

The Statue of Liberty is depicted in a teal, textured style, holding a torch aloft in her right hand. She is positioned on the left side of the cover, with her head and crown visible. The background is a light blue, textured surface.

# *The* STRUGGLE *for* DEMOCRACY

BRIEF VERSION

SECOND EDITION

PROFESSIONAL COPY NOT FOR SALE

EDWARD S. GREENBERG / BENJAMIN I. PAGE





# The *Struggle* for *Democracy*

**Brief Version**

**SECOND EDITION**

**Edward S. Greenberg**

University of Colorado

**Benjamin I. Page**

Northwestern University



**LONGMAN**

An imprint of Addison Wesley Longman, Inc.

New York • Reading, Massachusetts • Menlo Park, California • Harlow, England  
Don Mills, Ontario • Sydney • Mexico City • Madrid • Amsterdam



Editorial Director: Richard Wohl  
Development Manager: Betty Slack  
Marketing Manager: Megan Galvin  
Supplements Editor: Jennie Errickson  
Project Manager: Donna DeBenedictis  
Design Manager: Wendy Ann Fredericks  
Text Design: Alice Fernandes-Brown and Wendy Ann Fredericks  
Cover Design/Photo Effects: Kay Petronio  
Cover Photo: Nik Wheeler/Corbis  
Art Studio: ElectraGraphics, Inc.  
Photo Researcher: Julie Tesser  
Prepress Services Supervisor: Valerie Vargas  
Electronic Production Specialist/Electronic Page Makeup: Sarah Johnson  
Senior Print Buyer: Hugh Crawford  
Printer and Binder: RR Donnelley \$ Sons Company/Willard  
Cover Printer: The Lehigh Press, Inc.

For permission to use copyrighted material, grateful acknowledgment is made to the copyright holders on pp. C1–C3, which are hereby made part of this copyright page.

Copyright © 1999 by Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher. Printed in the United States.

Please visit our website at <http://longman.awl.com>

ISBN 0-321-03815-0

12345678910—DOW—01009998

# Preface

Our goal in this textbook is to provide a teaching and learning tool that enables students to think clearly and critically about American democracy, gives a clear and interesting presentation, and helps readers understand and appreciate the fascinating and complex operations of American government and politics. The enthusiastic reception of earlier editions of this text by instructors and students suggests that we have largely been on target in meeting this goal. Nothing is perfect, however, so we have made some changes in this edition that we believe will make the text even more effective for teaching and learning.

## Hallmarks of the Text

We organize the materials in this text around three main concepts: *democracy* and the story of how people have struggled to achieve it; *tools for understanding* how American government and politics works, with special emphasis on structural factors such as the economy, cultural ideas, social change, and the international system; and *globalization and democracy*, with a focus on how economic globalization is affecting the political agenda, the distribution of political power, and the prospects for a vibrant democracy in the United States.

## Democracy

For many years now, we have been impressed and excited by the growing demand of people all over the world for democracy, that is, for individual freedom and the right to rule themselves. We think it is timely and important, in light of the struggles for democracy in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Eastern Europe, to reexamine and reevaluate the health and vitality of democracy in the United States, the original home of liberal democracy and the inspiration for much that is happening in the world today.

**Thinking Critically About Democracy** To examine and evaluate the health and vitality of our own democracy properly, we must first understand the meaning of democracy and learn how to use this definition to measure the relative distance of real-world institutions and practices from the ideal. In Chapter 1, we carefully define democracy and suggest key factors that indicate the degree to which any society can be said to be democratic. In each sub-

sequent chapter, we invite readers to use this definition and these indicators to think about the quality of democracy in the United States, to judge the degree to which this country is becoming more or less democratic, and to assess which institutions hinder or encourage the full development of democracy. For example, in Chapter 7, we ask students to evaluate the degree to which American political parties help or hinder citizens' ability to control the actions of public officials. By using this approach, we hope to engage the critical thinking faculties of undergraduate students in a way that has not been done well in introductory textbooks.

