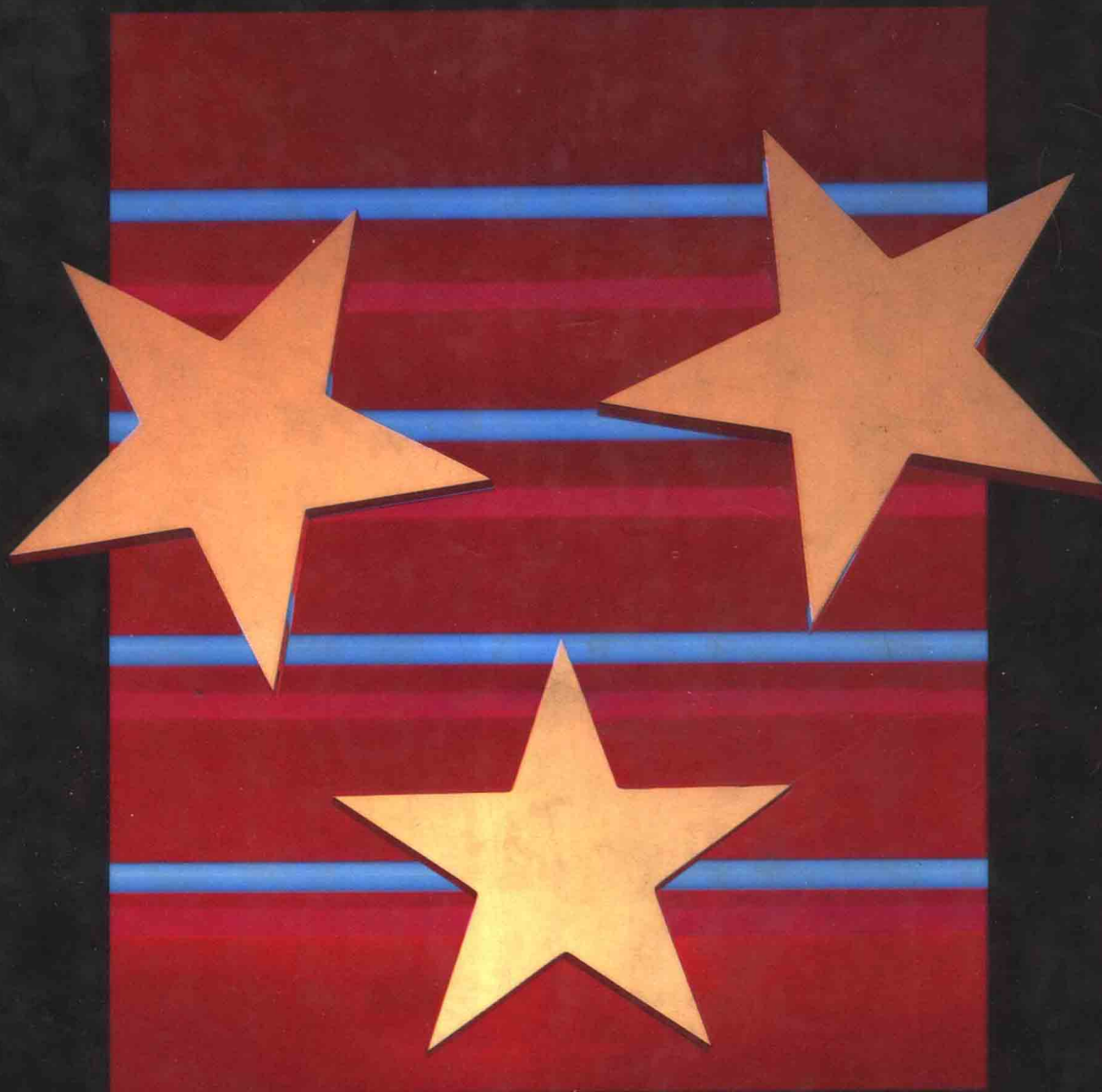


THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY

GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

S E C O N D E D I T I O N

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**THE
CHALLENGE
OF
DEMOCRACY**
Government in America

