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Notes

Introduction

2. See, for example, Gallup/USA Today poll, April 18–20, 2008.
8. Quoted in “200 Million,” 89.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
35. Abraham Lincoln, First Inaugural Address, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1861. This presidential address, along with many others quoted throughout this book, is available at the American Presidency Project (www.presidency.ucsb.edu).
36. Gertrude Himmelfarb, One Nation, Two Cultures (New York: Knopf, 1999), 98.
37. Rahm Emanuel and Bruce Reed, The Plan: Big Ideas for America (New York: Public Affairs, 2006), xvii.
41. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International California exit poll, November 4, 2008. Of the 52 percent who supported Proposition 8, 37 percent came from Obama supporters, and 61 percent came from McCain backers.
42. African Americans gave Obama 94 percent of their votes; Hispanics, 74 percent (ibid.).
Chapter One


9. Ibid.


15. Halberstam, Fifties, 132.

16. Whyte, Organization Man, 10.

17. Ibid., 591.


30. Ibid., 197.
31. Ibid., 200.
32. Ibid., 514.
36. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963), 19, 15. Friedan’s book began as a study of Smith College graduates. She initially sought to publish her findings as a magazine article but wrote a book instead when she could not find any takers.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 33.
42. Ibid.
44. Quoted in May, “Explosive Issues,” 159.
45. Ibid.
47. Ibid.

51. The couple decided to adopt the name Goodridge after Hillary’s grandmother.


59. Ibid.


72. Weinraub and Rutenberg, “Gay-Themed TV.”


75. “Gay Issues, Characters, Join Prime Time.”


78. Quoted in Weinraub and Rutenberg, “Gay-Themed TV.”


84. Steinfelds, *People Adrift*, 104.


88. For an accounting of these incidents, see Coontz, *Way We Never Were*, 30–31.


90. Ibid., 170.


96. Eisenhower, “Farewell Address.”


100. The vote was 801,725 in favor and 545,933 against. See also Peter Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife: Race, Marriage, and Law: An American History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 247.


102. Quoted in Wallenstein, *Tell the Court I Love My Wife*, 182.


106. Ibid.


109. Ibid.


112. Ibid., 485.

113. Ibid., 483.


131. Ibid.
133. Ibid., 433–34.
144. Ibid.
149. John Kerry, Speech at the National Prayer Breakfast, February 4, 1993, personal copy sent to author.
154. Kennedy, “Address to Southern Baptist Leaders.”
155. Schattschneider, Semi-Sovereign People, 71.
158. Schattschneider, Semi-Sovereign People, 71.

Chapter Two

2. Dean Rusk as told to Richard Rusk, As I Saw It (New York: Norton, 1990), 581.
5. Loving v. Virginia, 388 U.S. 1 (1967). The Lovings had traveled to Virginia in 1964 to visit her mother and were arrested again. Richard Loving wrote to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who referred the case to the American Civil Liberties Union, which brought the case to the Supreme Court. Richard Loving built a home for his family in Caroline County, where his three children were raised. He was killed in an automobile accident in 1975. Mildred Loving never remarried and died in 2008.
6. Wallenstein, Tell the Court I Love My Wife, 223, 224, 227.
7. Ibid., 228. In some places, violations of the law could result in a 10-year jail sentence.
8. Ibid., 185.


12. Rusk, As I Saw It, 581.


14. Rusk, As I Saw It, 605. Harris’s racism has been well documented: he is quoted as having said, “Niggers are niggers and no amount of crossbreeding is going to help them any. The tiniest drop of nigger blood will spoil a man. History shows that. Everybody knows that, and those who don’t know that have probably got some nigger blood in them, that’s all” (quoted in James Wooten, Dasher: The Roots and the Rising of Jimmy Carter [New York: Summit, 1978], 267).

15. Rusk, As I Saw It, 605, 627. Rusk is buried at Oconee Hill Cemetery, next to the University of Georgia’s football stadium.


