Principal drafter of the Declaration of Independence; second vice president of the United States; third president of the United States from 1801 to 1809. Co-founder of the Democratic-Republican Party created to oppose Federalists.

### Declaration of Independence

Document drafted largely by Thomas Jefferson in 1776 that proclaimed the right of the American colonies to separate from Great Britain.



**social contract theory**

The belief that governments exist based on the consent of the governed.

**political culture**

Commonly shared attitudes, behaviors, and core values about how government should operate.

In simple but eloquent language, the Declaration set out the reasons for separation of the colonies from Great Britain. Most of its stirring rhetoric drew heavily on the works of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political philosophers, particularly the French Enlightenment theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the English philosopher John Locke. Locke's (as well as Rousseau's) theory of natural liberty and equality and his advocacy of **social contract theory**, which holds that governments exist based on the consent of the governed, heavily influenced Jefferson, who was credited with primary authorship of the Declaration. According to Locke, people agree to set up a government largely for the protection of property rights, to preserve life and liberty, and to establish justice. Furthermore, argued Locke, individuals who give their consent to be governed have the right to resist or remove rulers who deviate from those purposes. Such a government exists for the good of its subjects and not for the benefit of those who govern. Thus, rebellion is the ultimate sanction against a government that violates the rights of its citizens.

It is easy to see the colonists' debt to John Locke. In Jefferson's stirring language, the Declaration of Independence proclaims:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

Jefferson and others in attendance at the Second Continental Congress wanted to have a document that would stand for all time, justifying their break with Great Britain and clarifying their notions of the proper form of government. So, the Declaration continued:

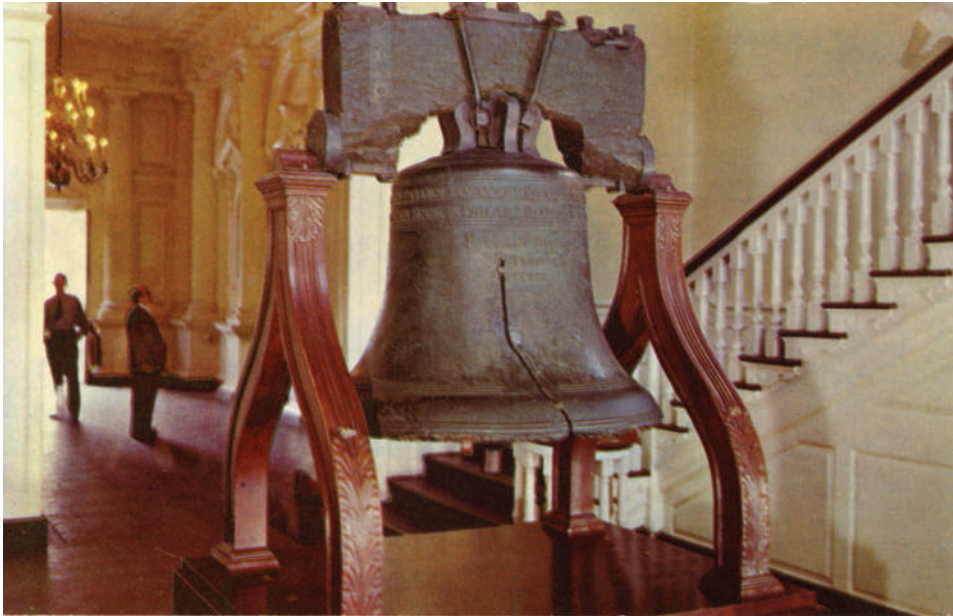
That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such Principles and organizing its Powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

After its stirring preamble and the enumeration of the wrongs suffered by the colonists under British rule, its final words are apt. All pertain to the denial of personal rights and liberties, many of which would later be guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution through the Bill of Rights. It, and the Articles of Confederation that were drawn up by the Second Continental Congress, were the bases by which the Revolutionary War was fought.

## The Basic Tenets of American Democracy

The British had no written constitution. Delegates to the Second Continental Congress were attempting to codify many arrangements that had never before been expressed in legal terminology. Thus, a second committee of delegates sat down to draft a document creating a new government necessary to wage war and to reflect the unique **political culture** of the colonies. We define political culture as commonly shared attitudes, behaviors, and core values about how government should operate. American political culture emphasizes several key values.

Liberty and equality, borrowed from the French, who were to come to the colonists' aid in the Revolutionary War, are the most important characteristics of the American republican form of government. Popular consent, the principle that governments must draw their powers from the consent of the governed, is another distinguishing element of American political culture. So, too, is majority rule. This principle means that election of officials and transformation of policies into law will take place only if the majority (normally 50 percent of the total votes cast plus one) of citizens in any political unit support such changes. American democracy also places heavy



### WHAT DID THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE PROCLAIM?

The Declaration of Independence argues that all individuals have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The bell that hung from the tower of the Pennsylvania State House in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania rang loudly as this Declaration was read; today it has become known as the “Liberty Bell.”

importance on the individual. In the U.S. system, all individuals are deemed rational and fair and endowed “with certain unalienable rights.” This is quite different from many European democracies and Canada to the north. Their respective governments are founded on the idea of group rights, minimizing those of individuals for the greater good.

