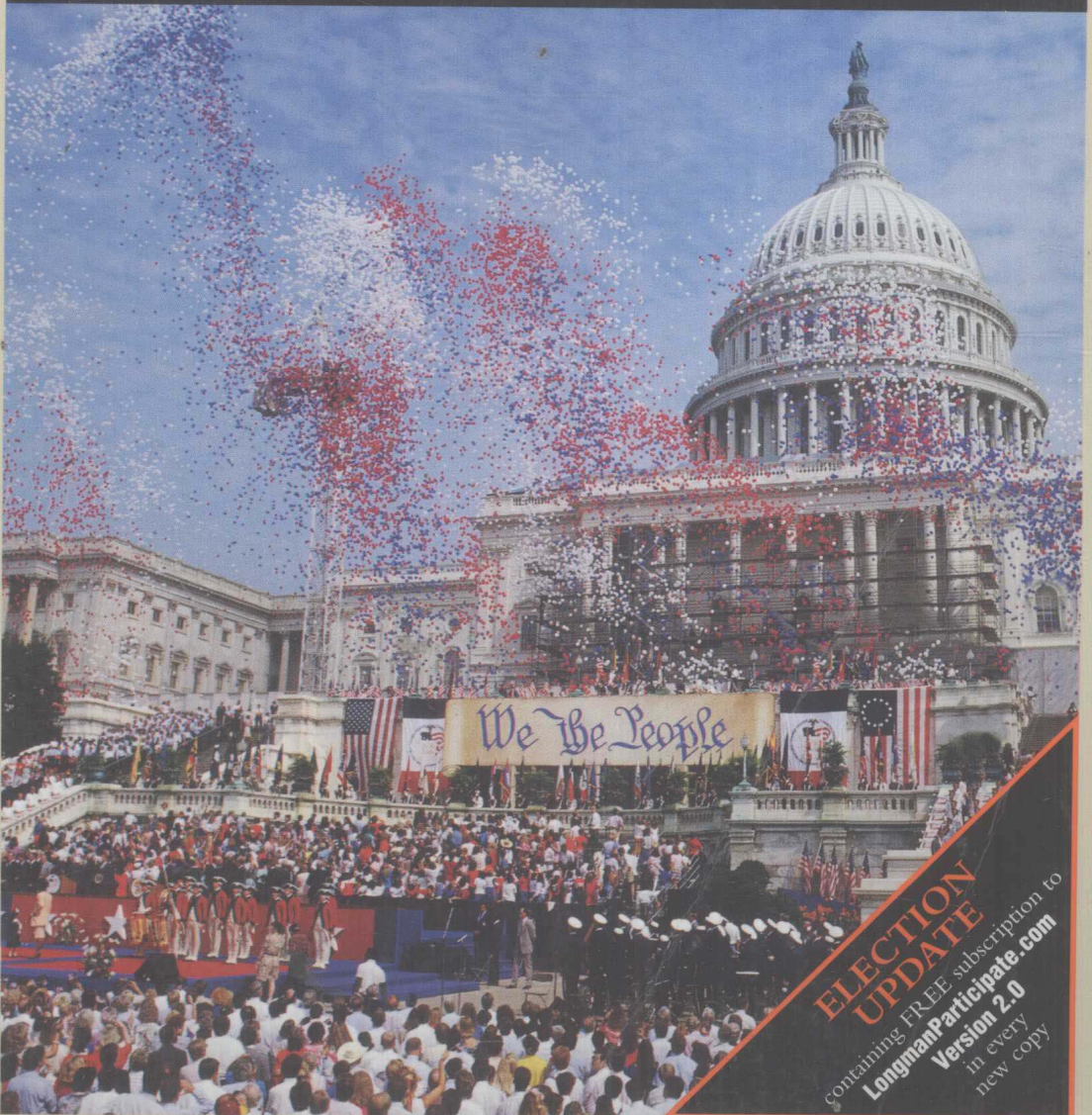




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AMERICA'S NEW DEMOCRACY

MORRIS P. FIORINA • PAUL E. PETERSON • D. STEPHEN VOSS



**ELECTION
UPDATE**

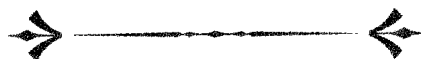
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Penguin Academics

AMERICA'S NEW DEMOCRACY

ELECTION UPDATE



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 Photo Research: Photosearch, Inc.
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 Cover Photo: © Eyewire, Inc.
 Manufacturing Buyer: Al Dorsey
 Printer and Binder: Quebecor World—Taunton
 Cover Printer: Phoenix Color Corp.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fiorina, Morris P.