**The Struggle for Democracy** An overarching theme that we call the “struggle for democracy” ties the various parts of the text together and gives the narrative a dramatic quality that makes learning about American politics and government more interesting for students. In using this theme to tell the story of democracy in America, we hope to share with students some of the excitement and high moral purpose that often infuse politics and governing and to provide a counterweight to some of the cynicism and political apathy that seem to prevail today. We use the “struggle for democracy” theme to suggest that the United States is far more democratic than it was at the beginning of its history and that the main reason for this has been Americans' determination over the years to fight for democracy. We make the additional point that the United States is less democratic than it might be and that further progress will depend mainly on the continuing struggle for democracy. This theme is woven throughout the book and is the subject of a special boxed feature titled “The Struggle for Democracy.”

## Tools for Understanding Politics and Government

We believe that government and politics can be understood only when analyzed within the context of the larger environment in which they are embedded. This larger environment, we suggest, is defined by the nature of American society and its economy, by the unique American political culture, and by the international system. In each chapter, we endeavor to show how these multiple factors shape the way citizens and political leaders act and the policies government adopts. For instance, in Chapter 4, we show how changes in the global economy have shaped the political agenda in the United States and how our political culture, with its strong emphasis on individualism and distrust of strong government, has influenced the kinds of policies we have adopted in response to global change.

To help students come to grips with this rich environment of social, economic, cultural, and international influences, we present a powerful yet simple analytical framework in Chapter 1 to help students keep track of these multiple influences and identify how they interact with political and governmental institutions and actors. By doing so, we hope that students will begin to understand the American political system in a holistic and integrated fashion so that seemingly unconnected and random information about political actors, government institutions, and structural factors can be seen to be operating together in readily understandable ways.

## Globalization and Democracy

A new thematic focus of this edition is *globalization and democracy*, which addresses changes in the global economy and how these changes affect the

everyday lives of Americans, politics in the United States, and public policies. We ask throughout this text how the emerging global economy affects American democracy and how American democracy affects aspects of the global economy.

Although the United States has always been a participant in the world economy and has always been affected by developments in it, the interconnected revolutions in information technology, transportation, and telecommunications have radically changed its character. The new global capital and securities markets, for example, fueled by the ability to execute transactions involving billions of dollars at the click of a computer mouse, allow investors to be flexible about where they choose to do business and to respond quickly to changes in national policies and business climates. At the same time, these new global markets make it more difficult for nations to use their economic policymaking powers to control their own national destinies. The technological revolutions also allow large corporations to locate their manufacturing, marketing, sales, design, and research facilities in multiple locations around the world, with important implications for jobs in the United States, the relative power of labor unions and business, and the standard of living of American citizens.

In this edition of *The Struggle for Democracy*, we examine globalization and democracy throughout—taking account of the rapidly changing global economy's impact on social and economic living standards, the nation's political agenda, changing political coalitions and alliances, government institutions, and public policies—in a number of ways. First, the discussion of democracy in Chapter 1 has been expanded to suggest how globalization might affect democracy in the United States and how democratic instruments might allow American citizens to gain a measure of control over globalization processes. Second, discussion of the economy in Chapter 4 has been rewritten to take greater account of the globalization theme. Third, a new feature box titled “Globalization and Democracy” appears in nearly three-quarters of the chapters, focusing on issues such as NAFTA, the globalization of regulation, states as players in the global economy, and the international drug trade. Fourth and finally, discussions of globalization appear in every chapter, including consideration of how globalization has affected such things as the national budget, the institution of the presidency, American foreign policy, and the congressional agenda.

## Organization and Coverage

Part One contains the introduction to the text and focuses on the issues of democracy, tools for understanding American politics, and globalization. Part Two covers the structural foundations of American government and politics and addresses, in addition to subjects like the economy, culture, and international system, the constitutional framework of the American political system, and the development of the federal system. Part Three focuses on what we call *political linkage* institutions, such as parties, elections, public opinion, social movements, and interest groups that serve to convey the wants, needs, and demands of individuals and groups to public officials. Part Four concentrates on the central institutions of the national government, including the presidency, Congress, and the Supreme Court. Part Five describes the kinds of policies the national government produces and analyzes how effective government is in solving pressing social and economic problems.

