

Kenneth Janda  
Jeffrey M. Berry  
Jerry Goldman  
Deborah Schildkraut  
Paul Manna

Enhanced 14<sup>th</sup> Edition

# THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY

American Government in Global Politics



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# The Challenge of Democracy

**American Government in  
Global Politics, Enhanced**

Fourteenth Edition

**Kenneth Janda**

*Northwestern University*

**Jeffrey M. Berry**

*Tufts University*

**Jerry Goldman**

*Northwestern University*

**Deborah J. Schildkraut**

*Tufts University*

**Paul Manna**

*College of William & Mary*



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***The Challenge of Democracy: American Government in Global Politics, Enhanced***  
**14th Edition**  
**Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry,**  
**Jerry Goldman, Deborah J. Schildkraut,**  
**Paul Manna**

Product Director: Thais L. Alencar

Product Manager: Richard Lena

Product Assistant: Haley Gaudreau

Marketing Manager: Valerie Hartman

Content Manager: Dan Saabye

IP Analyst: Nancy Dillon

IP Project Manager: Kelli Besse

Production Service: MPS Limited

Compositor: MPS Limited

Art Director: Sarah Cole

Text Designer: Studio Montage

Cover Designer: Cheryl Carrington

Cover Image: Marian Vejcik/Alamy Stock Photo  
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Library of Congress Control Number: 2018946257

Student Edition:

ISBN: 978-1-337-79981-2

Loose-leaf Edition:

ISBN: 978-0-357-02541-3

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## Political Values and Global Politics

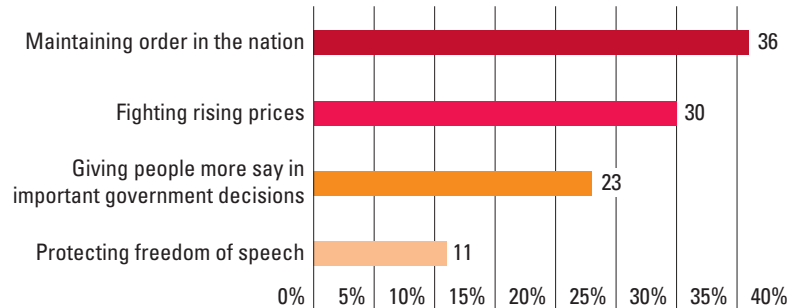
This book studies the interplay of three political values *freedom*, *order*, and *equality*. Virtually all American citizens agree that freedom is an important political value. Virtually all also agree that equality is an important value. A somewhat smaller percentage, perhaps, concede that *order* is also important. However, that percentage probably leaps upward whenever American lives are subject to external attack or internal threats.

*The Challenge of Democracy* argues that political conflict in the United States usually pivots around American citizens' conflicting views of the relative importance of those three abstract values—freedom, order, and equality. Its chapters examine in depth how these values play out in domestic politics and government, and its text often discusses politics in the United States with politics in other countries across the globe. We believe that learn about ourselves by studying other people's political values.

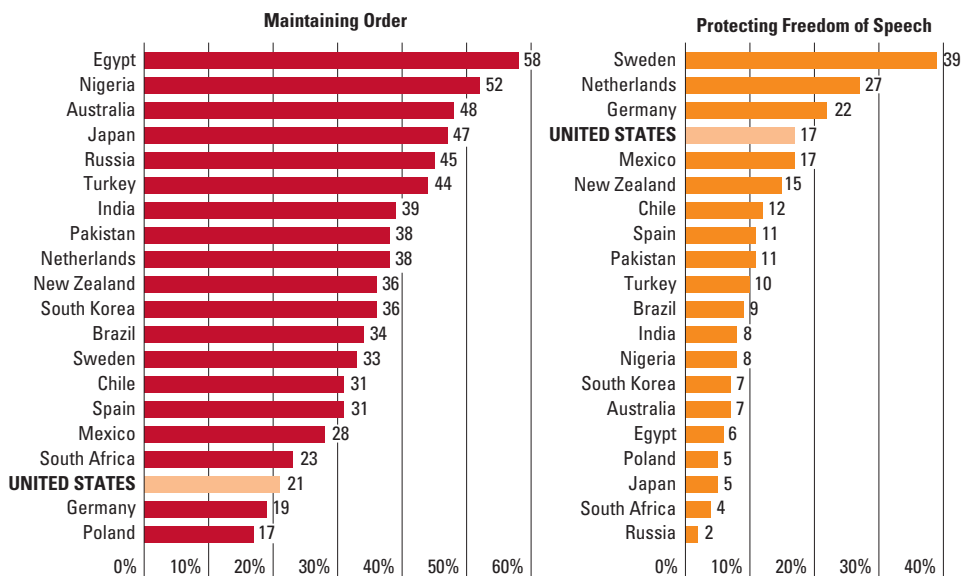
The inside covers of our book reports how respondents in twenty countries, including the United States, viewed these values as embedded in interview questions.<sup>1</sup> Figure 1 portrays how some 36,000 respondents from all twenty countries responded when to this question: *If you had to choose, which one of the things on this card would you say is most important?*

