Government in America People Politics and Policy 2020 Presidential Election Edition 18th edition Edwards Test Bank

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1

Introducing Government in America

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. What is the central message of this textbook?
   a. Power corrupts.
   b. Politics and government matter.
   c. U.S. democracy is the best form of government.
   d. In a democracy, the will of the people will ultimately prevail.
   Answer: b
   Topic: Chapter Introduction
   Learning Objective: 1.1 Identify the key functions of government and explain why they matter.
   Difficulty Level: Easy
   Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

2. Compared with older Americans, younger Americans _____.
   a. are more knowledgeable about politics
   b. are more likely to believe that they have much at stake in elections
   c. are less likely to follow and participate in politics
   d. are less active in their communities
   Answer: c
   Topic: Chapter Introduction
   Learning Objective: 1.3 Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.
   Difficulty Level: Moderate
   Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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3. The institutions that make a society's public policy decisions are collectively known as _____.
a. political culture
b. the courts
c. government
d. the presidency
Answer: c
Topic: Government
Learning Objective: 1.1 Identify the key functions of government and explain why they matter.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

4. Why does a government maintain armed forces?
a. to protect its national sovereignty
b. to promote justice in the world
c. to provide a mechanism for ensuring the collection of taxes
d. to provide employment opportunities for the young
Answer: a
Topic: Government
Learning Objective: 1.1 Identify the key functions of government and explain why they matter.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

5. Which of the following is a collective good?
a. access to clean air and clean water
b. medical care
c. Social Security
d. unemployment insurance
Answer: a
Topic: Government
Learning Objective: 1.1 Identify the key functions of government and explain why they matter.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

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6. The ways in which people get involved in politics constitute their _____.
a. political ideology
b. political participation
c. political party affiliation
d. political opinions
Answer: b
Topic: Politics
Learning Objective: 1.2 Define politics in the context of democratic government.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

7. Which of the following best describes a linkage institution?
a. a channel through which people's concerns are communicated to policymakers
b. a location where one can express a political opinion
c. the formation of a special interest group
d. an environment where one learns about the political process
Answer: a
Topic: People Shape Policy
Learning Objective: 1.3 Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

8. The government's policy agenda consists of _____.
a. the issues that candidates talk about on the campaign trail
b. the issues that attract the serious attention of public officials and other people involved in politics
c. the issues that are asked about on public opinion polls
d. the issues that concern interest groups
Answer: b
Topic: People Shape Policy
Learning Objective: 1.3 Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

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9. What are public policies?
a. decisions that government makes
b. the root causes of political culture
c. the public's political concerns, as determined by elections
d. proposed legislation that is supported by the public
Answer: a
Topic: Policies Impact People
Learning Objective: 1.3 Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

10. A law passed by Congress and a regulation adopted by an agency are both examples of _____.
a. collective action
b. political knowledge
c. public policies
d. an informed citizenry
Answer: c
Topic: Policies Impact People
Learning Objective: 1.3 Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

11. Why are the impacts of policies analyzed?
a. to determine the extent of financial compensation that will be awarded to the policymakers
b. to ensure that policies are consistent with the principles of social justice
c. to see how well a policy has met its goal and at what cost
d. to pinpoint which level of government will be responsible for implementing a policy
Answer: c
Topic: Policies Impact People
Learning Objective: 1.3 Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

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12. What is democracy?
a. a system that ensures freedom, justice, and peace to all citizens
b. a system that perpetuates the status quo and upholds the values of the party in power
c. a system of selecting policymakers and of organizing government so that public policy reflects citizens' preferences
d. a system that grants a privileged status to the most active and informed voters
Answer: c
Topic: Democracy in America
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

13. Which of the following principles most closely reflects equality in voting?
a. inclusion
b. freedom of speech and of the press
c. one person, one vote
d. universal citizenship
Answer: c
Topic: Traditional Democratic Theory
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

14. Free speech and a free press are essential to which principle of traditional democratic theory?
a. inclusion of all demographic groups
b. pluralism
c. enlightened understanding, in which society is a free marketplace of ideas
d. equality in voting
Answer: c
Topic: Traditional Democratic Theory
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

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15. Which principle of traditional democratic theory is violated when the wealthy have disproportionate influence over government decisions?
a. citizen control of the agenda
b. effective participation
c. enlightened understanding, in which society is a free marketplace of ideas
d. equality in voting
Answer: a
Topic: Traditional Democratic Theory
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

16. According to the principle of _____, policies in a democracy should reflect the will of over half the voters.
a. enlightened rule
b. pluralism
c. representation
d. majority rule
Answer: d
Topic: Traditional Democratic Theory
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

17. Which theory of American democracy posits that competition among organized groups will lead to public policy that reflects public interest?
a. pluralism
b. elitism
c. balance-of-power theory
d. elite-and-class theory
Answer: a
Topic: Three Contemporary Theories of American Democracy
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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18. Which of the following is a central tenet of pluralism?
a. Because most citizens fail to pay attention to serious issues, government has become an elite institution.
b. Congress is stronger and more influential than the presidency is.
c. Many groups vie for control over policy, with no one group dominating.
d. Too many influential groups cripple government's ability to govern.
Answer: c
Topic: Three Contemporary Theories of American Democracy
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

19. Which theory of American democracy contends that American society is divided along class lines?
a. pluralism
b. policy gridlock
c. balance of power
d. elitism
Answer: d
Topic: Three Contemporary Theories of American Democracy
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

20. According to elitism, which of the following groups has a disproportionate influence over government decisions?
a. big business
b. state governments
c. ordinary citizens
d. political parties
Answer: a
Topic: Three Contemporary Theories of American Democracy
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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21. Which theory of American democracy holds that special interest groups have become so powerful that government is weakened and unable to operate effectively?
a. pluralism
b. hyperpluralism
c. majority rule
d. federalism
Answer: b
Topic: Three Contemporary Theories of American Democracy
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

22. What political condition exists when interests conflict and no coalition is strong enough to form a majority and establish policy, yet each may be strong enough to thwart the will of the others?
a. overlapping jurisdictions
b. pluralism
c. policy gridlock
d. single-issue groups
Answer: c
Topic: Challenges to Democracy
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

23. A set of values widely shared within a society is referred to as _____.
a. government
b. politics
c. public policy
d. political culture
Answer: d
Topic: American Political Culture and Democracy
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

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24. What helps to explain why the United States has a smaller and more limited government than do most other advanced industrialized countries?
a. the U.S. preference for laissez-faire economic policies
b. the populist nature of U.S. federalism
c. the American emphasis on freedom of speech and religion
d. the emphasis on egalitarianism in U.S. political culture
Answer: a
Topic: American Political Culture and Democracy
Learning Objective: 1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

25. Which of the following is most likely to be said by someone who believes in an active role for government?
a. “There is more wisdom in millions of individuals making decisions in their own self-interest than in the government making decisions on their behalf.”
b. “If government doesn’t address this problem, who will?”
c. “As government expands, liberty contracts.”
d. “The most terrifying words in the English language are, ‘I'm from the government and I'm here to help.’”
Answer: b
Topic: The Scope of Government in America
Learning Objective: 1.5 Outline the central arguments of the debate in America over the proper scope of government.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

26. Which statement accurately describes the size of government in the United States?
a. The national government spends about $10 billion annually.
b. The national government employs more people than private industry.
c. The U.S. military employs more than 50 million soldiers.
d. Governments in the United States spend about one-third of the gross domestic product.
Answer: d
Topic: How Active Is American Government?
Learning Objective: 1.5 Outline the central arguments of the debate in America over the proper scope of government.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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27. Which statement describes the Trump Administration's plan for government spending in fiscal year 2020?
a. The administration planned to run up an annual deficit.
b. The administration planned for an annual surplus.
c. The administration planned to eliminate the national debt.
d. The administration planned to cut the national debt in half.
Answer: a
Topic: How Active Is American Government?
Learning Objective: 1.5 Outline the central arguments of the debate in America over the proper scope of government.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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2

The Constitution

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Why is burning the flag generally permissible?
   a. It is considered a form of free speech.
   b. It reflects the preference of a majority of Americans.
   c. It is a form of due process that is explicitly protected by the Bill of Rights.
   d. Because it is a private act, the government cannot regulate it.
   Answer: a
   Topic: Chapter Introduction
   Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
   Difficulty Level: Difficult
   Skill Level: Analyze It

2. Why did the British government impose taxes on the colonies?
   a. to punish the colonies for the French and Indian War
   b. to help pay the cost of defending the colonies
   c. to support the king's lavish lifestyle
   d. to support a system of free and efficient public education
   Answer: b
   Topic: The Road to Revolution
   Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
   Difficulty Level: Moderate
   Skill Level: Remember the Facts

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3. The colonists rebelled against the imposition by the British government of _____.
a. taxes
b. a military draft
c. curfews
d. religious laws
Answer: a
Topic: The Road to Revolution
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

4. Which of the following urged the colonies to become independent from Britain?
a. *Common Sense*
b. *Leviathan*
c. Federalist 10
d. flag burning
Answer: a
Topic: Declaring Independence
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

5. The Declaration of Independence was issued by _____.
a. the Common Sense Committee
b. the Continental Congress
c. the Committees of Correspondence
d. the Constitutional Convention
Answer: b
Topic: Declaring Independence
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

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6. *Natural rights* are defined as those that _____.
a. are inherent in all human beings and not dependent on government
b. are divinely granted
c. are established by the English Crown
d. encourage people to revolt against their government
Answer: a
Topic: The English Heritage: The Power of Ideas
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

7. _____ is a natural right that is specifically mentioned in the Declaration of Independence.
a. Social equality
b. The divine right of rulers
c. Liberty
d. Universal suffrage
Answer: c
Topic: The English Heritage: The Power of Ideas
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

8. According to John Locke, the most important purpose of government was _____.
a. the education of the people
b. the protection of private property
c. the advancement of arts and literature
d. the promotion of economic and social equality
Answer: b
Topic: The English Heritage: The Power of Ideas
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

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9. Which of the following is a statement from the Constitution that was directly influenced by John Locke's writings?
a. "Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."
b. "We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union"
c. "To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Power"
d. "If men were angels, no government would be necessary."
Answer: a
Topic: The American Creed
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

10. Which of the following most directly increases the legitimacy of the U.S. government?
a. the right to bear arms
b. divine right
c. the consent of the governed
d. executive privilege
Answer: c
Topic: The American Creed
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

11. In what way was the American Revolution conservative?
a. There were few casualties on either side during the Revolution.
b. The colonists did not seek a great social, political, or economic upheaval.
c. The Revolution created enduring class conflicts.
d. The colonists fought for a whole new set of rights.
Answer: b
Topic: The "Conservative" Revolution
Learning Objective: 2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

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12. What type of legislature did the United States have under the Articles of Confederation?
a. a single chamber with each state's votes based on its population
b. a single chamber with one vote per state
c. a single chamber whose members were appointed by the president
d. two chambers—one in which membership was based on a state's population and another in which each state had equal power
Answer: b
Topic: The Articles of Confederation
Learning Objective: 2.2 Analyze how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation led to its failure.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

13. Which of the following was a problem under the Articles of Confederation?
a. The central government was too strong compared to the state governments.
b. Ratification of amendments was too easy.
c. Congress imposed excessive taxes on the states.
d. Congress lacked the authority to regulate commerce.
Answer: d
Topic: The Articles of Confederation
Learning Objective: 2.2 Analyze how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation led to its failure.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

14. The Articles of Confederation required _____ consent from the states for ratification.
a. plurality
b majority
c. two-thirds
d. unanimous
Answer: d
Topic: The Articles of Confederation
Learning Objective: 2.2 Analyze how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation led to its failure.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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15. _____ was an armed protest by Massachusetts farmers to stop foreclosures by state courts.
a. The Whiskey Rebellion
b. The Boston Tea Party
c. The aborted Annapolis meeting
d. Shays's Rebellion
Answer: d
Topic: Economic Turmoil
Learning Objective: 2.2 Analyze how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation led to its failure.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

16. How did the Constitution differ from the Articles of Confederation?
a. The Constitution was based on democratic principles; the Articles of Confederation was based on tyrannical principles.
b. The Constitution contained strong protections for individual rights; the Articles of Confederation contained strong protections for collective rights.
c. The Constitution created a stronger national government than did the Articles of Confederation.
d. The Constitution contained stronger safeguards for states' rights than did the Articles of Confederation.
Answer: c
Topic: The Articles of Confederation; Writing a Constitution: The Philadelphia Convention
Learning Objective: 2.2 Analyze how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation led to its failure.; 2.3 Describe the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and the core ideas they shared.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

17. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention were mostly _____.
a. self-educated
b. strong believers in democratic government
c. successful farmers who had settled the expanding western frontiers
d. members of an elite group of wealthy men with practical political experience
Answer: d
Topic: Writing a Constitution: The Philadelphia Convention
Learning Objective: 2.3 Describe the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and the core ideas they shared.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

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18. Which of the following accurately describes the Constitutional Convention?
a. The delegates spent most of their time trying to figure out how to revise the Articles of Confederation.
b. Many of the delegates were economic elites.
c. The Convention was free of significant disagreement.
d. The Convention included representatives of the British government.
Answer: b
Topic: Gentlemen in Philadelphia
Learning Objective: 2.3 Describe the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and the core ideas they shared.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

