

BRIEF EDITION

# DYNAMICS of DEMOCRACY

SQUIRE & LINDSAY & COVINGTON & SMITH

BRIEF EDITION

## DYNAMICS of DEMOCRACY

PEVERILL SQUIRE
University of Iowa

\*

JAMES M. LINDSAY
University of Iowa

\*

CARY R. COVINGTON
University of lowa

×

ERIC R.A.N. SMITH University of California–Santa Barbara



Boston, Massachusetts Burr Ridge, Illinios Dubuque, Iowa Madison, Wisconsin New York, New York San Francisco, California St. Louis, Missouri

#### McGraw-Hill

A Division of The McGraw-Hill Companies

#### **BRIEF EDITION DYNAMICS OF DEMOCRACY**

Copyright © 1997 by The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Except as permitted under the United States Copyright Act of 1976, no part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a data base or retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0 QPD/QPD 9 0 9 8 7

ISBN 0-697-32775-2

Developmental Editor Marsena Konkle
Production Editor Ann Fuerste
Art Editor Miriam Hoffman
Photo Editor Rose Deluhery
Permissions Coordinator Karen L. Storlie
Visuals/Design Freelance Specialist Mary L. Christianson

Cover and interior designs by Maureen McCutcheon Design

Cover image © Chris Hamilton/The Stock Market

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 96-85836

Basal Text 10/12 Times Roman
Display Type Times Roman
Typesetting System Macintosh<sup>TM</sup> Quark<sup>TM</sup>XPress
Paper Stock 45# Recycled Courtland

American politics can often seem a confusing swirl of personalities and issues: Bill Clinton and the complexities of Welfare reform, Newt Gingrich and the Contract With America, Marian Wright Edelman and the tragedy of children living in poverty. Such a list could go on and on, as we each add people and issues we find important and compelling, as well as those we don't understand or care about.

Without question, politics and the political system touch the lives of every American every day in a myriad of ways. But how can we make sense of it all? This book is our attempt to help college students understand the political structures and forces that shape their lives.

#### **APPROACH**

We address the issue of government and politics by emphasizing two lessons that appear in virtually every chapter. First, *politics arises from conflict*. The variety of interests in society makes conflicts virtually inevitable. Government seeks to manage (though not necessarily resolve) some of those conflicts by creating procedures and institutions. The Constitution, for instance, establishes many of the fundamental rules that structure politics in the United States. The second lesson we emphasize is that the rules that stipulate how the government makes its decisions help determine the winners and losers in particular conflicts. Rules are not neutral. Inevitably, the rules that structure the political process help some participants and harm others. That is why the rules themselves are often the target of vociferous debate and why changing the rules can change the outcome of a conflict. Thus, throughout *Dynamics of Democracy*, we show how the rules of politics and government reflect and shape conflicts in society.

#### PEDAGOGICAL FEATURES

You will find a number of features within the text of each chapter to facilitate learning. First, each chapter is previewed with an outline of the main points covered in the text. These outlines provide an overview to the chapter and help you see how the various topics fit together. Second, each chapter opens with a brief story that highlights the key themes of the chapter and shows in concrete terms why they matter. Third, especially important concepts appear in the text in bold-faced print, with a definition provided in the margin. This "point of contact" approach to learning makes it easier for you to understand key points in the text because it puts the definitions where they are easy to find. The bold-faced terms also serve as a list of core concepts for study and review. Fourth, we have placed the text of the Constitution at the end of the chapter 2 discussion of the Constitution, so you can refer to it as needed. To ease your exploration of the Constitution, we have supplied marginal annotations that summarize the key points of each section.

Finally, at the end of each chapter, you will find an alphabetized list of key terms used in the chapter, as well as an annotated list of suggested readings for further study. By its very nature, an introductory textbook can only introduce the many important subjects of American politics. The readings at the end of each chapter suggest ways to explore further those topics that you find particularly interesting.