We might be surprised to learn that people in these other countries are more than three times as likely to say that “Maintaining order in the nation” is more important than “Protecting freedom of speech.” The specific breakdown of the 36,000 respondents by country is given in Figure 2. Respondents in United States stand near the bottom of countries in their belief that “maintain order” is the most important value, and they stand near the top of country respondents who feel that “freedom of speech” is more important.

Doing the math, the 21 percent of Americans who chose “maintain order” plus the 17 percent who chose “freedom of speech” adds to only 38 percent. What happened to the other 62 percent?



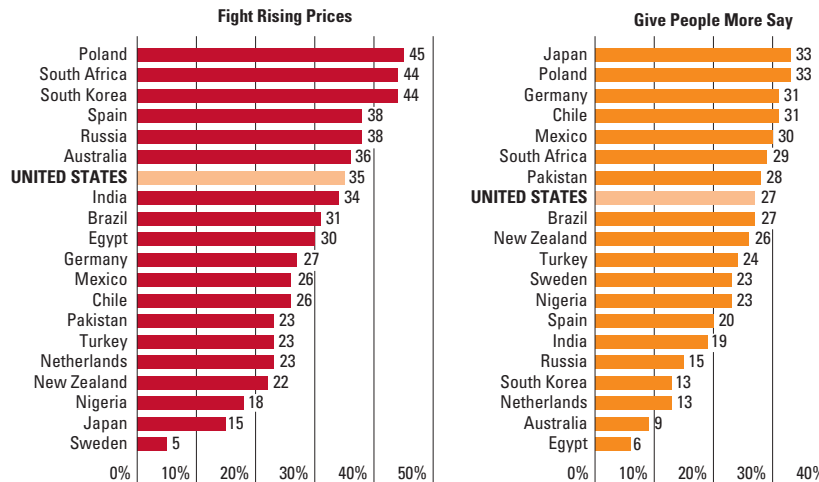
**FIGURE 1** Respondents across the World: “Which Is Most Important?”



**FIGURE 2** Respondents by Country: Maintaining Order or Freedom of Speech

<sup>1</sup> The data were selected from the World Values Survey (WVS), conducted in 2010–2012. WVS, which originated in 1981, was conducted by a global network of social scientists studying changing values and their impact on social and political life. The 2010–2012 survey was led by an international team of scholars, with the WVS association and secretariat headquartered in Stockholm, Sweden. Go to [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org).

Only 38 percent of American respondents said that “maintaining order” and “protecting freedom of speech,” when combined, were the most important values among four alternatives. As portrayed in Figure 3, the other 62 percent chose “fighting rising prices” (35 percent) and “giving people more say in important governmental decisions” (27 percent).