Although all of the standard topics in the introductory course are covered in the text, our focus on the struggle for democracy and on the tools for understanding, which emphasizes the importance of the larger environment within which American politics and government operate, allows us to take a fresh look at traditional topics and to pay attention to topics that are not covered in detail in other texts.

- We pay much more attention to *structural* factors, which include the American economy, social change in the United States, the American political culture, and changes in the global system, and examine their impact on politics, government, and public policy. These factors are introduced in Chapter 4—a chapter unique among introductory texts—and are brought to bear on a wide range of issues in subsequent chapters. For example, our discussion of interest group politics includes relevant information about how the distribution of income and wealth affects the ability of different groups to form effective lobbying organizations. In this edition, we pay special attention to the *globalization of the economy* and how it affects American political life. We examine, for instance, how national economic policymaking is affected by the increasing mobility of corporations.
- We attend very carefully to issues of *democratic political theory*. This follows from our critical thinking objective, which asks students to assess the progress of and prospects for democracy in the United States, and from our desire to present American history as the history of the struggle for democracy. For instance, we examine how the evolution of the party system has improved democracy in some respects in the United States but hurt it in others.
- We also include more *historical* information than is common among introductory texts, because the best way to understand the struggle for democracy and evaluate the progress of democracy in the United States benefits from a historical perspective. We show, for example, how the expansion of civil rights in the United States has been associated with important historical events and trends.
- We also include substantial *comparative* information, because we believe that a full understanding of government and politics and the impact of structural factors have on them is possible only through a comparison of developments, practices, and institutions in the United States with those in other nations. We understand better how our system of social welfare works, for example, when we see how other rich democratic countries deal with the problems of poverty, unemployment, and old age.
- Our approach also means that the subjects of *civil liberties* and *civil rights* are not treated in conjunction with the Constitution in Part Two, which is the case with many introductory texts, but in Part Five, on public policy. This is because we believe that the real-world status of civil liberties and civil rights, while partly determined by specific provisions of the Constitution, is better understood as the outcome of the interaction of structural, political, and governmental factors. Thus the status of civil rights for gays and lesbians depends not only on constitutional provisions but also on the state of public opinion, degrees of support from elected political leaders, and the decisions of the Supreme Court. (Instructors who prefer to introduce their students to civil liberties and

civil rights immediately after considering the Constitution can simply assign the liberties and rights chapter out of order.)

## What's New in This Edition

A number of important changes have been made in this edition. They include the following:

- ▶ A special focus of this edition is the changing global economy and how it is affecting the jobs, living standards, and outlooks of Americans; shaping the agenda of American politics; influencing public policies; and helping determine the quality of democracy in the United States. Globalization materials appear throughout the text and are highlighted in a new boxed feature, “Globalization and Democracy.”
- ▶ This edition of *The Struggle for Democracy* pays greater attention to women and their roles in American politics and government. New or updated material on women is included throughout the text, in opening vignettes, and in boxed features. For example, one Struggle for Democracy box focuses on women’s gains in state legislatures; a Globalization and Democracy box focuses on efforts to expand women’s rights around the world.
- ▶ We have expanded our coverage of Web sites in the Internet Resources section and integrated them more tightly with the *Struggle for Democracy* home page. This will allow both students and instructors to have better access to timely information and alternative perspectives.
- ▶ Information has been updated throughout. There is not a single page in the text without fresh information. Timely subjects, such as the affirmative action controversy, changing party alignments, and the impact of global change, are given greater attention.
- ▶ We have continued our effort to make the text more user-friendly for students by paying more attention to the layout of text and the highlighting of key points, better defining technical terms, presenting more detailed captions that explain tables and graphs, and providing more information in photo captions.

## Features

We have incorporated a number of features to make learning more interesting and effective.

- ▶ “The Struggle for Democracy” is a boxed feature that highlights political struggles throughout our history to enhance popular sovereignty, political equality, and liberty. Examples include the struggle to add the Bill of Rights to the Constitution (Chapter 2), women’s gains in state-level politics (Chapter 3), the fight to make “one person, one vote” the law of the land (Chapter 12), and Thurgood Marshall’s courageous defense of black civil rights in the Deep South in the 1950s (Chapter 13).



