

The background of the cover is a complex geometric collage. It features several overlapping triangular and quadrilateral sections. Some sections show a close-up of the stars and stripes of the American flag, while others show a pattern of white stars on a dark blue background. The colors are primarily blue, red, white, and yellow. The overall effect is a modern, abstract representation of the American flag.

**Janda
Berry
Goldman**

**The
Challenge
of Democracy**

Seventh Edition

The Challenge of Democracy

Seventh Edition



Government in America



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A lot has happened since the last edition of *The Challenge of Democracy*. Most obviously, we went through a presidential election that ended up with a disputed outcome. A month after the election, our modern, affluent democracy found itself not knowing the identity of the next president. Citizens were at the same time taken aback by the arguments about what constituted a legitimate vote and bemused by the sight of Florida election officials holding ballots up to a light searching for evidence of a puncture. Angry protesters screamed at each other outside South Florida election offices while lawyers for Bush and Gore went at each other in courtrooms across the state and, eventually, before the Supreme Court in Washington.

Some still dispute that George W. Bush won the election. Yet the country has moved on. Given the enormity of the stakes, the country's stability during this period is a welcome reminder of Americans' faith in our system of government, warts and all. At the same time, the election illustrated some of the enduring conflicts in American democracy. And more to the point, it illustrated the enduring value of the original framework of *The Challenge of Democracy*. As with the previous six editions of this book, we build our text around two themes that remain as relevant today as they were when we first conceived of this project. The first is the clash among the values of freedom, order, and equality; the second focuses on the tensions between pluralist and majoritarian visions of democracy. Knowledge of these conflicts enables citizens to recognize and analyze the difficult choices they face in politics.

But as well as these two themes endure, our lives are being directly affected by a third force shaping American politics. Globalization is changing American politics in fundamental ways. More than ever before, Americans are becoming citizens of the world. We cannot escape the deepening interrelationships with the rest of the world, even if it were desirable to do so. Each day trade, travel, immigration, and the Internet make the world a more interdependent place. In this edition of *The Challenge of Democracy*, we begin to explore some of the ramifications of a smaller world on the large landscape of American politics.

The concept of globalization is introduced in Chapter 1 and is discussed throughout the text. The traditional notion of national sovereignty holds that each government is free to govern in the manner it feels is best. As the world becomes a smaller place, however, national sovereignty is tested in many ways. When a country is committing human rights violations—putting people in jail for merely disagreeing with the government in power—should other countries try to pressure it to comply with common norms of justice? Do the democracies of the world have a responsibility to use their influence to try to limit the abuses of the powerless in societies where they are abused? Another facet of globalization is the growth of international trade. In many ways the world has become a single marketplace and industries in one country often face competitors from many other countries around the world. Must a country just stand by and let jobs “emigrate” from within its borders to other countries where companies

can produce the same quality goods at cheaper prices? These are just some of the issues that the Seventh Edition explores.

THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

Through all seven editions, we have striven to write a book that students will actually read, so we have sought to discuss politics—a complex subject—in a captivating and understandable way. American politics isn't dull, and its textbooks needn't be either. Equally important, we have sought to produce a book that students would credit for stimulating their thinking about politics. While offering all the essential information about American government and politics, we feel that it is important to give students a framework for analyzing politics that they can use long after their studies have ended. Based on the reactions to our first six editions, we believe we succeeded in developing a lively book built on a framework that fulfills our goal of helping students analyze and interpret the political process in the United States.

As noted above, two themes run through our book. One deals with the conflict among values and the other with alternative models of democracy. In Chapter 1, we suggest that American politics often reflects conflicts between the values of freedom and order and between the values of freedom and equality. These value conflicts are prominent in contemporary American society, and they help to explain political controversy and consensus in earlier eras. For instance, in Chapter 3 we argue that the Constitution was designed to promote order, and it virtually ignored issues of political and social equality. Equality was later served, however, by several amendments to the Constitution. In Chapter 15, "Order and Civil Liberties," and Chapter 16, "Equality and Civil Rights," we demonstrate that many of this nation's most controversial issues represent conflicts among individuals or groups who hold differing views on the values of freedom, order, and equality. Views on issues such as abortion are not just isolated opinions; they also reflect choices about the philosophy citizens want government to follow. Yet choosing among these values is difficult, sometimes excruciatingly so.

