TAKING SIDES



State and Local Government

John R. Wood

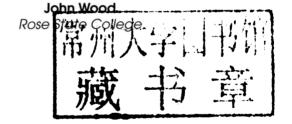
TAKINGSIDES

Clashing Views in

State and Local Government Issues

FIRST EDITION

Selected, Edited, and with Introductions by





The McGraw·Hill Companies



TAKING SIDES: CLASHING VIEWS IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Published by McGraw-Hill, a business unit of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020. Copyright © 2011 by The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a database or retrieval system, without the prior written consent of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., including, but not limited to, in any network or other electronic storage or transmission, or broadcast for distance learning.

Some ancillaries, including electronic and print components, may not be available to customers outside the United States.

Taking Sides[®] is a registered trademark of the McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. Taking Sides is published by the **Contemporary Learning Series** group within the McGraw-Hill Higher Education division.

1234567890 DOC/DOC 109876543210

MHID: 0-07-805005-7 ISBN: 978-0-07-805005-3

ISSN: 2152-3851

Managing Editor: Larry Loeppke

Director, Specialized Production: Faye Schilling Senior Developmental Editor: Jade Benedict

Editorial Coordinator: Mary Foust

Production Service Assistant: *Rita Hingtgen* Permissions Coordinator: *Shirley Lanners*

Editorial Assistant: Cindy Hedley Senior Marketing Manager: Julie Keck

Senior Marketing Communications Specialist: Mary Klein

Marketing Coordinator: Alice Link Project Manager: Erin Melloy Design Specialist: Brenda A. Rolwes Cover Graphics: Rick D. Noel

Compositor: MPS Limited, A Macmillan Company

Cover Image: © Ilene MacDonald/Alamy

TAKINGSIDES

Clashing Views in

State and Local Government Issues

FIRST EDITION



Editors/Academic Advisory Board

Members of the Academic Advisory Board are instrumental in the final selection of articles for each edition of TAKING SIDES. Their review of articles for content, level, and appropriateness provides critical direction to the editors and staff. We think that you will find their careful consideration well reflected in this volume.

TAKING SIDES: Clashing Views in State and Local Government Issues

First Edition

EDITOR

John Wood *Rose State College*

ACADEMIC ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERS

Kay Murnan Ozarks Technical Community College

Jean-Gabriel Jolivet
Southwestern College

Michael Coulter Grove City College

Bradford Young *Ocean County College*

Daniel Bubb Gonzaga University

Will Miller Ohio University

John Fielding Mount Wachusett Community College

Marilyn Klotz SUNY-Geneseo

Felix Jollevet Mount San Antonio College

George Gordon Illinois Wesleyan University

Wendy Johnston Adirondack Community College

Ed Miller University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

Robert Lancaster Kentucky State University Vincent Markowski Fairleigh Dickinson University

Sharon Alter Harper College

James Newman
Idaho State University

Alton Alade-Chester San Bernardino Valley College

Edward Sharkey Columbia College

Peter Yacobucci Walsh University

Chris Turner Laredo Community College

Debora Tandal Honolulu Community College

Dawn McClanahanOwens Community College

Tim Meinke Lynchburg College

Harvey Strum Sage College of Albany

Aaron Rodrigues Cuesta College

Bridget Jeffery *Edinboro University of PA*

William Hall Bradley University Rebecca Casper Eastern Idaho Technical College

Ron Eltzeroth Danville Area Community College

Jeff Colbert Elon University

Daniel Howard Rutgers University, Camden

Mike Epitropoulos University of Pittsburgh

Nikki Isemann Southeast Community College

John Howell Southern Utah University

Derek Mosley Meridian Community College

Eric Miller Blinn College

James White Concord University

Mark Youngkin World Harvest Bible College

Shannon Jenkins University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth

