

JANDA ■ BERRY ■ GOLDMAN



The
CHALLENGE
of
DEMOCRACY
in America

THIRD EDITION



The
CHALLENGE
of
DEMOCRACY
Government in America
T H I R D E D I T I O N

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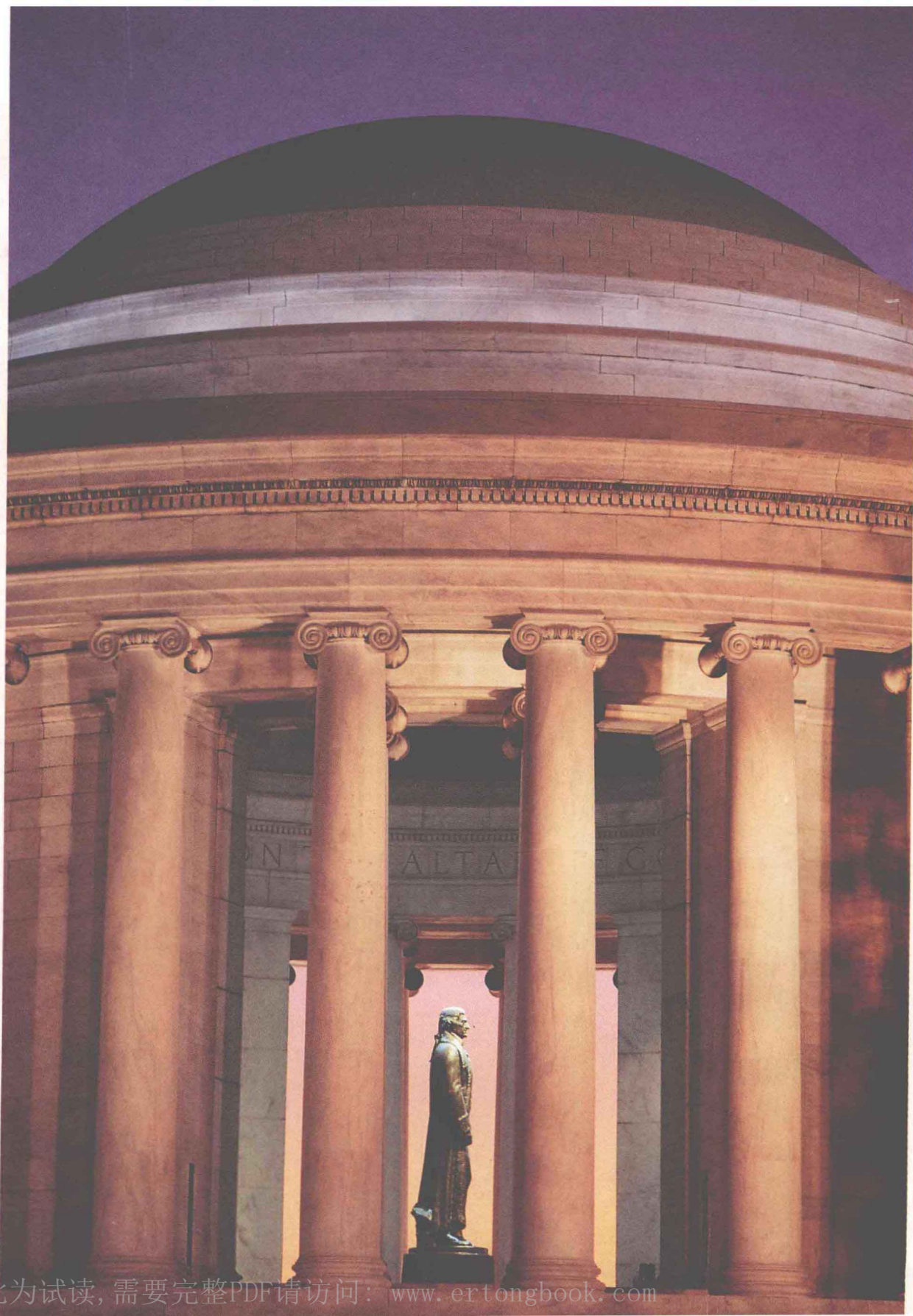
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The
CHALLENGE
of
DEMOCRACY

Government in America

THIRD EDITION



*To our wives
Ann Janda
Lori Berry
Susan Kennedy*

P R E F A C E

It's remarkable how much change can take place in the span of a few years. With this Election Printing, we address dynamic features of American politics. We capture a lively three-way race for the presidency, a new president, and a new Congress. We are mindful that the Cold War ended, the United States and its allies won a lopsided war against Iraq, a recession took hold here at home, and conservatives seemed to take control of the Supreme Court.