The second theme, introduced in Chapter 2, asks students to consider two competing models of democratic government. One way that government can make decisions is by means of majoritarian principles; that is, by taking the actions desired by a majority of citizens. A contrasting model of government, pluralist democracy, is built around the interaction of decision makers in government with groups concerned about issues that affect them.

These models are not mere abstractions; we use them to illustrate the dynamics of the American political system. In Chapter 12, "The Presidency," we discuss the problem of divided government. More often than not over the past forty years, the party that controlled the White House didn't control both houses of Congress. When these two branches of government are divided between the two parties, majoritarian government is difficult. Even when the same party controls both branches, the majoritarian model is not always realized—as President Clinton found out during 1993 and 1994.

In Chapter 10, "Interest Groups," we see the forces of pluralism at work. Interest groups of all types populate Washington, and these organizations represent the diverse array of interests that define our society. At the same time, the chapter explores ways in which pluralism favors wealthier, better-organized interests. Political action committees, which donate

money to political candidates, are a particularly troublesome issue because they give those with money an advantage. Throughout the book we stress that students must make their own choices among the competing values and models of government. Although the three of us hold diverse and strong opinions about which choices are best, we do not believe it is our role to tell students our own answers to the broad questions we pose. Instead, we want our readers to learn first hand that a democracy requires thoughtful choices. That is why we titled our book *The Challenge of Democracy*.

Our framework travels well over time. The civil rights struggles of the 1960s exemplified the utility of our theme emphasizing equality, as do more contemporary controversies surrounding gay rights, the rights of the disabled, and affirmative action. We're just beginning to understand the privacy and personal freedom issues involving the Internet. Our theme of pluralism versus majoritarianism remains compelling as well. Pluralist images of America predate the adoption of the Constitution. In his defense of the proposed Constitution, James Madison defended the pursuit of self-interested goals by various groups in society, each looking out for its own good. A contrary view of democracy—majoritarian government—emphasizes control of government by majorities of voters through our party system. But the party system sometimes has a hard time channeling a majority of voters into majority rule. Prior to the Civil War, fissures in the party system made it difficult to understand exactly where the majority stood. More recently, in the 2000 election, we again saw that the party system doesn't always produce clear majorities. Which majority should the government follow: the majority of the voters, who cast their ballots for Al Gore, or the majority of the Electoral College, which voted for George W. Bush? And exactly what majority is there in a Senate that started the term evenly split between fifty Republicans and fifty Democrats?

Our framework also travels well over space—to other countries with a very different political heritage. One of the most important aspects of globalization is the number of countries that have recently made a transition to democracy or are currently trying to make that change. One of our greatest satisfactions as authors of a book on American democracy is that it has been used in a number of countries overseas where democracy has at least a foothold, if it hasn't yet fully flowered. Houghton Mifflin has donated copies of earlier editions of our book to English-speaking faculty and students in Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Georgia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, and South Africa. Moreover, the brief edition of our text has been translated into Hungarian, Georgian, Czech, and Korean. We are pleased that *The Challenge of Democracy* is now available to many more students in these countries—students who have been confronting the challenge of democracy in times of political transition.

SUBSTANTIVE FEATURES OF THE SEVENTH EDITION

The Seventh Edition maintains the basic structure of previous editions of *The Challenge of Democracy* while updating the political events of the past few years. We have also drawn on the latest research in political science to make sure that *The Challenge of Democracy* continues to represent the state of knowledge in our discipline.