Lisa ParshallDaemen College

www.ertongbook.com



Editors/Academic Advisory Board continued

Chip Brown

Coastal Carolina University & Horry-Georgetown Technical College

Earl Ballou

Palo Alto College

Joshua Quinn Northern Kentucky University

James Arpante

Berkshire Community College

Elizabeth Williams Santa Fe College

Angela Manos-Sittnick Saint Leo University

Calvin Scheidt Tidewater Community College

Mark Daniels Slippery Rock University

Steven Bayne Century College

Christy Woodward Kaupert

San Antonio College

Charles Greenawalt Millersville University

Daniel Lewis University of New Orleans

Robert Postic The University of Findlay

Mitzi Mahoney Sam Houston State University

Jodi Balma Fullerton College

Carmine Scavo East Carolina University

Deborah LouisAsheville-Buncombe
Technical Community
College

Beverly Cigler *Penn State Harrisburg*

Nancy Lind Illinois State University

Kathleen Waggoner Iowa State University

Erin Richards Cascadia Community College Mark Wrighton Millikin University

Adann-Kennn Alexxandar Valdosta State University

Kenneth Goode

Nazareth College

Cathy Trecek
Iowa Western Community
College

Robert O'Meara Holyoke Community College

Alexander Heckman Capital University

Denise Keller Mississippi State University

Joseph Heim University of Wis.-La Crosse

Alison Brown Wichita State University

Junius Koonce Edgecombe Community College

John Hamman Southern Illinois University

Tim Madigan Mansfield University

Robert Taylor Montclair State University

Jean-Philippe Faletta University of St. Thomas

Abraham Benavides The University of North Texas

Chris Grill Empire State College, Latham

Charles Turner California State University, Chico

Ronald Eydenberg Middlesex Community College

Naomi Robertson Macon State College

Michael Latner Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo

Joe Gaziano Lewis University Catherine Bottrell-Tomerlin Tarrant County College,

Southeast Campus Gilbert Schorlemmer

Blinn College Reed Gusciora

The College of New Jersey

John A. Kromkowski The Catholic University of America

Melissa Lin Klemens University of Maryland-University College

Lawson Veasey Jacksonville State University

Margaret Heubeck University of Virginia

Mack C. Shelley Iowa State University

Mark Kuss Our Lady of Holy Cross College

Kevin Pirch Eastern Washington University

Jacqueline Holland Lorain County Community College

Christopher Baxter University of Tennessee-Martin

Albert Mills Temple University

Jon Taylor University of St. Thomas

Terence Garrett University of Texas, Brownsville

Irasema Coronado University of Texas at El Paso

Daniel Simone Saint Peter's College

Gary A. Sokolow College of the Redwoods

Kwame Antwi-Boasiako Stephen F. State University

Regina Swopes
College of Du Page
Harry White Ir

Harry White, Jr. Western Oregon University



"In seeking truth you have to get both sides of a story."

-Walter Cronkite1

It is the mission of the *Taking Sides* series in general and that of this book more specifically to do two things: (1) provide information about opposing sides of salient issues; and (2) make both sides understandable as legitimate viewpoints, nonetheless clashing.

This first edition of *Taking Sides: Clashing Views in State and Local Government* offers 19 issues spread throughout six units that permeate state and local interest textbooks, journals, and newspapers as well as discussions on the street. These are controversial issues, many of which have been debated from the time our founding fathers fought over the content of the Constitution at the Constitutional Convention behind closed doors in the Pennsylvania State House. It is common knowledge the Convention itself was divided.

Advocates of differing interpretations of the Constitution's drafting have taken two distinct views, some arguing that the Convention created the Constitution out of a commitment to ideas and political principles, others arguing that the participants designed the Constitution to aid and protect their social, political, and economic interests.²

The early Constitutional Conventional scene is partly captured in this book by the inclusion of articles from the Federalist and Anti-Federalist debates after the Constitution itself was crafted. Subsequent to the Constitution's finalization, the newly branded Federalists pushed to get their point of view out to the people through what were called the *Federalist Papers*. The Anti-Federalists countered with what were later called the *Anti-Federalist Papers*. Debate over representation and voice concerning the issue of states' power versus a more centralized government is covered in Issue 3 of this book. The Federalists' answer to a more centralized approach in creating both "checks and balances" and "separation of powers" is discussed in Issue 4, "Are Checks and Balances Enough to Protect Your Rights?"