America's new democracy / Morris P. Fiorina, Paul E. Peterson, D. Stephen Voss.--1st ed.
p.cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-321-09248-1 (alk. paper)

1. Democracy--United States. 2. United States--Politics and government. I. Peterson, Paul E. II. Voss, D. Stephen (Dennis Stephen). III. Title.

JK1726.F55 2002

320.473--dc21

2001038579

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Please visit our Web site at <http://www.ablongman.com>

For more information about the Penguin Academic Series, please contact us by mail at Longman Publishers, attn. Marketing Department, 1185 Avenue of the Americas, 25th Floor, New York, NY 10036, or by email at <http://www.ablongman/feedback>

ISBN 0-321-13627-6

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10—WCT—04 03 02 01

PRAISE
FOR
THE NEW AMERICAN DEMOCRACY
BY FIORINA AND PETERSON



"This book is in a class by itself. The value of the electoral approach which Fiorina and Peterson have taken is that it is simultaneously powerful and simple. It is capable of explaining a great deal about the American political system and, at the same time, requires little in the way of course restructuring."

—Jon Hurwitz, University of Pittsburgh

"I think this text is a truly new and giant step forward. I believe the theme [of a new democratic era] is 'right on.' . . . I will adopt this text the next time I teach the class and will show it to colleagues. I found it truly enjoyable to read and think students will find it quite enjoyable as well."

—John H. Parham, Minnesota State University

"In my American Government course, I use the idea of 'a new politics' or the 'new American politics,' and I am convinced, with a textbook like this one, that the task of conveying this theme would be much more effective. Given its clear theme, excellent writing, and organization, I will adopt Fiorina and Peterson's textbook."

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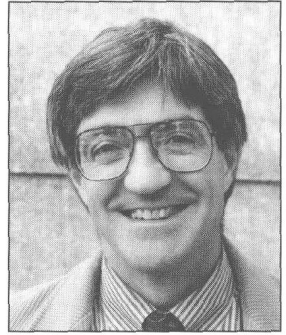
—Charles E. Menifield, Murray State University

ABOUT THE AUTHORS



MORRIS P. FIORINA

Morris P. Fiorina is Professor of Political Science and Senior Fellow of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. He received a B.A. from Allegheny College in Meadville, Pennsylvania, and a Ph.D. from the University of Rochester. Before moving to Stanford, he taught at the California Institute of Technology and Harvard University.



Fiorina has written widely on American government and politics, with special emphasis on representation and elections. He has published numerous articles, and five books: *Representatives, Roll Calls, and Constituencies*; *Congress—*

Keystone of the Washington Establishment; *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*; *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence* (coauthored with Bruce Cain and John Ferejohn); and *Divided Government*. He has served on the editorial boards of a dozen journals in the fields of political science, economics, law, and public policy, and from 1986 to 1990 he served as chairman of the Board of Overseers of the American National Election Studies. He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

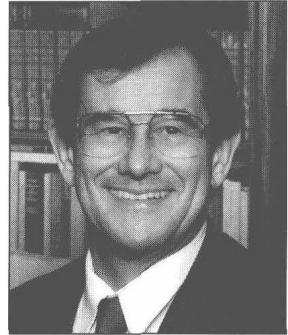
In his leisure time, Fiorina favors physical activities, including hiking, fishing, and sports. Although his own athletic career never amounted to much, he has been a successful youth baseball coach for fifteen years. Among his most cherished honors is a plaque given by happy parents on the occasion of an undefeated Babe Ruth season.

