

# A Computational Analysis of Constitutional Polarization

## Online Appendix

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In this Online Appendix, we provide supplemental results referenced in the Article. We note that additional material, including code and trained word embeddings, can be found through our website, [www.pozentalleynyarko.com](http://www.pozentalleynyarko.com).

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## I. CONSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE IN THE 88TH CONGRESS

The following table depicts the most frequent terms from all of our dictionaries (combined) for the 88th Congress, beginning in 1963.

Table OA.1: Fifty Most Frequent “Constitutional” Terms, 88th Congress

Term	Dictionary	Frequency in Republican Remarks	Frequency in Democratic Remarks	Total Frequency
civil rights	Expansive	1,821	3,651	6,223
trial by jury	Expansive	262	1,878	2,210
jury trial	Expansive	259	1,331	1,668
14th amendment	Textual	379	862	1,333
segregation	Expansive	422	624	1,130
apportionment	Expansive	225	641	959
reapportionment	Expansive	148	511	780
right to vote	Expansive	207	449	757
bill of rights	Textual	136	469	732
equal protection	Extended Textual	200	418	671
founding fathers	Originalism	81	479	653
1st amendment	Textual	190	267	568
desegregation	Expansive	183	327	535
article one	Textual	139	346	520
commerce clause	Textual	131	329	471
due process	Extended Textual	90	283	413
declaration of independence	Originalism	88	215	386
property rights	Expansive	63	247	364
state action	Expansive	81	227	321
voting rights	Expansive	72	207	311
constitutional convention	Originalism	59	221	309
states rights	Expansive	69	146	273
federal power	Expansive	53	173	264
15th amendment	Textual	71	174	264
equal rights	Expansive	94	113	256
racial discrimination	Expansive	78	136	236
individual rights	Expansive	51	160	235
legislative powers	Extended Textual	45	138	213
checks and balances	Expansive	65	111	210
6th amendment	Textual	54	119	190
article three	Textual	40	126	178
poll taxes	Expansive	30	141	177
judicial review	Expansive	39	125	177
fundamental rights	Expansive	35	124	173
suffrage	Expansive	29	127	172
founders	Originalism	27	98	170
10th amendment	Textual	42	119	169
advice and consent	Extended Textual	30	99	168
5th amendment	Textual	43	105	165
equal protection clause	Textual	53	96	158
freedom of speech	Extended Textual	31	96	151
judicial power	Extended Textual	17	109	147
separation of powers	Expansive	33	99	147
reserved to the states	Extended Textual	45	91	147
13th amendment	Textual	50	61	142
free speech	Expansive	37	90	140
civil liberties	Expansive	24	88	139
free exercise	Extended Textual	31	74	136
appellate jurisdiction	Extended Textual	52	66	132
federalist	Originalism	39	79	132

## II. QUALITATIVE EXAMPLES

In order to extract remarks for the qualitative analysis presented in Section IV.A, we ran the following query:

1. We extracted all constitutional documents from the 86th to 94th Congresses, defining as “constitutional” all documents with a  $\rho$  score above the eighth decile using the Extended Textual dictionary.
2. Over this subset of documents, we computed the average predicted probability of a document originating from a Republican speaker. Based on the hypothesis that documents close to this average reflect generic or emblematic Republican constitutional discourse during this period, we then extracted the 10 documents closest to this average.
3. We repeated step 2 for Democratic remarks.
4. We repeated steps 1 through 3 for constitutional documents from the 106th to 114th Congresses.

This procedure resulted in a set of 40 documents, from which we removed one remark that was incorrectly parsed, resulting in 39 documents, as listed in the table below.

Table OA.2: Qualitative Examples, Full Results

Congress	Speaker First Name	Speaker Last Name	Party	Chamber	Citation
88	James	Fulbright	Democrat	Senate	109 Cong. Rec. 17,751 (1963)
88	Absalom	Robertson	Democrat	Senate	110 Cong. Rec. 3404 (1964)
88	John	Sparkman	Democrat	Senate	110 Cong. Rec. 10,436 (1964)
88	John	Sparkman	Democrat	Senate	110 Cong. Rec. 10,678 (1964)
90	Otto	Passman	Democrat	House	113 Cong. Rec. 32,977 (1967)
91	Charles	Diggs	Democrat	House	116 Cong. Rec. 32,324 (1970)
91	James	Allen	Democrat	Senate	116 Cong. Rec. 7105 (1970)
92	Philip	Hart	Democrat	Senate	117 Cong. Rec. 4025 (1971)
93	Edmund	Muskie	Democrat	Senate	119 Cong. Rec. 7740 (1973)
94	John	Tunney	Democrat	Senate	122 Cong. Rec. 23,015 (1976)
106	Robert	Scott	Democrat	House	145 Cong. Rec. 13,846 (1999)
106	Dennis	Kucinich	Democrat	House	145 Cong. Rec. 20,154 (1999)
106	Harry	Reid	Democrat	Senate	146 Cong. Rec. 24,796 (2000)
107	Eleanor	Norton	Democrat	House	148 Cong. Rec. 6066 (2002)
108	Sheila	Jackson Lee	Democrat	House	150 Cong. Rec. 18,491 (2004)
109	Maurice	Hinchey	Democrat	House	152 Cong. Rec. 12,967 (2006)
110	John	Conyers	Democrat	House	153 Cong. Rec. 22,774 (2007)
112	Peter	Visclosky	Democrat	House	157 Cong. Rec. H5069 (daily ed. July 14, 2011)
112	Tom	Udall	Democrat	Senate	157 Cong. Rec. S54 (daily ed. Jan. 5, 2011)
113	Harry	Reid	Democrat	Senate	160 Cong. Rec. S1225 (daily ed. Feb. 27, 2014)
86	Barry	Goldwater	Republican	Senate	106 Cong. Rec. 1642 (1960)
88	Kenneth	Keating	Republican	Senate	110 Cong. Rec. 5772 (1964)
89	Richard	Poff	Republican	House	111 Cong. Rec. 7963 (1965)
89	Gerald	Ford	Republican	House	112 Cong. Rec. 18,397 (1966)
91	Thomas	Railsback	Republican	House	116 Cong. Rec. 20,166 (1970)
91	William	Cramer	Republican	House	116 Cong. Rec. 36,169 (1970)
91	Ogden	Reid	Republican	House	116 Cong. Rec. 13,781 (1970)
91	Robert	Dole	Republican	Senate	116 Cong. Rec. 19,186 (1970)
93	John	Anderson	Republican	House	120 Cong. Rec. 35,167 (1974)
106	David	Dreier	Republican	House	145 Cong. Rec. 14,973 (1999)
106	Todd	Tiahrt	Republican	House	146 Cong. Rec. 12,551 (2000)
106	Phil	Gramm	Republican	Senate	145 Cong. Rec. 3010 (1999)
107	John	Hayworth	Republican	House	147 Cong. Rec. 26,451 (2001)
108	Tom	Feeney	Republican	House	150 Cong. Rec. 11,297 (2004)
108	Jon	Kyl	Republican	Senate	149 Cong. Rec. 10,817 (2003)
108	Jon	Kyl	Republican	Senate	149 Cong. Rec. 25,509 (2003)
109	Roy	Blunt	Republican	House	151 Cong. Rec. 720 (2005)
109	John	Boehner	Republican	House	152 Cong. Rec. 15,096 (2006)
114	Jody	Hice	Republican	House	161 Cong. Rec. H1550 (daily ed. Mar. 3, 2015)

### III. THE VOCABULARY OF CONSTITUTIONAL PARTISANSHIP: ADDITIONAL FIGURES

The following figure, which is analogous to Figure 13.C in the Article, depicts the fifty most distinctive terms from the Expansive dictionary for each Congress from 1873 through 2016.

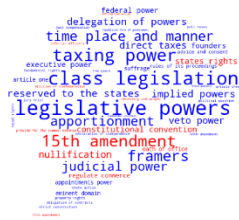
Figure OA.1: Fifty Most Distinctive (One-Party-Owned) Terms, Expansive Dictionary



1891-1892



1893-1894



1895-1896



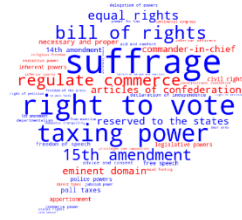
1897-1898



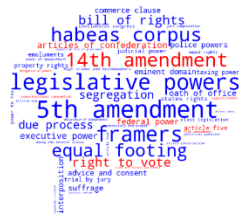
1899-1900



1901-1902



1903-1904



1905-1906



1907-1908



1909–1910



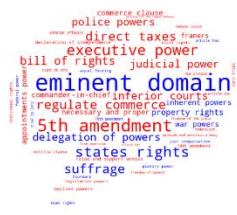
1911–1912



1913–1914



1915–1916



1917–1918



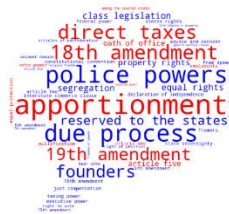
1919–1920



1921–1922



1923–1924



1925–1926



1927-1928



1929-1930



1931-1932



1933-1934



1935-1936



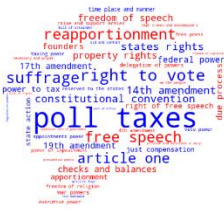
1937-1938



1939-1940



1941-1942



1943-1944





1945-1946



1947-1948



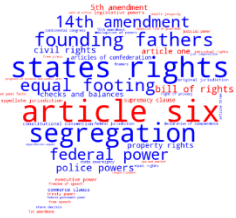
1949-1950



1951-1952



1953-1954



1955-1956



1957-1958



1959-1960



1961-1962



1963–1964



1965–1966



1967–1968



1969–1970



1971–1972



1973–1974



1975–1976



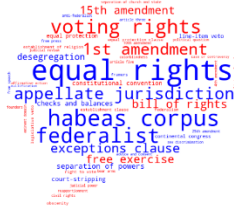
1977–1978



1979–1980



1981-1982



1983-1984



1985-1986



1987-1988



1989-1990



1991-1992



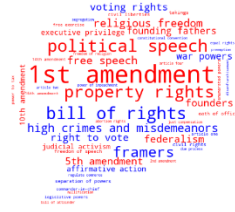
1993-1994



1995-1996



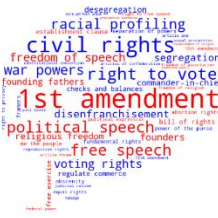
1997-1998



1999–2000



2001–2002



2003–2004



2005–2006



2007–2008



2009–2010



2011–2012



2013–2014

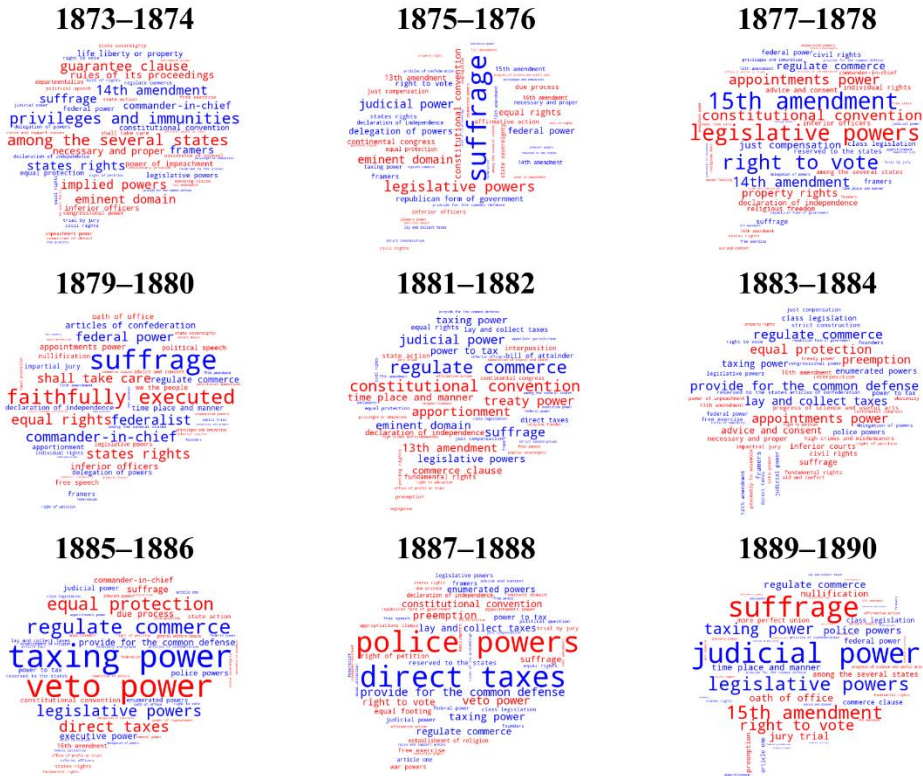


2015–2016



The following figure, which is analogous to Figure 13.B in the Article, depicts the twenty-five most distinctive Republican and Democratic terms from the Expansive dictionary from 1873 through 2016.

Figure OA.2: Twenty-Five Most Distinctive Terms by Party, Expansive Dictionary



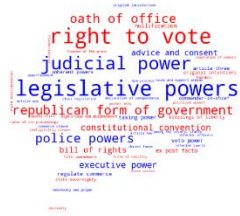
1891-1892



1893-1894



1895-1896



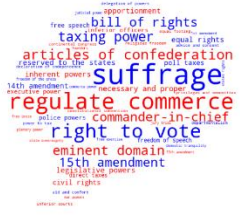
1897-1898



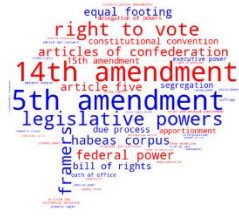
1899-1900



1901-1902



1903-1904



1905-1906



1907-1908



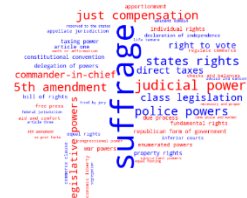
1909–1910



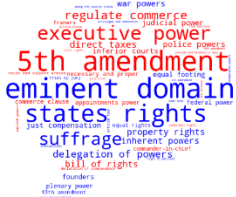
1911–1912



1913–1914



1915–1916



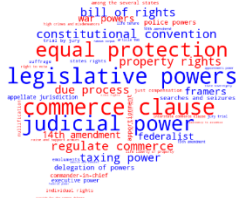
1917–1918



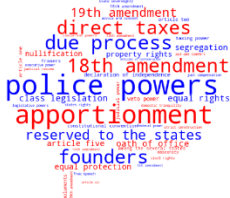
1919–1920



1921–1922



1923–1924



1925–1926



1927-1928



1929-1930



1931-1932



1933-1934



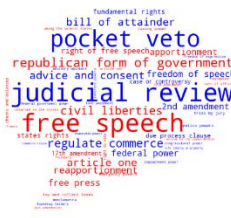
1935-1936



1937-1938



1939-1940



1941-1942

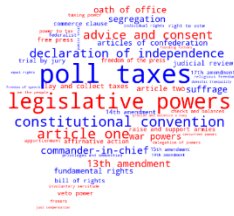


1943-1944





1945-1946



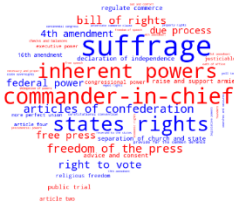
1947-1948



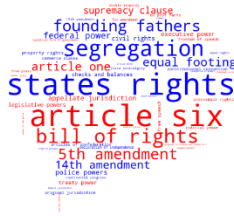
1949-1950



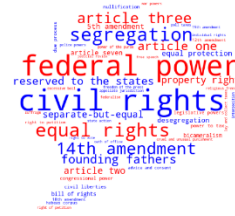
1951-1952



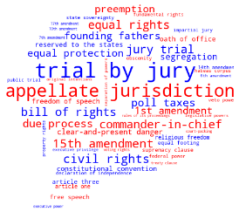
1953-1954



1955-1956



1957-1958



1959-1960



1961-1962



1963–1964



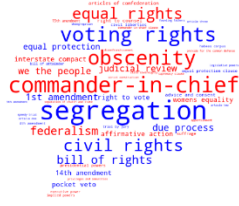
1965–1966



1967–1968



1969–1970



1971–1972



1973–1974



1975–1976



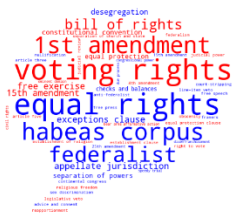
1977–1978



1979–1980



1981-1982



1983-1984



1985-1986



1987-1988



1989-1990



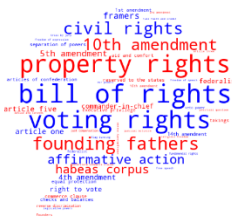
1991-1992



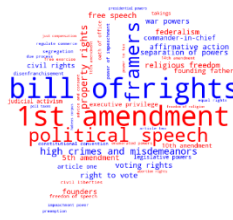
1993-1994



1995-1996



1997-1998



1999–2000



2001–2002



2003–2004



2005–2006



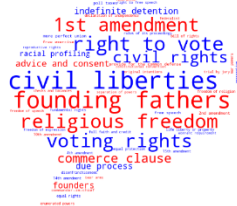
2007–2008



2009–2010



2011–2012



2013–2014

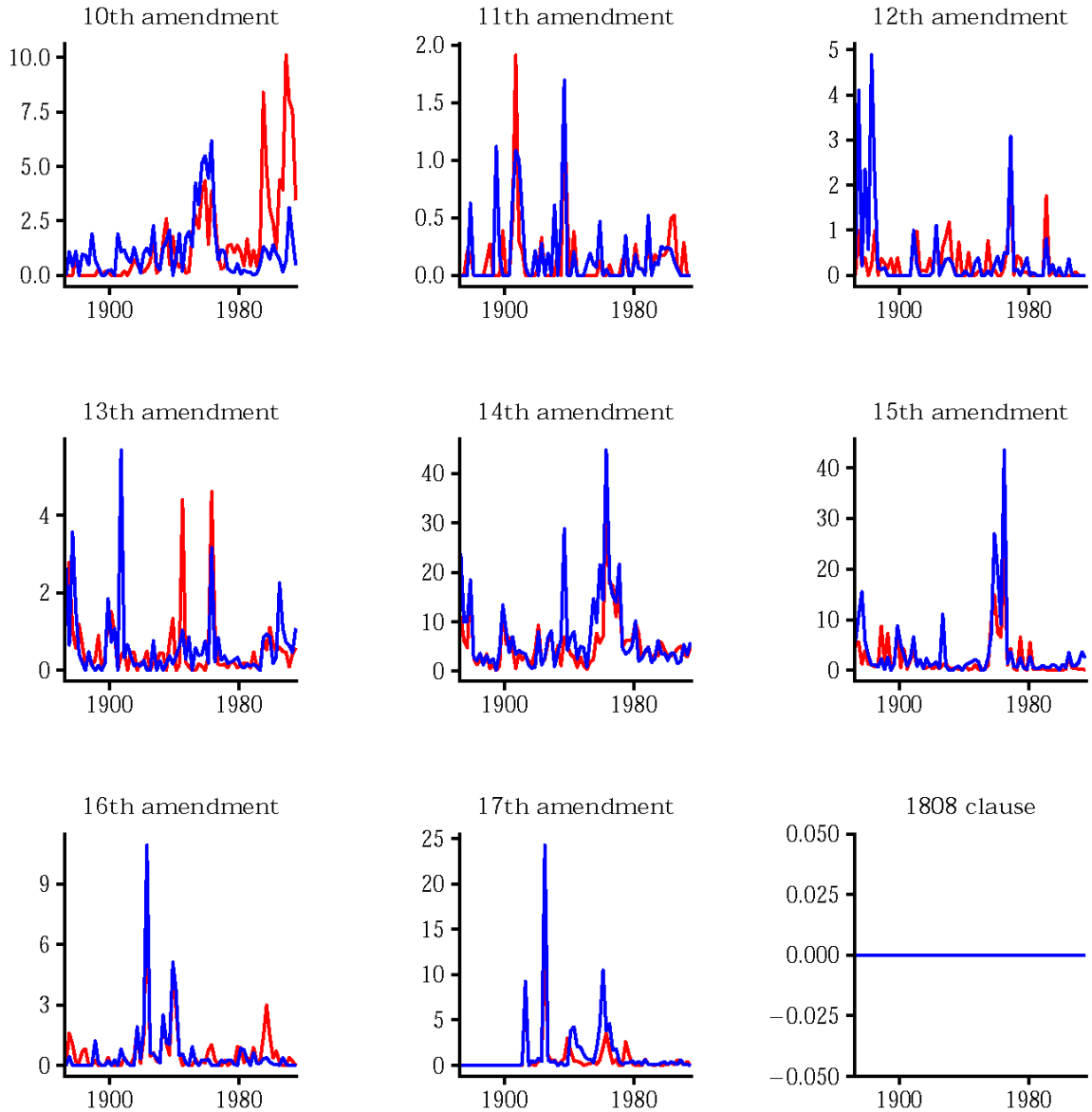


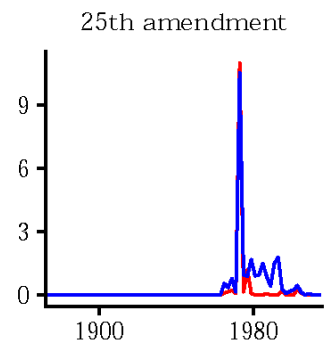
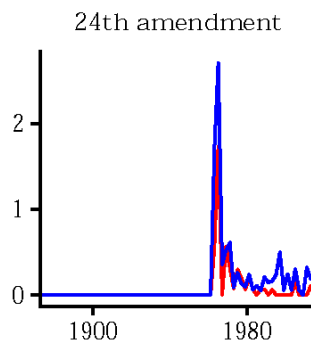
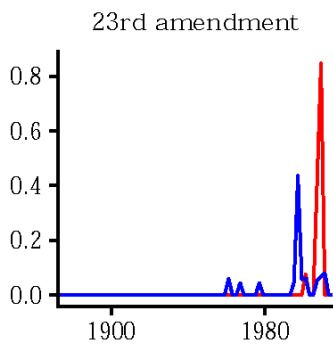
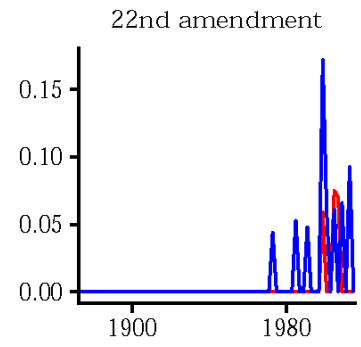
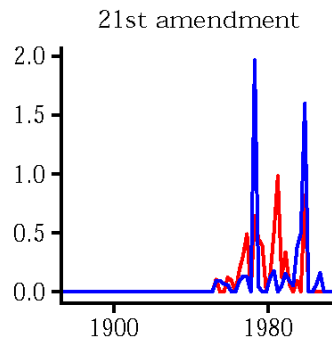
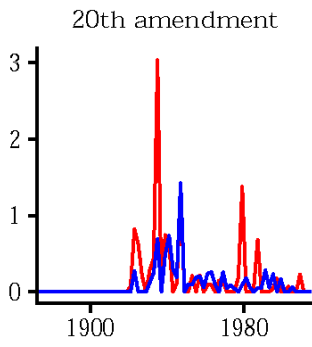
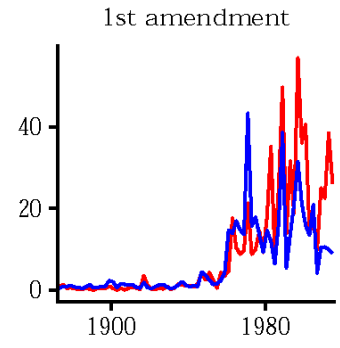
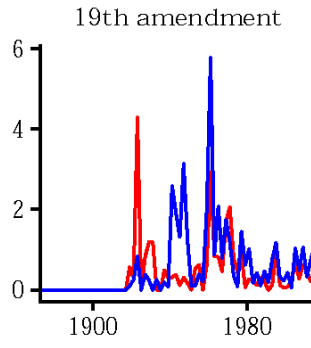
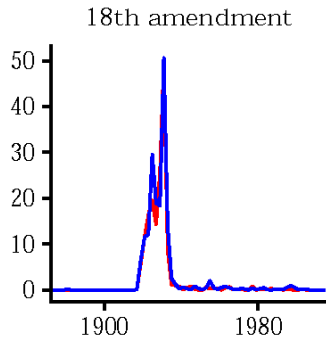
2015–2016