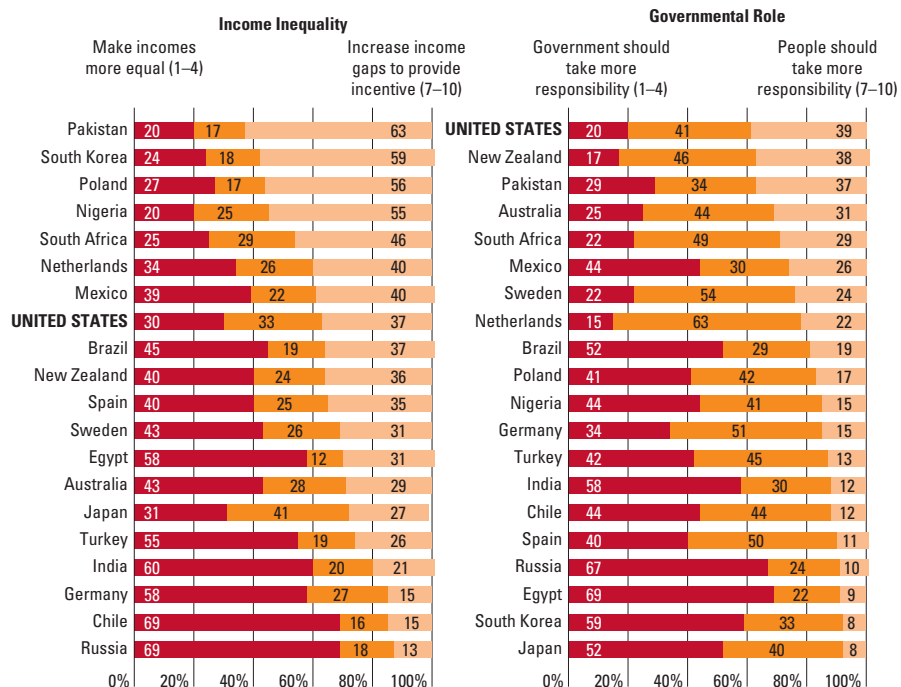


**FIGURE 3 Respondents by Country: Fight Rising Prices or Giving People More Say**

That a plurality of Americans thought it “most important” to fight rising prices is puzzling—given that the U.S. survey was in 2011, when the annual inflation rate was below 2 percent. One suspects that American respondents chose “rising prices” not because prices were truly “rising” but because people were still feeling the effects of the economic recession that began in 2008. As is often the case, worries about concrete problems took precedence over concern with abstract values.

Two questions asked (1) if incomes should be made more equal and (2) who bears responsibility for caring for citizens.

Figure 4 reveals that American respondents were fairly evenly divided concerning income inequality. While most (37 percent) favored even increasing the income gap (thinking that income inequality provided incentives to work harder), almost as many (30 percent) favored making incomes more equal, and one-third were undecided. Moreover, 39 percent of Americans were inclined to think that government had little responsibility to provide for individuals, who were responsible for caring for themselves. That topped the list of all twenty nations.



**FIGURE 4 Respondents by Country: Value of Income Inequality and Government Role**



# Letter to Instructors

Dear American Politics Instructor:

Teaching an introductory American Politics course is both a challenging and rewarding endeavor. The challenge is to engage a large classroom full of students, class after class, week after week. The reward is seeing students connect to particular issues, get animated about difficult political situations, become intellectually curious enough to continue studying American politics in subsequent semesters, and develop a lifelong interest in the challenge of democracy. Our goal in writing this book is to help you achieve those rewards and overcome the challenges that come with teaching a large introductory course.

*The Challenge of Democracy* is not a book centered on current events. Rather, we use the recent past to illustrate enduring features of American government. Our text centers on three themes that help readers recognize and analyze the difficult choices they face in politics. The first is the clash among the values of **freedom, order, and equality**. These value conflicts are prominent in contemporary American society, and they help explain political controversy and consensus in earlier eras. We demonstrate that many of the 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 focuses on the tensions between **pluralist and majoritarian visions of democracy**. Majoritarianism involves following the will of a majority while pluralism involves the interaction of decision makers with groups concerned about issues that affect them. We use these models to illustrate the dynamics of the American political system, including rising partisanship in Congress, the role of interest groups in policymaking, the ways in which public opinion does (or does not) shape public policy, and the influence of money on a range of political processes.

Our third theme is **globalization**. More than ever before, Americans are becoming citizens of the world. Each day, trade, travel, immigration, and the Internet make the world a more interdependent place. We cannot escape the deepening interrelationships with the rest of the world. Thus, our book examines some of the ramifications of a smaller world on the large landscape of American politics.

Our book includes several elements aimed at engaging your students with these enduring themes, including the vignettes at the start of each chapter; features that highlight tensions among freedom, order, and equality; features that situate American government in the context of global politics; critical thinking questions; and updated examples across the text. 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 and difficult choices. That is why we titled our book *The Challenge of Democracy*.

## New to This Enhanced Edition

While the enduring challenges of democracy have not changed, some aspects of *The Challenge of Democracy* have. In the 14th edition, we introduced new items, such as #ChallengeAccepted, image numbering, and critical thinking questions. In this enhanced edition, updates primarily concern examples, as our goal has been to produce a textbook that speaks to the Trump presidency and a Republican Congress.

