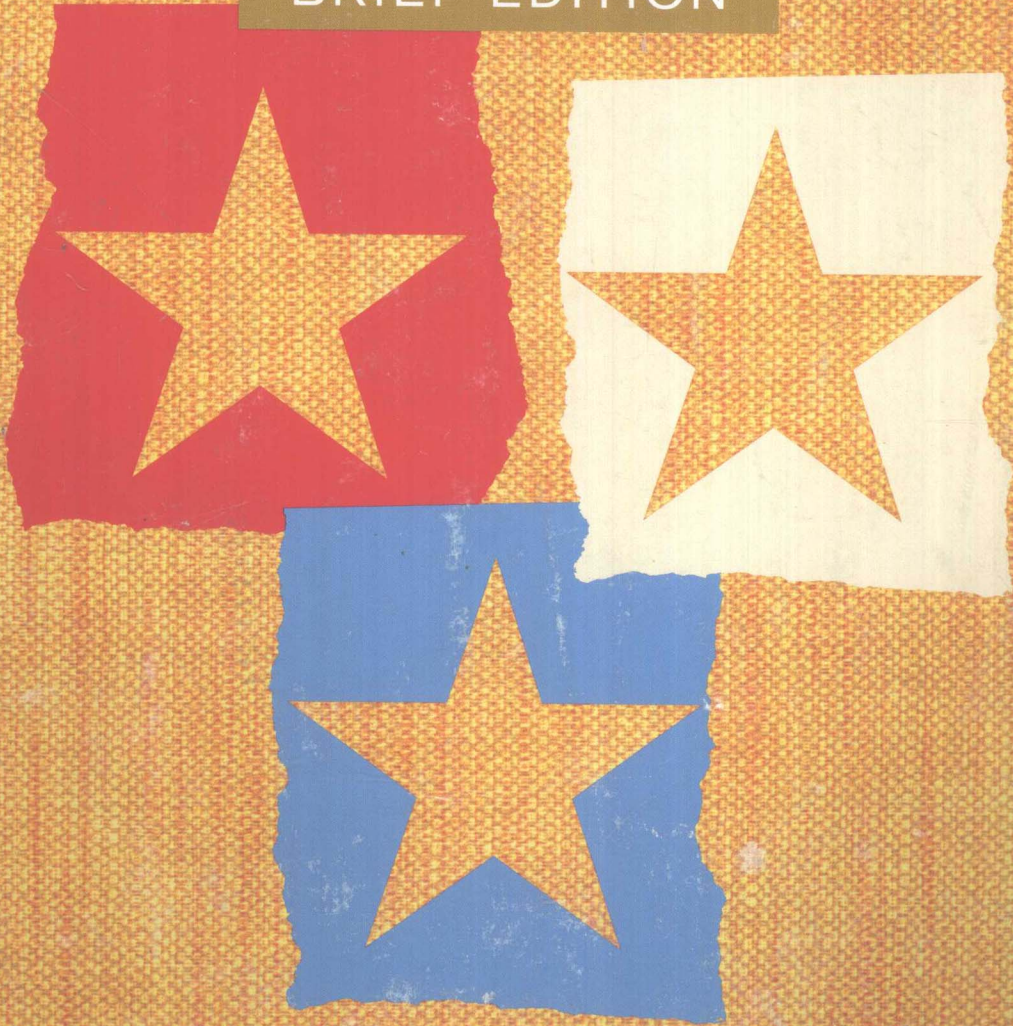


# The Challenge of Democracy

BRIEF EDITION



JANDA | BERRY | GOLDMAN | HULA

FIFTH EDITION

# The Challenge of Democracy

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**Brief Edition ★ Fifth Edition**

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# **The Challenge of Democracy**





The fifth edition of *The Challenge of Democracy*, Brief Edition, is an abridged and updated version of the seventh edition of *The Challenge of Democracy*. As always, our goal was to streamline the larger text without diminishing any of the qualities that have made it so successful. In addition, we sought to make the text as current as possible by incorporating examples from events occurring later in 2002, after the publication of the larger text. Among these examples are the results of the November 2002 elections. Much has happened since the last Brief Edition—most ominously, the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Many say that “things will never be the same again,” and, concerning core aspects of our government and politics, they may be right. Yet the country has moved on. The country’s stability following the attacks, as during the period after the contested 2000 presidential election, serves as a welcome reminder of Americans’ faith in our system of government.