Debate over the question of a predominate power structure is also examined in a more modern and hotly-contested argument over the issue of the Fifth Amendment's eminent domain, or the taking of property for private use from the formerly exclusive "private use" principle.

This book presents five units broken down as "Governorship," "Intergovernmental Relations," "Courts, Police, and Corrections," "State Legislatures," "Suburbs, Cities, and Schools," and "State and Local Policy Making."

Americans have always been skeptical of centralized power, even if paradoxically Americans like its efficiency and control. In Issue 1, we examine the Pentagon's ability to seize the governor's power over the National Guard. This issue raises the question: Will this authority give the president inordinate power and undermine our state governors? On the other hand, Issue 2 asks, Do

viii PREFACE

we want governors subverting state legislators' power by cutting line items that these legislators wrestled over on behalf of their constituents? Or, should governors not have the ability to carve out unwanted pork from the budget and save taxpayers money?

In Unit 3, "Courts, Police, and Corrections," this book examines the following topics:

- Do principals have the right to strip search students? (Issue 7)
- Are mandatory minimums for drug sentencing effective? (Issue 8)
- Is it appropriate to squelch a student's freedom of speech if he or she is promoting drug use? (Issue 9)

In Unit 4, "State Legislatures," state legislative term limits (Issue 10) are debated along with whether state legislators should create their own legislative district boundaries (Issue 11). Has an independent redistricting commission composed of both parties done any better?

In Unit 5, "Suburbs, Cities and Schools," it is asked

- Is the property tax (Issue 12) legitimate at the state or local level?
- Is sprawl really a problem or overhyped? (Issue 13)
- Do we even need school boards or should the mayor just take over? (Issue 14)
- Can religious groups use public schools when the campus is closed? (Issue 15)

Finally, in the "State and Local Policy Making" unit, the book explores these debates:

- Should same-sex couples receive Constitutional protection? (Issue 16)
- Are charter schools worthwhile? (Issue 17)
- Are "concealed and carry" permits in the classroom making it safer? (Issue 18)
- Will national standards make schools more effective? (Issue 19)

In this unit, policymaking is put into action or inaction through state and public officials.

Presenting court cases makes sense in a book that examines both state and local issues; they generate and perpetuate the inevitable conflict that comes with such a vastly diverse people who come together across many locales and, in doing so, clash over values and factual misunderstandings and interests. This book covers six issues that entail court cases. The U.S. Constitution in Article 3, Section 2, states, "The judicial Power shall extend . . . to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party." This means that a book examining the great debates in state and local government would naturally cover court cases.

Regardless of which side you find yourself on in these debates, both sides have come together to inform and create a basis for thinking beyond intractable conflict toward a consensus of mutual benefit.

A word to the instructor An Instructor's Resource Guide with Test Questions (multiple-choice and essay) is available through the publisher for the instructor using Taking Sides in the classroom. A general guidebook, Using Taking Sides in the Classroom, which discusses methods and techniques for integrating the pro/con approach into any classroom setting, is also available. An online version of Using Taking Sides in the Classroom and a correspondence service for Taking Sides adopters can be found at http://www.mhcls.com/usingts. Taking Sides: Clashing Views in State and Local Government is only one title in the Taking Sides series. If you are interested in seeing the table of contents for any of the other titles, please visit the Taking Sides Web site at http://www.mhcls.com/takingsides.