- “Globalization and Democracy” is a new boxed feature that looks at the many ways the rapidly changing global economy is affecting American life and politics. Examples include the new role of governors as sales representatives for their states in the international marketplace (Chapter 3), how American corporations lobby for countries where they have big economic stakes (Chapter 6), and how global issues are causing fissures to occur within each of our major political parties (Chapter 7).
- An *opening vignette* highlights the major themes of the chapter by describing an important event or development that continues to affect contemporary American politics. Examples include the effort of African-Americans to win the right to vote in the South (Chapter 1), the role of the states in reforming welfare (Chapter 3), how globalization and technological change are contributing to the rise of income inequality in the United States (Chapter 4), the Reagan Revolution (Chapter 10), and the Oklahoma City bombing and the rise of militant anti-federal government sentiments (Chapter 11). There is also a new chapter opening vignette reporting on the results and implications of the 1998 congressional elections (Chapter 9).
- An annotated *World Wide Web list*, “Internet Sources,” appears at the end of each chapter. Included are Internet addresses linking students to a wealth of information on the Web about politics and government, as well as information about the economy, social conditions, cultural trends, and global military, diplomatic, and economic developments. Web site materials are provided by government agencies, universities and research institutes, mass media outlets (newspapers and news-magazines, networks, wire services, and the like), interest groups, and private individuals.
- “In This Chapter” opens each chapter with a list of the major topics to be addressed.
- Boldfaced terms are tied to *definitions in the margins* and to a *glossary* at the end of the text.
- Material in the text of special relevance to *globalization and democracy* is highlighted in the margin by a globe, drawing students’ attention to the discussion.
- Discussions of *democracy* are highlighted by an icon to draw students’ attention to the topic.
- A chapter *summary* helps students review important chapter materials.
- A list of annotated *suggestions for further reading* at the end of each chapter helps students delve deeper into subjects that interest them.



We also provide several appendixes, to which students may refer frequently:

- The Declaration of Independence
- The Constitution
- *The Federalist Papers*, Nos. 10, 51, and 78
- A complete listing of United States presidents and Congresses

## Supplements

Addison Wesley Longman provides an impressive array of text supplements to aid instructors in teaching and students in learning. Each item in this extensive package works together to create a fully integrated learning system. Great care was taken to provide both students and professors with a supportive supplements package that accurately reflects the unique spirit of *The Struggle for Democracy, Brief Version*, Second Edition.

### For Qualified College Adopters

**Instructor's Presentation CD-ROM for American Government** This classroom presentation tool contains video footage outlining important concepts in American government including debates and election ads. The CD-ROM also includes lecture-outline PowerPoint slides that can be downloaded and adapted by instructors. Available in Windows and Macintosh formats.

***The Struggle for Democracy Online*** <http://longman.awl.com/struggle> Designed to support instructors and students who are using *The Struggle for Democracy*, this website includes for each chapter summaries, annotated research links, web assignments, and practice tests. The site also includes an on-line research and citation guide for American Government students, a student essay contest with prizes, downloadable art and images for each chapter, and a faculty journal with essays on topics in American Government and on teaching the American Government course by text users.

**Instructor's Manual** Written by Mary L. Carns of Stephen F. Austin State University, this manual is designed to help instructors prepare lectures, classroom activities, and assignments. The manual features chapter outlines and summaries, a broad range of teaching suggestions, ideas for student research, and suggestions for discussion that complement text themes.

**Test Bank** Prepared by John Domino and William Carroll of Sam Houston State University, this manual is designed to reinforce and test students' knowledge of the themes and concepts of the text. The test bank contains multiple-choice, short-answer, true/false, and essay questions.

**Test Gen EQ Computerized Testing System** This flexible, easy-to-master computerized test bank 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 formats and can include features such as graphs and tables. Available for Windows and Macintosh computers.

**QuizMaster** The new program enables you to design Test Gen EQ generated tests that your students can take on a computer rather than in printed form. QuizMaster comes packaged along with the Test Gen EQ program.

**Transparencies** This acetate package is composed of 40 images drawn from the text.



**Longman Transparency Library** This extensive collection of more than 80 transparencies is drawn from Longman's American Government texts. The four-color transparencies include charts, figures, and graphs.