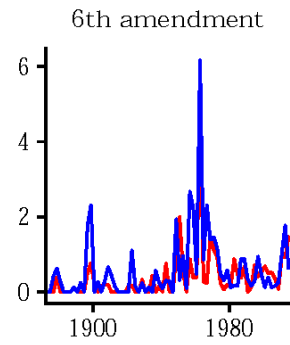
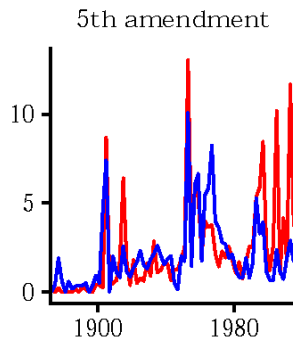
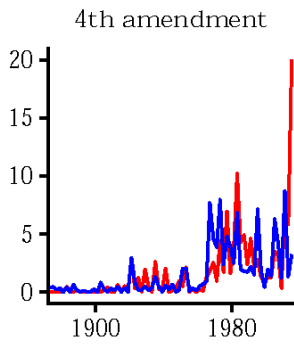
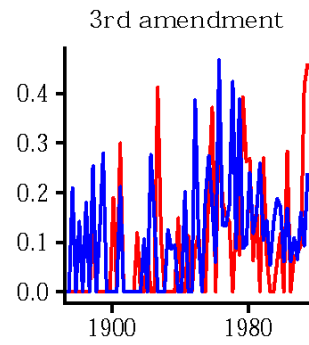
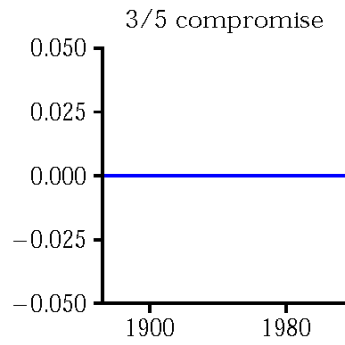
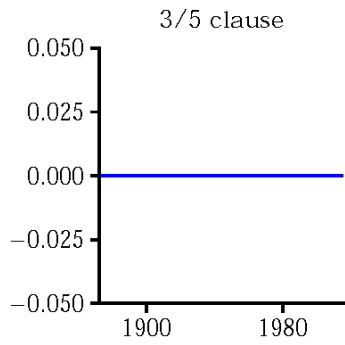
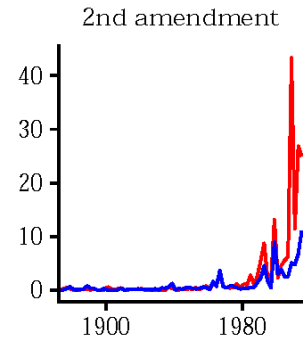
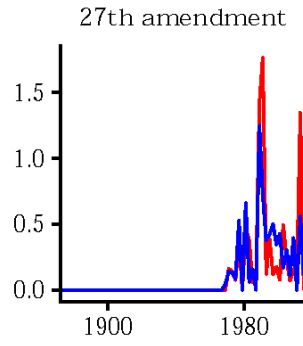
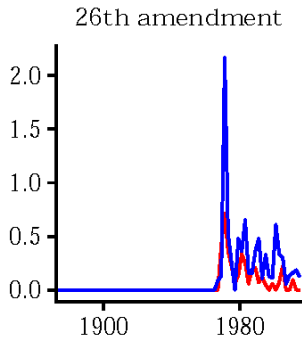


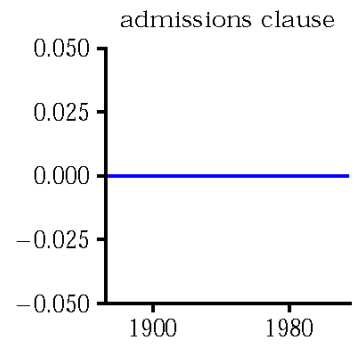
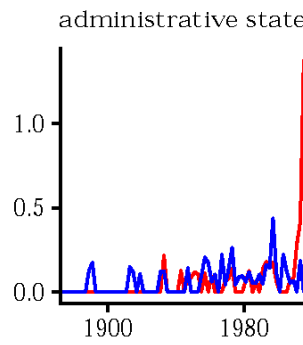
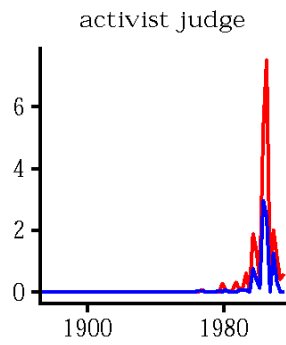
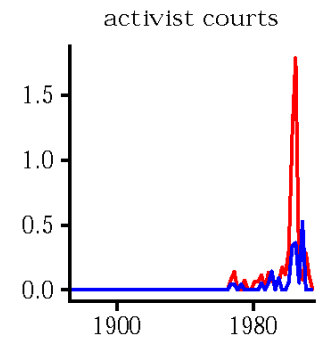
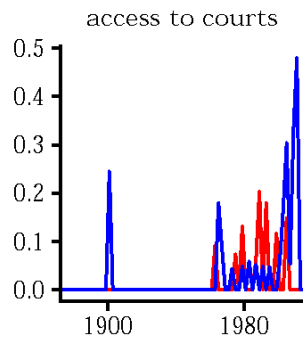
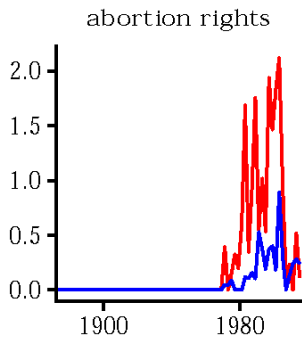
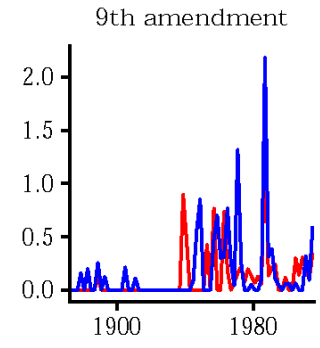
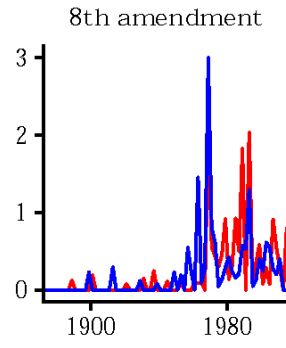
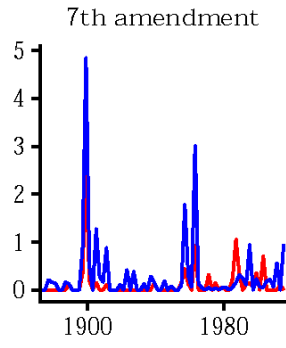
Below, we provide historical term-frequency plots, which are analogous to the plots shown in Figure 14 in the Article, for all terms in the Expansive dictionary. Each plot depicts the number of times the term was mentioned for every 1,000,000 spoken words on a biannual, per-Congress basis.

Figure OA.3: Partisan Discrepancies in Constitutional Language (All Terms)

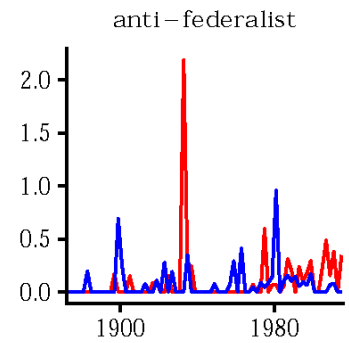
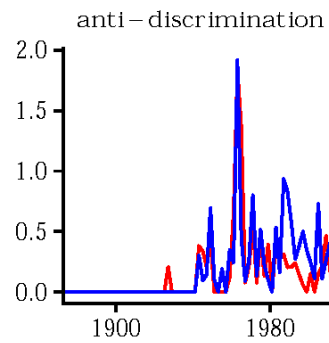
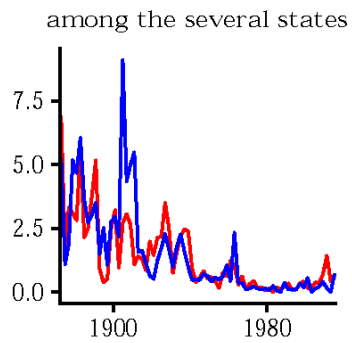
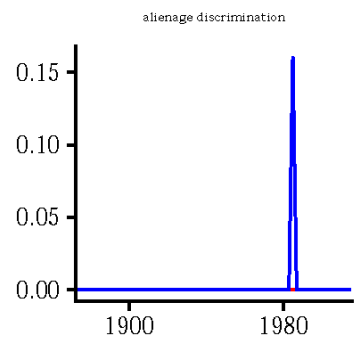
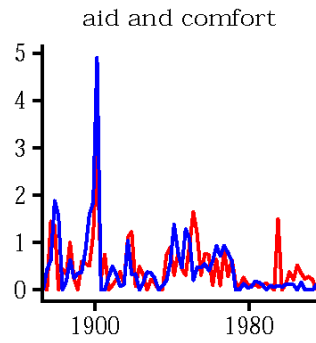
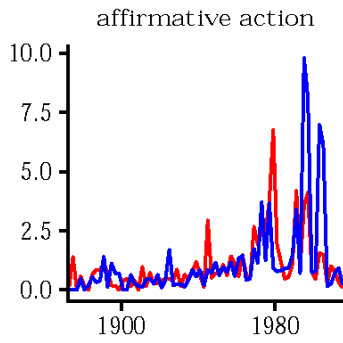
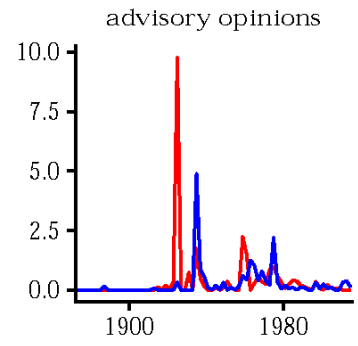
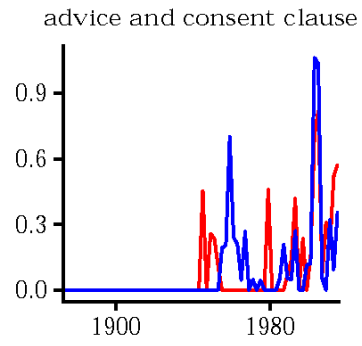
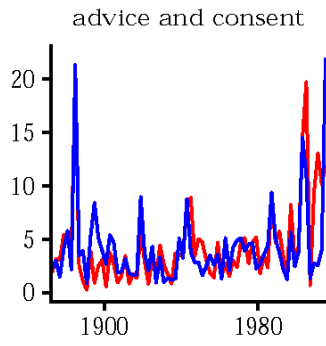


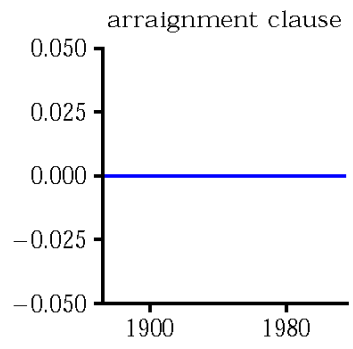
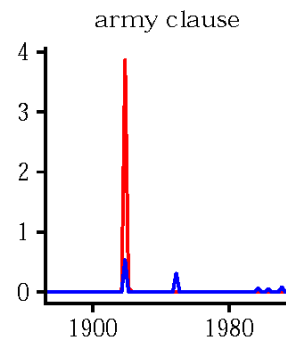
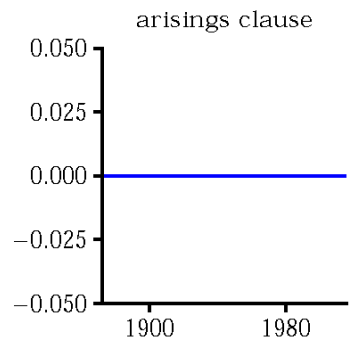
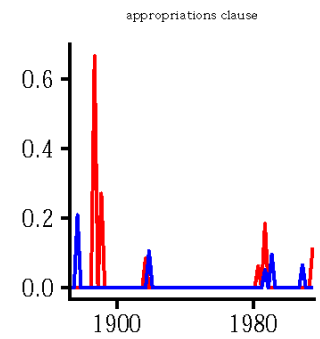
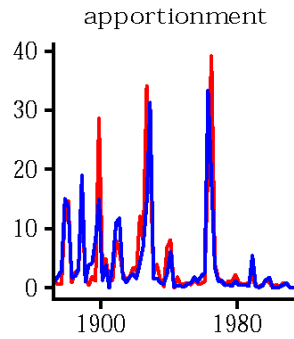
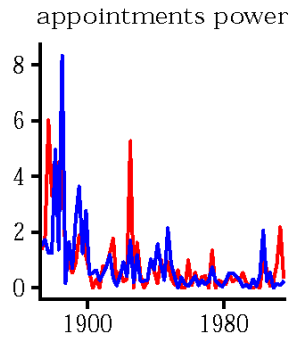
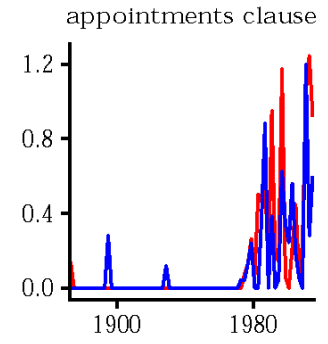
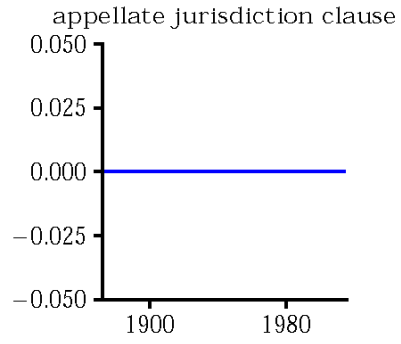
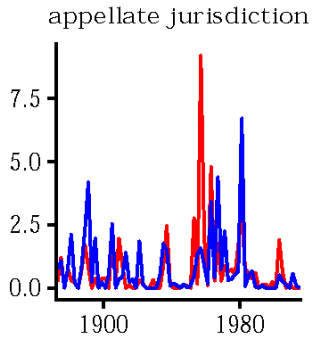


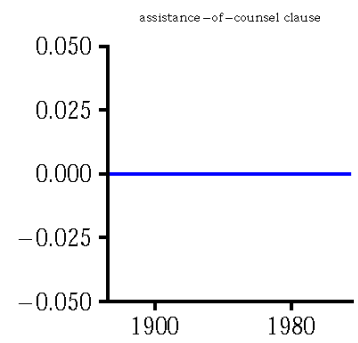
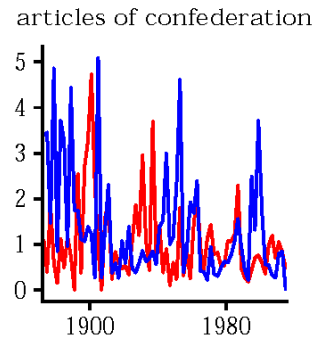
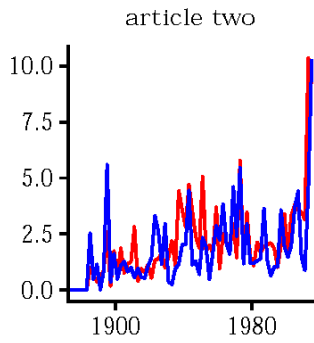
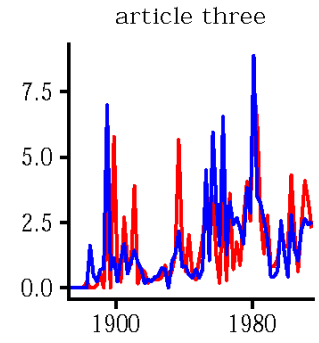
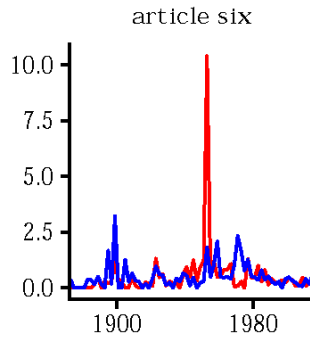
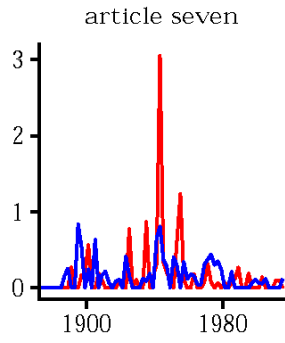
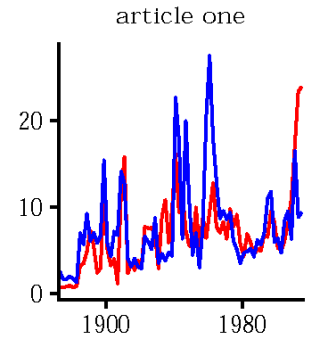
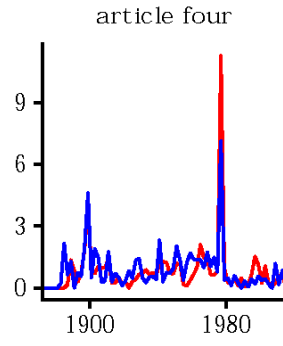
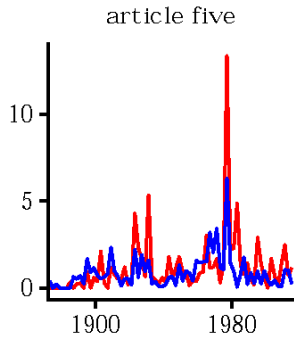


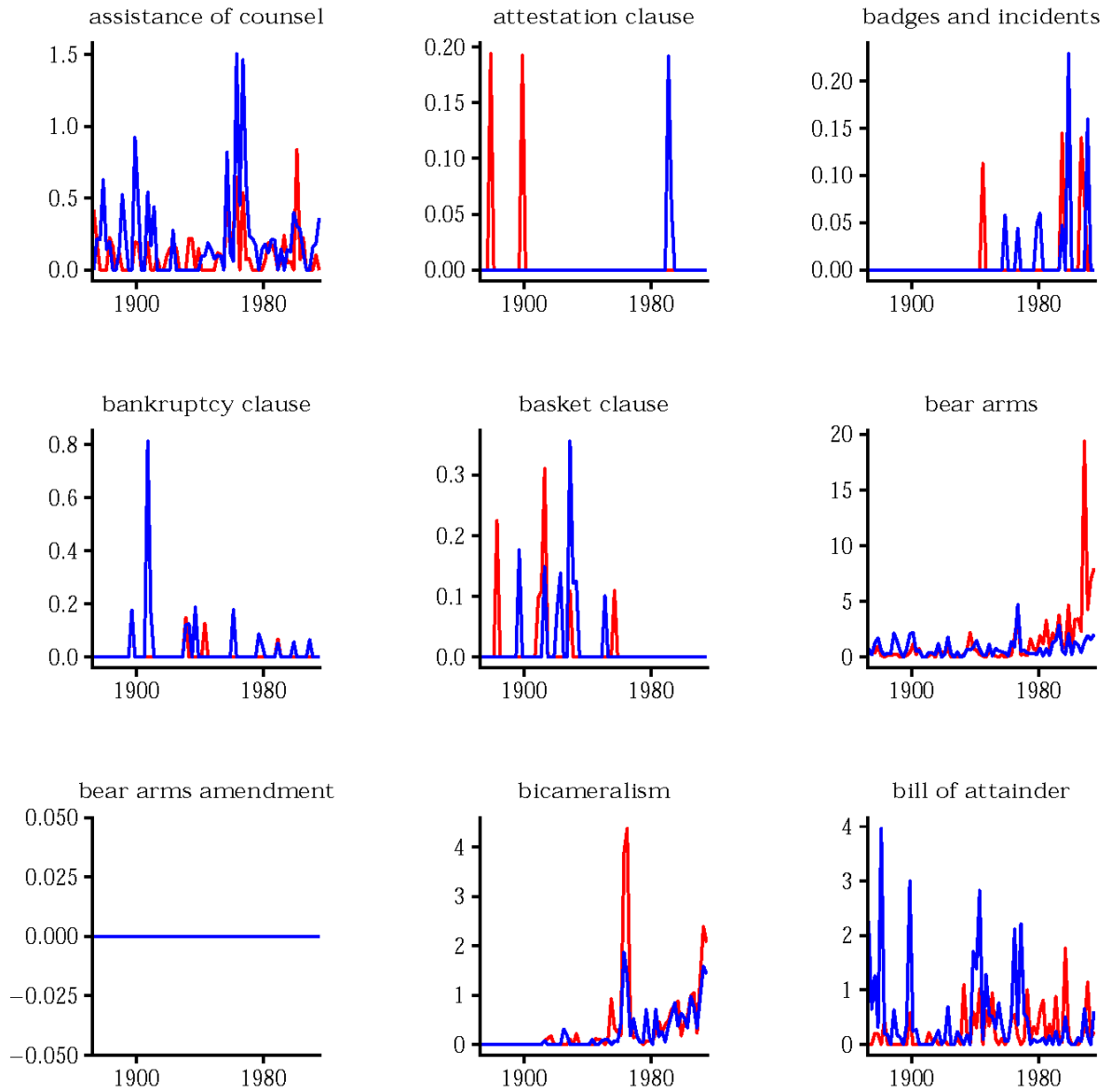


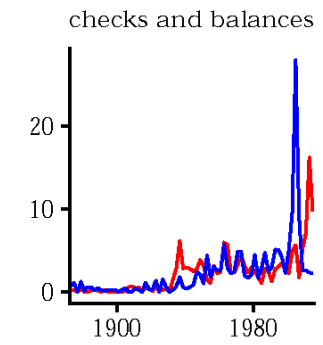
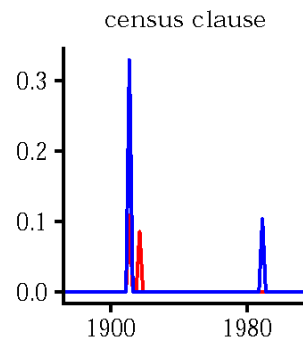
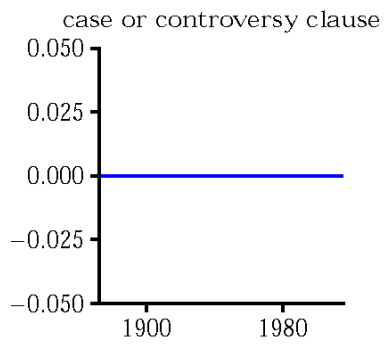
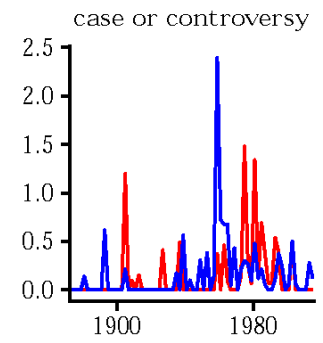
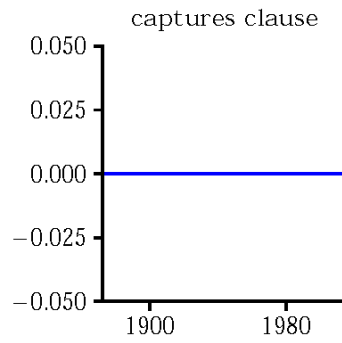
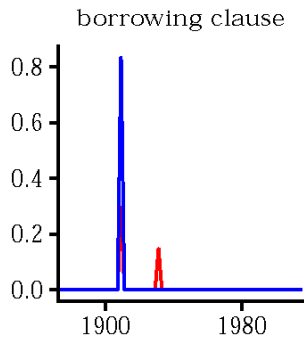
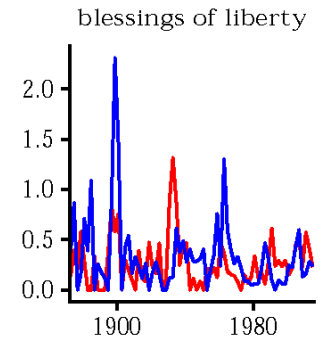
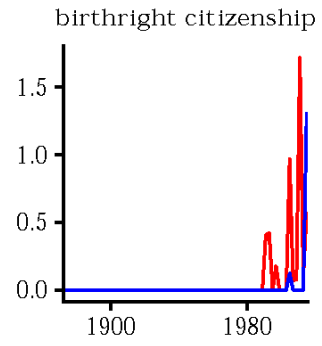
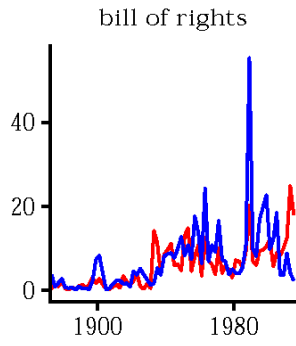