#### ANCILLARY MATERIALS

**Instructor's Manual** by authors Peverill Squire, James M. Lindsay, Cary R. Covington, and Eric R. A. N. Smith. For every test chapter, the *Instructor's Manual* provides learning objectives; chapter outline; chapter summary; list of key terms; lecture outlines; a set of additional lecture topics, discussion questions and activities, and further readings; and a list of movies, videotapes, and documentaries.

Test Item File, prepared by Edward Weber of Washington State University, and Craig Coleman of the University of Wisconsin–Madison, consists of more than 1,500 quality test items, many of them class-tested. Page-referenced to the text, the test items identify each question as knowledge, conceptual, or applied, based on the first three levels of Benjamin Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives.

**MicroTest III** is a powerful but easy-to-use test generating program by Chariot Software Group that is available to users of *Dynamics of Democracy* in DOS, Windows, or Macintosh versions. With MicroTest III, you can easily select questions from the book's test item file; customize questions, headings, and instructions; add or import questions of your own; and print a test and answer key in a choice of fonts if your printer supports them. To obtain a copy of MicroTest III, contact your Brown & Benchmark Sales Representative or call Educational Resources at 1-800–338–5371.

Computerized and Softcover Student Study Guides, authored by Brian L. Fife of Ball State University, enhance student learning. The student guides contain chapter summaries, learning objectives, and chapter outlines. In addition, the guides provide a variety of review exercises for each chapter of the text, including a Review of Key Terms, Concepts, Events and People, a Practice Test (with answers) and Critical Thinking Exercises.

World Wide Web Guide for American Government, by Robert Bradley of Illinois State University, includes an introduction to the Internet and World Wide Web, information on browsers and search engines, lists of governmental web sites and political information sites, and tips on how to navigate the Web and make the best use of all the information available.

The American Government Interactive Videodisc, developed by Mark Triebwasser of Central Connecticut State University, was selected as "Best Instructional Software of 1994" by the Computers and Multimedia Section of the American Political Science Association. Available to qualified adopters, the videodisc and accompanying Instructor's Guide help you supplement lectures and illustrate points in the introductory American government course as well as upper-level political science courses. The two-sided videodisc, which may be used by itself and accessed with a remote control or barcode reader, consists primarily of C-SPAN footage as well as forty descriptive charts and figures. The videodisc is accompanied by HyperCard stacks that provide interactive commentary and video and search options, allowing you to use the videodisc with the HyperCard program and any Macintosh computer—perfect for computer labs and research projects.

American Government Interactive Simulation Software, developed by Steven E. Frantzich of the U.S. Naval Academy, gives your students the opportunity to actively experience American politics through simulation exercises that explore campaigning, the judicial process, and congressional coalition building. An interactive student polling simulation tabulates and compares user responses to classroom and national averages. For more information, contact your Brown & Benchmark Sales Representative.

Congressional Database, 104th Congress Version, is an analytical computer program for the IBM PC and compatibles which contains detailed biographical information, Capital Hill and district office addresses and phone numbers, committee and subcommittee assignments, personal financial assets, and ten interest group voting record ratings for each member of the 104th Congress. An accompanying workbook, developed by Steven E. Frantzich, serves as an introduction and guide, including six interesting exercises, for using the Database.

Color Transparencies provide you with forty-five important charts, graphs, and figures presented in the text to help with classroom presentation and student comprehension. Customized Transparencies are available to qualified adopters of *Dynamics of Democracy*. For details, contact your Brown & Benchmark Sales Representatives.

Videos, CD-ROMS, and videodiscs exploring a wide array of topics in American government and politics are available through Brown & Benchmark to qualified adopters of *Dynamics of Democracy*. The newest offering, *Campaign '96*, is a 30-minute videotape (from the creators of *Changing of the Guard: A Video Guide to the 1994 Elections*, also available from B&B) that covers the 1996 election season from the Iowa caucuses through the campaigns and conventions to the election. It includes interviews with key players from the major political parties and analysis by political scientists, as well as illustrative graphics and a chronicle of the key events leading up to the election night results. (Available January 1997)

Dynamics of Democracy adopters may have notes, handouts, or other classroom materials printed and bound inexpensively for classroom use through Brown & Benchmark's Custom Publishing Service. Talk to your Brown & Benchmark Sales Representative for details.

