

The Challenge of Democracy

Government in America

FOURTH EDITION

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Preface

More than a decade has passed since we contracted to write an American government textbook. Because we wanted to write a book that students would actually read, we 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. But equally important, we wanted 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, our book was built around a framework for analyzing politics that students could use long after their studies ended.

In brief, our conceptual framework is built upon two enduring foundations of American politics: the clash among the values of freedom, order, and equality, and the tensions between pluralist and majoritarian visions of democracy. As discussed more extensively below, knowledge of these conflicts enables citizens to recognize and analyze the difficult choices they face in politics.

Based on the reactions to our first three editions, we believe we succeeded in developing a lively book based on a framework that fulfills our goal of helping students analyze and interpret the political process in the United States. Moreover, our framework travels well over time. Our first and second editions (1987 and 1989) were written when Republican president Ronald Reagan was in the White House. Our third edition (1992) analyzed politics under George Bush's administration. In this, our fourth edition, we are able to apply our framework for the first time to a government headed by a Democrat in the White House. Bill Clinton's presidency has charted quite a different course among the values of freedom, order, and equality from that taken by his Republican predecessors. Although we extensively revised each chapter to deal with changes under the Clinton administration, we easily accommodated the developments within our analytical framework.

Our framework also seems to travel well over space—to other countries with a very different political heritage. At the time we devised our analytical themes, the Soviet Union (in Ronald Reagan's words) stood as the "evil empire." Now the USSR stands no more, and the former communist countries in central and eastern Europe engage in the transition to democratic government and deal with alternative models of democracy. Little did we know that our book would become so widely used in teaching students in these countries about democratic politics. Houghton Mifflin Company 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, Slovakia, and of course, Russia itself. Moreover, the brief edition of our book is under contract for translation

into Hungarian and Georgian, and plans are underway for translation into several other central and eastern European languages. We are pleased that *The Challenge of Democracy* will soon be available to many more students in these countries, students who are confronting the challenge of democracy in a time of political transition.

THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

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 how 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. For instance, in Chapter 20, "Global Policy," we discuss the impact of public opinion in making foreign policy. A contrasting model of government, pluralism, is built around the interaction of decision makers in government with groups concerned about issues that affect them. Pluralism is a focus of Chapter 17, "Policymaking," which discusses 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 9, "Nominations, Elections, and Campaigns," and Chapter 12, "The Presidency," we discuss the problem of divided government. In most presidential elections from 1968 to 1988, Americans elected Republican presidents and at the same time returned Democrats to Congress in large numbers; in fact, Democrats have typically controlled both the House and the Senate. When the two branches of government are divided between the two parties, majoritarian government is difficult. As Bill Clinton is finding out, even when the same party controls both branches, the majoritarian model is not always realized.

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 answers

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to the broad questions we pose. Instead, we want our readers to learn first-hand that a democacy requires thoughtful choices. That is why we titled our book *The Challenge of Democracy*.

FEATURES OF THE FOURTH EDITION

The fourth edition maintains the basic structure of the previous edition while capturing important developments in American politics—for example, the election of a Democratic president and the two years of his administration.

To accommodate the major changes and new issues in politics that have occurred since the last edition, every chapter in the text has been updated and revised. For instance, Chapter 3 on "Federalism" discusses the problems that states face when Congress mandates programs without providing the funds to carry them out. Chapter 5, "Public Opinion and Socialization," replaces the issue of communism with that of abortion in the analysis of ideological types. Of course, Chapter 8 on "Political Parties" and Chapter 9 on "Nominations, Elections, and Campaigns" evaluate the impact of Ross Perot, the independent presidential candidate in 1992. Ironically, Chapters 11 ("Congress") and 12 ("The Presidency") describe politics in Washington which have become even more partisan, with a new, seemingly unified Republican majority in both houses facing a Democrat in the White House. Chapter 18, "Economic Policy," deals with Clinton's deficit reduction program, which involves new taxes on the wealthy in a stark departure from Reagonomics.

Finally, Chapter 20, "Global Policy," has been significantly revised to reflect the declining importance of military might and the growing influence of economic policy in international relations. This chapter details Clinton's efforts to forge a new foreign policy in the "messy and ambiguous" world, to quote the Air Force Chief of Staff, that has followed the fall of the Soviet Union.

As in previous editions, each chapter begins with a vignette that draws students into the substance of the material that chapter examines and suggests one of the themes of the book. For example, we begin Chapter 15, "Order and Civil Liberties," by discussing the debate over the exhibition of Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs at Cincinnati's Contemporary Arts Center. Were the efforts of city officials to ban these photographs, which they considered obscene, an appropriate attempt to maintain order or an infringement on freedom of expression?

In every chapter in this edition, we introduce a new feature, "Politics in a Changing America," designed to illustrate changes over time in the political opportunity, participation, and status of groups such as women, African Americans, youth, Hispanics, and religious fundamentalists. For example, the feature in Chapter 1 describes how women's sports programs at American colleges and universities have grown as a consequence of Title IX of the 1972 Civil Rights law that outlawed gender discrimination in institutions receiving federal funds.