Second Edition

Illinois Palo Alto Princeton, New Jersey

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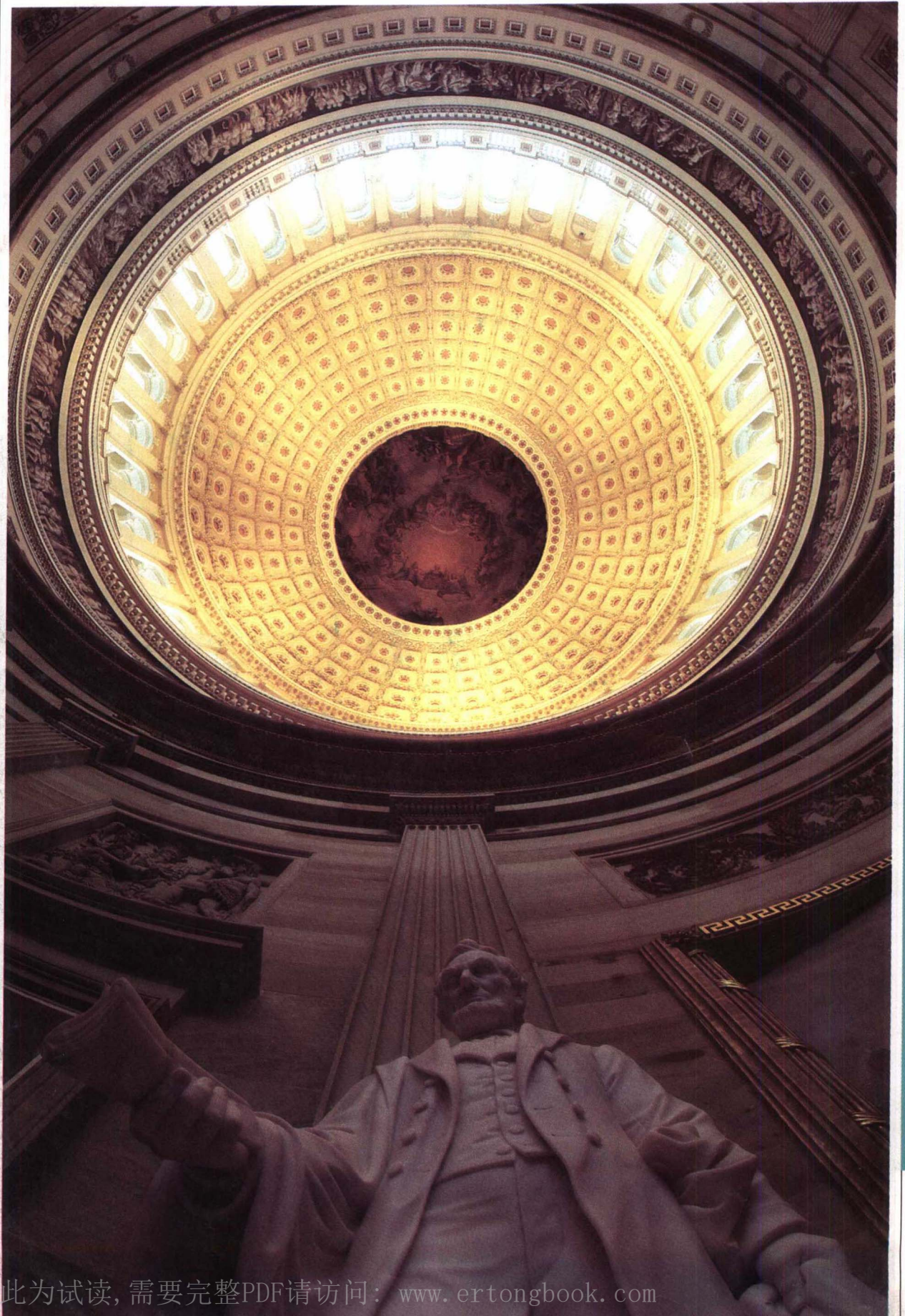
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**THE
CHALLENGE
OF
DEMOCRACY**



*For our children
Susan and Katy
Rachel and Jessica
John, Matt, and Josh*

Preface

We wanted to write an American government textbook that students would like and would credit for shaping their thinking about politics. The response to the first edition of *The Challenge of Democracy* was gratifying. Now, with the second edition, we believe more than ever that students will like *The Challenge of Democracy* and that they will use its framework to analyze politics long after their studies end.

We have tried to discuss a complex subject, politics, in a captivating and understandable way. American politics isn't dull, and its textbooks needn't be either. Although working on this revision was more work than any of us originally imagined, we also have had more fun along the way than we ever thought possible.

We think that an introductory American government text can go beyond simply offering students basic information about the political process. A text can also teach students how political scientists think about politics. In our profession, we try to organize, analyze, and interpret political events, trends, and problems. We want to encourage students to organize, analyze, and interpret American politics and government, too.

THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

It is easy for students to become frustrated with the sheer amount of information assigned each week in an introductory American government course. Our framework provides a way for them to put this information into a broader perspective. Most important, our framework enables students to recognize and think critically about the difficult choices we face as citizens and voters.

Two themes run through our book. 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.

In Chapter 3, for example, we argue that the Constitution was designed to promote order and virtually ignored issues of political and social

equality. However, equality was later served by several amendments to the Constitution. In Chapter 17, "Order and Civil Liberties," and in Chapter 18, "Equality and Civil Rights," we demonstrate how many of this nation's most controversial issues are conflicts among individuals holding differing values concerning freedom, order, and equality. Views on issues such as school prayer are not just political opinions, but rather choices about a philosophy that citizens want government to follow. Yet these choices are difficult, sometimes excruciatingly so.

The second theme, introduced in Chapter 2, asks students to consider two competing models of 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. Majoritarianism is a focus of discussion, for example, in Chapter 8, "Political Parties, Campaigns, and Elections," where we treat the real and the ideal roles of political parties. A contrasting model of government, *pluralism*, is built around the interaction of government decision makers with groups concerned about issues that directly affect them. Pluralism is a focus in Chapter 14, "The Washington Community," where we discuss issue networks in the nation's capital.