19. The authors of the Constitution viewed humans as naturally _____.
a. compassionate
b. empathetic
c. self-interested
d. communal
Answer: c
Topic: Philosophy into Action
Learning Objective: 2.3 Describe the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and the core ideas they shared.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

20. According to James Madison in Federalist 10, the "most common and durable source of factions" is _____.
a. dissatisfaction with government policies
b. excessive taxation
c. family discord
d. unequal distribution of wealth
Answer: d
Topic: Philosophy into Action
Learning Objective: 2.3 Describe the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and the core ideas they shared.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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21. Which of the following is a reason for the separation of powers?
a. to ensure the power of the executive
b. to promote the general welfare
c. to prevent tyranny by any one faction
d. to prevent gridlock in government
Answer: c
Topic: Philosophy into Action
Learning Objective: 2.3 Describe the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and the core ideas they shared.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

22. Which of the following was part of both the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution?
a. a congress
b. the presidency
c. the federal judiciary
d. federal taxes
Answer: a
Topic: The Articles of Confederation; The Equality Issues
Learning Objective: 2.2 Analyze how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation led to its failure; 2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

23. The New Jersey Plan called for _____.
a. an end to slavery
b. equal representation of each state in Congress, regardless of its population
c. proportional representation of each state in Congress, based on population
d. an executive branch headed by a president
Answer: b
Topic: The Equality Issues
Learning Objective: 2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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24. During the Constitutional Convention, Virginia and other large states wanted representation in Congress to be _____.
a. equal for each state, regardless of its population
b. proportional to the amount of taxes each state paid to the national government
c. proportional to its population
d. proportional to the number of troops each state contributed to the national army
Answer: c
Topic: The Equality Issues
Learning Objective: 2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

25. What did the Connecticut Compromise help to establish?
a. the Senate and the House of Representatives
b. the federalist system
c. an independent judiciary
d. universal male suffrage
Answer: a
Topic: The Equality Issues
Learning Objective: 2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

26. In most cases, the president is officially selected by _____.
a. Congress
b. state legislatures
c. the electoral college
d. direct popular election
Answer: c
Topic: The Equality Issues
Learning Objective: 2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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27. The Framers of the Constitution sought to strengthen the economic powers of the new national government primarily in order to _____.
a. increase their personal wealth
b. limit the powers of states where slavery was legal
c. build a strong economy
d. avoid repayment of debts incurred under the Continental Congress
Answer: c
Topic: The Economic Issues
Learning Objective: 2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

28. The Constitution prohibits imposing _____ qualifications for holding national office.
a. residency
b. age
c. religious
d. citizenship
Answer: c
Topic: The Individual Rights Issues
Learning Objective: 2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

29. What was Madison's concern regarding tyranny of the majority?
a. Tyrants can use brute force to enact desirable policies despite the wishes of the majority.
b. The poorly educated majority could elect the wrong sort of president and Congress.
c. Elites could operate tyrannically, at great expense to the electoral process.
d. A majority of the public could infringe on the rights of a minority.
Answer: d
Topic: Thwarting the Tyranny of the Majority
Learning Objective: 2.5 Analyze how the components of the Madisonian system addressed the dilemma of reconciling majority rule with the protection of minority interests.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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30. What is the feature of the Constitution that allows each branch of government to limit the power of the other branches?
a. weights and measures
b. checks and balances
c. oversight and influence
d. privileges and immunities
Answer: b
Topic: Thwarting the Tyranny of the Majority
Learning Objective: 2.5 Analyze how the components of the Madisonian system addressed the dilemma of reconciling majority rule with the protection of minority interests.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

31. Under the Madisonian system of separation of powers, _____.
a. it is easy for a minority to create gridlock in government
b. members of each branch of government are directly elected by the voters
c. power is concentrated in the executive branch of government
d. each branch of government is relatively independent of the others
Answer: d
Topic: Thwarting the Tyranny of the Majority
Learning Objective: 2.5 Analyze how the components of the Madisonian system addressed the dilemma of reconciling majority rule with the protection of minority interests.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

32. A _____ is a form of government in which the people select representatives to govern them and make laws.
a. republic
b. monarchy
c. theocracy
d. oligarchy
Answer: a
Topic: The Constitutional Republic
Learning Objective: 2.5 Analyze how the components of the Madisonian system addressed the dilemma of reconciling majority rule with the protection of minority interests.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

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33. The *Federalist Papers* are a set of essays that _____.
a. attack the motives of the authors of the Constitution
b. advocate ratification of the Constitution
c. call for stronger protections for individual liberties
d. advocate for direct election of officials
Answer: b
Topic: Federalists and Anti-Federalists
Learning Objective: 2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their background and their positions regarding government.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

34. Which of the following documents did the Federalists support?
a. *Marbury* v. *Madison*
b. the Constitution
c. the Articles of Confederation
d. the writ of habeas corpus
Answer: b
Topic: Federalists and Anti-Federalists
Learning Objective: 2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their background and their positions regarding government.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

35. _____ favored a strong state government and a weak national government.
a. Daniel Shays
b. Gregory Johnson
c. The Federalists
d. The Anti-Federalists
Answer: d
Topic: Federalists and Anti-Federalists
Learning Objective: 2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their background and their positions regarding government.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

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36. What was the biggest concern about the newly drafted Constitution during the debates over ratification?
a. that the Constitution should have required unanimous approval from the states for ratification
b. that the Constitution did not sufficiently protect individual liberties
c. that the proposed national government would be not be strong enough to protect the new nation
d. that the states in present-day Canada were not included in the new nation
Answer: b
Topic: Federalists and Anti-Federalists
Learning Objective: 2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their background and their positions regarding government.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

37. Which of the following most directly protects individuals' civil liberties?
a. *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*
b. *Federalist Papers*
c. the Bill of Rights
d. the Declaration of Independence
Answer: c
Topic: Federalists and Anti-Federalists
Learning Objective: 2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their background and their positions regarding government.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Apply What You Know

38. Which of the following is included in the Bill of Rights?
a. direct election of the president and Congress
b. freedom from want
c. "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."
d. protection of defendants' rights
Answer: d
Topic: Federalists and Anti-Federalists
Learning Objective: 2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their background and their positions regarding government.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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39. Which of the following were most likely to oppose the proposed Constitution?
a. lawyers
b. wealthy merchants
c. small farmers
d. large landowners
Answer: c
Topic: Federalists and Anti-Federalists
Learning Objective: 2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their background and their positions regarding government.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

40. Which of the following is a procedure for amending the Constitution?
a. An amendment is proposed by three-fourths vote in each house of Congress and ratified by two-thirds vote in each house during the next session of Congress.
b. An amendment is proposed by the president and ratified by a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress.
c. An amendment is proposed by a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress and ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the states.
d. An amendment is proposed by a national constitutional convention called by a two-thirds majority of states and ratified by a three-fourths vote in each house of Congress.
Answer: c
Topic: The Formal Amending Process
Learning Objective: 2.7 Explain how the Constitution can be formally amended and how it changes informally.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

41. Which of the following is a method for proposing constitutional amendments?
a. by a majority of voting-age citizens
b. by a majority of state governors
c. by a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress
d. by a two-thirds vote in a special election called for the purpose of voting on the amendment
Answer: c
Topic: The Formal Amending Process
Learning Objective: 2.7 Explain how the Constitution can be formally amended and how it changes informally.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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42. The meaning of the Constitution can change through _____.
a. judicial interpretation
b. national referendum
c. congressional inaction
d. natural law
Answer: a
Topic: The Informal Processes of Constitutional Change
Learning Objective: 2.7 Explain how the Constitution can be formally amended and how it changes informally.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

43. Which of the following resulted from changing political practice rather than from a formal constitutional amendment or judicial interpretation?
a. the Equal Rights Amendment
b. the two-party system
c. the Bill of Rights
d. the constitutionally protected right to an abortion
Answer: b
Topic: The Informal Processes of Constitutional Change
Learning Objective: 2.7 Explain how the Constitution can be formally amended and how it changes informally.
Difficulty Level: Difficult
Skill Level: Analyze It

44. How many amendments have been made to the Constitution since its ratification?
a. 10
b. 27
c. 436
d. 2,876
Answer: b
Topic: The Importance of Flexibility
Learning Objective: 2.7 Explain how the Constitution can be formally amended and how it changes informally.
Difficulty Level: Easy
Skill Level: Remember the Facts

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45. How is voter eligibility determined?
a. by Congress
b. by states
c. by counties
d. through the constitutional provision for universal suffrage.
Answer: b
Topic: The Constitution and Democracy
Learning Objective: 2.8 Assess whether the Constitution establishes a majoritarian democracy and how it limits the scope of government.
Difficulty Level: Moderate
Skill Level: Understand the Concepts

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1

Introducing Government in America

Chapter Overview

Politics and government matter. By emphasizing the role of public policy, Edwards's text helps students understand how government and politics affect their everyday lives. To that end, Chapter 1 establishes the foundation for the balance of the text by introducing questions fundamental to the study of politics, government, and public policy. We begin by exploring the key functions of government. We then turn to consider the nature of American democracy, focusing on three specific questions: What is the nature of a democratic politics? How can citizens affect policy? And conversely, how does policy affect citizens? We conclude by exploring contemporary debates over the limits of democracy and the proper role of government in the United States today.

Lecture Suggestions

Government

1.1 Identify the key functions of government and explain why they matter.

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

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make such decisions: Congress, the president, the courts, and the federal administrative agencies (the bureaucracy).

Lecture on the fundamental questions arising about government: *How* should we govern? *What* should government do? Include specific examples in your discussion.

LECTURE 2: 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 no one can be excluded from a public good, there is little incentive for people to pay for public goods. 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.

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 3: 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 the government in protecting the southern borders of the United States has led some groups and citizens to take the law into their own hands to prevent illegal immigrants from entering the country.

- Identify the key functions of government. Then identify ways in which the 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 the government is not providing essential services. This could also be accomplished as a small breakout discussion during lecture.

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- Conclude your lecture with a discussion of the ways in which expectations placed by citizens on the government may change over time.

LECTURE 4: Start by asking your students to describe their typical daily schedule. For instance, they wake at 6:00, have breakfast, get ready for school, check their email, and leave 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 that 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.

Politics

1.2 Define politics in the context of democratic government.

LECTURE 1: Politics was famously defined by David Easton as the "authoritative allocation of value." More succinctly, politics is often understood as the use of power. Today, the term "politics" often carries very negative connotations, as phrases like "office politics" illustrate.

Other definitions of politics might include "Who could do what to whom" (Vladimir Lenin), "Who gets what, when, and how" (Harold Lasswell), "Ethics done in public" (Bernard Crick), or "The art of finding trouble everywhere, diagnosing it incorrectly, and applying the wrong remedy" (Groucho Marx).

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- Gather several political cartoons from sites like Daryl Cagle's PoliticalCartoons.com that illustrate the uses of politics in contemporary parlance. Ask students to identify what makes each "political."
- Develop a lecture about how we might define politics based on the definitions above and why politics is important.

LECTURE 2: 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).

LECTURE 3: The idea of democracy was first articulated by early Greek philosophers, who understood democracy 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."

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The Policymaking System

1.3 Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.

LECTURE 1: Democracy requires the active participation of citizens in making public policy. People in the United States have multiple avenues for political participation in order 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 cause.

Two other themes to consider: first, the diversity of the American public has played 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 2: Is it ever morally justified to break a law? Democratic governments usually enjoy strong legitimacy because their right to rule is based on the consent of the governed, regularly upheld through popular elections. People who oppose a particular course of action by the state can protest, lobby their elected officials, organize a political campaign or initiative, and take other measures to effect political change.

A democratic system, in other words, provides many avenues to effect change from within the system. Yet sometimes political change can only be effected through more direct and confrontational action. The civil rights movement, for example, relied heavily on civil disobedience, breaking laws perceived to be unjust.

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- Start a lecture and discussion organized around the role of civil disobedience in a democratic political system.
- Draw historical examples from the women's suffrage movement of the early twentieth century and from the African American civil rights movement of the mid-twentieth century.
- You could also bring such examples into the more contemporary era by exploring mechanisms for political change employed by those supporting gay rights, rights for persons with disabilities, or the rights of immigrants to the United States.

LECTURE 3: In Federalist 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 provided 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)
  - The Fifth Amendment (due process protections)

LECTURE 4: Explain how the policymaking system can be conceptualized as a cycle in which the interests and concerns of citizens are transmitted through linkage institutions (parties and elections, interest groups, and the media) in order to shape the government's policy agenda.

Policymaking institutions (Congress, the presidency, the courts) in turn choose issues to address based in part on the interests expressed by citizens.

The policies that are made (laws, executive orders, regulations, and court judgments) then influence people's daily lives, providing for a new round of possible inputs.

LECTURE 5: Pick a specific issue and use it to illustrate the policymaking process, being sure to emphasize the way in which

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- individuals transmit preferences through linkage institutions;
- policymaking institutions consider various policy alternatives and make decisions that are translated into policy; and
- those policies in turn influence people's daily lives.

Possible examples might range from various gun control initiatives to recent proposals by Michael Bloomberg, the former mayor of New York, to regulate food serving sizes.

Democracy in America

1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.

LECTURE 1: 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.

LECTURE 2: Traditional democratic theory rests upon 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, enlightened understanding through a free press and the right of free speech, a collective right to control the government's policy agenda, and an inclusive citizenship.

