

Reconceptualizing American Democracy: The First Principles

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ABSTRACT

An outstanding group of leaders left evidence that a richer and more sustainable democracy could be achieved with American independence and democratic principles integrated into a new republican form of government. They were moved by principles that are the very spirit of democracy. These principles are needed to enhance democracy and improve well-being. Using the constructivist tradition of grounded theory and Aristotle's conception of abstraction, the article proposes a theory of the first principles of democracy based on substantive data: the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, The Federalist Papers, and the United States Constitution. Knowledge, fairness, human dignity, hope, unity, and security are the first principles of democracy and are regarded as the bedrock of democracy and a government framework for the people. This theory contributed to a formal model of democratic social change. It also contributes a conceptual framework that supports Solum's semantic originalism, a theory of constitutional interpretation. The principles of democracy can revitalize democracy and provide new possibilities by protecting education as an innate human right, abolishing capital punishment, criminalizing private prisons on the stock market, and reevaluating the proportionality of prison sentences.

Keywords: Government for the people; Human rights; Living constitution; National empowerment; Semantic originalism.

1. Introduction

The first principles and causes are most knowable; for by reason of these, and from these, all other things come to be known, and not these by means of the things subordinate to them.

—Aristotle, *Metaphysics* 350 BCE/1924: 3

Democracy in the United States (U.S.) is often defined as a government of, by, and for the people. While the government of and by the people is extensively discussed in political science, democracy as a government for the people seldom is. What is more uncommon is for democracy to be framed around a first principles framework rather than one based on democratic values. However, for democracy to thrive, enhancing the quality of democracy in America is necessary to improve personal and national well-being. Therefore, for a rational and prudent society to protect the ideal of popular government, a theoretical framework for democracy that transcends our current understanding of the concept and aligns it with a government for the people was developed in this study. The thesis of the first principles of democracy is that knowledge, fairness, human dignity, hope, unity, and security are the fundamental essence of the democratic values in the American founding documents and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights^[1]. Historically, democratic values have narrowed the parameters of human rights and, therefore, of what constitutes respect for human dignity. Current legislators have adopted a democratic values approach that focuses on culturally derived American democratic values (e.g., justice, due process, human rights, equality, liberty, and participation^[2, 3] versus an approach of the first principles of democracy abstracted from “the basic initial assumption of” democracy^[4]. In doing so, social policies are restricted to popular cultural values of the time (e.g., slavery, disenfranchisement of felony offenders, exclusion of the LGBTQ community, reverse redlining, and the exploitation of incarcerated workers). These policies lack human dignity and are not based on a foundation of knowledge, fairness, hope, unity, and security. Furthermore, these restrictions are closely related to narrowing

individual potential, perception of self-worth, self-esteem, self-determination, and self-actualization—a cycle that could have undermined the Founders’ ambitions of creating a republican government.

Prominent democracy scholars believe one to three democratic concepts can characterize American democracy. Democracy in America is commonly represented by equality or liberty ^[5], for example, by Allen ^[6], Connolly ^[7], Dahl ^[8], De Tocqueville ^[9], Giridharadas ^[10], Kendi ^[11], Mencken ^[12], and Rawls ^[13]. A more comprehensive approach to democracy is presented by Christiano ^[14] and Butts ^[2, 3]. They discussed seven and ten American democratic values, respectively. Laws supporting democratic values are viewed as responsible for Americans’ well-being and capable of producing a richer democracy for Americans seeking social justice. To create a richer democracy, Butts analyzed the American founding documents to develop a social change theory. ^[2, 3] Benet, imitating Butts, appropriated his democratic concepts and axioms and developed a social change theory for workplace democracy ^[2-3, 15-16]. One such axiom associates values with their negative aspects. Justice, human rights, due process, equality, and diversity are associated with negative aspects of democratic values. Therefore, justice, equality, due process, and diversity are devoid of fairness (W. J. Benet, personal communication, September 1, 2021, and March 3, 2022). Further, zealous preservation of human rights is considered cultural imperialism (p. 307) ^[15; 2-3]. Because of Butts’s description and Benet’s adoption of negative aspects of these democratic values, this axiom is controversial and fails at upholding the American Founding Founders’ promise of democracy as a government for the people.

Benet’s democratic social change theory inspired the exploration of novel democratic concepts within the U.S. founding documents. Benet’s *Polarities of Democracy* theory synthesizes Butts’s ^[2, 3] civic values and Johnson’s *Polarity Management* framework ^[15]. In his work, Benet ^[15] combines freedom with authority, justice with due process, diversity with equality, human rights with communal obligations (Butts’ patriotism)^[15], and participation with regeneration, later changed to representation. ^[16] Benet applied his framework toward workplace democracy by pairing Butts’s democratic civic values as dilemmas to be managed to meet Johnson’s conceptual framework criteria: “Does the problem persist?” and “Are the poles interrelated?”^[15] Johnson’s *Polarity Management* is similar to the SWOT matrix. It utilizes quadrants. There are positive aspects in the top quadrants and negative aspects in the lower quadrants ^[15]. In order to effectively resolve a dilemma, no problem can be neglected or neglected for an extended period of time. ^[15] Poles must be leveraged to reduce tension and maximize benefits for both sides to benefit. ^[15] Johnson’s tension-driven model is based on concepts that tug and pull at each other could negate social change gains. Instability spreads throughout the framework due to the dynamic tension between the two poles, which shifts and creates new issues. Because of its instability, the model threatens democracy and necessitates democratic principles that will lead to the fulfillment of its promise: *The Principles of Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Leveraging Democratic Polarities* ^[17] provides a more comprehensive critique of Butts’ ^[2, 3] and Benet’s theories. ^[15, 16] To meet this need, democracy had to be reconceived as the Founders themselves envisioned it. The founding documents were analyzed, and democratic principles emerged. On the other hand, the first principles constitute the essence of democracy. The implementation of policies that are designed to uphold these values can take a variety of forms.

A novel aspect of this study is that the framework distinguishes values from principles. Although Rawls^[13] constructed justice as fairness and abstracted principles from justice, no other authors listed the above-discussed democratic concepts as the first principles of democracy. The framework makes it possible to uphold Lincoln's promise of a government for the people employing empowering and normative principles capable of leading to positive and sustainable social change by uniting and imbuing people with hope through promoting respect for human dignity, knowledge, fairness, and security. Those principles describe the essence of Butts' ^[2, 3] democratic values: justice, freedom, authority, human rights, diversity, equality, due process, privacy, participation, patriotism, and property. Rather than promoting a political approach to democracy, the framework emphasizes a normative approach. In addition to fostering a sense of community and respect, the framework frees the government to focus on other pressing matters.

The objective of this constructivist grounded theory study was to explore the U.S. founding documents for democratic concepts that transcend our current understanding of democracy and align it with a government for the people. This article proposes a grounded theory that integrates six concepts into the framework of the first principles of democracy: knowledge, fairness, human dignity, hope, unity, and security. These principles have been the basis of American democratic values since De Tocqueville and are in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights^[1], which has been recognized by 192 member states since its promulgation.

This article incorporates thematic discussion laced with in-vivo codes in accordance with grounded theory methodology and qualitative analysis. Emphasis is placed on the importance of the principle in a democratic society. In the following sections, the methodology and grounded theory will be presented, followed by a discussion and conclusion.

2. Methods

The fundamental principles of grounded theory are theoretical sampling, constant comparison and contrast, theoretical coding, abstraction, and abductive reasoning. An optional strategy for theory generation is sensitizing concepts (concepts that provide a general perspective for approaching data analysis)^[21]. Corbin and Strauss^[22] and Charmaz^[23] developed other approaches to grounded theory. A point of contention between classical grounded theory and the grounded theory traditions of Charmaz, Corbin, and Strauss is the literature review, with grounded theory traditions now more accommodating than classical grounded theory regarding this topic. Glaser and Strauss^[18] advocated for not engaging in the literature review before constructing a grounded theory for several reasons, the primary reason to avoid being influenced by the literature review. Although basic constructivist theory allows the researcher to review data before data analysis, the literature review was deferred for this study.

Charmaz's^[24] constructivist grounded theory was chosen for this study because it is the grounded theory tradition best suited for critical inquiry. Critical inquiry uses a system thinking approach and multiple perspectives and employs reflective skepticism^[25]. In addition, the constructivist tradition allows researchers to explore implicit meanings^[26] and incorporate "questions concerning social justice" into their data analysis processes. Charmaz supports the analysis of "[Foucauldian] power, inequality, and marginality" (p. 11)^[24]. The constructivist grounded

theory tradition is ideal for studying democracy, social change, and the field of politics. The sample content includes 18 founding documents: the Articles of Confederation, the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and 14 essays (Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 14, 22, 38, 42, 43, 51, 54, and 83) from The Federalist Papers. The American founding documents were studied using grounded theory methodology: (a) Theoretical Sampling (see Fig. 1), a purposive sample with the goal of theory building; (b) Theoretical Coding, the coding process in which selected codes are used to build theory; (c) Constant Comparison, the successive comparison of theoretical samples. Data analysis began with The Federalist Papers and ended with the Articles of Confederation when theoretical saturation was reached—the point at which new theoretical codes emerged. The Federalist Papers led to the Bill of Rights, where there was a high number of principles. Data analysis strategies were used within the framework of the constant comparison method^[18].

