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Constitutional Democracy

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Who was the primary author of the Declaration of Independence and a champion of constitutional democracy?

   a. Thomas Jefferson
   b. George Washington
   c. John Adams
   d. John Locke

   Answer: a
   Topic: U.S. Government and Politics in Context (Structure)
   Learning Objective: 1.2 Describe the importance of citizen participation in constitutional democracy.
   Skill Level: Remember the Facts
   Difficulty Level: Easy

2. Which of the following is a feature of constitutional democracy?

   a. government is limited by a written document
   b. voting is required by law
   c. laws are voted on by the people
   d. voting rights are tied to property ownership

   Answer: a
   Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
   Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
   Skill Level: Remember the Facts
   Difficulty Level: Moderate

3. How is democracy defined?

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a. everyone is involved in politics and policy making
b. government by the people
c. the fragmentation of powers
d. government by the few

Answer: b
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Remember the Facts
Difficulty Level: Easy

4. How does the Constitution guard against tyranny of the majority?

a. by protecting certain rights, such as freedom of speech
b. by giving states the power to nullify federal laws
c. by requiring courts to issue decisions supported by public opinion
d. by requiring free and fair elections

Answer: a
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

5. What is the idea that a just government must derive its powers from the people it governs called?

a. equality
b. popular consent
c. electoral politics
d. national supremacy

Answer: b
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Remember the Facts
Difficulty Level: Easy

6. Governance according to the expressed preferences of the majority is known as which of the following?

a. tyranny of the majority
b. individual rights
c. majority rule

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d. plurality principle

Answer: c
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Remember the Facts
Difficulty Level: Easy

7. In which type of election is the winner always determined by who gets the most votes, even if it is not more than half?

a. a runoff election
b. a plurality
c. a recall election
d. a majority

Answer: b
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Remember the Facts
Difficulty Level: Easy

8. Head Start, a program for disadvantaged preschool children, reflects the belief in ensuring _____.

a. balanced government
b. political equality
c. individualism
d. equal opportunity

Answer: d
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

9. Which of the following is a central feature of capitalism?

a. private property
b. separation of powers
c. government-controlled prices
d. equally distributed wealth

Answer: a
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)

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Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

10. What is a favorable condition for democracy?

a. equality of wealth
b. ideological divisions
c. instability in society
d. an educated citizenry

Answer: d
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

11. What role did George Washington play in the Constitutional Convention?

a. He represented the views of the Anti-Federalists.
b. He was the chief negotiator of the three-fifths compromise.
c. He presided over the meeting but spoke little during deliberations.
d. He supported preserving the Articles of Confederation.

Answer: c
Topic: The Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Action)
Learning Objective: 1.5 Identify the issues resolved by compromise during the writing of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

12. Under the Articles of Confederation, how were disputes between the states settled?

a. by the Supreme Court
b. by the president
c. by state courts
d. by state legislatures

Answer: c
Topic: The Roots of the American Constitutional Experiment (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify pre-Revolutionary concepts central to the new government and the problems under the Articles of Confederation.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

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13. What was the initial purpose for the meeting of delegates in Philadelphia in May 1787?

a. to write the Declaration of Independence
b. to amend the Articles of Confederation
c. to abolish state laws
d. to create a national bank

Answer: b
Topic: The Roots of the American Constitutional Experiment (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify pre-Revolutionary concepts central to the new government and the problems under the Articles of Confederation.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

14. Patrick Henry was initially opposed to the ratification of the Constitution. What change was made to address his concern?

a. James Madison promised a bill of rights would be added.
b. A promise was made to abolish slavery in the future.
c. A bicameral legislative structure was adopted.
d. George Washington promised to limit the power of Congress.

Answer: a
Topic: To Adopt or Not to Adopt? (Impact)
Learning Objective: 1.6 Evaluate the arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Analyze It
Difficulty Level: Difficult

15. Which country has a centralized authority in charge of its political system?

a. Germany
b. the United States
c. China
d. Mexico

Answer: c
Topic: Defining Democracy (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

16. Historian Charles Beard argued that the primary motive of the Framers of the Constitution was which of the following?

a. protection from foreign threats

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b. the enshrinement of the majority rule principle
c. protection of their own economic self-interests
d. westward expansion of the country

Answer: c
Topic: The Roots of the American Constitutional Experiment (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify pre-Revolutionary concepts central to the new government and the problems under the Articles of Confederation.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

17. What was Shays' Rebellion?

a. the initial uprising by the Americans against the British
b. a demonstration of the need for every state to form an army
c. a revolt by enslaved persons that led to the three-fifths compromise
d. an uprising in western Massachusetts protesting mortgage foreclosures

Answer: d
Topic: The Roots of the American Constitutional Experiment (Structure)
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify pre-Revolutionary concepts central to the new government and the problems under the Articles of Confederation.
Skill Level: Recall the Facts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

18. Which of the following best supports the idea that the United States has a balanced government?

a. No single interest dominates the national government.
b. The president and legislature have no shared powers.
c. State governments can veto laws of the national government.
d. The people must approve constitutional amendments by popular vote.

Answer: a
Topic: The Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Action)
Learning Objective: 1.5 Identify the issues resolved by compromise during the writing of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Apply What You Know
Difficulty Level: Difficult

19. Which of the following people would most likely have been an Anti-Federalist?

a. a banker from New York
b. a lawyer from Pennsylvania
c. a farmer from Georgia
d. a business owner from North Carolina

Answer: c

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Topic: To Adopt or Not to Adopt? (Impact)
Learning Objective: 1.6 Evaluate the arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Apply What You Know
Difficulty Level: Difficult

20. Most delegates to the Constitutional Convention accepted the idea of

a. state supremacy.
b. a direct democracy.
c. a republican government.
d. a strong executive.

Answer: c
Topic: The Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Action)
Learning Objective: 1.5 Identify the issues resolved by compromise during the writing of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Difficult

21. The three-fifths compromise was a compromise between which of the following?

a. Whigs and Democratic Republicans
b. northern and southern states
c. Federalists and Anti-Federalists
d. large and small states

Answer: b
Topic: The Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Action)
Learning Objective: 1.5 Identify the issues resolved by compromise during the writing of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

22. Why were the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention kept secret?

a. to make it difficult for delegates to change their minds after debate and discussion
b. to encourage delegates to speak freely
c. so there would be fewer disagreements during the convention
d. so that foreign leaders would not sabotage the convention

Answer: b
Topic: The Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Action)
Learning Objective: 1.5 Identify the issues resolved by compromise during the writing of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Analyze It
Difficulty Level: Difficult

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23. A delegate from a small state at the Constitutional Convention would have most likely supported which of the following as the basis for representation in the legislature?

a. the Virginia Plan
b. the concept of bicameralism
c. the supremacy clause
d. the New Jersey Plan

Answer: d
Topic: The Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Action)
Learning Objective: 1.5 Identify the issues resolved by compromise during the writing of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Apply What You Know
Difficulty Level: Difficult

24. What did the Federalists favor?

a. strong state governments, relative to the central government
b. an all-powerful central government
c. a stronger national government, relative to the state governments
d. strong economic ties to foreign powers

Answer: c
Topic: To Adopt or Not to Adopt? (Impact)
Learning Objective: 1.6 Evaluate the arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Analyze It
Difficulty Level: Difficult

25. Why did the Federalists argue against inclusion of a bill of rights in the Constitution?

a. The explicit guarantee of some rights might imply the denial of other rights.
b. All rights were already covered by the Declaration of Independence.
c. Trying to agree on which rights to include would tear the new country apart.
d. All states currently had their own bills of rights.