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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 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 3: Compare and contrast elitist and pluralist approaches to the study of American politics. Elitism makes the empirical argument that only a few people are involved in government and often also makes the normative argument that this is a good thing. It does not necessarily mean that leaders exploit the rest of society.

In fact, a strong case can be made that the founders were elitists, as witnessed by their distrust of mechanisms of direct democracy. Yet despite this, many Americans express a preference for the idea of pluralism—that democracy is achieved through competition and negotiation among organized groups operating on behalf of specific interests or members.

- Outline each approach.
- Ask your class by a show of hands to express their empirical assessment (which approach they think more accurately describes how American government functions) and their normative preference (which approach they think the United States should use).
- Discuss the results.

LECTURE 4: While democratic ideals of individual equality, popular participation, and majority rule have always been strong in the United States, actual participation has declined over time. The Pew Center (http://pewresearch.org) has outstanding public survey results that illustrate the relatively low levels of political engagement.

- Differentiate among conventional forms of political engagement (such as voting and petitioning), unconventional forms of participation (such as marches and civil

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disobedience) and unacceptable forms of participation (such as rioting and terrorism).

- Explain how each fits into the idea of American democracy.

LECTURE 5: The weakening of democratic norms is especially troubling in light of the 2020 presidential election and the siege on the U.S. Capitol building on January 6, 2021.

- Review the indicators of democratic collapse identified by Levitzy and Ziblatt: a rejection of established rules; a denial of the legitimacy of political opponents; toleration or encouragement of political violence; and a willingness to limit civil liberties.
- Discuss aspects of the 2020 election and subsequent events that fit these categories. For instance, President Trump denied the legitimacy of the election outcome, making false claims of widespread voter fraud. He refused to concede and even asked Vice President Pence to refuse to certify the Electoral College vote count. The people who participated in the siege on the Capitol engaged in violence, and five people died either shortly before, during, or after the event. As of May 2021, more than 450 people had been charged with crimes in connection to the event. Finally, new state-level restrictions on early voting and mail-in voting may indicate efforts to limit access to the polls.

LECTURE 6: Egalitarianism is based on the notion of equality of opportunity. However, growing income inequality threatens this value in American political culture. Share with your class a graph showing the relative distribution of income in the United States. Excellent graphical representations, including both charts and maps, are available at the Visualizing Economics website (www.visualizingeconomics.com). In your presentation, note that

- Overall levels of wealth in the United States have increased steadily since the 1950s. However, since the 1970s, the vast majority of economic growth has been concentrated in the top quintile (20 percent) of earners. For the bottom 20 percent, there has been virtually no growth since the early 1970s.
- Today, roughly half of total household income in the United States goes to the top 20 percent of households. Less than 4 percent of total income goes to the bottom 20 percent of households.

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- In 2019, income inequality was at its highest level in 50 years. During the economic downturn caused by COVID-19, income inequality in the United States increased even further.
- Income equality has implications for politics and policymaking, given that high-income Americans participate in politics (such as by voting) at higher rates than low-income Americans.

The Scope of Government in America

1.5 Outline the central arguments of the debate in America over the proper scope of government.

LECTURE 1: 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 party's platform and worldview.

- 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, the government today is much smaller than it has been historically. In 1988, the year President Ronald Reagan left office, there were 3.054 million employees of the federal government. By 2010, that number had fallen to 2.776 million. (Search the U.S. Office of Personnel Management at https://www.opm.gov for historical figures since 1962.)
  - By other measures, the size of the government has remained relatively stable. Federal spending was 18.2 percent of gross domestic product in 1988. By

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2011, it had fallen to 15.4 percent (Search the Presidency Project at the University of California Santa Barbara at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu for historical figures from 1930 through today.)

- Why despite evidence to the contrary do Americans hold the view that the size of the federal government has grown beyond control?

LECTURE 2: When he proposed the $77 billion economic stimulus package in 2009, President Barack Obama said, "It is true that we cannot depend on government alone to create jobs or long-term growth, but at this particular moment, only government can provide the short-term boost necessary to lift us from a recession this deep and severe."

Conservatives opposed the measure, arguing that government intervention in the economy resulted in less freedom and prosperity overall. Yet Americans frequently place strong demands on the government. During the Trump administration, conservatives oversaw an increase in the national debt from $19.9 to $23 trillion (when Trump took office in 2017) to $27 trillion in October 2020.

- Ask students to consider if this is too much. Are we asking our government to do too many things? What should we *not* ask our government to do? Where should we make cuts? Who, if anyone, would provide those services instead?

LECTURE 3: The final results of the 2020 Census can form the basis of a lecture that draws on the social and economic statistics to show the changes in population characteristics from 2010. Themes that could be developed include the following:

- The aging of America: the increased median age; the large percentage of the population in the older age cohorts
- The growth in minority population: this has several aspects, one of which is the increase in African Americans, rising to 13.4 percent of the total population (as of 2019); the Black percentage of the young population (age cohorts of under 30 years) is even higher
- The growth in the Latino population, due both to immigration from Mexico and other parts of Latin America and the natural population increase of the existing Latino population

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- The increase in immigration rates generally over the past decade and the patterns in countries of origin (now a much larger percentage from Latin America and substantial increases in the percentages from Asia and Africa)
- Patterns in the geographic distribution of the population: one aspect being the relative decline of central cities and the growth of suburbs and exurbs (on the fringe of metro areas) and the decline of rural areas not in commuting proximity to metro areas
- The growth of the Sun Belt and the relative decline of the Frost Belt (but it should be note that these patterns are generalizations and hide the facts that some northern areas, such as New Hampshire and Maine, are growing and that growth in the Sun Belt is largely in Florida, Texas, and the metro areas of Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia).

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.

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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?
- 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 be an improvement to 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: There is widespread support for the basic concepts of freedom and liberty in the United States. Yet there is often controversy when some rights are seen as a potential violation of other citizens' rights.

- Have your class identify examples of cases where they believe the exercise of some rights violates the protection of others. If they are having a hard time identifying specific examples, flag burning, the detention of terror suspects without trial, and the denial of services to members of the LGBTQ+ community on religious grounds can be used.
- Assign each example to a group and ask that group to explain why the case might be rights violations as well as why they might not.
- Have each group report their 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.

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CLASS ACTIVITY 5: Ask students to find a political cartoon relating to a recent event or issue. Daryl Cagle's PoliticalCartoons.com website may provide a useful starting point. Then ask students to bring their cartoon to class and discuss how the cartoon illustrates 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.

CLASS ACTIVITY 6: Within the first days of regular classes, ask students to write a question they have 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 for the instructor to ask students to maintain a journal 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 slideshow 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.

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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.

- Have each group develop a social contract that meets the needs of humans in the context of the assumptions about human nature their group started with.
- Ask each group to present their 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 tradeoffs embodied in the U.S. Constitution.

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 the government being "too big." Have students prepare a list of items that they think constitute government that is too big and items that they think the 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 discussed or listed values.
- Ask them to find the data they say are necessary to evaluate the statement and continue the conversation based on those findings.

The debate item provides students an opportunity to consider the appropriate role of the government and the wide scope of services people expect from the states.

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 a large class).

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- 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 in which compulsory voting is already in place.
- According to the CIA Word Fact Book, 21 countries have compulsory voting, including Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Costa Rica, Greece, Singapore, and Thailand.
- This activity provides an opportunity to reflect on the right to vote, the idea that nonvoting may sometimes constitute a form of political participation and offers a comparative framework within which the American political culture can be situated.

Research Activities

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 1: Have students use the Internet to 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 a short reflection paper in which they consider what they learned from these sites. Can the Internet improve the quality of democracy in the United States? Why?

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.

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 member 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 or her appeal with voters?

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- 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.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 3: Have students prepare an annotated bibliography 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 a short essay that summarizes the tone of their bibliographical list. Is it 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 a review of either de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* or Putnam's *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community,* emphasizing the importance of civil society in the establishment and maintenance of American democracy.
- This research assignment requires students to engage with a classic text 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,

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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 2020 U.S. Census (either via their website at www.census.gov or from reference sources in your library) such as change in median income or age of population, percentages of racial and ethnic groups, regional population shifts, and other trends.
- 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.

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* (www.thedailyshow.com) or *The Colbert Report* (www.colbertnation.com), both of which post recent episodes on their websites, even though *The Colbert Report* is no longer airing new episodes. Have them identify the ways in which their critique engages the themes raised in this week's lesson. Visit YouTube for clips of *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver* for more contemporary examples.

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 position. 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

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by the Human Development Index (http://hdr.undp.org/en)or other appropriate measures.

- Have them write a short paper addressing the question of whether democratic countries are more egalitarian or less.

This activity provides students with an opportunity to develop data literacy skills while simultaneously thinking about the relationship among democracy, economic development, and inequality in a global context.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 8: In class, ask your 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 (https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/) and ask them to review the summary tables at the end of the most recent federal budget to find the actual figures for each of these categories. In a short response, ask them to reflect on

- How close they were to the actual figures.
- Where they were inaccurate and why.
- 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 students to think about the size, role, and scope of state activity.

Participation Activities

PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY 1: Ask students to keep a journal 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 life 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 place of residence? Most students will be surprised to see the

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numerous ways government influences even the most basic activities. Ask them whether they think these services could be provided without the government.

This activity gets students reflecting on the impact that government has on their daily lives.

PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY 2: Have students visit the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services website (www.uscis.gov) to find questions that are used to orally test those who have applied for U.S. citizenship.

- Once students have tested themselves on 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 a letter to the editor dealing with a contemporary political issue as it relates to the themes of this chapter.

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

Suggested Readings

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

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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." Similarly, Jefferson's assertion that the 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), Levitt and Dubner's follow-up *Super Freakonomics: Global Cooling, Patriotic Prostitutes, and Why Suicide Bombers Should Buy Life Insurance* (New York: Harper Collins, 2009). For a classic reading in the subject of game theory and economic politics, consider von Neumann and Morgenstern's *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944).

READING 3: Robert Putnam. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000). Robert Putnam and Lewis Feldstein. *Better Together: Restoring the American Community*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003). Putnam's *Bowling Alone* 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, *Better Together*, offers a prescription to restore civil society and thus American democracy.

READING 4: Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*. (New York: Penguin, 2003). Originally published in 1835, with a subsequent volume published five years later, *Democracy in America* 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

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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.

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

READING 6: Derek Bok. *The Politics of Happiness: What Government Can Learn from the New Research on Well-Being*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010). Drawing on extensive research from the fields of psychology and behavioral economics, Bok argues 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: Andrew L. Yarrow and Cecilia M. Orphan. (2010). "Why Students Need to be Informed about Our Looming Fiscal Crisis: The America's Futures Initiative." *PS: Political Science and Politics*. 43: 319–321. 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 9: John R. Freeman and Dennis P. Quinn. (2012). "The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered." *American Political Science Review*. 106: 58–80. A recent contribution to the long-standing debate on the intersection of economic development and democracy, Freeman and Quinn argue that processes of globalization occurring in the late 20th century altered the historical relationship between economic liberalization and democratization.

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READING 10: 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) to find articles related to themes raised in the course. *PS* also has outstanding resources for teaching political science.

READING 11: The United States Citizenship and Immigration Services has a Self-Test for Naturalization (https://www.uscis.gov). Find out what aspiring citizens need to know to gain their citizenship. Click on "Citizenship" for more information. If you enter the search "flash cards", you can find civics flash cards and more.

READING 12: The Statistical Abstract of the United States, which can be found by going to www.census.gov and searching for the statistical abstract, 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 13: The Initiative and Referendum Institute at the University of Southern California (http://www.iandrinstitute.org) provides information on direct democracy across the United States.

READING 14: 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 (www.gpo.gov) lists a large number of documents considered integral to American democracy, ranging from the Articles of Confederation, Declaration of Independence, and Emancipation Proclamation to judicial decisions and congressional testimony.

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READING 15: 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 16: There are many outstanding websites for political cartoons that can be used as discussion starters throughout the semester. Daryl Cagle's 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 (www.loc.gov) is also outstanding.

READING 17: *1984*. (1984). Dir. M. Anderson. United Kingdom: Holiday Film Productions Ltd., 1956 and Nineteen Eighty-four. Dir. M. Radford. United Kingdom: Umbrella-Rosenblum Films Production. A movie dramatization of George Orwell's classic novel depicting a grim perspective on a society where individualism is suppressed and information is distorted by the government to achieve ultimate control over its population. The 1956 version is less haunting and grim than the 1984 remake but not nearly as good. (And the 1984 version has full frontal nudity.)

READING 18: *Tocqueville's Europe: The Paradoxes of Tocqueville's Democracy in America*. (1995). Insight Media. An analysis of Tocqueville's observations and criticisms of American democracy.

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Revel Features

Chapter Overview

Current Events Bulletin

Video Intro: POLITICS HIDDEN IN PLAIN SIGHT: PUMPING GAS

The subject of the chapter opener is all of the ways government and politics affect everyday life. The video, about the regulation and taxation of gas, can offer a case in point. Thanks to everyday politics, whenever you pump your gas, you're bettering your highway and local transit system. This video walks you through the state and local regulations in play whenever you fill up your car.

Social Explorer: FIGURE 1.1: POLITICAL APATHY AMONG YOUNG AND OLD AMERICANS, 1972–2018

Time series. Single-variable data (percentage who followed politics infrequently) in two-line formats: 18–29 age cohort; 65+ age cohort. Build as a progression over time.