## AN ATTEMPT AT A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT: THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

### 2.2 Identify the components of the Articles of Confederation and the reasons for their failure.

In late 1777, the Second Continental Congress adopted the **Articles of Confederation**, creating a loose “league of friendship” between the thirteen sovereign, or independent, colonies (some that even called themselves separate countries), and presented the Articles to the colonies for ratification. The Articles created a type of government called a confederation or confederacy, one quite common among the Indian tribes. The national government in a confederacy is weaker than the sum of its parts, and the states often consider themselves independent nation-states linked together only for limited purposes, such as national defense. The Articles of Confederation included the following:

- A national government with a Congress empowered to make peace, coin money, appoint officers for an army, control the post office, and negotiate with Indian tribes
- Each state’s retention of its independence and sovereignty, or ultimate authority, to govern within its territories
- One vote in the legislature, the Congress of the Confederation, for each state regardless of size
- The vote of nine states to pass any measure (a unanimous vote for any amendment)
- The selection and payment of delegates to the Congress by the states

The Articles, finally ratified by all thirteen states in March 1781, fashioned a government that reflected the political culture and philosophy of the times.<sup>7</sup> Although it had its flaws, the government under the Articles of Confederation saw the nation

### Articles of Confederation

The compact between the thirteen original colonies that created a loose league of friendship, with the national government drawing its powers from the states.

### Critical Period

The chaotic period from 1781 to 1789 after the American Revolution during which the former colonies were governed under the Articles of Confederation.

through the Revolutionary War. However, once the British surrendered in 1781, and the new nation found itself no longer united by the war effort, the national government quickly fell into chaos.

## Problems Under the Articles of Confederation

Historians refer to the chaotic period from 1781 to 1789, when the former colonies were governed under the Articles, as the **Critical Period**.<sup>8</sup> The Congress of the Confederation rarely could assemble the required quorum of nine states to conduct business. Even when it did meet, states found it difficult to agree on any policies. To raise revenue to pay off war debts and run the government, Congress proposed various land, poll, and liquor taxes. But, since it had no specific power to tax, all these proposals were rejected. At one point, Congress was even driven out of Philadelphia (then the capital of the new national government) by its own unpaid army.

Although the national government could coin money, it had no resources to back up the value of its currency. Continental dollars were worth little, and trade between states grew chaotic as some of them began to coin their own money. Another weakness was that the Articles of Confederation did not allow Congress to regulate commerce among the states or with foreign nations. As a result, individual states attempted to enter into agreements with other countries, and foreign nations were suspicious of trade agreements made with the Congress of the Confederation.

Fearful of a chief executive who would rule tyrannically, the drafters of the Articles made no provision for an executive branch of government that would be responsible for executing, or implementing, laws passed by the legislative branch. Instead, the president was merely the presiding officer at meetings. The Articles of Confederation, moreover, had no provision for a judicial system to handle the growing number of economic conflicts and boundary disputes among the individual states. Several states claimed the same lands to the west, and Pennsylvania and Virginia went to war with each other.

The Articles' greatest weakness, however, was its failure to provide for a strong central government. Although states had operated independently before the war, during the war they acceded to the national government's authority to wage armed conflict. Once the war was over, however, each state resumed its sovereign status and was unwilling to give up rights, such as the power to tax, to an untested national government. Consequently, the government could not force states to abide by the provisions of the second Treaty of Paris, signed in 1783, which officially ended the Revolutionary War. For example, states passed laws to allow debtors who owed money to Great Britain to postpone payment. These actions violated the treaty. Still, the Articles did foster some successes. Improvements were made in transportation and communication. The establishment of a national postal service also helped foster a sense of some nationality that went beyond state borders.

## Rebellion in the States

Before concerned states and individuals could take action to strengthen the government, new unrest broke out in America. In 1780, Massachusetts adopted a constitution that appeared to favor the interests of the wealthy. Property-owning requirements barred the lower and middle classes from voting and office holding. And as the economy of Massachusetts declined, banks foreclosed on the farms of many Massachusetts Continental Army veterans, who were still waiting for promised bonuses that the national government had no funds to pay. The last straw came in 1786, when the Massachusetts legislature enacted a new law requiring the payment of all debts in cash. Frustration and outrage at the new law incited Daniel Shays, a former Continental Army captain, and 1,500 armed, disgruntled farmers to march to the government arsenal in Springfield, Massachusetts. This group obstructed the entrance to the state