Answer: a
Topic: To Adopt or Not to Adopt? (Impact)
Learning Objective: 1.6 Evaluate the arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Analyze It
Difficulty Level: Difficult

26. What regions of the country tended to oppose ratification of the new Constitution?

a. urban areas
b. seaboard regions

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c. backcountry regions
d. southern states

Answer: c
Topic: To Adopt or Not to Adopt? (Impact)
Learning Objective: 1.6 Evaluate the arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

27. What was *The Federalist*?

a. a book written by George Washington justifying the revolution
b. a book written by Thomas Jefferson while he was the U.S. ambassador to France
c. a series of essays to encourage opposition to the Annapolis Convention
d. a series of essays written to encourage ratification of the proposed Constitution

Answer: d
Topic: To Adopt or Not to Adopt? (Impact)
Learning Objective: 1.6 Evaluate the arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution.
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts
Difficulty Level: Moderate

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1

Constitutional Democracy

Chapter Overview

Politics and government matter—that is the single most important message of this book. By emphasizing the foundations of American politics, Magleby's text helps students understand the complexity of contemporary U.S. government and politics. To that end, Chapter 1 establishes the foundation for the balance of the text by introducing questions fundamental to the study of politics and government. We begin by exploring the scope and nature of constitutional democracy in the United States. We then trace the historical development of constitutional democracy in the United States, identifying problems under the Articles of Confederation and how those problems were resolved in the Constitution. We conclude by evaluating arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution. By the end of the chapter, students should have the foundation necessary to begin to explore some of the more complex questions in U.S. politics.

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Lecture Suggestions

A Grand Experiment in Self-Government (Structure)

1.1 Describe the nature of the "grand experiment in self-government" in America.

LECTURE 1: Government comprises those institutions that make authoritative public policies for society as a whole. In the United States, four key institutions operate at the national level to make such decisions: Congress, the president, the courts, and the federal administrative agencies (the bureaucracy).

Lecture on the fundamental questions arising about government from Harold Laswell's famous definition of politics as "who gets what, when, and how." *How* should we govern? *What* should the government do? Include specific examples in your discussion.

LECTURE 2: Some countries, like the former Soviet Union, claim to be representative democracies. They even hold regular elections boasting near universal voter turnout and resounding victories for the ruling party. Obviously, representative democracy requires more than just holding occasional elections.

- Outline the major features of representative democracy, including the requirements that candidates be selected by the voters, that elections are open to competition from candidates and parties with competing ideologies, that candidates and voters have the freedom to express their own views, and that representatives are subject to regular reelection.
- Differentiate such democratic systems with political systems that attempt to legitimate themselves through claims of democracy while masking authoritarian and antidemocratic features.

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LECTURE 3: Government is the institution charged with making authoritative decisions that extend to all of society. While other institutions may make decisions that apply to specific groups, only government can make wide-ranging decisions that affect everyone. However, the ability of the state to make binding decisions depends on the legitimacy it enjoys. The source of legitimacy has been a central question of interest to political scientists since the days of Machiavelli, who famously asked if it is better for a prince to be feared or loved. Differentiate between the three sources of authority outlined by Max Weber:

- Charismatic authority is based on the personal qualities of the individual. Examples might include Adolph Hitler or Gandhi.
- Traditional authority establishes legitimacy by belief in the sanctimony of immemorial traditions. Most monarchs claim traditional authority, as does the pope.
- Legal-rational authority is based on the consistent performance of impersonal rules through institutions. Most contemporary democracies, and indeed the very notion of the rule of law, are rooted in legal-rational authority.

U.S. Government and Politics in Context (Structure)

1.2 Describe the importance of citizen participation in constitutional democracy.

LECTURE 1: Perhaps the least controversial element of government policy centers on the provision of public goods—things that everyone can share, such as clean air or national defense. Because of the nonexcludability of public goods, people have little incentive to pay for them. Consequently, the nature of public goods makes them difficult for the private sector to provide. Instead, they are often provided by the government and paid for through tax revenues.

In recent years, however, a number of alternative mechanisms have been developed to shift public goods into private goods to be provided through the market. The creation of carbon markets, for example, attempts to privatize negative externalities associated with pollution to create a cleaner environment. Similarly, the widespread use of private military contractors changes the historical role of the government in the maintenance of national defense.

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Discuss the nature of public goods and the historical role of the government in providing them. Then consider alternative mechanisms for the provision of public goods.

LECTURE 2: Contemporary politics often centers on the appropriate role and size of government in American society. The media usually characterize Republicans as favoring a smaller government and Democrats as favoring a larger one.

However, such a picture is often overly simplistic, as Republicans and Democrats both favor a government that performs specific functions corresponding to their parties' platforms and worldviews.

- Engage in a lecture and discussion centering on the appropriate role of government in the United States and cover the following questions and information:
  - Is the scope of government currently too broad or too narrow? What does government being "too big" mean? Do students think the U.S. government is currently "too big"? Why?
    - By what criteria might we measure the size of government? By some measures government today is smaller than it has been historically. In 1988, the year President Ronald Reagan left office, the federal government had approximately 2.22 million employees. By 2014, that number had fallen to 2.07 million. (See the U.S. Office of Personnel Management at www.opm.gov and search "historical tables" for figures since 1940.)
  - By other measures, the size of the government has grown. Federal spending was 18.2 percent of gross domestic product in 1988. By 2017, it had risen to approximately 19.2 percent (See the Presidency Project at the University of California Santa Barbara at www.presidency.ucsb.edu/data/budget.php for historical figures from 1930 through 2017.)
  - Why, despite evidence to the contrary, do Americans hold the view that the size of the federal government has grown beyond control?

LECTURE 3: Start by asking your students to describe their typical daily schedules. For instance, they wake at 6:00, have breakfast, get ready for school, check their e-mails, and leave

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the house by 7:30. They drive to school and attend classes from 8:00 to 1:00. They work from 1:30 until 6:30 and then do homework.

- Put a good generic schedule in place.
- Ask students to identify all the ways in which the government impacts the activities they engage in every day. For example, they can identify how the government ensures our food is safe to consume, regulates (and in many cases directly provides for) the delivery of water to our households, establishes the rules that govern who can drive, builds and maintains the roads, provides student loans and other financial aid programs that help pay for education, and establishes minimum wage and worker protection laws (OSHA) that ensure safe workplaces and fair treatment.

Although students sometimes require prompting, once they get rolling they are often surprised by the vast number of ways we interact, often in very hidden ways, with the government every day.

Defining Democracy (Structure)

1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.