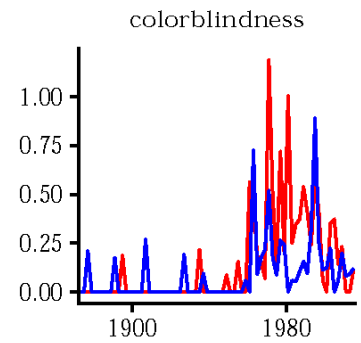
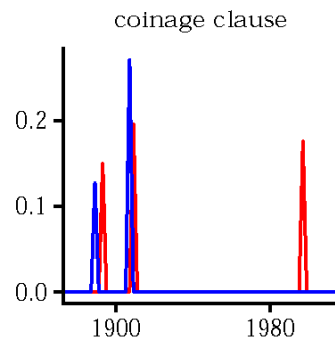
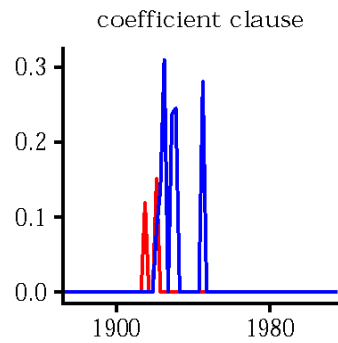
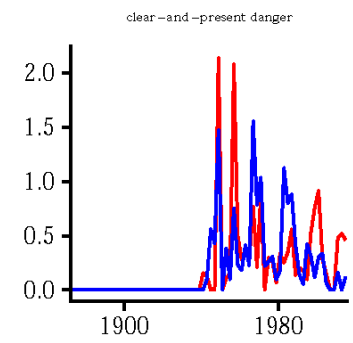
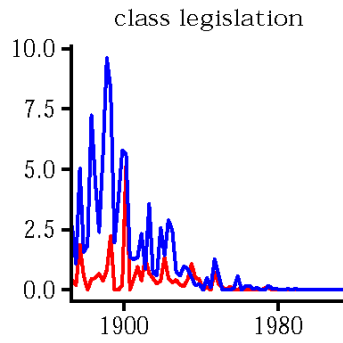
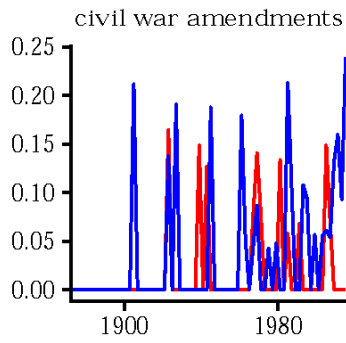
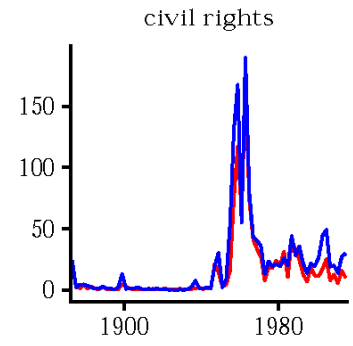
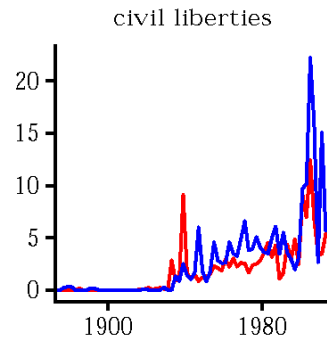
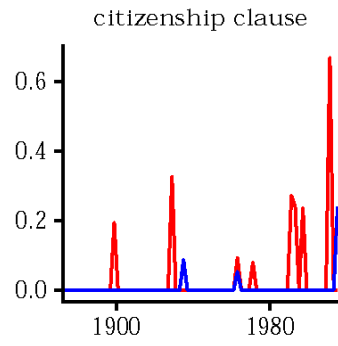


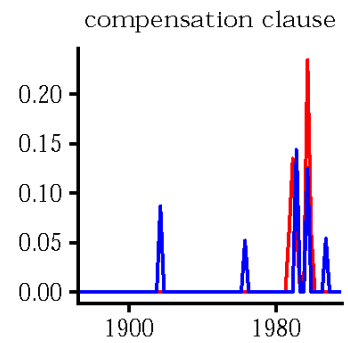
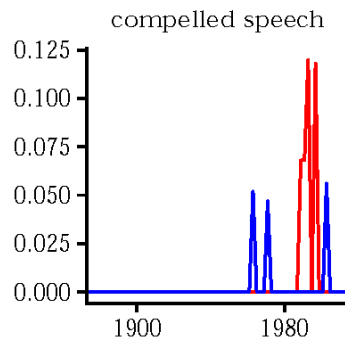
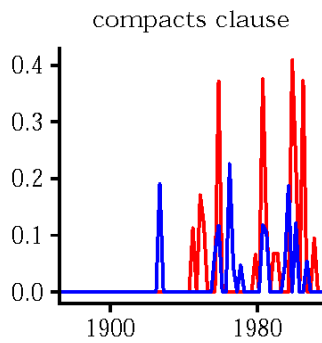
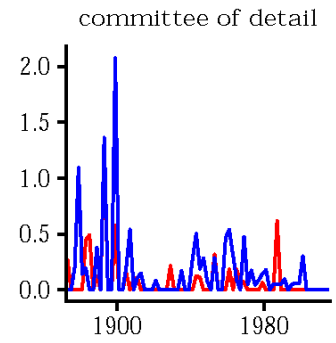
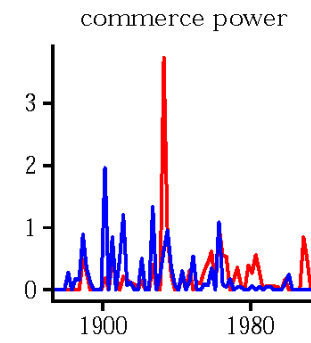
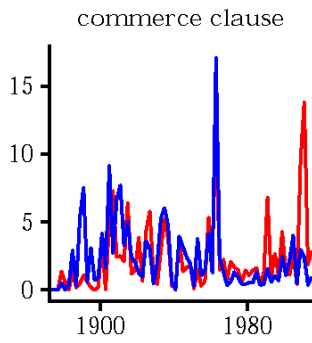
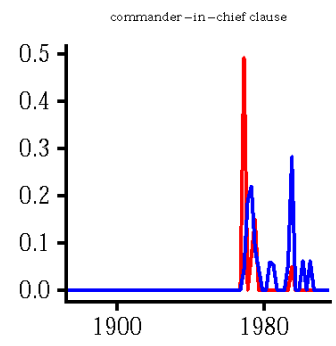
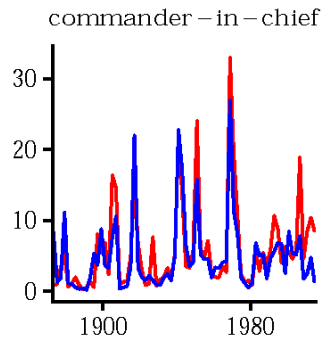
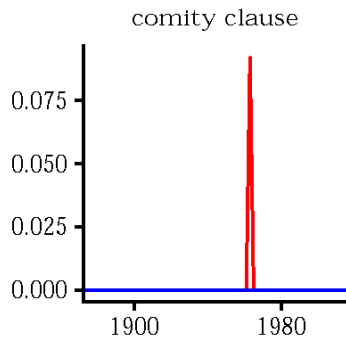


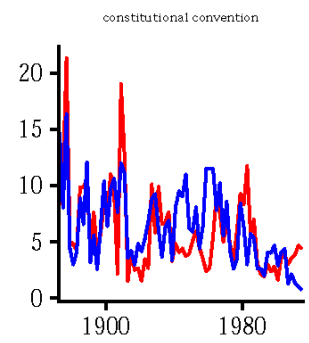
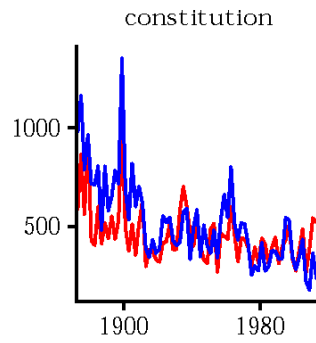
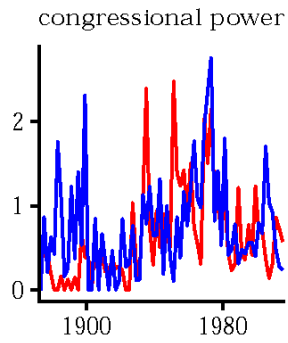
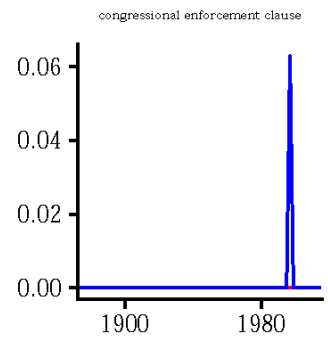
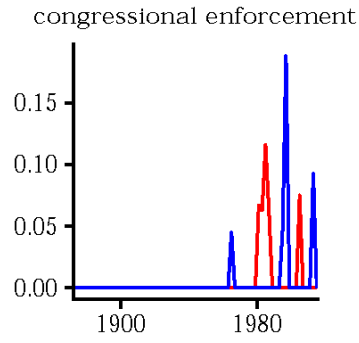
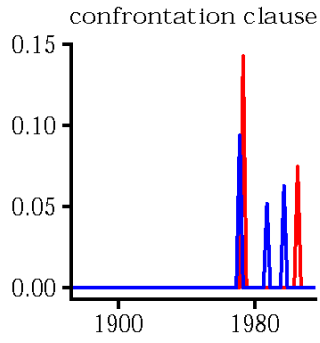
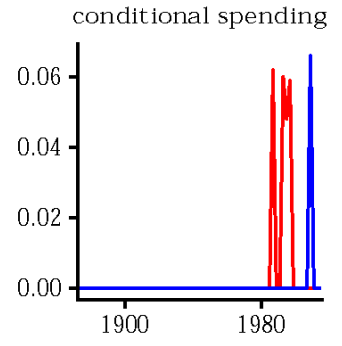
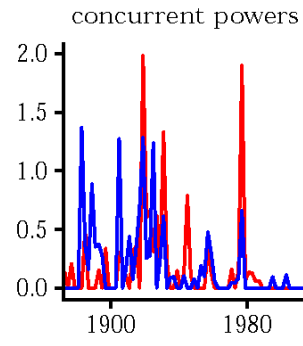
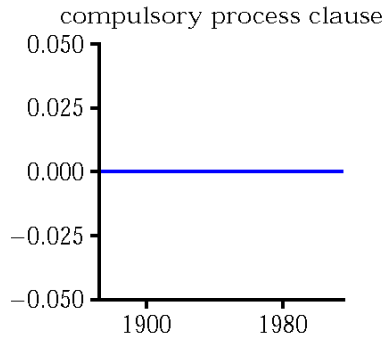




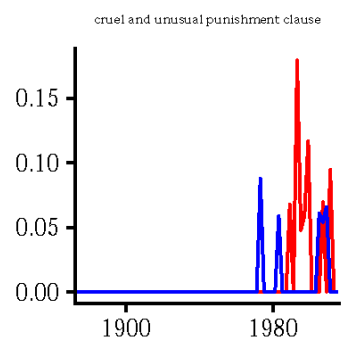
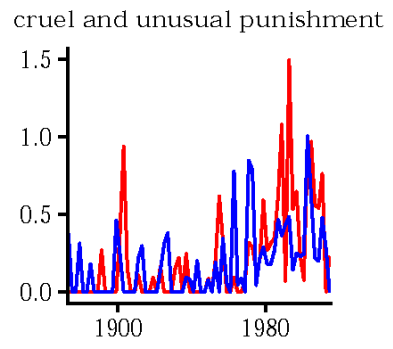
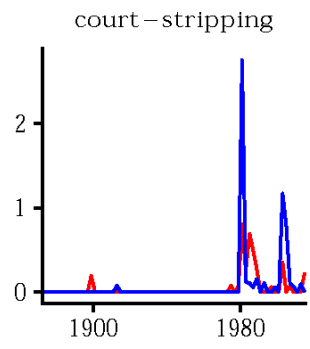
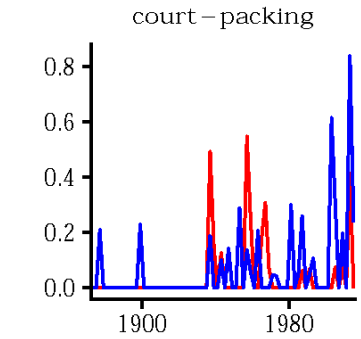
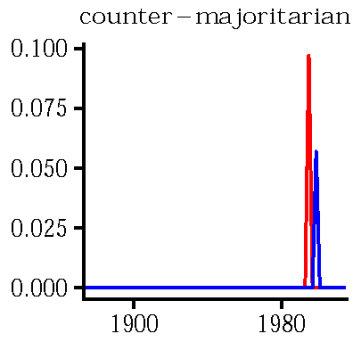
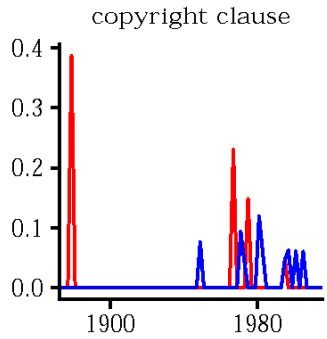
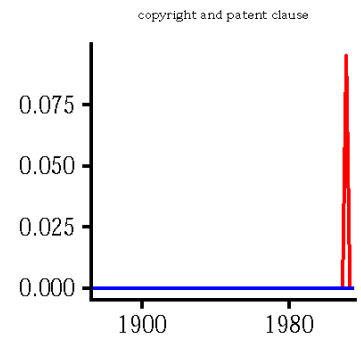
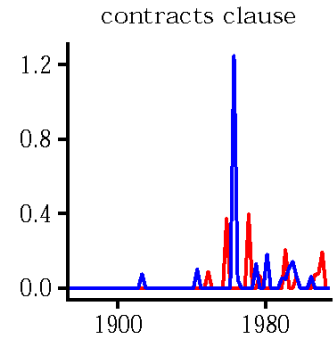
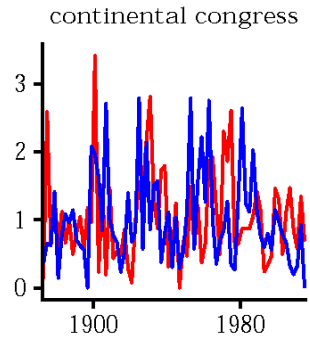


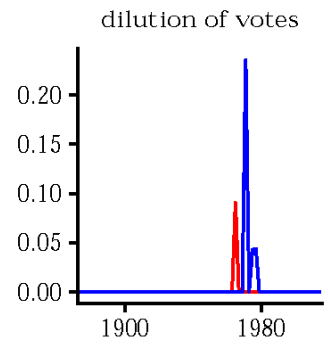
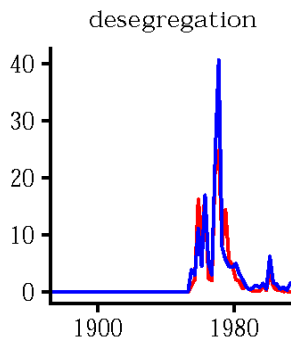
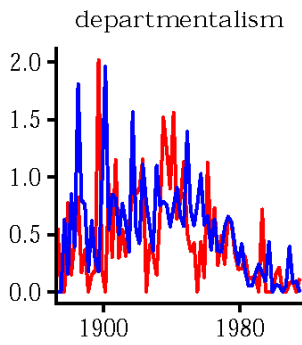
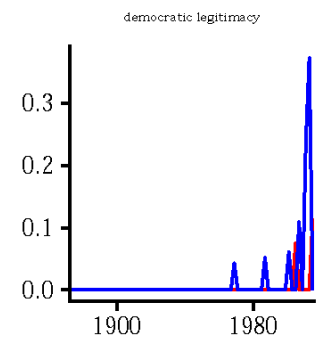
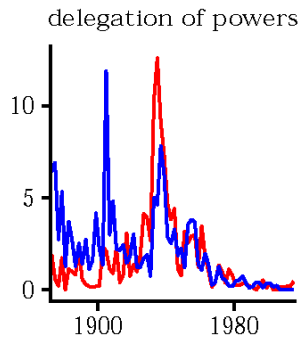
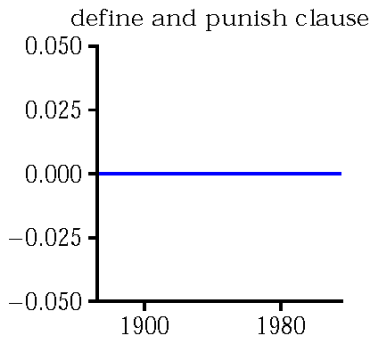
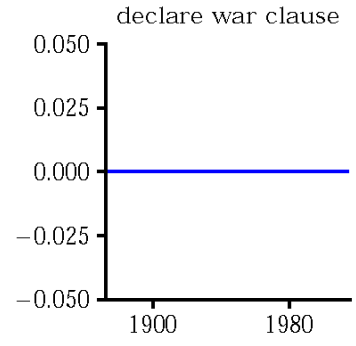
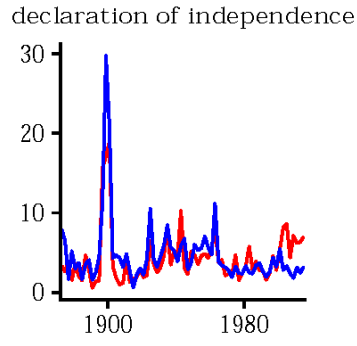
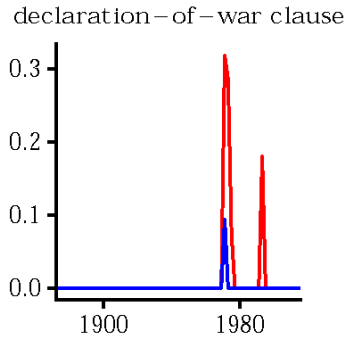