Through the process of writing seven editions of the larger text, what we are most struck by is how enduring our original framework is. *The Challenge of Democracy* is built 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*, while 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. In this edition of *The Challenge of Democracy*, Brief Edition, 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 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? These are just a few of the questions we explore in this edition.

### Thematic Framework

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 is not dull, and its textbooks need not 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, we believed that what was most important was to give students a framework for analyzing politics that they could use long after their studies ended.

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 (“Dilemmas of Democracy”), 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 2 (“The Constitution”) 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 12 (“Order and Civil Liberties”) and Chapter 13 (“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, also introduced in Chapter 1, 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, *pluralism*, 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 9 (“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 did not 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 Bill Clinton found out during 1993 and 1994. In Chapter 7 (“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.

Throughout the book we stress that students must make their own choices among the competing values and models of government. Although the four 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 firsthand that a democracy requires thoughtful choices. That is why we titled our book *The Challenge of Democracy*.

## Features of the Fifth Brief Edition

In response to numerous requests from adopters of this text, in this edition we have separated the old Chapter 12, “Civil Liberties and Civil Rights,” into two

separate chapters: “Order and Civil Liberties” and “Equality and Civil Rights.” The rest of the fifth edition maintains the basic structure of the previous edition 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 the art 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 changes in this edition, but we can illustrate the thoroughness of our revision with selected examples. For instance, Chapter 2 (“The Constitution”) examines constitutional designs in newly emerging democracies that have been modeled after the United States Constitution. Chapter 4 (“Public Opinion, Political Socialization, and the Media”) has an expanded treatment of the Internet as a medium of group communication. Chapter 5 (“Participation and Voting”) addresses terrorism as an extreme form of unconventional participation. In Chapter 6 (“Political Parties, Campaigns, and Elections”) we provide an expanded discussion of the Electoral College, explaining its function and procedures in more detail. We also offer updated coverage of campaign finance and the *2002 Bipartisan Campaign Finance Reform Act*. In Chapter 8 (“The Congress”) we provide an updated discussion of the balance of power in the House and Senate, noting the effects of Senator Jim Jefford’s departure from the Republican Party. We also discuss the effect of the 2002 Congressional elections on House and Senate leadership. In Chapter 10 (“The Bureaucracy”) we offer a revised discussion of oversight. To provide instructors with added flexibility, Chapter 12, formerly “Civil Liberties and Civil Rights,” has been split in the fifth edition into Chapter 12 (“Order and Civil Liberties”) and Chapter 13 (“Equality and Civil Rights”). Cases in each chapter have been updated. Chapter 14 (“Policymaking and the Budget”) describes the brief emergence of a balanced budget during the second term of the Clinton presidency, and the fall back into deficit spending as the economy softened and defense spending increased after the September 11 attacks. We also offer an expanded discussion of policy fragmentation, new coverage of social security, and analysis of the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. Some new topics, such as globalization, the 2002 elections, and the aftermath of the September 11 attacks are incorporated in numerous chapters throughout the fifth edition.

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 (“Dilemmas of Democracy”), which starts with a fresh account of the September 11 attacks and shows how globalization poses new threats to America. Companion vignettes in Chapter 3 (“Federalism”) and Chapter 11 (“The Courts”) recount the Supreme Court’s involvement in the 2000 Presidential election, beginning with Al Gore’s initial concession call to George W. Bush on election night and culminating with the Court’s decision thirty-six days later. Chapter 4 (“Public Opinion, Political Socialization, and the Media”) discusses how social life under the Taliban differed from life in most societies. Chapter 6 (“Political Parties, Campaigns, and Elections”) opens with a discussion of Ralph Nader’s third party campaign for the presidency. Chapter 7 (“Interest Groups”) opens with an account of the violent protests against

the World Trade Organization in Seattle. Chapter 9 (“The Presidency”) describes how George W. Bush, who won election by the slimmest of margins, was transformed by the events of September 11, 2001, and emerged as an international leader. Chapter 13 (“Equality and Civil Rights”) opens with the declaration by the U.S. State Department that racial discrimination continues to exist in the United States.