Journal Prompt: FIGURE 1.1

Why do you think young people currently are so much less interested in politics than senior citizens?

Social Explorer: FIGURE 1.2: AGE AND POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE, 1972 AND 2016

Comparison of political knowledge among four age cohorts across two years.

Social Explorer: FIGURE 1.3: ELECTION TURNOUT RATES OF YOUNG AND OLD AMERICANS, 1972–2018

Time series. Single-variable data (percentage who voted) in two-line formats: 18–24 age cohort; 65+ age cohort. Build as a progression.

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Video: WATCH: INTRODUCING GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA: THE BIG PICTURE

Chapter preview video. Approx. 3 mins in length. Author is the on-screen presenter. Filmed and produced by Pearson. May include a few embedded static images picked up from print.

Government

1.1 Identify the key functions of government and explain why they matter.

End of Module Quiz 1.1

Politics

1.2 Define politics in the context of democratic government.

End of Module Quiz 1.2

The Policymaking System

1.3 Assess how citizens can have an impact on public policy and how policies can impact people.

Simulation: FIGURE 1.4: THE POLICYMAKING SYSTEM

Animation of steps in the policymaking process.

Video: WATCH: THE PERVASIVENESS OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY

Approx. 3 mins in length.

Journal Prompt 1.3: PEOPLE SHAPE POLICY

How do people affect public policy within the policymaking system? Why is the policy agenda so important to the policymaking system?

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Social Explorer: TABLE 1.1: TYPES OF PUBLIC POLICIES

End of Module Quiz 1.3

Democracy in America

1.4 Identify the key principles of democracy and outline theories regarding how it works in practice and the challenges democracy faces today.

Video: FROM THE WHITE HOUSE: INCOME INEQUALITY: "THE DEFINING CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME"

Dec 12, 2013. Approx. 2 mins in length. White House video in which President Obama discusses the twin challenges of growing income inequality and shrinking economic mobility and how they pose a fundamental threat to the American Dream.

Simulation: FIGURE 1.5: HOW POLICYMAKING ON ECONOMIC INEQUALITY IS SHAPED BY PATTERNS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Extended analysis of patterns of political participation in relation to income level in a series of bar charts.

Journal Prompt: FIGURE 1.5

How do you think public policy is impacted by the patterns of political participation across income groups?

End of Module Quiz 1.4

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The Scope of Government in America

1.5 Outline the central arguments of the debate in America over the proper scope of government.

End of Module Quiz 1.5

Chapter Review

Video: WATCH: INTRODUCING GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA: SO WHAT?

Chapter wrap-up video. Approx. 3 mins in length. Author is the on-screen presenter. Filmed and produced by Pearson. No embedded static images.

Multimedia Gallery: BROWSE: THE IMAGE GALLERY

Photographic images from the chapter consolidated in one swipe-through gallery.

Flashcards: LEARN: THE TERMS

Self-assessment of the user's knowledge of chapter's key terms using flashcards.

Flashcards: APRENDER: EL VOCABULARIO

Self-assessment of the user's knowledge of chapter's key terms using flashcards. In Spanish.

Explore Further: Further Reading

A list of relevant readings related to the chapter.

Shared Writing Prompt: Introducing Government in America

Figure 1.5, "How Policymaking on Economic Inequality Is Shaped by Patterns of Political Participation," reveals that high-income Americans are much more likely than lower-income individuals to believe that the government should not take steps to reduce income differences. At the same time, as family income rises, turnout in presidential elections also rises. This inequality in political participation may create difficulties for policymakers in pursuing policies that address the condition of economic inequality. Do you think this is a major problem for democracy? Why

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or why not? If you think it is a problem, what, if anything, do you think can be done about this situation?

End of Chapter Quiz

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2

The Constitution

Chapter Overview

A country's constitution is its basic law; it establishes political institutions, allocates power between them, and often provides basic guarantees of the rights of its citizens. Constitutions thus usually establish how political power is distributed and exercised in a given country. In this chapter, we begin by exploring the historical development and foundational philosophies of the U.S. Constitution. We consider the specific compromises reached at the Constitutional Convention. Next, we examine the debates over ratification. We conclude by considering the basic tenets of the government established by the new constitution and by considering the mechanisms whereby it might bechanged. By the end of the chapter, students should have a good understanding of how the U.S. Constitution sets the stage for how politics in the United States works today.

Lecture Suggestions

The Origins of the Constitution

2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.

LECTURE 1: As a "revolution of ideology," the American Revolution represented an important break from the philosophies of governance that were popular in Europe at the time.

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- The social contract. The Founders subscribed to the social contract theory of governance, expressed most directly in the words of the Declaration of Independence. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”
- Representation and taxation. From a very early age, American schoolchildren learn that the Revolution was fought under the expression, “No taxation without representation.” This, of course, is predicated on particular notions of representation. From the British perspective, the American colonists were “virtually represented” in the British Parliament. Although they did not directly elect representatives, they were nevertheless represented by British MPs, who made decisions based on the interests of the British Empire in general. This notion of representation correlated closely with Edmund Burke’s idea of trusteeship representation, in which the people should permit their representatives to make decisions in their best interest. The American colonists, however, were more interested in the idea of delegated representation, in which the job of the representative is to faithfully reflect the opinions and beliefs of those who elected them.
- Constitutional rule. The colonists also favored the development of a constitution that clearly demarcated the scope and limits of governmental power. England had a long history of efforts by the Parliament to limit the scope of the sovereign rule of the monarch. The Charter of Liberty in the twelfth century and the Magna Carta in the thirteenth century both guaranteed the rights of individuals against encroachment by the crown. In the seventeenth century, the English Bill of Rights expanded those limits. The American colonists desired similar protections against governmental intrusion on individual liberty.

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- Sovereignty and self-government. Perhaps most importantly, the colonists had radical views on sovereignty and self-government. In Britain, sovereignty had historically been vested in one national government. The colonists, however, favored a system of divided sovereignty in which supreme political authority would be separated across a number of layers—a system which we would come to know as federalism. The colonists also believed that sovereignty was ultimately rooted with "the people" as an active political force, rather than in the government with the people as its passive subjects. Indeed, the idea of "the people" as a political community came to be a powerful symbolic force during the Revolution.

LECTURE 2: The American Revolution is considered by most historians to be an ideological revolution because it was notably about ideas and philosophy of government. As John Adams said, the "radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people was the real American Revolution." The Revolution itself was rooted in both financial and ideological differences between the colonies and Great Britain.

- The Great Squeeze and other "taxation without representation" concerns made it difficult for the colonists to prosper. The financial problems, combined with the growing idea of self-rule, resulted in greater animosity toward continued British rule. In the opinions of colonial leaders, those with power were too aggressive and tended to extend their reach beyond legitimate boundaries. The primary victim of this power was liberty, and thus ordinary people had to be vigilant to protect their freedoms. The social contract theories of Locke were very important in this regard; the governed were not bound indefinitely to corrupt political institutions.
- The British Parliament, by contrast, argued that colonists were represented even if they did not directly elect those representatives, because Parliament tended to the interests of the Empire in general. Colonists argued that the job of the representative was to reflect faithfully the opinions of the constituents: a more direct representation. At issue, then, were competing notions of representation.

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- The immediate catalyst for the revolution was a series of economic and political events. In the United States, two groups were most affected by British economic policies: New England merchants and Southern planters. Both groups would wind up playing a central role in the Revolution.
  - The French and Indian War (1754–1763) was the name given to the North American theatre of the Seven Years' War between France and Britain. From the British perspective, the French and Indian War had been fought to protect the American colonies from external interference. The British Parliament therefore felt it right that the American colonies should help finance that expensive war. They imposed a series of measures to raise revenue in the colonies, which were resented by the colonists.
  - The Stamp Act (1765) required that all legal documents, licenses, commercial contracts, newspapers, and pamphlets obtain a tax stamp. Colonists rebelled and boycotted British goods. Parliament repealed the tax.
  - The Townshend Act (1767) suspended the New York legislature because the colony had not complied with quartering soldiers. It also imposed taxes on imports of glass, lead, paint, paper, and tea. Massachusetts refused to implement the taxes and Britain disbanded its legislature in 1768. This led to 18 months of tension resulting in the Boston Massacre in March 1770, where British soldiers killed five colonists.
  - The Tea Act (1773) allowed the British-controlled East India Company to export its tea to the colonies without paying the tax imposed by the Townshend Acts. This in effect made British tea less expensive than Dutch tea, which dominated the American market. Colonists responded with the Boston Tea Party. When Britain demanded compensation for the tea, Bostonians refused. Britain then imposed the Intolerable Act, which closed Boston's port, restricted the Massachusetts legislature, quartered troops in private homes, and exempted British officials from trial in Massachusetts. This resulted in the First Continental Congress in 1774, in which 12 of the 13 colonies wrote a Declaration of Rights and Grievances.

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- In this context, the Declaration of Independence's assertion of the inalienable rightsto life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as well as the Founders' suspicion of a strong central government make sense. The Founders were asserting natural rights which existed independent of the government, and the role of the government was to protect those natural rights. Any government which violated those natural rights should, from the perspective of social contract theory, be abolished and replaced.

LECTURE 3: The U.S. Constitution is deeply rooted in the social contract theory of the eighteenth century, and in particular in the works of political philosophers like Baron de Montesquieu (the separation of powers), Thomas Hobbes (natural rights), John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau (the social contract), and others.

- Broadly, you could divide the contribution of eighteenth-century political philosophy into three central principles:
  - Natural rights. The authority of the government is limited by the existence of these natural rights, which cannot be abrogated by the government. By extension, this evokes the idea of the social contract, which says that government is only legitimate insofar as it exists to promote and protect our natural rights.
  - Classical republicanism. The idea that primary purpose of government should beto provide for the common good and that legitimate political authority is rooted in the consent of the governed (popular sovereignty) rather than in the inherent rights of the monarchy.
  - Constitutionalism. The idea that a written constitution should specify the distribution of political power in the country, and that everyone, regardless of position, is subject to the rule of law.
- Once you've outlined each of these principles, be sure to explain how they are found in the U.S. Constitution.
- Ask your students to identify specific ways in which the Constitution exhibits these principles.

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LECTURE 4: 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 their 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 public opinion shifted and the majority of the colonists supported the Revolution after the Declaration. 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 their only hope for success was if they were able to engage in commerce abroad and buy weapons openly on the international market. This was only possible if other countries recognized the legitimacy of their 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 and not 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 5: There are militia groups, various ranch compounds in the United States, and radical individuals who 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. The instructor can point to the following key differences that made the original Declaration legitimate:
  - Most avenues for effecting political change were not available to the colonists. They had already attempted the ones that were available, 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 their position. Most of the modern declarations are written by people who hold the opinion of humankind in contempt. In this sense they are manifestos rather than attempts to effect broad political change for the benefit of the country.
  - The Continental Congress issued the Declaration as a public declaration of war. In doing so they followed the international norms of the day regarding diplomacy and the rules of war. Many contemporary groups 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 social contract had been violated by the British. 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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The Government That Failed: 1776–1787

2.2 Analyze how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation led to its failure.

LECTURE 1: Contrast the basic structure the U.S. government under the Articles of Confederation with that established by the U.S. Constitution.

- Legislative branch. Under the Articles of Confederation, there was a unicameral Congress with equal representation (one vote) for each state. Passing legislation required a 9/13 majority of all states. Under the U.S. Constitution, the United States has a bicameral Congress. The lower house, the House of Representatives, apportions representation based on population. The upper house, the U.S. Senate, provides for equal representation of all states. Passage of legislation requires the consent of both houses.
- Executive branch. Under the Articles of Confederation, a very weak executive branch had primarily a caretaker role, appointed by the Congress to oversee government when Congress was not in session. Under the Constitution, the executive branch became a co-equal branch of government elected (indirectly) by the people.
- Judicial branch. Under the Articles of Confederation, there was no judiciary, although Congress could temporarily create one if necessary. Under the Constitution, a Supreme Court was established and the judiciary was elevated to an independent and co-equal branch of government.
- Division of power between the national government and the states. Under the Articles of Confederation, the most important powers were reserved for the states. Only states could impose taxes, issue money, or regulate trade. Under the Constitution, the power to regulate trade and issue money was transferred to the national government, while taxation became a power shared by both the national and state governments.
- Amending the Constitution. The Articles of Confederation required unanimity to amend, making it a difficult process. The U.S. Constitution still requires a supermajority to amend, but not unanimity.

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- Sovereignty. Under the Articles of Confederation, sovereignty rested with the states. Under the Constitution, sovereignty was shared between the states and the national government.
- Goal. Perhaps the most important difference between the two documents centers on their purpose. While the Articles of Confederation sought to establish a "firm league of friendship" between the states, the U.S. Constitution sought to unify the relatively independent states into a single, united country.

LECTURE 2: 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 it was the breakdown of the Articles of Confederation that led to the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

- Explain the basic structure of the U.S. government under the Articles of Confederation.
  - Article II established that the United States was a "firm league of friendship," but thevast majority of the real powers of the government were reserved to the states.
  - The power of the national government was limited to declaring war, negotiating treaties, printing money (that was practically worthless), and adjudicating disputes between the states. Importantly, the national government did not have the powers to impose taxes, raise an army, or to 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.

