

SOLUTIONS MANUAL



WE THE PEOPLE

AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN POLITICS

SEVENTH EDITION



BENJAMIN GINSBERG THEODORE J. LOWI MARGARET WEIR

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL

We the People

An Introduction to
American Politics

SEVENTH EDITION

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL

We the People

An Introduction to American Politics

SEVENTH EDITION

Erin Ackerman

JOHN JAY COLLEGE

Elizabeth Oldmixon

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS

Wendy Watson

SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

Beatrix H. Cuartas

EL PASO COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Anthony O'Regan

LOS ANGELES VALLEY COLLEGE



W • W • NORTON & COMPANY • NEW YORK • LONDON

Copyright © 2009, 2007, 2005, 2003, 2001, 1999, 1997 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

All rights reserved

Printed in the United States of America

Composition by Roberta Flechner Graphics

Production manager: Ben Reynolds

Manufactured by Sterling-Pierce

ISBN-13: 978-0-393-93289-8 (pbk.)

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10110

www.wwnorton.com

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., Castle House, 75/76 Wells Street, London W1T 3QT

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

CONTENTS

Teaching Introduction	1
Chapter 1 American Political Culture	4
Chapter 2 The Founding and the Constitution	18
Chapter 3 Federalism	34
Chapter 4 Civil Liberties	49
Chapter 5 Civil Rights	68
Chapter 6 Public Opinion	87
Chapter 7 The Media	103
Chapter 8 Political Participation and Voting	116
Chapter 9 Political Parties	130
Chapter 10 Campaigns and Elections	147
Chapter 11 Groups and Interests	168
Chapter 12 Congress	180
Chapter 13 The Presidency	201
Chapter 14 Bureaucracy in a Democracy	214
Chapter 15 The Federal Courts	228
Chapter 16 Government and the Economy	243
Chapter 17 Social Policy	260
Chapter 18 Foreign Policy and Democracy	276

TEXAS EDITION

Chapter 19 The Political Culture, People, and Economy of Texas	293
Chapter 20 The Texas Constitution	305
Chapter 21 Parties and Elections in Texas	317
Chapter 22 Interest Groups, Lobbying, and Lobbyists	327
Chapter 23 The Texas Legislature	334
Chapter 24 The Texas Executive Branch	345
Chapter 25 The Texas Judiciary	353
Chapter 26 Local Government in Texas	362
Chapter 27 Public Policy in Texas	370

APPENDICES

Appendix A Learning Style Profile	381
Appendix B Learning Contract	383
Appendix C Sample Syllabus	384
Appendix D1 Team Work Results Record (TWRR)	387
Appendix D Group Report Record	388
Appendix E Student Evaluation	389
Appendix F Group Evaluation Form	390
Appendix G Service Project Report	391
Appendix H Sample Attendance Record	392
Appendix I Notebook Cover Sheet	393

Teaching Introduction

HOW TO USE THIS MANUAL

This manual is a basic framework for the *We the People* textbook. It can be used in many ways. Its objective is to present you with the basic concepts of the textbook. Thereafter, it is up to you to customize your lectures with your expertise and technique as desired.

The manual includes several lecture aids for each chapter:

- Chapter Themes and Focus Notes: These are intended to help you analyze the main ideas of each chapter in order to discuss them with your students.
- Chapter Outlines: These present political science definitions as covered by each chapter. The outlines also summarize the chapter's critical material for classroom delivery.
- Lists of class activities and questions for classroom discussion.
- Resource materials to help you encourage students to participate in the course outside the classroom.

Please note that this manual does not include a summary of the case studies, tables, indexes, and other documents in the textbook.

Ultimately, this manual is intended to help you fulfill the responsibility of effectively teaching college students about our government.

Many instructors look at the first day of class as being somehow disconnected from the “real” learning that starts at the next class meeting. As an instructor, remember that students will never be so attentive as they are on the first day of class. Therefore, you should use the class session to lay out your blueprint for teaching the course. I like to give a miniclass before starting review of the syllabus. In this first class I set the format that I'll follow throughout the rest of the semester and give a short lecture, start a class discussion, or organize a quick in-class activity. This is an opportunity to convey to students the main themes of the class and to familiarize them with how information will be conveyed and used.

Only then do I turn to the syllabus and discuss the central plans and logistics of the course.

A hiring committee has asked every successful job candidate (and every unsuccessful one for that matter) the following question: How you would teach an introductory course? This is your chance to implement the polished response you gave to the committee! Specifically, what main learning objectives will you set for the students in this class? These goals can be a mix of conceptual, theoretical, empirical, and pedagogical objectives. What follows is a set of course objectives for your consideration in designing your course.

SEEKING BETTER-INFORMED CITIZENS

It's imperative to engage the students and help them to see the numerous connections between the academic courses they are enrolled in and their everyday lives. Because most college students have very low levels of knowledge about and enthusiasm for formal politics, it's a good idea to demonstrate how politics affects our lives every second of the day. Don't underestimate this task—remember, most students will probably never take another course on U.S. government, so here's your chance to show them the importance of your discipline to their lives.

CONNECT THE TEXTBOOK TO THE REST OF THE COURSE

Students are convinced that the material in the textbook and the classroom discussions are separate entities. Let them know the thrust of the book and the numerous Web-based materials that Norton provides. (Remind them of this throughout the course—online quizzes have been very popular over the last few years). The analytical framework of this book is the balance and exchange of power among liberty, equality, and democracy.

AMERICA AND THE WORLD

Now more than ever, it is crucial that we stop pretending that there is a neat and tidy divide between domestic and international politics. Students need to know that the political world affects their lives and that the political world is exactly that: global in scope. Obviously, there are limits to what you can cover in a semester, but many students are intrigued by the numerous ways in which U.S. politics appear so qualitatively different from the politics of other industrialized nations. What makes for “American exceptionalism” is indeed the main goal of Chapter 1 of *We the People*, “American Political Culture.”

POLITICS AND POPULAR CULTURE

Conflict and contest make for good entertainment. It is very likely that some, if not most, of your students are consumers of popular entertainment with a focus on politics, whether it is a comedy program such as *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* or a drama such as the *West Wing*. Students may have noted the involvement and candidacy of celebrities in recent political campaigns, or they may be following election contests through social networking sites like Facebook. The depictions of politics students see may affect their expectations of politicians and influence student's political priorities. As they become more informed and engaged citizens, students can become more aware and reflective of the connection between politics and popular culture.

POWER IN U.S. POLITICS

The eminent Robert Dahl once asked, "Who governs?" This question provides an excellent teaching device for organizing a vast array of sometimes disparate and diffuse material. I usually introduce the theoretical models of pluralism and elitism and set them up as rival theoretical explanations. Throughout the course you can return to these models and press the students on which one best approximates the material covered in each chapter.

PART I: LECTURE MATERIALS*Core Questions*

1. What do Americans think about their government?
2. How does political knowledge promote democratic citizenship?
3. What are the different forms of the relationship between a government and its citizens? What factors led the United States to adopt a representative democracy?
4. Who are Americans?
5. What are the core principles of American political culture? How well does the American system uphold these values?

Chapter Themes and Focus Notes

Students have the sense that democracy is the normal and typical political system. The text introduces the idea that limits placed on government are fairly recent, as is the idea that constitutions are written expressions of limited government.

Many students were required to take a course in American government in high school. But all too often high school teachers portray a model that is prescriptive, without acknowledging a lot of the practical problems of democracy. Additionally, introductory students have been taught an idealized model of democracy, but instinctively many of them know that our system frequently fails to work according to that ideal. Therefore, it is good to separate the ideal model of democracy from the descriptive model developed in the course and the text. This will highlight the textbook's assertion that although Americans agree on the ideal principles of government and society, there is substantial disagreement about how those principles should be applied and what the role of government is.