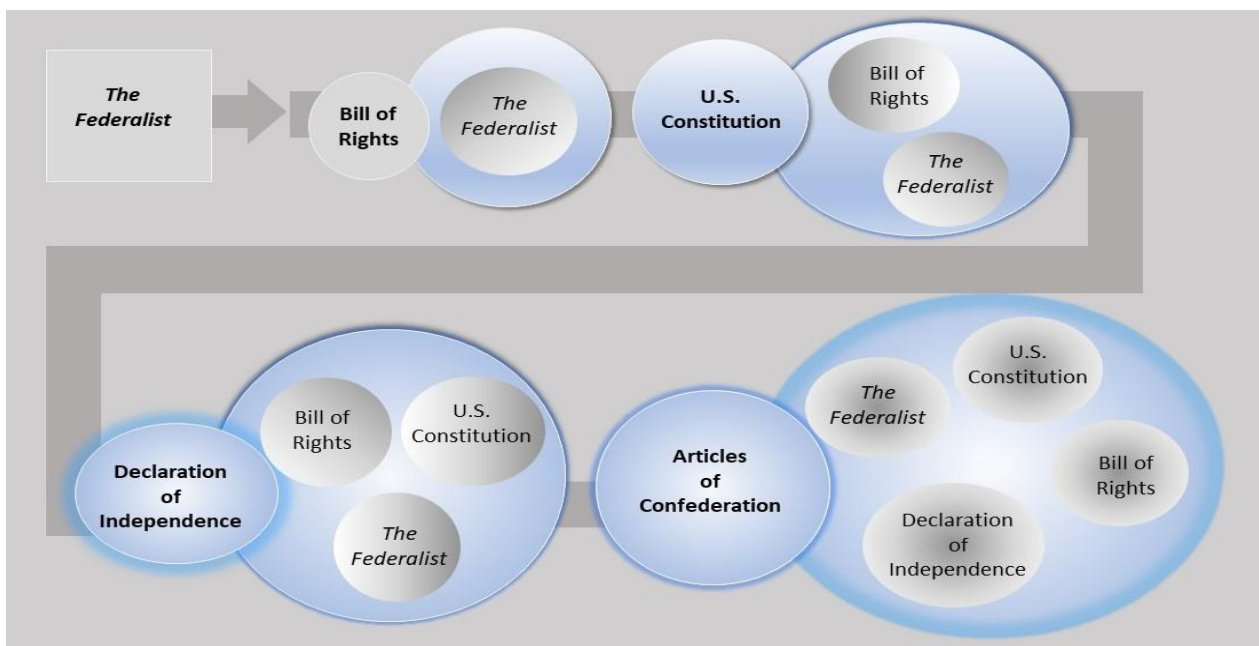


Figure 1. Theoretical Sampling and Coding Process

2.1. Data Analysis Strategies

Data analysis strategies included holistic thinking, systems thinking, situational analysis, dramaturgical analysis, perspective-taking, and deconstruction. Holistic thinking focuses on the entire picture to gain a deeper understanding^[27], while systems thinking explores relationships between units, processes, and their relationships^[28]. According to Clarke et al.,^[29] situational analysis facilitates three types of analysis: relational, social world arena, and positional. In relational analysis, different actors and elements are analyzed by one another. An analysis of the social world facilitates the interpretation of the interactions. Position analysis explores the duties and activities associated with a particular position and is similar to perspective-taking. Perspective-taking permits the mentalization of another's skills, characteristics, and values to understand a situation better from another person's cognitive and emotional perceptions^[30].

Dramaturgical analysis facilitates the exploration of impression management and disruptions during routine exchanges^[31]. The theory assumes that individuals manage their impressions to convey the image they wish to

convey to their audience. In dramaturgical analysis, self-presentation is explained through a theatrical metaphor. In this study, two types of deconstructions were used: (1) the basic understanding of deconstruction, where a concept is decomposed and the essence of a word, that which without the word loses its meaning, is extracted, and (2) Derrida’s deconstruction to analyze text and meaning as well as the incompatibility of meanings ^[32]. By exploring political reframing and word choice, deconstruction was used to understand power.

The two levels of coding used in the constructivist grounded theory were open and selective ^[19]. Open coding assumes data analysis starts without preconceived notions of codes that will emerge from the substantive data ^[33] (see Tab. 1). In contrast, selective coding involves in-depth analysis of selected texts or themes while focusing on theory construction ^[23] (see Appendices). A third coding strategy was used when it was determined that democracy and social change should be reified, and the relationships between theoretical codes and their relationship to both should be examined from a holistic and systems perspective. Corbin and Strauss’s ^[22] axial coding strategy was used to explore the relationship between concepts post-data analysis.

| Empowering Codes | Democratic Principles |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Faction Protection | Security |
| Free Press | Knowledge |
| Free Speech | Knowledge |
| Personhood | Human Dignity |
| Property Rights | Security |
| Freedom to act | Empowerment |
| Vote | Empowerment |
| Participation | Empowerment |
| Fairness/Equity | Fairness |
| Due Process/Equity | Fairness |
| Religion | Knowledge |
| Ideas | Knowledge |
| Community | Unity |
| Protection | Security |
| Safety | Security |
| Hope | Empowerment |
| Diversity/Equity | Fairness |

Table 1. Open and Selective Coding

Axial coding involves finding relationships between theoretical codes (see Fig.2). The principles were compared with traditional democratic concepts ^[2, 3] and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ^[1].

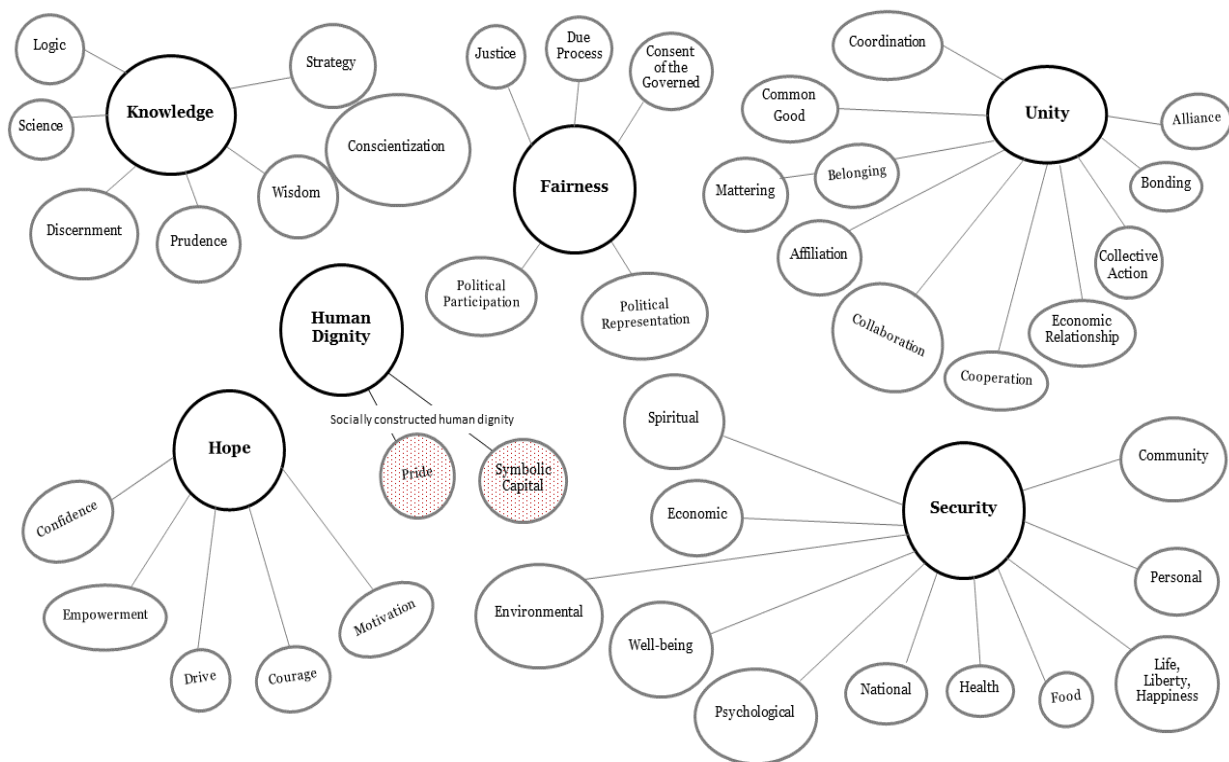


Figure 2. Principles and Particulars

Democratic values provided external validity for the principles of democracy and served to distinguish the technical meaning of the democratic values and the “original public meaning” of the principles (p. 3) ^[35] meaning as intended by the principle that “[t]he Constitution was written to be understood by the voters” (p. 2) ^[35]. This is to say, the meaning of the principle is “fixed by reality, and not by human interests or concerns” (p. 95) ^[35].

Theoretical coding aims to raise concepts to a high level of abstraction so that they can be generalized across different knowledge domains ^[18]. Careful attention has been paid to implicit meanings (i.e., coldness such as temperature, mood, and tone), the understanding that socialized discourse varies with time and culture, and the interaction between words, context, and sentences (p. 37) ^[34]. Democratic elements were borrowed from Butts ^[2, 3], Benet ^[15], and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ^[1] to compare their level of abstraction with theoretical codes.

2.2. Abstraction

Abstraction is a component of qualitative coding that can help identify themes, form categories, and improve theories ^[36]. Its goal in grounded theory is generalizability without losing context ^[36]. Generalizability allows the application of concepts across knowledge domains and “eliminates the need to situate the data in its context” (p. 36) ^[19]. Abstraction is selective attention “on an aspect, typically a general one ... then looking at features belonging to that aspect while ignoring the rest” (p. 5) ^[37] and “taking away something from an object” (p. 7). Selective attention is not always intentional; it can also be intuitive (p. 17).

Abstraction in qualitative data analysis resembles Aristotle’s concept of abstraction. Bäck’s ^[37] discussion of the features of Aristotle’s theory of abstraction can help us understand abstraction. Abstraction is relational. The relationship between particular and universal is between parts and whole (see Figure 3). The constituents of the essence of things are intrinsic to relational structures. Perception, knowledge, and induction are species of abstraction. In science, universals are derived from individuals through perception and knowledge in an iterative process of abstraction; however, the first principles are known intuitively ^[37]. Abstraction does not rely on a mathematical formula or strictly scientific process that can be used to render the first principles of a thing. Abstraction requires understanding or intuitive knowledge. This understanding, or nous, makes articulating a thing’s basic essence difficult yet undeniable.