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- The economic situation generated social unrest and tension. Regionally, western farmers felt that eastern bankers were undermining their prosperity, foreclosing on farms, and failing to pay a fair price for their commodities. Perhaps the most famous expression of these tensions occurred in the summer of 1786, when a 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 further 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. 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." Ultimately, elites were moved to create a stronger national government capable of "insuring domestic tranquility," to guarantee "a republican form of government," and to protect property "against domestic violence."

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LECTURE 3: The new government established following the end of the Revolutionary War faced numerous challenges. While the Revolutionary War led to some important developments, including the establishment of an army and navy and the formation of the postal system central to the development of a sense of national unity, there were many unresolved challenges. Explain the challenges faced by the young nation:

- Financial challenges. The new country faced numerous financial difficulties. It inherited a high level of debt as a result of the expenses associated with the Revolutionary War. Yet under the Articles of Confederation, the national government lacked the power of taxation. Instead, it was forced to ask the states for contributions to pay national expenses. Not surprisingly, the revenue stream of the national government was uneven; only about 10 percent of the funds requested from the states by the Congress were ever actually delivered. As a result, faith in the credit of the national government declined sharply. Eventually, Congress was forced to suspend interest payments on bonds it had issued.
- Commercial challenges. In addition to the power of taxation, the new national government also lacked the power to regulate interstate commerce. States imposed high tariffs on goods imported from other states, leading to a fractured national market and undermining economic growth in the new country.
- Currency challenges. While the national government lacked many important economic powers, the states themselves regularly issued their own currencies, leading to many forms of currency (Virginia dollars, Rhode Island dollars, Pennsylvania dollars, and so on), which were legal tender in every state. Facing a severe shortage of specie (gold and silver), state governments would often print large quantities of money, leading to rampant inflation.

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- Civil disorder. The economic challenges faced by the country led to a sharp increase in civil unrest, including debtor revolts in several states. The most famous of these was, of course, Shays' Rebellion.

Writing a Constitution: The Philadelphia Convention

2.3 Describe the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and the core ideas they shared.

LECTURE 1: When the Constitutional Convention was convened in Philadelphia in 1787, every state except Rhode Island sent delegates. With the exception of Thomas Jefferson (who was serving in the critical post of Ambassador to France at the time), the Convention read like a who's who of early American politics.

The 55 attendees included nearly every member of the political elite in the United States at the time. As a group, they were relatively young (the average age was 42, and the most influential delegates—Alexander Hamilton, Edmund Randolph, Governor Morris, and James Madison—were all in their 30s). They were well educated—half had college degrees. They also had significant political experience—8 had signed the Declaration of Independence, 25 had served in the Continental Congress, 15 had helped to draft state constitutions after independence, and 40 had served in the Confederation Congress. These were the political heavyweights of the day.

- Provide your students with brief biographical sketches of the some of the key players. You can find a wealth of biographical information at the Teaching American History website http://teachingamericanhistory.org. Visit the site and explore the individual biographies of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention.
- Explain how their shared experiences of the delegates helped to shape the outcome of the Convention.

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LECTURE 2: Ironically, most of the Founders, for whom liberty was such a core principle, were also enslavers. Indeed, the co-existence of slavery and liberty in the United States presents an interesting paradox through which to explore the emergent political culture in the United States at independence.

Walk your students through a textual analysis of the Declaration of Independence, which can be read alongside Frederick Douglass's famous essay "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" Ask them to reflect on this paradox. Think about how it could be philosophically justified.

LECTURE 3: The Founders were hopeful that a new system of government would ensure the proper balance between liberty and stability that was skewed, they believe, too far in favor of liberty under the Articles of Confederation.

Yet they were also realists. They did not believe "the people" would always be effective at protecting their own liberty. Indeed, as James Madison famously wrote, "A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government, but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions."

For the Founders, such precautions included a strong system of checks and balances, the separation of power and political authority between three branches of government across two layers (federalism), and even measures intended to check the democratic impulses of the people (indirect election of the president through the Electoral College and the selection of senators by the states).

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LECTURE 4: The Founders' understanding of the purpose, nature, and function of government was deeply rooted in Enlightenment thinking. This common understanding led to a remarkable amount of consensus at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Indeed, while we often focus on the key areas of disagreement—and the resultant compromises that were reached at the Constitutional Convention—what is equally striking is the degree to which the Founders shared a common worldview.

- Discuss the common areas of thinking shared by the Founders in the following areas:
  - Natural rights. Drawing on the works of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, the Founders believed that the primary role of government should be to protect individual liberty and property. They believed that natural, inalienable rights—the rights to life, liberty, and property—existed independent of the state.
  - Social contract. The Founders believed that there existed an informal or implied contract between a government and its people. When a government was formed, the people agreed to certain concessions—to obey laws and pay taxes, for example. In exchange for giving up certain freedoms, the people expected the government to protect their basic rights. By extension, the legitimacy of the government rested in the consent of the governed. A government which violated the social contract lost its right to rule.
  - Classical republicanism. The Founders believed that the people should have the right to choose their own government. Republicanism meant that the government should be made up of representatives of the people.
  - Limited government. The Founders believed that the scope of governmental power should be limited. They developed a system of separation of powers and checks and balances to prevent power from becoming concentrated in the national government.
  - Nationalism. Based on the failures of the Articles of Confederation, the Founders supported the idea of a strong national government representing "the people of the United States of America" rather than a decentralized government rooted in state identities.

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- Follow up the lecture on these topics with a discussion asking students to identify specific areas in the U.S. Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, where these principles are expressed. Alternatively, you could incorporate this into your lecture.

LECTURE 5: While we rightly celebrate the U.S. Constitution as the single most important document in American politics, the roots of the U.S. Constitution run deep.

- Trace the historical evolution of the basic ideas found in the U.S. Constitution for your students, emphasizing the evolving nature of the ideas of government and politics found there. You can focus on five historical documents in particular:
  - The Magna Carta (1215). Rebelling lords forced King John to sign the Magna Carta in 1215, which guaranteed the lords certain basic rights and limited the sovereign power of the British monarchy.
  - The Mayflower Compact (1620). While still aboard the *Mayflower* en route to the United States, British colonists signed this historic document, which, among other things, helped to establish the principle of a government based on the consent of the governed.
  - The Colonial Charters (1624–1732). Granted by the British king, colonial charters established the basic structure of government in each individual colony and provided the basis for the idea of a written constitution in the United States.
  - The Declaration of Independence (1776). Written by Thomas Jefferson in 1776, the Declaration of Independence established a list of grievances against King George. The text of the Declaration reflects a broad understanding of the social contract theory of government and the principle of popular sovereignty.
  - The Articles of Confederation (1781–1789). The Articles outlined the first government of the newly independent United States. While the structure of the national government ultimately proved too weak and decentralized to effectively administer the new nation, the document provided the first attempt to develop a unified national country in the United States.

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Critical Issues at the Convention

2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.

LECTURE 1: Students generally take for granted the fundamental principles contained in the Constitution. A lecture can be built around some of the basic questions that 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?
- What should be the basis of representation in the national legislature?

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 a fact.
- Challenge your students to think about whether the motives of public figures are always based on self-interest, and about whether it is possible for self-interest to be channeled into public good.

LECTURE 3: In the beginning, only a few explicit limitations on the exercise of governmental power were thought necessary. It was generally believed that personal freedom could be readily secured through the decentralization of power rather than by express command. From thinkers such as France's Baron de Montesquieu, the Framers had derived the notion that centralized power meant tyranny, and human rights could best be preserved by fragmenting power and distributing it to competing factions. In the constitutional model the Framers chose, the separation of powers

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exists both vertically (federal, state, and local authority) and horizontally (legislative, executive, and judicial branches). The Framers' goal was that no department, branch, or level of government be allowed to dominate all others.

- Review with your class the central tenet of American constitutionalism: that all lawful power derives from the people and must be held in check to preserve their freedom.
- Review *The Federalist Papers, Nos. 10, 28, 41, 47,* and *51*.

LECTURE 4: 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 governed. Most agreed that the franchise should be restricted to male landowners, who were believed to be the best guardians of liberty.
- The Great Compromise (aka the Connecticut Compromise). 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 the 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 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 Three-Fifths Compromise (aka The North-South Compromise). The second conflict centered on the question of how to count enslaved people in the apportionment ofseats in the House of Representatives.

  For many Southern states, a large proportion of their population were 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, a compromise was reached. Every five enslaved persons would count as three people to determine the number of seats a state would receive in the House of Representatives.

LECTURE 5: 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 individuals 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.

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The Madisonian System

2.5 Analyze how the components of the Madisonian system addressed the dilemma of reconciling majority rule with the protection of minority interests.

LECTURE 1: The Madisonian system of democracy is rooted in the idea of majority rule combined with minority and individual rights. Students hear the phrase "majority rule with minority rights" commonly in their study of American government, but rarely pause to reflect on precisely what this means and why the concept was so important historically. Separation of powers and the system of checks and balances that accompany it are essential to the Madisonian model.

- Explain to your students how the system works.
- Then ask them to think about how the U.S. Constitution reflects the principles and reconciles the competing demands of majority rule and minority rights.

LECTURE 2: In one of the most famous passages from *The Federalist Papers*, James Madison writes in Federalist 51, "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition…If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and then in the next place oblige it to control itself."

This passage illustrates the dual concerns of the Founders. They wanted a government that was strong enough to protect the rights of the individual, but not so strong as to violate those rights. They also wanted a system that protected against both majority and minority factions. The system they developed was rooted in the principles of limited government, separation of powers, and checks and balances.

Explain to your students how the system of government established by the Constitution provides both systems of protection envisioned by the Founders by using Madison's famous dictate that, "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition."

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LECTURE 3: Interestingly, one of the most important checks on the exercise of political power by the federal government is not even mentioned in the U.S. Constitution. The power of the courts to declare acts of Congress or the executive unconstitutional—the idea of judicial review—is implied but not specifically named in the U.S. Constitution. It was not until the famous 1803 decision of the court in *Marbury v. Madison* that the court asserted its right to review acts of Congress.

Nevertheless, many Federalists firmly believed that the power of judicial review was essential to the maintenance of limited government. Indeed, in Federalist 78, Alexander Hamilton wrote that limited government "can be preserved in no other way than through the medium of courts of justice, whose duty it is to declare all acts contrary to the manifest tenor of the Constitution void."

Explain the concept of judicial review to your students, emphasizing its importance in the systems of checks and balances developed by the Founders.

LECTURE 4: Contrast presidential and parliamentary systems with respect to the ideas of separation of powers and checks and balances. While the functions of government remain the same, the exercise of power is fundamentally different.

- Under a presidential system, the chief executive (usually the president) is elected by and responsible directly to the people. The president selects (often with the consent of the legislature) their own advisors and cabinet to staff key administrative positions within the government.

  Such appointees are responsible to the president and can usually be dismissed by the president without the approval of the legislature. Specific, independent powers are granted to the chief executive. This separation of powers thus makes possible the system of checks and balances found in the United States.
- Under a parliamentary system, the chief executive (usually the prime minister) is selected by the parliament and serves at the will of the parliament. Their advisors and cabinet are normally selected by the ruling party or coalition within the legislature.
- The power of the prime minister thus results not from his or her independent authority but from their position as head of the largest party in the parliament. This system relies on the idea of responsible government rather than checks and balances as the key check on the arbitrary exercise of power by the state.

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- Illustrate these broad theoretical principles by exploring specific political systems:
  - The United States as a presidential system
  - The United Kingdom as a parliamentary system
  - France as a hybrid system that includes both a president and a prime minister

LECTURE 5: Review for your students the key structural arrangements articulated in the U.S. Constitution. Your lecture should focus on the following elements:

- National supremacy. Article VI of the U.S. Constitution is the national supremacy clause, which ensures that the Constitution supersedes any conflicting state laws. This was a dramatic change from the Articles of Confederation, under which state laws often conflicted and could even override the decisions of the national government.
- Federalism. Federalism divides power between the national and state governments, reserving specific areas of decision-making authority for each. Federalism provides that states can pass their own laws (so long as they do not conflict with the national supremacy clause) and levy their own taxes. Over time, the relative balance of power between the states and the national government has shifted back and forth. Early in the history of the republic, the federal government was relatively weak, and the states were relatively strong. Over time, however, the power of the federal government has gradually expanded, often at the expense of the states.
- Republicanism. Under a republican form of government, the people choose representatives who make political decisions on their behalf. The Founders firmly believed that power should be delegated to a small number of elected officials, because a gifted, enlightened political elite—property owners, the educated, and so on—would be better positioned to govern and preserve liberty than the people themselves would be.
- Separation of powers. To protect liberty, the Founders divided political authority across three independent, co-equal branches of government (the executive, the legislative, and the judicial) and across two layers (state and national).

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- Checks and balances. To further limit the reach of government and to protect individual liberty, the Founders made each branch dependent on the others. As James Madison put it, "The constant aim is to divide and arrange the several offices in such a manner as that each may be a check on the other." The relationship between the president and the Congress, and indeed the process by which a bill becomes a law, can be used to illustrate this principle.
- Judicial review. Although not specifically mentioned in the Constitution, the power of judicial review—the ability of the courts to overturn laws passed by Congress and the actions of the president made the judiciary a co-equal branch of government.

Ratifying the Constitution

2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their backgrounds and their positions regarding government.