Another contrast instructors can develop is that between democracy in ancient Athens and American democracy today. Athenian democracy was, in fact, much more democratic than anything we have presently:

- Citizenship was granted widely, in contrast to earlier times when citizenship was granted to only a select few. Women and slaves were excluded. (Students may note that this doesn't sound very democratic. Ask them to compare it with the United States in 1789.)
- Athens had a formal constitution (limited government).
- The Assembly met forty times a year, and all citizens were free to attend, debate, and vote.
- About twenty thousand of the forty thousand citizens were paid for their participation because they could not otherwise afford to attend and participate.
- Voting at the Assembly was registered by a simple show of hands. Decisions were made on the basis of majority rule.
- The Council of Five Hundred, selected by lot, drew up proposed legislation for the Assembly. Proposed legislation could be amended or voted down.
- Ten generals, all elected for one-year terms, were required to pass an annual audit in which citizens were allowed to file complaints.
- Athens had only a few elected officials, such as naval architects and superintendents of the water supply. Other officials, chosen by lot, included vendors, market inspectors, tax collectors, and the examiners of the generals.
- The judicial system consisted of six thousand jurors chosen by lot to serve one-year terms; trials could last only one day; there were no judges or attorneys; and verdicts were reached by majority vote of the jurors without any debate.

Democracy must rely on the support of the people to maintain itself, which worried the framers and is central to the textbook's discussion of political knowledge and efficacy. Terms and concepts to develop in this section are *autocracy*, *oligarchy*, and *democracy* as measures of the number of people who rule. Returning to the theme of American versus Athenian democracy, you can explore the difference between "direct" and "representative" democracy. What are the advantages and drawbacks of each system? How might new technologies and modes of communicating affect government? Students may be interested in the prospect of having direct democracy through today's interactive technology ("teledemocracy"), as well as greater use of initiative, referenda, and public polling to advise legislators. You can generate a good discussion by asking if students would favor replacing representation with teledemocracy.

Students, like much of the American public, will often say that they don't like politics "because of all the conflict." Yet conflict is normal and inherent in the American system. Using Harold Lasswell's definition of politics as "Who gets what, when, and how" helps students understand that conflict is normal. Mention that the framers distrusted direct democracy and consolidated power. This theme that will be more fully developed in later chapters.

We do have a national consensus that we value liberty, equality, and democracy. Contrast the amount of liberty we take for granted in the United States with what is not tolerated in some other countries: Nazi literature in Germany, freedom of religion in Saudi Arabia, freedom of travel in Cuba, a free press in many Third World countries. Free enterprise allows individuals to exercise their creativity and ambitions and should be seen in the context of economic freedom. Be sure to make the point, however, that nations make separate choices about their political and economic systems and that capitalism and democracy are not inextricably linked.

Is equality a good we should strive for? What sort of equality: political, social, or economic? If equality is intrinsically good, why should it be limited to political equality? Does the concept of equality come into conflict with some of our other political principles, such as liberty? What sorts of trade-offs might be required? Elaborate on the tensions between individual liberty and social equality. Push the central thesis of the textbook—that democracy entails trade-offs, oftentimes between values that are inherently positive. How, then, can a state make collective decisions that are representative of the many perspectives in civil society?

For the benefit of students who think that democracy is inevitable, you might want to discuss some of the criticisms of democracy. The Founders feared any sort of direct democracy and therefore constructed a republic with separated powers and checks and balances to protect against what Tocqueville called a “tyranny of the majority.”

CHAPTER OUTLINE

What Government Does and Why It Matters. Individuals complain about what the government does *to* them. For example, they complain about taxes and the intrusion of the government into their business and into their lives. However, they also want and depend on the government to do a great deal for them. For example, they enjoy government benefits in the forms of financial or legal aid. Also, during emergency times, Americans look to government for protection.

- I. *What Americans Think about Government.* Historically, Americans have distrusted government. Still, citizens depend on government action in emergencies, as well as in carrying out their routine life activities.
 - A. *Trust in Government.* Americans’ trust in government overall has declined. Citizens feel they can do little to influence government action. Public trust in government can vary based on political context and among different demographic groups. Declining public trust in government is a matter of concern because trust is necessary to keep the government and the political system working efficiently.
 - B. *Political Efficacy* is the public’s belief in its ability to influence government and politics. The belief that government is responsive to ordinary citizens has declined. Many Americans think the government

does not listen and is not responsive to ordinary citizens. This can lead to public apathy and lack of political action. This belief undermines American democracy—government by the people.

- II. *Citizenship: Knowledge and Participation.* For Americans to see political efficacy, they need knowledge. Surveys show that the American majority is uninformed about government. Apathy is the result of a lack of knowledge about how the individual and politics are related. Therefore, if the individual feels unable to be politically effective, the individual will never try. On the other hand, politically active individuals have a tendency to participate often in the system, because they believe they can affect it.

Citizenship is defined as informed and active membership in a political community. To the ancient Greeks, citizenship meant public discussion, debate, and activity to improve the community.

- A. *The Necessity of Political Knowledge.* Effective participation requires knowledge. Citizens can use this knowledge to identify the best way to act on their interests.
- B. *Political Knowledge and Comedy Television.* Recently, studies show that more young Americans receive political information from entertainment programs such as late-night comedy shows. However, this pop-culture phenomenon blurs the line between entertainment and information. Young Americans who watch these shows generally demonstrate greater political knowledge than those who don't. However, although they view this comedic entertainment as educational, the comedians themselves believe their audience already has political knowledge.

- III. *Government* comprises the institutions and procedures through which a territory and its people are ruled. To govern is to rule. Knowledge of government—the rules of the game—is essential to democratic citizenship.

- A. *Is Government Needed?* American suspicion places a limit on government involvement in everyday life. However, the government is needed to provide the services or public goods individuals cannot properly provide for themselves.
- B. *Forms of Government.* Governments vary in structure, size, and operation. You will find some types of governments in the list that follows.
1. *Autocracy:* a form of government in which a single individual—a king, queen, or dictator—rules.
 2. *Oligarchy:* a form of government in which a small group—landowners, military officers, or wealthy merchants—makes most of the governing decisions.
 3. *Democracy:* a system of rule that permits citizens to play a significant part in the governmental process, usually the election of key public officials.

4. *Constitutional (or liberal) government*: a system of rule in which formal and effective limits are placed on governmental power.
 5. *Authoritarian government*: a system of rule in which the government recognizes no formal limits but may be restrained by the power of other social institutions.
 6. *Totalitarian government*: a system of rule in which the government recognizes no formal limits on its power and seeks to absorb or eliminate other institutions that challenge it. America is a constitutional democracy. However, this government type is rare and recently established.
- C. *Limiting Government*. Beginning in the seventeenth century, two important changes in the character and conduct of government began to take place: (1) Governments began to acknowledge formal limits on their power; and (2) government began to grant ordinary citizens the vote as a formal voice in public affairs. The new social class of **bourgeois** (French for “freeman of the city”) was the key to the limitation of governmental power. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the bourgeoisie attempted to control government by changing the social order, seeking to transform the aristocratic institutions (parliaments) into instruments for political participation. The bourgeoisie’s growing numbers and economic advantage over the aristocracy helped it to place constitutional limits on governmental power. The bourgeoisie also advanced individual-liberty principles for all—freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of conscience, and freedom from arbitrary search and seizure.
- D. *Access to Government: The Expansion of Participation*. Although the bourgeoisie did not advocate democracy for all (only for the middle class), participation expanded to many unintended segments of society. For example, the aristocracy extended participation rights to the common people to gain governmental power. Other times, the bourgeoisie extended participation to the lower and working classes. American history derives its expansion of **suffrage** (right to vote) to diverse groups from this occurrence.
- E. *Influencing the Government through Participation: Politics*. Participation expansion means more people have the right to participate in politics. **Politics** is defined as the conflict over the leadership, structure, and policies of government. The goal of politics is to have governmental power. **Power** is defined as having influence over a government’s leadership, organization, or policies. Political participation that includes all citizens is called democracy. It can manifest itself in many ways, such as voting, lobbying, demonstrating, etc.