PAUL E. PETERSON

Paul E. Peterson is the Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government and Director of the Center for American Political Studies at Harvard University. He received his B.A. from Concordia College in Moorhead, Minnesota, and his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

Peterson is the author of numerous books and articles on federalism, urban politics, race relations, and public policy, including studies of education, welfare, and fiscal and foreign policy. He received the Woodrow Wilson Award from the American Political Science Association for his book *City Limits* (Chicago, 1981). In 1996 his book *The Price of Federalism* (Brookings, 1995) was given the Aaron Wildavsky Award for the best book on public policy. He is a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

It is not only when writing a textbook that Peterson makes every effort to be as accurate as possible. On the tennis courts, he always makes correct line calls and has seldom been heard to hit a wrong note when tickling the ivories.

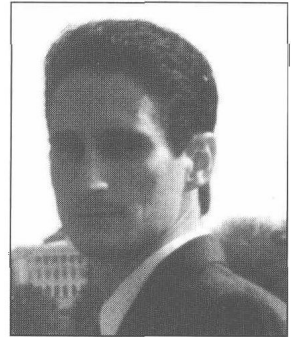


D. STEPHEN VOSS

D. Stephen Voss is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Kentucky. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University, studying with Gary King, and specializes in voting and elections with a particular focus on racial politics in the U.S. South. A New Orleans native, Voss also has two bachelor's degrees from Louisiana State University—one in history and one in print journalism.

Voss has authored or coauthored articles in various political science journals, including the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Journal of Politics*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, and *American Politics Research*. He also coauthored *CliffsQuickReview American Government* and is working on the Federal Elections Project with David Lublin of American University. Prior to entering academia, Voss was a political reporter for Gannett News Service and edited a top-selling travel guide, *Let's Go: USA*.

Voss spends his leisure time shooting pool, playing poker or blackjack, enjoying war-like computer games, watching David Lynch videos, and listening to hard-edged music of all sorts. An unscripted cameo as the blue spaceman in Phish's "Down with Disease" video was the highlight of his graduate-school days.



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AMERICA'S NEW DEMOCRACY

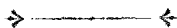
*To Michael and Joseph,
citizens of the new
American democracy*

—M. P. F.



To David, Sarah, and John

—P. E. P.



*To Sir Gareth, the humble knight,
and Corrine Faye, our fairy maiden*

—D. S. V.

PREFACE



College-age people are instinctively skeptical when they approach the study of American government. Students do not struggle with the concept that institutions or practices may malfunction. Hidden motives, corrupt bargains, social injustice, rampant incompetence—these are precisely what many (if not most) undergraduates today expect to encounter. Of course, not all students react to bad news in the same way. Some smirk knowingly. Some thump their chests and demand radical reform. Most shrug or yawn. Precious few, however, gasp in surprise.

Many popular political science works reinforce the pessimism of the age, especially with regard to democratic politics. They downplay the importance of mass political behavior—and teach that elites actually run the U.S. government, with limited regard for the voting public.¹ This book, by contrast, offers a guardedly upbeat message. We encourage readers to approach sky-is-falling-down political rhetoric with the same critical eye that they customarily reserve for sunny optimism. Our purpose is to cultivate a mirror image of analytical techniques already in place—to get readers in the habit of looking beyond the surface when appearances are *negative*, not only when they are rosy.

Admittedly, institutions or practices that seem to function effectively in fact sometimes do not. Yet sometimes institutions or practices that appear dysfunctional—those that draw on base motives, express questionable values, or seem to lack an underlying logic—actually perform surprisingly well. This is an even-handed orientation, one that seeks the virtues as well as the vices of American government. Our cautious optimism may sound alien to modern readers, especially those who have learned about politics primarily from journalistic sources. But it dates back to the Enlightenment “political science” of the nation’s founders (in particular, James Madison) and is a dominant mode of thinking among several contemporary schools in the political science discipline.