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 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

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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 would 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 ensure 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 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 underthe 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 shop-keeping 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 was also supportive of 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 Federalist and 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 on the interests of their constituents—but to act for the greater common good or 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

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a more direct form of democracy, and where representation was required, held to a delegate model of representation in which the representative acts according to the expressed wishes of their 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 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.

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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 the following table).

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. In New York and Rhode Island, the Constitution was approved 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.

Changing the Constitution

2.7 Explain how the Constitution can be formally amended and how it changes informally.

LECTURE 1: An interesting lecture can be developed around the topic "Which Road to Constitutional Revision: Interpretation or Amendment?" The central thesis here might well be that the difficulty of our amendment process makes it imperative that many changes in governmental powers be made through interpretation. Examples of this kind of change can be drawn from legislation that is based on the power to regulate interstate commerce.

- The Framers could not have anticipated such contemporary issues as automobile theft, human sex trafficking, kidnapping, bank robbery, hotel discrimination, or collective bargaining. Yet by a broad interpretation of the Constitution, we have justified creating laws that deal with these matters under the commerce clause.
- Using the power to "lay and collect taxes" as our base, we have built highways, given college scholarships, curbed the sale of sawed-off shotguns and narcotics, regulated gambling, and tried to expel students who brought firearms to school. Compared to this kind of interpretation, the formal changes embodied in the amendments are often minor. In fact, by the time that an amendment secures majority support in three-fourths of the states, the amendment usually confirms common practice. For example:
  - Slavery was abolished by the Union Army and the Emancipation Proclamation.
  - Women's suffrage existed in 15 out of 48 states before the Nineteenth Amendment.
  - Prohibition existed in many areas before the Eighteenth Amendment.

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- The poll tax had become a barrier to Black Americans casting their votes before the Twenty-fourth Amendment.
- Although the Equal Rights Amendment failed, equal rights for women have increased.

- The conclusion might stress the viability of the Constitution and the political genius of the American people that makes it possible to adapt to the changing world within the framework of this eighteenth-century document. Stress might also be placed on the fact that our government is in a state of perpetual evolution, but because of the barriers against rule by a bare majority, most changes do not occur until an overwhelming majority of the people are in agreement. In other words, we normally approach consensus on the street before amendments are enacted. As a practical matter, most amendments are a kind of "mopping up" operations that affect only the holdouts against change.

LECTURE 2: Explain the process of constitutional change, emphasizing the obstacles to amendment. Amending the Constitution is a two-stage process. Amendments can be initiated either by the Congress or by the states.

- At the national level, a constitutional amendment may be proposed by the U.S. Congress. Proposed amendments must be passed by a two-thirds majority of each house. Once approved by Congress, the proposed amendment is transmitted to the states for ratification. Proposed amendments must be ratified by three-quarters of the states before they are adopted.
- Alternatively, amendments may begin with the states. The legislatures of the states may apply to Congress for a convention to propose a constitutional amendment. If two-thirds of the states request such a convention, Congress must call the convention. At a constitutional convention, amendments may be proposed and must be ratified by at least three-quarters of the states. This method, likely included by the Founders as an additional check on the powers of the federal government in general and of the Congress in particular, has never actually been used.

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- Note that, at both levels, the Founders required a supermajority to amend the Constitution. The difficulty of amending the Constitution is demonstrated by the fact that there have been more than 10,000 amendments proposed since the Constitution was adopted, but only 27 have been adopted.

LECTURE 3: While the Founders made the formal process of amending the Constitution difficult, the Constitution has nevertheless evolved over time. Perhaps the most common method of informal amendment is the use of judicial review.

- Explain the process of judicial review and how that process results in a change in the interpretation of the Constitution over time.
- Be sure to explain how the idea of judicial review is rooted in the earliest decisions of the Marshall Court, particularly in its decision in *Marbury v. Madison*.
    - In that case, the court asserted its right of judicial review. This does not mean that there is any special judicial guardianship of constitutional norms, but rather that it is the court's duty to decide cases before them in accordance with the relevant law.
    - Marshall's justification for assertion of federal judicial power to interpret and apply the Constitution, though generally accepted, is not conclusive. Critics suggest that the premise of a written Constitution would not be disserved, and the legislative power would be enhanced, if Congress itself were free to judge the constitutionality of its own laws. Under such a system, the argument goes, courts would simply treat legislative interpretation as definitive, and thus leave to Congress the task of resolving apparent conflicts between its own statutes and the Constitution. Historically this was the model used in parliamentary democracies like Great Britain.

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LECTURE 4: Two competing philosophies govern the interpretation of the U.S. Constitution.

- One school of thought, usually described as "original intent," asserts that the Courts should generally defer to the legislature and the Constitution, attempting to defer to what they intended the law to accomplish. In other words, advocates of original intent believe that the judges should interpret the meaning of the Constitution by deferring to how the provision was understood at the time it was written.
- By contrast, proponents of "contemporary ratification" reject the notion that the drafters of the Constitution should receive special position in interpreting the Constitution today. For them, what the Constitution meant in 1787 may not be relevant in 2021. Rather, we should interpret the Constitution based on our contemporary experiences. This approach often refers to the Constitution as a living document.
- Compare and contrast these two approaches for your class. As you do so, ask them to consider how the two approaches would approach similar questions—like that of gun control—in fundamentally different ways.
- Also note how many of the most significant decisions of the Supreme Court, including its decision to desegregate schools (*Brown v. Board of Education*), its expansion of equal protection and due process would fit into this debate.

LECTURE 5: In a 1789 letter to James Madison, Thomas Jefferson famously advocated that a new Constitution should be adopted by every generation so that it belonged to the living rather than the dead.

- Ask your students to think about how the United States has changed since the Constitution was adopted. What sorts of issues do we face now that the Founders could never have imagined? Given the changes, think about the ways in which the Constitution might be changed. What new rights would be included? How would each of the branches be different? Would federalism look different?

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- You could lecture on the possibilities, or divide the class into groups in a mini-Constitutional Convention to think about the possibilities:
  - Rights. What new rights might we include? Are there any rights in the Bill of Rights that we no longer need? Think, for example, of the Third Amendment's prohibition against quartering of troops. What about the lack of a formal right to privacy in the Constitution? What about the right to a clean environment? The right to health care or decent housing? The right to a job?
  - The executive. Do we need an Electoral College? Should we elect the president directly? Does a single six-year term make more sense than two four-year terms? Should we divide ceremonial and formal powers into two separate offices? Should the role of the vice president be more formalized? Should the president be chosen from and be responsible to the Congress?
  - The legislature. Should we have term limits at the federal level? Should we have campaign finance restrictions in the Constitution? Should we have more mechanisms for direct participation by the public in the political process, such as the use of referenda, initiatives, and recall that exist at the state level in many states but are missing at the federal level?
  - Federalism. Should we more clearly define the balance of power between the federal and state governments? Has the power of the federal government grown too much through broad interpretation of the commerce clause?
- These could make for engaging class discussion topics or possible topics to include in lecture.

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Understanding the Constitution

2.8 Assess whether the Constitution establishes a majoritarian democracy and how it limits the scope of government.

LECTURE 1: Students do not always perceive the different purposes served by the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. They often confuse the two, thinking, for example, that the Constitution of 1787 states "all men are created equal" or that it recognizes inalienable rights. However, the two documents served different purposes and because of this there are striking contrasts between them.

- Motivating purpose. If the Declaration of Independence had to be summed up in one word, it would be "liberty." The document was intended to justify revolution because the colonists thought their liberties were being violated. Thus, the document stresses such things as inalienable rights such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.
- The U.S. Constitution, by contrast, is primarily concerned with stability. The one word that summarizes the purposes of the Constitution is "stability." As the studentslearn when reading this chapter, the Constitution was a reaction to the failures of the Articles of Confederation. The Convention was called because of actions in the states such as Shays' Rebellion. In short, citizens (especially the wealthy) were concerned with stability.
- Equality. The Declaration of Independence refers to the "equality of man." The Constitution does not mention equality until the Fourteenth Amendment, which was ratified in 1868.
- Natural rights. The Declaration of Independence states that people have God-given inalienable rights. The Constitution makes no reference to either God or inalienable rights. Of course, later amendments make reference to rights (especially Amendments one through nine). But even the Fourteenth Amendment makes specific reference to states not depriving people of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Logic would dictate, and practice has borne out, that the state may constitutionally deprive people of life, liberty, and property as long as due process is followed.

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- Democracy. Conventional wisdom has it that the Declaration of Independence endorses democracy, and the Constitution of 1787 is undemocratic. [This view would itself make for interesting class discussion. For specifics, see Martin Diamond's *The Founding of the Democratic Republic*.] If one accepts these views, the difference between the two documents is obvious. The democratic aspect of the Declaration comes primarily from the reference to legitimate government originating from the consent of the governed (and the entire historical context, seen specifically in the long list of complaints against the British).
- The undemocratic aspects of the Constitution include filters for electing the president (the Electoral College) and the Senate (state legislatures, until ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913). Furthermore, all federal judges are appointed. Also, a majority of Congress cannot propose an amendment to the Constitution.
- Nor may a majority of Americans ratify an amendment. Another undemocratic criticism of the Constitution is that it guarantees every state, regardless of population, two senators who were not even directly elected by the people until the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913. Finally, the qualifications of voters are not specified in the Constitution of 1787, allowing states to disenfranchise Black people, women, the young, and whomever else they want. In fact, if the Constitution is a democratic document today, it is because Americans have seen fit to amend it. Theamendments that have made the Constitution more democratic are:
  - The Thirteenth Amendment (1865), which prohibited slavery.
  - The Fourteenth Amendment (1868), which established the principle of legal equality of the races.
  - The Fifteenth Amendment (1870), which expanded the franchise to African Americans.
  - The Seventeenth Amendment (1913), which established the popular election of senators.
  - The Nineteenth Amendment (1920), which expanded the franchise to women.
  - The Twenty-fourth Amendment (1964), which eliminated poll taxes.
  - The Twenty-sixth Amendment (1972), which lowered the voting age from 21 to 18 years.

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- Revolution. A final contrast between the two documents is the right of revolution. The Declaration specifically recognizes the right, while the Constitution makes no reference to it. Indeed, in Article III, the Constitution gives Congress authority to punish those found guilty of treason.

LECTURE 2: Arguably the most important powers of governments today are economic in nature. The powers to raise taxes and regulate commerce are at the heart of what it means to be a state. Yet when the Founders met to draft the Constitution in 1787, the national government lacked many of these important powers. Identify the ways in which the new Constitution expanded the economic and financial powers of the national government, focusing on the following two areas:

- Raising taxes. One of the most important powers the Founders granted the Congress was the power to tax. Article I, Section 8 gives the Congress the broad power to "to lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare." As the new government was formed, the country's first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, made repayment of the debt of the previous government the country's top economic priority. At the time, the primary source of revenue for the national government was tariffs, or taxes placed on goods imported into the country. It was not until the passage of the Sixteenth Amendment in 1913 that the federal government gained the power to impose a national income tax.
- Regulating commerce. While the Articles of Confederation left regulation of trade to the states, the new Constitution granted the Congress the power to "regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States" (Article I, Section 8). The commerce clause, as it has come to be known, was arguably the single most important power granted the national government under the new Constitution. The commerce clause has been used to justify the passage of a wide range of legislation, ranging from the civil rights acts of the 1960s to the imposition of stricter federal drug laws in the 1980s.

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LECTURE 3: In Federalist 51, James Madison writes that, "Ambition must be made tocounteract ambition... The constant aim is to divide and arrange the several offices in such a manner as that each may be a check on the other."

- Explain the ideas of separation of powers and checks and balances to your students by providing specific examples of the exercise of each in the United States. Examples might include:
  - How a bill becomes a law. While the president may propose legislation, no bill can be become a law until it has been approved by both houses of Congress. It then proceeds to the president for approval or veto.

    A presidential veto can be overridden by Congress by a two-thirds majority vote of both houses. Even after a bill has become law, it can be reviewed for constitutionality by the courts.
  - Advice and consent. While the executive is given significant latitude in the conduct of foreign affairs, the exercise of many of the most important powers must be approved by the Congress.

    The Senate, for example, must approve presidential appointments ranging from cabinet secretaries to ambassadors. The House must approve all spendingbills, potentially giving it significant power to limit executive action. Any declaration of war must be made by the Congress.

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LECTURE 4: The Founders worried that the judiciary would be the weakest branch of government. Alexander Hamilton argued that the judicial branch would be the "least dangerous" branch of government.

Inspired by Baron de Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws,* Hamilton wrote in Federalist 78, "The executive not only dispenses the honors, but holds the sword of the community. The legislature not only commands the purse, but prescribes the rules by which the duties and rights of every citizen are to be regulated. The judiciary on the contrary has no influence over either the sword or the purse, no direction either of the strength or of the wealth of the society, and can take no active resolution whatsoever. It may truly be said to have neither Force nor Will, but merely judgment, and must ultimately depend upon the aid of the executive arm even for the efficacy of its judgments."

Yet today, many people believe the Court is an undemocratic and dangerous branch of government. Analyze the ways in which the power of the courts—most importantly the power of judicial review—has evolved over time. Ask your students to think about whether or not the courts are too powerful or not powerful enough.