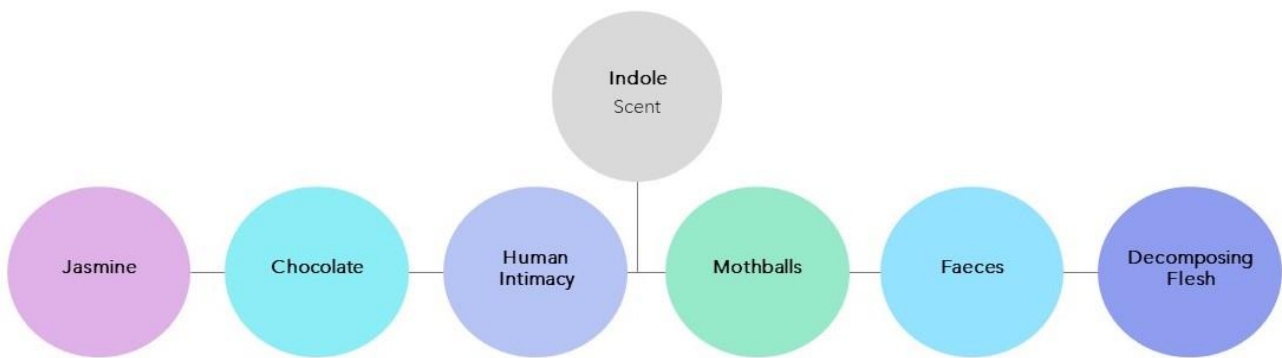


Figure 3. Example of Abstraction

One or more principles may represent more than one democratic value. The Bill of Rights embodies the spirit of fairness, as do other parts of the U.S. Constitution, which embodies fairness as participation and representation. Under the doctrine of consent of the governed, fairness refers to the mutual respect that governments show to their

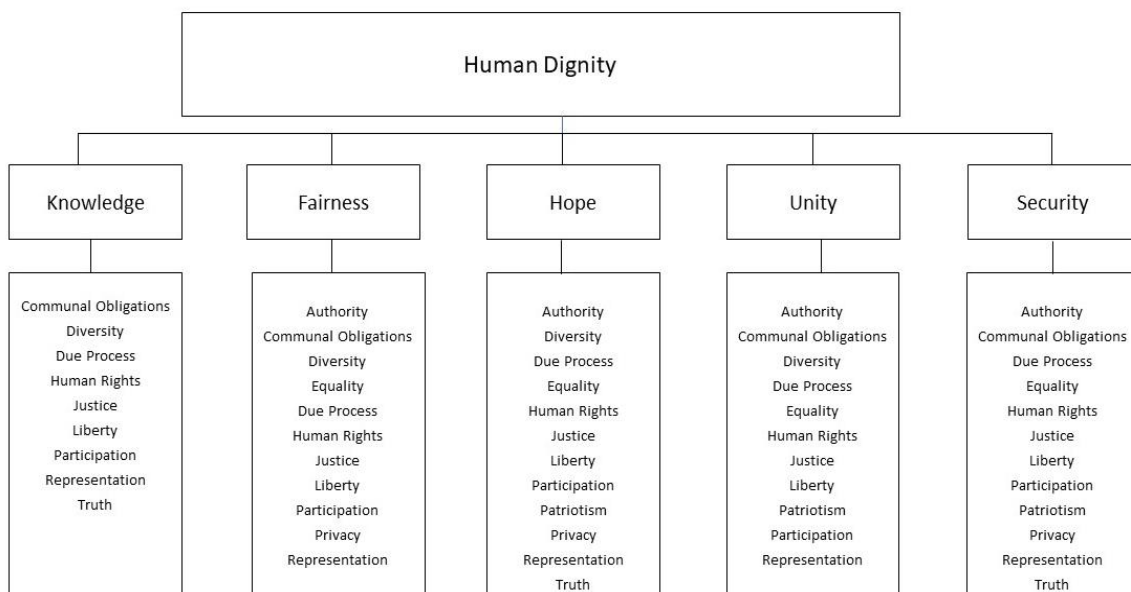


Figure 4. Abstraction: Principles and Particulars

Note: In determining which principle best represents a democratic value, the context in which it is used plays a crucial role.

citizens for ceding power to the government. This is reflected in fair elections and the “Right of the People to alter or abolish government, and to institute new government;”^[38] “A long train of abuses and usurpations”^[38] enumerates the unfairness colonists experienced at the hands of Great Britain. In addition to fairness, human dignity, knowledge, unity, hope, and security can also serve as the basis for participation and representation under certain circumstances (see Figure 4).

The abstraction process started with justice because political justice, rooted in power, is used interchangeably with fairness and appears to have replaced justice with fairness^[39]. Aristotle wrote that “justice (as fairness) is complete virtue to the highest degree because it is the complete exercise of complete virtue...not only in relation to what concerns himself [but] in relation to another” (p. 293)^[39]. Rawls^[13] abstracts fairness and equality from justice as principles of justice. Justice as fairness has another principle: truth (knowledge). As a political concept, justice can be without fairness^[39]. It helps to distinguish fairness, an ethical and moral concept, from political justice. Fairness is a type of justice, but it is superior to political justice because fairness underpins justice and equality and ensures a just outcome. Although fairness as a deviation from a norm to ensure a just outcome^[39] is little understood unless a person is biased, other examples in the criminal justice system influence perceptions of fairness.

Following Aristotle’s example of justice from a legal perspective, one can examine the construction^[35] of justice versus fairness in contemporary American jurisprudence. In determining legal culpability or the length and severity of punishment, a fair judge strives for a just result by considering intent, aggravating and mitigating circumstances, and defense. Justice is the uniform application of laws^[39]. This political species of justice concerns itself with what is lawful versus what is right. It does not guarantee fairness or the lower courts enforcing the spirit of the U.S. Constitution (see *The Federalist Papers* No. (p. 81)^[41]; see also Johnson and Whittington^[42]. The following may affect perceptions of fairness in the justice system:

- Prosecutorial immunity: a legal shield that protects prosecutors even if they knowingly prosecute an innocent person^[43].
- Judicial recusal: rely on judges to remove themselves from a case for which their biases might prejudice the defendant^[44].
- Disproportionality between crime and punishment (i.e., crack cocaine versus cocaine^[45]; white collar crimes versus visible crimes^[46, 47] maintains an imbalance of power.
- Plea bargain is a prosecutorial tool used to negotiate with a defendant whereby the prosecutor can reduce the defendant’s sentence in exchange for cooperation, to manage their caseload, bypass trial due to weak or lack of evidence, or for political reasons^[48].
- Restricting judicial discretion through determinate sentences^[49].

The first principles of democracy are the essence of democratic values (particulars)^[39]. Aristotle describes the principles as consisting of the following features: (a) universality, (b) irreducibility, (c) essence in particulars, (d) uniqueness, and (e) high-level abstraction^[50]. The universality of a concept separates it from and binds it to its

particulars, a property that has relations to a principle. In contrast, the irreducibility of the principle prevents it from being reduced to an exact equivalent of its particulars. In this study, a particular is represented by a democratic value. The fact that principles are universal and unique makes it difficult, if not impossible, to articulate their relational essence with particulars. As principles, the first principles of democracy are evident in the colonists' struggle for independence, as well as slave rebellions and Native American captives seeking death at the hands of conquerors through insult and provocation (seeking respect for human dignity; De Tocqueville (p. 1467) ^[9]. The relentless pursuit of unity among the colonies is evident in the Articles of Confederation ^[51], the alliance with France, and the support of people with different interests but a common interest in America's independence from Great Britain to form a new government ^[38]. These actions support the principles of fairness, hope, and security.

The colonists placed their hope in the words of the Declaration of Independence and the promises of America's Founding Fathers. Today, voters place hope and security in their candidates and campaign promises. Most importantly, voters seek security and hope in the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution to protect their right to participation and representation. Other democratic values proposed by Butts ^[2, 3] and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been similarly analyzed. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights ^[1] contains several details from which principles could be abstracted: Freedom from fear, freedom to travel, the right to education, the right to citizenship, the right to change nationalities, the right to an adequate standard of living, the right to work and protection from unemployment, the right to marry, and the right to free and full consent to marriage.

3. Grounded Theory: First Principle of Democracy

The first principles of democracy are the spirit of the democratic values they represent. They are fixed, universal, and support a government for the people; they are undergirded by human dignity. This essence is "self-evident" and supported by the Founding Fathers' words: "All men are created equal" ^[38]. Although the principles are fixed, they also have an elastic disposition. In that state, they form the basis of democratic values in the founding documents and the Declaration of Human Rights ^[1], preserve respect for human dignity, and lead to security, the final cause of democracy ^[52]; the idea of universality of principles is the basis of this framework. As an overarching principle, respect for human dignity is the foundation of ethics ^[53] in democracy, medicine ^[54], jurisprudence ^[55], psychology ^[56], and the social and political framework. Democratic government based on anthropocentric principles is the essence of government for the people. The assumptions of the principles of democracy are:

- Except for knowledge, the concepts are at the highest level of abstraction.
- The principles represent the spirit of a government for the people interwoven into the U.S. Constitution.
- Respect for human dignity is the essence of democracy.
- The final cause of respect for human dignity is security.

In order of importance, democracy begins with human dignity, followed by security, fairness, unity, knowledge, and hope (see Fig. 5). Together, the principles lead to "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" ^[38]. Only through respect for human dignity can the other five principles be assured. As a measure of well-being, security supports

and binds the remaining four principles. Among the remaining four principles (fairness, unity, knowledge, and hope), fairness underpins knowledge/truth, as fairness implies truth and nurtures hope. It is more important to maintain unity than the other two because division threatens the first three and depresses hope, and knowledge often depends on consensus. The next aspect of hope is knowledge because it requires imagination, a kind of knowledge, to find a viable path to achieve the hoped-for goal ^[57]. Although truth is more abstract than knowledge, the latter can be measured, while the former seems elusive.



Figure 5. Hierarchy of First Principles of Democracy

Democratic values will be challenged by groups that lose hope that their values will be respected. Therefore, a framework based on principles that transcend culture and political ideology, support the democratic ethos, and respect for human dignity is necessary to achieve security ^[58]. Such a framework would emphasize human dignity and promote the internalization and integration ^[59, 60] of respect for human dignity. Democracies ought to be committed to respect for human dignity; therefore, social policies should reflect a government for the people. When the principles are contrasted with anti-democratic policies that violate human dignity, their democratic aspects become clear. However, not all nations have constitutions that explicitly refer to human dignity. Shulztiner and Carmi ^[61] found that only 97 countries refer to human dignity in their constitutions. Consistent with qualitative and foundational theory methods, discussing the first principles of democracy is interwoven with texts from the founding documents to support the framework with substantive data.

3.1. Human Dignity

Democracy is ... that which affords a rule of living as well as a test of faith ... [that leads to] a standard of social ethic ... where all must turn out for one another, and at least see the size of one another's burdens.

