

Creating More Egalitarian Citizens: The Interaction of Civil Society and Federalism
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Dr. Jerry Poppe, Upper Iowa University
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Deliberative democracy, of engaging citizens in the policy process, is once again being promoted as a healthy strategy for advancing the public interest (Frederickson 1982, Shimock 1990, Denhardt and Denhardt 2011). While public administrators look for new strategies to engage citizens (Weeks, 2000; Lee, Chang, and Berry, 2011; Ebdon and Franklin, 2006; Pradeep and Cooper, 2005; and Portney, 2005), we need to heed Diamond's reminder that one of the preeminent observers of American politics, Alexis de Tocqueville, has much to teach us. Both men make the point that before citizens can govern, they first have to learn how to be citizens. An essential characteristic of an effective citizen is knowing how to prevent political egalitarianism¹ from corrupting the political process (pp. 143-144).

Building on Tocqueville's analysis, Diamond (1973) argues it is a combination of civil society and federalism that teaches citizens how to govern responsibly. Tocqueville believed ordinary people are transformed into citizens because they are actively engaged in civil society where they learn to respect, value and leverage political equality (p. 149). By adding federalism, personal self-interest is inextricably be linked to the achievement of the public interest by allowing local government considerable sovereignty over domestic policy (Hamilton, n.d). Motivating as many people as possible to participate in the governing process would transform self-interested rational actors into citizens committed to preserving and promoting the public interest (Diamond 1973, pp. 143-149).

Diamond, like Tocqueville, assumed civil society encased in a federal system would promote the kind of commitment to political egalitarianism necessary for deliberative democracy to thrive. Did Tocqueville and Diamond get it right? How strong is the connection between civil society, federalism, and egalitarian attitudes? In this paper, I will use the 2012 NES to show that the commitment to political egalitarianism differs depending on how civil society is conditioned by federalism.

Egalitarianism

At the very center of democratic theory is the core political norm and value of egalitarianism.² In American-style democracy, egalitarianism is an accepted norm. It is expected that every citizen's opinion will be afforded the same value and weight in the political process (Fishkin 2009). Political norms can also serve as political core values. A core political value is the "overarching normative principles and belief assumptions about government, citizenship, and American society" (McCann 1997, p. 565). Core values establish the ideal to which the system and its actors should aspire. Jefferson captured the transcendental moral essence of egalitarianism when he boldly and very publicly asserted that all men are created equal. An egalitarian society respects the humanity and innate worth of each citizen by affording them basic civil liberties, due process of law, and equal opportunity in the political system (Sullivan, 1999).

However, effective self-government requires a level of maturity that goes beyond voicing a general commitment to political equality. A democracy that allows citizens to vote and participate but gives them no real power to affect policy is not much of a democracy. The minimum expectation in a democracy is that citizens will have the power to pass laws. Democratic government becomes effective when each citizen not only has a meaningful say in how the laws are written, but also accepts the laws

¹ Throughout the remainder of this paper, I will refer to political egalitarianism as egalitarianism.

² Feldman and Steenbergen (1988) define a norm as a standard by which citizens can evaluate political behavior, political institutions, and political processes. Political behavior, institutions or processes that violate the norm will be somehow revised, reformed, or brought into compliance with the standard established by the norm (Axelrod, 1986).

as legitimate and equally binding on all citizens (Bohman 2003, Lafont, 2010). Equally important, democracy makes it possible for politically equal citizens to engage in a deliberative governance process that yields substantively correct policy results consistent with the public interest (Prattico 2013).

The deliberative governance desired by public administrators can only happen if it is built on an egalitarian foundation. Citizens engaged in policy deliberation listen to the ideas and opinions of each participant, weighing the relative merits before coming to his or her own conclusion. The purpose of the deliberative process is not to negotiate or compromise our way to a solution, but for citizens to be open-minded in their search to reach a collective understanding of what is in the public interest (Prattico 2013). For deliberative democracy to work, citizens need to be firmly anchored to the value and norm of egalitarianism. Each citizen has to respect, trust, and tolerate the ideas and opinions of other citizens while being able to engage in civil discourse.