LECTURE 1: Traditional democratic theory rests on several principles that specify how a democratic government makes its decisions. Democratic theorist Robert Dahl refers to five criteria essential for an ideal democratic process: equality in voting (i.e., one person, one vote), effective participation and representation, a free press and the right of free speech, a collective right to control the government's policy agenda, and an inclusive citizenship.

In addition, democracies must include the principle of majority rule accompanied by protection of minority rights. Students often intuitively grasp these elements of a democratic polis without necessarily being able to specify why they are necessary for democracy.

- Outline how Dahl's five criteria play out in the United States.
- Differentiate between pluralist theories of politics, which argue that many centers of influence compete for power and control in the United States, and elite theories

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of politics, which argue that despite the prevalence of mechanisms for participation, government remains controlled in practice by a relatively small group of ruling elites.

LECTURE 2: Democracy requires the active participation of citizens in making public policy. People in the United States have multiple avenues for political participation to try to influence policy. These include the following:

- Electoral politics: people can vote, demonstrate and gather support for candidates, provide campaign funding and other campaign support, or run for office.
- Lobbying: people can present information or persuasive arguments to government officials.
- Judicial action: people can initiate litigation to pursue their goals.
- Cultural change: this form of action involves large-scale changes in public opinion as a result of changes in contemporary values and visions.
- Grassroots mobilization: people can encourage and mobilize other citizens to support their goals and can form groups to show widespread support for their causes.

Consider these two other themes. First, the diversity of the American public plays an important role in defining issues and determining their outcomes. Second, the long-term stability of the American political system is due to several factors, including the existence of pathways to bring about peaceful change and a shared political culture.

LECTURE 3: In a representative democracy, citizens elect officials to make decisions on their behalf. *Who* they elect and *how* those official weigh their constituents' values and preferences matter for understanding what representation means in practice.

- In descriptive representation, elected officials are similar to their constituents in their characteristics or backgrounds. Relevant characteristics include age, race, gender, and socio-economic status. While women and minorities have made gains in descriptive representation, these groups are still underrepresented in Congress.
- In substantive representation, elected officials' decisions and actions reflect the preferences of their constituents.

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Compare and contrast these types of representation and review recent trends in the number of women and minorities in Congress. Ask students to evaluate the importance of descriptive representation. For instance, how might it affect the issues that elected officials prioritize and the positions they take?

LECTURE 4: One of the primary responsibilities of the government is to enforce laws. But what happens when the people no longer believe the government is able or willing to perform its basic functions? In recent years, the perceived failure of government to protect the southern borders of the United States has led some groups and citizens to take the law into their own hands to prevent undocumented immigrants from entering the country.

- Identify the key functions of government. Then identify ways in which government fails to live up to the expectations of some citizens in those areas.
- Ask your students to consider what they believe are appropriate actions for citizens to take when they feel as though government is not providing essential services. This could also be accomplished as a small breakout discussion during the lecture.
- Conclude your lecture with a discussion of the ways in which expectations placed by citizens on the government may change over time.

LECTURE 5: While students are often comfortable with the idea that the United States is a democracy, they often have more difficulty understanding the forms democracy may take.

- Begin by outlining the central features of American democracy: principles of political equality, majority rule and minority rights, and equality before the law.
- Contrast this with authoritarian and totalitarian systems, in which such principles are not in place.
- Contrast direct and representative democracies as competing forms of democratic government.
- Consider why the founders established representative democracy rather than direct democracy in the United States, as seen in the Congress (particularly the election of the U.S. Senate prior to the passage of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913 and the use of the Electoral College to select the president).

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The Roots of the American Constitutional Experiment (Structure)

1.4 Identify pre-Revolutionary concepts central to the new government and the problems under the Articles of Confederation.

LECTURE 1: The idea of democracy was first articulated by early Greek philosophers, who understood it as "rule by the many." Critics (perhaps including Thomas Jefferson) have quipped that democracy is nothing more than "mob rule."

- Outline the major principles inherent in democracy, including protection of individual rights, equal protection before the law, opportunities for political participation, and majority rule based on the principle of one person, one vote.
- Be sure to consider the reasons why the founders considered and rejected Athenian notions of direct democracy, based precisely on their concern over "mob rule."

LECTURE 2: In *The Federalist Papers*, No. 10, James Madison warned of the dangers of "pure democracy," noting that such a system "can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction." For Madison, in other words, the danger of direct democracy was that it provides no guarantees against abuse of the minority by the majority.

- Explain the specific ways in which the founders sought to check the unlimited power of majority rule in direct democracy.
- Focus in particular on the specific manifestations of limited government expressed in the Constitution and Bill of Rights, including
  - the First Amendment (free speech, freedom of religion, freedom of the press),
  - the Fourth Amendment (protection from unreasonable search and seizure), and
  - the Fifth Amendment (due process protections).

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LECTURE 3: Discuss the Declaration of Independence as an instrument of propaganda targeted toward two audiences.

- An internal audience: early on, the revolutionaries promoting independence from Great Britain were a minority. The Continental Congress needed to convince its fellow colonists that the Revolution was a cause they should support. The Declaration justified the Revolution and presented a persuasive argument. Copies were made, and it was read from the town square in cities and villages throughout the colonies.

  Viewed this way, the Declaration was a great success as it shifted public opinion enough that the majority of the colonists supported the Revolution. This approach shows that the colonists used some of the same pathways of change that modern Americans use.
- An external audience: the Congress knew that its only hope for success was if it could engage in commerce abroad and buy weapons openly on the international market. This was only possible if other countries recognized the legitimacy of the rebellion. Copies of the Declaration were sent to foreign capitals with emissaries. England was the superpower of its day, so foreign governments had to be careful not to antagonize the British.

  The Declaration was successful in this regard as well, as France and Spain ultimately sided with the colonists, which turned the tide in the war. This approach puts the American Revolution in the larger global context and helps students see that foreign relations were as complicated then as they are now.

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LECTURE 4: Militia groups; various ranch compounds in Texas, Montana, and Idaho; and radicals have all issued manifestos or declarations that mirror Jefferson's, declaring their properties to be sovereign states.

- Contrast contemporary declarations of independence with the original.
- Discuss whether a right to revolution still exists, and identify what criteria need to be met for such a declaration to be legitimate. Point to the following key differences that made the original Declaration legitimate:
  - Most avenues for affecting political change were not available to the colonists. They had attempted the ones that were, so revolution was a last resort. Modern would-be American revolutionaries have many more avenues of change available to them. Losing the policy battle or failing to sway public opinion does not justify rebellion.
  - The Declaration was written "out of respect for the opinions of mankind" and was an attempt to gain support for the colonists' position. Most modern declarations are written by people who hold the opinions of mankind in contempt. They are manifestos rather than attempts to affect broad political change for the benefit of the country.
  - The Congress was issuing the Declaration as a public declaration of war. The Congress followed the international norms of the day regarding diplomacy and the rules of war. Many of those issuing modern declarations are criminals or domestic terrorists who do not abide by these norms.
  - The most important distinction is that the original Declaration was issued by the Continental Congress. These men were sent as representatives of their constituencies. This gave them a legitimacy to declare on behalf of their communities that the British had violated the social contract. The modern declarations are for the most part issued by small groups and families who were not elected by anybody and can speak for nobody but themselves. They simply do not have the legitimacy to declare for their community that the social contract has been violated.

