AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Roots and Reform

2016 Presidential Election Edition, Thirteenth Edition

 $\mathsf{AP}^{\,\mathbb{R}} \; \mathsf{Edition}$

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Roots and Reform

2016 Presidential Election Edition, Thirteenth Edition

AP[®] Edition

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Dedications

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

Karen O'Connor

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

Larry J. Sabato

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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.





To the Instructor

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

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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• News clips and historical videos bring to life chapter content 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

an historical newsreel from the 1960s. Icons appear within the eText where links to these videos are located.

- Interactive figures and maps feature Social Explorer technology that allows updates with the latest data, toggles to illustrate movement over time, and clickable hot spots with pop-ups of images and captions. For example, when learning about the 2016 presidential campaigns and election results, students can examine a map that shows the phenomenon of frontloading, or explore an interactive map of the United States that details voting laws and voter turnout by state. Icons appear within the eText where links to these interactive figures and maps are located.
- *American Government: Roots and Reform,* AP Edition, includes **primary sources**, giving students historical context relevant to the study of American government, and helping them develop critical thinking skills.
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- The Pearson eText with Chapter Audio offers a fully digital version of the print book and is readable on Apple iPad and Android tablets with the Pearson eText app. Students can highlight relevant passages and add notes.

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STRUCTURAL CHANGES AND COVERAGE UPDATES

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONTENT HIGHLIGHTS

Every chapter in this text uses history to serve three 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.

ROOTS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES: THE BILL OF RIGHTS

4.1 Explain the roots of civil liberties in the Constitution and their development in the Bill of Rights.

In 1787, most state constitutions explicitly protected a variety of personal liberties, such as freedoms of speech and religion, freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures, and trial by jury. The new federal system established by the Constitution would redistribute power between the national government and the states. Without an explicit guarantee of specific civil liberties, could the national government be trusted to uphold the freedoms already granted to citizens by their states?

Recognition of the increased power of the new national government led Anti-Federalists to stress the need for a bill of rights. Anti-Federalists and many others were confident they could control the actions of their own state legislators, but they did not trust the national government to protect civil liberties.

The notion of including a bill of rights in the Constitution was not popular at the Constitutional Convention. When George Mason of Virginia suggested adding such a bill to the preface of the proposed Constitution, representatives unanimously defeated his resolution.¹ In subsequent ratification debates, Federalists argued that a bill of rights was unnecessary, putting forward three main arguments in opposition.

TOWARD REFORM: CIVIL LIBERTIES AND COMBATING TERRORISM

4.7 Evaluate how reforms to combat terrorism have affected civil liberties.

The brilliance of the civil liberties codified by the First Congress is that the Bill of Rights remains a relatively stable statement of our natural rights as Americans, even as technology has evolved. Judicial interpretation ensures that the sentiments expressed more than 200 years ago still apply to the modern world. After the terrorist attacks of **September 11**, 2001, however, some critics charged that the U.S. government began to operate in "an alternate reality," in which Bill of Rights guarantees were suspended just as they had been during the Civil War and World Wars I and II.⁹⁹ The difference in this modern era, critics claim, is that the "war" has no direct enemy, and its timeline for completion is ever-changing. Here, we detail the provisions of laws such as the USA PATRIOT Act and the Military Commissions Act, as well as subsequent actions by the National Security Agency under Barack Obama's administration, and explain how they have affected the civil liberties discussed in this chapter.

• 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.

AMERICAN POLITICS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE How Many Legislative Houses? One, Two, or One-and-a-Half?

In the United States, the two houses of Congress that make up the national legislature have robust powers. The House of Representatives and Senate have authority over legislation, budget authorizations, constitutional amendments, and oversight of the bureaucracy. "Symmetric bicameralism" is the term used by political scientists to describe a legislature like the U.S. Congress or Mexico's Congress of the Union that consists of two houses with an even balance of powers. This is not the only model used among democracies in the world, however. "Unicameralism" refers to legislative systems such as Israel's Knesset that consist of a single chamber. "Asymmetric bicameralism" refers to legislative systems with two unequal chambers like India's national legislature. These structural differences can have a major impact on how, and even whether, legislation can be enacted in different systems.



The national legislature of Israel, the Knesset, is a single chamber with 120 members. Israel is a parliamentary system in which most majorities are coalitions of several different parties.



India's national legislature has a lower house directly elected by voters and an upper house indirectly elected by state legislatures. The lower house may bypass the upper house on most issues.



Mexico has a bicameral legislature with two equal houses. Mexico's president is elected separately and constitutes a distinct executive branch of government equal to Congress.

- 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.

SUPPLEMENTS

For the Instructor

Most of the teacher supplements and resources for this text are also available electronically to qualified adopters on the Instructor Resource Center (IRC). Upon adoption or to preview, please go to www.pearsonschool.com/Access_Request and select Instructor Resource Center. You will be required to complete a brief one-time registration subject to verification of educator status. Upon verification, access information and instructions will be sent to you via e-mail. Once logged into the IRC, enter ISBN 0-13-461164-0 in the "Search Our Catalog" box to locate resources.