—Addams, 1905, p. X

Respect for human dignity must be at the core of all democratic values and principles, as it is the highest abstract principle of democracy. As a result of this abstraction, human dignity becomes too general and all-inclusive. Therefore, the other principles, being less abstract, support and define the boundaries of human dignity. Human dignity emerged from the founding documents as “All men are created equal,” the doctrine of the consent of the governed ^[38], the Bill of Rights, civil liberties, a republican form of government (U.S. Constitution) ^[40], and

freedom of speech and debate in Congress ^[51]. It emerged from “a great point gained in favor of humanity that twenty years may terminate forever, within these States, a traffic which has so long and so loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy” (p. 390) ^[41]. As a fundamental principle of democracy, policymakers must seek to preserve respect for human dignity by implementing policies that recognize and respect it. Respect for human dignity has led to gradual recognition and acknowledgment of certain groups’ humanity over a wide span of time. This is evident in the freeing of enslaved people, the Emancipation Proclamation, the 13th and 14th Amendments, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Roosevelt’s New Deal, *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Obergefell v. Hodges*, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Individuals with Educational Disabilities Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, Equal Pay Act, Family Medical Leave Act, *Miranda v. Arizona*, *Roper v. Simmons*, and many other laws that recognize aggrieved classes and acknowledge their humanity through legislation. The legislation mentioned above upholds President Lincoln’s promise of democracy of a “government for the people” ^[62].

Historically, human rights were recognized and respected only by those whose humanity was recognized. The dignity of propertyless white men was violated by the restriction of their right to vote. As a result, limiting the privileges and immunities of “paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice” violated the rights and dignity of such individuals (art. 4, p. 1) ^[51]. The human dignity of “the merciless Indian savages” was violated through massacres and the expectation that Native Americans cease defending their lives and families ^[38]. African Americans’ human dignity was violated by “laws ... [that] transformed the negroes into subjects of property” (No. 54, p. 547) ^[41]. It is understood that immigrants’ human dignity was undermined by the colonists’ fear of being “treated by the others in no better light than that of foreigners and aliens” (No. 22, p. 182) ^[41]. As a result, these groups were denied their human rights because their dignity was not recognized and violated out of disregard for their humanity and constructed worth. Adding the concept of human dignity to the political lexicon is important because, despite great progress, the promise of democracy remains unfulfilled for many. In the founding documents, democracy became synonymous with social change that promotes social justice and political recognition, a gradual process of liberation that recognizes groups of people as endowed with human dignity. More people can be liberated by creating a culture of respect for human dignity. This could reduce crimes against humanity, victimless crimes, and national and international terrorism.

3.2. Knowledge

Throughout history, knowledge has served as a fundamental principle of democracy because consciousness, a form of knowledge, allowed for deep reflection on events and how they shaped the reality of the founders and their relationship with the crown. Moreover, the colonists’ perception of events and the Founders’ relationship with the colonists reflected their human dignity. Founders were not exhausted by Great Britain’s oppressive policies overnight. On the contrary, “prudence, indeed,” dictates “that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes” ^[38]. The wisdom of the Founders is evident in that at “every stage of these oppressions,” they “petitioned for redress in the most humble terms” despite their “repeated petitions [being] answered only by repeated injury” ^[38]. They “warned” the Crown “from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction” over the colonies ^[38]. The Founders “reminded [Great Britain] of the circumstances of their emigration and settlement” ^[38]. Nevertheless, Great Britain used its power to bring colonists

to absolute despotism by leveraging a “train of abuses and usurpations”^[38]. The Founders’ perception of justice changed as they observed a “Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant,” one who “is unfit to be the ruler of a free people”^[38].

Like other Founders, Thomas Jefferson believed in “a well-informed populace” (p. 221)^[63] who “are sufficiently enlightened to see all the dangers that surround them” and a nation that “will always be represented by a distinct personage” (p. 208)^[63]. In other words, a well-informed populace may be more likely to notice acts of dehumanization and seek to preserve human dignity. As a foundation of democracy, knowledge facilitates deliberative democracy as demonstrated by the publication of the Federalist Papers^[41], petitioning the government “for a redress of grievances”^[38], U.S. Constitution Amendment. I^[40], civil liberties (U.S. Constitution amends. XV, XIX, XXIV, and XXVI^[40]), civil liberties (U.S. Constitution amends I through X^[40]), due process rights (U.S. Constitution amend. IV through IX^[40]) social ethics, social responsibility, and liberty, among others. A characteristic of democracies is the unity of a pluralistic society through a “decent respect for the opinions of mankind”^[38] and the implied sharing of knowledge throughout the First Amendment—including the Freedom of Exercise Clause (“no law respecting an established religion or prohibiting its free exercise;” U.S. Constitution^[40]), petitioning government for a redress of grievances, the right of the people to assemble peaceably, and the other familiar knowledge rights: freedom of speech and the press.

Knowledge, as a principle of democracy, encapsulates the moral essence of truth with a capital “T” (universal knowledge) and lowercase t (scientific fact). Truth, an abstraction of knowledge, ranks higher than justice because justice as fairness cannot exist absent truth, the facts of the case. This is because an implied principle of knowledge resides in fairness and judgments based on less than the facts are subject to appeal. Knowledge extends beyond Gettier’s^[64] conception of knowledge as justified true belief. In the founding documents, knowledge appeared as “prudence ... [dictating] that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes”^[38] and in “a national government whose wisdom and prudence will not be diminished by the passions which actuate the parties immediately interested” (No. 3, p. 15)^[41].

Strategic knowledge, leveraged wisely by the Founders in defeating Great Britain, establishing a new form of government, checks and balances, and implementing controls to prevent the effects of full democracy (The Federalist Papers^[41], U.S. Constitution^[40]), is an amalgamation of many types of knowledge, including procedural knowledge (know-how), propositional knowledge (know-that), wisdom, prudence, and understanding (“as mankind is more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, rather than right themselves by abolishing the forms they are accustomed to”^[38]). Although not part of the content but related to the drafting of the Declaration, the Founders used geopolitical knowledge strategically to weaken Britain’s position as a superpower^[65]. Knowledge is key in maintaining democracies:

The power of construing the laws according to the SPIRIT of the Constitution, will enable ... [the U.S. Supreme Court] to mould them into whatever shape it may think proper; especially as its decisions will not be in any manner subject to the revision or correction of the legislative body.

—The Federalist Papers No. 81 (p. 529)

Based on the importance of knowledge and its relationship to human rights, 196 nations have democratized education, with 51 countries establishing a constitutional right to education ^[66]. As recently as 2020, the World Policy Center reported that 83% of countries recognize some form of education as a constitutional right ^[67]. Nevertheless, more than 200 years later, the U.S. Supreme Court continues to disregard fairness by ignoring the First Amendment as the basis for a right to education and the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution ^[40] as the means to enforce such a right ^[68-71]. The views of the U.S. Supreme Court Justice contrast with Thomas Jefferson's position in a letter to Richard Price on January 8, 1789 ^[72]: "Whenever the people are well informed, they can be trusted with their government; that whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied on to set them to rights." In the case of *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* ^[73], the U.S. Supreme Court politicized and problematized education as a state jurisdiction issue and upheld barriers to free and appropriate education for low-income children. As a result, the Court destroys the bridge that leads to knowledge, resulting in a poorly informed population misinformed by the media and politicians who seek to maintain their personal and political interests ^[74-76].

3.3. Fairness

It is the principle of fairness that judges all actions and reactions in democratic societies (i.e., "nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law" (U.S. Constitution amend. XIV) ^[40]. By contrast, unfairness produces tension and distances those producing tension from those stressed ^[77-81]. Fairness also contrasts with legal justice, which lawmakers determine and is often adhered to by judges. Authority exercised without regard for fairness is tyranny ^[38]. As a result, justice becomes injustice, equality becomes favoritism, participation becomes ritual, representation becomes exclusion, freedom becomes insecurity, human rights become separate but equal, and communal obligations become a burden. Fairness, in terms of due process rights, implies knowing the relevant information ("[the king] has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records" and "has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws;" ^[38]) regarding date, time, policies, procedures, and judgments. Cultivating fairness supports respect for human dignity and promotes well-being, unity, and security.

3.4. Unity

As a result of democracy and modernity, constitutionalists and others are forced to reevaluate unity ^[58]. The principle of unity is as much a social bond as it is a tenet of democracy. Unity links humanity "through bonds of mutual concern," making "the good of all ... the goal of each;" creating "a community animated by a spirit of active commitment to the overall well-being of both the community as a whole and each constituent member of the community" (p. 137) ^[82] by achieving common goals (p. 40) ^[58]. Unity nurtures the community's obligation and fosters a sense of equality, fairness, and justice ^[83]. Unity can be seen in the solidarity of the Founders: "We mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor" ^[38].

Unity is used strategically by politicians, as in "it is not a new observation that the people of any country (if, like the Americans, [who] are intelligent and well-informed) continue firmly united under one federal government, vested

with sufficient powers for all general and national purposes” (No. 3, p. 12) ^[41]. According to Durkheim ^[84], Maslow ^[85], Pleeging, van Exel, and Burger ^[83], and Ross ^[86], unity is essential for maintaining social order and preventing injustice, alienation, and disintegration. Moreover, there is a consensus with Kotzur’s findings that all policies in the area of freedom, security, and justice are based upon the principle of solidarity” (p. 40) ^[58]. Moreover, unity is “contextualized with democracy ... loyalty, sustainability, and citizenship” and “creates joint rights and obligations” to be strategically used when promoting public policy (p. 40) ^[58]. It is evident in “We the People” that unity was strategically used to forge a common bond based on common interest, nationality, loyalty, freedom, security, and fairness, leading to independence from Great Britain ^[38].

3.5. Hope

Hope in the Declaration of Independence is empowering:

The right of the People to alter or to abolish [destructive government], and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness.

– Declaration of Independence, 1776

For Hobbes and Spinoza, hope was translated into political power that compelled individuals to act ^[87, 83]. By drafting the Declaration of Independence, the Founders hoped France would become a stronger ally ^[63]. They appealed to “a landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, and a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests” (p. 34) ^[41]; see Declaration of Independence ^[38]. The drafting of the Articles of Confederation determined a sense of hope for the future. The Founders hoped that, united, they would be able to gain independence. In *The Federalist* No. 10 (p. 56) ^[41], the message of hope is evident in developing the republican form of government as a “cure for the mischiefs of factions” in pure democracies. The 15th Amendment in the U.S. Constitution provides hope: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” Hope motivated the drafting of the Bill of Rights, which protects the people from the government. It was also hoped that the U.S. Constitution would endure as a law of the land for years. Another result of hope was the publication of the essays in *The Federalist Papers* ^[41] that became the foundation of American political strategy and culture in the centuries that followed.

In times of adversity, hope overcomes the current situation and combats apathy by providing the courage to imagine better circumstances in the future ^[83, 57]. Bloch ^[88] argues that hope is optimistic and an unconscious emotion that has yet to emerge. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the politics of hope led to vaccination, public distancing, and wearing masks ^[89-90]. This conception of hope empowers democratic societies to be a pathway, a viable means to achieve goals, as well as agency and purposeful action ^[57], and it is this conception that is used to support hope as a democratic principle.

