STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

BRIEF VERSION

BENJAMIN I. PAGE

THE STRUGGLE FOR Democracy

Brief Version

Edward S. Greenberg

UNIVERSITY OF COLORAD 3

Benjamin I. Page Northwestern universi y Acquisitions Editor: Leo A. W. Wiegman
Developmental Editor: Ann Marie Kirby
Project Editor: Donna DeBenedictis
Design Manager: John Sparks
Cover Designers: John Sparks and Amy Trombat
Cover Photograph: John D. Bunns, Jr./Archive Photos
Art Studio: Burmar
Photo Researcher: Corrine Johns
Electronic Production Manager: Alexandra Odulak
Manufacturing Manager: Hilda Koparanian

Manufacturing Manager: Hilda Koparaman

Electronic Page Makeup: LaToya Wigfall and Joanne Del Ben

Printer and Binder: RR Donnelley & Sons Company

Cover Printer: The Lehigh Press, Inc.

Cover Fritter. The Length Hess, Inc.

For permission to use copyrighted material, grateful acknowledgment is made to the copyright holders on pp. C1–C2, which are hereby made part of this copyright page.

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY, BRIEF VERSION

Copyright © 1996 by HarperCollins College Publishers HarperCollins $^{\mathbb{R}}$ and $\stackrel{\bullet}{=}$ $^{\mathbb{R}}$ are registered trademarks of HarperCollins Publishers Inc.

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address HarperCollins College Publishers, 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022. For information about any HarperCollins title, product, or resource, please visit our World Wide Web site at htt://www.harpercollins.com/college.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Greenberg, Edward S., 1942-

The struggle for democracy. Brief version / Edward S. Greenberg, Benjamin I. Page.

p. cm. Includes index. ISBN 0-06-501290-9

1. Democracy—United States 2. United States—Politics and government. I. Page, Benjamin I. II. Title
JK274.G692 1996
320.473—dc20 95-33087

0-00007 CIT



We are delighted that the first two editions of *The Struggle for Democracy* were received so enthusiastically by undergraduate students and instructors around the country. The reception confirmed our belief that a new kind of textbook was needed for the introductory course in American government and politics, one that took students seriously and challenged them to think critically not only about how the political system works, but also about how well it fits their expectations about a democratic polity. In this brief version, we retain the fundamentals of the empirical and normative analyses found in *The Struggle for Democracy*, even while we shorten the discussion by eliminating some illustrative materials—but only where such a step does no harm to understanding—as well as separate policy chapters. We have done this in response to the suggestions of several faculty users and potential adopters who said they needed a briefer treatment, either because they choose not to include public policy in their introductory course and/or because they assign additional, specialized readings. We are happy to have been able to respond to their teaching needs with this new version.

We decided to write *The Struggle for Democracy* for two main reasons. First, we were impressed and excited by the growing demand by people all over the world for freedom and democracy. We thought it would be timely, in light of recent struggles for democracy in places like South Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union, to reexamine questions about the health and vitality of freedom and democracy in the United States, the original home of liberal democracy and inspiration for much that has transpired in the world. Second, we were convinced that students needed some new analytical and normative tools to help them understand and evaluate what was happening around them. Our experience in teaching the introductory course in American government and politics is that students are unsure how to make sense of the avalanche of seemingly unrelated facts about political life they confront every day. Our intention from the beginning has been to provide the tools that will help them do so.

The Struggle for Democracy, Brief Version, has three defining features. First, it presents a powerful yet simple analytical framework for understanding how the

American political system works. This framework helps students make sense of the numerous and seemingly disconnected facts about American government and politics. We illustrate how the elements of our political system relate to one another in readily understood patterns and how politics and government are influenced by factors such as the economy, the organization of society, American culture, and the changing international system. Second, the text engages the reader's critical faculties by carefully defining democracy and then asking the reader to ponder 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. Third, the dramatic thread that holds the discussion together is the struggle for democracy. We believe the United States is a far more democratic place than it was, and that the main cause of this development has been the determination of Americans to fight for popular sovereignty, political equality, and liberty. We believe, moreover, that the United States is less democratic than it might be and that further progress will depend on the continuing struggle for democracy. This theme is woven throughout the book and is the subject of a special boxed feature that appears in each chapter.