Thus, while egalitarianism is a necessary ingredient in a vibrant deliberative policy process, it is important to note that Tocqueville believed that too much equality can undermine the effectiveness of a deliberative governance system. He recognized that equality has the potential to isolate citizens from each other. Tocqueville feared that politically equal citizens have no need to get to know their neighbors let alone total strangers. Each person becomes fixated on pursuing self-interest rather than the public interest. According to Tocqueville, the cure to the problem of too much equality was civil society (Ehrenberg 1999).

Civil Society

“Civil society represents a sphere of dynamic and responsive public discourse between the state, the public sphere consisting of voluntary organizations, and the market sphere concerning private firms and unions” (Janoski 1998, p. 12). According to this definition, civil society serves as a buffer zone situated midway between the state and the individual. It is within this buffer zone that the role of government is defined and enforced. Not every public problem will be the province of government to solve. Rather, certain public problems will be addressed through voluntary interactions between civic-minded citizens and through their collaborative efforts made possible by their membership in voluntary associations (Boyd 2004).

It is through the voluntary interactions between citizen-strangers in civil society that egalitarianism gains the properties that give democracy its vibrancy and flavor. Working collaboratively to improve the political community gradually strengthens citizens’ commitment to one another (Barber 2003). Citizens learn to trust and respect their peers while exhibiting the political tolerance necessary to encourage meaningful participation in civic life (Putnam 2003).

Participation in government based on an egalitarian view of citizenship teaches participants that self-government is not a zero-sum game with the winner entitled to maximize personal self-interest. Rather, mature political discussion and active political participation is possible as a result of civil discourse between politically equal citizens (Shils 2003). Civility in civil society reinforces egalitarianism as a political norm and value. A commitment to egalitarianism makes it possible for citizens to work together voluntarily to achieve community goals. At the same time, it emphasizes to citizens the importance of democratic principles and shows them how to assume the mantle of self-government.

Effective participation in the policy process assumes that citizens are capable of self-governance. The kind of self-governance that leads to policies that advance the public interest depend on engaged citizens capable of subjugating self-interested tendencies to a more egalitarian worldview. Democracy in an increasingly pluralistic society asks its citizens to recommit themselves to the principles of egalitarianism so the voice of each citizen will be heard and respected in the policy process (Bohman 2003). Without a commitment to egalitarian principles, it is harder for citizens engaged in the process of deliberative democracy to generate policies that are consistent with the goals of democracy - identifying and serving the public interest.

Federalism

Just as civil society strengthens the egalitarian spirit of citizens, so too does federalism. Having secured their independence from England, attention within the newly formed states turned to government. How could a confederation of relatively weak states be transformed into a politically vibrant, unified, and economically successful nation? James Madison took seriously the challenge of managing such a transformation. He concluded that the tendency of people to form politically powerful factions that dominate the national policy making process would inevitably doom America's nascent democratic political institutions (Madison 1787). What was needed was a method for infusing a politically effective union with an egalitarian sensibility.

Madison was ambivalent about the capacity of citizens to assume the mantle of self-government. He showed a healthy dose of pragmatic skepticism about the human condition when he wrote - "If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary" (Madison 1788). To protect against the darker side of human nature, Madison insisted on fragmenting political power through the twin doctrines of separation of powers and checks and balances immediately making it more difficult for majorities to cause mischief.

At the same time, he harbored a latent confidence in the virtuousness of citizens to responsibly participate in deliberative democracy. To be virtuous is to be able to ascertain what is morally right while exercising forbearance, tolerance, and civility in pursuit of self-government and liberty (Hart, 1984). Madison's sense of political equality convinced him that the American people were mature enough to make real the promise of republican self-government (Sheehan 2009). He would use the Constitution to construct a structure of government that motivated citizens and elected leaders to act consistently with the egalitarian values so important to a democratic system.

Sorenson (1995) shows that through the rule of law, separation of powers, and elections, the Constitution creates the conditions that cause elected leaders to pursue the public interest. Sorenson's analysis suggests the rule of law, separation of powers, and elections have the desired effect because they tap into the egalitarian values that comprise the identity of a democratic citizen. Citizens who cherish life, liberty, and property recognize the laws passed by majorities are equally binding on minorities. Being bound by the same laws awakens citizens to the wisdom of being virtuous in the creation of more egalitarian policies that promote the public interest. At the same time, politically ambitious rulers will be tempered in their pursuit of inequalitarian policies because they know full well that today's majority can become tomorrow's minority. Elections force rulers to consider how their policy agenda might be used against them if they ever become a member of the minority. In effect,

Madison's Constitution helps citizens and leaders alike see the value in pursuing a more egalitarian policy-making process.