Yet there has also been much that remains familiar to observers of American politics. Questions and controversy on such long-standing issues as education, drugs, race, budget deficits, and poverty continue to command attention.

Underlying all political issues are 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. A knowledge of these conflicts enables us to recognize and analyze the difficult choices we face as citizens and voters.

Thematic Framework

To give students a framework for understanding contemporary problems in a fast-changing world, *The Challenge of Democracy* analyzes these two kinds of conflict—among freedom, order, and equality, and between majoritarian and pluralist democracies. As in our previous editions, we develop our two themes in the opening chapters and return to them throughout the text as a means of organizing our explication of various institutions, processes, and policies.

In Chapter 1, we introduce the first part of the framework, outlining how American politics often reflects conflicts between the values of freedom and order, and between the values of freedom and equality. These conflicts have been powerful forces throughout American history and continue to explain political consensus and controversy today.

For instance, in Chapter 3 we argue that the Constitution was designed to promote order and 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, outlined initially 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. For instance, in Chapter 20, "Global Policy," we discuss the role of public opinion in influencing 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, Campaigns, and Elections," and Chapter 12, "The Presidency," we discuss the problem of divided government. In recent years, Americans have 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. Although many Americans would prefer that elections act as fairly direct instruments of majoritarian democracy, our political system seems to be arranged in a way that makes that difficult.

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 strong opinions about which choices are best, we do not believe it is our role to tell students our answers to the broad questions we pose. Instead, we want our readers to learn firsthand that a democracy requires difficult choices. That is why we titled our book *The Challenge of Democracy*.

Features of the Third Edition

This new edition mirrors the change and continuity in American politics. Although we have maintained the basic structure of the book and all the popular features of our approach, we have done some elaborating and reorganizing to give more attention to certain subjects.

A great deal of material throughout the text has been updated and revised. For instance, there is a new discussion of drug policy in Chapter 19, "Domestic Policy." Chapter 20, "Global Policy," has been thoroughly revised. And Chapters 15, "Order and Civil Liberties," and 16, "Equality and Civil Rights," are now set off in a separate part to provide a more flexible organization that better suits individual needs.

The greatest changes in this edition, however, are manifested in Chapters 8, 9, and 17. Although each retains material from the Second Edition, they also add a great deal of new information.

Where previously we had a single chapter on political parties, campaigns, and elections, to do justice to this broad and fascinating aspect of American politics we now devote two chapters to these topics. Chapter 8, "Political Parties," focuses on the historical development of American political parties. Chapter 9, "Nominations, Campaigns, and Elections," gives our book expanded coverage of the election process, including information on modern campaign strategy and technology.

Chapter 17, "Policymaking," is also new to this edition. The first half of this chapter offers students a framework for understanding the policy-making process, which helps to tie the earlier chapters on political institutions with the chapters on various policy areas that follow. The second half of the chapter includes coverage of how actors operating outside the government may affect policy choices, drawn largely from the "Washington Community" chapter in previous editions.

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?

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 importance do citizens in other parts of the world place on freedom, order, and equality? How do other multicultural societies deal with the question of affirmative action? 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 case history of how breast cancer is becoming a political issue.

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 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 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 Earl Huff of California Polytechnic State University, San Luis Obispo), 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, and suggested classroom and individual activities. The *Test Item Bank*, prepared by Nicholas Strinkowski of Eastern Oregon State 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 chapter-length *State and Local Supplement*, written by Dennis L. Dresang of the University of Wisconsin—Madison, provides coverage of the structure and functions of state and local governments; it will be shrink-wrapped with the text upon request. The transparency package, containing forty full-color overhead transparencies, is available to adopters of the book. Adopters may also receive 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.

Software ancillaries available to adopters include *LectureBank*, an inventory of complete lectures, and *Microtest*, a test generation program containing all the items in the printed *Test Item Bank*. Other software ancillaries are designed to improve students' understanding: *Micro-Guide*, 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, a disk and workbook called *Crosstabs* allows students to do research using survey data on the 1988 presidential election and data on voting in Congress, updated after the 1990 election. The *Crosstabs* materials were prepared in collaboration with Philip Schrodtt of the University of Kansas. The *Supreme Court Tutorial*, a Hypercard tour of the Supreme Court and its history, includes information on key decisions, biographical material, and photos of twentieth-century justices.

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, such as BITNET or INTERNET, you may contact us through the following e-mail address: cod@nwu.edu.

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With this edition we were again lucky enough to have Melissa Butler work with us. Professor Butler is the author of 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

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PART

ONE

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