18. Ibid., 18.


20. Ibid., 49. According to the 2000 Census, 9.7 percent of black men married someone of another race, twice the rate of black women and higher than any other race and sex except Asian women (Krissah Williams, “Singled Out: In Seeking a Mate, Men and Women Find Delicate Imbalance,” Washington Post, October 8, 2006, A1).


22. Jimmy Carter, Inaugural Address, Atlanta, January 12, 1971. On January 14, 1963, George Wallace famously declared in his inaugural address as Alabama’s new governor, “In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod the earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny . . . and I say . . . segregation today . . . segregation tomorrow . . . segregation forever.”


26. Georgia law requires that the winner of statewide elections receive a majority of the popular vote. Because the Republican candidate also failed to win more than 50 percent of the vote, the election outcome was decided by the legislature.


28. One year later, Perdue designed a flag without the Confederate Stars and Bars and asked voters to approve it; they did so by an overwhelming margin.

29. “Hundreds Protest as Confederate Battle Flag Comes Down in South Car-
olina, CNN.com, July 1, 2000. South Carolina began to fly the flag in 1962, ostensibly to commemorate the centennial of the Civil War, though many observers saw the display as a response to the burgeoning civil rights movement.

34. Ibid.
35. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
53. The categories were white, black, African American or Negro, American Indian or Alaska Native, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino, Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Other Asian, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, and Other Pacific Islander.
55. Quoted in ibid.
56. Under existing regulations, schools and colleges must report how many of their students fall into each of five categories: black, white, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander and Native American/Alaska Native. The proposed regulations would first ask a student if he/she is Hispanic. Students could then select one or more descriptions from the following groups: American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, black, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, and white (Elissa Gootman, “U.S. Proposal Offers Students Wider Way of Racial Identity,” New York Times, August 9, 2006, A12).
58. Bill Clinton, “Remarks by the President at Portland State University Commencement,” Portland, Ore., June 13, 1998. Clinton often cited the importance of the country’s changing racial complexion. He called attention to it in a 1997 address at the University of California at San Diego and returned to this theme again in his 2000 State of the Union Address.
61. Buchanan, The Death of the West, 2.
69. Cohen and Arrillaga, “U.S. War Death Toll Hits 1,000.”
74. Ibid.
76. Huntington, *Who Are We?* 226.
80. Huntington, *Who Are We?* 207.
85. Huntington, *Who Are We?* 223.
89. Huntington, *Who Are We?* 227, 224.
93. Cited in Buchanan, *Death of the West*, 129.
94. Ibid., 139.
96. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International California exit poll, November 4, 2008.

99. Huntington, Who Are We?


104. Quoted in Antonio Villaraigosa, Inaugural Address, Los Angeles, July 1, 2005 (available at www.lacity.org/mayor).


118. Taco Bell Web site (www.tacobell.com).


120. Quoted in Huntington, Who Are We? 250.

121. Ibid., 249.

136. Ibid.
156. Quoted in Balz and Fears, “We Decided Not to Be Invisible,” A1.
168. Ibid. Six percent of Hispanics said they were members of two or more races, and 2 percent identified themselves as black. In 2004, the Census Bureau announced that it intended to eliminate the “some other race” category because so many Hispanics checked it (Fernandez, *America Beyond Black and White*, 162).
170. International Communications Research poll, April 4–June 11, 2002. This question was asked of Hispanics who identified themselves as white/black/Asian but preferred another option when asked about race.
184. Ibid., 113–14.
185. Lisa De Pasquale, “Miss America Chiefs Turn Politically Correct, Downplay Winner’s Conservative Views,” *Human Events*, October 7, 2002. In 2004, the Miss America title was awarded to another black contestant, Ericka Dunlap.
200. Quoted in Deborah Sharp, “George P. Bush at Center of Campaign Buzz,” *USA Today*, June 19, 2000, 6A.