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LECTURE 5: The notion of the social contract, an agreement between a government and its citizens under which citizens cede certain freedoms to the state in exchange for the protection of others, is deeply rooted in American political thought. The founders drew their understanding of the nature, function, and limits of government from Enlightenment social contract theorists like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Indeed, the Constitution is often read as a social contract document.

- Explain what is meant by the social contract, contrasting the three perspectives offered by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau.
- Explain how the social contract theories of the Enlightenment were codified in the U.S. Constitution and how they continue to affect our lives today.

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Action)

1.5 Identify the issues resolved by compromise during the writing of the Constitution.

LECTURE 1: Students generally take for granted the fundamental principles contained in the Constitution. Build a lecture around some of the basic questions the Framers of the Constitution faced, including

- How can individual rights be balanced against the will of the majority?
- What should be the role of the federal government in regulating individual states?
- Who should be able to vote?
- What should be the role of the national executive?
- Should the Constitution contain a Bill of Rights?
- How should the national executive be selected?

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LECTURE 2: Charles Beard argued in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* that the Framers were motivated mainly by economic self-interest and created a strong national government to preserve economic order, to force the payment of debts, and to enforce contracts.

- Summarize for your class the Beard thesis on the economic motives of the Framers and present it as fact.
- Challenge your students to think about whether the motives of public figures are always based on self-interest and whether it is possible for self-interest to be channeled into public good.

LECTURE 3: As the delegates to the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia in May of 1787, they had to strike a careful balance. They wanted to establish a national government strong enough to keep the country together while simultaneously keeping it weak enough to avoid trampling individual liberty. Early on, they were forced to arrive at several compromises that came to define the U.S. Constitution in its early days and indeed in some ways even through today.

- The delegates to the Constitutional Convention generally agreed on the need for a republican form of government in which elected representatives govern. Most agreed that the franchise should be restricted to male landowners, who they believed to be the best guardians of liberty.
- Two conflicts quickly emerged at the Convention. The first placed small states against large states, with the more populous states favoring a system of proportional representation correlated to the number of people living in each state. The less populous states favored equal representation for all states regardless of population. These two positions were termed the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan, respectively.

  The Great Compromise (aka the Connecticut Compromise) resolved this tension by establishing a bicameral legislature that provided for both systems to be used, with representation to the House of Representatives to be determined by population and representation in the Senate divided equally among the states.

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- The second conflict centered on the question of how to count enslaved people in the apportionment of seats in the House of Representatives.

  A large proportion of the population of many southern states comprised enslaved people. While they denied the franchise to enslaved people, many southern states wanted enslaved people to be counted as part of the population to ensure greater representation in the House. The northern states opposed this, not wanting to cede a large block of votes to the South.

  As southern states threatened to leave the convention, the Three-Fifths Compromise (aka the North-South Compromise) was reached. Every five enslaved people would count as three people to determine the number of seats a state would receive in the House of Representatives.

LECTURE 4: The question of how to select the president provides an interesting way to discuss both compromises at the Constitutional Convention and the founders' fear of direct democracy. Early discussions at the convention centered on letting Congress select the president, much as the British parliament selects the country's prime minister.

However, given the relative weakness of the executive branch under the Articles of Confederation, delegates feared that this would create a weak president unable to stand up to Congress. Delegates briefly considered giving responsibility for electing the president to the state legislatures but quickly rejected that proposal as well, distrusting the states.

The compromise position was to establish the Electoral College, a group of people equal to the total congressional representation of each state (representatives plus senators), which would vote for the president. This system for selecting the president continues today.

LECTURE 5: Students often forget that for the first 10 years of its existence as a country, the United States was governed by the Articles of Confederation and that the breakdown of the Articles of Confederation led to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

- Explain the basic structure of the U.S. government under the Articles of Confederation.
  - Article II established the United States as a "firm league of friendship," but the vast majority of the government's real powers were reserved to the states.

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- The power of the national government was limited to declaring war, negotiating treaties, printing money, and adjudicating disputes between the states. Importantly, the national government did not have the power to impose taxes, raise an army, or regulate trade. Instead, these powers were reserved to the states.
- The relative weakness of the national government, combined with requirements that legislation proposed at the national level required the approval of 9 of the 13 states and that amending the Articles of Confederation required the unanimous consent of the states, imposed severe limits on the ability of the national government to govern effectively.
- The economic instability of the post–Revolutionary War era also created serious problems for the government. Inflation was high across the states. The national government was saddled with $11 million in debt, and state debts totaled more than $65 million, a huge amount in real terms. To complicate matters, the U.S. gold reserves had been exhausted financing the war, and paper money was virtually worthless.
- The economic situation generated social unrest and tension. Regionally, western farmers felt that eastern bankers were undermining their prosperity by foreclosing on farms and failing to pay a fair price for their commodities. Perhaps the most famous expression of these tensions occurred in the winter of 1786, when farmer and Revolutionary War veteran Daniel Shays led a group to protest bank foreclosure of farms in Massachusetts.

  Shays and his compatriots demanded that the government impose a moratorium on debt collection and that the seat of government be moved farther west to bring it under closer scrutiny of the people. Shays' Rebellion, as it came to be known, was eventually put down when John Hancock, who was then governor of Massachusetts, ordered eastern militias to disband the protestors (western militias had already refused his orders).
- Shays' Rebellion demonstrated the vulnerability of state governments and sparked a debate about the necessary balance between liberty and stability. Notable figures from the day weighed in on both sides of the debate.

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In a letter to John Jay dated 1786, George Washington wrote, "We have probably had too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation. Experience has taught us, that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of a coercive power." Weighing in on the other side, Thomas Jefferson wrote to James Madison in the same year, "I hold it that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical."

LECTURE 6: Explain how the structure of the Constitution reflected the founders' beliefs in national supremacy, federalism, republicanism, separation of powers, and checks and balances.

To Adopt or Not to Adopt? (Impact)

1.6 Evaluate the arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution.

LECTURE 1: Students often assume that the adoption of the Constitution was a foregone conclusion. They fail to appreciate the intensity of the debate between the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. The fierce battle between those who supported adoption of the new Constitution (the Federalists) and those who opposed it (the Anti-Federalists) played a central role in defining the politics of the young country.

Outline the positions of the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, contrasting their demographics and their political philosophies.

- The Federalists included James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. Writing under the name Publius, they authored *The Federalist Papers*, a series of 85 articles published in newspapers across the country in defense of the Constitution. In addition to defending the Constitution detail by detail, *The Federalist Papers* also represented an important statement of political philosophy.
- The Anti-Federalists were led by Patrick Henry and included Samuel Adams, James Monroe, George Clinton, George Mason, and Richard Henry Lee. Thomas

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Jefferson was sympathetic to the Anti-Federalists, though he was serving as the U.S. ambassador to France during the ratification process and therefore played little role in the Federalist–Anti-Federalist debate.