The intellectual perspective described here motivates the book’s central theme: Elections (or at least the anticipation of them) matter more in America’s political system now than they have in the past, than they do in other industrialized

democracies, or than other political writers usually recognize. Votes are the main currency in the political market, so influencing them motivates political behavior even when the connection is not obvious. Fiorina and Peterson first articulated this claim while writing a textbook in 1993, and at the time they expected the argument to meet with substantial resistance. Most of the developments they described were fairly recent. But a decade under the Clinton and Bush administrations has lessened the novelty of their argument—and, if anything, turned it into conventional wisdom.² This new book lies squarely in the mainstream of scholarly thinking about American politics.

A UNIFIED APPROACH TO AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Regardless of whether one accepts this book's central argument, it serves as a valuable organizing framework for learning to think critically about American government (or, for that matter, simply for learning about the government). It compels readers to probe how political institutions might promote public influence even if they were designed to do just the opposite. It also encourages readers to resist the temptation to blame democratic failure when institutions or practices do not function well, instead prompting them to recognize the voting public's own role in creating political dilemmas. We regularly ask whether voters "got what they asked for." This message of empowerment tempered by responsibility is an important one for young Americans to encounter, wherever they fall on the range from moral outrage to apathy.

The book's theme and its intellectual perspective link every chapter. An introductory chapter announces the emphasis on popular influence, especially as transmitted through democratic elections. The remaining 14 chapters then each deal with a subject conventionally covered by American government texts. Rather than consign culture, opinion, and electioneering to single chapters, however, we continue to trace their effects through American political institutions all the way to the shape of public policies. Every chapter begins with a vignette that either illustrates the voting public's power or seems to contradict it. We then use the stories to draw larger lessons about popular influence on each component of the American political system. We emphasize the electoral incentives that political actors face, how those incentives shape institutions, and how the institutions translate competing pressures into public policy. Thus, the result is more a unified book than a textbook, albeit one written for newcomers to the topic.

CHALLENGING TODAY'S STUDENT

Instructors often operate on the implicit view that their students are not adequately motivated to undertake college work. They presume that undergraduates will not endeavor to learn new words or to think through complex ideas. This viewpoint has led some instructors to oversimplify their courses and some textbook authors to avoid sophisticated arguments. Having each taught American government for many years, we are not unsympathetic with the pressures these educators face.

Nevertheless, we suspect that the main problem for typical students is neither stupidity nor laziness but simple boredom. Our experiences as educators at both private and public universities suggest that most students who are engaged by a subject are perfectly willing to do the work necessary to learn, even if it means checking a dictionary occasionally or reading a paragraph a second time. Rather than blame students for their boredom, therefore, we hypothesize that political science textbooks need to do a better job of conveying why the subject is both interesting and relevant to students who lack an inherent love of the subject.

Given our premise, this book intentionally challenges college undergraduates. We treat readers as mature and thoughtful people, curious about their world but impatient with authors who waste their time. To meet the requirements of this demanding audience, we have done everything possible to make learning more pleasant without undercutting the vitality of politics. Each chapter is an extended essay told in a uniform authorial voice, not a series of disembodied topics. We tell stories. We emphasize meaning and significance, the “bottom line.” We use the active voice, straightforward sentences, and nontechnical language whenever possible. We do not just define or describe; we interpret and sometimes provoke. Our hope is that readers will find this approach as satisfying an antidote for their boredom as our own undergraduate students have.

FEATURES OF THE BOOK

This book grew out of a textbook by Fiorina and Peterson called *The New American Democracy*.³ It is not just an “essentials edition” of the parent text, however. As part of the *Penguin Academics* series from Longman Publishers, *America's New Democracy* is an alternative for instructors and readers who want to move away from standard textbooks—those who prefer a learning tool unified by a strong framework upon which to attach facts picked up along the way. Voss has

adapted the book so that it differs substantially from the source. The key changes are as follows:

- Greater focus on the book's underlying theme, including transition sections (a) linking each introduction to the book's central argument and (b) explaining how the body of the chapter illustrates popular influence in the political system. Chapters are organized to work readers through the logic connecting each topic to electoral influences.
- Large sections of new material, including new introductions for Chapter 1 (the 2000 presidential election), Chapter 3 (the federal drinking age), Chapter 13 (the McVeigh execution), and Chapter 15 (the September 11 terrorist attacks) as well as substantially revised introductions for many others.
- A reorganized table of contents, with the material broken up to facilitate use in a 15-week course. This is accomplished by offering larger, merged chapters on the executive branch (including coverage of the presidency and bureaucracy), on elections (including presidential and congressional elections), on political factions (including parties and interest groups), and on public policy (including domestic, economic, and foreign policy).
- Up-to-date information on such topics as campaign-finance reform, the 2002 congressional elections, civil-liberties law, racial redistricting, U.S. trade policy, the U.S. economy, and relations with Israel.

This new book does retain the essential elements that have attracted so many college instructors to the Fiorina and Peterson product.

- **Election Connection** boxes describe the relationship between popular will and U.S. institutions or policies (including new ones on control of the U.S. Senate, on racial profiling of Arabs, on campaign finance, and on the public response to terrorism).
- **Critical-thinking questions** follow most graphics (including many new photos and cartoons), encouraging readers to consider the significance of numerous political issues.
- The book offers an extensive **Glossary** defining terms bold-faced in the text that is intended to help with vocabulary commonly used in the discussion of American politics.
- At the end of each chapter an **On the Web** feature directs readers to Web sites where they can find more information on the topics discussed.

SUPPLEMENTS

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL/TEST BANK

Prepared by Danny Adkison of Oklahoma State University, each chapter of this resource manual contains an overview, learning objectives, key terms, an outline of the chapter, ideas for lectures or discussion, and numerous multiple-choice, short-answer, true-false, and essay questions.

TESTGEN EQ COMPUTERIZED TESTING SYSTEM

This easy-to-master electronic supplement on CD-ROM includes all the test items in the printed test bank. The software allows you to edit existing questions and add your own items. Tests can be printed in several different fonts and formats.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We want to thank the many people who helped out during the preparation of this book. Candice Y. Wallace, Gareth J. Voss, and Kathleen J. Elliott performed superbly as research assistants. University of Kentucky Professors Brad Canon, Don Gross, Stuart Kaufman, and Mark Peffley all provided advice on chapters relating to their areas of expertise (judicial politics, congressional elections, ethnic conflict, and media politics, respectively). Chris White helped motivate the Federalism introduction. Lori Allen and Beverly Clayborne offered helpful staff support whenever it was sought. Also, Voss is grateful for the encouragement he has received as a faculty member in the University of Kentucky's College of Arts and Sciences, not only from the college's administration but also from the many University of Kentucky undergraduates who have toiled to make his experience teaching American Government so stimulating. He dedicates the book to his two children, Gareth James Voss and Corrine Faye Elliott, whose knight-and-princess fantasies suggest rather royalist leanings but who nevertheless tolerate their father's interest in mass political behavior.

We also wish to express the deepest gratitude to those who have assisted with editions of the text from which this book draws. Bruce Nichols first argued the need for a new-century approach in introductory texts on American government. The Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral and Social Sciences provided generous support for Peterson's work on the first edition during his academic year there. Harding Noblitt of Concordia College read the entire first-edition manuscript in search of errors of fact and interpretation, which saved the authors much embarrassment. In addition, portions were read by Danny Adkison, Sue

Davis, Richard Fenno, Gary Jacobson, Barry Rabe, and Chris Stamm, whose comments helped with fact checking. Larry Carlton supplied important factual material. Research assistants included Ted Brader, Jay Giroto, William Howell, Donald Lee, Jerome Maddox, Kenneth Scheve, Sean Theriault, and Robert Van Houweling. We extend our special thanks to Bert Johnson and Martin West of Carleton College and Harvard University, respectively, and to Sam Abrams of Stanford University for the multitude of tasks they undertook to see the second edition of *The New American Democracy*, on which this book draws most heavily, into publication. Rebecca Contreras, Alison Kommer, Shelley Weiner, and Sarah Peterson provided staff assistance.

M. P. F.

P. E. P.

D. S. V.

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