To accommodate the major changes and new issues in politics that have occurred since the last edition, every chapter in the text has been

thoroughly revised. We cannot inventory all the many changes in this edition, but we can illustrate the thoroughness of our revision with selected examples. For example, Chapter 3 ("The Constitution") examines constitutional designs in newly emerging democracies that have been modeled after the United States' Constitution. Chapter 4 ("Federalism") includes a new section on federalism and globalization, focusing on the factors that are binding nations together in an increasingly global political environment. Chapter 8 ("Political Parties") compares both major political party platforms in 2000 in terms of values and campaign themes. Chapter 9 ("Nominations, Elections, and Campaigns") describes the striking differences between the complex American ballot and the short and simple Canadian ballot used in the two countries' most recent elections. In Chapter 11 ("Congress"), the impeachment proceedings against President Clinton and the outcome of the 2000 congressional election are discussed. Chapter 12 ("The Presidency") looks at what lies ahead for President Bush. Chapter 14 ("The Courts") offers a first view of the team directing the new Bush administration's judicial selections. Chapter 16 ("Equality and Civil Rights") includes a new section on gay and lesbian rights. Chapter 17 ("Policymaking") contains extensive new material on the role of non-profits in civil society and in the governmental process. Chapter 19 ("Domestic Policy") adds sections on both health-care reform and education. Chapter 20 ("Global Policy") analyzes the "Powell Doctrine," our new secretary of state's view on the involvement of the United States in overseas conflicts.

As in previous editions, each chapter begins with a vignette. The purpose of each vignette is to draw students into the substance of that chapter, while suggesting one of the themes of the book. Chapters with new or revised vignettes include Chapter 1 ("Freedom, Order, or Equality?"), which recounts the case of the "Love Bug," a devastating computer virus launched in the Philippines that caused millions of dollars of damage to computers in the United States. The United States, however, had no legal recourse against the man who created and disseminated the virus. Chapter 2 ("Majoritarian or Pluralist Democracy?") begins with a description of the tragedy at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado, and analyzes the push for gun control that followed in its aftermath. Chapters 4 ("Federalism") and 14 ("The Courts") recount the involvement of the Supreme Court in the 2000 presidential election. We start the story with Al Gore's initial concession call to George Bush on election night and follow it through to the Supreme Court's decision thirty-six days later. Chapter 10 ("Interest Groups") opens with an account of the violent protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle. Chapter 12 ("The Presidency") describes George W. Bush's inaugural speech and discusses his challenge in uniting the country in the wake of the election's bitter aftermath. We start the last chapter ("Global Policy") with the story of how private citizen Ted Turner gave \$34 million to the United States government so it could pay off part of the vast debt owed by this country to the United Nations.

In light of our new focus on globalization, the Seventh Edition expands the reach of our series of features on "Politics in a Changing America." These boxed features have focused on the participation and status of various groups in American society, including women, African Americans,

Hispanics, youth, and religious fundamentalists. We have now mixed these features with a parallel series on "Politics in a Changing World." In these boxes we examine some of the consequences of globalization, for both the United States and other areas of the world. In Chapter 1, the "Politics in a Changing World" feature details a ranking of twenty countries around the world in terms of the degree to which they are "globalized." (The United States ranks somewhere in the middle.) Chapter 9 includes a feature on the Americanization of elections overseas. Chapter 11 looks at the European Parliament, the legislative arm of the European Union. Chapter 17 discusses offshore gambling through the Internet.

For the series on "Politics in a Changing America," some of the features from the Sixth Edition have been retained or updated, and new ones have been added. Among the new or updated features for this series is an analysis of Latino admissions at the UCLA School of Law in Chapter 2; an analysis of population shifts and the electoral college between 1960 and 2004 in Chapter 9; and a discussion of the conflict between freedom and order in cyberspace in Chapter 15.

We firmly believe that students can better evaluate how our political system works when they compare it with politics in other countries. Once again, each chapter has at least one boxed feature called "Compared with What?" that treats its topic in a comparative perspective. How much importance do citizens in other parts of the world place on freedom, order, and equality? Which countries have the highest percentages of women in their national legislatures? How does the United States compare to other democracies in terms of the size of its government? How do crime rates differ around the world? Some of these features focus on a single country. How does the electoral system work in Israel, and what are the parallels between its recent election and the one in the United States?