The Anti-Federalists questioned the motives of the writers of the Constitution; they believed that the new government was an enemy of freedom. Many Anti-Federalists felt that the new Constitution was a class-based document, intended to ensure that a particular economic elite controlled the public policies of the national government. They feared that the new government would erode fundamental liberties and weaken the power of the states.

- Perhaps the most important outcome of the debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists was the development of a Bill of Rights for inclusion in the Constitution. In a compromise to assure ratification, the Federalists promised to add amendments to the document specifically protecting individual liberties. James Madison introduced 12 constitutional amendments during the first Congress in 1789. Ten of the amendments—known as the Bill of Rights—were ratified by the states and took effect in 1791.

LECTURE 2: Perhaps one of the most controversial decisions made at the Constitutional Convention was the decision to permit the new Constitution to come into force once nine states had approved it. The Articles of Confederation established that amendments required the unanimous consent of all states to be approved.

- Discuss why the founders would permit the new Constitution to be approved once nine states had ratified it.
- Provide a counterfactual:
  - Would the new Constitution have been approved if all states had to ratify it?
  - Would that requirement have provided greater incentive for states to hold out in negotiations, thereby undermining the compromises reached at the Constitutional Convention?
  - What might the United States look like today if the new Constitution had not been approved?

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LECTURE 3: Students (and Americans in general) have a tendency to venerate the founders as almost mythical figures. We often fail to understand who they were and what drove them to do what they did.

Compare and contrast the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists for your students.

- The Federalists were generally drawn from among the property owners, creditors, and merchant classes. They favored a stronger central government established under the new Constitution. They were driven by a fear of "excessive democracy" and generally focused on the importance of order and stability over liberty.

  Collectively, they wrote under the pen name *Publius*, Latin for "public." The most famous federalists were James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay.
- The Anti-Federalists, by contrast, were generally drawn from among the small farmers, debtors, and shopkeeping classes. They preferred governmental power to be kept at the state level, where the people could keep a closer eye on it. They opposed the new Constitution, favoring a more democratic approach focused on the preservation of individual liberty above all.

  Collectively, they wrote under the names Brutus, Centinel, and Federal Farmer. Among the most well-known Anti-Federalists were Patrick Henry, George Mason, and George Clinton. Thomas Jefferson also supported the Anti-Federalist approach but was ambassador to France at the time and so did not participate in the debates.

LECTURE 4: Compare and contrast the positions argued by the Federalists and the Anti-Federalists.

- The nature of representation
  - The Federalists argued that representatives would operate in the best interest of the represented. They generally held to a trusteeship model of representation, such as that developed by British member of Parliament and political philosopher Edmund Burke. Under this model, representatives should have a great deal of autonomy to deliberate matters and decide—not in the

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interests of their constituents—but for the greater common good or in the national interest.

- As Burke wrote in 1774, “His unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. . . . Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion.”
- By contrast, the Anti-Federalists were suspicious of representative democracy. They generally favored a more direct form of democracy and, where representation was required, they held to a delegate model of representation in which the representative acts according to the expressed wishes of his constituency.

- The danger of tyranny
  - Drawing on the instability and social unrest experienced during the post–Revolutionary War era, the Federalists warned of the dangers of the masses, a tyranny of the majority. These concerns are seen, for example, in the indirect election of senators and the president.
  - The Anti-Federalists were far more concerned with the threat posed by a new political elite or aristocracy. They were often anti-elitist in their orientation.
- Scope of governmental power
  - The Federalists, responding to the weakness of the national government under the Articles of Confederation, were determined to broadly expand the powers of the national government while still maintaining limits in the form of checks and balances and separation of power.
  - The Anti-Federalists continued to desire a weak national government and stronger state and local governments, like what existed under the Articles of Confederation.
- Driving philosophy
  - The Federalists were concerned above all with the threat posed by the economic and social instability of the post-Revolutionary era. They viewed

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the new Constitution as an important mechanism to ensure political stability in the young country.

- The Anti-Federalists were more concerned with the maintenance of individual liberty and viewed the powers granted to the national government under the new Constitution as a threat to that liberty.

LECTURE 5: The ratification of the new Constitution was a contested process. Delaware was the first state to approve the Constitution, voting 30–0 to ratify the document on December 7, 1787. Several other states approved it shortly thereafter. However, in many states, approval was hotly contested and the vote was close (see table below).

Date of Vote	State	Votes in Favor	Votes Opposed
December 7, 1787	Delaware	30	0
December 12, 1787	Pennsylvania	46	23
December 18, 1787	New Jersey	38	0
January 2, 1788	Georgia	26	0
January 9, 1788	Connecticut	128	40
February 6, 1788	Massachusetts	187	168
April 28, 1788	Maryland	63	11
May 23, 1788	South Carolina	149	73
June 21, 1788	New Hampshire	57	47
June 25, 1788	Virginia	89	79
July 26, 1788	New York	30	27
November 21, 1789	North Carolina	194	77
May 29, 1790	Rhode Island	34	32

Several interesting stories emerge in the context of the ratification debate.

- Although New Hampshire's ratification of the Constitution met the requirement for adoption implemented at the Constitutional Convention (9 of 13 states approving), many of the most important states had not yet approved the new document. In particular, New York and Virginia were two of the most important states in the union, and neither had adopted the document.

  Indeed, so important was New York that despite the fact that the Constitution had already been technically adopted, the majority of the debate between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists over approval of the Constitution occurred to convince the state to approve it.

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- Notice how close some of the votes were. New York and Rhode Island approved the Constitution by the narrowest of margins. Convincing hesitant states to adopt the new Constitution required compromise, most notably in the form of the inclusion of a Bill of Rights, which became the first 10 amendments to the Constitution.

Class Activities

CLASS ACTIVITY 1: What are the strengths and weaknesses of democracy in the contemporary era? What can we do about the American political system's weaknesses that will not undermine our strengths? This could also be used for a reading and writing connection, asking students to keep a journal or blog that focuses on these questions throughout the semester.

- This activity provides a good way to introduce the key themes addressed in the remainder of the course, focusing in particular on the nature of American democracy.

CLASS ACTIVITY 2: The provision of public goods—like national defense and the construction of roads—has long been the least controversial of the government's basic functions. Ask your students to identify the roles of government and the concept of "public goods." Are there other institutions, other than government, that might perform these roles and provide public goods? What are they? Is such a consideration realistic? Also, consider what other kinds of goods might be considered "public" goods, especially in an information/knowledge economy.

- This discussion item gets students considering the role and basic functions of government. (Structure)

CLASS ACTIVITY 3: The idea of direct democracy has gained traction recently as the Internet could expand the role of citizens in the development of public policy. But the Framers explicitly rejected the idea of direct democracy, even when the United States was a much smaller country.

- Why did the founders reject the idea of direct democracy? What were their primary concerns?
- How did their proposals for representative democracy address their concerns?

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- What are the strengths and weaknesses of direct democracy?
- Do recent technological innovations make the idea of direct democracy more attractive and feasible? Would direct democracy improve the American political system? Why or why not?
- This discussion item introduces the idea of direct democracy and highlights some of the key decisions made by the founders in shaping the American political system.