Federalism is one of the constitutional tools Madison used to separate power. Madison's federal system spread political power to "the greater number of citizens, and greater sphere of country, over which the latter may be extended" (Madison, 1787). The decentralizing of power to sovereign sub-national governments made it possible for the political process to directly connect citizens to their political institutions. Tocqueville understood that the political vibrancy he witnessed in American communities was made possible by giving self-interested individuals the ability to achieve personally important policy goals through collaborative public action. Whether it was through political institutions or civil associations, giving individuals a substantive voice in how to build and shape their community gradually transformed them into citizens committed to the larger public interest. Diamond (1973) puts it this way, "Drawn into public life by cupidity, as it were, men become aware of their dependency upon their fellows, and learn that they must share and help in order to receive cooperation in return" (p. 146). In other words, federalism encourages active citizenship infused with egalitarianism values.

In this study, I intend to determine if support for egalitarianism is affected by participation in civil society moderated by federalism. Citizens active in civil society are more likely to exhibit egalitarian attitudes and actions (Walzer, 2002). How federalism affects egalitarian attitudes is less direct. American federalism has undergone many a definitional evolution through the years. The Althusian conception of dual federalism requiring each unit of government to respect the policy decision of a peer government (Scott 2011) has taken on a negative connotation (Hendrickson 2004, NY Times 2000, and Friedman 2014 are but two examples). There is a perception that dual federalism is anti-egalitarian. Given the public skepticism of dual federalism, I expect the egalitarian attitudes of citizens active in civil society will be weakened for those who adhere to a dual federalism paradigm.

Data and Methods

Data for my analysis of the research question comes from the 2012 American National Election Survey (ANES). The specific questions and respective wording used in the analysis are located in appendix A. Table 1 displays the descriptive statistics for the variables used in the analysis. The dependent variable is egalitarianism which is an index ($\alpha = .78$) created from six related questions in the survey. However, Sears, Henry and Kosterman (2000) make the case that the six question index is really comprised of two distinct components. To address this possibility, I constructed two additional variables to reflect the two distinct components of egalitarianism. The more egalitarian component ($\alpha = .72$) reflects a belief that society should do more to promote equal treatment. The less egalitarian component ($\alpha = .74$) suggests that society has gone too far pushing for equality.

Civil society is the independent variable of primary interest. It is an index ($\alpha = .75$) created from ten questions in the survey. Each question identified a specific social activity that occurs in civil society. It is the continual voluntary interactions between citizens in voluntary organizations that I expect would strengthen their commitment to egalitarian norms and values. Explicitly political activities (i.e. attending a government meeting or talking politics) were not included in the index. It is true that political activities and political organizations do occur in civil society (Janoski, 1998). However, I am

primarily interested in how membership in nonpolitical associations and voluntary interactions and activities between civic-minded citizens affect individuals' views on egalitarianism.

I expect that federalism will modify the causal connection. Diamond, building on Madison's theory and Tocqueville's case study, predicted that federalism would transform self-interested individualists into responsible citizens willing and able to engage in the kind of deliberative governance that promotes the public interest. "But all this requires that the localities have the right to make policy and are thus genuinely independent and powerful, albeit only in those limited matters of an administrative nature" (Diamond, 1973, p. 151). Diamond, like Madison and Tocqueville, understood federalism to have a dual federalism current running through it.

Even though the definition of federalism may have changed through the years, there is evidence that citizens are capable of associating policy responsibility with a preferred level of government (Schneider, Jacoby, and Lewis (2011). The Althusian conception of dual federalism requiring each unit of government to respect the policy decision of a peer government (Scott 2011) has taken on a negative connotation (Hendrickson 2004, NY Times 2000, and Friedman 2014 are but three examples). There is a perception that dual federalism is anti-egalitarian. Given the public skepticism of dual federalism, I expect that citizens active in civil society who adhere to a dual federalism paradigm will exhibit less support for egalitarian principles. My operational definition of federalism measures the respondent's belief that states should be allowed to determine what federal laws are applicable to states.