LECTURE 5: Was a Bill of Rights necessary? It's hard to imagine today, but the Constitution as it was originally drafted identified a very limited number of rights. Only the prohibition against ex post facto laws, bills of attainder, and the guarantees of the writ of habeas corpus and the guarantee of trial by jury are included in the body of the Constitution.

The Federalists believed that there was no need for a Bill of Rights. They believed that the powers of the national government were limited to those specifically enumerated in the Constitution—that the national government had only those powers that were specifically and explicitly granted to it. Consequently, they believed that no Bill of Rights was necessary.

- Begin a lecture by asking the class to identify the rights guaranteed by the original, unamended Constitution.
- Then outline the specific protections afforded by the Bill of Rights.
- Ask your students to think about how the American political system might have evolved without the Bill of Rights.

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- Students may also be surprised to learn that the protections afforded by the Bill of Rights served only to protect the people against intrusion by the national government; states were not bound by the Bill of Rights and could engage in activities prohibited to the federal government until the Bill of Rights was incorporated.
- It was not until after the Civil War (specifically the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868) that states were prohibited from depriving individuals of "life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

Class Activities

CLASS ACTIVITY 1: Compare the goals of the Declaration of Independence—especially the phrases "all men are created equal" and "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"—to the goals of the failed Equal Rights Amendment.

- Are the goals expressed in each incompatible or similar?
- Consider the extent to which the ideas embodied in the Declaration of Independence are compatible with the decisions around slavery reached at the Constitutional Convention. How can they reconcile the deep commitment to liberty expressed by the Founders with the fact that many of the Founders were also enslavers?

This discussion item encourages students to think critically about the basic principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence and their application to contemporary areas of inequality in the United States.

CLASS ACTIVITY 2: Role-playing can greatly aid in developing students' understanding of people and events. Ask some students to research the backgrounds and character of some of the Founders. Set up a panel of these individuals, and arrange a "press conference" with the rest of the students asking the "Founders" questions concerning past or present. To be interesting, be sure to include both Federalists (like Alexander Hamilton and James Madison) and Anti-Federalists (like Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry) in your panel.

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This activity provides an opportunity to think about the debates that took place over ratification and permits consideration of which, while now considered foregone conclusions, were highly contested at the time.

CLASS ACTIVITY 3: Divide your class into two groups to debate the "original intent" and "contemporary ratification" perspectives on the U.S. Constitution. Each team should be assigned to defend one of the two positions.

- Those assigned to argue the "original intent" position could start by examining the writings of Justice Samuel Alito and various publications by the Federalist Society.
- Those tasked with defending the "contemporary ratification" position might find Cass Sunstein's *Radicals in Robes* a useful starting point. Afterward, ask your students to consider the following questions:
    - In the opinion of the class, is the "original intent" or "contemporary ratification" philosophy toward the U.S. Constitution more valid?
    - Which of these two theories is more likely to play itself out in today's political culture?
    - Which justices are most likely to favor original intent? Contemporary ratification?
    - Is it likely that this debate will continue on for the foreseeable future? If so, how will the debate itself change the way the Constitution is interpreted in the future?
- Alternatively, similar themes can be illustrated by having students select a specific case, either historical or hypothetical, and asking them to work through the case from the "original intent" and the "contemporary ratification" perspectives.

This activity provides students with an interesting way to apply the contesting theoretical approaches to judicial interpretation.

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CLASS ACTIVITY 4: Simulate the Constitutional Convention. Assign roles based on the discussion in the chapter to capture the spectrum of interests and important individuals involved in the Constitutional Convention. The Constitutional Convention page at the Teaching American History website (http://teachingamericanhistory.org) has a wealth of information that will help students prepare, including a background to the major issues at the Convention and short biographical sketches of the attendees.

- Each student will receive a profile of the role they have been assigned one class in advance. Then in class, play out the simulation over one or two class periods, finishing the simulation by regrouping and comparing outcomes achieved through group interaction with actual outcomes.
- This simulation could also be held at forums outside of the classroom, with a discussion or question-and-answer session to follow.
- Alternatively, you may want to focus the Convention on the debates between the key players, organizing the students into the four key delegations (Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and South Carolina). For the purposes of the simulation, consider the first two large states and the second two small states.
- Ask your students to discuss and reach agreement on the following proposals submitted to the Convention:
  - All adult males should be permitted to vote.
  - The Convention should restrict its deliberations to revision of the Articles.
  - The Congress shall consist of a single house.
  - All states should have equal representation in the Congress.
  - National taxes may be levied on the basis of the total population of a state.
  - The right to import enslaved people and be an enslaver shall be preserved forever.
  - Congress shall have unrestricted authority over foreign and interstate trade.
  - Congress shall choose the president.
- While not historically accurate, a fascinating historical counterfactual could be developed by including interests not represented at the original Constitutional Convention. Most notable among those interests would be the Anti-Federalists, enslaved people, women, and Native Americans.

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This active learning exercise encourages students to think about the tradeoffs and debates that occurred at the Constitutional Convention while also thinking about which perspectives were not considered.

CLASS ACTIVITY 5: Ask your class to list specific examples of the application of the concepts of separation of powers and checks and balances among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches.

- Using modern presidencies as a reference, ask your students to evaluate whether the checks and balances designed by the Framers of the Constitution are adequate to prevent the abuse of executive power.
- Have students critique both the original Constitution of 1789 and today (with amendments), utilizing the three principles—e.g., popular sovereignty (mechanisms for selection of officials, terms of office, etc.); political equality (voting rights, etc.); and political liberty (personal freedoms, especially in Bill of Rights). How well did/does the Constitution promote these values?
- Then, after demonstrating that even the revised document of today falls short of democratic ideals, ask the class to suggest reforms that would make it more democratic and have the student-delegates defend their proposed changes on the basis of these principles. Could such changes lead to political outcomes that might be unfair or undesirable?

This activity applies the core concepts structuring American government to contemporary debates over the nature and limits of American democracy.

CLASS ACTIVITY 6: Select a current political controversy and explore the constitutional dynamics of that debate. Examples could include health care reform, gun control, immigration, affirmative action, or others.

- Have students imagine themselves as Supreme Court justices, asked to determine the constitutionality of particular legislation in these areas. How would they decide each case? On what basis would they make their decisions?

This active learning assignment encourages students to think critically about how basic constitutional principles apply to contemporary hot-button political issues.

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CLASS ACTIVITY 7: Assign each student an amendment to the Constitution and have them prepare a short (two-minute) presentation on it. In their presentation to the class, ask them to briefly explain what the amendment does, why it was passed (this may also include the historical context inwhich it was passed), and how it affects us today.

This activity provides an opportunity for students to practice their oral presentation skills while illustrating the ongoing relevance of the decisions made by the founders for the modern American political system.

CLASS ACTIVITY 8: In his contributions to *The Federalist Papers,* James Madison famously argued that factions could be used to balance other factions (or, in his words, "Ambition must be made to counteract ambition."). This idea—reflected broadly in the concept of pluralism and specifically embodied in the U.S. Constitution through the separation of powers and checks and balances—is at the heart of the U.S. political system. But recent technological developments make the idea of direct democracy more feasible.

- Ask your students to think about the ways in which contemporary communication technology might negate James Madison's assumption that a majority faction would be difficult to organize and control. Do technologies like the Internet make direct democracy more viable? Do Madison's warnings still hold true? Why or why not?

This historical counterfactual encourages students to think about how the historical context affected the development of the U.S. Constitution, and how technological change affects political systems.

CLASS ACTIVITY 9: Why are minority rights important? What types of minorities was Madison concerned about? Are minority rights still important in U.S. politics?

- Ask students to provide specific historical and contemporary examples of minorities seeking to protect their rights, being sure to cover both identity-based rights (e.g., race, gender) and non-identity based rights (e.g., social class). How is the political system structured to balance minority and majority rights? What values are served by this balance: efficiency, equality, representation?

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This discussion item provides an opportunity for students to engage with the central debates faced in any democratic political system: how to protect minority rights in the context of majority rule.

Research Activities

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 1: While the Constitution has been amended only 17 times since it was drafted in 1787, there have been thousands of proposed amendments. In recent years, some proposed amendments have included:

- A balanced budget amendment, already in place in many states, would prohibit Congress from running a deficit.
- A School Prayer Amendment was proposed on April 9, 2003, to establish that "The people retain the right to pray and to recognize their religious beliefs, heritage, and traditions on public property, including schools."
- The Every Vote Counts Amendment, which promoted abolishing the Electoral College and allowing the president to be directly elected by the people, was proposed by Rep. Gene Green (D–TX) on September 14, 2004.
- The Equal Opportunity to Govern Amendment, which would make naturalized citizens who have been citizens of the United States for at least 20 years eligiblefor the presidency, was proposed by Sen. Orrin Hatch (R–UT) in July 2003.
- Sen. Zell Miller (D–GA) in 2004 proposed to repeal the Seventeenth Amendment, returning to the appointment of senators by state legislatures as originally required by Article I of the U.S. Constitution.
- The Federal Marriage Amendment was introduced in the United States Congress four times (in 2003, 2004, 2005/2006, and 2008). The amendment would define marriage and prohibit same-sex marriage in the United States.
- Sen. David Vitter (R–LA) in 2009 proposed an amendment which would have denied U.S. citizenship to anyone born in the U.S. unless at least one parent were a U.S. citizen, a permanent resident, or a member of the U.S. armed forces. President Trump endorsed a similar proposal during the 2016 presidential election.

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- Sen. Jim DeMint (R–SC) in 2009 proposed a constitutional amendment to impose term limits for the U.S. Congress.
- In 2011, Rep. James P. McGovern (D–MA) introduced the People's Rights Amendment, a proposal to limit the Constitution's protections to the rights of natural persons, and not corporations.
- In 2013, Rep. Collin Peterson (D–MN) and Rep. Denver Riggleman (R–NC) introduced a constitutional amendment that would keep the Supreme Court membership at a maximum of nine.
- In 2017, Representative Steve King (R–IA) proposed a constitutional amendment repealing the Sixteenth Amendment and abolishing the income tax.
- In 2017, Representative Al Green (D–TX) proposed a constitutional amendment prohibiting the president of the United States from issuing a pardon for himself.

Ask your students to research one of these (or some other) proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution and to write a short briefing on the pros and cons of the proposal to distribute to the class. You could then ask your class to vote on each of the proposed Amendments.

This activity highlights the challenges of amending the Constitution and contemporary areas in which some citizens believe the Constitution could be improved.

You can also use this opportunity to help your students understand how to evaluate the biases of various websites, as many of the sites surrounding the need for a new Constitutional Convention have quite obvious biases.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 2: Ask your students to think of themselves as political consultants hired by an organization to develop support for a constitutional amendment. They may either select a proposed constitutional amendment (see the list provided in Question 1 above), or develop their own proposed amendment. Then ask them to develop a political strategy to get the amendment adopted. As part of the assignment, they will need to think about the process by which constitutional amendments are passed, and the obstacles to passage at each step. You can either have them present their strategies to you as a short strategy briefing paper, or have them make an oral pitch to the class.

This active learning activity encourages students to apply the concepts raised in class to a specific case and to think about the implications and tradeoffs involved in any political decision.

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RESEARCH ACTIVITY 3: The Constitution establishes the rules of the political game. Theserules decentralize power rather than consolidating power in the hands of the executive or the legislature. In a short take-home essay response, ask your students to reflect on the following questions: Would American government be more efficient if power were concentrated within a single branch of government? Would it be more effective?

This activity illustrates the tradeoff between efficiency and democracy.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 4: Ask your students to read the Declaration of Independence (available online at the National Archives at http://www.archives.gov and Frederick Douglass's speech "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" (available on the Teaching American History website http://teachingamericanhistory.org). In a short essay, ask them to contrast the understanding of liberty expressed in the two documents.

This reading and writing assignment illustrates the limits of early American democracy and provides a powerful example of the often exclusive nature of political community.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 5: Surprisingly few students have actually read the founding documents of the nation: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and its Bill of Rights.

- Assign your class to read the key documents.
- In a short journal entry, ask them to list three ways in which the founding documents affect our lives today and three ways in which they are now irrelevant.
- For a more extended assignment, you may also ask them to reflect in a short essay on how the documents might be updated for the twenty-first century United States

This assignment encourages students to think about the contemporary relevance of the founding documents.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY 6: Political scientist Larry Sabato has proposed a new constitutional convention (http://amoreperfectconstitution.com/). Select any one of his proposed ideas and write a short list of pros and cons for this idea.

This short writing assignment requires students to practice their skills synthesizing complex arguments in the context of the themes and issues raised in this chapter.

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Participation Activities

PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY 1: Create a multimedia web or library exhibit. Break your class into several smaller groups and have each group design and assemble a multimedia web or display case exhibit exploring the themes and issues raised in this chapter.

- The exhibit should include elements that represent key events from the textbook and any additional primary source documents assigned.
- After the display has been assembled, write a short reflection piece about the challenges associated with representing the underlying concepts and historical events to the general public. What perspectives have been included and what has been left out? How might this affect public consumption?

This activity provides students with an opportunity to teach the ideas presented in this chapter to others and to challenge the more simplistic representations of American political history often found in such forums.

PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY 2: Create an online resource to help non-native English speakers understand the origins of American government. This could be developed as a wiki as a class project or separately by individual student teams. The product could also be viewed as a resource for individuals preparing to take the U.S. citizenship exam.