Chapter Three


10. Quoted in Rick Santorum, It Takes a Family: Conservatism and the Common Good (Wilmington, Del.: ISI, 2005), 300.

11. Ibid., 280.


15. Ibid., 13. Fifty-nine percent strongly agreed with this statement.


18. Cited in Monica A. Longmore, Wendy D. Manning, and Peggy C. Gior-


22. Kelly, “Just Don’t Do It!”


24. Princeton Survey Research Associates International poll, September 4–November 7, 2004. This poll surveyed 1,000 adults nationwide who were parents of teens aged 13 to 16.

25. Quoted in Ethridge, “Sex and Young America.”


28. Quoted in Kelly, “Just Don’t Do It!”


32. Ibid., i.


35. Ibid.


40. Popenoe, Future of Marriage, 10–11.


46. Ibid., 13–14, 11.
49. Ibid., 248.
50. Ibid., 298.
51. Margalit Fox, “Molly Yard, Advocate for Liberal Causes, Dies at 93,” *New York Times*, September 22, 2005, C1. Only in 1975 did it become illegal to require a married woman to have her husband’s written permission to obtain a loan or a credit card (Coontz, *Marriage*, 255).
56. Ibid., 236.
57. Ibid., 234.
59. Ibid.
67. For the Civil War statistic, see Fukuyama, *Great Disruption*, 41. The 1950s and 1960s divorce rates are reported in Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, “Dan Quayle Was Right,” *Atlantic Monthly*, April 1993, 47. Sociologist David Popenoe believes that divorce has declined as a consequence of the greater rates of cohabitation (*Future of Marriage*, 6).

70. The New England colonies allowed divorce on just two grounds—adultery and desertion. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Maryland had no provisions for divorce (Bennett, *Broken Hearth*, 144).


73. Fukuyama, *Great Disruption*, 58.

74. Ibid., 26.


76. Ibid., 22.


78. Ibid., 24.


80. Ibid., 32.


85. Ibid., April 13–18, 1936.

86. Quoted in Whitehead, “Dan Quayle Was Right,” 52.


89. Quoted in Whitehead, “Dan Quayle Was Right,” 52.


92. Quoted in Glenn and Marquardt, *Hooking Up*, 44.


Mexico, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Texas. The Texas data is for 1997. No data from Louisiana were available. The nine states in the Northeast are Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Vermont.


98. “Faith and Family in America.”


100. Ibid.


104. Stephanie Coontz, “For Better, for Worse; Marriage Means Something Different Now,” Washington Post, May 1, 2005, B1; Coontz, Marriage, 278.

105. Roberts, “It’s Official.”


108. Quoted in Bennett, Broken Hearth, 11.


126. Quoted in Glenn and Marquardt, Hooking Up, 48.
129. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit poll, November 4, 2008.
131. Ibid.
136. Quoted in Glenn and Marquardt, Hooking Up, 46.
139. Ibid.
141. Coontz, Marriage, 270.
143. Quoted in Harden, “Numbers Drop,” A3.
147. The trend is even more pronounced in Europe. In France, couples can acquire a pacte civil de solidarité that allows couples to share property rights and after three years grants them the same tax breaks as married couples. Either partner can dissolve the relationship after three months. In Scandinavia, heterosexual couples can register with the government to give their children the same protections offered to the offspring of married couples (Sarah Lyall, “In Europe, Lovers Now Propose: Marry Me a Little,” New York Times, February 15, 2004, 3).

150. David Popenoe and Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, Should We Live Together? What Young Adults Need to Know about Cohabitation before Marriage, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University National Marriage Project, 2002), 1. One-quarter of unmarried women aged 25 to 39 currently live with partners; about half have lived at some time with unmarried partners (Popenoe and Whitehead, Should We Live Together? 3).