You may also complement *Dynamics of Democracy* with any of the following popular Dushkin Publishing Group supplements now available through Brown & Benchmark:

- Annual Editions: American Government 96/97 (97/98 edition available March 1997)
- Taking Sides: Clashing Views on Controversial Political Issues, 10th edition
- · Sources: Notable Selections in American Government
- ELITE Reader in American Government (a menu of readings from a fascinating variety of sources from which you can construct your own custom-built reader)

Finally, the Brown & Benchmark Course Integrator provides you with a detailed guide for incorporating the ancillaries and readers into your course, showing section-by-section lists of ancillary contents correlated to the chapters in the textbook.

Instructors who wish to devote more coverage to gender and ethnicity issues should consider using *Dynamics of Democracy* in combination with *Voices of Diversity: Perspectives on American Political Ideals and Instructions* by Pat Andrews of West Valley College in California. This innovative and reasonably priced supplement from the Dushkin Publishing Group combines writings and speeches by American women and minority-group members with key public documents. Finally, your students can get a thorough and multifaceted analysis of the 1996 election in a new reader, with contributed articles from 12 respected experts, compiled by William Crotty of Northeastern University, entitled *America's Choice: The Election of 1996*. Combine any of these supplemental texts with *Dynamics of Democracy* at a discount for students under the Brown & Benchmark CourseKits<sup>TM</sup> program.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

We wish to thank the many editors we have worked with at Brown & Benchmark: Dorian Ring, Ed Laube, Sue Alt-Pulvermacher, Roger Wolkoff, Michael Lange, Irv Rockwood, and Scott Spoolman.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to our developmental editor, Anne Caylor Cody. She is the best. None of us will forget her repeated injunction that students will follow our arguments only if the chapters "preview, discuss, and review" the material.

We also wish to thank our many colleagues around the country who read and commented on our draft chapters. *Dynamics of Democracy* second edition, became a much better book because of the care and thought our readers put into their reviews. We thank:

Alan Balboni

Community College of Southern Nevada

Nancy Bolin Kral Tomball College

Donald Downs

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Jay C. Mumford

Pennsylvania State University at Harrisburg

Richard Frese Bentley College

Doug Parrott Sheridan College

John G. Geer Vanderbilt University Christopher Rhines Essex Community College

Sara A. Grove

Shippensburg University of Pennsylvania

Kevin H. Smith

The University of Memphis

Samuel B. Hoff

Delaware State University

Larry Wight Sierra College

John S. Klemanski Oakland University

The following individuals reviewed the first edition of *Dynamics of Democracy*, and their helpful suggestions have been carried forward to the second edition:

Sheldon Appleton Oakland University

Vincent Auger

Hamilton College Ryan C. Barilleaux Miami University (Ohio)