Others believe hope prolongs human suffering ^[85]. Sir Francis Bacon described hope “as an evil force” and a “good breakfast, but a bad supper” (p. 4) ^[57]. Plato referred to hope as a “foolish counselor,” and Euripides said it was a “curse upon humanity” (p. 4) ^[57]. Hope can be considered evil because of the courage it instills in people or because

hope does not require an object for people to envision a genuine possibility for a positive outcome by internalizing and integrating the hope of others, which can be exploited to spread false hope by demagogues^[87, 83, 91]. Although internalized and integrated false hope may be problematic, it may be preferred to hopeless individuals who become melancholy, alienated, and more likely to engage in maladaptive behaviors that threaten their well-being and the security of others^[92, 84, 83, 57]. Hope is essential to all forms of government because hope can lead to security.

3.6. Security

Security plays an important role in the well-being of the individual and the community^[93] and is the final cause of government and democracy^[52]. It is the “pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness”^[38] and is reflected in a good life or well-being^[93]. Security was a major goal of the founding documents. In the Declaration of Independence, security was sought by instituting “a new government”^[38]. In the Articles of Confederation, security was sought by “secur[ing] a perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union”^[51]. The U.S. Constitution’s preamble demonstrates security’s importance: “[establishing] justice, [ensuring] domestic tranquility, [providing] for the common defense, [and promoting] the general welfare”^[40].

Security is a process, outcome, and motivating factor in advancing social transformation. It promoted freedom, self-determination, independence, national development, and safety; this strong desire for security led to the unification of colonists against the British Empire. It was continuously mentioned in The Federalist Papers No. 28.^[41], with the Founders reminding the people that “it is not yet forgotten that well-grounded apprehensions of imminent danger induced the people of America to form the memorable Congress of 1774” No. 2, (p. 10)^[41]. Security is the essence of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”^[38]. Security contributed to the Revolutionary War, the drafting of the Articles of Confederation, the U.S. Constitution, and changes to the American system of government and remained a key theme as it guarantees national security and the nation’s survival (see National Security Strategy Report of the United States)^[94].

People often think of security in terms of safety. However, the 1994 Human Development Report lists seven types of human security: Community, Economic, Environmental, Food, health, Personal, and Political Security^[95]. Nevertheless, human security is about well-being, with economic security being the primary means to well-being. Although the report excludes national security, this study includes it in the concept of security because it was an issue in the nation’s founding documents. The Organization for Economic Cooperation (OECD) measures security using 11 dimensions of well-being to determine a democracy score: Civic Engagement, Environmental Quality, Health, Housing, Income and Wealth, knowledge and skills, Safety, Social Relationships, Subjective Well-Being, Work-Life Balance, and Job and Workplace Quality. In addition, objective and subjective measures are used to assess well-being^[96]. According to Ruggeri et al.^[97], well-being includes mental, spiritual, emotional, psychological, social, and physical well-being. A sense of security is essential to the “pursuit of happiness”^[38], well-being, and the common good. It is important to note that well-being is a subjective construct, and not every pursuit of happiness promotes well-being or the common good. Well-being is associated with fewer maladaptive behaviors, mental health problems, and healthier communities^[97-99]. Due to well-being, coexistence is encouraged^[97], and wasteful government service expenditures are reduced.

4. Discussion

The grounded theory of the first principles of democracy extends knowledge by differentiating American democratic values, culturally constructed beliefs endorsed by Americans, from democratic principles: “the first basis from which a thing is known” (p. 22) ^[100]. As particulars, they led to the understanding of the universal essence of the principles of democracy. Although the process of abstraction can be articulated, how one arrives at the first principles is indemonstrable ^[37]. Attempts explaining how the principles were abstracted could lead to circular arguments ^[37]. Aristotle asserts that first principles are known intuitively ^[100].

Moreover, the principles of democracy framework upholds Lincoln’s promise of a “government for the people,” (p. 1) ^[62] which liberates through a human dignity-centered approach. Integrating the framework as a strategy could empower community members. A first principles approach to democracy based on respect for human dignity would lead to new democratic possibilities: a culture of respect for life that promotes unity, instills hope, values fairness, and creates a sense of security. Through a more inclusive conception of democracy, America could be transformed into a nation where education is a basic human right that creates a sense of fairness and inspires hope for a better future with fewer inequalities. Moreover, the U.S. Supreme Court could move away from viewing the death penalty as harmless and acceptable and instead condemn the death penalty as cruel and unusual when imposed for crimes other than treason (U.S. Constitution) ^[40].

A human dignity approach to democracy would criminalize profit from private prisons listed as Real Estate Investment Trusts. ^[101] Moreover, a humane approach to democracy would recognize the inalienable human and voting rights of convicted felons and incarcerated persons. It would make real progress in identifying and creating legislation to “reverse the school-to-prison pipeline” (p. 8). ^[102] Furthermore, respect for human dignity could result in the elimination of psychological strategies and race rituals used to dehumanize blue-collar workers on the political right and minorities on either side.

4.1. Future Research and Limitations

Due to the narrow scope of the sample, future studies should examine whether other political documents support principles derived from the United States’ founding documents, the UN Declaration of Human Rights, ^[1] and Butts’ ^[2, 3] civic values. In contrast to traditional democratic concepts derived from the experiences of national leaders, the principles of democracy are abstract and flexible. As a result, they are adaptable to the values of any culture without posing a disadvantage to those who adopt them. The same cannot be said of democratic cultural values developed in a particular nation to benefit that nation. The lack of existing first principles of democracy theories made contrasting the existing theories with the principles of democracy impossible. At a higher level of abstraction, they can be generalized and used to construct integrated social change frameworks at various levels of analysis: micro, meso, macro, and possibly global. To date, the first principles of democracy have been utilized in the formulation of a formal democratic social change theory ^[103], a normative framework for public administration ^[104], a conceptual framework for planning, developing, and evaluating organizational and social policies ^[17], and a framework for analyzing and evaluating incremental policy and democratic changes. ^[105, 106] Future research on the

first principles should focus on determining the strengths and weaknesses of the concepts as the fundamental essence of democracy, as well as whether or not there are any additional principles to be considered. By comparing elements in different nations' founding documents with the principles derived from the U.S. founding documents, one can identify strengths and weaknesses in strategies. There is a need for further research to understand how the first principles of democracy framework can be used in geopolitics, international affairs, trade, and commerce.

Even though the sample was purposeful and large enough to establish a grounded theory based on the U.S. founding documents, samples based on personal communications and American speeches would provide greater rigor. Instead of relying on the 192 member states that support the democratic values in the UN Declaration of Human Rights ^[1] and a few carefully selected speeches (see Appendix H) to infer a global application of the first principles of democracy, national constitutions, political speeches from other global leaders, and correspondences between presidents and prime ministers can contribute to the sample size. In addition, this would add more rigor to the theory and allow it to be applied globally. Nonetheless, internal, and external validity support the first principles of democracy.

An important limitation of first principles studies is the difficulty of explaining how the principles emerged to an audience without an integrated understanding of analytic and Continental philosophy. A similar limitation is the difficulty in explaining to readers who may not have a thorough understanding of democracy why the concepts are at its core. In spite of the difficulty of describing how abstracting leads to the first principles, this framework contributes to Solum's theory of semantic originalism. The first principles conceptual framework supports Solum's idea that the "written constitution can provide both fixed semantic content and a general framework that can be adapted to changing conditions" (p. 3) ^[35]. Because the fixed aspect of the semantic content represents principles, this mutability is possible. Solum ^[35] integrated four theses to support his semantic originalism theory: the fixation thesis, the clause meaning thesis, the contribution thesis, and the fidelity thesis.

The fixation thesis posits that the substantive content of the Constitution was fixed at the time of its drafting and ratification (e.g., security is assumed to be a state of well-being, whether it is national security, safety, or psychological well-being — see the Declaration of Independence, The Federalist Papers, and the US Constitution). The clause thesis is based on the Constitution's original public meaning (e.g., all men are created equal refers to human dignity, not status). The contribution thesis asserts that the semantic content of the Constitution contributes in some way to the structure of American law (i.e., in the form of particulars). The fidelity thesis, the defeasible obligation to uphold the Constitution, is the fourth and last thesis to support semantic originalism. This thesis could be supported by two strategies, according to Solum ^[35]: moral and political theory and public reason. Possibly, the principles of democracy are sufficient to justify the fidelity thesis. Researchers could examine legal documents to assess if the axioms of semantic originalism and the principles of knowledge, fairness, human dignity, hope, unity, and security are compatible. Furthermore, future studies could examine whether there is a relationship between general and special constitutional fidelity, the thesis of two democracy frameworks embedded in the founding documents —one that promotes democratic values and the other the first principles secure those values—and why a democratic principles framework has been absent in American public political culture for so long.

5. Conclusion

This study examined the U.S. founding documents for democratic concepts using the constructivist tradition of grounded theory methodology to consider the gap in democracy conversations in America. It answered the research question: Did the Founding Fathers leave evidence of a richer form of democracy in the United States' founding documents? In answering the research question, a grounded theory of the first principles of democracy was constructed. Although data analysis focused on abstraction to generate novel concepts from the sampled documents, multiple perspectives were employed to understand the dynamics of language and politics (e.g., the Declaration of Independence was strategically drafted to protest Great Britain's unfairness, to give Americans and British colonies hope, and to unite the oppressed against Great Britain by legitimizing the innate dignity of all human beings). As a result, the Declaration of Independence led to American independence and national and economic security, factors that helped improve the well-being of the American people.

In its abstract form, the first principles of democracy framework provides an understanding of the American spirit and the emergence of the republican form of government. It serves as a window into the spirit of the law, by which constitutional interpretations are made. This framework is unique because it distinguishes values from the first principles of democracy and maintains the essence of Lincoln's promise of democracy: government for the people. Moreover, the framework is based on empowering and normative concepts capable of leading to positive and sustainable social change by uniting and imbuing people with hope through promoting respect for human dignity, knowledge, and fairness while leading to security. Inherent in every human being is the right to democracy, which is enjoined with duties towards oneself, government, and mankind at large. As a result, governments should act in the best interest of their citizens and of humanity in general. As human beings imbued with human dignity and as citizens of democratic societies, readers are encouraged to embrace and defend the first principles of democracy and to require public servants to do the same.