COVERAGE

We have included all the usual topics covered in the introductory course: the Founding, the Constitution, federalism, and political development; public opinion, voting and elections, political parties, interest groups, the mass media; Congress, the presidency, the executive branch/bureaucracy, and the courts; state and local governments; and policy outputs, including civil rights and liberties, social welfare, economic policy, and foreign military policy. We have tried to make this material fresh, however, by organizing it within an innovative yet simple framework, and by raising important issues in democratic theory. Each standard topic is treated analytically in relation to a multitude of governmental, political, and structural factors, and normatively in terms of its relationship to democracy.

Our approach allows us not only to talk about the traditional topics in a fresh way but also to pay attention to topics that are not well covered in other texts. There is, for instance, much greater attention paid to *structural* factors and their impact: the free enterprise system; the nature of U.S. society and its population; the political culture; and the international economic, political, and military systems. There is, moreover, a greater emphasis on the presentation of *historical* materials, since the intellectual themes that animate the text require such attention, especially to American political history as the history of the struggle for democracy. There is, finally, much attention paid to *comparative* materials, since the authors believe that better understanding, especially of structural factors, can only occur if students are drawn out of parochial perspectives. Comparative materials are highlighted in the body of the text by a small globe in the margin. Though we hold definite views about democracy and its desirability, we are aware that many of the issues addressed in this book are not settled and that



some scholars and citizens may well disagree with us. Hence the text gives ample space to views that do not agree with our own.

The text depends on empirical evidence of many kinds, from the latest quantitative studies in the social sciences to qualitative historical studies and journalistic accounts. Where controversy or uncertainty exists, we acknowledge it frankly. Although students need to know which facts and explanations are settled and known, they also need to know when information or explanation remains unsettled and open to debate. In this way we hope to introduce students to the idea that social science is an ongoing enterprise in which many questions are not yet answered. We do not leave students rudderless, however; the text framework allows students to raise their own questions and to incorporate new information and explanations as they encounter them.

FEATURES

We have incorporated a number of features intended 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 range from Thomas Paine's 1776 publication of Common Sense
 to District Judge John Sirica's role in uncovering the Watergate conspiracy.
- In This Chapter lists the major discussion topics of each chapter.
- An opening story highlights the major themes of each chapter by describing an important event or development that continues to affect contemporary American politics, such as the Vietnam War, Watergate, the Reagan Revolution, and Roe v. Wade.
- Boldfaced terms are keyed to chapter-ending lists and a *glossary* at the end of the text.
- Comparative materials are highlighted in the margin by a globe, drawing students' attention to the discussion.
- A chapter Summary helps students review important chapter materials.
- A list of annotated Suggestions for Further Reading, appearing at the end of each chapter, helps students delve deeper into subjects that interest them.
- Film and Politics boxes examine how Hollywood portrays various aspects of American politics. Unique in introductory textbooks, this feature reflects the importance we attribute to popular culture in shaping American political life.

We also provide an appendix and a glossary to which students may refer frequently.

- The Declaration of Independence
- The Constitution

- Federalist Papers Nos. 10 and 51
- A complete listing of United States Presidents and Congresses
- · A glossary of technical terms

SUPPLEMENTS

HarperCollins developed 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*.

FOR THE INSTRUCTOR

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL

Written by Mary L. Carns of Stephen F. Austin State University, the *Instructor's Manual* will help instructors prepare stimulating 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 discussions that complement the themes in the text. For each text chapter, the *Instructor's Manual* provides a detailed list of all pedagogical features found in the book as well as a useful cross-referencing guide to help instructors integrate all of the supplements available from HarperCollins. The manual also includes a new multimedia section containing annotated descriptions of a wide variety of films, video, and software.