These models are not mere abstractions; we use them to illustrate the dynamics of the American political system. In Chapter 6, "The Mass Media," we discuss the media's role in the reporting of public opinion, which advances the cause of majoritarianism. Chapter 10, "Congress," begins with a discussion of the confrontation between the public's wish for a new, simplified tax law and the interest-group defense of the old, benefit-bestowing tax law. The tension between majoritarianism and pluralism is common in our political system, and we have tried to help students understand the advantages and disadvantages of each model.

As appropriate in each chapter, we use the themes to discuss relevant issues. All Americans profess a commitment to equality, but "equality" means different things to different people. In Chapter 18, we follow a detailed presentation of the development of affirmative action policy with a discussion of different conceptions of equality, invoking the related concepts introduced in Chapter 1.

Throughout the book we stress that it is the *students* who must choose among the competing values and models of government. Although the three of us have strong opinions about which choices are best, we do not believe it is our role to tell college students our answers to the broad questions we pose. We hope that students will recognize that maintaining a democracy requires difficult choices; this is why we have titled our book *The Challenge of Democracy*.

FEATURES OF THE BOOK

In many ways, the most important features of the book are the two themes just described, for they provide a consistent thread that underlies the presentation of factual material. We also use some other strategies to help students understand what they read.

Each chapter begins with a vignette that draws the student into the chapter and suggests the major themes of the book. It is followed by a few focus questions that alert the student to the central ideas addressed in the chapter.

We believe that students can better evaluate how our political system works when they compare it with politics in other countries. 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 throughout the world place on the value of *order*? How much do Americans participate in politics compared with citizens elsewhere? How much does the United States spend on social insurance and defense compared with other countries? These and other questions are addressed by the “Compared With What?” boxes.

The second edition contains a new set of boxed features entitled “Politics in the Information Age.” Each box provides a clear example of how media and modern technology are changing American politics. For example, in Chapter 2, we contemplate the effects of allowing citizens to vote on issues by means of computer terminals in their homes.

Additional boxed features discuss topics in more detail or explain them through illustration. For example, in Chapter 8, we discuss *The Wizard of Oz* as a political fable written about the Progressive party around the turn of the century. In Chapter 15, “The Economics of Public Policy,” we illustrate the lack of consensus among economists on key principles of economic theory.

Another feature of *The Challenge of Democracy* is the set of four “Essays,” linked by a common theme—transformations in American politics. They appear between the major parts of the book. The essays discuss transformations in American society, in political art, in party politics, and in public policy. Each essay illustrates and describes important subjects discussed in the chapters.

Each chapter concludes with lists of key terms and suggested readings. The book itself concludes with an Epilogue that examines Gorbachev’s problems in reforming the Soviet system and assesses whether government in America does what the people want. Finally, the appendix contains *Federalist Papers* Nos. 10 and 51, other basic documents of American government (including an annotated, accessible Constitution), and a glossary of terms.

THE TEACHING PACKAGE

When we began writing *The Challenge of Democracy*, we viewed the book as part of a tightly integrated set of instructional materials. We have worked closely with some very talented political scientists and with educational specialists at Houghton Mifflin to produce what we think is a superior set of ancillary materials to help both students and instructors throughout the course.

The primary purpose of the *Instructor’s Manual*, written by the authors (and ably updated by Ethan Cosgriff), is to provide teachers with

classroom material that relates directly to the thematic framework and organization of the book. It includes learning objectives, chapter synopses, lecture outlines, and suggested classroom and individual activities. The accompanying *Test Item Bank*, prepared by Nicholas Strinkowski of Hartwick College, provides over 1,500 test items—identification, multiple-choice, and essay. The *Study Guide*, written by Melissa Butler of Wabash College, is keyed closely to the book. It contains an overview of each chapter, exercises on reading tables and graphs, suggested topics for student research, and multiple-choice questions for practice. The transparency package, containing thirty-six full-color overhead transparencies, is available to adopters of the book. Adopters may also receive a videotape that highlights key political events and personalities discussed in the text.

Computer software ancillaries available to adopters include *LectureBank*, an inventory of detailed ideas for lecture topics; *Microtest*, a test generation program containing all the items in the printed *Test Item Bank*; and *GPA: Grade Performance Analyzer*, which enables instructors to create rosters for each course section and to monitor and analyze student performance throughout the term. Other software ancillaries are designed to improve students' understanding: *Microstudy Plus*, a computerized study guide, and *IDEAlog*, an interactive exercise introducing students to the value conflicts theme in the book. For instructors who want to introduce students to data analysis there are a disk and workbook called *Crosstabs*, which allows students to do creative research using survey data on the presidential election and data on voting in Congress. The *Crosstabs* materials were prepared in collaboration with Philip Schrodtt of the University of Kansas.

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Jeff Berry*

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

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