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Consent for Publication

The author declares that she consented to the publication of this study.

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Appendix A. The Federalist Papers ^[41, 106]

| No. | Page | Example Quote | Code(s) |
|-----|------|---|--------------|
| 1 | 2 | The existence of the UNION, the safety and welfare. | U, Se |
| 1 | 6 | This is the safest course for your liberty, your dignity, and your happiness. | HD |
| 1 | 3 | It has been frequently remarked that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country . . . to decide . . . whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or . . . on accident and force. | K |
| 1 | 3 | This idea will add the inducements of philanthropy to those of patriotism. | K, U |
| 1 | 5 | An over-scrupulous jealousy of danger to the rights of the people. | F |
| 1 | 5 | The vigor of government is essential to the security of liberty. | Se |
| 1 | 5 | That a dangerous ambition more often lurks behind the specious mask of zeal for the rights of the people than under the forbidden appearance of zeal for the firmness and efficiency of government. | Se |
| 1 | 5 | Yes, my countrymen. | U |
| 1 | 6 | I am convinced that this is the safest course for your liberty, your dignity, and your happiness. | HD, Se |
| 1 | 6 | To preserve that union. | U |
| 1 | 7 | To offer arguments to prove the utility of the UNION. | U |
| 2 | 7 | It will therefore be of use to begin by examining the advantages of that Union, the certain evils, and the probable dangers, to which every State will be exposed from its dissolution. | U, F, Se |
| 2 | 9 | This country and this people seem to have been made for each other, and it appears as if it was the design of providence, that an inheritance so proper and convenient for a band of brethren. United to each other by the strongest ties, should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous, and alien sovereignties. | U |
| 2 | 10 | Distinguished by their patriotism . . . In the mild season of peace, virtue and wisdom. | U, Se, HD, K |
| 2 | 11 | Knowledge on that head. | K |

| No. | Page | Example Quote | Code(s) |
|-----|------|---|----------|
| 2 | 10 | It is not yet forgotten that well-grounded apprehensions of imminent danger induced the people of America to form the memorable Congress of 1774. | K, F, Se |
| 2 | 11 | Event proved their wisdom. | K |
| 2 | 11 | Of the people reasoned and decided judiciously. | K |
| 2 | 11 | They considered that the Congress was composed of many wise and experienced men. | K |
| 2 | 11 | Communicated to each other a variety of useful information. | K |
| 2 | 11 | they must have acquired very accurate knowledge on that head. | K |
| 2 | 11 | The true interests of their country. | U |
| 2 | 11 | After the most mature deliberation, they really thought prudent and advisable. | K |
| 2 | 15 | The judgment and integrity of the Congress. | K |
| 2 | 11 | Some of the most distinguished members of that Congress, who have been since tried and justly approved for patriotism and abilities, and who have grown old in acquiring political information, were also members of this convention, and carried into it their accumulated knowledge and experience. | N, K |
| 3 | 12 | IT IS not a new observation that the people of any country (if, like the Americans, intelligent and well-informed) seldom adopt and steadily persevere for many years in an erroneous opinion respecting their interests. That consideration naturally tends to create great respect for the high opinion which the people of America have so long and uniformly entertained of the importance of their continuing firmly united under one federal government, vested with sufficient powers for all general and national purposes. | K, SD, N |
| 3 | 13 | For their SAFETY seems to be the first. The SAFETY of the people. | Se |
| 3 | 13 | It as it respects security for the preservation of peace and tranquility, as well as against dangers from FOREIGN ARMS AND INFLUENCE, as from dangers of the LIKE KIND arising from domestic causes. | Se, F |
| 3 | 13 | Under an efficient national government, affords them the best security that can be devised against HOSTILITIES from abroad. | Se |

| No. | Page | Example Quote | Code(s) |
|-----|------|--|----------|
| 3 | 14 | That a cordial Union, under an efficient national government, affords them the best security that can be devised against HOSTILITIES from abroad. The number of wars which have happened or will happen in the world will always be found to be in proportion to the number and weight of the causes, whether REAL or PRETENDED, which PROVOKE or INVITE them. | Se |
| 3 | 14 | The Union tends most to preserve the people in a state of peace with other nations. | U, Se |
| 3 | 14 | Yet more general and extensive reputation for talents and other qualifications will be necessary. | K |
| 3 | 14 | The judicial decisions of the national government will be more wise, systematical, and judicious than those of individual States, and consequently more satisfactory with respect to other nations, as well as more SAFE with respect to us. | K, Se |
| 3 | 16 | Not a single Indian war has yet been occasioned by aggressions of the present federal government, feeble as it is; but there are several instances of Indian hostilities having been provoked by the improper conduct of individual States, who, either unable or unwilling to restrain or punish offenses, have given occasion to the slaughter of many innocent inhabitants. | Se |
| 3 | 16 | A national government, whose wisdom and prudence will not be diminished by the passions. | K |
| 4 | 19 | If consistent with prudence. | K |
| 4 | 20 | As the safety of the whole is the interest of the whole. | Se |
| 4 | 20 | One government can collect and avail itself of the talents and experience of the ablest men, in whatever part of the Union they may be found. It can move on uniform principles of policy. It can harmonize, assimilate, and protect. | K, Se, U |
| 6 | 32 | The wars of these two . . . the desire of supplanting and the fear of being supplanted. | F, S |
| 10 | 33 | By a faction . . . who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community. | U |
| 10 | 33 | There are two methods of curing the mischiefs of faction: the one, by removing its causes; the other, by controlling its effects. | Se, U |

| No. | Page | Example Quote | Code(s) |
|-----|------|--|-------------|
| 10 | 33 | There are again two methods of removing the causes of faction: the one, by destroying the liberty which is essential to its existence; the other, by giving to every citizen the same opinions, the same passions, and the same interests. | K, U |
| 10 | 34 | Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires. But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes faction, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air, which is essential to animal life, because it imparts to fire its destructive agency. | K, SD |
| 10 | 34 | The diversity in the faculties of men, from which the rights of property originate, is not less an insuperable obstacle to a uniformity of interests. | SD, K |
| 10 | 34 | A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points, as well of speculation as of practice; an attachment to different leaders . . . interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good. | SD, U, K, S |
| 10 | 34 | From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties. | K, SD |
| 10 | 34 | A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide them into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views. | K of SD |
| 10 | 34 | Conflicts. But the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. Those who are creditors, and those who are debtors, fall under a like discrimination. | K of SD |
| 10 | 34 | Involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government. | U |
| 10 | 34 | And what are the different classes of legislators but advocates and parties to the causes which they determine? | K of SD |
| 10 | 35 | The CAUSES of faction cannot be removed, and that relief is only to be sought in the means of controlling its EFFECTS. | Se |
| 10 | 35 | When a majority is included in a faction, the form of popular government, on the other hand, enables it to sacrifice to its ruling passion or interest both the public good and the rights of other | K |

| No. | Page | Example Quote | Code(s) |
|-----|---------|---|-----------------|
| | | citizens. | |
| 10 | 35 | From this view of the subject it may be concluded that a pure democracy, by which I mean a society consisting of a small number of citizens, who assemble and administer the government in person, can admit of no cure for the mischiefs of faction. | Se, |
| 10 | 36 | Theoretic politicians, who have patronized this species of government, have erroneously supposed that by reducing mankind to a perfect equality in their political rights, they would, at the same time, be perfectly equalized and assimilated in their possessions, their opinions, and their passions. | K |
| 10 | 36 | A republic, by which I mean a government in which the scheme of representation takes place, opens a different prospect, and promises the cure for which we are seeking. | F/E |
| 10 | 36 | The delegation of the government, in the latter [Republic], to a small number of citizens elected by the rest. | K |
| 14 | 116 | Hearken not to the unnatural voice which tells you that the people of America, knit together as they are by so many cords of affection, can no longer live together as members of the same family; can no longer continue the mutual guardians of their mutual happiness; can no longer be fellow citizens of one great, respectable, and flourishing empire. | U |
| 22 | 182 | From the gradual conflicts of State regulations, that the citizens of each would at length come to be considered and treated by the others in no better light than that of foreigners and aliens. | N |
| 38 | 332/333 | Congress . . . Is a bill of rights essential to liberty? The Confederation has no bill of rights. | HD |
| 38 | 333 | I shall be told, that however dangerous this mixture of powers may be in theory, it is rendered harmless by the dependence of Congress on the State. | K |
| 38 | 333 | Out of this lifeless mass has already grown an excrescent power, which tends to realize all the dangers that can be apprehended from a defective construction of the supreme government of the Union. | Se, K, U, SD |
| 42 | 385 | Including a power to prohibit, after the year 1808, the importation of slaves. | HD |
| 42 | 389 | That the power of prohibiting the importation of slaves had not been postponed until the year 1808, or rather that it had been suffered to have immediate operation. | HD |

| No. | Page | Example Quote | Code(s) |
|-----|------|--|---------|
| 42 | 390 | It ought to be considered as a great point gained in favor of humanity, that a period of twenty years may terminate forever, within these States, a traffic which has so long and so loudly upbraided the barbarism of modern policy. | HD |
| 42 | 390 | Happy would it be for the unfortunate Africans, if an equal prospect lay before them of being redeemed from the oppressions of their European brethren! | HD |
| 42 | 390 | Attempts have been made to pervert this clause into an objection against the Constitution, by representing it on one side as a criminal toleration of an illicit practice, and on another as calculated to prevent voluntary and beneficial emigrations from Europe to America. | K |
| 42 | 391 | The powers included in the THIRD class are those which provide for the harmony and proper intercourse among the States. | SD |
| 42 | 398 | An alien, therefore, legally incapacitated for certain rights in the latter, may, by previous residence only in the former, elude his incapacity. | N |
| 42 | 395 | What description of Indians are to be deemed members of a State? | N |
| 43 | 414 | That should a popular insurrection happen in one of the States, the others are able to quell it. | F |
| 43 | 418 | God, which declares that the safety and happiness of society are the objects at which all political institutions aim. | U, Se |
| 51 | 188 | The Structure of the Government Must Furnish the Proper Checks and Balances Between the Different Departments. | F/E |
| 51 | 189 | In order to lay a due foundation for that separate and distinct exercise of the different powers of government, which to a certain extent is admitted on all hands to be essential to the preservation of liberty, it is evident that each department should have a will of its own. | F/E |
| 51 | 190 | It may be a reflection on human nature, that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. | F/E |
| 51 | 191 | In a single republic, all the power surrendered by the people is submitted to The administration of a single government; and the usurpations are guarded against by a division of the government into distinct and separate departments. | F/E, K |
| 51 | 191 | All the power surrendered by the people is submitted to the administration of a single government. | K, Se |