1. *Representative democracy/republic*: a government system that gives individual citizens the regular opportunity to elect government officials to represent them in decision making (i.e., the American nation.)
2. *Direct democracy*: a government system allowing individual citizens to vote directly on all laws and policies. Although the national government is representative, many states and localities practice direct democracy through the use of referendums or ballot initiatives.
3. *Groups and Organized Interests*. Interest groups also participate in politics. Interest struggles are called group politics or pluralism. **Pluralism** is the theory that all interests are and should be free to compete for influence in the government. The outcome of this competition is compromise and moderation. Sometimes, political participation is not formally channeled but involves direct action. **Direct-action politics** includes civil disobedience or revolutionary action that takes place outside formal channels.

IV. *Thinking Critically about American Political Culture*. Americans share many political values (e.g., equality) but disagree on their application and the role of government. **Political culture** is defined as broadly shared values, beliefs, and attitudes about how the government should function. American political culture emphasizes the values of liberty, equality, and democracy. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution enunciated those principles. Americans actively embraced these values and made them part of the national identity.

- A. *Liberty* is a central American value defined as freedom from governmental control. It means personal and economic freedom linked with the idea of limited government. **Limited government** is a principle of constitutional government, a government whose powers are defined and limited by a constitution. For example, the Bill of Rights (the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution) preserves individual liberties (freedoms) and rights. Personal freedoms are accompanied by economic freedom, which is linked to capitalism, as in the first century of the Republic and its economic system. It was an economic system of **laissez-faire capitalism** in which the means of production and distribution were privately owned and operated for profit with minimal or no government interference. Americans still support capitalism, but with some restrictions to protect the public. Concurrently, Americans disagree about the government's regulatory role. Governmental public protection can sometimes be perceived as a restriction on individual freedoms.
- B. *Equality* is declared as a true value for all men in the founding documents. However, equality is less definable because it can be

interpreted in different ways. For example, there is social or economic equality of results (not fully embraced in America). Also, there is **equal opportunity**, a widely shared American ideal that all people should have the freedom (a fair chance) to use whatever talents and wealth they have to reach their fullest potential. Still, there is no agreement on the definition of equal opportunity, and the value implies government involvement. There is also **political equality**, the right to participate in politics equally, based on the principle of “one person, one vote.” This type of equality is not obvious in the American system, and it took time over history to reach a balance. Americans have been less concerned with social equality because they believe it is up to the individual to have an equal chance. However, in times of need, such as the Great Depression of the 1930s, they have supported limited government action to promote equality.

- C. *A democracy* is a government in which citizens participate in choosing their rulers and can influence what those rulers do. Important democratic principles in America encompass the following:
1. *Popular sovereignty*: a principle whereby political authority rests in the hands of the people.
 2. *Majority rule/minority rights*: a principle whereby the government follows the preferences of the majority of the voters but protects the interests of the minority.
- D. *Who Are Americans?* The American population is diverse and constantly growing. Anxieties about national origin, religion, and race have influenced the politics of voting, immigration, and social welfare policy.
- E. *Does the System Uphold Political Values? Thinking Critically about Liberty, Equality, and Democracy.* Liberty, equality, and democracy are core conflicting American ideals, not easily put into practice.
1. *Liberty* is an example of conflicting ideals. Slavery has shaped the definition of freedom. The rights to control one’s own labor and to receive a payment for that labor are central freedoms that were denied to slaves. Also, affected businesses view economic and social regulations to protect the public as infringements on their freedom. Yet some citizens believe that government should regulate business behavior. The dilemma is deciding the appropriate degree of governmental regulation. Moreover, during times such as the September 11 terrorist attacks, Americans have to reconcile liberty and security.
 2. *Equality*. There are three major debates about the public role in equality.

- The debate over equal access to public institutions deals with how the law affects rich and poor students differently and how it affects their right to equal education.
 - The debate over the public role in ensuring equal opportunity in private life deals with gender, racial, and social discrimination as a public concern.
 - The debate over economic equality deals with the large income and wealth gap between rich and poor citizens. This form of inequality is tolerated, as is reflected by the American tax code, which benefits the wealthy, a status millions of Americans hope to achieve someday.
3. *Democracy's practice in America can be questioned due to the limits placed on the people's right to participate and citizen engagement. Historically, the right to vote has not been fairly open to all. For example, money can affect politics by determining participation. Also, low citizen engagement and low voter turnout in the elections show a sense of American apathy towards politics.*
- E. *Should America Export Democracy?* There are three reasons that this may be a desirable goal. These are:
- Humanitarian aid to the citizens of nonfree nations
 - Promotion of political stability and world security
 - Promotion of world peace
- F. *Who Benefits from Government?* Some benefit more than others. American government is dominated by shifting electoral forces at the national, state, and local levels, including interest groups and politicians. This is called **pluralism**, or power dispersal in a diverse republic, which prevents the few from always benefiting to the cost of the many.

Class Activity 1

Begin the course by asking students to consider how important government is in our daily lives. For example, our alarm clocks are powered by electricity provided by a public utility, our showers come from a municipal water system, our breakfast foods are safe because of government inspections. Then ask the students to list *at least ten ways* that they have already encountered government today. Although the initial reaction is often disbelief (especially if it is an early class), once the students get rolling, they have no difficulty. This is an excellent exercise for small discussion groups. Sum up with a discussion about the importance of understanding something that is so powerful and prevalent in our lives.

Class Activity 2

Getting Involved

At the beginning of the semester, encourage students to participate in volunteer service, such as mentoring at a local school; assisting in a Head Start classroom; or working with campus-based chapters of Amnesty International, Habitat for Humanity, or other service groups. The local United Way chapter will usually suggest volunteer activities and agencies as well. We know from research that students who are involved with others through volunteer service are more likely to stay in school and also develop increased empathy. Some instructors give extra credit to students for volunteer community service as a “Practicing Citizenship” activity. See Appendix G for a sample form to be used at the end of the semester.

Class Activity 3

America in the World

This chapter delves into current academic and policy debates by analyzing recent U.S.-led efforts to democratize Afghanistan and Iraq. Should the United States take on the role of prime exporter of democratic values and institutions? What are the potential costs and benefits of seeking a more democratic world? The advantages of democratization are readily apparent—enhanced civil liberties and civil rights for the new democratic state, promoting political stability, and enhancing world peace (as first noted by Immanuel Kant in his essay “Toward Perpetual Peace” in 1795). But such efforts to achieve democratization are fraught with danger. Have recent U.S. actions in Iraq made the Middle East as more stable region? Have students ponder the difficulties involved in building democracy in unpromising environments such as the Arab Middle East. Can democracy be imported? Have students think of the similarities and differences between current U.S. actions in Afghanistan and Iraq and U.S. actions in Japan and Germany after World War II.

Class Activity 4

Politics and Popular Culture

Studies show that more young Americans receive political information from entertainment programs such as late-night comedy shows, including *The Daily Show* or *The Colbert Report*. Ask students to watch one of these late-night comedy shows and compare the information reported there with a newspaper story or major nightly news broadcast on the same subject. In what ways were the two reports similar? In what ways were they different? Students may want to make use of the Web sites for many of the comedy and news broadcast programs; these frequently have video clips that students can watch and rewatch. This will allow

students without cable to view the programs, as well as allowing all students retroactively to compare the nightly news broadcast with those of the comedy programs.