Acknowledgments This edition benefited from the research conducted by Judge Melissa Lin Klemens, who found articles on the judicial system that I included in what was eventually Issue 9, "Should State and Local Officials Reform How Justices Are Elected to the Bench?" I also want to thank the issue's Editorial Board, who, through Larry Leoppke's helpful survey of more than a hundred professors around the country, offered me feedback on issue selection for the first edition of *Taking Sides: Clashing Views in State and Local Government*. I also want to thank McGraw Hill's editors Mark Georgiev and Beth Mejia, who believed in me enough to allow me to move forward with this project after pitching the idea in the fall of 2008. Also, Jade Benedict, my editor, who always has a laid-back and approachable demeanor, all the while helping my researching and writing process.

Most of all, I want to thank my wife, Bonnie, who puts up with my late nights typing away and humors me when I often say that this is my last project . . . for a while.

Notes

- "Both Sides of the Story," CBSNews.com (October 3, 2007). Interview of Jimmy Hoffa by Walter Cronkite. Accessed December 13, 2009, http://www .cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=3256916n
- 2. Calvin Jillson, Constitution Making: Conflict and Consensus in the Federal Convention of 1787 (New York: Agathon Press, 1988), p. xi.
- 3. Joseph Losco and Ralph Baker, Am Gov (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2009).
- 4. Bruce Miroff, Raymond Seidelman, and Todd Swanstorm, *The Democratic Debate: An Introduction to American Politics*, 3rd ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002).



he *Taking Sides* series presents current issues in a debate-style format designed to stimulate student interest and develop critical thinking skills. Each issue is thoughtfully framed with an issue summary, an issue introduction, and a postscript. The pro and con essays—selected for their liveliness and substance—represent the arguments of leading scholars and commentators in their fields.

Taking Sides: Clashing Views in State and Local Government is an easy-to-use reader that presents issues on important topics such as eminent domain laws, school boards, "concealed and carry" laws, and urban sprawl. For more information on *Taking Sides* and other *McGraw-Hill Contemporary Learning Series* titles, visit www.mhhe.com/cls.

This convenient guide matches the issues in **Taking Sides: State and Local Government** with the corresponding chapters in one of our best-selling McGraw-Hill political science textbooks by Saffell/Basehart.

Taking Sides: State and Local Government	State and Local Government: Politics and Public Policies, 9/e, by Saffell/Basehart
Issue 1: Should the Pentagon Take over the National Guard During Disasters?	Chapter 2: Intergovernmental Relations
Issue 2: Should Governors Have the Line-Item Veto?	Chapter 6: Governors, Bureaucrats, and Mayors
Issue 3: Should We Protect States Rights over the Federal Government?	Chapter 1: The Setting of State and Local Government
Issue 4: Are "Checks and Balances" Enough to Protect Our Rights?	Chapter 3: Political Parties and Interest Groups Chapter 5: State and Local Legislatures
Issue 5: Should We Allow Eminent Domain for Private Use?	Chapter 3: Political Parties and Interest Groups Chapter 8: Suburbs, Metropolitan Areas, and Rural Communities
Issue 6: Should a National Sense of Morality Override States Rights in the Case of Physician- Assisted Suicide?	Chapter 10: State and Local Policy Making
Issue 7: Is a Strip Search of Students Permissible under the Fourth Amendment?	Chapter 7: Courts, Police, and Corrections
Issue 8: Do Mandatory Sentencing Laws Help the Criminal Justice System?	Chapter 7: Courts, Police, and Corrections
Issue 9: Can a School Punish a Student for Speech That Is Reasonably Viewed as Promoting Illegal Drug Use?	Chapter 10: State and Local Policy Making
Issue 10: Should State Legislators Have Term Limits?	Chapter 5: State and Local Legislatures

(Continued)