This activity provides students with an opportunity to teach the ideas presented in this chapter to others and to think about the requirements for citizenship in the United States.

PARTICIPATION ACTIVITY 3: Have your students weigh in on the debate over a recent proposal to amend the U.S. Constitution by posting a blog entry or a comment to a blog entry on the amendment. Examples could include the balanced budget amendment, the flag burning prohibition amendment, the gay marriage amendment, or the proposed repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment's "natural born citizen" clause, or the amendment prohibiting a president from pardoning himself.

This activity requires that students think critically about key contemporary debates over the U.S. Constitution and its shortcomings.

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Suggested Readings and Films

READING 1: The Federalist Papers and The Anti-Federalist Papers are both available online and make for an outstanding resource for this chapter. If you like, you can assign them as parallel readings, with students reading the Federalist and Anti-Federalist positions on key debates around ratification. Alternatively, you could select just the most influential and important of the documents, which would include Federalist 10, 51, and 84. If you are interested in assigning them as paired readings, the following subject matter guide may be of assistance.

Topic	Federalist Paper	Anti-Federalist Paper
Checks and Balances	No. 10 No. 51	No. 47 (Centinel, "Balance of Departments not Achieved under New Constitution")
The Bill of Rights	No. 10 No. 84	No. 84 (Brutus, "On the Lack of a Bill of Rights")
Executive Power	No. 67	No. 67 (Cato, "Various Fears Concerning the Executive Department")
The Judiciary	No. 78 No. 83	No. 78 and 79 (Brutus, "The Power of the Judiciary")

READING 2: Sanford Levinson. *Our Undemocratic Constitution: Where the Constitution Goes Wrong and How We the People Can Correct It.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). An engaging text that makes the case that some of our Constitution's provisions promote ineffective or unjust government. Levinson argues in favor of provisions for the people to remove the president (recall), ending life tenure for Supreme Court justices, and making it easier to amend the Constitution. His controversial premise would make for an engaging supplemental reading for any U.S. government course.

READING 3: Many outstanding books profile the Founders, their debates, and the difficulties they faced as they developed the documents that would be at the heart of the new nation. However, their autobiographies provide particularly interesting insights.

- Thomas Jefferson. *The Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson* (Dover Publications reprint, 1996).
- Benjamin Franklin. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (Dover Publications reprint, 1996).
- George Washington. *His Excellency, George Washington* (Vintage reprint, 2008).

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READING 4: Several engaging texts exploring the time of the founding have been written. Ray Raphael's *Founders: The People Who Brought You a Nation* (New York: The New Press, 2010) and Joseph Ellis's *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (New York: Vintage, 2002) cover much of that story.

READING 5: Revisionist historians have focused on those who have been excluded from the traditional discussion of the founding. These include Woody Holton's *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves, and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (University of North Carolina Press, 1999), Carol Berkin's *Revolutionary Mothers: Women in the Struggle for American Independence* (New York: Random House, 2005), and Howard Zinn's classic *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper, 2005 reprint).

READING 6: Charles Beard. *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Dover Publications, 1913). Beard's classic text has been reprinted numerous times, most recently in 2017 by Taylor and Francis. In it, Beard argues that "economic elements are the chief facts in the development of political institutions" (p. 6). More concretely, he contends that understanding the economic interests of the Founders helps to explain the specific structures of the U.S. Constitution and the U.S. government. Beard's thesis has generated significant debate, including Forrest McDonald's *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958) and Jackson Main's "A Critical Review of Forrest McDonald's *We the People*" in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 17 (1) (1960): 86–102. Both Beard's and McDonald's texts are now available online through GoogleBooks, at http://books.google.com.

READING 7: Frederick Douglass. "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" (speech delivered on July 5, 1852). Available online at http://teachingamericanhistory.org. Arguably one of the most powerful critiques of slavery in American history, Douglass offers a pointed deconstruction of the longstanding practice of slavery in the United States amid a national celebration of freedom and liberty.

READING 8: Kevin Bleyer. *Me the People: One Man's Selfless Quest to Rewrite the Constitution of the United States* (New York: Random House, 2012). A humorous exploration of the U.S. Constitution

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written by Kevin Bleyer, a comedy writer for *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*.

READING 9: Akhil Reed Amar. *The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). An engaging text written by one of the leading constitutional law scholars of the United States. Amar explores the Bill of Rights, the historical context within which it was developed, and considers how our use and understanding of the document have evolved over time.

READING 10: Kevin Gutzman. *The Politically Incorrect Guide to the Constitution* (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 2007). Gutzman offers a conservative interpretation of the U.S. Constitution, arguing that the Supreme Court has dramatically misinterpreted the intent of the Founders, and calling for a return to a conservative vision of limited government and judicial restraint

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READING 11: David O. Stewart. *The Summer of 1787: The Men Who Invented the Constitution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007). Stewart provides a personal exploration of the character of the Founders, focusing on George Washington, James Madison, and Benjamin Franklin, and their efforts to develop a new constitution in the summer of 1787.

READING 12: Jeffrey A. Segal, Chad Westerland, and Stefanie A. Lindquist (2011). "Congress, the Supreme Court, and Judicial Review: Testing a Constitutional Separation of Powers Model," *American Journal of Political Science*. 55(1): 89–104. This piece argues that the exercise of checks and balances through the mechanism of judicial review is weakened when the ideological distance between the Congress and the Courts is large.

READING 13: Allan C. Hutchinson and Joel Colón-Ríos. (2011). "Democracy and Constitutional Change." *Theoria*. 58(127): 43–62. This article considers the relationship between democracy and constitutional change using efforts to amend the Constitution of the State of California as a case study. Hutchinson and Colón-Ríos conclude that formal constitutions and institutions may do more to inhibit democratic participation than to promote it.

READING 14: Michelle C. Pautz. "Challenging the Constitution: Convening a Mock Constitutional Convention for American Government Students," *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 44 (3) (July 2011): 648–651. Pautz provides evidence in support of the use of simulations in the American government classroom and outlines the results of her own simulation. This article provides great background information on running simulations covering any topic in the American government classroom.

READING 15: The full text of the Federalist Papers and the Anti-Federalist papers can be found on several sites online, including the Library of Congress (at http://www.law.ou.edu/ushistory/federalist/). *The Anti-Federalist Papers* are available at http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1786-1800/the-anti-federalist-papers/.

READING 16: Several websites maintain extensive collections of key documents related to the Founding and the U.S. Constitution. An annotated version of the U.S. Constitution which includes Supreme Court decisions deciding its meaning is available at the U.S. Senate website (http://www.senate.gov/index.htm) under the reference tab. The Avalon Project at Yale University

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(http://avalon.law.yale.edu/) offers an extensive collection of documents related to the debate overdeveloping the new Constitution. The Library of Congress website maintains an extensive collectionof primary documents from U.S. history, including documents related to the Constitution (https://www.loc.gov).

READING 17: The Constitutional Convention page at the Teaching American History website http://teachingamericanhistory.org is a treasure trove of information on the Constitutional Convention, its attendees, and the debates that occurred there. It provides an outstanding resource to aid in lecture preparation or to assign as supplemental review material for students.

READING 18: 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) to find articles related to themes raised in the course. *PS* also has outstanding resources for teaching political science.

READING 19: In *The Cult of the Constitution: Our Deadly Devotion to Guns and Free Speech* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2019), law professor Mary Ann Franks develops the concept of constitutional fundamentalism, which she describes as a selective and self-serving reading of the Constitution. She explores this in the context of the First and Second Amendments.

FILM 20: *John Adams* (2008). Home Box Office (HBO). An award-nominated HBO miniseries focusing on the life of John Adams and the first 50 years of the United States.

FILM 21: *Hamilton* (Disney+, 2020) is the film version of the Broadway musical about the rise and fall of Founding Father Alexander Hamilton.

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Revel Features Chapter

Overview

Current Events Bulletin

Video Intro: WATCH: THE CONSTITUTION: THE BIG PICTURE

Chapter preview video. Approx. 3 mins in length. Author is on-screen presenter. Filmed and produced by Pearson. May include a few embedded static images picked up from print.

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The Origins of the Constitution

2.1 Describe the ideas behind the American Revolution and their role in shaping the Constitution.

Social Explorer: TABLE 2.1: LOCKE AND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: SOME PARALLELS

End of Module Quiz 2.1

The Government That Failed: 1776–1787

2.2 Analyze how the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation led to its failure.

Social Explorer: TABLE 2.2: KEY PROVISIONS OF THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Simulation: FIGURE 2.2: POWER SHIFT: ECONOMIC STATUS OF STATE LEGISLATORS BEFORE AND AFTER THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Figure 2.2 recast as a slideshow allows for extended analysis of shifts in the economic status of state legislators in the North and in the South before and after the Revolutionary War.

Watch: VIDEO: Economic Upheaval

End of Module Quiz 2.2

Writing a Constitution: The Philadelphia Convention

2.3 Describe the delegates to the Constitutional Convention and the core ideas they shared.

End of Module Quiz 2.3

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Critical Issues at the Convention

2.4 Categorize the issues at the Constitutional Convention and outline the resolutions reached on each type of issue.

Journal Prompt 2.4: THE EQUALITY ISSUES

Is representation in the Senate fair?

Social Explorer: TABLE 2.3: HOW THE CONSTITUTION RESOLVED THREE ISSUES OF EQUALITY

Social Explorer: TABLE 2.4: ECONOMICS IN THE CONSTITUTION

Social Explorer: POLICY ROOTS: THE CONSTITUTIONAL ROOTS OF INEQUALITY

A mix of text, images, and visualizations presented in a slideshow-style format.

End of Module Quiz 2.4

The Madisonian System

2.5 Analyze how the components of the Madisonian system addressed the dilemma of reconciling majority rule with the protection of minority interests.

Simulation: FIGURE 2.3: THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS: THE ORIGINAL PLAN

Animation of original electoral process by which the president, senators, representatives, and members of the judiciary would be elected/appointed to office.

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Simulation: SEPARATION OF POWERS & CHECKS AND BALANCES IN THE CONSTITUTION

Video: VIDEO POLITICS: UK PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE: HOLDING THE EXECUTIVE ACCOUNTABLE

May 6, 2009. Approx. 2 mins in length. Prime Minister Gordon Brown of the Labour Party debates Conservative Party leader David Cameron.

Journal Prompt: FIGURE 2.4

How do checks and balances help and/or hurt the government's efforts to solve urgent problems?

End of Module Quiz 2.5

Ratifying the Constitution

2.6 Compare and contrast the Federalists and Anti-Federalists in terms of their backgrounds and their positions regarding government.

Social Explorer: TABLE 2.5: FEDERALISTS AND ANTI-FEDERALISTS COMPARED

Social Explorer: TABLE 2.6: THE BILL OF RIGHTS (ARRANGED BY FUNCTION)

End of Module Quiz 2.6

Changing the Constitution

2.7 Explain how the Constitution can be formally amended and how it changes informally.

Simulation: FIGURE 2.5: HOW THE CONSTITUTION CAN BE AMENDED

Animation of pathways by which the Constitution can be amended.

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Social Explorer: EXPLORE THE DATA: HOW FREQUENTLY SHOULD WE AMEND THE CONSTITUTION?

Exploratory data component of the "You Are the Policymaker" debate told in a series of related graphs that demonstrate the break along party lines in votes to amend the Constitution. Data reveals the level of support among congressional Democrats and Republicans for all constitutional amendments adopted since the Civil War that were subject to a roll call or voice vote.

Video: WATCH: ABC NEWS: NOT EVEN THE FOUNDERS LIKED POLITICAL PARTIES

Popular historian Kenneth C. Davis, author of the best-selling *Don't Know Much About* series, explains the birth of political parties. Runtime: 2 mins, 41 secs. Aired Jun 7, 2012.

Journal Prompt 2.7: THE IMPORTANCE OF FLEXIBILITY

Some people think the Constitution should only be changed by amending it. Others think it is better if the Constitution is viewed as more flexible. What do you think?

End of Module Quiz 2.7

Understanding the Constitution

2.8 Assess whether the Constitution establishes a majoritarian democracy and how it limits the scope of government.

Modal Window: REVEAL: ELECTORAL COLLEGE REVERSAL OF POPULAR VOTE: THE ELECTION OF 2000: BUSH V. GORE

Social Explorer: EXPLORE THE DATA: THE ELECTION OF 2000: BUSH V. GORE

Side-by-side comparison of electoral vote and the popular vote in the 2000 presidential election using Social Explorer–provided election data.

End of Module Quiz 2.8

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Chapter Review

Video: WATCH: THE CONSTITUTION: SO WHAT?

Chapter wrap-up video. Approx. 3 mins in length. Author is on-screen presenter. Filmed andproduced by Pearson. No embedded static images.

Multimedia Gallery: BROWSE: THE IMAGE GALLERY

Photographic images from the chapter consolidated in one swipe-through gallery.

Flashcards: LEARN: THE TERMS

Self-assessment of user's knowledge of chapter's key terms using flashcards.

Flashcards: APRENDER: EL VOCABULARIO

Self-assessment of user's knowledge of chapter's key terms using flashcards. In Spanish.

Explore Further: FURTHER READINGS

A list of relevant readings related to the chapter.

Shared Writing Prompt: THE CONSTITUTION

Does the Constitution's system of checking and balancing make it too difficult for the national government to make decisions about pressing problems?

End of Chapter Quiz

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