153. Coontz, Marriage, 279.


155. British demographer Kathleen Kiernan posits a four-stage process that has made cohabitation the equivalent of marriage. In the first stage, most people marry without having lived together. Only a small bohemian minority and some of the very poor live together outside marriage. In the second stage, more people from more walks of life live together for a time, but they usually marry, especially when they have children. In the third stage, cohabitation becomes a socially acceptable alternative to marriage. The couple is open to their families and coworkers about their relationship. They even have children, although many subsequently marry. In the fourth stage, cohabitation and marriage become inseparable. The couple does not marry, even when they have children. Kiernan believes that the United States was moving from stage 1 to stage 3 at the end of the twentieth century (Coontz, Marriage, 272).


160. Gore and Gore, Joined at the Heart, 60.

161. D’Vera Cohn, “Live-Ins Almost as Likely as Marrieds to Be Parents,” Washington Post, March 13, 2003, A1. It is estimated that 70 percent of these children are the offspring of only one cohabitating partner (Popenoe, Future of Marriage, 25).


165. Quoted in Glenn and Marquardt, Hooking Up, 22.


167. Quoted in Glenn and Marquardt, Hooking Up, 47.

168. Ibid., 26, 27, 46.


170. Elizabeth L. Paul, Brian McManus, and Allison Hayes. “‘Hookups’:

173. Quoted in Ethridge, “Sex and Young America.”
177. Fukuyama, *Great Disruption*, 49.
184. Executive Order 11126, signed November 1, 1963.

Chapter Four

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
9. Quoted in Gunther, “Queer Inc.,” 95.
Most observers date the beginning of the gay rights revolution to a 1969 police raid on the Stonewall bar in New York City.

Mark Lewis and Dennis Winslow, et al. v. Gwendolyn L. Harris, etc., et al. (A-68-05), Superior Court of New Jersey Appellate Division, Docket No. A-224-03T5, 9–10.


William D. Mosher, Anjani Chandra, and Jo Jones, Sexual Behavior and Selected Health Measures: Men and Women 15–44 Years of Age, United States, 2002 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Health Statistics, 2005), 15. Altogether, 6.9 million women aged 18 to 44 report having homosexual contact; for men, the figure is 3.7 million.

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, “Married-Couple and Unmarried Partner Households: 2000,” February 2003, 2; Zernike, “New Couples Next Door.” Of the 594,391 same-sex couples, 301,026 were men and 293,365 were women.

Sam Roberts, “It’s Official: To Be Married Means to Be Outnumbered,” New York Times, October 15, 2006, 14. Of the 776,000 same-sex households, 413,000 were male couples and 363,000 were female couples.


Stephanie Coontz, “For Better, for Worse; Marriage Means Something Different Now,” Washington Post, May 1, 2005, B1; Gore and Gore, Joined at the Heart, 38.


30. Ibid., 45.


50. In Ohio, 62 percent of voters supported the ban on gay marriage, while 38 percent opposed it. The presidential race there was much closer, with Bush winning 51 percent of the vote to Kerry’s 49 percent.

52. These states were Mississippi, Georgia, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Kentucky, North Dakota, Montana, Utah, Ohio, Michigan, and Oregon. Of those, Kerry won only Michigan and Oregon.


54. They were for best director, best adapted screenplay, and original score. In Plano, Texas, a multiplex theater sold more advance tickets for Brokeback Mountain than for King Kong (Frank Rich, “Two Gay Cowboys Hit a Home Run,” New York Times, December 18, 2005, see 4, 13).


57. Gary J. Gates, a demographer at the Williams Institute, reports that of the 27,000,000 Americans currently married, 436,000 (1.6 percent) identify themselves as gay or bisexual (Jane Gross, “When the Beard Is Too Painful to Remove,” New York Times, August 3, 2006, E1).


59. Mark Lewis and Dennis Winslow, et al. v. Gwendolyn L. Harris, etc., et al., 58.


67. Mary Cheney, Now It’s My Turn, 179, 175.

68. Mary Cheney, interview.


70. Mary Cheney, Now It’s My Turn, 223.

71. Ibid., 34. Dick Cheney’s response to his daughter’s confession: “You’re my daughter and I love you and I just want you to be happy.”