- We updated several examples in our **“Freedom, Order, or Equality”** features. These features continue to highlight the conflicts among these values through intriguing case studies. Each feature ends with a critical thinking question to encourage students to reflect further on the clash of values explored in the feature.
- We updated several examples in our **“\_\_\_\_\_ in Global Politics”** feature. The goal of this feature is to draw greater attention to the impact of globalization on American politics and to encourage



reflection about some aspect of American politics in comparison to politics in other countries. Each feature ends with a critical thinking question.

- We have updated our figures and graphs to include the most recent data available.
- We discuss recent political developments and connect them to our enduring themes. These developments include the 2016 elections, the Women's March, marijuana legalization, government surveillance, the impact of social media on political activity and journalism, gun control, immigration politics, education policy, net neutrality, campaign finance, and more. Several of these topics are explored in the opening vignettes of each chapter and in our chapter features. Our chapter on the presidency discusses the Russia investigation and provides an overview of President Trump's unique approach to leadership.
- **Follow us on Twitter:** Follow @jandachallenge for breaking news and research reports that relate to the core themes of the book, opportunities for students, and more.

## MindTap: Your Course Stimulus Package

As an instructor tool, MindTap is here to simplify your workload, organize and immediately grade your students' assignments, and allow you to customize your course as you see fit. Through deep-seated integration with your Learning Management System, grades are easily exported and analytics are pulled with just the click of a button. MindTap provides you with a platform to easily add in current events videos and RSS feeds from national or local news sources.

We are thrilled that you are using *The Challenge of Democracy* in your course. We are honored to play a role as you help your students develop the skills they need to be effective democratic citizens.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, Jerry Goldman, Deborah J. Schildkraut, and Paul Manna



# Letter to Students

Dear Student:

The title of our book says it all: democracy is a challenge. *The Challenge of Democracy*, however, is designed to help you succeed in your study of American politics. Our goal is to provide perspectives and insights that will connect you to the important and provocative political questions of our time. How can states legalize marijuana if using the drug still violates federal law? Why is it constitutional for the federal government to require you to purchase health insurance? Why is it so difficult for Congress to pass laws these days? Does it matter if most members of Congress are white males? Would you feel safer in class if you knew that your teachers were carrying loaded firearms? Our aim is to help you explore contemporary questions like these in a deep and meaningful way.

Americans of all backgrounds have different ideas about how much freedom should be granted and to what degree they are willing to give up some freedom in exchange for greater equality or greater societal order. Finding the right balance among **freedom, order, and equality** is one of the biggest challenges that democracies face, and it is the first theme of our book. In the interest of public order and safety, should we allow police to stop and question people on the street, or is that an infringement on personal freedom? In the interest of political equality, should we restrict spending on election campaigns, or is that an infringement on freedom of speech? Questions such as these constitute the daily struggles of modern democratic life.

When developing answers to these questions, when should policymakers follow the will of the majority, and when should they attend to the individuals, groups, and organizations that have the most expertise and experience with the topic? In other words, when should they follow **majoritarian or pluralist principles**? Most Americans support universal background checks for the sale of firearms, but certain organized groups in American society do not. Which one should prevail? The tradeoff among these models of democracy is the second theme of the book. Both models are on display throughout the American political system. Our goal is to help you identify them and consider the benefits and drawbacks of each.

Many of you are the children of immigrants, are immigrants yourselves, or have spent time living in another country. Nearly every item of clothing on your body and every item in your book bag (and even the bag itself) was probably manufactured outside of the United States. And with a swipe on your phone, you can be connected to news, entertainment, and people from around the globe. The place of **globalization** in American politics is our third and final theme. The aims of this theme are to help you think about how various aspect of globalization affect politics at home and also to consider the similarities and differences between the American political system and politics in other countries.