CLASS ACTIVITY 4: The basic concepts of freedom and liberty have wide support in the United States. Yet, controversy often arises when some citizens' rights are seen as potentially violating other citizens' rights.

- Have your class identify cases in which they believe the exercise of some rights violates the protection of others. If they are having a hard time identifying specific examples, suggest flag burning and the detention of terror suspects without trial.
- Assign each example to a group and ask that group to explain why the case might be violating rights as well as why they might not be.
- Have each group report its findings back to the class. Then have a discussion based around the following themes:
  - How do we balance competing rights claims?
  - How has our understanding of rights changed over time? What explains the changes you note?
- This question encourages students to think about the basic rights afforded by the U.S. Constitution and how those rights often come into conflict. (Structure)

CLASS ACTIVITY 5: Ask students to find a political cartoon relating to a recent event or issue. Daryl Cagle's PoliticalCartoons.com website (www.politicalcartoons.com) may provide a useful starting point. Then ask students to bring their cartoons to class and discuss how the cartoons illustrate a central theme in American politics.

- This activity provides an engaging way to think about the central themes of American politics. It also engages students who learn best through visual media.

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CLASS ACTIVITY 6: Within the first days of regular classes, ask each student to write a question he or she has about government. Collect all of the questions and "slot" each of them in the chapter concerning its answers.

- When one of the written questions falls into the normal sequence of classroom activities, read the question, with the name of the questioner.
- Address the answer, or even devote the entire lecture, to that individual personally. (Note: This will personalize lectures throughout the semester. It seems to be particularly effective with large introductory-format classes.)
- More generally, student-created journals can be effective teaching and learning tools. One method is to ask students to maintain journals of work accomplished during the semester.
- At the end of the semester, the journals should include both the results of assignments made in class and student-initiated research (such as newspaper clippings with key information highlighted and descriptions of Internet resources) and notes on attendance or participation in several political activities (such as attendance at political speeches and forums).
- This activity could also be assigned through Twitter. Ask students to post questions under a hashtag unique to each topic. Then integrate these tweets into a PowerPoint presentation, creating a moment where each student's thoughts can be aggregated and addressed and allowing students to raise questions as they do work outside of class that can then be addressed in class.
- This activity gets students to examine the role of government in their daily lives and to think about the appropriate role and basic services provided by the state.

CLASS ACTIVITY 7: Divide students into small groups and give each group a different set of assumptions about human nature, the nature of social interaction, preferred goals of social cooperation, and the like. One group, for example, might start with the assumption that human beings are self-interested and cooperation is difficult to achieve without coercion, while another might start with the assumption that human beings naturally seek to cooperate and that violence and conflict are not inherent to human relations.

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- Have each group develop a social contract that meets the needs of humans in the context of the assumptions about human nature with which that group started.
- Ask each group to present its results to the class.
- Conclude with a discussion of what assumptions would lead to something like the Constitution of 1787.
- This activity encourages students to think about the assumptions that underlie the American political system and the trade-offs embodied in the U.S. Constitution. (Structure)

CLASS ACTIVITY 8: Debate over the role and size of government is central to contemporary American politics. Is the scope of government too broad, too narrow, or just about right?

- Ask students to discuss, using contemporary examples, what is meant by government being "too big." Have students prepare a list of items that they think constitute government that is too big and jobs that they think government must do.
- Do students disagree as to what "too big" is? Why?
- Ask students to develop a set of criteria, or values, with which they could evaluate what is "too big" about government today.
- Have them reevaluate their list in light of the values they discuss.
- Ask them to find the data they say are necessary to evaluate the statement and continue the conversation based on those findings.
- This debate provides students an opportunity to consider the appropriate role of the government and the wide scope of services people expect from the state.

CLASS ACTIVITY 9: Voter turnout in the United States has long been critiqued as abysmal. Divide the class into two groups (or multiple groups if the class is large).

- Have the two groups debate the following proposition: the United States should pass a constitutional amendment requiring all eligible citizens to vote.
- Be sure the discussion considers both the advantages and disadvantages of such a proposal. It may also be useful for students to prepare for the debate by examining other countries where compulsory voting is already in place. The CIA Factbook (www.cia.gov) list 21 countries with compulsory voting, as of 2020.

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- This activity provides an opportunity to reflect on the right to vote and the idea that nonvoting may sometimes constitute a form of political participation, and it offers a comparative framework within which the American political culture can be situated. (Action)

Research Activities

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 1: Have students visit some websites of civic groups devoted to encouraging political participation or providing election information and some forums for political discussion such as a comments section on a news website. Ask students to write short reflection papers in which they consider what they learned from these sites. Can the Internet improve the quality of democracy in the United States? Why or why not?

- This activity encourages students to connect the abstract ideas of democracy examined in the course and text with the real, everyday practice of democracy in the United States. (Action)

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 2: Many people are talking about the impact of social media on democracy. Have students go on Twitter and explore the communications of an elected official, such as the president or a members of Congress. Ask your students to write short reflection papers addressing the following prompts:

- What are some of the common themes in the elected official's tweets?
- What goals does the official seem to be pursuing through Twitter? For instance, is the official trying to educate the public about an important issue, raise money for re-election, or increase his/her appeal with voters?
- Who is the elected official/candidate trying to reach through Twitter? Is the official mainly tweeting to an audience of core supporters, or reaching out to a broader group?
- This activity provides an opportunity for students to consider how recent technological developments might affect American democracy. (Impact)

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RESEARCH ACTIVITY 3: Have students prepare annotated bibliographies of three to five popular books published during the past decade concerned with the current American political, social, and economic scene.

- As a second step, have them write short essays that summarize the tone of their bibliographical lists. Are they optimistic? Pessimistic? Contradictory? How does current writing about the American future compare with the long-standing hopes and aspirations that make up the American Dream?
- This assignment provides a good opportunity to introduce basic research skills, including scheduling a library visit and orientation for your class.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 4: Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital* makes the case that Americans are increasingly disconnected from the social networks in which American democracy was based. His work continues a long tradition of analyzing civil society in the United States, a tradition that can be traced to Alexis de Tocqueville's original observations in *Democracy in America*.

- Ask your students to write reviews of either de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* or Putnam's *Bowling Alone*, emphasizing the importance of civil society in the establishment and maintenance of American democracy.
- This research assignment requires students to engage with classic texts on the American political system and to think about the relationship between social networks and political systems.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 5: One way to get students thinking about the political impact of structural factors (such as raising new issues on the political agenda, altering political dynamics, and balances of power between groups and types of people) is to have them consider how simple social changes—irrespective of individual groups, parties, or people in power—force government to act.

- Gather some trends from actual data from the 2010 U.S. Census (either via its web page at www.census.gov or from reference sources in your library) such as changes in median income or age of population, percentages of racial and ethnic groups, regional population shifts, and other trends.

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- Break students into groups, each focusing on a different trend, and ask them to think about the possible implications of such trends for future political leaders (perhaps themselves).
- You can use this exercise as the basis for a stimulating discussion or as the basis for a short group report on potential future developments in American politics.
- This assignment gets students thinking about the effects that simple population/demographic, economic, and other changes have on politics. (Impact)

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 6: Satire is often one of the most powerful forms of political critique and engagement. Ask your students to watch a recent episode of a political satire show, like *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah* (www.thedailyshow.com) or *Full Frontal with Samantha Bee* (www.samanthabee.com), both of which post recent episodes on their websites. Have them identify the ways in which their critiques engage the themes raised in this week's lesson.