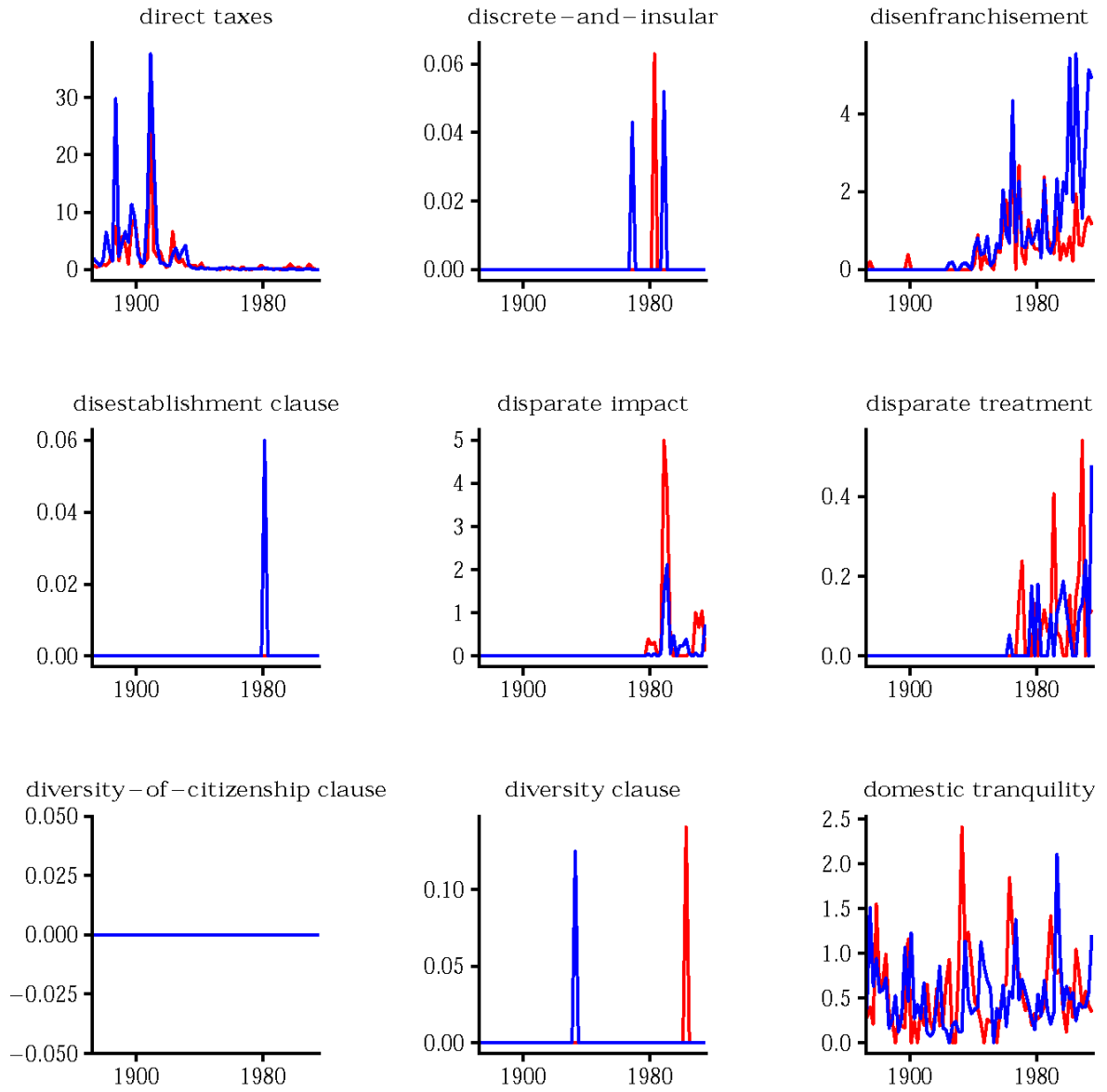


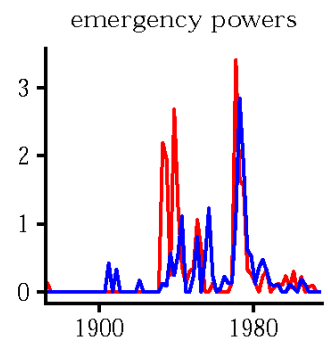
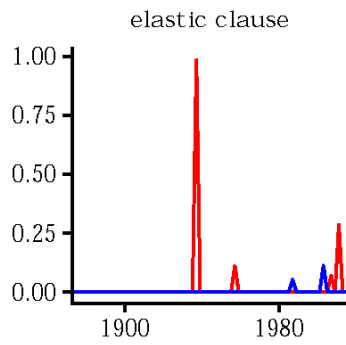
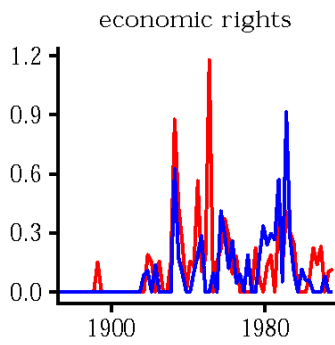
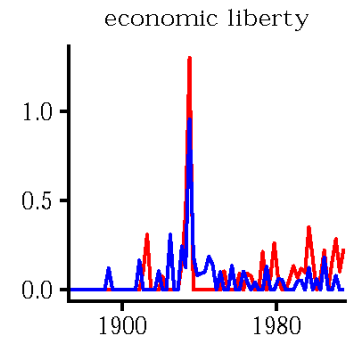
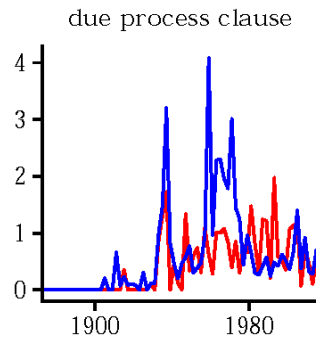
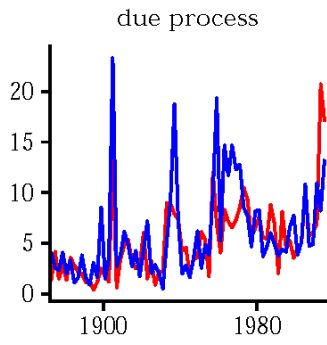
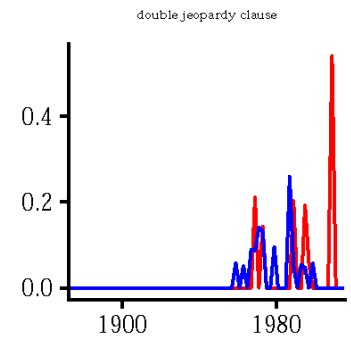
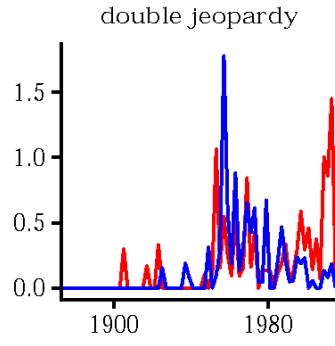
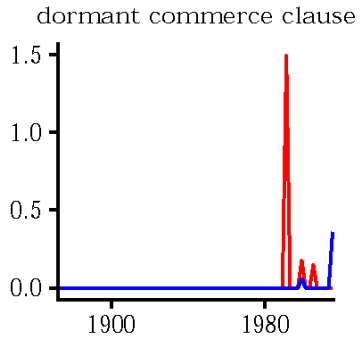


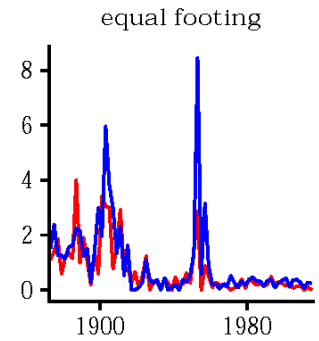
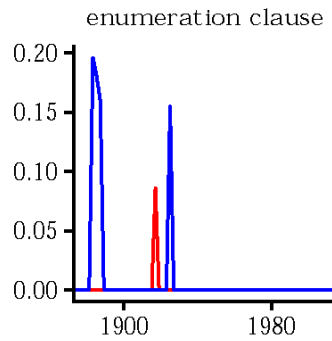
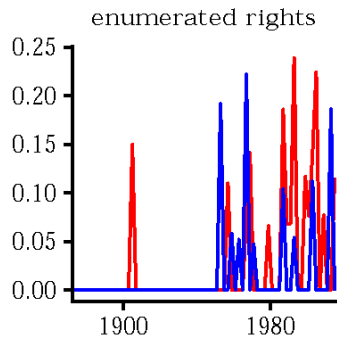
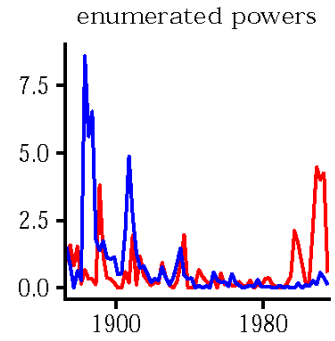
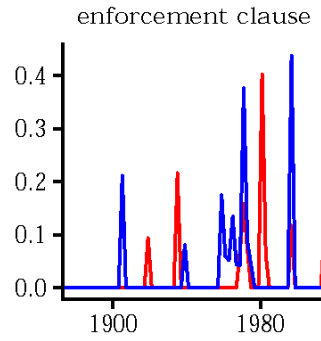
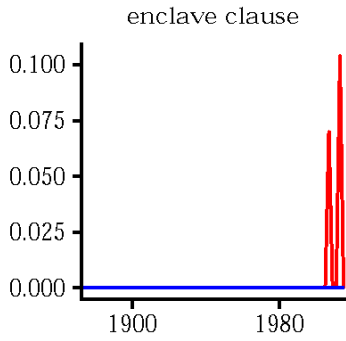
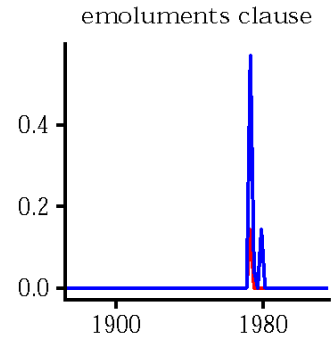
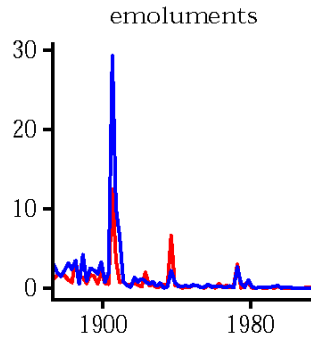
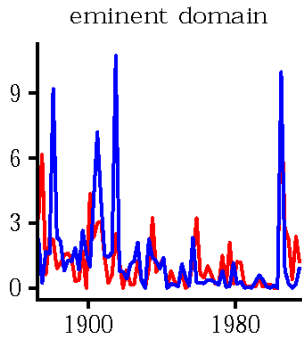


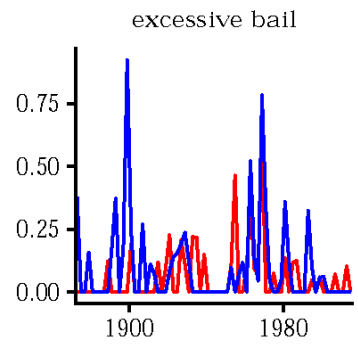
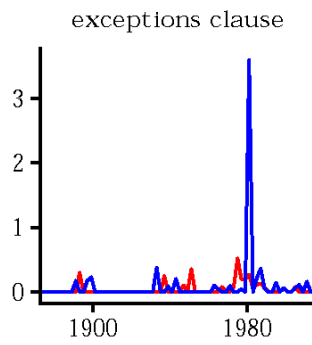
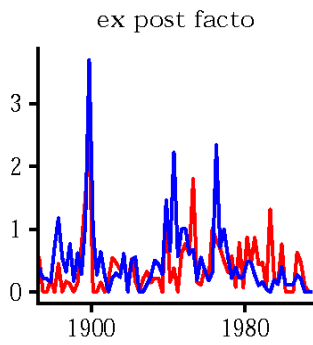
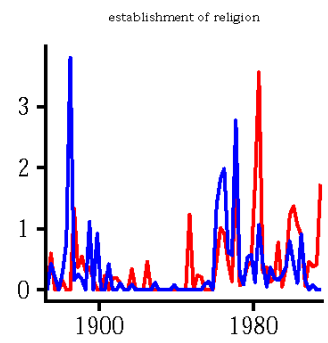
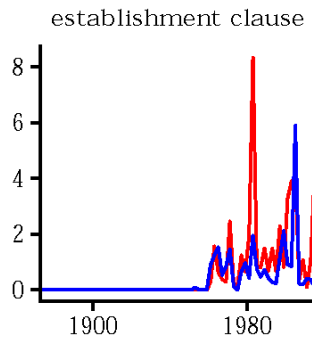
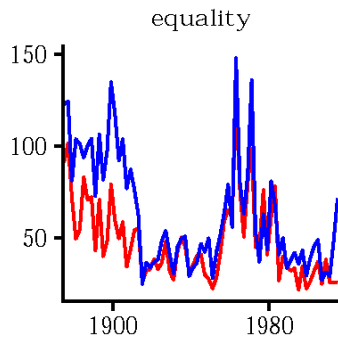
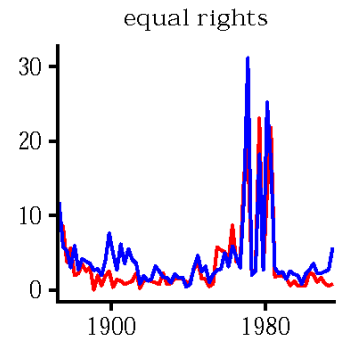
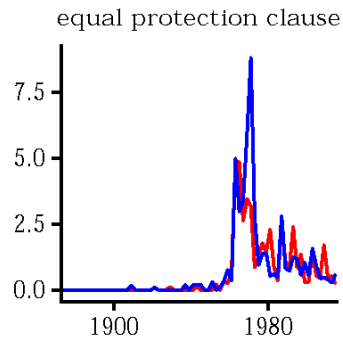
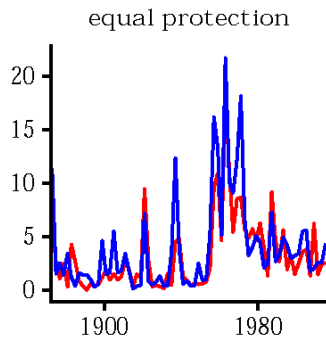


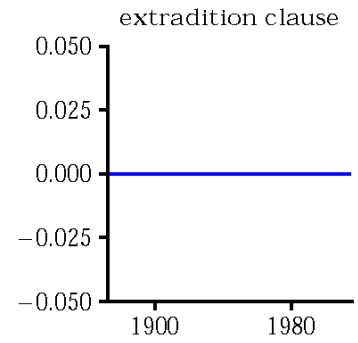
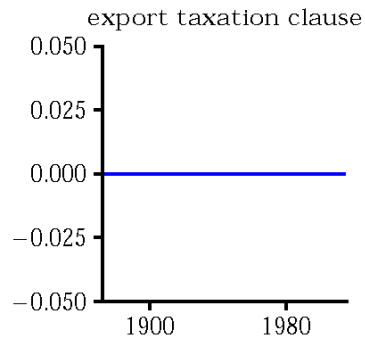
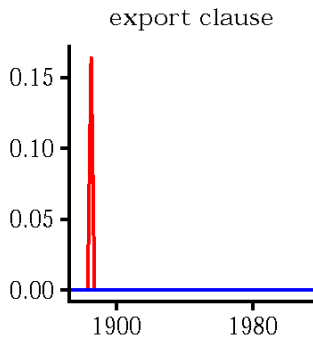
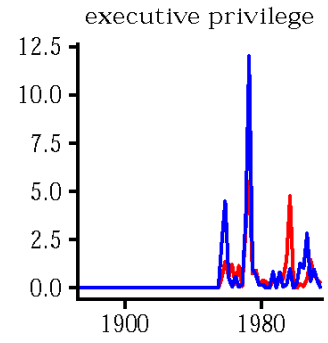
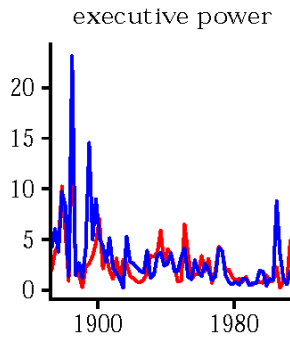
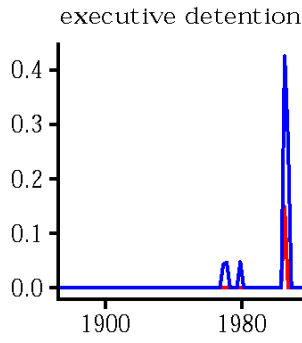
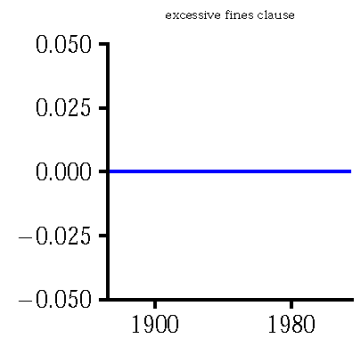
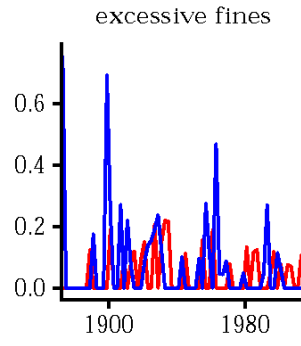
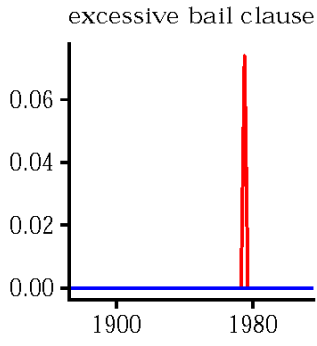


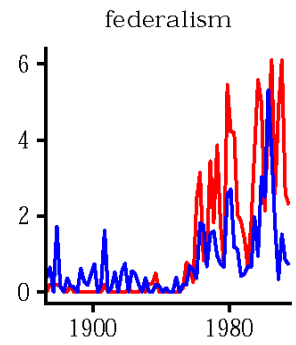
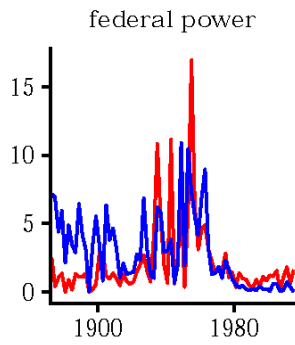
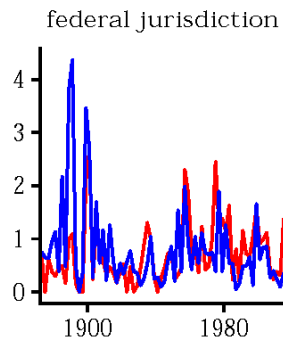
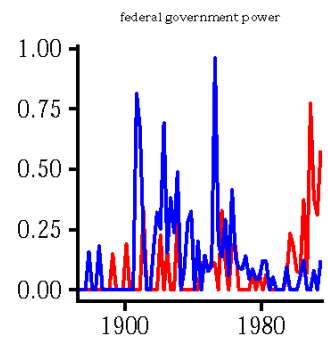
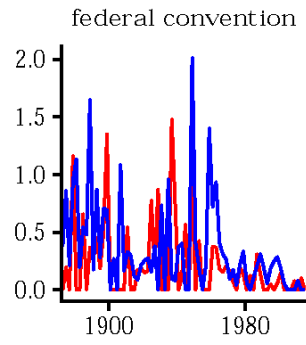
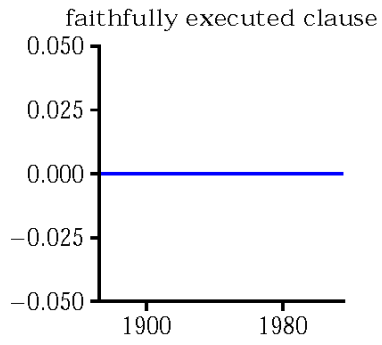
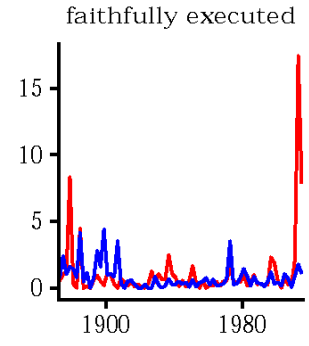
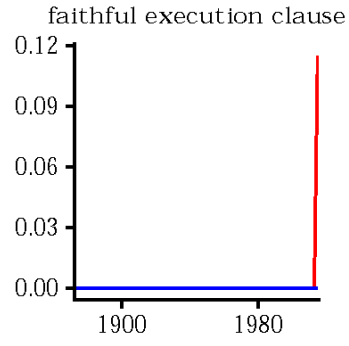
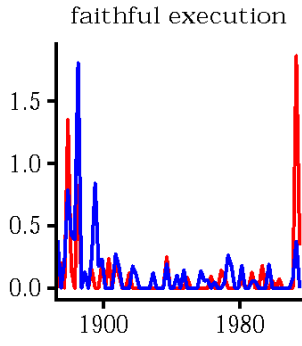




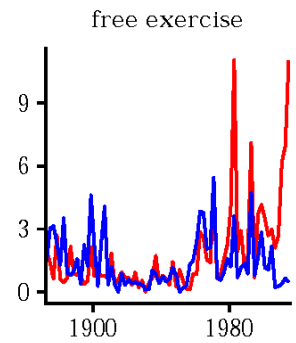
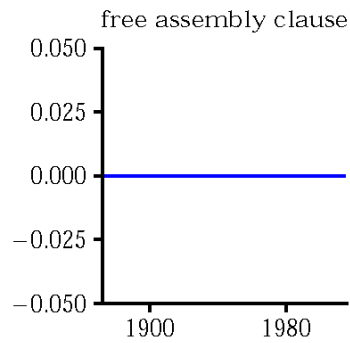
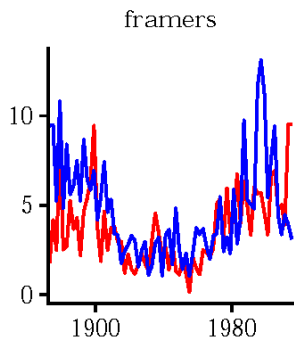
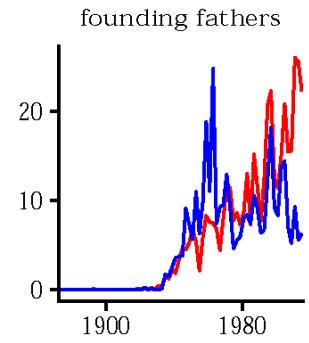
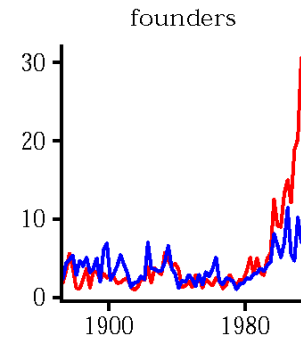
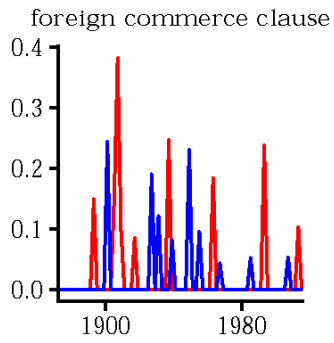
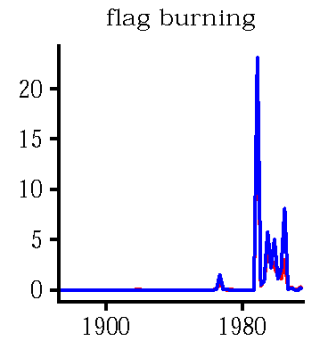
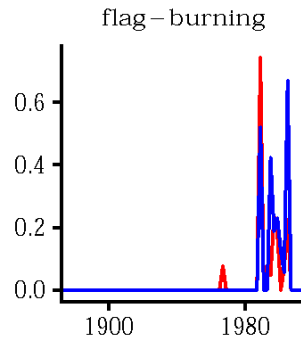
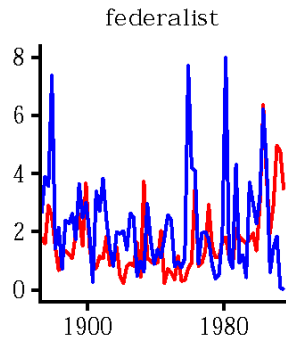