Table 1 Description and Coding of Variables

Dependent Variable	Coding: low values	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev	Range
<i>Egalitarian</i>	strong egalitarian	5453	2.64	.90	1-5
<i>More egalitarian</i>	strong egalitarian	5484	2.35	.99	1-5
<i>Less egalitarian</i>	strong egalitarian	5464	2.78	1.07	1-5
<i>Independent Variables</i>					
<i>Civil society</i>	very active	5453	16.46	2.45	10-20
<i>Federalism</i>	1= dual federalism	5378	.37	.48	0-1
<i>Control Variables</i>					
<i>Education</i>	less education	5864	2.97	1.16	1-5
<i>Age</i>	younger	5854	49.44	16.82	17-90
<i>Gender</i>	1=female	5914	.52	.50	0-1
<i>Race</i>	1=white	5914	.59	.49	0-1
<i>Income</i>	less income	5715	13.47	8.22	1-28
<i>Party ID</i>	democrat	5890	3.52	2.11	1-7
<i>Religion</i>	biblical literalist	5824	1.88	.73	1-3
<i>Morality</i>	espouses traditional values	5470	3.37	.95	1-5
<i>Individualism</i>	weak individualist	5476	4.18	1.84	1-7
<i>Discrimination</i>	discrimination still exists	5444	3.25	.70	1-5
<i>Stereotypes</i>	holds stereotypes	5444	3.17	.91	1-7
<i>Role of government</i>	active government	5391	1.50	.50	1-2

Several control variables have been included in the model. Race, gender, education, income, religion, and party identification affect the way people view core political values (Pew, 2012). Egalitarianism has a moral dimension (Scheffler, 2003) that is anchored in respecting the human dignity of each person. I created an index ($\alpha = .70$) to capture the moral dimension. At the same time, many whites continue to try and conceal inegalitarian feelings driven by prejudiced attitudes (Moss-Racusin, C., Phelan, J., and Rudman L., 2010). Prejudiced views are reflected in two variables. An index ($\alpha = .72$) is used to determine the respondent's belief that discrimination is still a problem in society. A second index ($\alpha =$

.83) was used to identify how strongly the respondent held to certain stereotypes. It is also possible that views of egalitarianism are affected by a respondent's view of the role of government and (Sniderman and Carmines, 1997) and individual responsibility (Gilens, Sniderman, and Kuklinski, 1998).

The data indicate that the mean response on the egalitarianism index shades to the more egalitarian. The mean response of 16.47 on the civil society scale indicates the respondents are moderately involved in civil society activities. These same respondents tend not to be supporters of dual federalism.

Results

Ordinal logistic regression was used to analyze the data. An approximate LR test and a Wald test were used to test if the parallel line assumption was violated. Because the parallel lines assumption was violated, I also used gologit2 described by Williams (2005) to estimate the model. The signs and statistical significance of the variables were consistent using both techniques. The more parsimonious output of the oligit model is reported in this paper.

Table 2 Ordinal Logistic Regression Results Predicting Egalitarian Views

	b	std. err	P> z
<i>education</i>	-0.070	0.029	0.015
<i>age</i>	-0.003	0.002	0.028
<i>female</i>	-0.057	0.058	0.320
<i>white</i>	0.237	0.068	0.001
<i>income</i>	0.008	0.004	0.047
<i>party</i>	0.196	0.018	0.000
<i>religion</i>	-0.045	0.045	0.316
<i>morality</i>	0.366	0.037	0.000
<i>stereotype</i>	0.202	0.033	0.000
<i>discrimination</i>	0.496	0.045	0.000
<i>individualism</i>	0.266	0.019	0.000
<i>govt. role</i>	0.696	0.070	0.000
<i>civil society</i>	0.099	0.015	0.000
<i>federalism</i>	1.49	0.405	0.000
<i>Civil*federalism</i>	-0.070	0.024	0.004
LRchi2(15) =2129.02 Prob > chi2=0.000 R2=.1755 N=4589			
Log Likelihood = -5001.59			

The results from the regression are reported in table 2. The gender and religious views of the respondent do not systematically predict egalitarianism. Having more education and growing older are associated with relatively stronger egalitarian views. Being white, Republican, earning more income, and harboring negative stereotypes predict the respondent will be less egalitarian. Less egalitarian views are very pronounced for respondents with certain traits. Each additional unit the respondent moves towards being more individualistic reduces the odds of being more egalitarian by almost 31%. The odds of being more

egalitarian go down by almost 45% for each unit the respondent moves toward accepting a more traditionalistic moral code. As the respondent moves one unit closer to rejecting that discrimination is still a problem facing different groups, the odds of being more egalitarian decrease by 64%. Finally, for every step the respondent takes towards a position that reflects less government is better, the odds of being more egalitarian goes down by over 100%.