TEST BANK

Robert England of Oklahoma State University wrote and revised approximately 2,500 multiple-choice, short-answer, true-false, matching, and essay questions expressly designed to reinforce and test students' knowledge of the *concepts* and *themes* presented in the brief version of *The Struggle for Democracy*. Each question is cross-referenced to the corresponding text topic and page number. To promote greater testing flexibility, about 15 percent of the multiple-choice questions appear in the *Study Guide* or the *SuperShell* computerized tutorial. Each question is also accompanied by a descriptor indicating the required skill level, whether a question is new or revised, and whether it appears in the *Study Guide* or on *SuperShell*. The *Test Bank* is available in both print and electronic formats.

TESTMASTER

The *Test Bank* is available on *TestMaster* software, allowing instructors to edit existing questions and add new questions. *TestMaster* is available for IBM PCs and compatibles and Macintosh.

Coordinated with the *TestMaster* program, *QuizMaster* allows instructors to give students timed or untimed tests on-line; on completing tests, students can see their scores and view or print diagnostic reports listing topics or objectives

that have been mastered or topics requiring further review. When *QuizMaster* is installed on a network, student scores are saved so instructors can view student, class, or course progress. *QuizMaster* is available for IBM PCs and compatibles and Macintosh.

E-MAIL

Instructors can address their questions and comments about *The Struggle for Democracy* directly to Ed Greenberg, one of the book's authors, at the University of Colorado through E-mail. Greenberg can be reached via the Internet at **Edward.Greenberg@Colorado.EDU** and he will answer all questions about his book, its concepts and themes, and its use in the classroom. Questions and problems related to availability of the text and ancillary items should, however, be addressed to your local sales representative.

DATA RESOURCE PACKAGE

Prepared by C. Neal Tate of the University of North Texas, the *Data Resource Package* features a compilation of data on the economy, public opinion, elections, income, and political conditions across states. More than 40 tables of data and graphical representations of course data (which can be manipulated with multiple variables) are available in printed and electronic format, the latter suitable for IBM PCs and compatibles and Macintosh computers. The tables and figures amplify the quantitative information in the text.

TRANSPARENCY RESOURCE PACKAGE

John C. Domino of Sam Houston State University has prepared more than 80 full-color transparencies that reinforce the information and themes presented in *The Struggle for Democracy*. These maps, timelines, and graphs include a narrative description and lecture notes to help stimulate classroom discussion. A version of the *Transparency Resource Package* is also available in electronic format for IBM PCs and compatibles and Macintosh computers. For more information, contact your local HarperCollins sales representative.

LASER DISC

Politics in Action was developed by HarperCollins in consultation with political science professors. Fully interactive, the laser disc is organized into 11 chapters that cover broad subjects, such as social movements, the passage of a bill, and the global political economy. Each topic is examined through specific models, including the Women's movement, the passage of the Brady Bill, and NAFTA, and is displayed using various media techniques, such as historical footage, original video, or animation.

FOR THE STUDENT

STUDY GUIDE

Written by Mary L. Carns of Stephen F. Austin State University, the *Study Guide* reinforces text discussions to guide students in their understanding of American

government and politics. Written in a straightforward, student-friendly manner, the guide features an introduction, chapter summaries, key concepts, suggested assignment topics, and research questions and resources. Sample tests, including a mix of conceptual and factual questions, help students evaluate their own understanding of each chapter in *The Struggle for Democracy*.