The Seventh Edition incorporates a new learning tool into the text. Periodically in the margins of each chapter, we pose a question to students. Each begins "Can you explain why..." and then completes the sentence with a query that highlights some feature of our system of government that may seem counterintuitive. For example, we ask students, "Can you explain why the United States might oppose an International Criminal Court?" Or "Can you explain why Americans generally believe that government should be close to the people, yet so few citizens vote in local elections?" In addition, "Can you explain why government programs aren't always administered by the government?" And "Can you explain why too much free speech could actually destroy the freedom of speech?" In each case, the accompanying text offers material that should help the reader formulate an answer to the question. We hope students will find these questions in the margins provocative and interesting.

We have streamlined and enriched the close connection that we initiated in previous editions between the words in our text and external technology resources. Every chapter now includes marginal icons at places in the text where a particular Real Deal UpGrade CD-ROM resource will deepen students' understanding of the text material. Chapters also include marginal notations to the award-winning IDEalog and Crosstabs programs that accompany the book as part of our teaching/learning package. A new section at the end of each chapter titled "Internet Exercises" provides activities of particular relevance to the main topics of the chapter.

Each chapter concludes with a brief summary, a short list of recommended readings, and the Internet Exercises described above. At the end of the book, we have included the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, an annotated copy of the Constitution, *Federalist* Nos. 10 and 51, a glossary of key terms, and some other valuable appendices.

THE TEACHING/ LEARNING PACKAGE

Our job as authors did not end with writing this text. From the beginning, we have been centrally involved with producing a tightly integrated set of instructional materials to accompany the text. With help from other political scientists and educational specialists at Houghton Mifflin, these ancillary materials have grown and improved over time.

For The Instructor: Innovative Teaching Tools

The *Instructor's Resource Manual*, originally written by the authors and thoroughly revised and updated for this edition by Mary Beth Melchior of Florida International University, provides teachers with material that relates directly to the thematic framework and organization of the book. It includes learning objectives; chapter synopses; detailed full-length lectures (including a lecture format that encourages class participation); ideas for class, small group, and individual projects and activities; Internet exercises; and World Wide Web resources.

A printed *Test Items* bank, also revised by Mary Beth Melchior of Florida International University, provides over 1,500 test items in identification, multiple-choice, and essay formats. A CD-ROM test generation program for Windows and Macintosh is also available that contains all the items in the printed *Test Items* bank.

New to this edition is the *HMClassPrep Instructor's CD-ROM*. This innovative teaching tool includes electronic versions of the material found in the *Instructor's Resource Manual*, PowerPoint slides, videos with accompanying discussion questions and answers, and audio files.

The *companion Web site* for this text, accessible at <college.hmco.com>, offers a variety of teaching aids to instructors, including presentation-quality images of data-oriented figures from every chapter, downloadable PowerPoint slides, suggested answers to the text's "Can You Explain Why?" questions and end-of-chapter Internet Exercises, and additional resources. Instructors using this site will also have easy access to the IDEALog 7.0 program (described below) and Political SourceNet, a teaching and learning resource. Political SourceNet contains the Crosstabs program (described below), "You Decide ..." simulations, primary source documents, Web links, and Internet assignments that require students to think critically about a document, political Web site, or data-oriented map or figure.

The Seventh Edition continues to be supported by <uspolitics.org>, Kenneth Janda's personal web site for *The Challenge of Democracy*. His site offers a variety of teaching aids to instructors who adopt any version of *The Challenge of Democracy* as a textbook for courses in American politics. It is divided into two sides: the student side is open to all users, but the instructor side is limited to teachers who register online at

<uspolitics.org> as *Challenge* adopters. His site offers some material not contained in Houghton Mifflin's own Web site, described above, yet also provides convenient links to the publisher's site.

The Challenge of Democracy, Seventh Edition, *WebCT Webcourselet* and *Blackboard Course Cartridge* provide text-specific student study aids in customizable, Internet-based education platforms. Both platforms provide a full array of course management features for instructors who wish to incorporate educational technology in their traditional classrooms or for those who are teaching distance learning courses.

A *transparency package*, containing full-color overhead transparencies of some of the important graphs and charts from the text, is available to adopters. For information about a variety of additional visual media products available to adopters of *The Challenge of Democracy*, please contact your Houghton Mifflin sales representative.