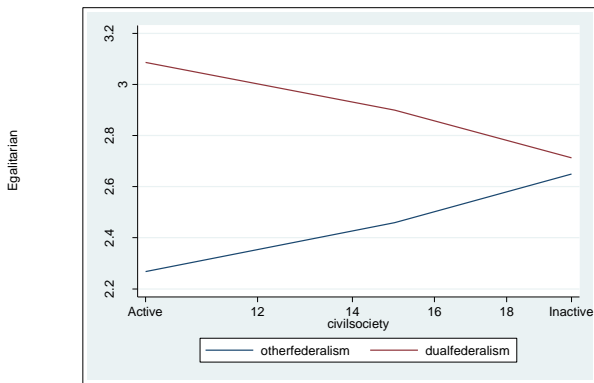
The coefficients for the independent variables, civil society and federalism, are positive and statistically significant. Of even more interest is the statistically significant interaction term. A statistically significant interaction means the main affect between the respondent's involvement in civil society (continuous variable) and that respondent's egalitarian views is moderated by the categorical variable federalism. Testing whether the interaction was nontrivial was done using the hierarchical analysis described by Jaccard (2001). A trivial effect for this analysis was defined as an R-squared difference that was equal to zero.³ According to this definition, the interaction effect should be included in the model. The fact that the interaction effect is rather modest is not surprising. The measure of federalism is a

³ The R2 for the model without the interaction term was 17.55. The difference in R2 is .07 (17.55-17.48).

rather blunt measure. It defines a very narrow element of a very broad foundational constitutional doctrine.

The effect of the interaction on egalitarianism is presented in figure 1. What is immediate apparent is the difference in the predicted values for egalitarianism given a one unit change in how active the respondent is in civil society. Respondents who are very active in civil society and believe in dual federalism are relatively less egalitarian than the same respondents who are less committed to a dual federalist doctrine, all else being equal. On the five point egalitarian index, the dual federalist respondents most active in civil society have an average egalitarian score of approximately 3.1 compared to an approximate score of 2.75 for those who are less active in civil society. Conversely, respondents who do not subscribe to dual federalism but are the most active in civil society have an approximate predicted egalitarian score of 2.25 while the least active in civil society have a score of approximately 2.6.

Figure 1: Predicted Values for Egalitarianism



It is possible the egalitarian index is masking differences in how respondents understand egalitarianism. I test for that possibility by running the same model but separating the egalitarian index into two component parts – more egalitarian and less egalitarian. I present those findings in table 3. Gender is the only variable that remains statistically insignificant in both models. Age, income, and race yield statistically insignificant results in the less egalitarian model. The signs on the coefficient are consistent between all three models with the exception of

education and religion. Unexpectedly, additional educational attainment reduces the likelihood of becoming more egalitarian in the more egalitarian model. Respondents who reject Scriptural inerrancy are less supportive of egalitarianism in the more egalitarian model. Conversely, the same respondents are less supportive of an inegalitarian worldview in the less egalitarian model.

Table 3 Ordinal Logistic Regression Results for Different Definitions of Egalitarian

	More Egalitarian			Less Egalitarian			
	b	std. err	P> z	b	std. err	P> z	
education	0.097	0.029	0.001	-0.154	0.028	0.000	
age	-0.010	0.002	0.000	0.002	0.002	0.154	
female	0.011	0.004	0.006	-0.004	0.004	0.265	
white	0.015	0.057	0.794	-0.030	0.056	0.588	
income	0.369	0.067	0.000	0.086	0.066	0.19	
party	0.131	0.017	0.000	0.188	0.017	0.000	
religion	0.148	0.045	0.001	-0.163	0.044	0.000	
morality	0.176	0.032	0.000	0.163	0.031	0.000	
stereotype	0.606	0.045	0.000	0.251	0.043	0.000	
discrimination	0.312	0.036	0.000	0.325	0.036	0.000	
individualism	0.610	0.068	0.000	0.559	0.067	0.000	
govt. role	0.264	0.019	0.000	0.191	0.018	0.000	
civil society	0.055	0.015	0.000	0.095	0.015	0.000	
federalism	1.342	0.398	0.001	1.140	0.390	0.003	
Civil*federalism	-0.075	0.024	0.002	-0.045	0.023	0.055	
LRchi2(15)=1941.78	R2=.1530			LRchi2(15)=1651.97			R2=.1233
Prob > chi2=0.000	N=4599			Prob > chi2=0.000			N=4593