72. Quoted in Marcus, “Finally, Something from Mary.”


77. Quoted in Mary Cheney, Now It’s My Turn, 228.
84. The Situation Room with Wolf Blitzer, CNN, January 24, 2007.
91. On his Web site, Craig listed as his third-most-important goal, “Defend and strengthen the traditional values of the American family” (see http://www.craig.senate.gov).
92. “House Says No to Same-Sex Marriages,” CNN/AllPolitics, July 12, 1996.
96. Mark Lewis and Dennis Winslow, et al., v. Gwendolyn L. Harris, etc., et al., 43–44.
102. In re Marriage Cases (2008), S147999, 7.
108. Ibid., June 17–20, 1977. Nonetheless, in 2006 thirty-four states still permitted employers to fire people because they were gay (Gunter, “Queer Inc.,” 96).
123. Ibid.
146. “Gays on the March,” 34.
147. Hippler, *Matlovich*, 20, 26. Matlovich later converted to Mormonism but was excommunicated from the church because of his homosexuality.
148. “Gays on the March,” 34.
149. Quoted in Hippler, Matlovich, 45, 46.
150. Ibid., 106–10, 155.

Chapter Five

7. Ibid., 120.
10. Quoted in Steinfels, People Adrift, 179.
19. Ibid. Those canceling included Southland Christian Church in Nicholasville, Kentucky; Crossroads Christian Church in Lexington, Kentucky; Fellowship Church in Grapevine, Texas; Redemption World Outreach Center in Greenville, South Carolina; North Point Community Church in Alpharetta, Georgia; First Baptist Church in Atlanta; and Mars Hill Bible Church in Grandville, Michigan.
20. Ibid.
22. Elson, “Toward a Hidden God,” 82.
27. Harry S. Truman, letter to Pope Pius XII, August 6, 1947.
38. Ibid., December 6–9, 2007.
39. Gallup/USA Today poll, January 10–13, 2008. Those who attend at least once a week or almost every week total 41 percent; those who seldom or never attend total 45 percent.
40. Quoted in Elson, “Toward a Hidden God,” 83.
43. Yankelovich Partners poll, June 12–13, 1996.
52. Huntington, Who Are We? 103.
68. Fitzpatrick, National Cultural Values Survey, 2, 3, 1111.
73. Ibid.
75. Quoted in Murphy, “Confession Rite Evolves,” B1.
78. Quoted in Wolfe, Transformation, 90.
81. Quoted in D’Antonio and Pogerele, Voices, 26–27.
83. Steinfield, People Adrift, 7, 257.
90. Quoted in Elson, “Toward a Hidden God,” 85.
91. Quoted in Wolfe, Transformation, 71, 82.
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131. Ibid., 1022. In this country, there are presently 1,104,000 Muslims, 1,082,000 Buddhists, 766,000 Hindus, 103,000 people who describe themselves as professing Native American religion, 84,000 Baha’is, 57,000 Sikhs, and 40,000 Taoists.
133. Greenblatt and Powell, “Rise of Megachurches,” 771, 775, 776. See also Crystal Cathedral Web site at www.crystalcathedral.org/about/.
139. Wolfe, Transformation, 32.
142. Quoted in D'Antonio and Pogerelec, Voices, 184.
143. Tocqueville, Democracy in America (1945), 314.
144. Quoted in Brooks, Bobos in Paradise, 244.

Chapter Six


24. In two outings as a presidential candidate, Reagan won 93 of 100 states and 1,014 of 1,078 electoral votes.
27. Quoted in Reeves, *President Reagan*, xvii.
29. Ibid.
40. Quoted in Joshua Green, “Rove Presidency,” 70.
42. Arnold Schwarzenegger, Address to Republican Party Fall Convention, Indian Wells, CA, September 7, 2007.
44. Schwarzenegger, Address to Republican Party Fall Convention, September 7, 2007.
45. Rick Santorum, *It Takes a Family: Conservatism and the Common Good* (Wilmington, Del.: ISI, 2005), 95.