Finally, instructors who wish to include a unit on state and local politics in their course may package a chapter-length *State and Local Government Supplement* with the text.

For The Student: Effective Learning Aids

The *Study Guide*, written by Haroon Khan of Henderson State University, is designed to help students master the text's content. The *Study Guide* provides chapter summaries, research topics and resources (both print and on-line), exercises in reading tables and graphs, sample multiple-choice exam questions, and advice on improving study skills, finding internships, and participating in American politics.

The *Real Deal UpGrade* CD-ROM is also available for students; it contains chapter outlines, ACE Practice Tests, video clips of famous campaign ads, audio excerpts from notable Supreme Court cases, and other valuable resources.

The *companion Web site*, accessible at <college.hmco.com>, offers a wide array of resources for students. Included are ACE Practice Tests, chapter outlines, on-line versions of the text's end-of-chapter Internet Exercises, and links to Political SourceNet and the award-winning IDEALog program.

Political SourceNet contains interactive "You Decide . . ." simulations that allow students to play the role of a political leader, make policy decisions, and see the results of their actions; primary source documents; Web links; and Internet assignments. Also included is the *Crosstabs* program, the floppy disk version of which won a Distinguished Software Award from EDUCOM. *Crosstabs* allows students to crosstabulate survey data on a recent presidential election and on voting records of members of a recent session of Congress.

The *Crosstabs Student Workbook*, which is available separately, describes how to construct and interpret basic crosstabulations, suggests topics that students might study using the "voters" and "congress" datasets, and explains how to write an empirical research paper. An *Instructor's Answer Book* is also available.

IDEALog 7.0, an earlier version of which won the 1992 Instructional Software Award from the American Political Science Association, is available on the companion Web site and is closely tied to the text's "value con-

flicts" theme. IDEALog 7.0 first asks students to rate themselves on the two-dimensional tradeoff of freedom versus order and freedom versus equality. It then presents them with twenty questions, ten dealing with the conflict of freedom versus order and ten pertaining to freedom versus equality. Students' responses to these questions are classified according to libertarian, conservative, liberal, or communitarian ideological tendencies. Marginal notes in the Seventh Edition of *The Challenge of Democracy* refer students to IDEALog 7.0 at appropriate points in the text.

We invite your questions, suggestions, and criticisms of the teaching/learning package and *The Challenge of Democracy*. You may contact us at our respective institutions or through our collective e-mail address <cod@northwestern.edu>.

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Paul was a distinguished undergraduate at Northwestern and is now well along the path to his Ph.D. in our profession at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. His creativity helped to make the Seventh Edition of *The Challenge of Democracy* that much better.

For this edition, we were fortunate to have Kevin W. Hula of Loyola College in Maryland and Jeffrey L. Sedgwick of the University of Massachusetts—Amherst assist us with the preparation of the manuscript. They contributed significantly to our efforts to keep *The Challenge of Democracy* current and accurate. Their excellent work is greatly appreciated.

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Although she's not new to Houghton Mifflin, our Sponsoring Editor, Mary Dougherty, was new to *The Challenge of Democracy*. She quickly won our confidence and directed the Seventh Edition with the greatest of ease. We hope she is around for many more editions of our book. Katherine Meisenheimer did an outstanding job as our Development Editor. She had day-to-day responsibility for the book and repeatedly went beyond the call of duty to keep the project on track. As with Mary, we look forward to working with Katherine again on the next edition. Jean Woy, now Vice President and Editor-in-Chief of History, Political Science, and Economics, signed us to do the book close to twenty years ago. Through all those years, she has had to put up with more shenanigans than any editor should have to endure, but she kept us anyway. Others who made important contributions to the Seventh Edition are Scott R. Diggins, Associate Internet Producer; Tonya Lobato, Editorial Assistant; Carol Merrigan, Senior Production/Design Coordinator; Marie Barnes, Senior Manufacturing Coordinator; Martha Shethar, photo researcher; Janet Theurer, designer and art editor; and Marianne L'Abbate, copyeditor.