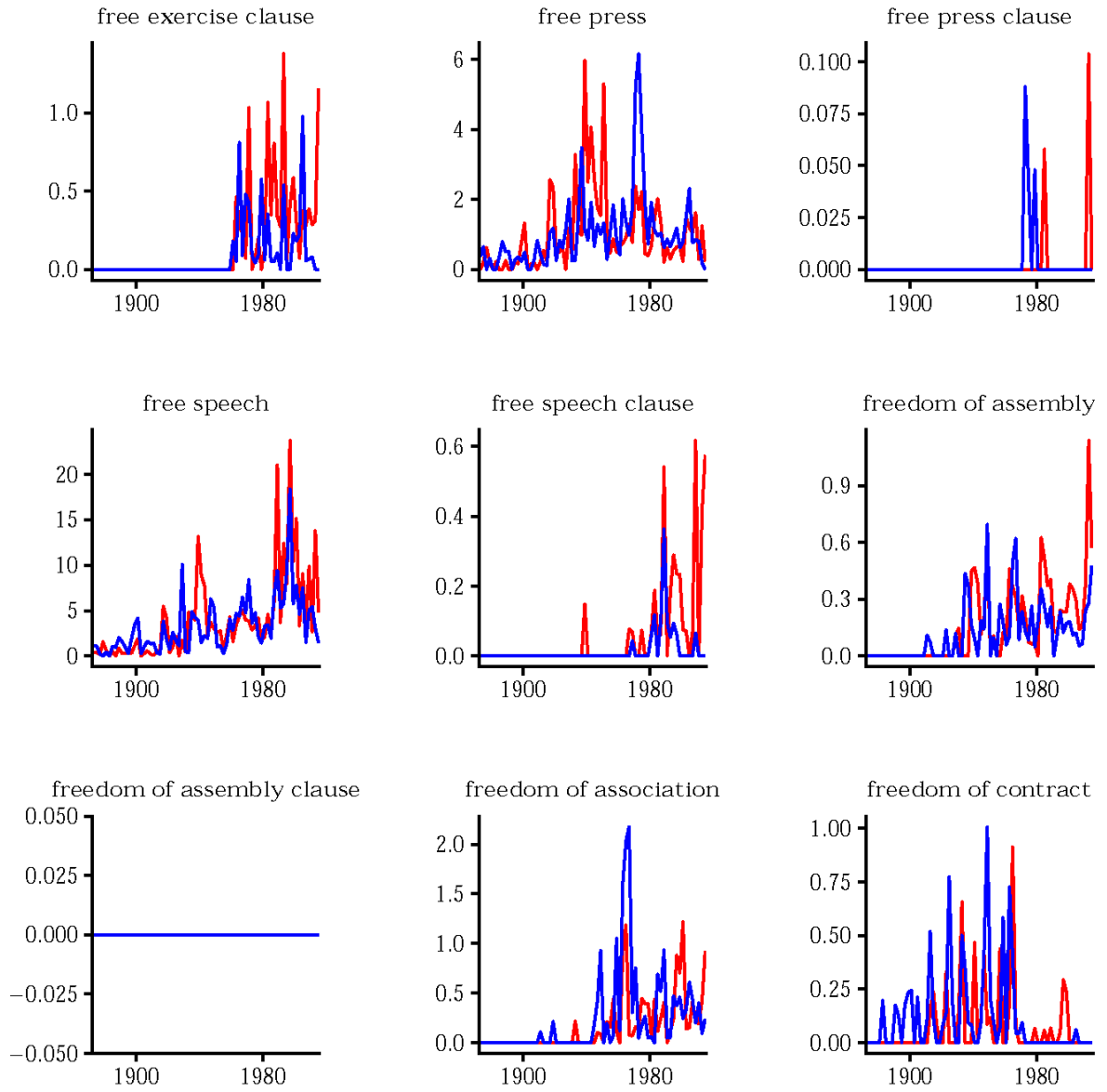


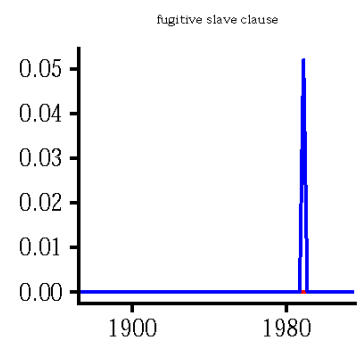
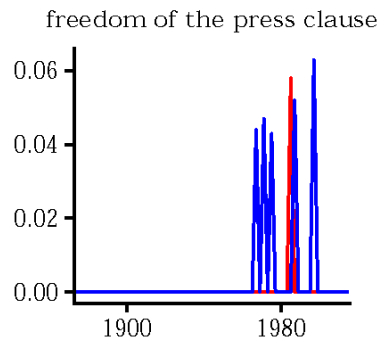
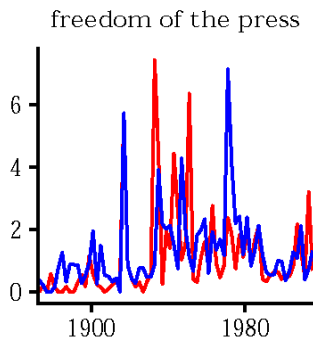
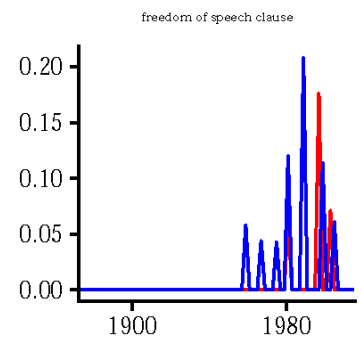
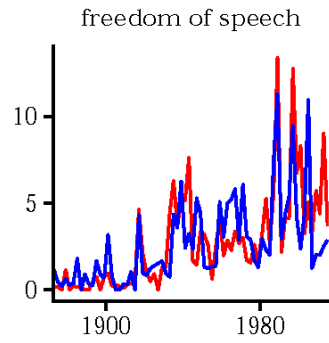
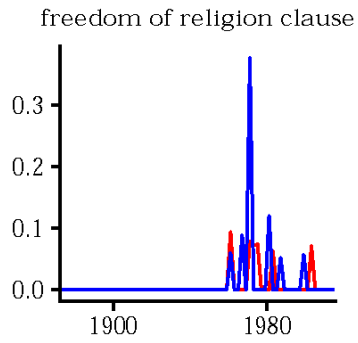
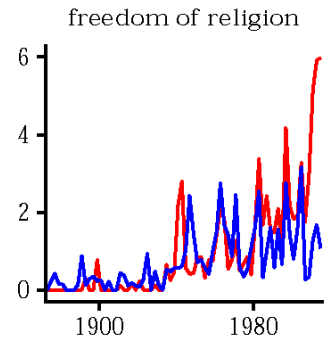
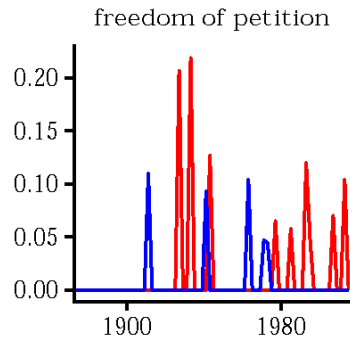
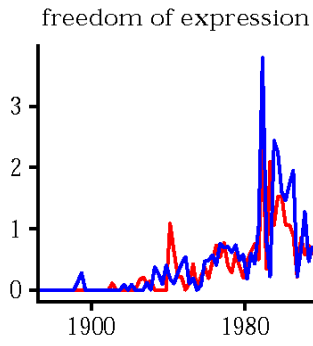


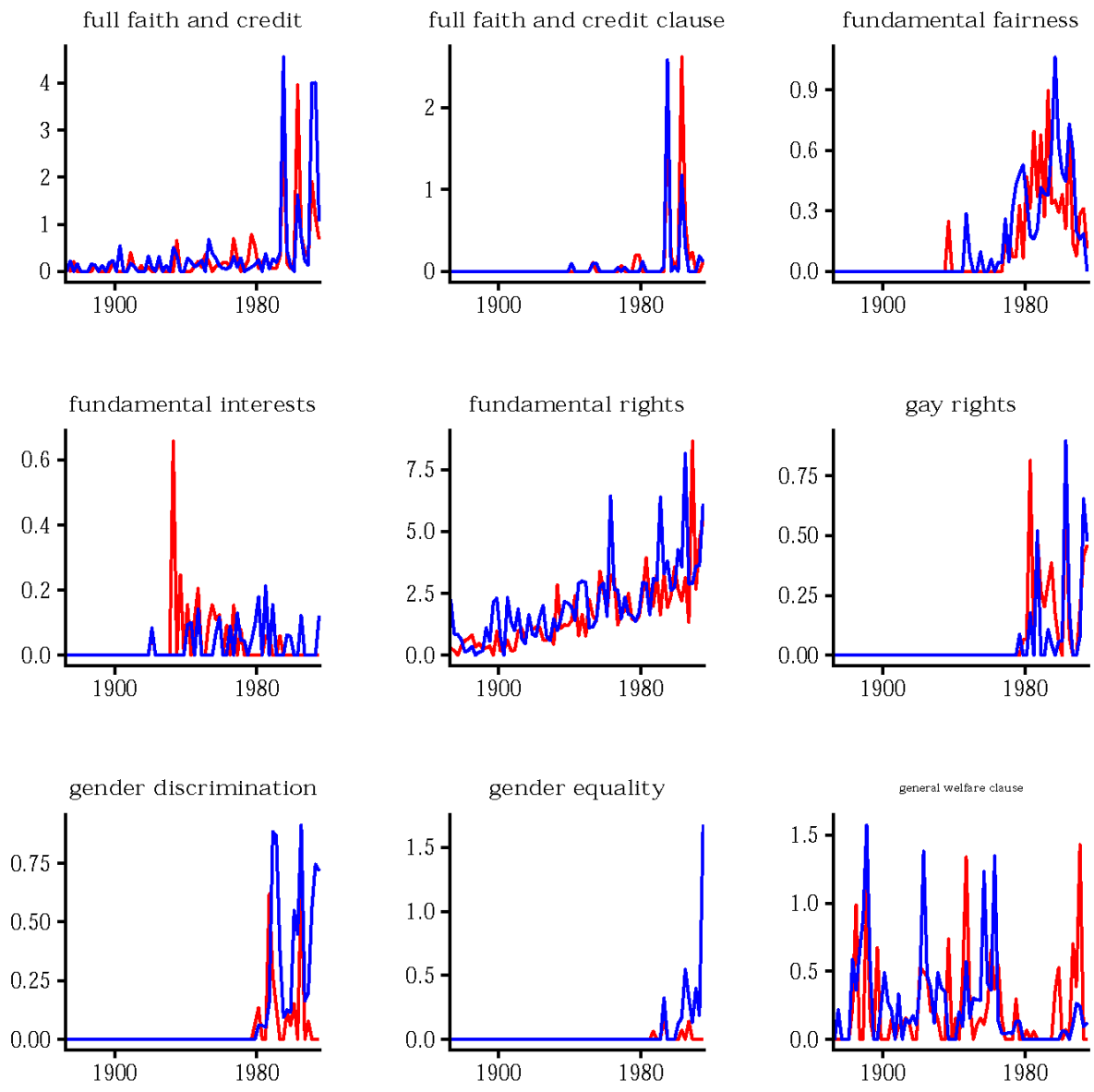


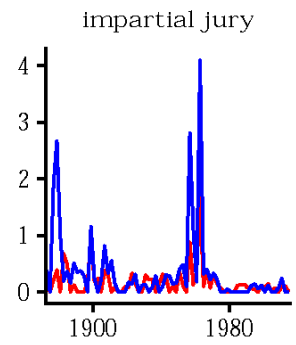
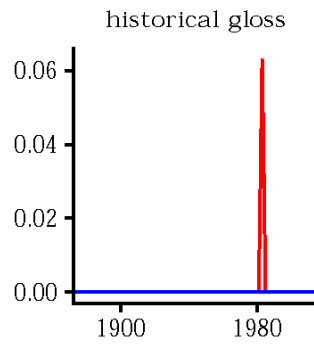
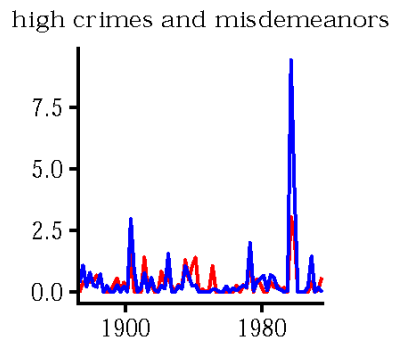
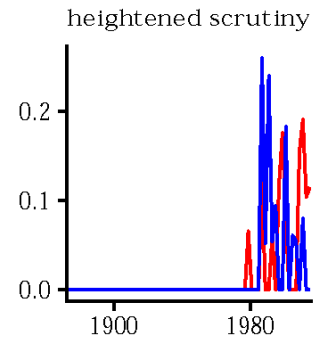
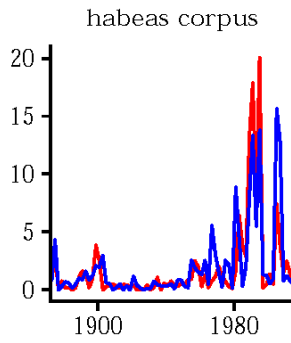
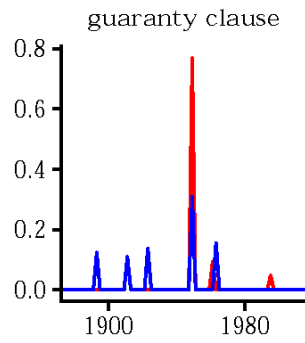
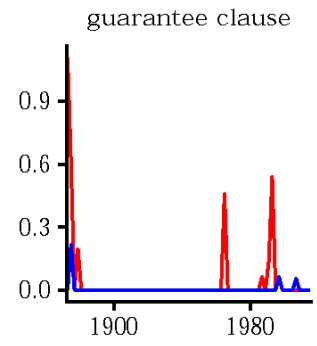
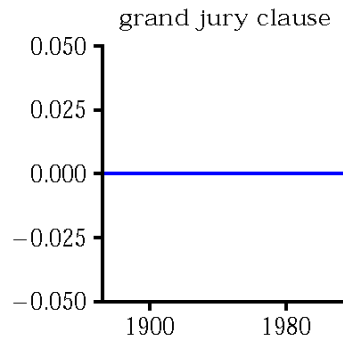
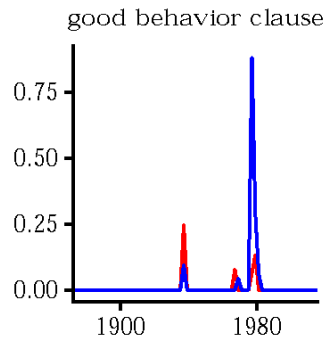


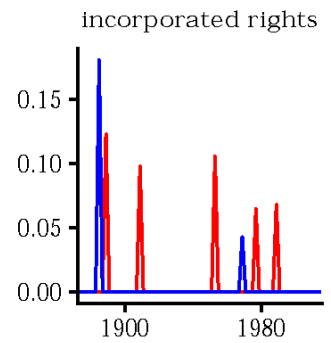
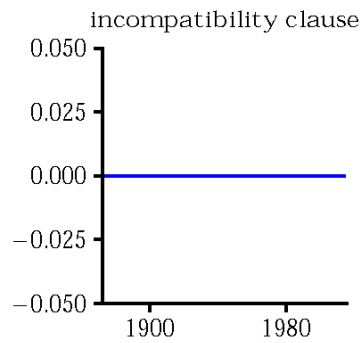
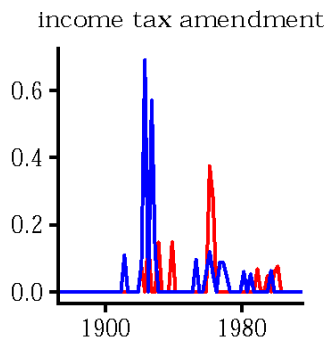
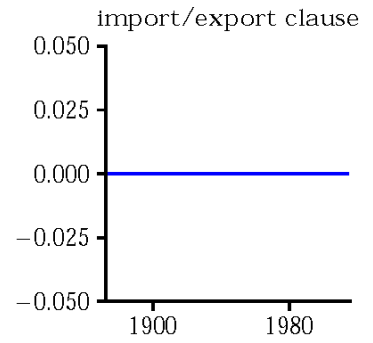
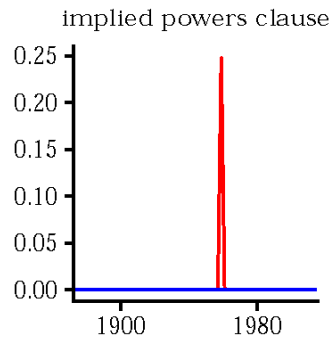
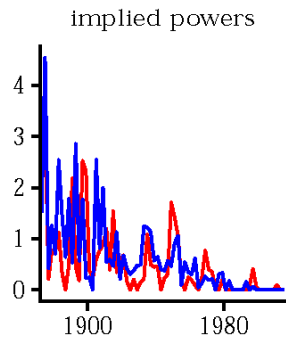
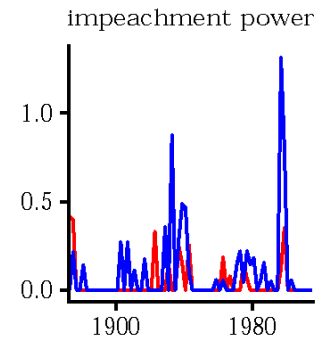
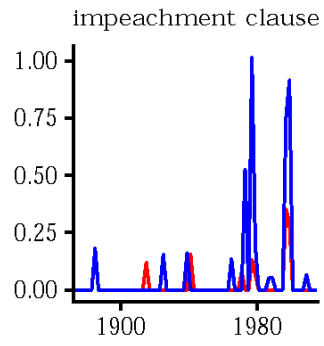
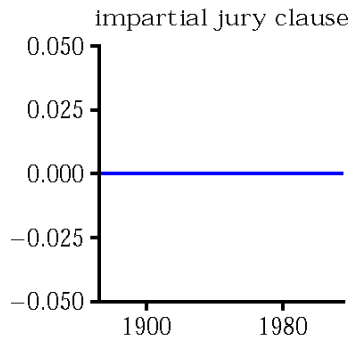


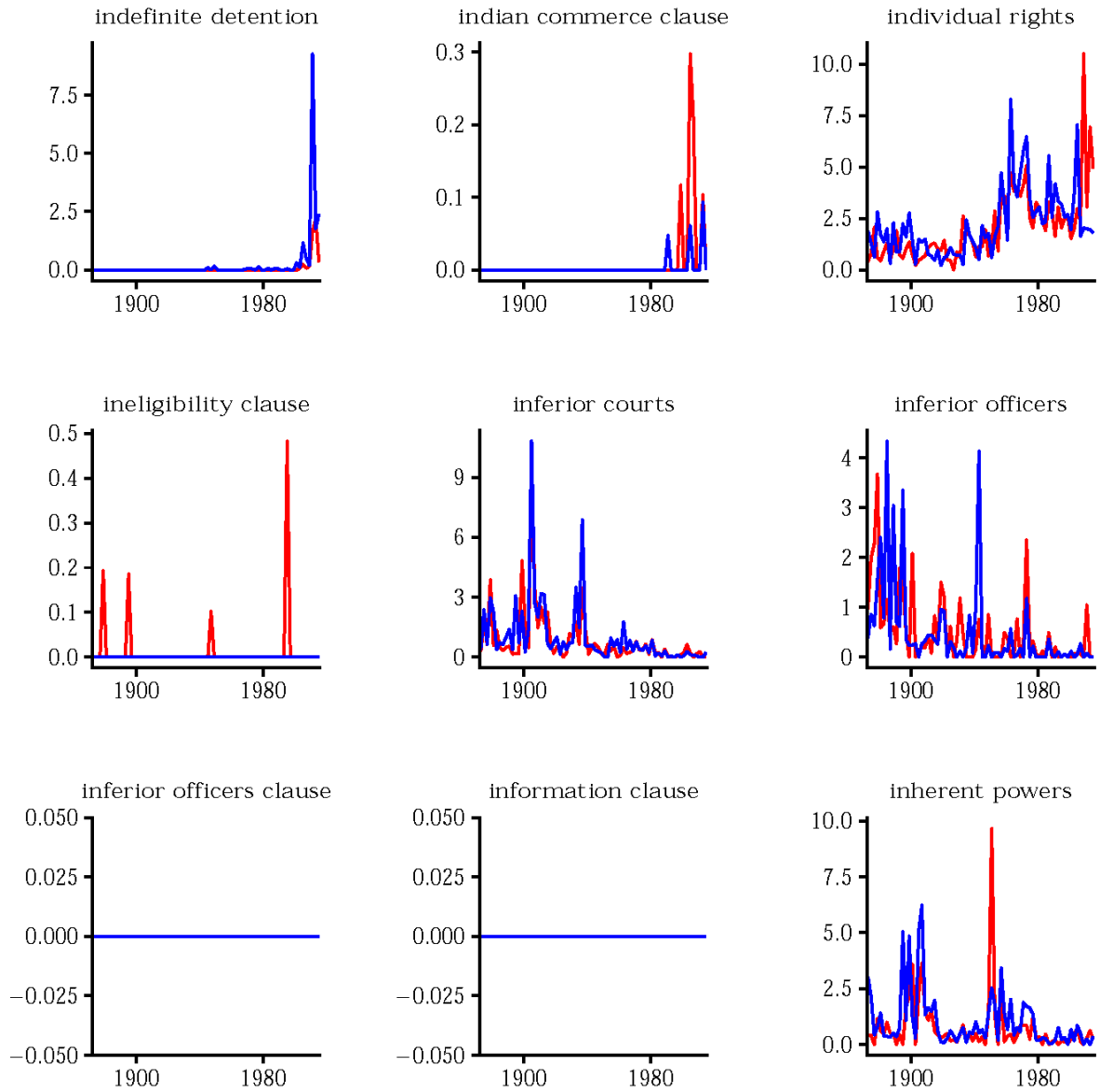


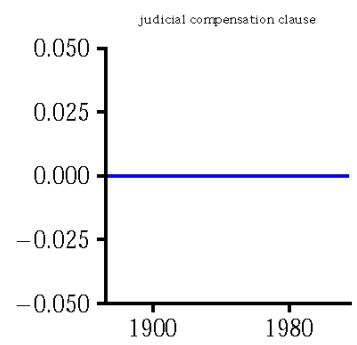
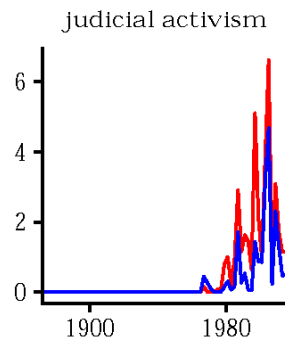
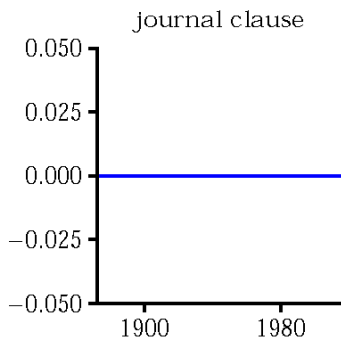
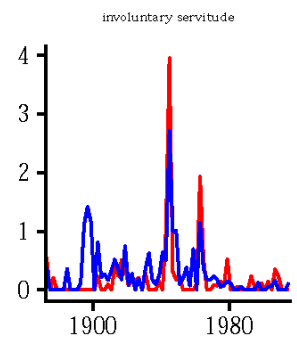
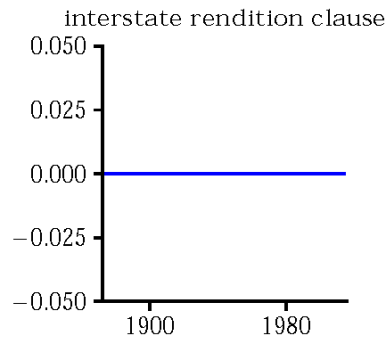
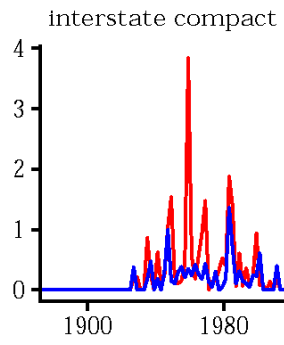
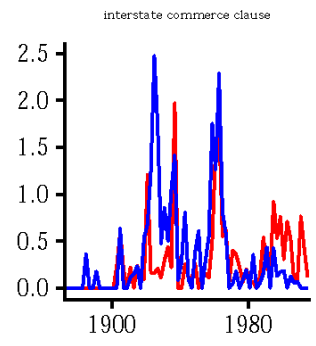
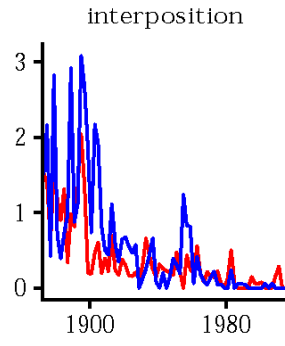
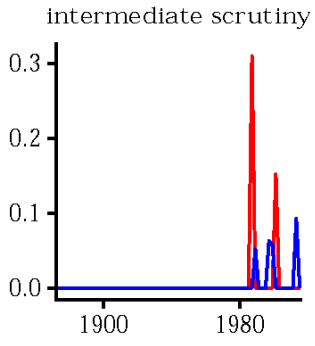