Questions for Classroom Discussion

1. James Baldwin wrote, “Words like ‘freedom,’ ‘justice,’ ‘democracy’ are not common concepts; on the contrary, they are rare. People are not born knowing what these are. It takes enormous and, above all, individual effort to arrive at the respect for other people that these words imply.” Do you think you know what those words (“freedom,” “justice,” “democracy”) mean? How did you derive your own meaning for those words?
2. What do you think are the most important reasons for low public trust in government?
3. The textbook discusses liberty as a key component of American democracy. What sort of liberty did the Founders have in mind in the Bill of Rights? Are there limits to how much liberty we can allow and still maintain a stable society? What sorts of limits on personal freedom do you think are acceptable? What sorts of actions are not acceptable? How does national security affect Americans’ support of liberty?
4. The term equality has several dimensions: political, social, economic. What sort of political equality exists in the United States? Where do we fail to provide political equality? How much social equality do we have? How much do you want? How much economic equality do you want?
5. The development of a public education system is based on the idea that democracy requires an educated population trained in rational discussion and decision making. This text states that knowledge of how the political system works is the most important requirement for citizenship in a democracy. In what ways does public education promote democratic citizenship? What challenges confront the public education system? Do these challenges affect democratic citizenship? How, or why not?
6. The draft was abolished in the United States in 1973. Some people believe that everyone ought to perform at least one year of mandatory public service, either in the military or in community service. Do you agree? What benefits do you see to mandatory public service? What problems? If there were mandatory service, should it be required of both men and women? Which would you choose: military service or community service?
7. Combating terrorism has entailed restrictions on civil liberties. How can we reconcile civil liberty and national security? Where we, as a nation, are compelled to make choices, are we better off opting for more liberty or more security? Have Americans become less supportive of the limitations on liberty put into place after the terror attacks in 2001? Or do they still think it makes sense to give up some liberties in order to feel more secure?

PART II: RESOURCE MATERIALS

Practicing Citizenship

1. Interview someone who has served in the military. How does he or she feel about the experience? If a man, was he drafted? Does this person think everyone should have to perform some sort of national service?
2. Take an informal survey of at least twelve people. Ask them where they can find the sentence “All men are created equal.” Prepare a chart summarizing the answers. Were you surprised at the results? What did you learn from this survey?
3. Interview someone who has lived in another country. Have him or her compare that country with the United States in terms of government structure, political issues, and public attitudes toward the government. Where does this country fall on the “Distribution of Freedom” charts and map prepared by Freedom House? Available at www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=410&year=2008 and www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=363&year=2008
4. Research the life of Thomas Jefferson, using at least three references, and write a five-hundred-word report. List the references at the end of the report, using an accepted form of bibliographic citation.
5. Interview someone who has served in the Peace Corps, Teach for America, or a similar volunteer organization. Ask about the program and the rewards and difficulties of giving a year or two to volunteer service.
6. Observe the meeting of a community organization or local government entity—a local school board, city council, or county board meeting—and write a short essay on your observations. What issues were discussed? How many people attended the meeting? Was the public allowed to speak? How did the public officials treat the public? What is your opinion of public officials after this visit?

For Further Reading

- Ambrose, Stephen E. “Nixon: An Important but Not a Great President.” *The World and I*, August 1994. Discusses Nixon’s mistakes and flaws while in office.
- Blendon, Robert, et al. “The 60s and the 90s: Americans’ Political, Moral, and Religious Values Then and Now.” *Brookings Review*, Spring 1999. Demonstrates Americans’ changing attitudes over the last few decades.
- Conniff, Ruth. “Alito and Abuse of Power.” *The Progressive*, January 2006. Democrats focus more on President Bush’s abuse of executive powers than they focus on Samuel Alito.
- Dahl, Robert. “Justifying Democracy.” *Society*, January–February 1998. Democracy allows us all to pursue our own goals.

- Fallows, James. "The Difference One Man Can Make." *Washington Monthly*, May 1982. One determined person can change the system.
- Fein, Bruce. "The Stain of Watergate." *The World and I*, December 1994. Traces today's public cynicism toward Watergate.
- Frey, William H. *Race, Immigration, and America's Changing Electorate*. Brookings Institution, February 2008, www.brookings.edu/reports/2008/0227_demographics_frey.aspx (accessed 9/13/08).
- Huntington, Samuel P. *One Nation, Out of Many*. American Enterprise Institute Online, September 2004, www.taemag.com/issues/articleid.18144/article_detail.asp (accessed 9/13/08).
- Menand, Louis. "Patriot Games: The New Nativism of Samuel P. Huntington." *New Yorker*, May 17, 2004.
- Norris, Pippa. "Does Television Erode Social Capital?" *PS: Political Science & Politics*, September 1996. Argues that Putnam's thesis (see below) about the negative side of television is wrong.
- Olson, Mancur. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review*, September 1993. A scholarly and jargon-free discussion of autocracy and the transition to democracy, conditions required for transition, and the economic effects.
- Pipes, Daniel. "Are Today's Islamic Movements Compatible with Democracy?" *Insight*, August 14, 2000. How Islam copes with democracy.
- Putnam, Robert. "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America." *American Prospect*, Winter 1996. The "bowling alone" theory, which claims that America's "social capital" is rapidly disappearing.
- Rauch, Jonathan. "Democracy Everywhere? What a Nutty Idea." *Atlantic*, May 24, 2005. The spread of democracy worldwide and the Bush administration's scheme to impose it on the world.
- Schudson, Michael. "What If Civic Life Didn't Die?" *American Prospect*, March–April 1996. Another response to Putnam's "bowling alone" theory.
- Stromer-Galley, Jennifer. "Voting and the Public Sphere: Conversations on Internet Voting." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36, no. 4 (October 2003): 727–31.
- Wilson, James Q. "Democracy for All?" *Commentary*, March 2000. Preconditions for democracy analyzed.

DVD/Film References

The Daily Show: Indecision 2004 (2005, DVD). In fall 2004, a Pew Research poll revealed that a surprising number of young Americans got their election news from comedy television in general, and *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart* in particular. With *Indecision 2004*, the *Daily Show* fills three discs with its coverage of the 2004 presidential election, touching on issues that remain at the forefront of American politics. A "Politics and Popular Culture" box in Chapter 1 of this textbook asks what effect political content on comedy television has on political knowledge.

High Noon (1952, DVD, 85 min.). In this classic western, Marshal Kane (Gary Cooper) tries in vain to recruit townspeople to help him fight a gang of killers. The film dramatically shows the need for government (and the coercion it represents) to preserve law and order and the collective-action problems of confronting the town.

The Simpsons, Season Three (1989, DVD, 23 min. per episode). Season Three features the episode “Mr. Lisa Goes to Washington,” based on the Capra classic film *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*. In this episode, Lisa’s faith in democracy is tested. The season also features “Burns Verkaufen der Kraftwerk,” about international trade and nuclear policy.

INTERACTIVE POLITICS SIMULATION AMERICAN POLITICAL CULTURE (WWNORTON.COM/WTP7E)

All Americans have political opinions, and many love to express themselves in very public ways, taking advantage of our freedom of speech to try and convince others to think as they do. American talk radio has long provided an opportunity for listeners to call in to discuss the pressing issues of the day, but famous hosts such as Rush Limbaugh, Mike Gallagher, and more recently Al Franken have elevated the talk show to a new level.

In this simulation, students are working with their boss, the on-air host, to air strong views. It is the students’ job to screen the potential callers, determine their ideology and message, and decide whether they fit the themes of the day. The more they have learned about the American values of liberty, equality, and democracy, as well as our disagreements about the role government should play in supporting these values, the better they will do their job.