| No. | Page | Example Quote | Code(s) |
|-----|---------|---|----------------------|
| 51 | 192 | It is of great importance in a republic not only to guard the society against the oppression of its rulers, but to guard one part of the society against the injustice of the other part. Different interests necessarily exist in different classes of citizens. If a majority be united by a common interest, the rights of the minority will be insecure. | N, Se, K, U, SD, F/E |
| 51 | 192 | Whilst all authority in it will be derived from and dependent on the society, the society itself will be broken into so many parts, interests, and classes of citizens, that the rights of individuals, or of the minority, will be in little danger from interested combinations of the majority. In a free government the security for civil rights must be the same as that for religious rights. It consists in the one case in the multiplicity of interests, and in the other in the multiplicity of sects. | Se, K, U, SD, N |
| 54 | 545 | From an admission of numbers for the measure of representation, or of slaves combined with free citizens as a ratio of taxation, that slaves ought to be included in the numerical rule of representation. Slaves are considered as property, not as persons. | D |
| 54 | 545 | They ought therefore to be comprehended in estimates of taxation which are founded on property, and to be excluded from representation which is regulated by a census of persons. | D |
| 54 | 545 | Might one of our Southern brethren observe, that representation relates more immediately to persons, and taxation more immediately to property. | D |
| 54 | 545/546 | The true state of the case is, that they partake of both these qualities: being considered by our laws, in some respects, as persons, and in other respects as property. | D |
| 54 | 546 | In being compelled to labor, not for himself, but for a master; in being vendible by one master to another master. | D |
| 54 | 546 | In being subject at all times to be restrained in his liberty and chastised in his body, by the capricious will of another. | D |
| 54 | 546 | The slave may appear to be degraded from the human rank. | SD, D |
| 54 | 546 | [The slave is] classed with those irrational animals which fall under the legal denomination of property. | D |
| 54 | 546 | The slave is no less evidently regarded by the law as a member of the society, not as a part of the irrational creation; as a moral person, not as a mere article of property. | HD |
| 54 | 546 | The federal Constitution, therefore, decides with great propriety on the case of our slaves, when it views them in the mixed character of persons and of property. | D |
| 54 | 546 | This is in fact their true character. It is the character bestowed on them by the laws under which they live; and it will not be denied, that these are the proper criterion; because only under the pretext that the laws have transformed the negroes into subject of property. | D |

| No. | Page | Example Quote | Code(s) |
|-----|---------|--|----------------|
| 54 | 547 | Because it is only under the pretext that the laws have transformed the negroes into subjects of property. | D |
| 54 | 547 | That if the laws were to restore the rights which have been taken away, the negroes could no longer be refused an equal share of representation with the other inhabitants. | HD |
| 54 | 547 | Would the convention have been impartial or consistent, if they had rejected the slaves from the list of inhabitants, when the shares of representation were to be calculated, and inserted them on the lists when the tariff of contributions was to be adjusted? | K |
| 54 | 548 | Those who reproach the Southern States with the barbarous policy of considering as property a part of their human brethren. | HD |
| 54 | 549 | That the slaves, as inhabitants, should have been admitted into the census according to their full number [...] are not admitted to all the rights of citizens. | S, N |
| 54 | 550 | [slaves] are not admitted to all the rights of citizens. | SD, N, S, D |
| 54 | 550 | As debased by servitude below the equal level of free inhabitants. | D, SD |
| 54 | 550 | SLAVE as divested of two fifths of the MAN. | M, D, SD |
| 83 | 838/839 | Let us suppose that by the laws of this State a married woman was incapable of conveying her estate, and that the legislature, considering this as an evil, should enact that she might dispose of her property by deed executed in the presence of a magistrate. In such a case there can be no doubt, but the specification would amount to an exclusion of any other mode of conveyance, because the woman having no previous power to alienate her property. | SD |
| 83 | 839 | Of the same act it should be declared that no woman should dispose of any estate of a determinate value without the consent of three of her nearest relations, signified by their signing the deed. | SD, N, S |

Coding abbreviations: Dehumanization (D); Fear (F); Misinformation (M); Nativism (N); Social Distinctions (SD); Subjugation (S); Knowledge (K); Fairness (F/E); Human Dignity Empowerment (H); Unity (U); Security (Se).

Note. No. is the number of the essay. Page numbers may differ depending on font size.

Appendix B. The Bill of Rights ^[40,106]

| Amendment | Principle and Example Quote |
|----------------------|--|
| Human Dignity | |
| | The Bill of Rights as a whole represent respect for human dignity and fairness. |
| I | Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech. |
| III | No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner. |
| IV | The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated. |
| V | nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. |
| VIII | nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. |
| Fairness | |
| III | No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house. |
| IV | No warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation. |
| V | No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury . . . nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation. |
| VI | The right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury . . . to be informed of the nature. And cause of the accusation . . . confronted with the witnesses against him . . . have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor . . . have the assistance of counsel for his defense. |
| VII | Right of trial . . . no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States. |
| VIII | Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed. |
| Hope | |
| X | The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. |
| I | [Right] to petition the government for a redress of grievances. |

| Amendment | Principle and Example Quote |
|-----------|--|
| IX | <p>Certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Security</p> |
| II | Well-regulated militia . . . security of a free states, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed. |
| V | in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger (there may be exception to grand jury indictment). |
| | Unity |
| I | Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. |
| VI | By an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed. |
| | Knowledge |
| I | No law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. |
| VII | [Right to trial] by jury shall be preserved. |

Appendix C. The U.S. Constitution ^[40, 106]

| Section | Example Quote | Theoretical Code(s) |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 13th | Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. | Human Dignity, Fairness |
| 14th | All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside . . . nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. | Nativism |
| 14th §3 | No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States . . . who having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United State . . . shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. | Security, Nativism |
| 15th | The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. | Human Dignity, Fairness, Nativism |
| 19th | The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex. | Human Dignity, Fairness |
| 24th | The right of citizens of the United States to vote . . . shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay poll tax or other tax. | Fairness |
| 26th | The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age. | Human Dignity, Fairness |
| art. 1, §2, cl. 3 | Those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons. | Nativism |
| art. 1, §2, cl. 2 | no person shall be a Representative who... is not a citizen of the United States | Unity |
| art. 1, §3, cl. 3 | no person shall be a Senator who . . . is not a citizen of the United States | Unity |
| art. 1, §9, cl. 1 | The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight | Nativism, Dehumanization. |
| art. 3, §1 | No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States . . . shall be eligible to the Office of President . . . neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States. | Nativism |
| art. 4, §2, cl. 3 | No Person held to Service or Labor in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labor, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labor may be due. | Dehumanization |

| Section | Example Quote | Theoretical Code(s) |
|------------|--|---------------------|
| art. 4, §2 | The United States shall guarantee to every state in this union a republican form of government, and shall protect each against invasion . . . and against domestic violence. | Security |

Appendix D. The Declaration of Independence ^[38, 106]

Empowerment Principles

| Examples of Empowerment | Code(s) |
|--|----------------|
| The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America. | U |
| A decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. | K, F |
| We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. | K, F, H |
| They are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. | H, Se, E |
| That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. | Se, H, E, F, U |
| It is the right of the People to alter or to abolish [destructive government], 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 affect their Safety and Happiness. | E, F, H, Se |
| Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves. | K, F |
| It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. | E, F, Se |
| Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies. | K |
| Obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. | U |
| We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. | K, F, E |
| We have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations. | H, K, F, E |
| As we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. | H, Se, E, F |
| The good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare . . . That these United Colonies are | U, E, F |
| Of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; as Free and Independent States. | H, Se, E, F |
| Have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. | H, Se, E |

Examples of Empowerment

Code(s)

And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor. Se, H, E, U

Coding abbreviations Equity/Fairness (F); Empowerment (E); Knowledge (K); Human Dignity (H); Unity (U); Security (Se).

Appendix E. Trains of Abuses and Usurpations: The Declaration of Independence^[38]

| Examples of Unfairness | Code(s) |
|--|----------|
| But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism. | D, S |
| Attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. | D, S |
| Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. | D, SD |
| They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. | D |
| That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends. | D, S |
| He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. | S, SD |
| He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. | SD, D |
| He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. | F, S, D |
| He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. | S |
| He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. | F, S, D |
| He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and convulsions within. | F, D |
| He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. | F |
| He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. | SD, D |
| He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. | N, SD, D |
| He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. | N, F, D |

| Examples of Unfairness | Code(s) |
|---|------------------------|
| He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures. | F, D |
| He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. | F, N |
| He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation. | D, M, SD, F S, D, F |
| For Quartering large bodies of armed troops among us. | M, N, D, S |
| For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States. | D, S |
| For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent. For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury. | D, S |
| For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences. | D, M |
| For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies. | M, D, N |
| For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments. | D, S |
| For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. | D |
| He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. | S, F |
| He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny . . . totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. | F, SD, S |
| He has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions. | F, N, K |
| He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. | F, D, S, SD |
| He has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions. | F, S, N |

| Examples of Unfairness | Code(s) |
|---|---------|
| He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers. | F, SD |
| Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. | D, SD |
| We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. | D |

Appendix F. The Articles of Confederation ^[51, 106]

| Article, Page | Quote Example | Theoretical Code(s) |
|---------------|---|---------------------|
| art. 1, p. 1 | Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States | U, Se, N |
| art. 2, p. 1 | Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right. | U |
| art. 4, p. 1 | The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States. | Se, U, N |
| art. 4, p. 1 | The free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice excepted shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states. | D, HD, N, SD, |
| art. 4, p. 1 | Shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce. | Se |
| art. 4, p. 1 | If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice. They shall be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense. | Se, F/E |
| art. 4, p. 1 | Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State. | U, F/E, Se |
| art. 5, p. 2 | Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court, or place out of Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace. | K, HD, Se |
| art. 6, p. 2 | No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any King, Prince or State; nor . . . accept any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever from any King, Prince or foreign State. | Se |
| art. 6, p. 2 | No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled. | Se, N |
| art. 6, p. 2 | No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State. | HD, Se |