THE HARPERCOLLINS POLITICAL PAMPHLETEER

To help instructors and students incorporate the expertise of others into lectures and reading, HarperCollins asked specialists in various areas of political science to write essays appropriate for 50-minute classes. Each pamphlet in the series complements or elaborates on the themes raised in *The Struggle for Democracy*. Pamphlet titles include "Congress: The Electoral Connection" by David Canon; "Constitutional Interpretation" by Lief Carter; "Sexual Harassment and the Courts" by John Domino; "Federal Policy Toward the Cities" by Peter Eisinger; "Urban Politics" by Esther Fuchs; "Latinos and US Politics" by Rodney Hero; "Environmental Politics and Public Policy in the 1990's" by Michael Kraft; "Medical Care and American Democracy" by Ted Marmor; "Women and Politics" by Pippa Norris; "American Federal-State-Local Relations in the 1990's" by David Walker; and "Changing Contexts, Changing Rights" by John Winkle.

ANTHOLOGIES

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: READINGS AND CASES, TWELFTH EDITION Edited by Peter Woll, this volume includes essential political documents, both classical and contemporary, and a wide variety of commentary and analysis by theorists, journalists, and leading political figures.

Voices of Dissent: Critical Readings in American Politics, Second Edition Edited by William F. Graves and Joseph G. Peschek, the readings in this volume represent scholarship and commentary from outside the political mainstream, examining the very foundations of American political economy, state structure, and ideology.

STUDENT GUIDE FOR INTERPRETING THE MEDIA

Written by David Paletz of Duke University, this guide (available separately or packaged with *The Struggle for Democracy*) helps students interpret the viewpoints and biases of American media. The guide includes a discussion of how the media influence politics and the way we interpret political events and issues; a series of active learning exercises tied to the themes in the text; and an annotated listing of various media and their biases.

SUPERSHELL STUDENT TUTORIAL SOFTWARE

Prepared by Robert England of Oklahoma State University (also the author of the *Test Bank*), *SuperShell* helps students retain key concepts and ideas from *The Struggle for Democracy* through a versatile drill-and-practice format. Each chapter features chapter outlines for the text, glossary terms and their definitions in a flash-card format, and 40 multiple-choice, 20 true-false, and 20 short-answer

questions that are not found in the *Study Guide*. *SuperShell* provides immediate correct answers and page references, maintains a running score of each student's performance, and is available for IBM PCs and compatibles.

E-MAIL

Students can address their questions and comments about *The Struggle for Democracy* directly to Ed Greenberg, one of the book's authors, at the University of Colorado through E-mail. Greenberg can be reached via the Internet: **Edward.Greenberg@Colorado.EDU**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Writing and producing an introductory textbook is an incredibly complex, 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 and talented people at HarperCollins College Publishers. The Brief Version is based on the larger textbook, now in its second edition. For their help on these editions, we would like to convey special thanks to our first executive editor, Lauren Silverman, whose guidance, attention, affection, and intelligence are greatly appreciated. Leo Wiegman, Lauren's successor, brought great knowledge and love of the discipline to this edition, and his experience proved invaluable. Special thanks also go to Susan Katz, who believed in and supported this book from the beginning, and to Marcus Boggs, who also showed his support in many ways. Arthur Pomponio, the development editor for the first edition, helped us keep our argument straight and our eye on the prize. We would like to thank Ann Kirby for her great work as development editor on this brief version. Photo researcher Corrine Johns pulled together another outstanding photo program, and Donna DeBenedictis once again did an incredible job as project editor. We also acknowledge others on the HarperCollins production staff: Alexandra Odulak, electronic production manager, and LaToya Wigfall, Joanne Del Ben, and Jill Little who paged our book electronically. Marketing manager Suzanne Daghlian has continued to convey our vision successfully to the HarperCollins sales force.