**Politics in Action Video** Eleven "lecture launchers," covering broad subjects such as social movements, conducting a campaign, and the passage of a bill, are examined through narrated videos, interviews, edited documentaries, original footage, and political ads. *Politics in Action* is accompanied by an extensive user's manual, which provides background on the segments, links topics to textbooks, and discussion questions.

**Longman American Government Video Archive** These videos from a broad range of sources include famous debates, speeches, political commercials, and congressional hearings. The archive also includes series such as "Eyes On the Prize" and "The Power Game." Ask your local Addison Wesley Longman sales representative for more information.

**Microcase Instructor's Manual** The makers of Microcase, the computerized data analysis program for students, have developed an instructor's manual designed specifically for use with *The Struggle for Democracy*.

**Active Learning Guide** Written by Scott Hays of Eastern Illinois University, this guide is designed to get students actively involved in course material and encourage them to evaluate and defend viewpoints. Includes role plays, debates, and Web-based group projects.

## For Students

**Study Guide** Written by Mary Carns of Stephen F. Austin State University, this study guide aids students' comprehension of the material covered in the textbook and includes chapter outlines, term identification, and multiple-choice and essay questions.

**Study Wizard CD-ROM** Prepared by David Billeaux of Texas A&M University, this exciting new interactive program helps students learn the major facts and concepts through drill and practice exercises and diagnostic feedback. Study Wizard, which provides immediate correct answers, explanations of answers, and the text page number on which the material is discussed, maintains a running score of the student's performance on the screen throughout the session. Study Wizard also provides a link to the text-specific website for the textbook to offer students additional pedagogical support. Available in Windows and Mac formats.

**Struggle for Democracy Online** <http://longman.awl.com/struggle>  
Please see description under "For Qualified College Adopters."

**A Guide to the Internet for American Government, Second Edition** Written by Carol Hays of Southern Illinois University, this guide demonstrates uses of the World Wide Web in the American Government course. In addition to explaining links to important sites, the guide includes critical thinking exercises to get students to apply their knowledge of American Government to the Web and use it as a resource for research.

**A Short Guide to Writing about Social Sciences, Third Edition, by Lee J. Cuba** This concise, straightforward book guides students through reading abstracts, book reviews, essays, oral presentations, and research papers. It takes students step-by-step through the writing process and includes important information on how to do research, how to use the Internet for research, and how to cite sources. Available at a deep discount when packaged with *The Struggle for Democracy*.

**Penguin-Longman Value Bundles** Longman is offering 22 Penguin titles, including De Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, Riordan's *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*, and Iron's *The Courage of Their Convictions*, at over a 60% discount when packaged with *The Struggle for Democracy*.

**California State Supplement** This 64-page supplement is a brief primer on state and local issues in California for use in the American Government course. Available free when shrinkwrapped with the text.

**Texas State Supplement** This 64-page supplement is a brief primer on state and local issues in Texas for use in the American Government course. Available free when shrinkwrapped with the text.

**Newsweek Discount Subscription** Students can receive 12 issues of *Newsweek* magazine at more than an 80 percent savings off the regular subscription price. Contact your local AWL representative for more information.

## Acknowledgments

Writing and producing an introductory textbook is an incredibly complex and cooperative enterprise in which many people besides the authors play roles. We would like to take the opportunity to thank them, one and all. We start with the many wonderful people at Longman who worked on this edition, including publishing partner Pam Gordon, development editor Mimi Melek, project manager Donna DeBenedictis, design manager Wendy Fredericks, and photo researcher Julie Tesser, and marketing manager Megan Galvin.

There are many colleagues we want to thank. Ken Kollman, now on the faculty at the University of Michigan, provided immensely valuable contributions to the first two editions. William Haltom of the University of Puget Sound wrote the first draft of the chapter on civil rights and liberties for the first edition and helped revise that chapter for later editions. Ed Greenberg offers special thanks to Mike Lynn and Vicki Ash for their hours of research assistance; to Illana Gallon, who saved him from many errors of fact and interpretation; and to the students in his introductory American Government and Politics course at the University of Colorado for revealing, in no uncertain terms, what worked and what didn't work in the text. Ben Page would particularly like to thank Aaron Bicknese, Noelle Gonzales, Heajeong Lee, Richard Powell, and David Wrobel for their help with the first two editions and Richard Powell, Jason Tannenbaum, and Heajeong Lee for their help on the third.