Several features of our book are designed to help you succeed in your studies:

- **Chapter-Opening Vignettes:** Each chapter starts with a story selected to spark your interest and encourage your exploration of the book's themes as they relate to that chapter. For example, Chapter 13 ("The Bureaucracy") opens by discussing the challenges customs and border protection bureaucrats faced at airports when they tried to carry out President Donald Trump's travel ban.
- **#ChallengeAccepted:** Each vignette is accompanied by a brief challenge that you can undertake to help deepen your engagement with the topic at hand. For example, the challenge in Chapter 18 ("Policymaking and Domestic Policy") has you determine the income eligibility level for receiving Medicaid benefits in two different states and consider the reasons why the states differ.
- **"Freedom, Order, or Equality":** Each chapter has a feature that highlights the tensions among these values, and connects those values to the specific content of that chapter. For example, the feature in Chapter 5 ("Public Opinion and Political Socialization") examines how self-identified liberals and conservatives weigh these values on different issues.
- **"\_\_\_\_\_ in Global Politics":** Each chapter has a feature that puts political issues in their global context. For example, the feature in Chapter 11 ("Congress") compares the percentage of women in Congress with the percentage of women in national legislatures across a range of countries.

- **Learning Outcomes:** Each chapter begins with a set of clearly-defined learning outcomes. These learning outcomes are restated throughout the chapter. They are summarized at the end of the chapter, and each chapter ends with a set of study questions tied to each outcome.
- **Critical Thinking Questions:** Each vignette and feature ends with critical thinking questions to promote consideration of the implications of the topic at hand.
- **Follow us on Twitter:** Follow @jandachallenge for breaking news that relates to the core themes of the book, opportunities for students, and more.

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We are thrilled that you will be using *The Challenge of Democracy* in your course, and we are honored to play a role as you develop the skills you need to be a thoughtful, engaged, and effective democratic citizen.

Sincerely,

Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, Jerry Goldman, Deborah J. Schildkraut, and Paul Manna



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## IDEAlog

IDEAlog, two-time winner of instructional software awards from the American Political Science Association, asks students to rate themselves on the two-dimensional trade-off of freedom versus order and freedom versus equality. It then presents them with twenty recent poll questions, and their responses are classified according to libertarian, conservative, liberal, or communitarian ideological tendencies. IDEAlog is directly accessible to anyone at <http://IDEAlog.org>, but instructors who choose to register their classes receive a special login link for each class. Instructors then can obtain summary statistics about their students' scores on the ideology quiz.

## USPolitics.org

USPolitics.org, Kenneth Janda's personal website for *The Challenge of Democracy*, offers a variety of teaching aids to instructors who adopt any version of the book. The student side is open to all users, but the instructor side is limited to teachers who register online at [uspolitics.org](http://uspolitics.org) as textbook adopters.



# Acknowledgments

All authors are indebted to others for inspiration and assistance in various forms; textbook authors are notoriously so. Timely information technology suggestions and assistance came from Jeff Parsons of The Oyez Project, Professor James Ferolo of Bradley University, and Dr. Francesco Stagno d'Alcontres of Centro Linguistico d'Ateneo Messinese. We also wish to express our gratitude to Alexis Tatore of Tufts University, Sarah DeVellis, Conor Rooney, Mara Senchak, and Briana Colon of the College of William & Mary, Professor Jennifer Cyr in the School of Government and Public Policy at the University of Arizona, Andrew Gruen of Cambridge University, and Tom Gaylord, Reference Librarian, and Matt Gruhn, Assistant Director, The Oyez Project, at IIT Chicago-Kent College of Law for their helpful research assistance. We extend thanks as well to Joseph B. Maher, Esq., Deputy General Counsel, DHS; Brad Kieserman, Esq., Chief Counsel, FEMA; and Professor Timothy R. Johnson, University of Minnesota.

We also want to thank the many people at Cengage Learning who helped make this edition a reality. We especially thank the sales representatives who do a terrific job bringing each new edition of *The Challenge of Democracy* to the attention of those who might use it.

## Reviewers

We would also like to thank the instructors who have contributed their valuable feedback through reviews of this text:

Jeffrey W. Christiansen, *Seminole State College*  
Erica Frantz, Assistant Professor, *Bridgewater State University*  
Adam L. Fuller, Ph.D., *Youngstown State University*  
Alexander B. Hogan, Ph.D., *Lone Star College–CyFair*

Jennifer J. Hora, *Valparaiso University*  
Michael S. Lynch, *University of Georgia*  
Dr. Rob Mellen, Jr., *Mississippi State University*  
Geoffrey Shine, *Wharton County Junior College*

We would also like to thank the following instructors who reviewed prior editions:

Ruth Ann Alsobrook, *Paris Junior College*  
James Anderson, *Texas A&M University*  
Leslie Baker, *Mississippi State University*  
Phillip L. Battista, *University of New Orleans*  
Elizabeth Bergman, *California State Polytechnic University, Pomona*  
Thomas Bowen, *Gloucester County College*  
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Elsa Dias, *Pikes Peak Community College*  
Erik Emblem, *McLennan Community College*  
Monte Freidig, *Santa Rosa Junior College*  
Marilyn Gaar, *Johnson County Community College*  
Dorith Grant-Wisdom, *Howard University*  
Richard Heil, *Fort Hays State University*  
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Richard Kiefer, *Waubensee Community College*  
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Denise Scheberle, *University of Wisconsin–Green Bay*  
James Sheffield, *University of Oklahoma*  
Christine Sixta, *Francis Marion University*  
Alton Slane, *Muhlenberg College*  
Sovathana Sokhom, *California State University, Dominguez Hills*  
Stuart Stern, *Olathe North High School*  
Beatrice Talpos, *Wayne County Community College District*  
Katrina Taylor, *Northern Arizona University*  
Ronnie Tucker, *Shippensburg University*  
Sondra Venable, *University of New Orleans*  
Shirley Ann Warshaw, *Gettysburg College*  
George Watson, *Arizona State University*  
Graham Wilson, *Boston University*  
Jerry L. Yeric, *University of North Texas*



# Dedication

Many foreign scholars have influenced our thinking about *The Challenge of Democracy: American Government in Global Politics*. We dedicate this book to all of them, in particular:

**Toril Aalberg** of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology

**Julieta Suárez Cao** of Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

**Desmond King** of Nuffield College at Oxford University

**Anatoly Kulik** of the Russian Academy of Sciences

**Vladimir Rukavishnikov** of the Russian Academy of Sciences

**Jennifer Wallner** of the University of Ottawa



# About the Authors

## Kenneth Janda

Kenneth Janda is the Payson S. Wild Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Northwestern University. Dr. Janda has published extensively in comparative party politics, research methodology, and early use of computer technology in political science, for which he received awards from EDUCOM and support from Apple Computer. His APSA awards include the Samuel Eldersveld Lifetime Achievement Award (2000) and the Frank J. Goodnow Award for distinguished service to the profession and the association (2009). Dr. Janda and fellow author Jerry Goldman shared APSA technology awards in 1992 for IDEALog, the computer program, and in 2005 for IDEALog, the website. His most recent book is *The Emperor and the Peasant: Two Men at the Start of the Great War and the End of the Habsburg Empire* (McFarland, 2018).

## Jeffrey M. Berry

Jeffrey M. Berry is the John Richard Skuse Professor of Political Science at Tufts University. He was an undergraduate at the University of California, Berkeley, and received his doctorate from Johns Hopkins University. Dr. Berry is a recipient of the APSA's Samuel Eldersveld Lifetime Achievement Award (2009) and numerous "best book" awards—from the APSA for *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* (1994), from the Policy Studies Organization for *The New Liberalism* (1999), from the APSA for *A Voice for Nonprofits* (2004), and from the APSA for *Lobbying and Political Change* (2009). His most recent book is *The Outrage Industry: Political Opinion Media and the New Incivility* (with Sarah Sobieraj).

## Jerry Goldman

Jerry Goldman is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Northwestern University. Dr. Goldman is the 2010 recipient of the first APSA/CQ Press Award for Teaching Innovation in Political Science. He has received many other awards, including the American Bar Association's Silver Gavel for increasing the public's understanding of the law, the EDUCOM Medal, and the Roman & Littlefield Prize for Teaching Innovation. In 2012, Dr. Goldman made the Fastcase 50: "the fifty most interesting, provocative, and courageous leaders in the world of law, scholarship, and legal technology." Through the Oyez Project at [oyez.org](http://oyez.org), which uses images, and audio to bring the Supreme Court alive, he has brought the U.S. Supreme Court closer to everyone.

## Deborah J. Schildkraut

Deborah J. Schildkraut is Professor of Political Science at Tufts University. She is the author of *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century: Public Opinion in the Age of Immigration* (2011), *Press "One" for English: Language Policy, Public Opinion, and American Identity* (2005), and several other research articles. Her research focuses on the implications of the changing ethnic composition of the United States on public opinion in a variety of domains. Professor Schildkraut has received awards from the American Political Science Association for the best book published in the field of political psychology (2012) and for the

best paper presented in the field of elections, public opinion, and voting behavior (2009). She has served on the Board of Overseers for the American National Election Study and as a reviewer for the National Science Foundation.