Likewise, there are many colleagues we want to thank. Ken Kollman, an assistant professor at the University of Michigan, provided immensely valuable contributions to both the first and second editions and their supplements. Vicki Ash, a graduate student at the University of Colorado, was a wonderful research assistant whose help we couldn't have done without. Thad Tecza and Doug Costain, both of the University of Colorado, provided materials and offered comments on several chapters in the first edition. 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 the second edition. Ed Greenberg offers special thanks for help on the second edition to Mike Lynn for his many hours of research assistance; to Yvette West at Basemar Village Video, whose advice on the Film and Politics boxes was invaluable; and, most of all, Ed Greenberg expresses his appreciation to the students in his introductory American Government and Politics course at the University of Colorado for revealing, in no uncer-

tain terms, what worked and what didn't work in the first edition. Ben Page would particularly like to thank Aaron Bicknese, Noelle Gonzales, Heajeong Lee, Richard Powell, and David Wrobel for their help with the second edition.

HarperCollins enlisted the help of many political scientists on various aspects of this project. We would like to extend our appreciation to the following political scientists, who advised, consulted, and guided us through *The Struggle for Democracy:*

Melanie J. Blumberg
The University of Akron
Matthew Burbank
Washington State University
Daniel P. Gregory
El Camino College
Eric Grier
Georgia State University
Maria de los Angelos Guido
Bentley College
Christopher B. Jones
Eastern Oregon State College

Carl Lieberman
The University of Akron
Stan Luger
University of Northern Colorado
Patrick J. McGeever
Indiana University
Michael D. Martinez
University of Florida
Charles Noble
California State University—
Long Beach

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

EDWARD S. GREENBERG

Benjamin Q. Page

BENJAMIN I. PAGE

THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY



Preface xv

| | ħ | | |
|--|---|----|--|
| | | ı | |
| | ı | L, | |
| | | | |

Introduction: An Approach to American Political Life 1

Chapter 1 Understanding and Evaluating American Politics 3

The Struggle for Democracy 3
To Understand and Evaluate 3

The Collapse of Jim Crow: A Case Study 4

The Legislative Triumphs of 1964 and 1965 5

A Framework for Understanding American Politics 8

Applying the Framework to the Civil Rights Case 10

Future Uses of the Analytical Framework 15

Democracy as a Standard by Which to Evaluate Politics

and Government 17

The Root Meaning of Democracy 17

Direct Versus Representative Democracy 18

Fundamental Principles of Representative Democracy 18

Possible Objections to Majoritarian, Representative Democracy

Democracy as an Evaluative Standard 24



Structure 29

Chapter 2 The Making of the Constitution 31

Shays's Rebellion 31

The American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence 32

The Declaration of Independence 32

The Political Theory and Practice of the Revolutionary Era 33

The Articles of Confederation: The First Constitution 36

Provisions of the Articles 37

Unsolved Problems 38

The Calling of the Constitutional Convention 39 Republicanism 39 Democratizing Tendencies 40 The Threat to Property Rights 40 The Constitutional Convention 41 Who Were the Founders? 41 Consensus and Conflict at the Convention 41 What the Framers Wrought 44 Ratification 48 The Changing Constitution, Democracy, and American Politics 50 Federalism: States and Nation Chapter 3 Federalism in Action: Automobile Fuel Efficiency and Clean Air 55 Federalism: An American Institution 56 What Is Federalism? 58 Why Federalism? 59 U.S. Federalism—Pro and Con 61 The Constitution and Shared Powers 63 Conflict Over the Working of Federalism Supreme Court Review Over the States 66 The Triumph of National Power 67 National Grants-in-Aid to the States 71 The Growth of Grants-in-Aid 71 The Slowdown in Federal Money: Structural, Political, and Governmental Factors 74 National Versus Local Control 76 Forms of Federal Regulation 76 State Innovation and Burdens on the States 78 Democracy and Federalism 78 Chapter 4 The Evolving Structure of the United States 85 Datsun Storms America 85 American Society 87 Population Characteristics 87 The American Standard of Living 93 The American Economy 98 How American Capitalism Has Changed Over the Years The United States in the International System 101 The United States as a Superpower 101 A Multipower-Centered World? The American Political Culture 103 Individualism 104 Limited Government 104 Free Enterprise 105 Citizenship and the Nature of the Political Order 106