Suggestions for Use of the Simulation for This Chapter

- The optimal timing for assigning this simulation would be after the students have read Chapter 1, “American Political Culture,” but before the class period where the material is discussed.
- Bring in clips from recent nationally syndicated talk shows with ordinary viewer comments. Have the students identify which values are getting the most attention from various callers. Do they hear conflict between competing values? If so, how does the talk-show host manage that conflict?
- Invite the students to try the simulation several times, making different choices each time. Discuss how the outcomes changed and why they made the initial choices they did.

***Questions for Students to Consider as They Conduct the Simulation
(or Write about after They've Completed the Simulation)***

- What values do Americans tend to share? Are there any values that all Americans share?
- Given that we have broad consensus in valuing liberty, equality, and democracy, why do we disagree so vehemently about the proper role of government in upholding those values?
- When these values come into conflict with each other, how should we decide which values should take precedence?

PART I: LECTURE MATERIALS*Core Questions*

1. How did the American Revolution lead to the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation?
2. What conditions led to the Constitutional Convention of 1787? What great issues were debated there?
3. How does the Constitution that emerged from the convention create a powerful national government while also guarding against misuse of that power? What political issues and principles were debated by the Federalists and the Antifederalists during the Constitution's ratification process?
4. What is the formal process for changing the Constitution? How has the Constitution changed since its drafting?
5. How were the core values of American political culture—liberty, equality, and democracy—incorporated by the framers into the Constitution?

Chapter Themes and Focus Notes

The textbook stresses that the founding of the United States is “a study of political choices.” The Constitution, according to the text and contrary to popular belief, reflects not only high principle, but also self-interest. This is a good starting point for class discussion. What sorts of personal choices did the colonists have to make when revolution became apparent? It is likely that one-third of the colonists were loyalists, one-third were revolutionaries, and one-third were caught in the middle. The Anglican clergy, for example, had sworn oaths of loyalty to the monarch and the Church of England and had to choose between breaking their ordination vows or staying loyal to England. Even for the patriots, it must have been frightening to contemplate giving up being British and all the

rights that status entailed, without any real guarantees that the new government would respect those rights.

One of the most controversial issues is whether slavery should have been abolished at the time of ratification. Explore this by asking if the Constitution would have been adopted if slavery had been abolished. If not, would the United States be two countries today? Or more? When might the South have given up slavery?

Briefly trace the historical roots of the Constitution by reviewing the Magna Carta, the development of the English parliament, the English Bill of Rights of 1689, the philosophical contributions of John Locke and Montesquieu, the influence of Isaac Newton through the concept of balanced powers, and the Articles of Confederation.

If you like a philosophical approach, have students compare the view of human nature found in the Declaration of Independence (liberal, optimistic) with the view found in the Constitution (conservative, more pessimistic). Bring in *The Federalist 10* as the philosophical statement of the Constitution.

Have students turn to the Constitution itself, review the preamble, and survey the Articles. Why is Article I about the legislature instead of the presidency? Which article is the longest? Why? How was the president to be chosen in the original Constitution? Why wouldn't this work? How many courts are actually created by Article III? It is difficult for students to pull out of the document the actual checks and balances, so have them turn to Figure 2.2, "Checks and Balances." Do all three branches seem equally powerful? Or does one seem more powerful than the others? If you have a copy of your state constitution, compare it with the national Constitution in length and detail.

Discuss how the Constitution has been changed through amendments. Since the Bill of Rights is covered in Chapter 4, you can do only a cursory review at this time. Spend more time on Amendments 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, and 26 to emphasize the textbook's point that most of the subsequent amendments have dealt with elections. You might also ask students what is not in the Constitution and its amendments. The textbook discusses the right to privacy as a right that is not explicitly mentioned in the text of the Constitution but which has resulted from judicial interpretation.

Because new constitutional amendments are always being proposed, it is useful to emphasize this process. First, go over the mechanics of congressional and state approval. Then use a current example, such as a school-prayer or flag-burning amendment, to explain the practical difficulties of actually getting an amendment passed. What groups are likely to organize at the state level to support and to oppose ratification? Over ten thousand amendments have been proposed. Why have so few been adopted?

Point out that the Constitution has also been democratized informally through political parties and the popular election of the president. Briefly mention further changes that have occurred: the power shift from Congress to the president, the creation of non-Cabinet federal agencies, the establishment of independent prosecutors, and so on. Stress that the Constitution is always evolving, changing, and

under pressure from special interests. This helps students realize that the Constitution is not so much the morality tale usually presented as it is a study of political choices. Emphasize the ways in which the Constitution is a living document—always evolving in ways that refresh and revitalize it not just as a political document, but also as a blueprint for American political life.

If you like to take a comparative approach, contrast the parliamentary system of Great Britain with the American presidential system. Major points of comparison are the British union of powers instead of separation of powers; no directly nationally elected executive; stronger party discipline with cabinet responsibility; largely irregular elections with short campaigns; and no single, written, codified document as a constitution. Ask students who have lived in other countries to identify some differences between their political systems and that of the United States. This discussion also reminds students that the American constitutional system is not the only approach to democratic government.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

- I. *The First Founding: Interest and Conflicts.* The American Revolution and the American Constitution were the result of a struggle among economic interests and political forces in the colonies. The five sectors with important political interest struggles include: (1) the New England merchants; (2) the southern planters; (3) the “royalists,” holders of royal land, offices, and patents; (4) shopkeepers, artisans, and laborers; and (5) small farmers. British tax policies affected these groups and set the American Revolution into motion.
 - A. *British Taxes and Colonial Interests.* In the 1760s British financial and debt problems led the British government to impose new taxes on the colonies. The government reasoned that part of the debt was due to the continuing British protection of the colonies during and after the French and Indian War. Taxes such as the Stamp Act, the Sugar Act, and other tariffs on commerce caused social unrest among the colonists, who united to protest against Britain’s “taxation without representation.” This led the colonists to resist the unjust British political and social structure and to advocate an end to British rule.
 - B. *Political Strife and the Radicalizing of the Colonists.* The British Tea Act of 1773, granting the East India Company the tea export monopoly, resulted in the Boston Tea Party. The colonial elites sought repeal of the Tea Act, but other more radical colonials wanted to stir a revolution, and they did. The dumping of the East India Company’s tea into Boston Harbor resulted in a series of British acts that oppressed the colonists and led to widespread support for independence. Cycles of provocation and retaliation created by the Boston Tea Party later resulted in the First Continental Congress—

made up of delegates from all over the country—to consider independence from Britain.

- C. *The Declaration of Independence* (see A1). In 1776, the Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted by the Second Continental Congress. It asserted that “unalienable rights”—including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—could not be denied by government. The Declaration also attempted to identify and articulate national unity principles.
 - D. *The Articles of Confederation* (see A4). In 1777, having declared independence, the Continental Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, America’s first written constitution, which was the basis for America’s national government until 1789. The governmental model was a confederation, a system in which the states retain sovereign authority except for the powers expressly delegated to the national government. The Articles vested the national government in a weak, unicameral Congress. Execution of laws was left to the individual states (with one vote each). The central government had little power, and this arrangement would fall short of the colonist’s goals.
- II. *The Second Founding: From Compromise to Constitution.* Congressional powers under the Confederation were insufficient to maintain the unity of the nation.
- A. *International Standing and Balance of Power.* Under the Confederation, Congress was unable to enforce policies unless the states agreed to apply them. This made the confederation illegitimate in the eyes of other nations and vulnerable to threats from them. Within the Confederation, national power configurations were shifting. Some pre-Revolutionary elites were excluded from government, giving more power to other, more radical factions whose economic policies worried the pre-Revolutionary political establishment.
 - B. *The Annapolis Convention.* This constant international weakness and domestic turmoil led Americans to revise the confederated government. As a result, in the fall of 1786, the Annapolis Convention brought together delegates from several states and resolved that commissioners would be sent to Philadelphia to devise a constitutional revision that would meet the needs of the union.
 - C. *Shays’s Rebellion.* Daniel Shays, a former army captain, led a farmers’ rebellion against the state of Massachusetts to prevent foreclosure of their debt-ridden land. After a terrified state government captured and pardoned the rebels, the affair ended peacefully. However, this led Americans to push for the Philadelphia constitutional convention because under the Articles of

Confederation, the central government had been unable to act decisively in a time of crisis.