Special thanks go to Margaret Manos for helping to create this brief version from our main book, in its fourth edition. She is mainly responsible for cutting the size of the book, while retaining its essentials.



Addison Wesley Longman enlisted the assistance of many political scientists on various aspects of this project. Their advice was especially valuable, and the final version of the book is far better than it would have been without their help. We would like to extend our appreciation to the following political scientists, who gave so generously of their time and expertise through *The Struggle for Democracy* and its supplements:

Gordon Alexandre, Glendale Community College  
 John Ambacher, Framingham State College  
 Jeffrey M. Ayres, Lake Superior State University  
 Ross K. Baker, Rutgers University  
 Manley Elliott Banks II, Virginia Commonwealth University  
 Ryan Barrilleaux, University of Miami  
 Stephen Bennett, University of Cincinnati  
 Bill Bianco, Duke University  
 Melanie J. Blumberg, University of Akron  
 Joseph P. Boyle, Cypress College  
 Evelyn Brodtkin, University of Chicago  
 James Bromeland, Winona State University  
 Barbara Brown, Southern Illinois University—Carbondale  
 Joseph S. Brown, Baylor University  
 David E. Camacho, Northern Arizona University  
 Mary Carns, Stephen F. Austin University  
 Jim Carter, Sam Houston State University  
 Gregory Casey, University of Missouri  
 Carl D. Cavalli, North Georgia College and State University  
 James Chalmers, Wayne State University  
 Paul Chardoul, Grand Rapids Community College  
 Alan J. Cigler, University of Kansas  
 David Cingranelli, State University of New York at Binghamton  
 John Coleman, University of Wisconsin  
 Ken Collier, University of Kansas  
 Edward Collins, Jr., University of Maine  
 Lee Collins, Monmouth College  
 Richard W. Crockett, Western Illinois University  
 Lane Crothers, Illinois State University  
 Landon Curry, University of Texas  
 Christine Day, University of New Orleans  
 Alan Draper, St. Lawrence University  
 Euel Elliott, University of Texas  
 Bob England, Oklahoma State University

Robert S. Erikson, University of Houston  
 Thomas Ferguson, University of Massachusetts, Boston  
 M. Lauren Ficaro, Chapman University  
 John Geer, Arizona State University  
 Scott D. Gerber, College of William and Mary  
 Thomas Gillespie, Seton Hall University  
 Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois  
 John Green, University of Akron  
 Daniel P. Gregory, El Camino Community College  
 Eric E. Grier, Georgia State University  
 Bruce E. Gronbeck, University of Iowa  
 Maria Guido, Bentley College  
 Roger Hamberg, Indiana University, South Bend  
 Russell L. Hanson, Indiana University  
 Valerie Heitshusen, University of Missouri  
 Richard Herrera, Arizona State University  
 Roberta Herzberg, Indiana University  
 Seth Hirshorn, University of Michigan  
 Eugene Hogan, Western Washington University  
 Marilyn Howard, Cols State Community College  
 Ronald J. Hrebner, University of Utah  
 David Hunt, Triton College  
 Jon Hurwitz, University of Pittsburgh  
 James Hutter, Iowa State University  
 Gary C. Jacobson, University of California at San Diego  
 William Jacoby, University of South Carolina  
 Willoughby Jarrell, Kennesaw State College  
 Christopher B. Jones, Eastern Oregon State University  
 William Kelly, Auburn University  
 Fred Kramer, University of Massachusetts  
 Richard Lehne, Rutgers University  
 Jan E. Leighley, Texas A&M University  
 Joel Lieske, Cleveland State University  
 Stan Luger, University of Northern Colorado