The interaction term is statistically significant in both models.⁴ When the dependent variable is the more egalitarian index, respondents active in civil society and believe in dual federalism are less egalitarian, all else being equal. For the most active dual federalists, the predicted egalitarian score is approximately 2.95. It is predicted to be 2.2 for the least active dual federalists. The predicted egalitarian score for the most active other federalists is 2.25. The score remains relatively stable for other federalists as their involvement in civil society drops. Other federalists who are not active in civil society are predicted to have an egalitarian score of 2.25.⁵

A similar pattern with a twist emerges when the less egalitarian component is used as the dependent variable. Dual federalists who are the most active in civil society are predicted to have an egalitarian score of about 3.1 compared to a predicted score of 3.0 for those least active in civil society. The egalitarian score for other federalists who are the most active in civil society is predicted to be 2.2.

However, the score for the predicted probability egalitarian score for other federalists who are the least active in civil society declines to a score of approximately 2.8.

Discussion

Table 4 Predicted Values of Egalitarianism by Model

	Egalitarian	More Egalitarian	Less Egalitarian
Active Dual Federalist	3.1	2.95	3.1
Active Other Federalist	2.25	2.2	2.2
Inactive Dual Federalist	2.75	2.25	3.0
Inactive Other Federalist	2.6	2.25	2.8

My results (Table 4) reveal some expected, interesting and, at times, very puzzling and unexpected results. The expected result is that federalism does moderate the

relationship between active involvement in civil society and egalitarian attitudes. The finding means that involving citizens in the policy process requires more than just finding the appropriate strategy. It requires public administrators consider the health of civil society and the effect of federalism. Public administrators can promote social justice and build social capital by nourishing civil society and promoting a less dualistic view of federalism.

An interesting implication is that public administrators who are trying to engage citizens in the policy process might have to deal with citizens who have a different conception of what is in the public interest. Given active involvement in civil society, dual federalists are relatively less egalitarian in their world view regardless the definition of egalitarianism. A less egalitarian attitude combined with a belief in dual federalism might embolden citizens to limit public policies designed to promote egalitarian outcomes. Civil rights is one policy domain where we might be seeing this happen. Recent efforts by some states to limit abortion rights (Gutmacher Institute, n.d.) and resist gay marriage (McLaughlin, 2015) are two high profile examples of how civil society and federalism might be affecting egalitarian attitudes to shape policy outcomes.

Another interesting but puzzling finding is revealed when egalitarian is defined as needing to do more to promote equality. If egalitarianism is framed as needing to do more to promote equality, there is a pronounced difference in the egalitarian attitude of dual federalists. Citizens in this group who are

⁴ The difference in R2 for the more egalitarian model is .08 (.1530 with interaction -.1522 without interaction). In the less egalitarian model, the difference in R2 is .03 (.1233 with interaction -.1230 without interaction.)

⁵ The difference between predicted probability scores for dual federalists and other federalists is statistically significant over the range of all values on the civil society scale for both the less egalitarian and more egalitarian definitions of the dependent variable.

active in civil society are relatively less egalitarian than their less active peers. The difference in egalitarian attitudes for other federalists is minimal.

This finding may be reflecting Republican Party orthodoxy that the Tenth amendment places real limits on the power of the national government (Republican Party Platform, 2012). The dual federalism philosophy remains a salient issue in Republican politics as evidenced by the Tea Party movement (Desilver, 2015). There is a strong states' rights element in the rhetoric of Tea Party members (Wydra, 2010). 2016 Republican primary presidential candidate Senator Ted Cruz has openly made states' rights part of his campaign. His campaign has a web petition that asks respondents to help Ted Cruz "restore respect for the Constitution and honor the Tenth Amendment" (Cruz for President, 2015). Mr. Cruz makes clear he supports a division of responsibility and power between the national and state governments. The reinforcement of a dual federalist attitudes that has the potential to make active citizens less egalitarian has the potential to make it more difficult for public administrators to reach consensus on some policy issues such as civil rights.