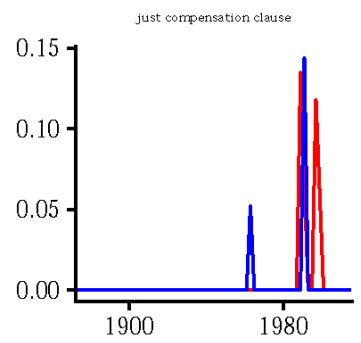
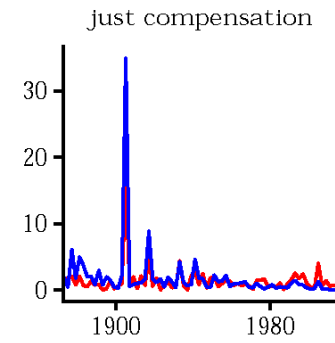
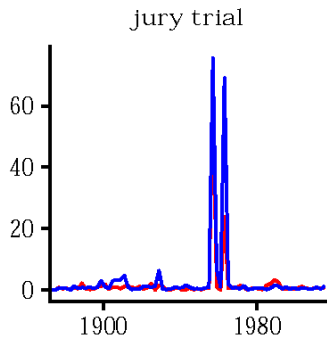
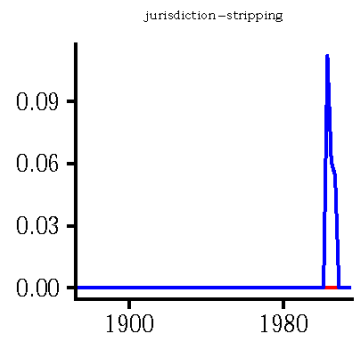
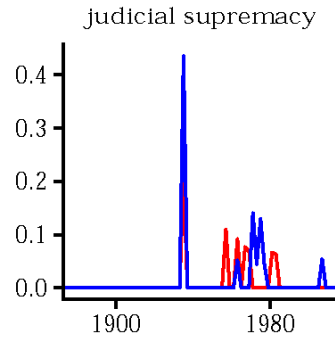
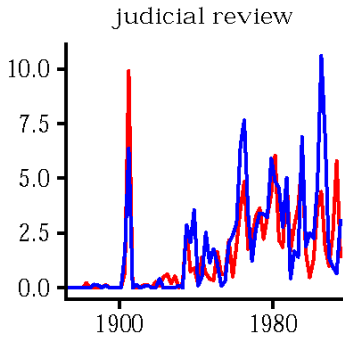
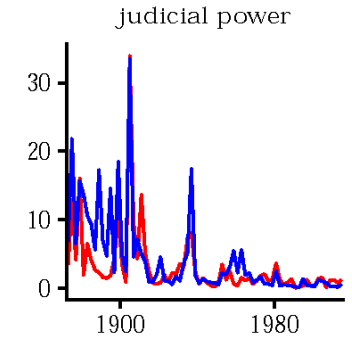
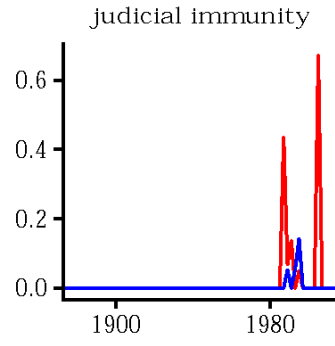
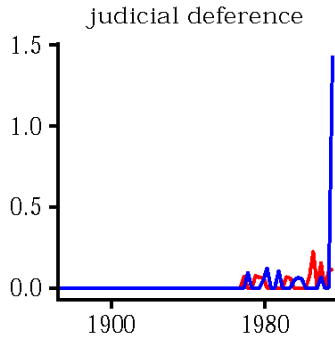


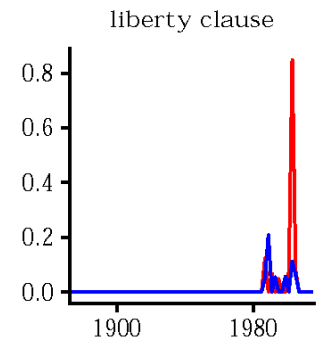
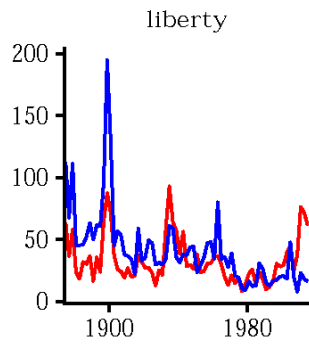
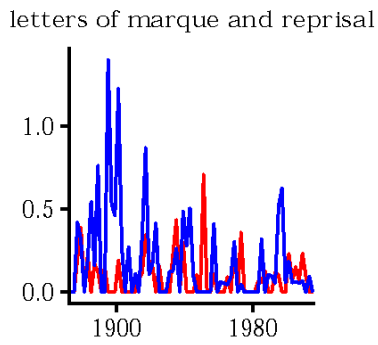
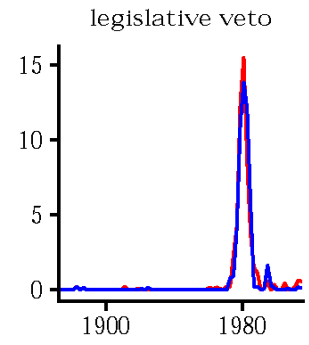
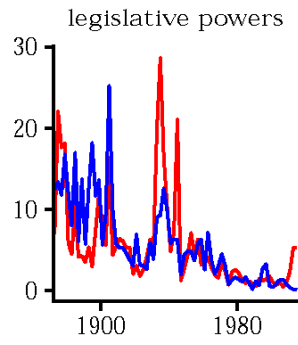
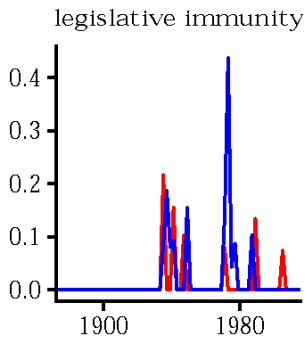
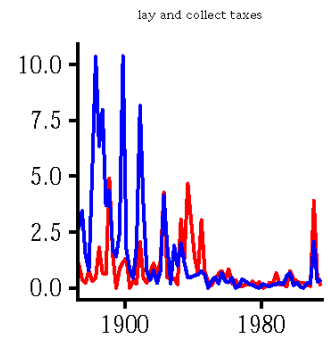
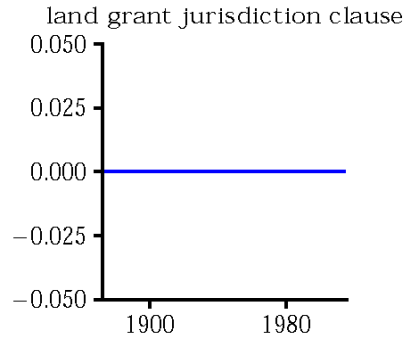
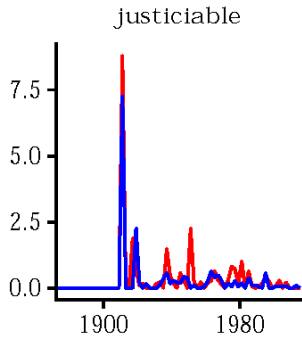


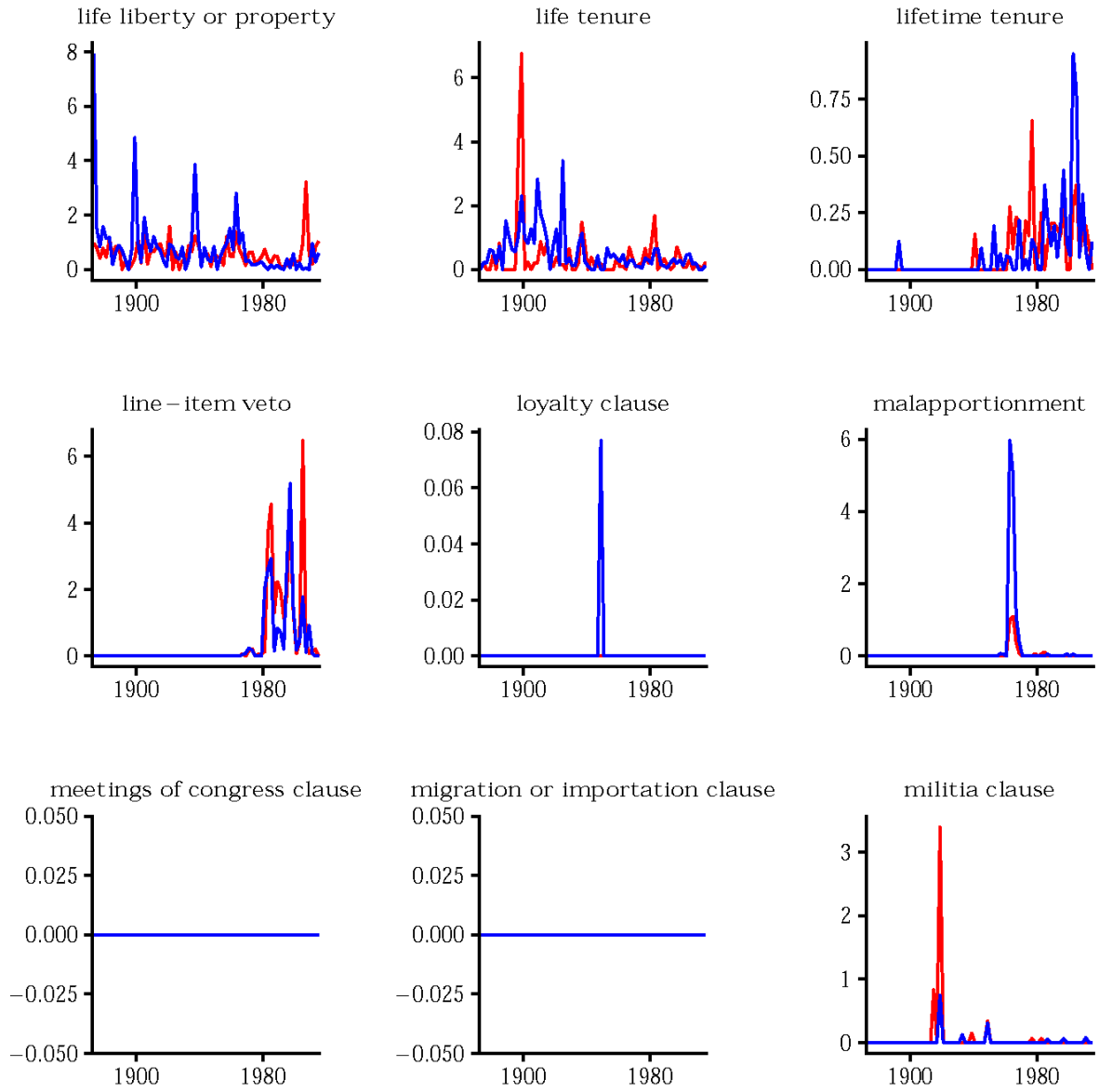


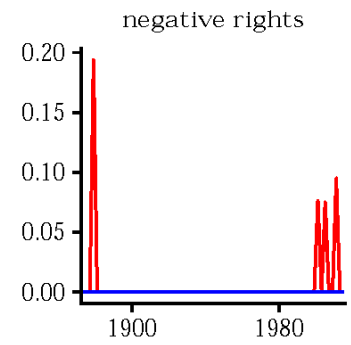
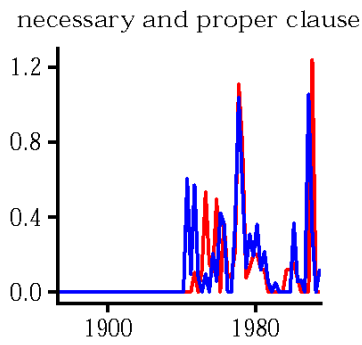
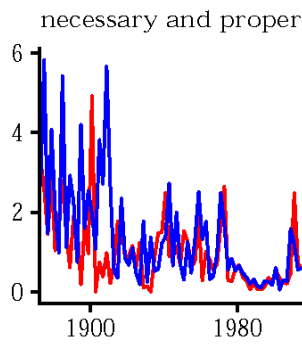
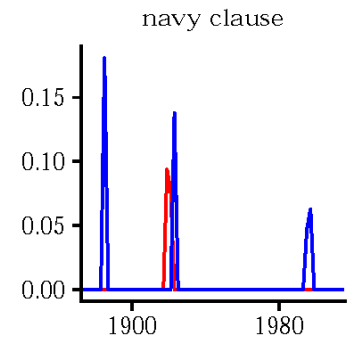
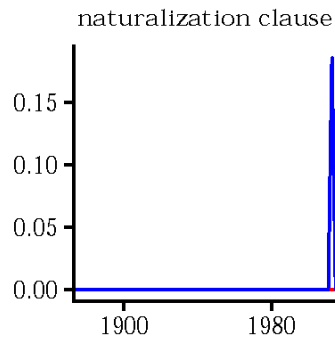
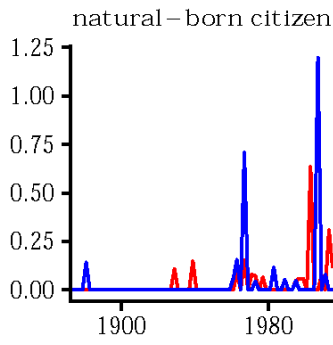
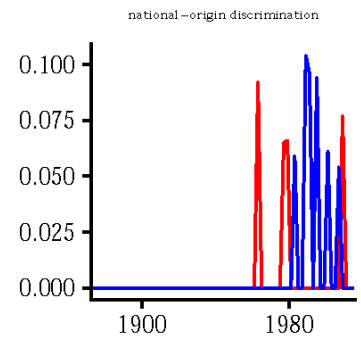
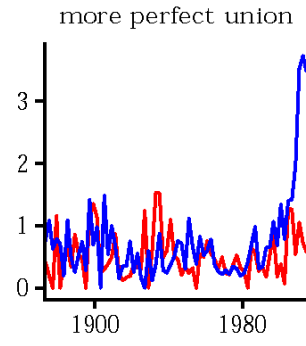
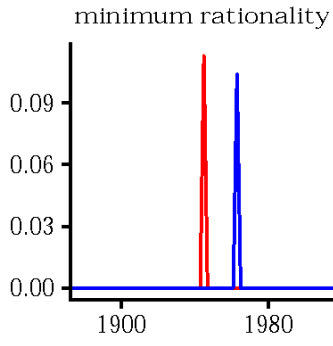


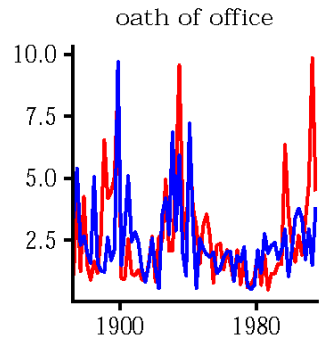
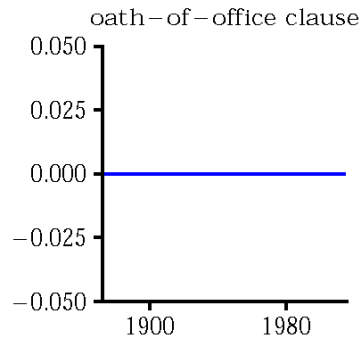
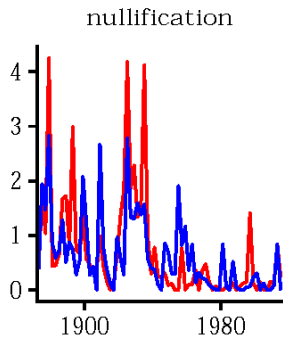
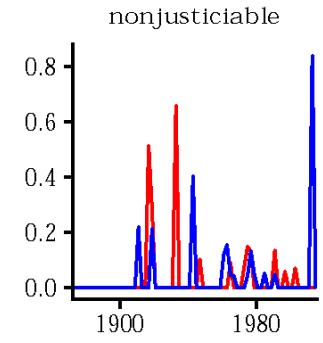
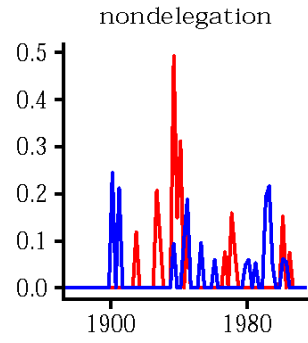
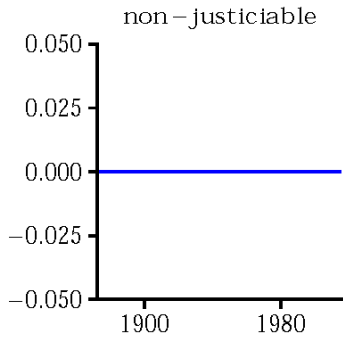
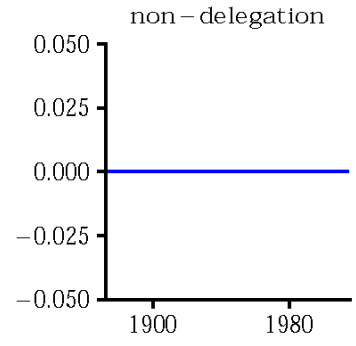
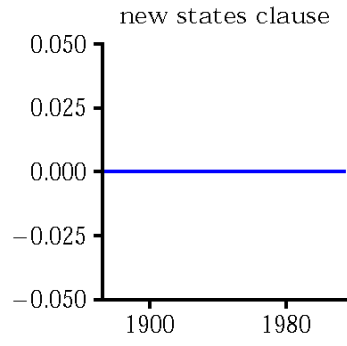
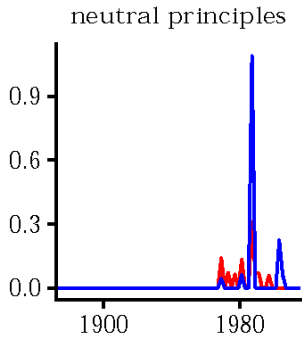


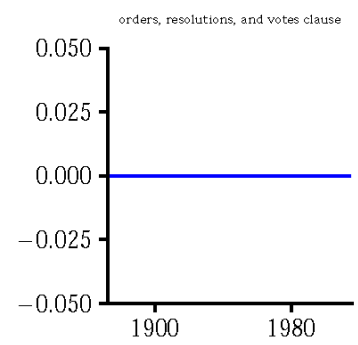
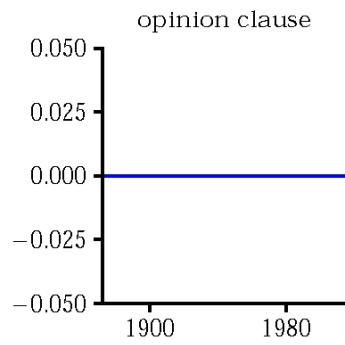
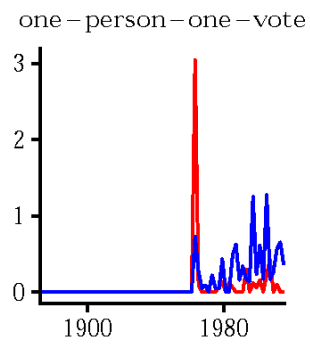
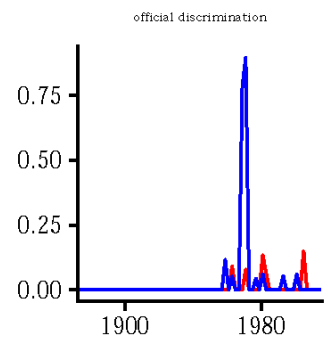
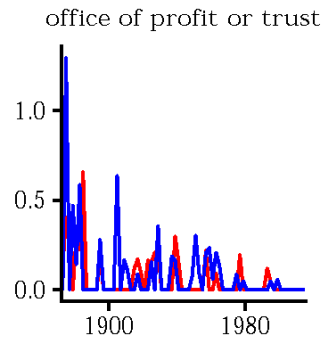
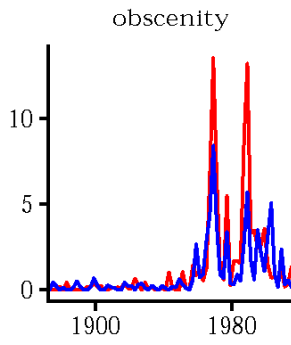
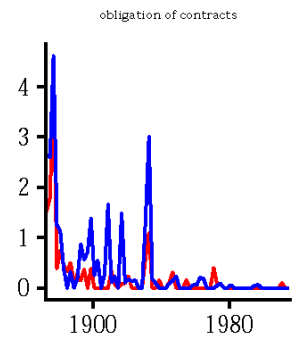
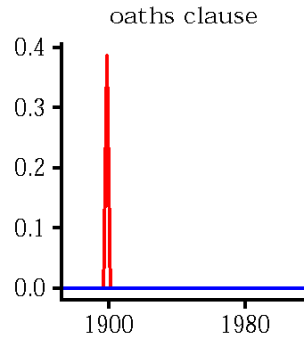
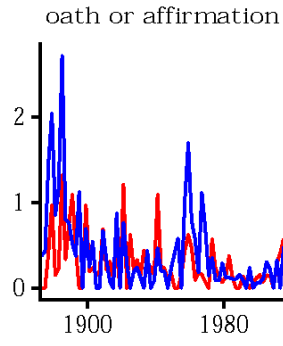