- This activity requires students to apply the themes raised in this chapter to contemporary political debates through the medium of political satire.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 7: Does democracy require equality of income and wealth? Discuss why democracy might make a country more egalitarian or less egalitarian.

- Ask your students to find data from countries around the world to defend their positions. Possibilities might include the Freedom House index (www.freedomhouse.org), the Gini index of economic inequality, the proportion of women in the national legislature, the level of human development as defined by the Human Development Index (http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics), or other appropriate measures.
- Have them write short papers addressing the question of whether democratic countries are more egalitarian or less.
- This activity provides students an opportunity to develop data literacy skills while simultaneously thinking about the relationship among democracy, economic development, and inequality in a global context.

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RESEARCH ACTIVITY 8: In class, ask students for the percentage of the federal budget they think is spent on the following items: foreign aid, Social Security, national defense, education, Medicare and Medicaid, interest on the national debt, and other programs. Have them record their estimates. Then, for homework, tell them to visit the website of the Government Printing Office (www.gpo.gov) and ask them to search for and then review the summary tables at the end of the most recent federal budget to find the actual figures for each of these categories. In short responses, ask them to reflect on

- How close they were to the actual figures,
- Where they were inaccurate and why, and
- What the budget allocations say about the priorities of government in the United States.
- This assignment requires students to think about the priorities of the U.S. government as reflected through the budget and encourages them to think about the size, role, and scope of state activity.

Participation Activities

PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY 1: Ask students to keep journals of their activities for a day, recording what they are doing every 15 minutes for an entire day. Then ask them to reflect on all the ways in which the government affects their lives on a daily basis. If students have a difficult time making the connection, you can provide a brief starting point. For example, if they say they woke up at 6:00 a.m., ask them how the state influenced the delivery of the basic services (water, sanitation, electricity) to their places of residence? Most students will be surprised to see the numerous ways government influences even the most basic activities. Ask them whether they think these services could be provided without government.

- This activity gets students reflecting on the impact that government has on their daily lives. (Impact)

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PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY 2: Have students visit the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services website (www.uscis.gov), where they will the list of 100 questions used to orally test those who have applied for U.S. citizenship.

- Once students have looked at the questions, ask them to reflect on the reason for the test. In a short response, have them answer one or more of the following questions:
  - Why do we require potential citizens to learn about the history, customs, and traditions of the United States?
  - Why should they know about the country's political institutions?
  - Should natural-born American citizens be required to take a similar test? Why or why not?
- This assignment encourages students to reflect on the nature of citizenship and the shared knowledge, values, and beliefs of political communities.

PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY 3: Ask your students to write letters to the editor dealing with contemporary political issues as they relate to the themes of this chapter.

- This activity provides students an opportunity to engage with the themes and issues raised in this chapter while relating them to topics of interest to them.

Suggested Readings and Films

READING 1: Social contract theory is at the heart of the American democratic experiment. This school of thought had a profound influence on Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and the other founders. Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) famously argues that people seek escape from an "anarchic" state of nature in which life is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" by coming together and forming a state to provide for the rule of law. Perhaps the most influential social contract theorist was John Locke, whose *Second Treatise of Government* (1689) was widely read by the founders. Indeed, Jefferson's assertion in the Declaration of Independence that individual freedom should ensure "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" was drawn from Locke's belief that governments should provide for the protection of "life, liberty, and property."

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Similarly, Jefferson's assertion that government derives its "just powers from the consent of the governed" is taken directly from Locke's *Second Treatise*.

READING 2: Recent work in the fields of behavioral economics and game theory makes an interesting contribution to the field of political science. The two fields of economics suggest very different ways of understanding politics. Some good texts to consider in this context include David Friedman's *Hidden Order: The Economics of Everyday Life* (New York: Harper Business, 1996), Steven Levitt and Stephen Dubner's *Freakonomics: A Rogue Economist Explores the Hidden Side of Everything* (New York: William Morrow, 2006), and Levitt and Dubner's follow-up, *Super Freakonomics: Global Cooling, Patriotic Prostitutes, and Why Suicide Bombers Should Buy Life Insurance* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009). Cass Sunstein's *How Change Happens* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2019) similarly uses behavioral economics to understand the dynamics of social and political change.

READING 3: Robert Putnam's *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000) provides a groundbreaking analysis of the breakup of American civil society. Drawing on an extensive data set, including nearly half a million interviews, Putnam shows how changes to the structures of work, family, and suburban life have led to a decline in the social connections that make American democracy work. His follow-up work with Lewis Feldstein, *Better Together: Restoring the American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003), offers a prescription for restoring civil society and thus American democracy.

READING 4: Originally published in 1835, with a subsequent volume published five years later, Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (New York: Penguin, 2003) was among the first books to explicitly analyze the democratic experiment in the United States. In his effort to explain the American experiment to readers in France, de Tocqueville provided arguably one of the finest analyses of American democracy and American political culture. This classic text can also be found online at www.tocqueville.org.

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READING 5: Written by former senator Bob Graham (D-Fla.), *America, the Owner's Manual: Making Government Work for You* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010).targets college students with the message that effective government depends on their involvement. This engaging book then provides examples and "how to" advice for affecting political change.

READING 6: Drawing on extensive research from the fields of psychology and behavioral economics, Derek Bok argues in *The Politics of Happiness: What Government Can Learn from the New Research on Well-Being* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) that the dismantling of the traditional welfare state, combined with strong antigovernment sentiment in the United States today, is undermining individual happiness and life satisfaction.

READING 7: Daniel Q. Gillian's *The Loud Minority: Why Protests Matter in American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020) examines the impact of protests and public activism on democratic governance. Gillian argues that protests not only put pressure on elected officials, but also help voters assess politicians on specific concerns.

READING 8: American Political Science Association, "American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality" *Perspective on Politics* 2, no. 4 (2004): 651–66 is the summary report of a blue-ribbon task force commissioned by the American Political Science Association on the impact of increasing inequality on American democracy. The report concludes with a warning that "rising economic inequality will solidify long-standing disparities in political voice and influence, and perhaps exacerbate such disparities."

READING 9: Andrew L. Yarrow and Cecilia M. Orphan's "Why Students Need to Be Informed about Our Looming Fiscal Crisis: The America's Futures Initiative," *PS: Political Science and Politics* 43 (2010): 319–321, is a brief update on the America's Futures Initiative and efforts to teach the debt crisis. This article provides useful strategies for teaching about the challenges posed by the increasing national debt.

READING 10: A vast literature in political science has explored representation and its implications for public policy. Jane Mansbridge's "Clarifying the Concept of Representation,"

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American Political Science Review 105 (2011): 621-630, deals with the nature of representation in democratic political systems. Lowande, Ritchie, and Lauderbach's "Descriptive and Substantive Representation in Congress: Evidence from 80,000 Congressional Inquiries," *American Journal of Political Science* 63 (2019): 644-659, examines how representation affects the daily work of members of Congress.