We 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?" which treats its topic in a comparative perspective. How much impor-

tance do citizens in other parts of the world place on freedom, order, and equality? Do American television reporters color the news with their commentary more than reporters in other countries? Are Americans more or less supportive of redistributing wealth than are citizens of other countries?

We also make frequent use of other boxed features throughout the text. They allow us to explore some topics in more detail or discuss matters that don't fit easily into the regular flow of text. Examples include an inside look at how CBS news reporter Lesley Stahl tried to expose the Reagan administration's manipulation of the media, a historical account of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech, and a description of how a Washington interest group designed a mail campaign to increase its membership.

Each chapter concludes with a brief summary, a list of key terms, and a short list of recommended readings. At the end of the book, we have included the Articles of Confederation, the Declaration of Independence, 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

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.

The primary purpose of the *Instructor's Resource Manual*, written by the authors (and ably updated by Mona Field at Glendale College) is to provide 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 new type of lecture format that encourages class participation, bonus features, and suggested classroom and individual activities.

The Test Item Bank, prepared by Nicholas Strinkowski of Siena College, provides over 1,500 test items—identification, multiple-choice, and essay. The Study Guide, written by Melissa Butler of Wabash College, contains an overview of each chapter, exercises on reading tables and graphs, topics for student research, and multiple-choice questions for practice. The transparency package, containing forty full-color overhead transparencies, is available to adopters of the book. Adopters may also receive the six videotapes from Houghton Mifflin's Videotape Program in American Government, written and produced by Ralph Baker and Joseph Losco of Ball State University. A corresponding Video Guide contains summaries and scripts of each tape, definitions of key terms, multiple-choice questions, and ideas for class activities.

Perhaps the most promising new research tool for students is the Internet. Therefore a free guide to political science resources on the Internet is available with each new copy of *The Challenge of Democracy*. This 32-page booklet explains to students how to access the Internet and how to find such resources as Supreme Court cases and White House briefings.

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Software ancillaries available to instructors include *LectureBank*, an inventory of complete lectures, and a computerized test generation program containing all the items in the printed Test Item Bank. Other software ancillaries are designed to enhance students' understanding. They include a computerized study guide and IDEAlog, an award-winning interactive exercise we designed that illuminates for students the value-conflicts theme in the book. For instructors who want to introduce students to data analysis, a disk and workbook called Crosstabs allows students to do research using survey data on the 1992 presidential election and data on voting in Congress, updated after the 1992 election.

The fourth edition will also be accompanied by a 60-minute videodisc composed of archival footage on four topics: Campaigns and Elections, The Presidency, Civil Rights, and Watergate. The video segments range from half a minute to about three minutes. A video guide with shot descriptions and barcodes is packaged with the disc. Instructors will find this most useful in designing illustrated lectures.

We invite your questions, suggestions, and criticisms. You may contact us at our respective institutions, or, if you have access to an electronic mail service, you may contact us through our collective e-mail address—cod@nwu.edu—and we will try to respond to you.

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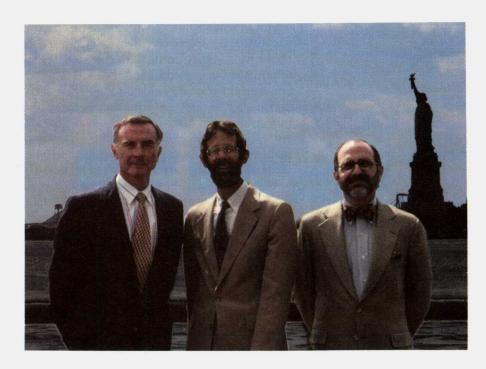
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Kenneth Janda revised some of his chapters while serving as the John Marshall Chair at the Budapest University of Economics, where he taught American government under the Fulbright Program in 1993–94. Thanks to Attila Agh and his colleagues in the Department of Political Science for their support in Budapest and to Donna Culpepper and Philip Reeker of the United States Information Agency, who arranged to translate the brief edition of our text into Hungarian.

We all owe special thanks to Ted and Cora Ginsberg, whose research endowment helped launch several small investigations by our students that eventually found their way into this edition.

Once again in this edition we were lucky enough to have Melissa Butler

The authors (left to right): Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey Berry, Jerry Goldman



contribute Chapter 20, "Global Policy." She is also the author of the excellent Study Guide that accompanies the text.

We have been fortunate to obtain the help of many outstanding political scientists across the country who provided us with critical reviews of our work as it has progressed through three separate editions. We found their comments enormously helpful, and we thank them for taking valuable time away from their own teaching and research to write their detailed reports. More specifically, our thanks go to

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Our experience proves that authors, even experienced authors working on their fourth 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 past decade and the four editions of our text.

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

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