- D. *The Constitutional Convention.* The delegates convened to revise the Articles of Confederation in Philadelphia in May 1787. These delegates soon recognized that the issues they wanted to address were fundamental flaws of the Articles and abandoned plans to revise them, instead attempting to create a new, legitimate, and effective government. The textbook refers to this decision as the start of “a second founding.”
1. *A Marriage of Interest and Principle.* The framers’ economic interests were reinforced by their philosophical and ethical principles. They sought to create a government to promote commerce and to protect property. At the same time, they hoped to fashion a government less susceptible than existing state and national regimes to populist forces hostile to the interests of the commercial and propertied classes.
 2. *The Great Compromise.* During the Constitutional Convention, two major factions emerged. First were those who offered the creation of a new government under the lead of Edmund Randolph of Virginia. The most controversial portion became known as the **Virginia Plan**—a framework for a constitution that called for representation in the national legislature on the basis of each state’s population. The next faction was the opposing party under the lead of William Paterson of New Jersey. Their document kept the spirit of revision and was known as the **New Jersey Plan**—a framework for a constitution that called for equal state representation in the national legislature regardless of population. The representation issue between the small and large states almost dissolved the convention. However, the debate between the two sides ended in the Connecticut Compromise, also known as the **Great Compromise**. Under this compromise Congress would comprise two houses organized as follows: one branch, the House of Representatives, would be apportioned according to the population of each state. In the other branch, the Senate, each state would have an equal vote regardless of size.
 3. *The Question of Slavery: The Three-fifths Compromise.* Another controversial issue at the convention was slavery. This issue made clear that the division among states was not only about size but also geography. The conflict was between the North (non-slave-holding states) and the South (slave-holding states.) The two sides reached the **Three-fifths Compromise**, by which seats in the House of Representatives would be apportioned according to a “population” in which every slave would be counted as three-fifths of a person. Through this compromise, the issue of

slavery as a political threat to the nation was essentially postponed.

III. *The Constitution.* The Great Compromise and the Three-fifths Compromise helped temporarily settle the rivalry between North and South and secured national unity. Hence, the framers could focus on a common constitutional framework consistent with common economic and political interests. Therefore, the new government would promote commerce, protect individual property, limit excessive democracy, promote widespread public support of the Constitution, and limit governmental power abuse. These common goals led to the institution of constitutional principles such as:

- **Bicameralism:** the division of Congress into two houses, or chambers.
- **Checks and Balances:** the mechanisms through which each branch of government is able to participate in and influence the activities of the other branches. Major examples include the presidential veto power over congressional legislation, the power of the Senate to approve presidential appointments, and judicial review of congressional enactments.
- **Electoral College:** selection of the president by electors (rather than directly by voters) from each state who meet after the popular election to cast ballots for the president and vice president.
- **Bill of Rights:** the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution, ratified in 1791; they ensure certain rights and liberties to the people.
- **Separation of Powers:** the division of governmental power among several institutions that must cooperate in decision making.
- **Federalism:** a governmental system in which power is divided by a constitution between central and regional governments.

A. *The Legislative Branch.* Article I provided for a Congress made up of two houses. The House of Representatives would be directly elected by the people for two-year terms. The Senate would be appointed by the state legislatures (changed to direct voter election in 1913 by the Seventeenth Amendment) for six-year terms—staggered so that only one-third of the Senate changes in any given election. Express Congressional powers include collecting taxes, borrowing money, regulating commerce, declaring war, and maintaining an army and navy; all other powers belong to the states unless otherwise included in the elastic, or “necessary and proper,” clause. The division of this branch ensured popular constitutional consent while guarding the nation against “excessive democracy.”

B. *The Executive Branch.* Article II of the Constitution established a presidency. The framers wanted an energetic executive to be capable

of timely action to deal with public problems. They also wanted an independent executive who would not be impaired by the checks and balances among the three branches, or by direct voter election (creating an indirect system of election through an electoral college). The presidency later would be limited to two four-year terms by constitutional amendment. The president was granted the power to recognize other countries, negotiate treaties (although acceptance of treaties required a two-thirds vote of approval by the Senate), grant reprieves and pardons, convene Congress in special sessions, and veto congressional enactments.

- C. *The Judicial Branch.* Constitutional Article III creates the judicial branch. According to this Article, Supreme Court justices are appointed to lifetime terms by the president with the approval of the Senate. The Supreme Court’s powers include resolving conflicts between federal and state laws, determining whether power belongs to the national government or the states, and settling controversies between citizens of different states. The Constitution makes no direct mention of one power eventually assumed by the Supreme Court: **judicial review**, the power of the courts to declare actions of the legislative and executive branches invalid or unconstitutional.
- D. *National Unity and Power.* Article IV establishes reciprocity among states. Therefore, each state must give “full faith and credit” to official acts of other states and guarantee the citizens of any state the “privileges and immunities” of every other state. Article VI institutes national supremacy with the **supremacy clause**. The clause states that laws passed by the national government and all treaties are the supreme law of the land and superior to all laws adopted by any state or any subdivision.
- E. *Amending the Constitution* (see A14). Although a total of twenty-seven amendments have been passed, amending the Constitution is no easy task. The procedure requires a two-thirds congressional approval and ratification by three-fourths of the states for an amendment to be adopted.
- F. *Ratifying the Constitution.* Article VII set forth the ratification rules. Nine of the thirteen states would have to ratify the Constitution.
- G. *Constitutional Limits on the National Government’s Power.* The framers wanted to create a powerful national government with safeguards against misuse of that power. To do so, the framers included three limitations in the Constitution: separation of powers, federalism, and the Bill of Rights.
 - 1. *The Separation of Powers.* This principle indicates that power must be used to balance power. Under this principle, the entire structure of the national government is built on three separate branches: the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary. Checks

and balances were the method to maintain the separation of the three branches. However, this method not only gave each branch its own powers but also gave each branch some powers over the other branches (see figures 2.1 and 2.2).

2. *Federalism*. The delegates devised a system of two sovereign powers—the states and the nation—with greater power given to the national government in the hope that this would limit the power of both.
3. *The Bill of Rights*. The first ten amendments to the Constitution were adopted to limit national power and to protect the citizens.

IV. *The Fight for Ratification*. Ratification was the first hurdle that the Constitution faced. The fight involved two sides: Federalists and Antifederalists. The **Federalists** favored a strong national government and supported the proposed American Constitution at the 1787 Convention. The **Antifederalists** favored strong state governments and a weak national government. Also, they opposed the proposed American Constitution at the 1787 Convention.

A. *Federalists versus Antifederalists* (see Table 2.1). During the ratification process, thousands of essays, speeches, pamphlets, and letters were presented in support of and in opposition to the constitution. Sometimes debates got personal, as in the Griswold-Lyon affair. However, the best Constitutional support pieces are known as the **Federalist Papers**. They are a series of essays written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay supporting the ratification of the Constitution. The Antifederalists also wrote their opposing views, including the notable works of Robert Yates in *Brutus*. These works highlight the major differences of opinion between the two sides.