Coding abbreviations: Dehumanization (D); Fear (F); Misinformation (M); Nativism (N); Social Distinctions (SD); Subjugation (S); Knowledge (K); Fairness (F/E); Human Dignity Empowerment (H); Unity (U); Security (Se)

Appendix G. Triangulation National Security Report for the United States of America ^[94, 106]

| Strategy | Administration and Example of Codes |
|------------------------|--|
| | Reagan Administration, 1987 |
| Principles | <i>Empowerment</i> (encouraging hope for change, engagement, democratic change, free elections), <i>Fairness</i> (justice, social justice, economic development, food, water, addressing the problem of poverty), <i>Knowledge</i> (intelligence, diplomacy, military technology, military strategy, innovation), <i>Human dignity</i> (human dignity, preserving human rights, freedom, democracy), <i>Security</i> (economic security and national security), and <i>Unity</i> (allies, collaboration, partners) |
| Anti-Democratic Tenets | <i>Dehumanization</i> (human rights violations, oppression), <i>Misinformation</i> (propaganda), <i>Nativism</i> , <i>Fear</i> (security threats), <i>Social distinctions</i> (disparities of wealth, ethnic frictions, unsettled borders, and religion), and <i>Subjugation</i> (domination) |
| | Clinton Administration, 1999 |
| Principles | <i>Empowerment</i> (hope, democratic participation, democratic empowerment, free elections, promoting democracy, economic empowerment), <i>Fairness</i> (justice, fair employment and economic opportunity, economic development), <i>Human dignity</i> (dignity, preserving human rights, freedom, democracy), <i>Knowledge</i> (intelligence, diplomacy, economic and commercial secrets, language proficiencies, cross-cultural communication, modernization, innovation), <i>Security</i> (global stability, economic wellbeing, disaster relief, environmental security, economic prosperity, national security, peace process, freedom, humanitarian aid), and <i>Unity</i> (allies, partnership, cooperation) |
| Anti-Democratic Tenets | <i>Dehumanization</i> (human rights violations), <i>Fear</i> (security threats, state-sponsored terrorism), <i>Misinformation</i> , <i>Nativism</i> , <i>Social distinctions</i> (ethnic, religious, and cultural strife), and <i>Subjugation</i> (oppressed groups) |
| | Bush W Administration, 2002 |
| Principles | <i>Empowerment</i> (encourage change, strengthen democracy, democratic political system, respect for women, using voice and vote, kindle hope and aspirations), <i>Fairness</i> (independent judiciary, the rule of law, justice, equal justice), <i>Human dignity</i> (human dignity, human rights, liberty, democracy), <i>Knowledge</i> (emphasize education, intelligence collection and analysis, diplomacy, modern technology, innovation), <i>Security</i> (secure public health, freedom of movement, economic development, free from poverty and violence, humanitarian assistance, national security, political, economic, and military resources, respect for private property, religious and ethnic tolerance, free trade, global security), <i>Unity</i> (coordination, allies, open society, bilateral engagement, partnership, solidarity, cooperation) |
| Anti-Democratic Tenets | <i>Dehumanization</i> (oppression, unfair practices), <i>Fear</i> (dominant potential aggressors, threats), <i>Nativism</i> (corruption), <i>Subjugation</i> (authoritarian systems, repressive governments) |
| | Obama Administration, 2015 |
| Principles | <i>Empowerment</i> (hope, democratic transitions, empower, women's equality and empowerment, representative system of government), <i>Fairness</i> (social, economic development, justice, due process, ending extreme poverty, accountability), <i>Human dignity</i> (human rights, human dignity, freedom, defending democracy, dignity), <i>Knowledge</i> (intelligence, diplomacy), <i>Security</i> (safety, economic and |

| | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|
| Strategy | Administration and Example of Codes |
|----------|-------------------------------------|

national security), and *Unity* (coalitions, alliances, partnerships)

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Anti-Democratic Tenets | <i>Dehumanization</i> (oppression, human rights abuses, denied inalienable rights, violence), <i>Fear</i> , <i>Misinformation</i> (propaganda), <i>Nativism</i> (authoritarianism, political elites, mass atrocities) |
|------------------------|---|

Trump Administration, 2017

| | |
|------------|---|
| Principles | <i>Empowerment</i> (empower, restore hope, promote women and youth empowerment programs, inspire, uplift, renew), <i>Fairness</i> (fairness, reciprocity, justice under law, respect for individual liberty, equal rights for all Americans, fair trade), <i>Human dignity</i> (human dignity, human rights, freedom, democracy, dignity of every life), <i>Knowledge</i> (intelligence, diplomacy, political, economic, and military competition, innovation, technology, harness the power of data), <i>Security</i> (safety, peace, tolerance, security, protecting national sovereignty, military victories, economic security, national security, promoting prosperity), and <i>Unity</i> (alliances, collaboration, partners, unified people) |
|------------|---|

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Anti-Democratic Tenets | <i>Dehumanization</i> (oppression, brutalization of people), <i>Misinformation</i> (propaganda, disinformation, ideological threats, false information), <i>Nativism</i> (fascism, bigotry, imperialism, dictatorship, hostile ideologies, enforced uniformity), <i>Subjugation</i> (power, dominance) |
|------------------------|--|

Appendix H. Triangulation: Speeches from Selected Leaders

| | Quotes on Democracy | Page No. |
|-----------------|---|-----------------|
| Abraham Lincoln | "... we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain -- that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom -- and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." | 1 |
| Bernie Sanders | "What I believe is that the American people deserve freedom – true freedom. Freedom is an often used word but it’s time we took a hard look at what that word actually means. Ask yourself: what does it actually mean to be free? ... To me, the answer to those questions, in the wealthiest nation on earth, is no, you are not free. ... It is time for the American people to stand up and fight for their right to freedom, human dignity and security." | 11 |
| Che Guevara | “So long as the concept of sovereignty exists as the prerogative of nations and of independent peoples, as a right of all peoples, we will not accept the exclusion of our people from that right. So long as the world is governed by these principles, so long as the world is governed by those concepts that have universal validity because they are universally accepted and recognized by the peoples, we will not accept the attempt to deprive us of any of those rights, and we will renounce none of those rights.” -quoting Castro | 9 |
| Donald Trump | "So to all the leaders here today, join us in the most fulfilling mission a person could have, the most profound contribution anyone can make: Lift up your nations. Cherish your culture. Honor your histories. Treasure your citizens. Make your countries strong, and prosperous, and righteous. Honor the dignity of your people, and nothing will be outside of your reach. When our nations are greater, the future will be brighter, our people will be happier, and our partnerships will be stronger." | 12 |
| Vladimir Putin | "[S]afeguarding rights and freedoms is crucial both to Russia's economic development and its social and political life...only in a free society do economically active citizens have the right to participate in a competitive struggle as equals and choose their partners, and earn accordingly...the Russian state, if it wants to be just, must help its impoverished citizens and those that cannot work – the disabled, pensioners and orphans. These people must live a decent life and the main benefits must be accessible to them. ... And finally a free and just society has no internal borders or travel restrictions, and is open to the rest of the world. This enables citizens of our country to fully enjoy the benefits of human civilization in its entirety, including education, science, world history and culture" | 2, 3 |
| Hugo Chavez | "I tell this story to share just one of the innumerable personal experiences resulting from the Bolivarian Revolution’s advancements in education, in health, in the fight against misery, against poverty, in the transformation of the economic model of the 20th Century, in the promotion of a new society of equals, where no one is excluded, in the promotion of a new political model: revolutionary democracy, participatory and protagonistic democracy, where the people are the essence and the fundamental actor in the political battle..." | 20, 21 |
| Nelson Mandela | "Our national security and the survival of our young democracy depend, above everything else, on the programme to meet the basic needs of the people. Reconstruction and development will ensure that all South Africans have a stake in life; that they share an interest in the well-being of the country as a whole." | 7 |
| Mahatma Gahndi | "My notion of democracy is that under it the weakest should have the same opportunity as the strongest. That can never happen except through non-violence. No country in the world today shows any but patronizing regards for the weak." | 187 |

| | | |
|--------------------|--|--------|
| Martin Luther King | <p>"Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. ... for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.... We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. **We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." ... No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."</p> | 2, 3 |
| Ronald Reagan | <p>"The objective I propose is quite simple to state: To foster the infrastructure of democracy. ... Who would voluntarily choose not to have the right to vote, decide to purchase government propaganda handouts instead of independent newspapers, prefer government to worker-controlled unions, opt for land to be owned by the state instead of those who till it, want government repression of religious liberty, a single political party instead of a free choice, a rigid cultural orthodoxy instead of democratic tolerance and diversity?"</p> | 9, 10 |
| W.E.B. Dubois | <p>"We must remember that if the theory of democracy is correct, the right to vote is not merely a privilege, not simply a method of meeting the needs of a particular group, and least of all a matter of recognized want or desire. Democracy is a method of realizing the broadest measure of justice to all human beings. ... [I]f democracy tries to exclude women or Negroes or the poor or any class because of innate characteristics which do not interfere with intelligence, then that democracy cripples itself and belies its name."</p> | 57, 58 |

Table 1. Selected Speeches on Democracy¹⁰⁸⁻¹¹⁸

The selected speeches were included for data triangulation. Data analysis of the speeches was a deliberate search for democratic principles contained in America’s founding documents. The political leaders on the list were retrieved from Frankenberger and Buhr's¹⁰⁷ list. Those not on the list were included to provide a more diverse group of leaders who have taken a real or perceived radical departure from their contemporaries. The assumption was made that any leader claiming to represent any type of democracy would incorporate the language of democracy in their communication; in this case, a government for the people as constructed by the first principles of democracy.

There was no attempt to be political or to suggest that the words of the chosen leaders corresponded to their actions outside their discourse. Every effort has been made to capture quotes incorporating multiple principles of democracy, whether the message is explicit or implicit. Reagan was selected because he was the first president to prepare a National Security Strategy⁹⁴ report that incorporated both democratic principles and anti-democratic principles when assessing democracy levels abroad. Among the notable findings is Reagan's union endorsement. As with Trump, Reagan incorporated multiple principles of democracy into his speech. In contrast to Reagan and Bernie Sanders, Trump's speech contained more expressions of hope. Reagan’s speech contained more elements of hope than Sanders’. Apart from the discussion of imperialism and colonization by Chavez and Guevara and of dictators and tyrants by Reagan and Trump, the American leaders’ speeches reflected the use of democratic principles, like those of Chavez and Che Guevara. The similarity in their use of democratic principles may be of interest to other researchers.