XX CORRELATION GUIDE

Taking Sides: State and Local Government	State and Local Government: Politics and Public Policies, 9/e, by Saffell/Basehart
Issue 11: Should Legislators Have the Responsibility for Redistricting?	Chapter 5: State and Local Legislatures
Issue 12: Is Property Tax an Appropriate Revenue Source for State and Local Governments?	Chapter 9: Financing State and Local Government
Issue 13: Should Municipal Governments Limit Urban Sprawl?	Chapter 8: Suburbs, Metropolitan Areas, and Rural Communities
Issue 14: Are School Boards Necessary?	Chapter 10: State and Local Policy Making
Issue 15: Do Religious Groups Have a Right to Use Public School Facilities after Hours?	Chapter 10: State and Local Policy Making
Issue 16: Should Same-Sex Couples Receive State Constitutional Protection?	Chapter 3: Political Parties and Interest Groups Chapter 10: State and Local Policy Making
Issue 17: Do Charter Schools Merit Public Support?	Chapter 10: State and Local Policy Making
Issue 18: Should "Concealed and Carry" Guns Be Allowed in the Classroom?	Chapter 2: Intergovernmental Relations Chapter 10: State and Local Policy Making
Issue 19: Should Local Schools Have National Standards?	Chapter 10: State and Local Policy Making



Passion Is Inversely Proportional to the Amount of Real Information Available.¹

-Gregory Benford

Conflict and Compromise

Taking Sides: Clashing Views in State and Local Government focuses on political conflict in both America's states and cities. You may not know, but the word "conflict" in Latin is conflictus, meaning "striking together," or "contend." In striking together, people's worldviews often clash, and they habitually move to their respective corners or passionately choose sides. The less people with varying perspectives know about the other side of a dispute, the more often arguments escalate.

However, the Chinese word for "conflict" consists of two symbols, one for "danger" and the other "opportunity." In the Chinese culture, conflict allows those on opposing sides of a dispute an opportunity to resolve their differences, but danger is also near if the conflict is not resolved. "Danger" can also mean "change" and when reading these debates, you have the opportunity to be changed by them. After reading both sides of an issue in the book, you might find one of the two sides reinforced in your mind. This is because, when conflicts are not just factually controversial, but value-based, it is still important for both sides to understand where the other is coming from. At the very least, they should understand that the opposing viewpoint is legitimate, and then agree to disagree. Values signify a specific set of standards denoting both what an individual thinks is right and what is good.⁵ As a result, when individuals have different value-based ideas about what is important and right, they will likely develop very different and often incongruent goals, potentially leading to conflict. However, agreeing to disagree is not always status quo, because understanding the other side and respecting it as legitimate is change in itself.

You might read both sides of any issue in this volume and find that you now agree with the other side, find both sides have great points, or disagree with both sides. Either way, understanding and respecting such conflicts reduces the insipient passion you might have for being right, reducing your potential friction with others who might disagree with you passionately. One side seldom represents the only correct or legitimate viewpoint.

Typically, the political fights we see on the street are fissures between Democrats and Republicans. Pro-lifers, for example, we typically think of as being Republican, and pro-choicers as Democrats, right? However, this country is more fractured and less black-and-white than that would suggest. A 2006

xxii INTRODUCTION

Newsweek poll found as many as 31 percent of Republicans are actually prochoice and 25 percent of Democrats are right-to-life.⁶ This poll result might be partially explained by an ideology test at "Where do you fit?" created by the Pew Charitable Trusts in 2005.⁷

The Pew Charitable Trusts study associated with the survey found major cleavages within each party, which certainly counters the prevalent notion that America intensified its division between two cohesive factions. The survey actually finds nine typologies instead of the usual two. The survey finds three typologies on the Right and three on the Left. Uniquely, this Pew Charitable Trusts survey finds three typologies in the center—Upbeats (11 percent), Disaffecteds (9 percent), and Bystanders (10 percent), whereas the Right is composed of Pro-Government Conservatives (9 percent), Social Conservatives (11 percent), and Enterprisers (9 percent), and the Left is made up of Liberals (17 percent), Conservative Democrats (14 percent), and Disadvantaged Democrats (10 percent).

The nine typologies are explained below,

Center Groups9

- (1) **Upbeats** have optimistic views of their personal finances, government capabilities, business, and of the nation.
- (2) **Disaffecteds** are extremely cynical about government and unfulfilled with their personal finances. This group is also turned off by TV and newspaper news, as well as politics in general.
- (3) Bystanders largely relegate themselves to the political margins. This is a category of mostly young people and few of them vote. Many are noncitizens.