Populism 106

Piety 110 Structural Influences on American Politics 111



Politics 117

Chapter 5 Public Opinion 119

The Vietnam War and the Public 119 Democratic Theory and Public Opinion What People Know About Politics 122 Political Attitudes 126 Basic Values and Beliefs 126 Policy Preferences 129 Party Loyalties 131 Evaluations of Government's Performance 132 Sources of Political Beliefs 134 Family 134 Schools 135 Workplace and Home 135 Political Events 136 Economic and Social Structure 136 How People Differ 137 Race and Ethnicity 137 Religion 140 Region 141 City and Country 142 Social Class 143 Educational Level 144 Gender 145 Age 145 Public Opinion and Policy 146 Effects of Public Opinion on Policy 146

Chapter 6 The Mass Media 153

Covering the Watergate Scandal 153
The Mass Media and Politics 154
Structure: The Development of Journalism in America 156
Newspapers 156
Magazines and Electronic Media 158
How the Media Work 160
Organization of the Mass Media 160
News Making 163
Official Sources 164
Pressure 165
Objectivity 166
Is the News Biased? 167

183

Dominant Points of View 168
Effects of the Media on Politics 170
Censorship and Government Regulation 171
Constitutional Protection 171
Electronic Media 173
The Mass Media and Democracy 175

Chapter 7 Interest Groups and Corporations 181

Interest Groups and the Savings and Loan Crisis What Role for Interest Groups in a Democratic Society? The Evils of Faction 183 Groups as Instruments of Democracy 184 Interest Group Formation: Structural, Political, and Governmental Factors 185 Diverse Interests 186 The Political Culture 186 The Rules of the Game 186 The Growth in Government 186 Disturbances 187 Incentives 187 Represented Interests 188 Private-Interest Groups 188 Public-Interest Groups 192 What Interest Groups Do 192 The Inside Game 192 The Outside Game 195 The Interest Group System and Democracy 198 Representational Inequalities 198 Resource Inequalities 200 Access Inequality 202 The Special Place of Business Corporations Curing the Mischief of Factions

Chapter 8 Political Parties 215

Roosevelt's Electoral Victory and Legislative Defeat 215
The Role of Political Parties in a Democracy 216
The Two-Party System 218
A History of the Two-Party System 218
Explaining Realignment 222
Why a Two-Party System? 224
Electoral Rules 224
Restrictions on Minor Parties 225
Popular Attitudes 226
The Absence of a Strong Labor Movement 226
Minor Parties in the Two-Party System 227
The Parties as Organizations 227

Their Insubstantial Nature 228
Formal Organization 228
The Primacy of Candidates 229
Party Goals 232
Ideology and Program 233
Are the Parties Becoming More Ideological? 234
The Parties in Government 235
The Problem of Divided Party Government 236
Parties in the Electorate 237
Party Decline, Reform, and Democracy 237

Chapter 9 Voting and Elections 245

The Electoral Punishment of George Bush 245 Elections and Democracy Responsible-Party Government 248 Electoral Competition 249 Electoral Reward and Punishment 250 Political Participation 251 The Expansion of the Franchise 251 The Vanishing Electorate 254 Who Votes? 257 Campaigning for Office 259 Running for a Presidential Nomination 259 Campaigning for the White House 266 Money and Elections 268 Election Outcomes How Voters Decide 270 Do Elections Matter? 273

Chapter 10 Social Movements 279

Social Movements and Abortion Policy 279 What Are Social Movements? Social Movements and Democracy 282 The Rise of Social Movements 283 Social Distress 284 Resources for Mobilization 285 Supportive Environment 286 Sense of Efficacy 286 Catalyst 287 What Do Social Movements Do? The Decline of Social Movements 289 Why Some Social Movements Succeed and Others Do Not 291 Low-Impact Social Movements 291 Repressed Social Movements 291 Partially Successful Social Movements 292

比为试读,需要完整PDF请访问: www.ertongbook.com