Gayle Berardi

University of Southern Colorado

Frederic Bergerson Whittier College

Thad Bevle

University of North Carolina—Chapel Hill

William T. Bianco Duke University

Barbara C. Burrell University of Wisconsin—Extension

Robert Carp

University of Houston

John Clark

University of Georgia

Dennis Daley

North Carolina State University

Richard Davis

Brigham Young University

Thomas Dickson Auburn University

Leon Epstein

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Brian Fife

Ball State University

Terri Fine

University of Central Florida

Dana Glencross

Oklahoma City Community College

George J. Gordon Illinois State University

Doris Graber

University of Illinois—Chicago

Mark A. Graber

University of Maryland—College Park

Laura Greyson Rollins College Justin P. Halpern

Northeastern State University

Beth Henschen

Loyola University of Chicago

Paul Herrnson

University of Maryland—College Park

Joseph Ignagni

University of Texas—Arlington

Calvin C. Jillson

Southern Methodist University

Laurence Jones Angelo State University

Lyman Kellstedt Wheaton College Matthew Kerbel Villanova University

Bert Kritzer

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Nancy S. Lind

Illinois State University

Brad Lockerbie

University of Georgia H. R. Mahood

Memphis State University

Steven J. Mazurana

University of Northern Colorado

Don McCabe

Southern Illinois University—Edwardsville

David Menefee-Libey Pomona College

Calvin Mouw

University of Missouri-St. Louis

Philip A. Mundo Drew University

Albert J. Nelson

University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse

Michael Nelson Rhodes College

Robert O'Connor

Pennsylvania State University

James Pfiffner

George Mason University

John Price

Louisiana Tech University

Diane Schmidt

Southern Illinois University—Carbondale

David F. Schwartz

Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville

Morton Sipress

University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

Steven Stehr

Washington State University

Robert Smith Thompson

University of South Carolina—Columbia

Clyde Wilcox

Georgetown University

Christopher Wlezien University of Houston

Robert A. Wood

North Dakota State University

Norman Zucker

University of Rhode Island

Tim Hagle of the University of Iowa deserves special thanks because we repeatedly barged into his office demanding that he explain the finer point of constitutional law, help us track down Supreme Court decisions, and make our computers run properly. He did all three with his usual elegance and good grace.

Finally, we would like to thank our families. They supported and encouraged us throughout the many ups and downs that attended the writing of *Dynamics of Democracy*. We deeply appreciate their love and understanding.

#### **BRIEF CONTENTS**

#### Preface xv 1 Studying the Dynamics of Democracy: Conflict, Rules, and Change 1 2 The Constitution 15 3 Civil Liberties 63 4 Civil Rights 91 5 Public Opinion 127 6 Voting and Participation 155 7 The News Media 179 8 Political Parties 209 9 Interest Groups 233 10 Congress 261 11 The Presidency 301 12 The Federal Bureaucracy 337 13 The Courts 369 **APPENDIXES** $\mathbf{A}$ The Declaration of Independence 395 $\mathbf{B}$ Federalist No. 10 397 $\mathbf{C}$ Federalist No. 51 400 D The Presidents and Vice Presidents of the United States 402 $\mathbf{E}$ American Political Parties Since 1789 403 Notes 404 Glossary 427 Credits 433 Name Index 434

Subject Index 438

#### Preface xv

#### CHAPTER

#### 1

#### STUDYING THE DYNAMICS OF DEMOCRACY

1

<b>Politics</b>	and	Conflict	4

The Roots of Conflict 5

The Role of Government in Managing Conflict 6

#### Government as Rule Maker 7

Structural Rules 7

Policy Rules 8

The Biased Character of Rules 9

The Changing Rules of Government 10

Putting It All Together: Context, Participants, and Institutions in the Political Process 11

The Context of American Politics 11

Individuals and Groups in American Politics 11

The Institutions of American Politics 11

Summary 12

Key Terms 13

Readings for Further Study 13

#### CHAPTER

#### 2

#### THE CONSTITUTION

15

The Constitution as a Reflection of Political Conflict 16

The Colonial Experience 17

The Articles of Confederation 18

The Politics of the Constitutional Convention 19

The Politics of Ratification 22

The Constitution as a Reflection of the Founders' Philosophy 25

Individual Rights and Democratic Rule 25

Majority Tyranny: The Paradox of Majority Rule 26

Preventing Majority Tyranny 26

The Core Provisions of the Constitution 31

Congress 31

The Presidency and the Executive Branch 32

The Federal Judiciary 33





The First Civil Rights Organizations 98

The Brown Decision 99

The Civil Rights Movement 101

Congress Responds 102

The Continuing Fight Against Discrimination 103

Discrimination Against Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, American Indians,