The Right¹⁰

- (1) **Enterprisers** are extremely patriotic and pro-business, the most likely to oppose social welfare and most apt to support an aggressive military presence.
- (2) Although **Social Conservatives** agree with most Enterprisers, they are critical of business, and unlike Enterprisers, supportive of government regulation to protect the environment and the public good. Many are white evangelical Christians.
- (3) **Pro-Government Conservatives** also are broadly religious and socially conservative; however, unlike Enterprisers, they fully support a conservative government but also support more government regulation and support to the poor, similar to those on the Left.

The Left¹¹

- (1) **Liberals** oppose aggressive foreign policy, highly support environmental protection, and firmly push government welfare.
- (2) Conservative Democrats are very religious, like the Social Conservatives, taking more moderate stances on several foreign policy matters.

3. **Disadvantaged Democrats** are the most cynical about their chances in life and also very mistrustful of both business and government. They, however, support government programs to help those in need.

As you can see, nine different typologies break up the traditional two-party status, at least theoretically. Practically, both the Democrats and Republicans are virtually in control of the government, but each with divisions within themselves. Essentially, in these issue debates it is easy to label either side as the Democrat or Republican position, but this simple explanation falls short of reality.

A recent journal article in Annual Review of Political Science reinforces this idea that there is more political diversity than people realize, because the elites polarize political debates much more than the mass public is actually polarized.¹² Therefore, it is important to understand that political viewpoints are really very diverse and neither the Republican Party nor the Democratic Party is homogenous. Whether it is the Republican Party split over immigration during the Bush administration¹³ or the Democrats split over health care. ¹⁴ the political divisions and gridlock are largely due to internal factions. To illustrate, the immigration issue severely divides both parties. Enterprisers and Liberals agree that immigrants strengthen America; however, the other two groups on each side tend to characterize immigrants as those who threaten America's traditional values and customs. 15 As a result, little has been accomplished constructively in terms of policy dealing with immigration reform of any kind. It is not surprising that in 2005 and 2006 two bills on immigration reform passed in Congress but failed in to become law. 16 In 2005, the U.S. House passed the Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005. Likewise, the Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act of 2006 passed in the U.S. Senate. However, both bills died in conference committee, where differences were too great.

In this book, there are many conflicts that on the surface seem like simple Republican/Democrat divisions. Although it is not easy to determine the ideology of any of these articles' authors, it is possible to tell how their viewpoints either differ or align with the nine aforementioned typologies. For example, In Unit 6, Issue 16, "State and Local Policy Making," regarding same-sex couples' ability to marry on the state level, Social Conservatives prioritize this issue as something they must fight; however, Enterprisers, who are typically Republicans as well, do not seem energized over this specific issue, but instead focus on the "free market." 17 Conservative Democrats also seem to find same-sex marriage a problem for them, but not quite as much as do the Social Conservatives. Liberals are the most likely to defend same-sex marriage. 18 Similarly, in this unit's Issue 18, "Should 'Concealed and Carry' Guns Be Allowed in the Classroom?" the National Rifle Association and the Brady Campaign struggle over the issue of guns. On the one hand, the Brady Campaign was inspired by James "Jim" Brady, Ronald Reagan's former White House press secretary, who was almost killed and was permanently disabled as a consequence of a 1981 assassination attempt on Reagan. 19 From this experience, Brady became a passionate supporter of gun control. Brady, who worked for Republicans all his

xxiv INTRODUCTION

life, was no liberal. In fact, his first campaign was the failed attempt for social conservative Phyllis Schafly's attempt at the U.S. House.²⁰ The Brady Campaign in this issue advocates to ban guns on university campuses for many reasons. On the other hand, the National Rifle Association is likely an Enterpriser group because of their push against regulations of any sort. Therefore, this issue is as likely to be a fight between Social Conservatives and Enterprisers as it is to be between Democrats and Republicans.