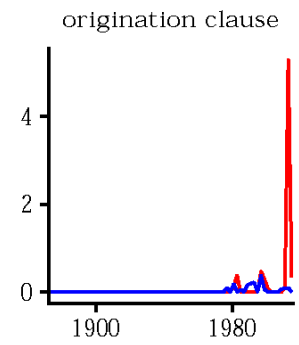
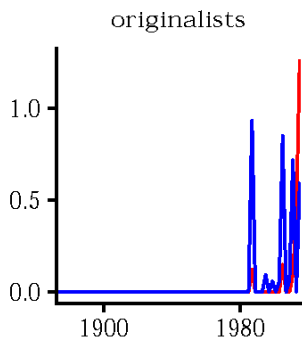
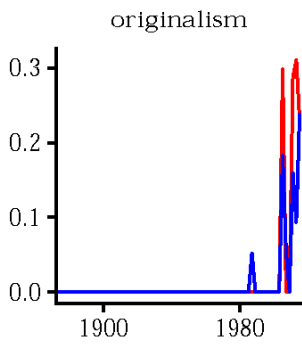
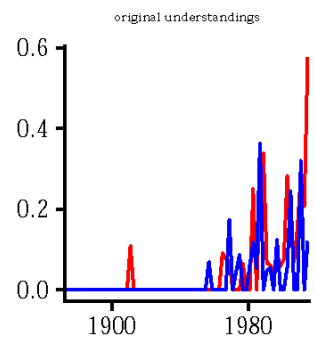
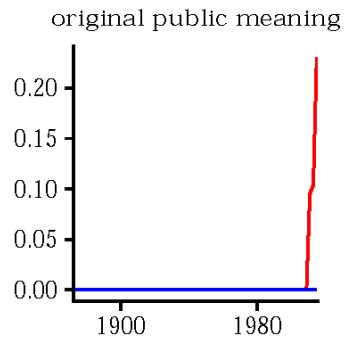
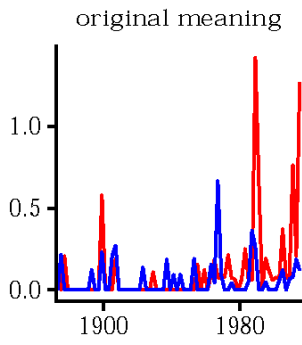
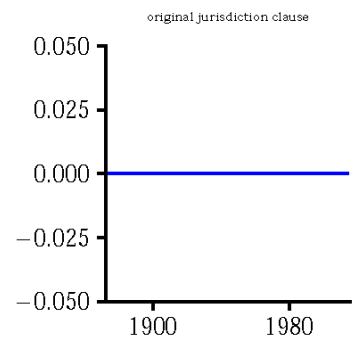
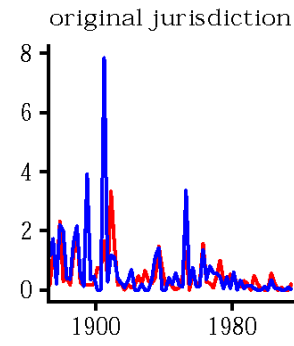
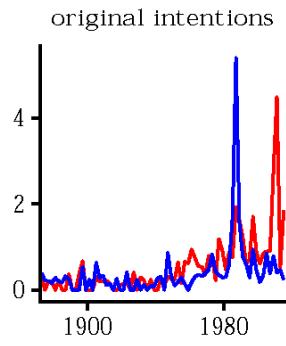


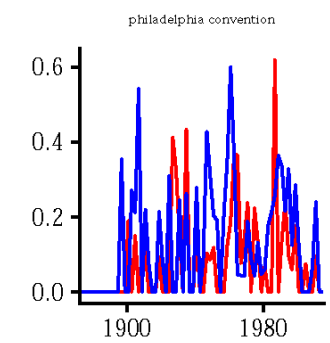
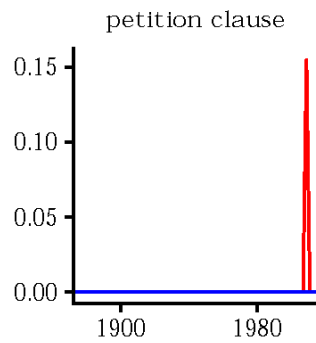
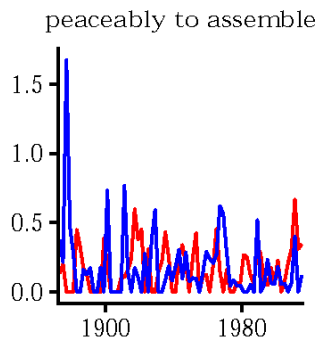
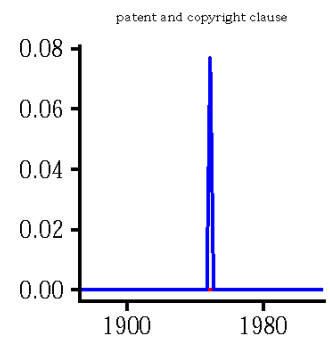
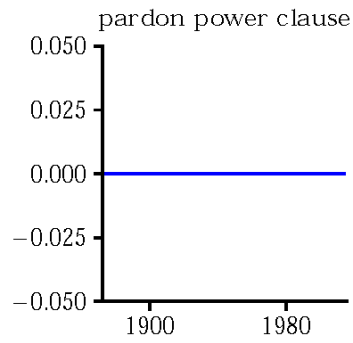
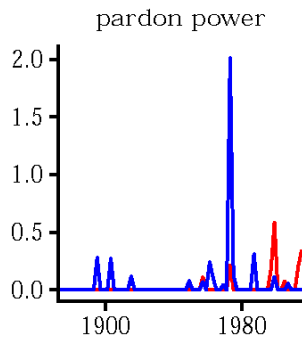
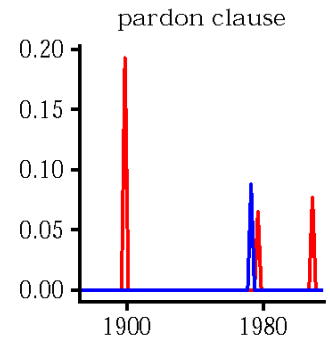
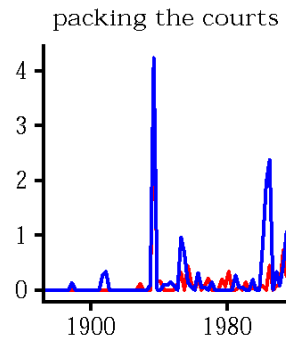
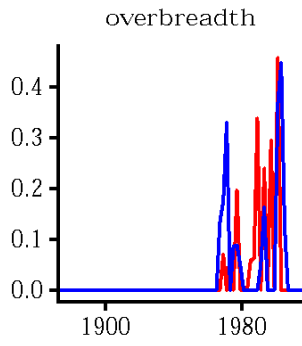




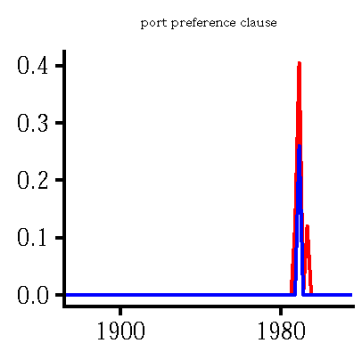
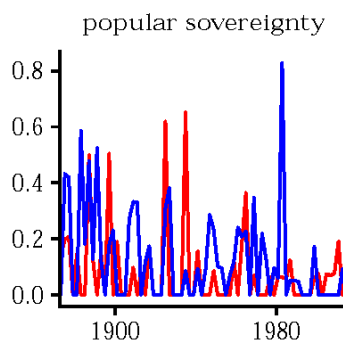
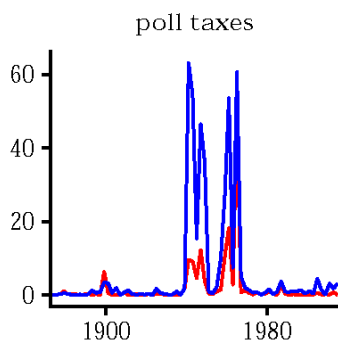
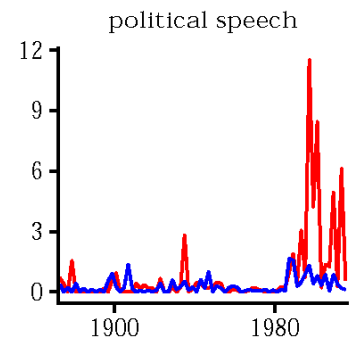
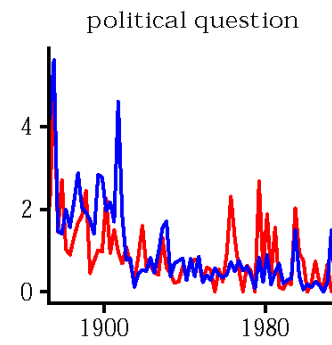
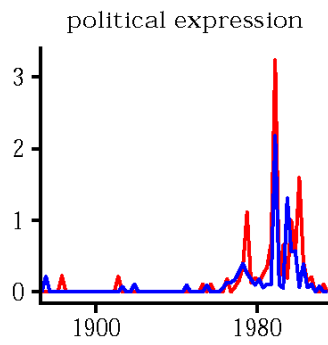
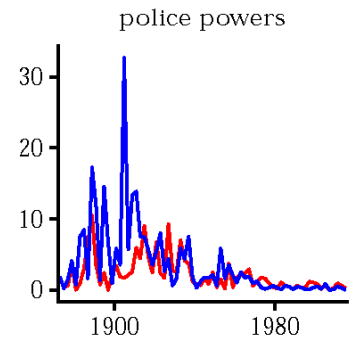
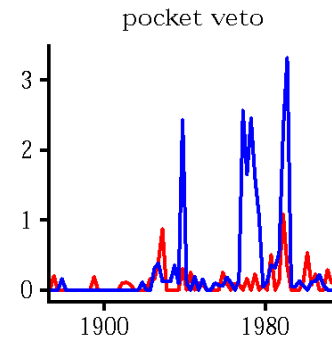
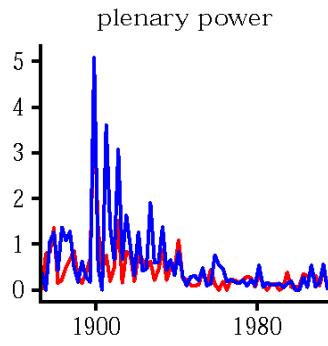


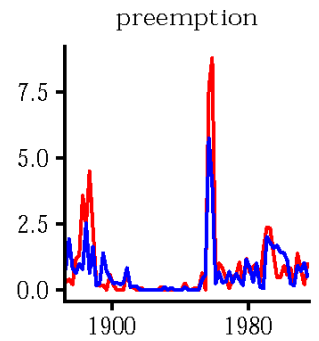
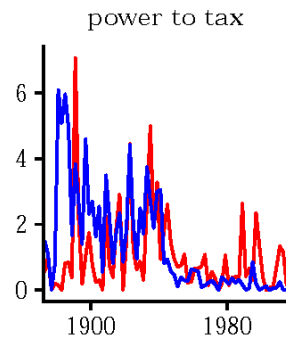
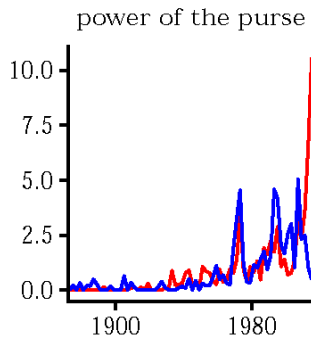
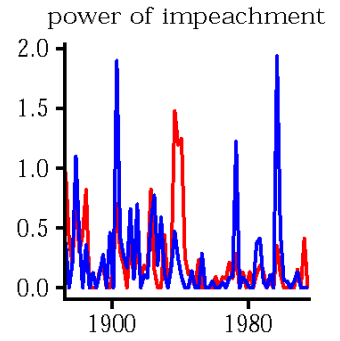
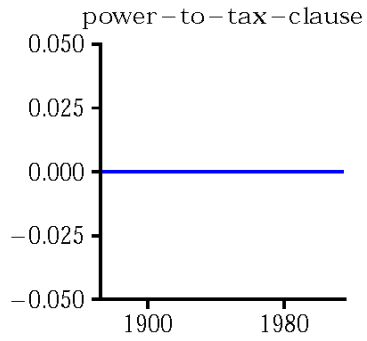
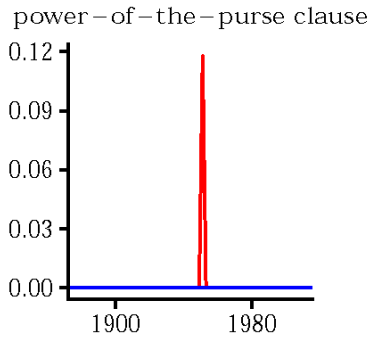
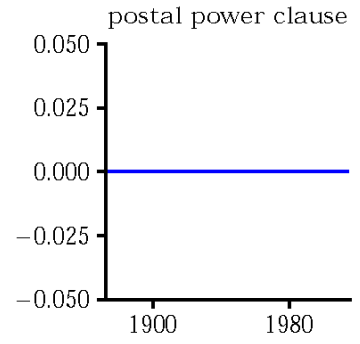
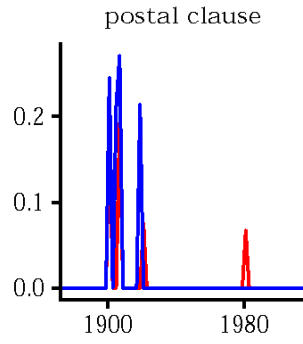
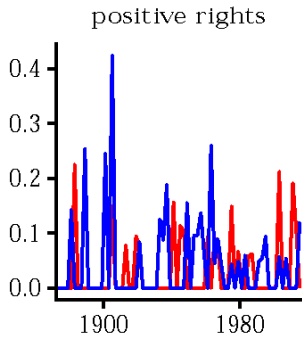


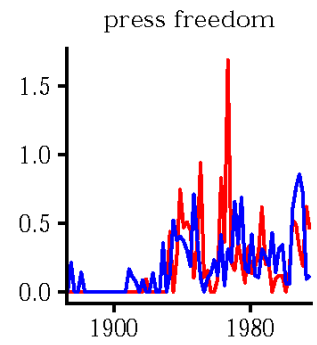
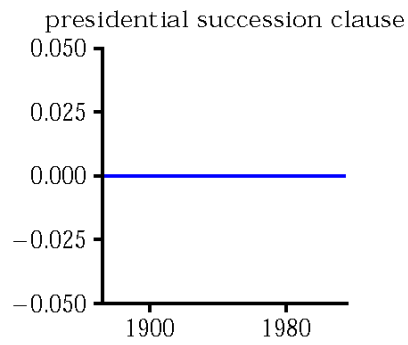
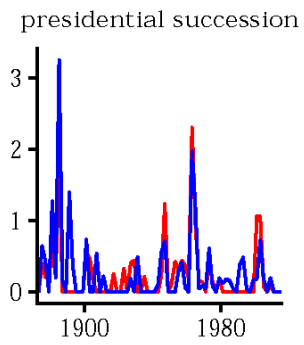
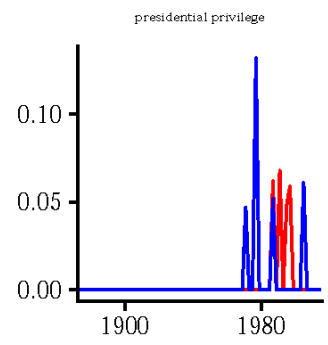
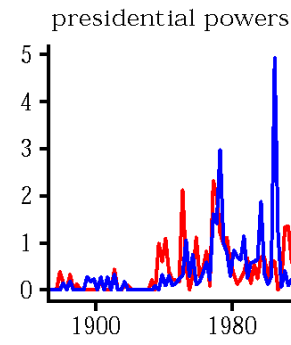
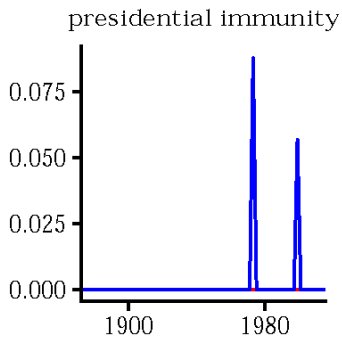
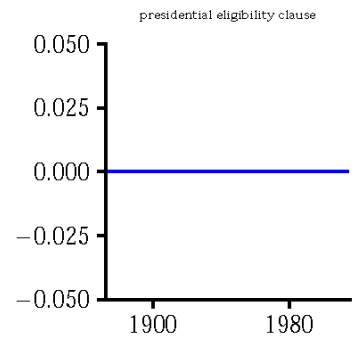
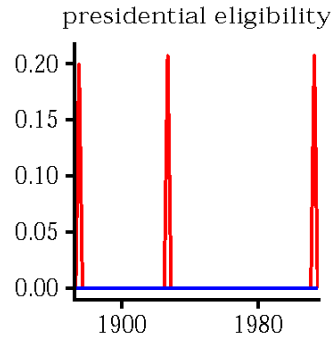
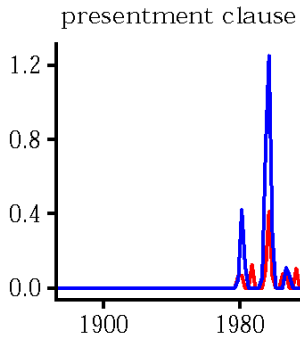


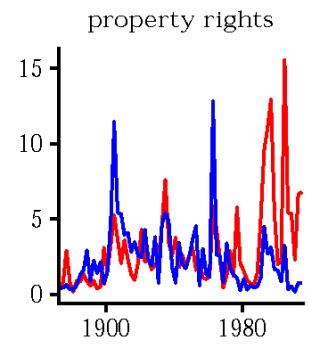
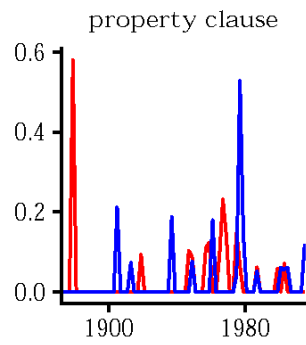
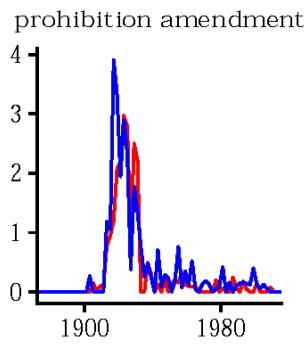
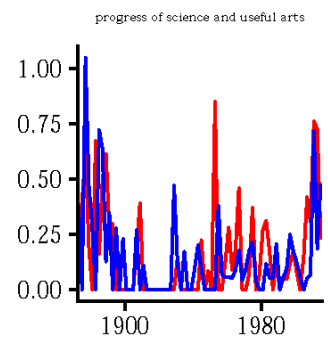
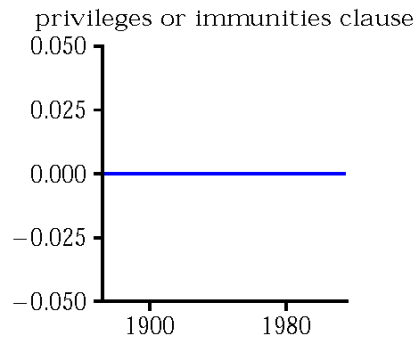
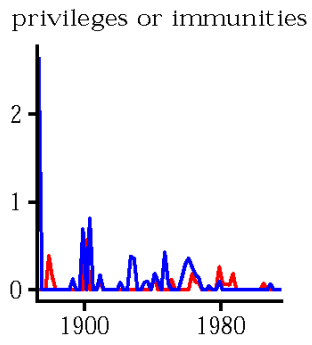
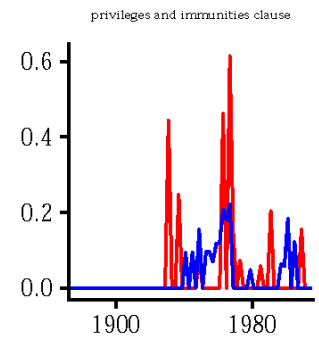
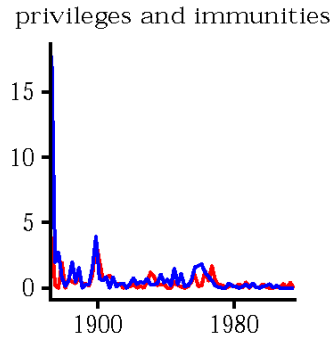
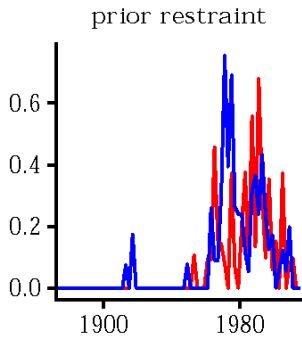