48. Ibid.


63. Gallup Poll, February 2–7, 1940, September 27–October 2, 1946.

64. Ibid., February 26–March 5, 1950.


79. Quoted in Robert Draper, Dead Certain: The Presidency of George W. Bush (New York: Free Press, 2007), 261. At the time, Bush was far off the Reagan mark. His job approval ratings hovered in the mid-40 percent range, a far cry from Ronald Reagan’s 57 percent approval rating in May 2004 (Quinnipiac University Polling Institute poll, May 18–24, 2004).


84. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit poll, November 4, 2008.


86. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit poll, November 2, 2004.

87. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit poll, November 4, 2008.

92. Of Orange County’s 2.95 million residents, 1.49 million are nonwhite (Ronald Campbell and Erica Perez, “Minorities Dominate ‘Real’ Orange County,” Orange County Register, October 1, 2004, 1).


117. Ibid.

118. Democracy Corps/Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research Youth Survey, “Republican Collapse among Young Americans.”

119. Seventy-five Senators and 333 House members were Democrats, and 4 senators and 13 House members belonged to other parties.


121. Quoted in Kenneth S. Davis, FDR, 650.


128. Quoted in Draper, Dead Certain, 89.


Chapter Seven

1. Obama beat McCain by an impressive 8,366,077 votes, a far cry from the narrow vote margins separating the major party presidential candidates in 2000 and 2004.

2. In 2000, Bush received 271 electoral votes to Gore’s 266. (One D.C. elec-
tor voted for another candidate to protest the District’s lack of statehood.) Obama’s 2008 electoral count included 1 electoral vote from Nebraska, the only state other than Maine to award its electoral votes by congressional district.


8. Democrats enjoyed an off-year landslide in the post-Watergate midterm election of 1974, which helped them cement their House majority for two more decades.


10. After the 2006 midterm elections, Republicans led 94 Senate filibusters.


17. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit polls, November 4, 2008.


19. The Clinton-Gore ticket won Tennessee by just 2 points in 1996, and Gore lost his home state in 2000, a devastating blow since its electoral votes would have given him an electoral college victory.


23. Michael M. Grynbaum, “Rattled by Housing Slide, Consumers See Worse


27. Grynbaum, “Rattled by Housing Slide.” According to this survey, a reading of 100 represents the consumer outlook on the economy in 1985.


39. The final Rasmussen poll pegged the race at 52 percent for Obama to 46 percent for McCain. Likewise, Research 2000 showed the race at 51 percent for Obama to 46 percent for McCain.

40. See, for example, James M. McPherson, the renowned Civil War historian and professor emeritus of history at Princeton University, who said of Obama’s victory, “It’s an historic turning point . . . an exclamation point of major proportions to the civil rights movement that goes back to the 1950s” (quoted in Todd Lewan,


54. “Fewer Voters Identify as Republicans,” Pew Research Center press release, March 20, 2008. According to the 2008 exit polls, 39 percent of voters called themselves Democrats, 32 percent were Republicans, and 29 percent were independents (Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit polls, November 4, 2008).


75. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Inaugural Address, Washington, D.C., March 4, 1933.


80. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit polls, November 4, 2008.


82. Ibid., 35–44.


89. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit polls, November 4, 2008.
93. “Age Cohorts and Their Party Ties,” 12. These results are based on combined Gallup polls with a sample size of approximately 10,000 respondents.
94. Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit polls, November 4, 2008.
96. Voter News Service exit poll, November 2, 2004; Edison Media Research and Mitofsky International exit poll, November 4, 2008.
98. Ibid., 112.
101. Obama’s showing bears out the advice political scientist Thomas F. Schaller gave to the Democrats in 2006, when he advised that they forget about the South and concentrate on the Southwest, where Hispanic votes could carry the party to victory (Thomas F. Schaller, *Whistling Past Dixie: How Democrats Can Win without the South* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006]).
105. MSNBC, November 4, 2008.

A Bibliography of selected books, articles, polls, and speeches is available on the Web site www.press.umich.edu at this book’s page.