In another example, in Unit 5, "Suburbs, Cities, and Schools," Issue 13, "Should Municipal Governments Limit Urban Sprawl?" both sides are not the simple pitting of Republican and Democratic views against one another. On the "Yes" side, Journalist Rob Gurwitt writes "Not-So-Smart Growth," representing the more liberal, environmentally conscious viewpoint, whereas the "No" side, Thomas J. Dilorenzo's, "The Myth of Suburban Sprawl," is more like the Enterpriser view because it is critical of regulations by government. The Pew Charitable Trusts survey finds that government regulation to protect the environment is at a major divide among Republicans.²¹ Among the three groups on the Right, only the Enterprisers fiercely fight efforts to protect the environment, and the Social Conservatives are more likely to back Liberal approaches.²²

In a third example, Issue 15 presents the question: "Do Religious Groups Have a Right to Use Public School Facilities after Hours?" You might be surprised to find that the U.S. Supreme Court justices are not unbiased, but chosen for their ideology and political positions. In this Supreme Court decision, Justice Clarence Thomas, considered the most conservative justice since the 1930s, wrote the majority decision; it was opposed by former Justice David Souter, considered by many to be moderate to liberal. Souter, appointed by Bush Sr., was considered a surefire conservative appointee. However, he dismayed many conservative supporters after voting against the conservative bloc in two key cases, *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, essentially reaffirming *Roe v. Wade*, and *Lee v. Weisman*, in which he voted down allowing prayer at a high school graduation ceremony. Although conservatives call Justice Souter "liberal" for his stances, he might actually be an Enterpriser, a typology that is very conservative but not nearly as religious as Social Conservatives.

In Unit 4, "State Legislatures," two issues are discussed: Issue 10, "Should State Legislators Have Term Limits?" and Issue 11, "Should Legislators Have the Responsibility for Redistricting?" Both issues concern whether to strengthen or curb state legislative power. The former asks, should we be able to kick long-term incumbents out of office automatically? Or, do we lose expertise by pushing legislators out who are successful at re-election? The latter question concerns who should have the power to create legislative lines: the legislators themselves, or an independent, nonbiased group?

This *Taking Sides* book assumes that a diversity of perspectives can actually be a strength rather than a weakness. For example, philosopher John Rawls' difference principle says that a healthy democracy based on deliberation should maximize information from a large range and availability of perspectives, including the least well off.²⁶ Therefore, by entertaining clashing views, you have the opportunity to have more information at your disposal to make decisions on issues of the day.

All Politics Are Local

When former House Speaker Tip O'Neill lost his first race by 60 votes in Cambridge, Massachusetts' city council race in 1935, his father reminded him: "All politics is local. Don't forget it." Politics forces state house representatives, county commissioners, and city councilmen as well as other offices to focus on what is important to the average person in their district. City councilmen often have to grapple with how to pay for faulty sewer lines, complaints of dogs barking incessantly, constituents' calls to fill numerous potholes, or the need for a neighborhood stop, and so on. Likewise, county commissioners often hear complaints about the need to grade or pave roads as well as other problems county wide. Moreover, state representatives may get phone calls on property taxes questions, putting more criminals in jail, the need for more campus security, or their stance on two gay men marrying or on abortion.

When these clashing views collide, they do so figuratively in space and time. In fact, the Latin for "local" as in, *Taking Sides: Clashing Views in State and Local Government*, is *locus*, meaning "place." Cities and towns originated to take care of the needs of people who converged into one place. Some scholars argue that the origin of the city was from the Neolithic Era, approximately 10,000 years ago, with the advent of agriculture creating more food to feed an ever escalating population, and the resultant population density mandating city development and infrastructure. The established benefits of agriculture pushed hunter-gatherers at the time to lay down their spears and nomadic lifestyle and pick up the sickle to harvest. In addition, protection likely brought people together.