Instructor's Resources includes Instructor's Manual, Test Bank, MyTest, and PowerPoints.

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL Create a comprehensive roadmap for teaching classroom, online, or hybrid courses. Designed for both new and experienced instructors, the Instructor's Manual includes a sample syllabus, lecture and discussion suggestions, activities for in or out of class, and essays on teaching American Government. Available within MyPoliSciLab or on the IRC for download.

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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.

POWERPOINT PRESENTATION WITH CLASSROOM RESPONSE SYSTEM (CRS) Make lectures more enriching for students. The PowerPoint Presentation includes a full lecture script, discussion questions, and photos and figures from the material, and links to MyPoliSciLab multimedia. With integrated clicker questions, get immediate feedback on what your students are learning during a lecture. Available within MyPoliSciLab or on the IRC for download.

CORRELATION GUIDE FOR AP GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: UNITED STATES

AP Topics	American Government: Roots and Reform, 13/e, AP Edition
Big Idea 1: Constitutional Democracy	
Enduring Understanding 1.A: A balance between governmental power and individual rights has been a hallmark of American political development.	pp. 5, 31, 36, 64–67, 149
Enduring Understanding 1.B: The writing and ratifica- tion of the Constitution emerged from the debate about weaknesses in the Articles of Confederation and was the product of important compromises.	Chapter 2; pp. 21–22, 40, 44–45
Enduring Understanding 1.C: The Constitution creates a complex and competitive policymaking process to ensure the people's will is accurately represented and that freedom is preserved.	Chapters 2, 15 & 16; pp. 169–171, 217–219, 361, 362–367
Enduring Understanding 1.D: Federalism reflects the dynamic distribution of power between national and state governments.	Chapter 3; pp. 28, 37, 197, 195, 222
Big Idea 2: Civil Liberties, Civil Rights	
Enduring Understanding 2.A: Provisions of the Bill of Rights are continually being interpreted to balance the power of government and the civil liberties of individuals.	Chapters 4 & 5; pp. 36
Enduring Understanding 2.B: The due process clause of the 14 th Amendment has been interpreted to prevent the states from infringing upon basic liberties.	Chapters 4 & 5; pp. 65, 77, 97
Enduring Understanding 2.C: The 14 th Amendment's "equal protection clause" has often been used to support the advancement of equality.	Chapters 4 & 5; pp. 92-93, 96, 98–99
Big Idea 3: American Political Culture and Beliefs	
Enduring Understanding 3.A: Citizen beliefs about government are shaped by the intersection of demographics, political culture, and dynamic social change.	Chapter 10; pp. 20, 107–115, 233–237
Enduring Understanding 3.B: Widely held political ideologies shape policy debates and choices in American politics.	Chapters 10 & 12; pp. 235, 295–299

CORRELATION GUIDE FOR AP GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS: UNITED STATES (CONTINUED)

	American Government: Roots and Reform,
AP Topics	13/e, AP Edition
Big Idea 4: Political Participation	
Enduring Understanding 4.A: Public opinion is measured through scientific polling and the results of public opinion polls influence public policies and institutions.	pp. 221–225, 227–229, 230, 238–239
Enduring Understanding 4.B: The various forms of media provide citizens with political information and influence the ways in which they participate politically.	Chapter 13; pp. 168, 287–289, 315–317
Enduring Understanding 4.C: Political parties, interest groups, and social movements provide opportunities for participation and influence how people relate to government.	Chapters 11 & 14; pp. 146–148, 159, 254, 295–296, 345–346
Enduring Understanding 4.D: Although laws and amendments have expanded voting rights in the U.S., voting participation varies widely from election to election.	Chapters 10 & 12; pp. 15, 37, 97, 273, 283, 296–299, 301–303
Enduring Understanding 4.E: The impact of federal policies on campaigning and electoral rules continues to be contested by both sides of the political spectrum.	Chapter 12; pp. 27, 276, 299–303
Big Idea 5: Interaction Among Branches	
Enduring Understanding 5.A: The republican ideal in the U.S. is manifested in the structure and operation of the legislative branch.	Chapters 6, 15 & 16; pp. 26, 29, 31, 122, 126
Enduring Understanding 5.B: The presidency has been enhanced beyond its expressed constitutional powers.	Chapters 7 & 8; pp. 29, 31, 161–162, 170–171, 190–191, 346–347, 353–354
Enduring Understanding 5.C: The design of the judicial branch protects the court's independence as a branch of government, and the emergence and use of judicial review remains a powerful judicial practice.	Chapter 9; pp. 29, 31, 196–200, 347, 354, 400
Enduring Understanding 5.D: The federal bureaucracy is a powerful institution implementing federal policies with sometimes questionable accountability.	Chapter 8

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