1. **Representation** was one major controversy between the two sides. The Antifederalists asserted that representatives must be “a true picture of the people,” and favored more direct democracy, which would not be possible to attain in such a large nation. The Federalists felt it was not necessary for representatives to be exactly like those they represented. They asserted that the advantage of a representative government over a direct democracy was the ability to choose representatives with superior qualifications to those possessed by the people. Though discussion terms have changed, the representation debate continues today.
2. *Tyranny of the Majority*. A second issue dividing the two sides was the threat of **tyranny** (oppressive rule and unjust government that employs cruel and unjust power and authority). From the Antifederalist point of view, this danger rested on the

ability of the few to tyrannize the many. The Antifederalists feared the concentration of power in the hands of a small governing elite. The Federalists recognized the danger not in aristocracy, but in tyranny by the majority, the tendency of majorities to trample on the rights and interests of other citizens.

3. *Governmental Power.* A third issue between the two sides was governmental power. Although both sides agreed on the principle of **limited government** (a government whose powers are defined and limited by a constitution), they differed on how to place limits on governmental action. The Antifederalists sought to enumerate the national powers in relation to the states and the people. They attacked the supremacy and elastic clauses, which they believed granted dangerous amounts of power to the national government. The Federalists favored a national government with broad powers capable of protecting and providing for the welfare of the people and the states. Although they were aware of possible power abuse by the government, they felt the Constitution had enough internal checks and balances to deter abuse. This led the Federalists to reject the adoption of the Bill of Rights, although they ultimately agreed to such a bill in order to ensure ratification.

B. *Reflections on the Founding.* It was largely the Federalist point of view that triumphed. However, the Antifederalists' criticisms forced the adoption of a Bill of Rights to limit national governmental power. This arrangement proved effective for over two hundred years, even as the political principles enshrined in the Constitution have benefited groups and interests unforeseen by the framers.

V. *The Citizen's Role and the Changing Constitution.* The Constitution has endured for over two centuries, but not without change.

A. *Amendments: Many Are Called, Few Are Chosen.* **Amendments** are changes added to a bill, law, or constitution. There are four ways to amend the Constitution (see figure 2.3). The two most commonly used have been:

1. Passage in House and Senate, each by a two-thirds vote, followed by majority ratification by three-fourths of the states' legislatures.
2. Passage in House and Senate, each by a two-thirds vote, followed by ratification by three-fourths of the states' conventions (used only once).

Throughout history, the Constitution has proved to be extremely difficult to amend. In fact, between 1789 and 1996, over ten thousand amendments were offered in Congress, and of these only twenty-seven in all have been ratified by the states.

- B. *The Case of the Equal Rights Amendment.* The ERA provides a useful case study of the hurdles involved in amending the Constitution.
 - C. *Which Were Chosen? An Analysis of the Twenty-Seven.* Certain conditions underlay the successful amendments. For example, the Bill of Rights was a structural effort to give clearer restrictions to the three branches of government in an effort to ratify the Constitution. Subsequent amendments enhanced democracy with the expansion of political equality and voting rights. Most amendments exemplify constitutionalism and its difficult battles, except for three amendments, the only ones to legislate on public or political issues. All of this points to the principle that twenty-five of the existing amendments are concerned with the structure or composition of government, consistent with the definition of *constitution*, or the makeup of something.
 - D. *The Supreme Court and Constitutional Amendment.* Although the formal amendment process outlined in Article V has seldom been used successfully, judicial interpretation of the Constitution has the potential to define abstract constitutional principles and modify or augment constitutional text.
- VI. *Thinking Critically about Liberty, Equality, and Democracy.* The framers placed individual liberty ahead of all other political values, and the basic structure of the Constitution reflects this priority. Liberty, particularly in the form of informal political participation and agitation, led to greater democracy when, over time, many formal restrictions on suffrage were removed. Although liberty promotes equality in one sense, by preventing government from using its power to allocate status and opportunity among individuals and groups, the absence of government intervention in economic affairs may mean that there is no antidote to the inevitable inequalities of wealth produced by the marketplace. Limits on governmental action, which is at the core of the framers' conception of liberty, may also inhibit effective government. This conflict is at the heart of the American Constitutional system.

Class Activity 1

Be a Framers

You can give students this activity as a handout for them to complete either individually or in a small group. Ask how many students select A or B for each choice, and then discuss which choice the Founders made. Generally, students make the “wrong” choice. This can lead to a good discussion of why their values

are different from those of the men who wrote the Constitution. You can also use this activity to compare presidential and parliamentary systems.

For each group, you could also discuss some of the following issues:

1. B—representation, separation of powers, checks and balances, federalism
2. B—separation of powers, checks and balances, federalism, judicial review
3. A—Bill of Rights, judicial review, separation of powers, minority rights
4. B—Bill of Rights, religious freedom
5. B—federalism
6. A—separation of powers, checks and balances, Madison’s factions

Designing a Political System

Suppose you had a chance to design a political system. What sort would you design? First, you would need to decide what you value in a political system. Look at the pairs of statements below, and mark the *one* of each pair of attributes that you would value most in your political institutions. Circle A or B to indicate your choice.

Which would you rather have?

1. A. A political system with the most political democracy possible, that is, one that translated popular wants into laws and policies as efficiently as possible
B. A political system that gave elected officials considerable latitude to do what they wanted or felt was best, without having to worry too much about public opinion
2. A. A political system that could quickly make major policy changes
B. A political system where major changes in policy were very hard to effect and happened only rarely
3. A. A political system that allows minorities to block governmental actions that they feel are unfair or unjust to them
B. A political system in which the majority prevails, even in the face of minority opposition
4. A. A political system that seeks to make its citizens virtuous and good
B. A political system that leaves citizens alone to live as they wish
5. A. A political system with power centralized in one place, to allow coherent and consistent policy across an entire nation
B. A political system with power decentralized, to represent the needs and wants of various localities
6. A. A political system that assumes that people are generally self-seeking and attempts to make the best of that fact
B. A political system that seeks to make its citizens unselfish and concerned with the common good

Class Activity 2

Get Involved: Amending the Constitution

As the text notes, many amendments to the Constitution have been proposed, but only a few have been successful. Consider having students get involved in the debate over one or more proposed amendments. The “Get Involved” box identifies several ways for students to weigh in on amending the Constitution. First, they need to identify proposed amendments—whether proposed by members of Congress or by an organization or interest group. After students have identified an amendment in which they are interested, they can contact the sponsor and join the effort. Alternatively, students might choose to draft their own amendment and sketch a plan for its political adoption.

As you discuss amending the Constitution, you may want to engage students in the Policy Debate on the federal marriage amendment. Students can research the positions of their elected officials on this amendment by visiting their Web sites or calling legislative offices. Students should also consider why marriage has become an important political issue and what actions at the federal and state level are open to those who support, and oppose, the amendment.

Class Activity 3

America in the World

The Constitution of the United States is the world’s oldest written document that formally organizes the governmental processes of an entire nation. Many nation states have sought to incorporate the philosophical values and government structures outlined in the U.S. Constitution into their own formal constitutions. Other nation states have consciously sought to avoid U.S.-style institutions and practices while crafting their own constitutions. Have students consider and debate the *fit* between American political culture and the U.S. Constitution. Next, have them consider the relevance and utility of the American constitutional experience to emerging democracies—especially in non-Western societies such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

Class Activity 4

Politics and Popular Culture

Browse political cartoons from the Library of Congress collection, hosted at HarpWeek. www.harpweek.com/07Features/features.asp

Choose one of the cartoons from the 1700s. What event or idea does the cartoon portray? Consider this cartoon and the “Congressional Pugilists” described in the textbook. What do you think are the advantages of cartoons, poetry, and political humor for communicating ideas? What are the problems, or limitations, of this mode of political communication?