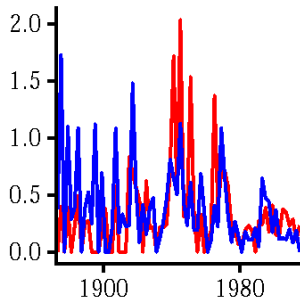




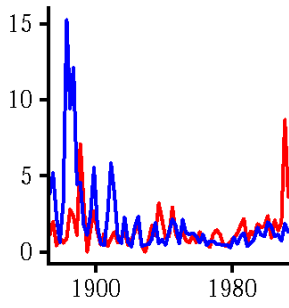




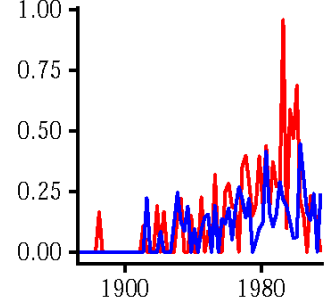
provide and maintain a navy



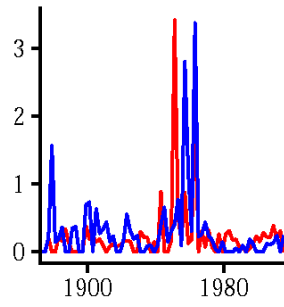
provide for the common defense



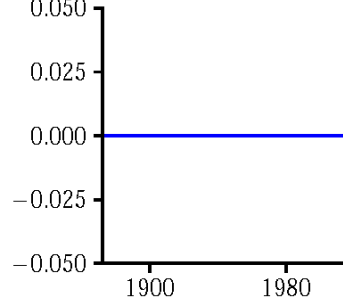
public forum



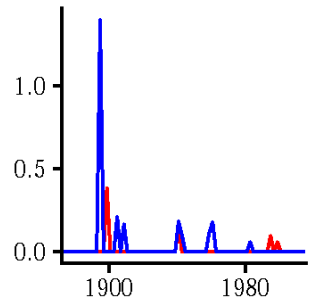
public trial



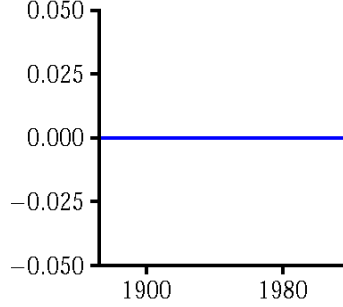
public trial clause



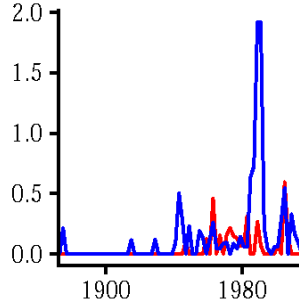
qualifications clause



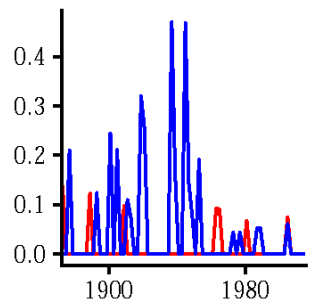
race-based discrimination

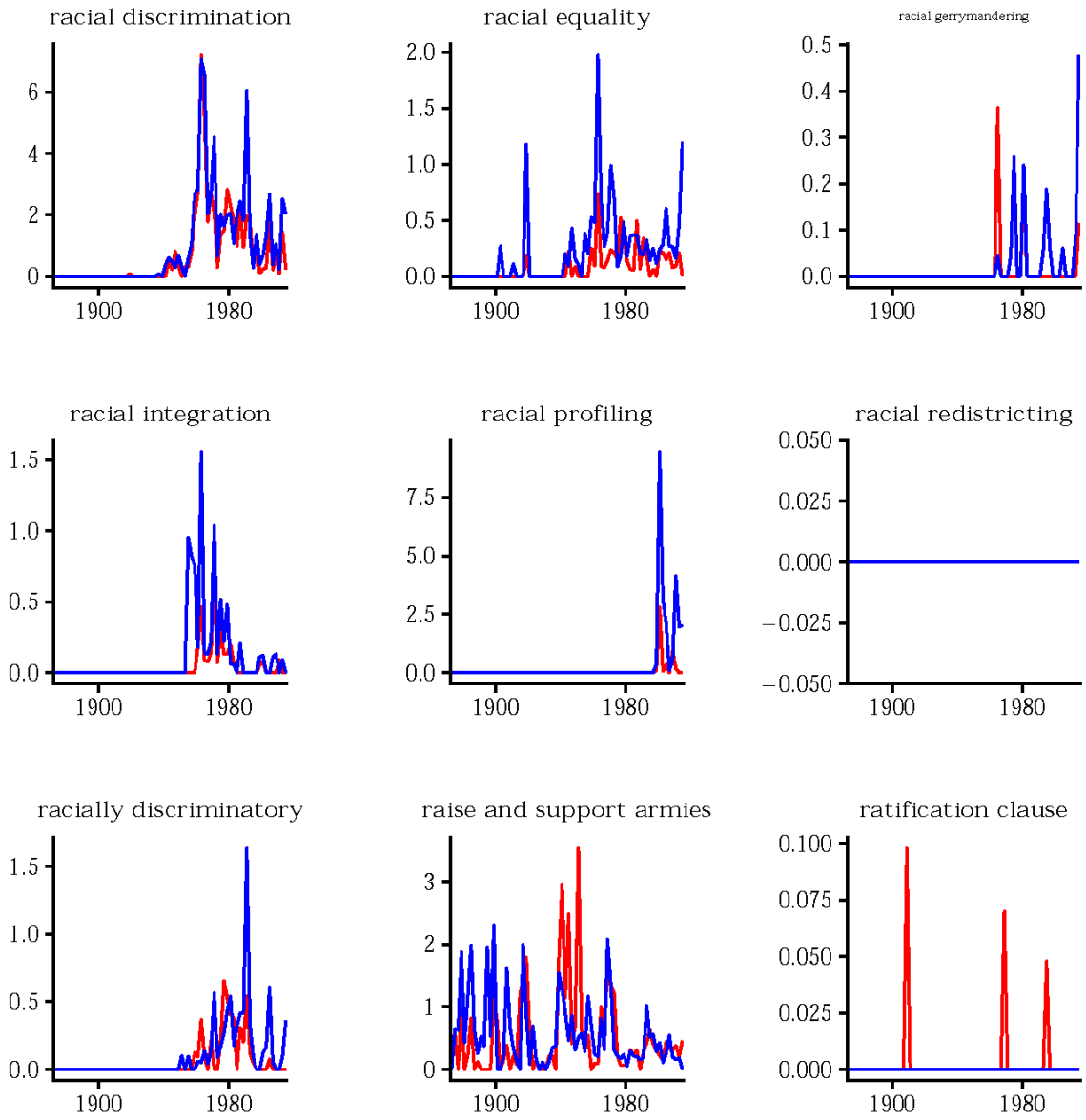


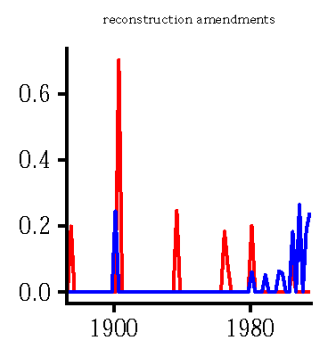
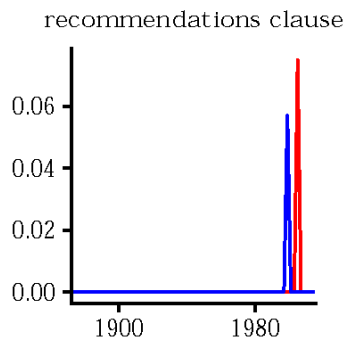
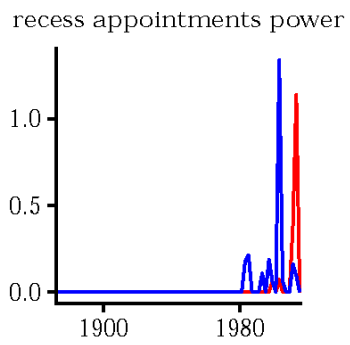
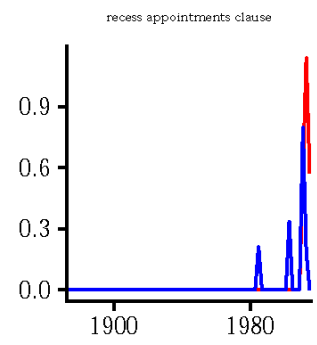
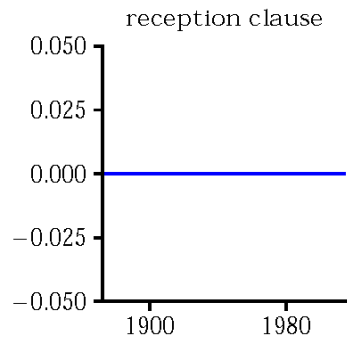
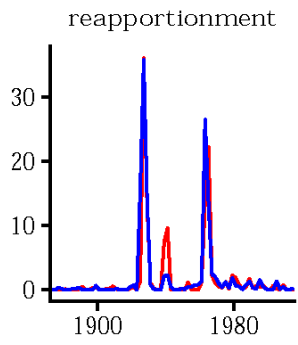
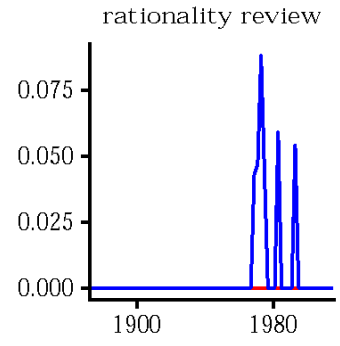
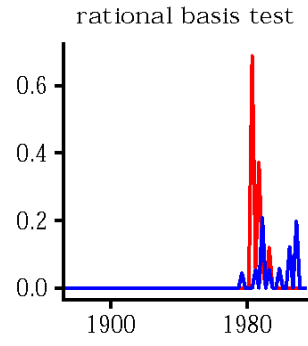
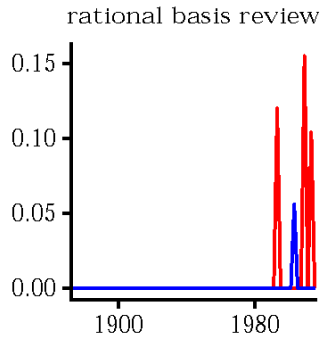
race discrimination

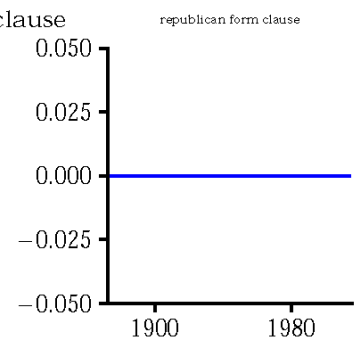
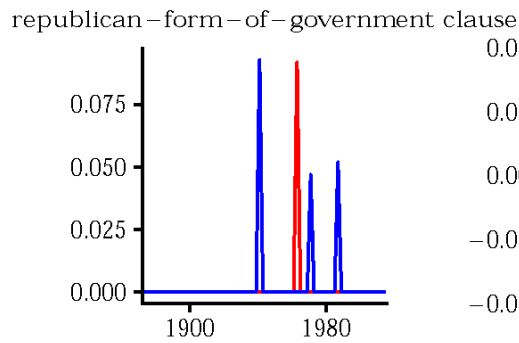
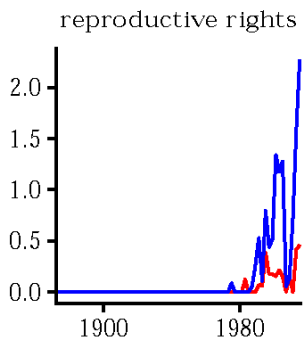
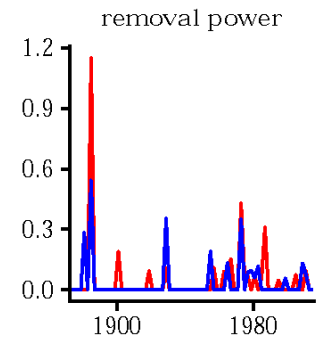
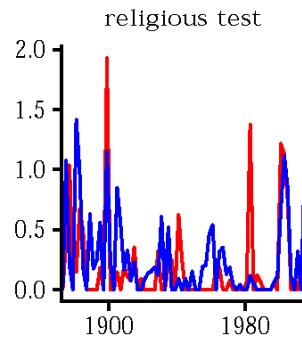
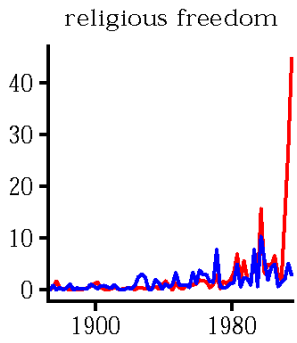
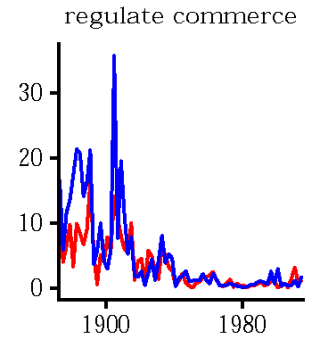
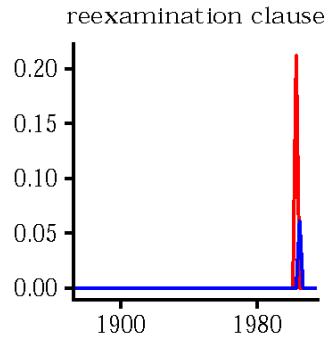
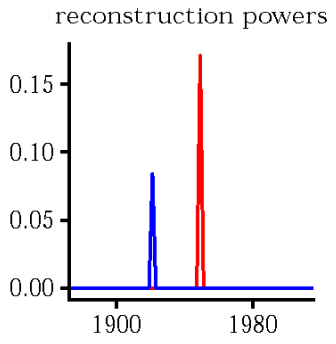


race equality



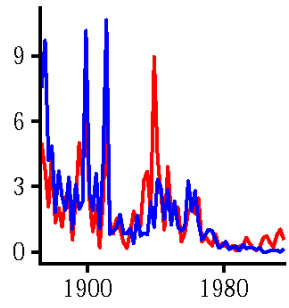




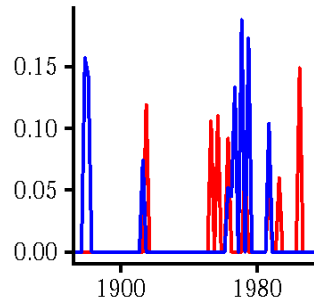




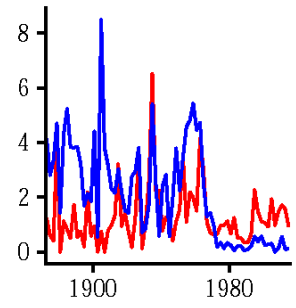
republican form of government



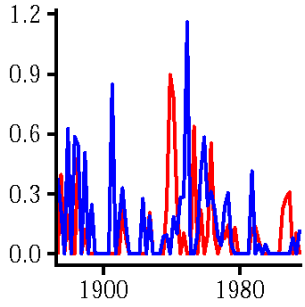
reserve clause



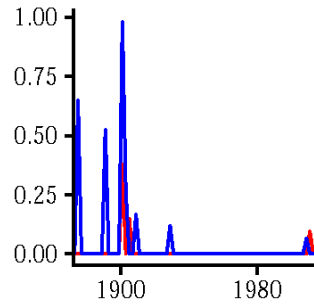
reserved to the states



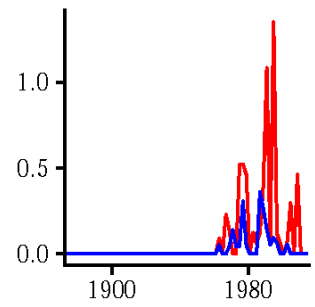
retained by the people



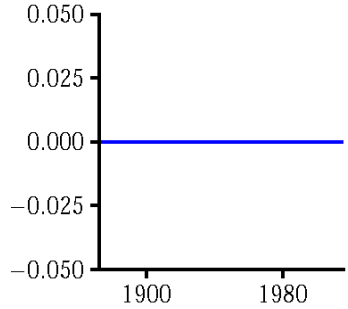
revenue clause



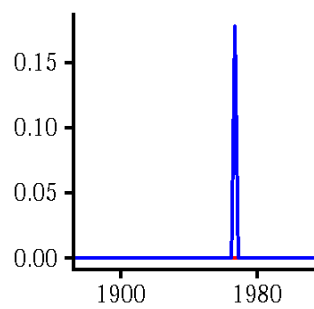
reverse discrimination



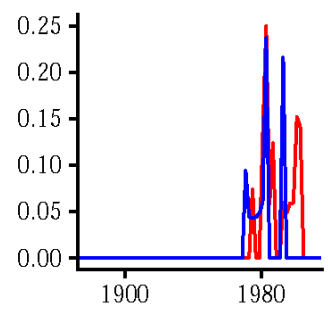
reverse incorporation

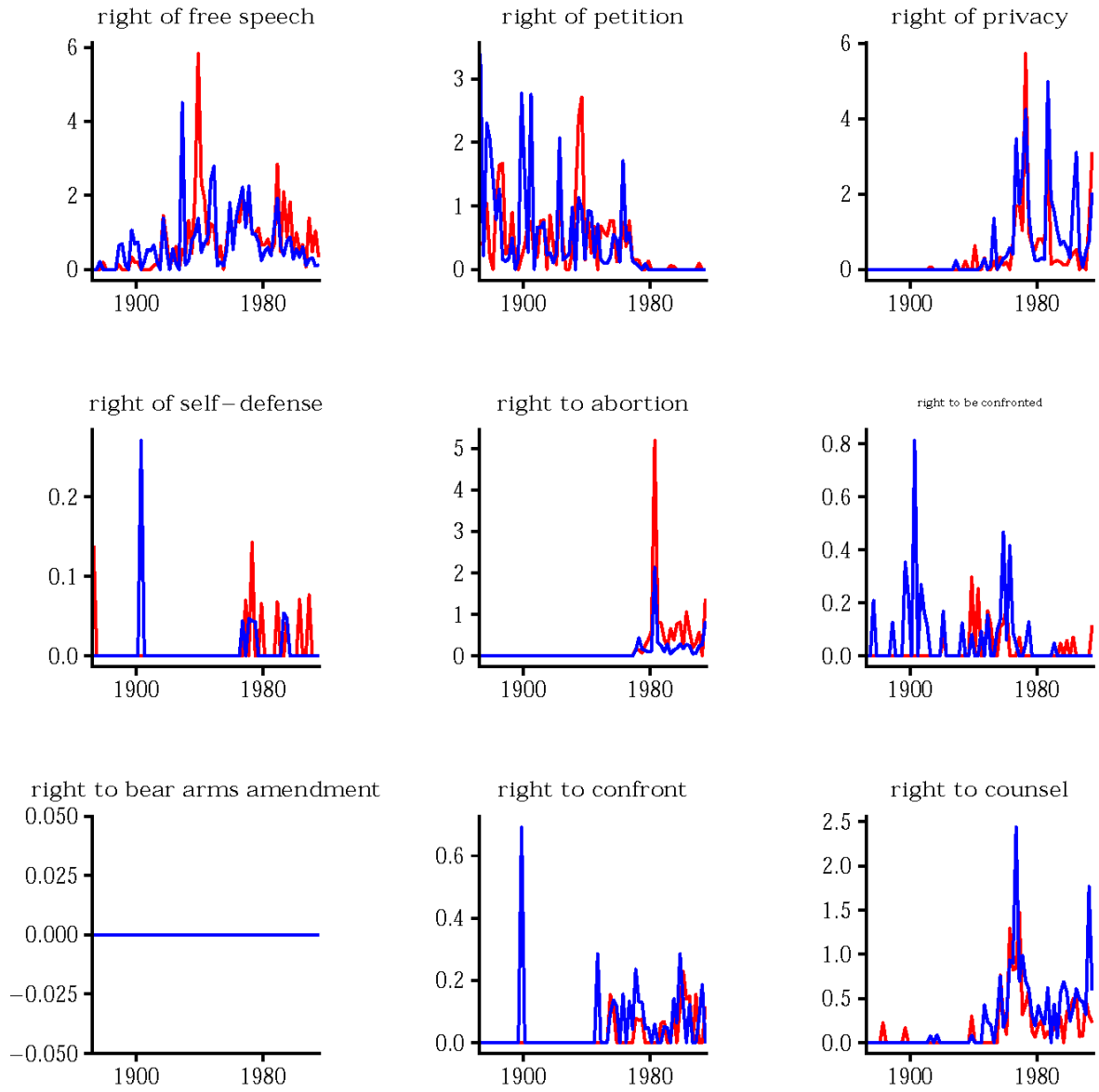


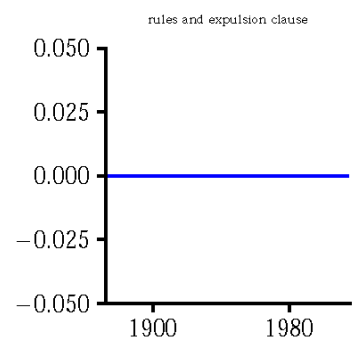
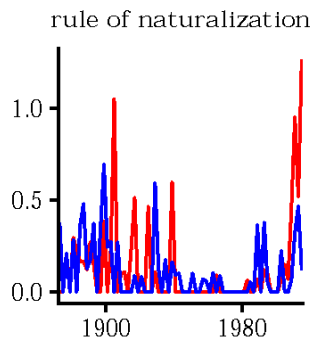
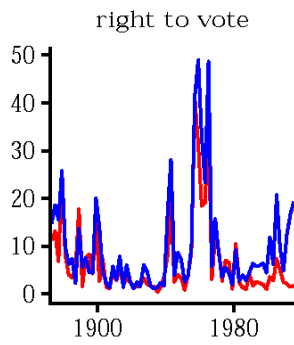
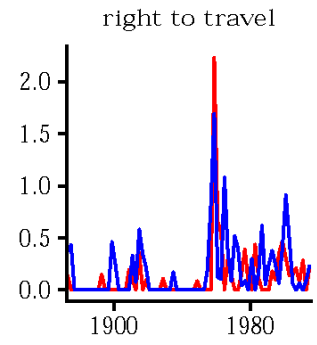
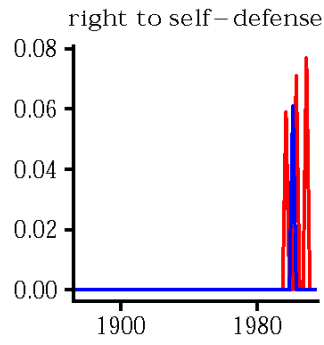
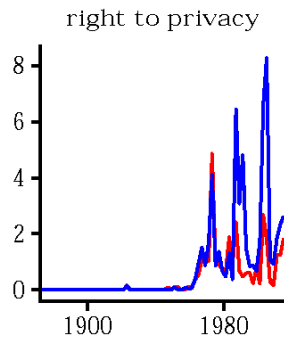
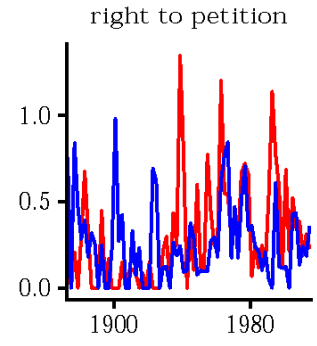
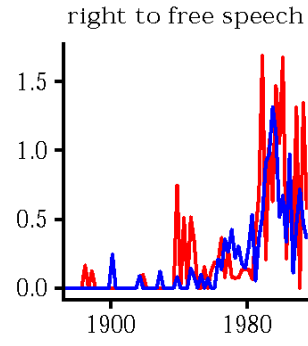
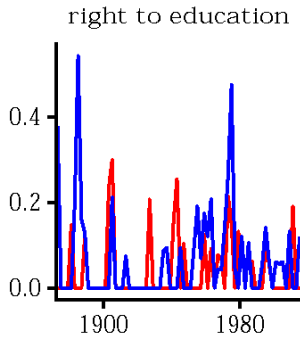
right-to-counsel clause



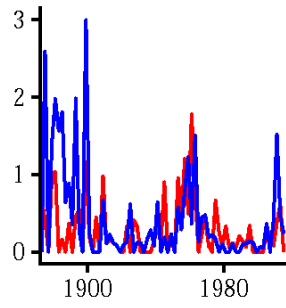
right of abortion



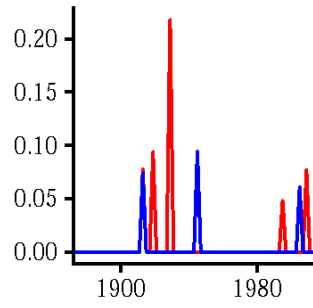




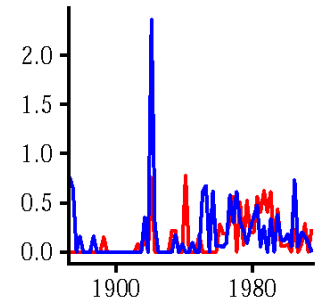
rules of its proceedings



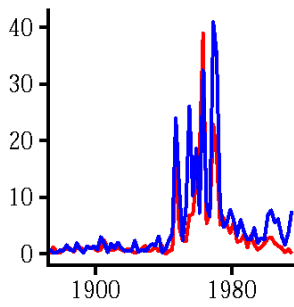
search and seizure clause



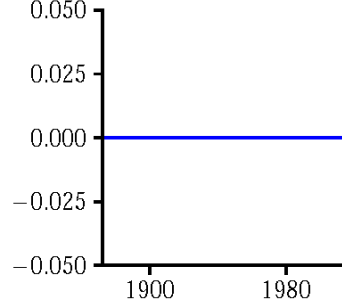
searches and seizures



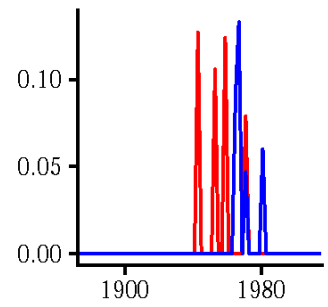
segregation



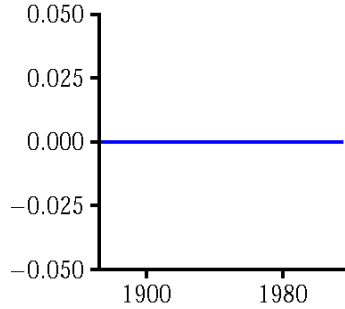
self-defense rights



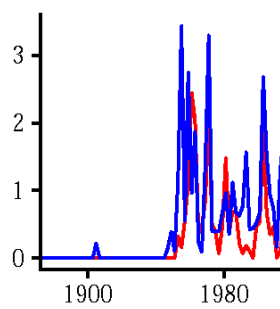
self-incrimination



self-incrimination clause



separate-but-equal



separation of church and state