and Others 106

Asian Americans 107

Hispanic Americans 109

American Indians 109

Other Minorities 111

Discrimination Against Women 111

Campaigning for the Right to Vote 112

The Fight for Equal Rights on Capitol Hill 112

The Fight for Equal Rights in the Courts 114

The Continuing Struggle Against Sex Discrimination 115

Extending Civil Rights 117

People with Disabilities 117

People with Age Claims 118

Gays and Lesbians 118

The Burden of Proof 120

Affirmative Action: Equal Opportunity or Equal Outcomes? 121

Summary 124

Key Terms 125

Readings for Further Study 125

#### CHAPTER

#### 5

#### PUBLIC OPINION

127

The People's Limited Knowledge of Politics 128

The Distribution of Knowledge 131

Sources of Knowledge 133

People with Knowledge: Issue Publics 133

The Nature and Acquisition of Opinions and Values 134

Family and Friends 134

School 135

The Media 136

Lifetime Learning 136

Ideologies 137

Liberalism 137

Conservatism 138

Changes Over Time 139

Sources of Ideologies 140

The Process of Molding Ideologies 141

Public Opinion on the Issues 141

Ideological Thinking by the Public 141

Abstract Symbols Versus Concrete Policies 142

Public Opinion on Clusters of Related Issues 143

Change in Opinion Over Time 149

Causes of Change 150

Summary 151

Key Terms 152





#### VOTING AND PARTICIPATION

155

Who Votes? 156

The Effect of Individual Voter Characteristics 156

The Effect of Registration Laws 159

The Effect of Campaign Contacts 162

The Puzzling Decline of Voter Turnout 163

Does Turnout Matter? 165

Political Activists 166

Who Becomes an Activist? 166

Types of Activists 167

How Voters Make Choices 167

Party Identification 168

Candidate Characteristics 171

Issues 172

Changes Over Time 174

Voting and Social Groups 175

Summary 177

Key Terms 178

Readings for Further Study 178

#### **CHAPTER**

7

#### THE NEWS MEDIA

179



Do the News Media Matter? 181

The News Media and Public Opinion 181

The News Media and the Political Agenda 182

The News Media and Government 183

The Changing Face of the News Media 184

Changes in Journalistic Conventions 184

Changes in Readership and Viewership 186

Changes in Media Ownership 189

Freedom of the Press 191

Limits to Press Freedom 192

The Electronic Media 193

Reporting the News 195

What Is News? 195

Telling the Story 197

Evaluating the News Media 199

Ideological Bias 200

Cynicism 201

News as Entertainment 202

On the Campaign Trail 203

Reporting Leaks 205

The News Media and Democracy 206

Summary 207

Key Terms 208

#### POLITICAL PARTIES

209

What Is a Political Party? 210

Party Functions 211

Characteristics of U.S. Political Parties 213

The Spatial Theory of Elections 214

The U.S. Two-Party System Versus Multiparty Systems 216

The Spatial Model Applied to Real Politics 216

The History of U.S. Parties and Elections 219

The First Party System (1796–1824) 219

The Second Party System (1828–1856) 220

The Third Party System (1860–1892) 220

The Fourth Party System (1896–1928) 220

The Fifth Party System (1932-?) 221

Critical Elections and Party Realignment Theory 221

From Realignment to Dealignment? 222

The Uncertain Future 223

Modern Party Organization 224

Local Organizations 225

State Organizations 228

National Organizations 229

Relationships Among Party Organizations 230

Summary 230

Key Terms 231

Readings for Further Study 231

#### CHAPTER



#### INTEREST GROUPS

233

Defining Interest Groups 234

Interest Groups Versus Political Parties 235

The Roles of Interest Groups 235

The Growth of Interest Groups 237

The Diversity of Organized Interests 238

Economic Interest Groups 238

Citizen Groups 239

Government Interest Groups 240

Coalitions and Divisions 241

Interest Group Formation and Maintenance 241

Obstacles to Interest Group Formation 242

Overcoming Obstacles to Interest Group Formation 243

Interest Group Maintenance 244

Interest Group Bias 245

Interest Group Strategies 246

Creating Political Action Committees 246

Lobbying the Government 249

Mobilizing Public Opinion 251

Litigating 254





Interest Group Influence 255

External Factors 255

Internal Factors 255

The Balance Sheet on Interest Groups 257

A Love/Hate Relationship 257

Calls for Reform 258

The Contributions of Interest Groups 259