Our experience proves that authors—even experienced authors working on their seventh edition—can benefit from the suggestions and criticisms of a gifted staff of publishing experts. No publisher has a more capable group of dedicated professionals than Houghton Mifflin, and we have been fortunate to have their guidance over the seven editions of our text.

K.J.
J.B.
J.G.

brief contents

Preface xiii

part I Dilemmas of Democracy

- 1 Freedom, Order, or Equality? 1
- 2 Majoritarian or Pluralist Democracy? 29

part II Foundations of American Government

- 3 The Constitution 54
- 4 Federalism 94

part III Linking People with Government

- 5 Public Opinion and Political Socialization 124
- 6 The Media 159
- 7 Participation and Voting 193
- 8 Political Parties 228
- 9 Nominations, Elections, and Campaigns 262
- 10 Interest Groups 301

part IV Institutions of Government

- 11 Congress 333
- 12 The Presidency 370
- 13 The Bureaucracy 405
- 14 The Courts 434

part V Civil Liberties and Civil Rights

- 15 Order and Civil Liberties 469
- 16 Equality and Civil Rights 510

part VI Making Public Policy

- 17 Policymaking 548
- 18 Economic Policy 576
- 19 Domestic Policy 609
- 20 Global Policy 638

Appendixes A1

The Declaration of Independence
July 4, 1776 A1

Articles of Confederation A2

The Constitution of the United States of America A6

Federalist No. 10 1787 A15

Federalist No. 51 1788 A18

Presidents of the United States A20

Twentieth-Century Justices of the Supreme Court A21

Party Control of the Presidency, Senate, and House of
Representatives 1901–1999 A22

Glossary A25

References A35

Index of References A67

Credits A73

Index A75

Preface xiii

part I Dilemmas of Democracy

1 Freedom, Order, or Equality? 1

The Globalization of American Government 3

The Purposes of Government 5

- ◆ Politics in a Changing World 1.1 *The "Globalization" of Nations* 6

Maintaining Order 7

Providing Public Goods 8

Promoting Equality 9

A Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Government 10

The Concepts of Freedom, Order, and Equality 11

- ◆ Feature 1.1 *The Four Freedoms* 12

Freedom 13

Order 14

Equality 14

- ◆ Compared with What? 1.1 *The Importance of Order as a Political Value* 15

Two Dilemmas of Government 17

The Original Dilemma: Freedom Versus Order 17

The Modern Dilemma: Freedom Versus Equality 18

Ideology and the Scope of Government 19

- ◆ Compared with What? 1.2 *The Importance of Freedom and Equality as Political Values* 20

Totalitarianism 21

Socialism 21

Capitalism 22

Libertarianism 22

Anarchism 23

Liberals and Conservatives: The Narrow Middle 23

American Political Ideologies and the Purpose of Government 24

Liberals Versus Conservatives: The New Differences 24

A Two-Dimensional Classification of Ideologies 25

Summary 27

2 Majoritarian or Pluralist Democracy? 29

The Theory of Democratic Government 31

The Meaning and Symbolism of Democracy 32

The Procedural View of Democracy 33

A Complication: Direct Versus Indirect Democracy 33

The Substantive View of Democracy 35

Procedural Democracy Versus Substantive Democracy 36

- ◆ Compared with What? 2.1 *Is Government Responsible?* 37

Institutional Models of Democracy 38

The Majoritarian Model of Democracy 39

- ◆ Politics in a Changing America 2.1 *Coping with the End of Affirmative Action at the University of California* 40