Regardless of municipal government's origin, it provides services to people, such as housing, sanitation, transportation, business locations, water, police and fire protection, and so forth. A majority of Americans identify with the place they live, specifically a city or town, giving them "a sense of community or feeling of belonging." People are also involved in their place of locality. For example, more than 1 million people serve on their city or town's committees and boards, and 50 million belong to more than 250,000 homeowners' associations. 32

States

States typically have boundaries much larger than those of cities and towns, and they are bound by the United States Constitution because of federalism.³³ Federalism is a constitutional principle that gives divided sovereignty between small political units called states and a larger centralized political unit, the national government.³⁴ Although the U.S. Constitution gives "supremacy" to the centralized government over the states, federalism allows states their own power to collect taxes and create laws. As you might expect, this divided sovereignty has created more than 200 years of tension between the two entities. This tension is made evident in this *Taking Sides* book with two issues from debates at the Constitutional Convention. The first, Unit 3, "Intergovernmental Relations," Issue 3 asks, the

question: "Should We Protect States Rights over the Federal Government?" and is set in the opposition between the *Federalist* and the *Anti-Federalist Papers*, No. 45. The second, Issue 4, "Are 'Checks and Balances' Enough to Protect Our Rights?" brings into collision the *Federalist* and *the Anti-Federalist Papers*, No. 51.

Both questions illuminate our Founding Fathers' concerns about how to found a new nation.³⁵ The Federalists were rather tired and upset with what they felt were the disastrous results of the Articles of Confederation from 1781 to the time of the Constitutional Convention in the summer of 1787. The Federalists, also known as Conservative Patriots, pointed to the Article's ability to tax and thereby pay for the Revolution they had financed. Likewise, Shay's Rebellion made painfully apparent the soft underbelly of the new "league of friendship's" vulnerability.³⁶ However, the Anti-Federalists, or Radicals, were critical of a more centralized government that could tax and quell rebellion. Especially were they alarmed by the activities of the Sons of Liberty and most notably Lt. Daniel Shays' 800-strong revolt trying to prevent indictments against fellow farmers for back debt.³⁷ Moreover, the Anti-Federalists wanted to keep the Articles of Confederation as the status quo in order to maintain strong states and a weak national government weak out of fear of another King George III.

Issue 3, concerning states' rights versus the federal government, illustrates the fight over whether states or the national government should run the country. It is a struggle as to the locus, or place, for power. Should power be closer to the people, but fragmented and uncoordinated? Or should power be further from people, more centralized with coordinated action? Issue 4 again raises this tension but focuses more on how to protect our rights. Is it enough that we separate the three branches of government—president, Congress, and courts—each branch with checks and balances to offset each other's power to keep from being too centralized? Or, as Anti-Federalists contended at the time, do these checks and balances really just separate us from the "natural aristocracy," essentially the few? In other words, we might not have a king, they contended, but this "new" government does nothing in terms of keeping the elite from owning the government without the people's input.

This debate is also manifested in this book with Issue 5: "Should We Allow Eminent Domain for Public Use?" This question examines the 2005 Supreme Court case, *Kelo et al. v. City of New London*, which focused on the use of eminent domain in New London, Connecticut. In this case, the city council allowed Pfizer, a giant pharmaceutical company, to build its \$300-million research facility on condemned property for "private use," traditionally not allowed by the Constitution's Fifth Amendment. Justices on the Left, led by Justice John Paul Stevens, typically a centrist, sided with New London in allowing Pfizer to take the property. The Justices on the Right lined up behind Justice Sandra Day O'Conner, who dissented, arguing that this case blurs the line between "public" and "private." It is also a case that divides up those in power, the city and Pfizer, against those, such as Susette Kelo and her neighbors, who hold less power.

The first unit, "Governors," looks at the struggle over the power of a state's chief executive. In Issue 1, we discuss governors' power opposed to the Pentagon in regard to the National Guard. In Issue 2, these two articles examine the lineitem veto. Does this power give governors the legitimacy to limit the excesses of