In light of our new focus on globalization, the fifth edition expands and updates our series of features called “Politics in a Changing America.” These boxed features were 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. We have now mixed these features with a parallel series of “Politics in a Changing World” features, in which we explore some of the consequences of globalization.

The new larger book size allows us to incorporate several new learning tools into the text. Periodically in the margins of each chapter we pose a question to students. Each begins “Can you explain why . . .”, and we complete 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 Americans generally believe that government should be close to the people, yet so few citizens vote in local elections?” In each case, the accompanying text offers material that should help the reader formulate an answer to the question. A complete set of glossary definitions also appears in the margins of each chapter, replacing the list of terms that appeared at the end of each chapter in earlier editions. With the introduction of these marginal features, we have also integrated four-color design in the photographs and other artwork.

We have streamlined and enriched the close connection that we initiated in the previous edition between the words in our text and external computer resources. Chapters now includes marginal icons at places in the text where students are referred to the award-winning *IDEAlog* and *Crosstabs* programs that accompany the book as part of our teaching/learning package. Another important resource for faculty and student users of our text is *The Challenge of Democracy Web Site* (see below for more details), where students can access a set of features called “Compared with What?”. These features allow students to better understand how our political system works by comparing it with politics in other countries. Each chapter concludes with a list of World Wide Web Resources. At the end of the book, we have included a copy of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

## 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 instructors and students.

### For the Instructor: Innovative Teaching Tools

The *Instructor’s Resource Manual with Test Items*, written by the authors and Lori Brainard and carefully updated in the two most recent editions by Kevin Hula of



Loyola College in Maryland, provides teachers with material that relates directly to the thematic framework and organization of the book. The *Instructor's Resource Manual* includes learning objectives, chapter synopses, parallel lectures covering the material in each chapter, and suggestions for class projects and activities. The *Test Items* section provides hundreds of identification, multiple-choice, and essay questions.

Software ancillaries available to instructors include a *test generation program* for Windows, containing all the items in the printed *Test Items*.

The *companion Web site* to *The Challenge of Democracy*, 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 additional resources. Instructors using this site will also have easy access to the *IDEAlog* 7.0 program (described below) and to 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 fifth edition continues to be supported by <www.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 <www.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.

A *transparency package*, containing full-color overhead transparencies of some of the important graphs and charts from the text, is available to adopters of the book. 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.

### For the Student: Effective Learning Aids

The *Study Guide*, written by Melissa Butler of Wabash College and updated by Kevin Hula in the two most recent editions, is designed to help students master the content of *The Challenge of Democracy*, Brief Edition. The *Study Guide* provides chapter summaries, research topics and resources (both in print and on the World Wide Web), sample multiple-choice exam questions, and advice on improving study skills, finding internships, and participating in American politics.

The *companion Web site*, accessible at <college.hmco.com>, offers a wide array of resources for students, including ACE practice tests, 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. *Crosstabs* allows students to

cross-tabulate survey data on a recent presidential election and the voting records of members in a recent session of Congress. The *Crosstabs Student Workbook*, which is available separately, shows how to construct and interpret basic cross-tabulations, suggests topics that students might study using the “voters” and “Congress” data sets, and tells how to write an empirical research paper. An *Instructor’s Answer Book* is also available.

*IDEAlog 7.0* is available on the companion Web site and is closely tied to the text’s “value conflicts” 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 each tradeoff. Students’ responses to these questions are classified according to libertarian, conservative, liberal, or communitarian ideological tendencies. Marginal notes in the fifth Brief 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>.

## Acknowledgments

In the seventh edition of *The Challenge of Democracy* we acknowledged the contributions of many individuals whose advice and assistance have been of great value. We remain in their debt. They include David Bishop, Stu Baker, Claire Dougherty, Bob Taylor, Dennis Glenn, Tony Becker, Deborah Brauer, Diana Snyder, Sarah Krichels, Louis Taveres, Paul Manna, Jeffrey Sedgwick, and Ted and Cora Ginsberg. We would also like to thank reviewers who gave us advice on preparing the fifth edition of *The Challenge of Democracy*, Brief Edition. They are Jim King, University of Wyoming; Donald Roy, Ferris State University; Marcus Stadelmann, University of Texas at Tyler; and A. Jay Stevens, California State University at Long Beach.

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K.J.  
J.M.B.  
J.G.  
K.W.H.



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