Summary 259

Key Terms 260

Readings for Further Study 260

### CHAPTER 10

#### Congress

261



The Structure of Congress 262

Bicameralism 262

The House of Representatives 263

The Senate 264

The Evolution of Congress 264

Changing Attitudes Toward Service in Congress 265

Change in the House 265

Change in the Senate 269

Getting There and Staying There—Congressional Elections 270

Incumbents and Reelection 270

The Election Setting 271

The Incumbents' Advantages 273

The Challengers' Disadvantages 278

Voters and Election Outcomes 279

Serving in Congress 280

Who Serves? 280

Congress as a Job 282

Congress as an Organization 283

Political Parties in Congress 283

Party Leadership in Congress 284

Committees 287

Staff 289

The Business of Congress 290

The Legislative Process 290

Decision Making 293

Policy Oversight 295

Congress and the Idea of Representation 297

Summary 298

Key Terms 299

#### CHAPTER

#### 11

#### THE PRESIDENCY

301

The Development of the Presidency 302

The Presidency on Paper: Constitutional Rules 302

The Presidency in Practice: Applying the Rules 305

The Advent of the "Modern" Presidency 306

Selecting a President 307

The Nomination Process 308

The General Election 312

The Electoral College 315

Consequences for Governing 317

The Presidency as an Institution 318

The Powers of the Presidency 318

The Organizational Structure of the Presidency 320

The Workings of the Presidency 323

The Presidency in American Politics 328

The Political Context: Permanent Crisis 328

Presidential Strategies 330

Presidential Relationships 331

Summary 334

Key Terms 335

Readings for Further Study 335



#### CHAPTER

#### 12

#### THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY

337

What Is Bureaucracy? 339

The Structure and Tasks of the Federal Bureaucracy 340

Types of Federal Agencies 340

The Tasks of the Federal Bureaucracy 343

Development of the Federal Bureaucracy 344

Constitutional Foundations 345

The Growth of the Federal Bureaucracy 345

The Expanding Functions of the Federal Bureaucracy 347

Changes in the Federal Bureaucracy's Personnel System 350

The Politics of the Federal Bureaucracy 352

The Political Character of the Federal Bureaucracy 352

The Goals of the Federal Bureaucracy 353

The Political Resources of the Federal Bureaucracy 354

Political Constraints on the Federal Bureaucracy 357

Iron Triangles and the Federal Bureaucracy 361

The Evolving Role of the Bureaucracy 364

Reinventing the Federal Bureaucracy 364

Summary 366

Key Terms 367





#### THE COURTS

369

The Federal Courts 370

The Constitution and the Federal Courts 370

Congress and the Federal Courts 371

The Federal Court System 372

The Federal Courts as Policy Makers 373

Judicial Review, Judicial Activism, and Policy Making 373

Limitations on the Courts 375

The Supreme Court as a Political Institution 377

The Characteristics of the Court 377

The Politics of Nomination and Confirmation 379

Presidential Legacies on the Supreme Court 381

Decision Making at the Supreme Court 381

Hearing a Case 382

Individual Decision Making 383

Supreme Court Opinions 384

Voting Patterns 385

Who Wins Before the Supreme Court? 386

The Lower Federal Courts 386

District Courts 387

Courts of Appeal 387

Nomination and Confirmation 387

State Courts 389

Organization 389

Judicial Selection 389

Length of Service 390

State Laws 390

Summary 391

Key Terms 392

Readings for Further Study 393

#### **APPENDIXES**

- A The Declaration of Independence 395
- B Federalist No. 10 397
- C Federalist No. 51 400
- D The Presidents and Vice Presidents of the United States 402
- E American Political Parties Since 1789 403

Notes 404

Glossary 427

Credits 433

Name Index 434

Subject Index 438

#### **CHAPTER**

#### 1

### STUDYING THE DYNAMICS OF DEMOCRACY: CONFLICT, RULES, AND CHANGE



Politics and Conflict

The Roots of Conflict

The Role of Government in Managing

Conflict

Government as Rule Maker
Structural Rules
Policy Rules

The Biased Character of Rules The Changing Rules of Government Putting It All Together: Context, Participants, and Institutions in the Political Process

The Context of American Politics Individuals and Groups in American Politics

The Institutions of American Politics

Summary

Key Terms