Questions for Classroom Discussion

1. Were the colonists fighting for liberty? equality? democracy? What was the basis of their opposition? Were the colonists justified in their rebellion against England? If you had been there, would you have sided with the colonial elite or with the radicals? Why?
2. Describe the ways in which the framers limited the national government's power under the Constitution. Why might the framers have placed such limits on the government they had just created?
3. Do you see the school prayer issue as a constitutional (legal) issue or as a moral issue? In a constitutional democracy that relies on tolerance and rational discussion, is it ever proper for one religion to impose its morality and doctrine on another? Can you reconcile the need for tolerance with the demands of some religions to convert others to their beliefs? Or is this one of the contradictions we have to live with in order to sustain a democracy?
4. Explain this statement: "The Declaration of Independence is an extremely liberal document, and the American Constitution is an extremely conservative document."
5. The framers of the Constitution were very concerned with creating an effective system of government. Yet whenever crises loom, critics charge that America's government is too cumbersome and too filled with checks on power to promote effective action. Does the war on terrorism reveal our constitutional government's effectiveness or its lack of effectiveness? Are there ways in which we benefit from the government's occasional lack of efficiency?
6. What were the major points of contention between the Federalists and the Antifederalists? How do those points of contention underlie the structure of government that resulted from the Constitution? Do you think you would have sided with the Federalists or with the Antifederalists? Why?
7. Americans often say they dislike the conflict of American politics. In what ways did the framers build points of conflict or tension into the constitutional system? Why did they do this?

PART II: RESOURCE MATERIALS

Practicing Citizenship

1. Research the contributions of women or African Americans to the American Revolution and write a five-hundred-word report. List the references at the end of the report, using an accepted form of bibliographic citation.
2. Locate a library source that describes the disagreements between Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. If you had been a contemporary of theirs, whom would you have supported? Why?

3. If you had been alive in 1787, would you have supported or opposed ratification? Create a pamphlet in the style of the Federalist and Antifederalist writers, either supporting or opposing ratification. The pamphlet must include an essay stating your arguments.
4. Make a map of North America, showing the areas controlled by the British, French, and Spanish just prior to the Revolution. Who owned your state? How did it become part of the Union?
5. In 1789, the year that George Washington became president, a revolution in France destroyed the monarchy and established a republic. Research and write a five-hundred-word report on the French Revolution: its leaders, its actions, and its results. List your references at the end of the report, using an accepted form of bibliographic citation.

For Further Reading

- Brookhiser, Richard. "A Man on Horseback." *Atlantic*, January 1996. Good discussion of George Washington's personal character.
- Foote, Timothy. "What If, Back in 1788, We Hadn't Ratified Mr. Madison's Constitution?" *Smithsonian*, June 1988.
- Gaines, James R. "Washington and Lafayette." *Smithsonian*, September 2007. Discusses the close wartime relationship between Washington and Lafayette, as well as their differing philosophies on revolution.
- Kammen, Michael. "The Problem of Constitutionalism in American Culture." Chap. 1 in *A Machine That Would Go of Itself*. New York: Random House, 1986. Asserts that Americans revere the Constitution even though they are regrettably ignorant of its features.
- Rauch, Jonathan. "A More Perfect Union." *Atlantic*, April 2004. How the Founders would have handled gay marriage.
- Robertson, David. "Madison's Opponents and Constitutional Design." *American Political Science Review* 99 (May 2005): 225–43.
- Rose, Winfield H. "*Marbury v. Madison*: How John Marshall Changed History by Misquoting the Constitution." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36, no. 2 (April 2003): 209–14.
- Schneider, William. "Divided We Stand." *Atlantic*, December 7, 2004. Available at www.theatlantic.com/politics/nj/schneider2004-12-07.htm (accessed 9/16/08). Americans are still looking for a leader who can deliver what George W. Bush promised in 2000, when he vowed to be "a uniter, not a divider."
- Sheehan, Colleen. "Madison v. Hamilton: The Battle over Republicanism and the Role of Public Opinion." *APSR* 98, no. 3 (August 2004): 405–24.
- Starobin, Paul. "The Angry American." *Atlantic*, January–February 2004. Social rage as a measure of the country's moral and political well-being.
- Walker, David M. "What Would the Founding Fathers Say?" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 30, 2006. It is no accident that the Constitution begins with the words "we the people."

Wernick, Robert. "Chief Justice Marshall Takes the Law in Hand." *Smithsonian*, November 1998. John Marshall is not well known, but his impact on our constitutional system is immeasurable.

———. "The Godfather of the American Constitution." *Smithsonian*, September 1989. Montesquieu's influence on the Founders.

Wood, Gordon. "Equality." Chap. 13 in *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. New York: Knopf, 1992. Challenges the conventional idea that the American Revolution was "sober and conservative," whereas the French Revolution was anarchic.

DVD/Film References

Liberty! The American Revolution (PBS Item No. LIAR600). This compelling three-disc set, issued in 1997, features readings of letters and diaries and recreations of crucial events leading up to the founding of the United States.

Rebels and Redcoats (PBS Item No. RERE601). The historian Richard Holmes presents this 2004 PBS documentary exploring the cultural and political divisiveness of the Revolutionary War through interviews, recreations, and first-person narratives.

School House Rock (1973, DVD). In "America Rock," School House Rock uses catchy tunes and clever animation to illustrate the fundamentals of contemporary governmental function as well as American governmental history. The "Politics and Popular Culture" box in Chapter 2 of this textbook asks whether cartoons helped spread political information during the Founding period.

South Park, Season Seven (DVD, 1997, 23 min. per episode). "I'm a Little Bit Country" shows Eric Cartman time-traveling to witness events of the American Revolution. The "Politics and Popular Culture" box in Chapter 2 of this textbook asks whether cartoons helped spread political information during the Founding period. Other episodes in this set address contemporary political issues: "South Park is Gay" imagines the trend of "metrosexuality" reaching the president; "Krazy Kripples" parodies fears about stem-cell research; "Red Man's Greed" centers on casino gaming on Native American reservations; "Christian Rock Hard" looks at the phenomenon of Christian rock and also touches on issues surrounding illegal music downloads.

The Standard Deviants' American Government (2003, DVD). A sketch comedy civics review, from Aristotle to the present. Energetic young performers bring the foundations of American government to life in skits and humorous recitations.

This Is America, Charlie Brown (1988, DVD, 24 min. per episode). In an eight-part series on American history, Charlie Brown and the rest of the gang from the *Peanuts* comic strip visit important events in American history. Includes the episodes "The Birth of the Constitution" and "The Smithsonian and the Presidency."

**INTERACTIVE POLITICS SIMULATION
THE FOUNDING
(WWNORTON.COM/WTP7E)**

It was a long, hot summer in Philadelphia in 1787. Following Shays's Rebellion, twelve states sent fifty-five delegates to try to repair the Articles of Confederation. Behind the closed doors of Independence Hall, the delegates soon became convinced that a whole new constitution was needed. But how could they create a government that on the one hand would be powerful enough to solve their problems without on the other hand degenerating into either tyranny or chaos?

Suggestions for Use of the Simulation for This Chapter

- The optimal timing for assigning this simulation would be after the students have read Chapter 2 on the Founding, but before the class period where the material is discussed.
- Advise students to try to repeat the simulation three times, so they can experience it while advocating for each of the three states: Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Ask them whether they made different choices when representing different states, and why.
- Ask which among them tried to create a unicameral legislature, and why. Discuss the experience of Nebraska, which has the only unicameral legislature at the state level. Ask why they think it occurs so rarely in our system. What is required for an adequate check on the legislative branch?

*Questions for Students to Consider as They Conduct the Simulation
(or Write about after They've Completed the Simulation)*

- What did the various states share as common interests, and what were the competing values?
- What would be the ideal federal relationship? How important is it to have a strong national government while protecting the autonomy of the states?
- How can the interests of wealthy, populous states and smaller, agrarian states be balanced?
- What compromises would create a document that both abolitionist northern interests and slave-dependent southern interests would sign?