- Michael W. McCann, University of Washington  
 Carroll R. McKibbin, California Polytechnic State University  
 William P. McLauchlan, Purdue University  
 David S. Mann, College of Charleston  
 Dean E. Mann, University of California  
 Joseph R. Marbach, Seton Hall University  
 Michael D. Martinez, University of Florida  
 Peter Mathews, Cypress College  
 Louise Mayo, County College of Morris  
 Steve Mazurana, University of Northern Colorado  
 Charles K. Menifield, Murray State University  
 Norma H. E. Miller, South Carolina State University  
 Neil Milner, University of Hawaii  
 Kristen R. Monroe, Princeton University  
 Mike Munger, University of Texas  
 Laurel A. Myer, Sinclair Community College  
 Albert Nelson, University of Wisconsin–La Crosse  
 David Nice, Washington State University  
 Charles Noble, California State University–Long Beach  
 Colleen M. O'Connor, San Diego Mesa College  
 Daniel J. O'Connor, California State University–Long Beach  
 David J. Olson, University of Washington  
 Laura Katz Olson, Lehigh University  
 John Orman, Fairfield University  
 Marvin Overby, University of Mississippi  
 Elizabeth M. H. Paddock, Drury College  
 Kenneth T. Palmer, University of Maine  
 Toby Paone, St. Charles Community College  
 Arthur Paulson, Southern Connecticut State University  
 Mark P. Petracca, University of California  
 Joseph Peschek, Hamline University  
 Larry Pool, Mountain View College  
 John D. Redifer, Mesa State College  
 Richard Reitano, Dutchess Community College  
 Curtis G. Reithel, University of Wisconsin–La Crosse  
 Russell D. Renka, Southeast Missouri State University  
 Richard C. Rich, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University  
 Leroy N. Rieselbach, Indiana University  
 Sue Tolleson Rinehart, Texas Tech University  
 Phyllis F. Rippey, Western Illinois University  
 David Robinson, University of Houston–Downtown  
 David W. Romero, University of California  
 Francis E. Rourke, Johns Hopkins University  
 David C. Saffell, Ohio Northern University  
 Donald L. Scruggs, Stephens College  
 Jim Seroka, University of North Florida  
 L. Earl Shaw, Northern Arizona University  
 John M. Shebb, University of Tennessee  
 Mark Silverstein, Boston University  
 Morton Sipress, University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire  
 Henry B. Sirgo, McNeese State University  
 David A. Smeltzer, Portland State University  
 C. Neal Tate, University of North Texas  
 Brenda Teale, Big Bend Community College  
 Robert Thomas, University of Houston  
 Richard J. Timpone, State University of New York at Stony Brook  
 Eric Ulsaner, University of Maryland  
 Elliot Vittes, University of Central Florida  
 Charles Walcott, University of Minnesota  
 Benjamin Walter, Vanderbilt University  
 Susan Weissman, St. Mary's College of California  
 Nelson Wikstrom, Virginia Commonwealth University  
 John Wilkerson, University of Washington  
 Daniel Wirls, University of California  
 Eugene R. Wittkopf, Louisiana State University  
 James Woods, University of Toledo  
 Jay Zarowitz, Muskegon Community College

Finally, we thank you, the instructors and students who use this book.  
 May it bring you success!

EDWARD S. GREENBERG  
 BENJAMIN I. PAGE



# Contents

List of Boxes	xv
Preface	xvii

## ► **PART ONE Introduction: Main Themes** 1 ◀

### **Chapter 1 Democracy and American Politics** 2

Robert Moses and the Struggle for African-American Voting Rights	3
Democracy	4
<i>The Democratic Idea</i>	4
<i>Direct Versus Representative Democracy</i>	5
<i>Fundamental Principles of Representative Democracy</i>	6
<i>Objections to Majoritarian Representative Democracy</i>	8
<i>Democracy as an Evaluative Standard: How Democratic Are We?</i>	9
<i>Globalization and Democracy</i>	10
Understanding How American Politics Works	12
<i>The Main Factors of Political Life Are Interconnected</i>	12
<i>The Main Factors of Political Life Can Be Organized into Categories</i>	13
<i>Structural Factors Are Especially Important</i>	14
<i>American Politics Should Be Understood Holistically</i>	14
Summary	15
Suggestions for Further Reading	16
Internet Sources	16
Notes	17