## Paul Manna

Paul Manna is Chair of the Department of Government and the Isabelle and Jerome E. Hyman Distinguished University Professor of Government at the College of William & Mary, where he also serves as a faculty affiliate in the college's Public Policy Program. His research and teaching focus is on American politics, policy implementation, federalism, bureaucracy, and applied research methods. Manna is the author of *School's In: Federalism and the National Education Agenda*, and *Collision Course: Federal Education Policy Meets State and Local Realities*. After graduating with his B.A. in political science from Northwestern University, Manna taught social studies in his hometown public high school for three years before earning his M.A. and Ph.D. in political science from the University of Wisconsin.





# Career Opportunities: Political Science

## Introduction

One of the most important decisions a student has to make is the choice of a major; many consider future job possibilities when making that call. A political science degree is incredibly useful for a successful career in many different fields, from lawyer to policy advocate, pollster to humanitarian worker. Employer surveys reveal that the skills that most employers value in successful employees—critical thinking, analytical reasoning, and clarity of verbal and written communication—are precisely the tools that political science courses should be helping you develop. This brief guide is intended to help spark ideas for what kinds of careers you might pursue with a political science degree and the types of activities you can engage in now to help you secure one of those positions after graduation.

## Careers in Political Science

### Law and Criminal Justice

Do you find that your favorite parts of your political science classes are those that deal with the Constitution, the legal system, and the courts? Then a career in law and criminal justice might be right for you. Traditional jobs in the field range from lawyer or judge to police or parole officer. Since 9/11, there has also been tremendous growth in the area of homeland security, which includes jobs in mission support, immigration, and travel security, as well as prevention and response.

### Public Administration

The many offices of the federal government combined represent one of the largest employers in the United States. Flip to the bureaucracy chapter of this textbook and consider that each federal department, agency, and bureau you see looks to political science majors for future employees. A partial list of such agencies would include the Department of Education, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Federal Trade Commission. There are also thousands of staffers who work for members of Congress or the Congressional Budget Office, many of whom were political science majors in college. This does not even begin to account for the multitude of similar jobs in state and local governments that you might consider as well.

### Campaigns, Elections, and Polling

Are campaigns and elections the most exciting part of political science for you? Then you might consider a career in the growing industry based around political campaigns. From volunteering and interning to

consulting, marketing, and fundraising, there are many opportunities for those who enjoy the competitive and high-stakes electoral arena. For those looking for careers that combine political knowledge with statistical skills, there are careers in public opinion polling. Pollsters work for independent national organizations such as Gallup and YouGov, or as part of news operations and campaigns. For those who are interested in survey methodology, there are also a wide variety of non-political career opportunities in marketing and survey design.

## Interest Groups, International and Nongovernmental Organizations

Is there a cause that you are especially passionate about? If so, there is a good chance that there are interest groups out there that are working hard to see some progress made on similar issues. Many of the positions that one might find in for-profit companies also exist in their non-profit interest group and nongovernmental organization counterparts, including lobbying and high-level strategizing. Do not forget that there are also quite a few major international organizations—such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization, and the International Monetary Fund—where a degree in political science could be put to good use. While competition for those jobs tends to be fierce, your interest and knowledge about politics and policy will give you an advantage.

## Foreign Service

Does a career in diplomacy and foreign affairs, complete with the opportunity to live and work abroad, sound exciting to you? Tens of thousands of people work for the State Department, both in Washington D.C. and in consulates throughout the world. They represent the diplomatic interests of the United States abroad. Entrance into the Foreign Service follows a very specific process, starting with the Foreign Service Officers Test—an exam given three times a year that includes sections on American government, history, economics, and world affairs. Being a political science major is a significant help in taking the FSOT.

## Graduate School

While not a career, graduate school may be the appropriate next step for you after completing your undergraduate degree. Following the academic route, being awarded a Ph.D. or Master's degree in political science could open additional doors to a career in academia, as well as many of the professions mentioned earlier. If a career as a researcher in political science interests you, you should speak with your advisors about continuing your education.

# Preparing While Still on Campus

## Internships

One of the most useful steps you can take while still on campus is to visit your college's career center to identify internships in your field of interest. Not only does an internship give you a chance to experience life in the political science realm, it can also lead to job opportunities later down the road and add experience to your resume.