An Alternative Model: Pluralist Democracy 42

The Majoritarian Model Versus the Pluralist Model 44

An Undemocratic Model: Elite Theory 45

Elite Theory Versus Pluralist Theory 47

Democracy and Globalization 48

Establishing Democracies 48

American Democracy: More Pluralist Than Majoritarian 50

Summary 51

part II Foundations of American Government

3 The Constitution 54

The Revolutionary Roots of the Constitution 57

Freedom in Colonial America 58

The Road to Revolution 58

Revolutionary Action 60

The Declaration of Independence 60

From Revolution to Confederation 62

The Articles of Confederation 63

Disorder Under the Confederation 64

From Confederation to Constitution 65

The Virginia Plan 66

The New Jersey Plan 67

The Great Compromise 67

Compromise on the Presidency 68

The Final Product 69

The Basic Principles 70

The Articles of the Constitution 71

The Framers' Motives 75

- ◆ Compared with What? 3.1 *Britain's Bill of Rights* 76

The Slavery Issue 77

Selling the Constitution 79

The *Federalist* Papers 79

A Concession: The Bill of Rights 81

Ratification 81

Constitutional Change 82

The Formal Amendment Process 83

Interpretation by the Courts 86

Political Practice 86

An Evaluation of the Constitution 87

- ◆ Politics in a Changing World 3.1 *A New Birth of Freedom: Exporting American Constitutionalism* 88

Freedom, Order, and Equality in the Constitution 88

The Constitution and Models of Democracy 90

Summary 91

4 Federalism 94

Theories of Federalism 96

Representations of American Federalism 97

Dual Federalism 97

- ◆ Compared with What? 4.1 *O Canada! Veering Between Fragmentation and Unity* 98

Cooperative Federalism 100

The Dynamics of Federalism 103

Legislation and the Elastic Cause 103

Judicial Interpretation 104

Grants-in-Aid 106

The Developing Concept of Federalism 109

McCulloch v. Maryland 109

States' Rights and Dual Federalism 110

The New Deal and Its Consequences 110

The Revival of Federalism 112

An Evolving Federalism 112

Preemption: The Instrument of Federalism 113

Other Governments in the Federal System 115

Types of Local Governments 116

So Many Governments: Advantages and Disadvantages 117

Federalism and Globalization 118

- ◆ Politics in a Changing World 4.1 *A United States of Europe or a United Europe of States?* 120

Contemporary Federalism and the Dilemmas of Democracy 119

Federalism and Pluralism 120

Summary 121

part III Linking People with Government

5 Public Opinion and Political Socialization 124

Public Opinion and the Models of Democracy 128

- ◆ Feature 5.1 *Sampling a Few, Predicting to Everyone* 129

The Distribution of Public Opinion 132

Shape of the Distribution 132

Stability of the Distribution 134

- ◆ Politics in a Changing America 5.1 *Are Students More Conservative Than Their Parents?* 135

Political Socialization 136

The Agents of Early Socialization 136

Continuing Socialization 139

Social Groups and Political Values 140

Education 142

Income 142

Region 142

- ◆ Compared with What? 5.1 *Opinions on Government Provision of a Job* 143

The "Old" and "New" Ethnicity: European Origin and Race 145

Religion 146

Gender 147

From Values to Ideology 147

The Degree of Ideological Thinking in Public Opinion 148

The Quality of Ideological Thinking in Public Opinion 149

Ideological Types in the United States 150

The Process of Forming Political Opinions 151

Self-Interest 152

Political Information 152

Opinion Schemas 154

Political Leadership 155

Summary 155

6 The Media 159

People, Government, and Communications 162

The Development of the Mass Media in the United States 163

Newspapers 163

Magazines 164

Radio 164

Television 166

Modern Forms of Group Media 167

Facsimile Transmissions 167

The Internet 167

Private Ownership of the Media 168

The Consequences of Private Ownership 169

The Concentration of Private Ownership 171

Government Regulation of the Media 171

Technical and Ownership Regulations 171

Regulation of Content 173

- ◆ Compared with What? 6.1 *Reporting Conflicts After the Cold War* 174

Reporting and Following the News 175

Covering National Politics 175

Presenting the News 176

Where the Public Gets Its News 178

What People Remember and Know 179

The Political Effects of the Media 181

Influencing Public Opinion 181

Setting the Political Agenda 182

Socialization 184

Evaluating the Media in Government 184

Is Reporting Biased? 185

Contributions to Democracy 186

Effects on Freedom, Order, and Equality 187

- ◆ Politics in a Changing America 6.1 *¿Se habla Español?* 188

Summary 190

7 Participation and Voting 193

Democracy and Political Participation 195