## ► **PART TWO Structure** 19 ◀

### **Chapter 2 The Constitution** 20

Shays's Rebellion	21
Political Theory and Practices of the Revolutionary Era	22
<i>The Declaration of Independence</i>	23
<i>Theory in Practice: Early State Constitutions</i>	25

The Articles of Confederation: The First Constitution	26
<i>Provisions of the Articles</i>	26
<i>Shortcomings of the Articles</i>	27
The Calling of the Constitutional Convention	27
<i>The Republican Beliefs of the Founders</i>	28
The Constitutional Convention	29
<i>Consensus and Conflict at the Convention</i>	29
<i>What the Framers Wrought</i>	30
The Battle to Ratify the Constitution	35
The Changing Constitution, Democracy, and American Politics	36
<i>The Constitution and Democracy</i>	36
<i>How the Constitution Changes</i>	37
Summary	39
Suggestions for Further Reading	40
Internet Sources	40
Notes	41

### **Chapter 3 Federalism: States and Nation 42**

Welfare Reform and the States	43
Federalism as a System of Government	44
<i>The Nature of Federalism</i>	44
<i>The Roots of Federalism</i>	45
<i>U.S. Federalism: Pro and Con</i>	46
<i>What Sort of Federalism?</i>	49
The Constitution and Shared Powers	50
<i>Independent State Powers</i>	50
<i>The States' Roles in National Government</i>	50
<i>Relations Among the States</i>	50
The Evolution of Federalism	52
<i>The Supreme Court and Federalism in the Young Republic</i>	52
<i>The Slavery Issue</i>	53
Expansion of National Power	54
<i>Crucial Effects of the Civil War</i>	54
<i>Expanded National Activity Since the Civil War</i>	55
The Rise of National Grants-in-Aid to the States	57
<i>Types of Grants</i>	57
The Balance of Power and Control	59
<i>Mandates</i>	59
<i>Conditions on Aid</i>	59
<i>Resurgence of the States</i>	60
The Consequences of Federalism	61
How Democratic Is Federalism?	61
Summary	65
Suggestions for Further Reading	65
Internet Sources	66
Notes	66

### **Chapter 4 The Structural Foundations of American Government and Politics 68**

Globalization, Technological Change, and Stagnant Wages	69
American Society: How It Has Changed and Why It Matters	71

<i>Growing Diversity</i>	71
<i>Changing Location</i>	74
<i>Changing Jobs and Occupations</i>	74
<i>The Aging of the American Population</i>	77
<i>The American Standard of Living</i>	77
The American Economy	83
<i>The Industrial Revolution and the Rise of the Corporation</i>	83
<i>The Post-World War II Boom</i>	83
<i>The Fall from Grace</i>	84
<i>Globalization and the American Economy</i>	84
The United States in the International System	86
<i>The United States as a Superpower</i>	87
<i>A Multipower-Centered World?</i>	88
The Foundation Beliefs of American Political Culture	89
<i>Competitive Individualism</i>	89
<i>Limited Government</i>	90
<i>Free Enterprise</i>	90
<i>Citizenship and the Nature of the Political Order</i>	92
<i>Populism</i>	92
Structural Influences on American Politics	93
Summary	94
Suggestions for Further Reading	94
Internet Sources	95
Notes	95

## ▶ **PART THREE Political Linkage** 97 ◀

### **Chapter 5 Public Opinion** 98

The Vietnam War and the Public	99
Democratic Theory and Public Opinion	101
What People Know About Politics	102
<i>Gauging What People Think</i>	102
<i>Individuals' Ignorance</i>	102
<i>Collective Knowledge and Stability</i>	103
How People Feel About Politics	104
<i>The System in General</i>	104
<i>Dissatisfaction with Government Performance</i>	105
<i>Party Loyalty and Party Decline</i>	105
<i>Basic Values and Beliefs</i>	105
<i>Policy Preferences</i>	108
Sources of Political Attitudes	111
<i>Family and School</i>	111
<i>Workplace and Home</i>	112
<i>Events</i>	113
<i>Mass Media</i>	113
<i>Economic and Social Structure</i>	114
How People Differ	115
<i>Race and Ethnicity</i>	115
<i>Religion</i>	116
<i>Region</i>	118
<i>City and Country</i>	118