READING 11: In this contribution to the long-standing debate on the intersection of economic development and democracy, "The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered," *American Political Science Review* 106 (2012): 58–80, John R. Freeman and Dennis P. Quinn argue that processes of globalization occurring in the late twentieth century altered the historical relationship between economic liberalization and democratization.

READING 12: A rich array of academic journals covers American politics. While the American Political Science Association's flagship journal, the *American Political Science Review*, often employs technical methodologies that may be difficult for undergraduates to work with, its sister journal, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, is quite accessible. Students can regularly be asked to visit the *PS* journal website (or the websites of similar journals) and find articles related to themes raised in the course. *PS* also has outstanding resources for teaching political science.

READING 13: The Immigration and Naturalization Service has a Self-Test for Naturalization (www.uscis.gov). Find out what aspiring citizens need to know to gain their citizenship. Explore the various study materials, including flash cards.

READING 14: The Statistical Abstract of the United States (go to www.census.gov and search for "statistical abstract of the United States") provides an authoritative and comprehensive summary of social, political, and economic statistics in the United States from 1878 to the present. The U.S. Census Bureau (www.census.gov) also provides detailed demographic, geographic, and economic data at the national, state, and local level.

READING 15: The Initiative and Referendum Institute at the University of Southern California (www.iandrinstitute.org) provides information on direct democracy across the United States.

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READING 16: The Avalon Project at Yale University (http://avalon.law.yale.edu) is a collection of historical documents of importance to the study of American government, ranging from the Magna Carta and the colonial charters to state constitutions, historical variants of the plans put forward at the Constitutional Convention, and ratification debates. The Core Documents of American Democracy project at the Government Printing Office (go to www.gpo.gov and click "Libraries" then "Core Documents of Our Democracy) lists a large number of documents considered integral to American democracy, ranging from the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, and the Emancipation Proclamation to judicial decisions and congressional testimony.

READING 17: The National Archives website (www.archives.gov) maintains an outstanding collection of records useful in an American government class, including founding documents like the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, the Federal Register, and a collection of 100 milestone documents in the history of the United States (www.ourdocuments.gov). The site also has outstanding resources for teaching U.S. politics using primary resources.

READING 18: Many outstanding political cartoon websites can be used as discussion starters throughout the semester. Daryl Cagle's PoliticalCartoons.com (www.politicalcartoons.com) provides an easy-to-navigate collection drawn from cartoonists across the web. The Association of American Editorial Cartoonists (http://editorialcartoonists.com) also maintains a good collection. For historical cartoons and notes for teaching American government using political cartoons, the Library of Congress' website (go to www.loc.gov and search under "political cartoons") is also outstanding.

FILM 19: A movie dramatization of George Orwell's classic novel, *1984* (M. Anderson, director, United Kingdom: Holiday Film Productions Ltd., 1956) depicts a grim perspective on a society where individualism is suppressed and information is distorted by government to achieve ultimate control over its population. The 1956 version (*Nineteen Eighty-four*, M. Radford, director, United Kingdom: Umbrella-Rosenblum Films Production) is less haunting and grim than the 1984 remake but not nearly as good. (And the 1984 version contains full frontal nudity.)

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FILM 20: An analysis of Tocqueville's observations and criticisms of American democracy is made in *Tocqueville's Europe: The Paradoxes of Tocqueville's Democracy in America* (1995), Insight Media.

Revel Features

Chapter Introduction

CURRENT EVENTS BULLETIN

Video: WATCH Constitutional Democracy: The Big Picture
Author video.

A Grand Experiment in Self-Government (Structure)

1.1 Describe the nature of the "grand experiment in self-government" in America.

Enhanced Image: VIEW Mayflower Compact Signing
Students move around the image and can zoom in on particular aspects of it. Caption will direct students on what to look for.

Social Explorer: HAPPENING NOW
Summary of the siege on the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021, and the aftermath of this event.

Journal Prompt 1.1
The idea of government by the people is appealing but not always easy. What, in your view, is a necessary condition for effective self-government?

QUIZ 1.1 A Grand Experiment in Self-Government

U.S. Government and Politics in Context (Structure)

1.2 Describe the importance of citizen participation in constitutional democracy.

Document: READ The Preamble of the U.S. Constitution

Journal Prompt 1.2

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What is one issue dealing with government that matters to you, and why does it matter?

QUIZ 1.2 U.S. Government and Politics in Context

Defining Democracy (Structure)

1.3 Describe democracy and the conditions conducive to its success.

Document: READ An excerpt from *The Federalist*, No. 10

Document: READ The Declaration of Independence

Document: READ An excerpt from *The Federalist*, No. 10

Video: WATCH "Egyptian President Morsi Forced Out of Power"

Document: READ This Excerpt from *Marbury v. Madison*

Document: READ The Bill of Rights

Social Explorer: TABLE 1.1 CONDITIONS FOR DEMOCRACY

Video: WATCH Republican Government vs. Direct Democracy

Journal Prompt 1.3
What do you think are a few of the reasons that the United States has succeeded in creating and maintaining a democracy?

QUIZ 1.3 Defining Democracy

The Roots of the American Constitutional Experiment (Structure)

1.4 Identify pre-Revolutionary concepts central to the new government and the problems under the Articles of Confederation.

Document: READ Preamble to the Declaration of Independence

Video: WATCH "Hamilton" Success May Keep Alexander Hamilton on $10 Bill"
ABC footage on musical Hamilton and keeping Hamilton on the $10 bill.

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Video: WATCH Economic Upheaval
Journal Prompt 1.4
What do you think were the biggest problems with the Articles of Confederation, and why?

QUIZ 1.4 The Roots of the American Constitutional Experiment

The Constitutional Convention of 1787 (Action)

1.5 Identify the issues resolved by compromise during the writing of the Constitution.

Audio: LISTEN The Three-Fifths Compromise Controversy

Sketchnote Video: WATCH The Great Compromise

Journal Prompt 1.5
What was the role of compromise at the Constitutional Convention? Or What do you think is the role of compromise in government and politics?

QUIZ 1.5 The Constitutional Convention of 1787

To Adopt or Not to Adopt? (Impact)

1.6 Evaluate the arguments for and against the ratification of the Constitution.

QUIZ: Take the Naturalization Exam

Journal Prompt 1.6
Do you think the United States would be any different today if a Bill of Rights hadn't been included in the Constitution?

QUIZ 1.6 To Adopt or Not to Adopt?

Review the Chapter

Social Explorer: FIGURE 1.2 TRUST IN GOVERNMENT

Journal Prompt: FIGURE 1.2

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How would you describe the level of trust that you have in government? Consider your local and state governments as well as the federal government. Give 2 or 3 examples that support your answer.

SHARED WRITING PROMPT: Constitutional Democracy
Should the Constitution be made more democratic, and if so, how?

Video: WATCH Constitutional Democracy: So What?

Flashcards: LEARN THE TERMS Constitutional Democracy

CHAPTER 1 QUIZ Constitutional Democracy

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