The results were the opposite in the model where egalitarianism is defined as having gone too far in the promotion of equality. The incremental change in egalitarian attitudes between active and inactive dual federalists is small. Dual federalists tend to have less egalitarian attitudes. However, the incremental change is quite pronounced for other federalists. In this group, the least active in civil society are also the ones with relatively less egalitarian attitudes. They are almost as inegalitarian as their dual federalist peers. Not being involved in civil society seems to have dampened the egalitarian spirit of other federalists. This finding supports the observation of Tocqueville that being involved in civil society creates a citizen who understands his personal well-being depends on others in the community.

Public administrators interested in meaningfully engaging citizens should pay attention to how civil society, as moderated by federalism, affects egalitarian attitudes. Civil society may have the potential to promote democratic outcomes predicted by Diamond and observed by Tocqueville. However, the therapeutic effects that results from the interaction of politically equal citizens in civil society can be weakened by federalism. Not every model of federalism encourages an egalitarian sensibility necessary to foster a productive deliberative democracy. Public administrators need to promote the models of federalism that do bring out better angels of citizens.

Conclusion

Diamond, Madison, and Tocqueville generally got it right. Civil society and federalism does affect egalitarian attitudes. What they left unexplored is how the definitions of federalism and egalitarianism matters. How civil society and federalism affect egalitarianism is more nuanced than predicted by Diamond or observed by Tocqueville. What is needed are more accurate operational definitions of the different models of federalism so more valid measures can be developed. More valid and reliable measures of federalism will help us decipher how federalism moderates activity in civil society to create egalitarianism values in respondents.

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Appendix

2012 ANES questions used as variables

Egalitarian Index	
egal_equal	Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed
egal_toofar*	We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country
egal_bigprob	One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.
egal_worryless*	This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.
egal_notbigprob*	It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.
egal_fewerprobs	If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems.
Civil Society Index	
dhsinvolv_march	During the past 4 years, have you joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration
dhsinvolv_relig	During the past 4 years, have you ever given money to a religious organization
dhsinvolv_netpetition	During the past 4 years, have you signed a petition on the Internet about a political or social issue
dhsinvolv_petition	During the past 4 years, have you signed a petition on paper about a political or social issue
dhsinvolv_org	...during the past 4 years, have you given money to any other organization concerned with a political or social issue
involv_communwk	... have you worked with other people to deal with some issue facing your community?
involv_commmtg	...did you attend a meeting about an issue facing your community or schools?
involv_numorgs**	How many organizations are you currently a member of?
involv_voltr	... were you able to devote any time to volunteer work in the last 12 months or did you not do so?
involv_charity	...were you able to contribute any money to church or charity in the last 12 months?
Federalism	
neonull_strule	Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose states being able to decide whether federal laws do or do not apply within the state?
Control Variables	
dem_edugroup_x	summary- R level of highest education (group)
Dem_age_r_x	summary: Age of R
incgroup_prepost_x	prepost summary- Family income
dem_raceeth_x	summary- R race and ethnicity group (1= white, 0=other)
pid_x	summary- Party ID
relig_wordgod	Is Bible word of God or men
Stereotype Index	
styp_e_hwkwhite	Whites hardworking
styp_e_hwkblack	Blacks hardworking
styp_e_hwkhispan	Hispanics hardworking
styp_e_hwkasian	Asians hardworking
styp_e_intwhite	Whites intelligent
styp_e_intblack	Blacks intelligent
styp_e_inthispan	Hispanics intelligent
styp_e_intasian	Asian intelligent
Discrimination Index	
discrim_blacks	How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups? Blacks
discrim_hispanics	How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups? Hispanics
discrim_whites	How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups? Whites
discrim_gays	How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups? Gays
discrim_women	How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups? Women
Morality Index	
trad_adjust	The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes
trad_lifestyle*	The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society.'
trad_tolerant	We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are very different from our own.
trad_famval*	This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties.
Government Role	
govrole_lessmore	ONE, the less government, the better; OR TWO, there are more things that government should be doing?
Individualism	
guarpr_self	government should see to a job and good standard of living' right: 'government should let each person get ahead on own

* reversed question coding ** coded 1=member, 0= not a member