

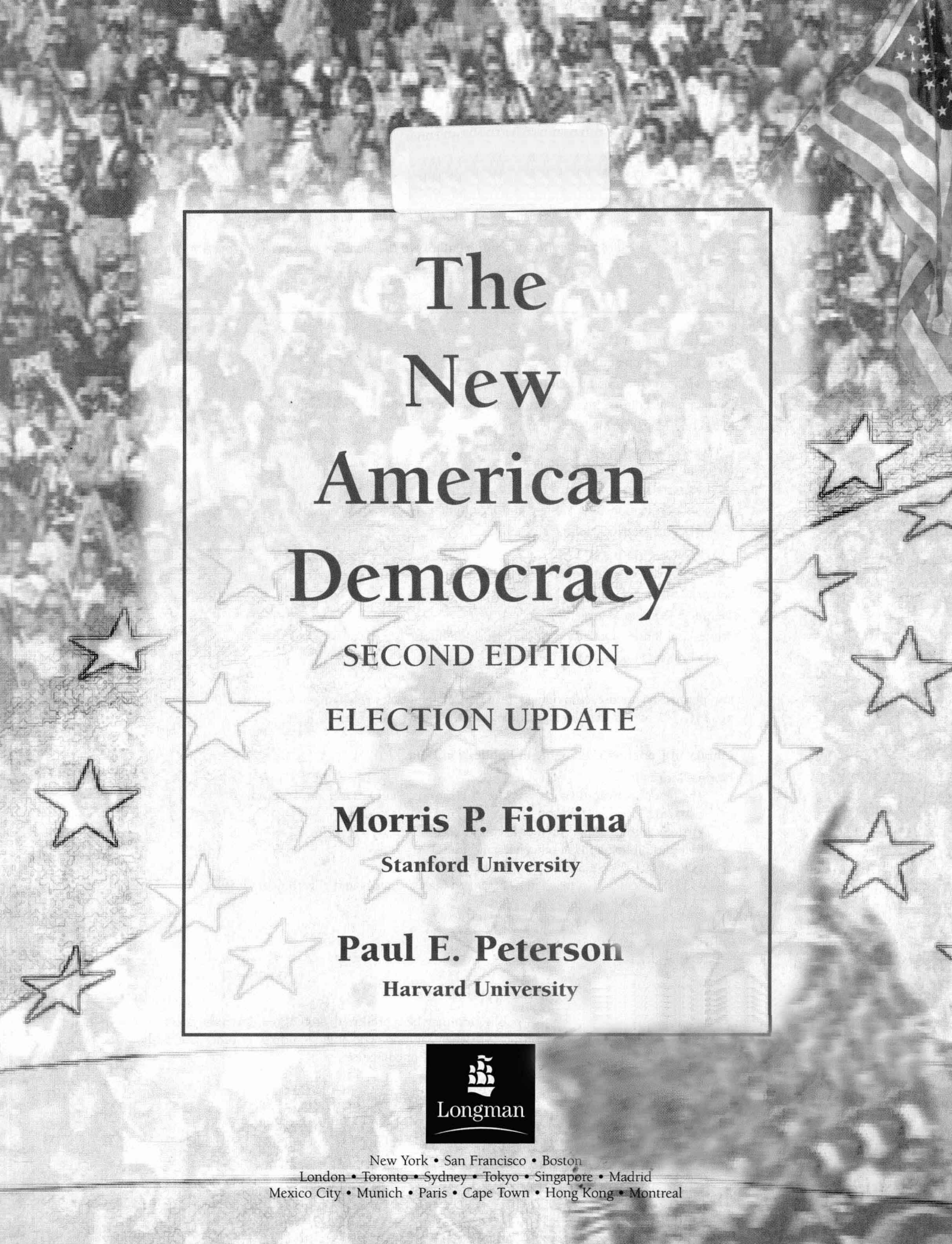
# The New American Democracy

ELECTION UPDATE

Second  
Edition

MORRIS P. FIORINA  
PAUL E. PETERSON





# The New American Democracy

SECOND EDITION  
ELECTION UPDATE

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Harvard University



New York • San Francisco • Boston  
London • Toronto • Sydney • Tokyo • Singapore • Madrid  
Mexico City • Munich • Paris • Cape Town • Hong Kong • Montreal

## ***Dedication***

*To George Cole, John Kessel, Wayne Merrick, and other members of  
the Allegheny College Political Science Department, circa 1966*

*As well as to Harding C. Noblitt, Concordia College*

*All of whom introduced the authors to the wonders of American government*

*In appreciation for their teaching excellence*

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# Preface for Students

This text grew out of a decade of teaching the introductory course together. As we listened to each other's lectures each year we noticed that our course was evolving into one whose underlying theme was both more specific than and different from the themes that could be found in other American government textbooks. Specifically, elections and their repercussions gradually became the primary connecting thread that tied together our lectures and discussions. In part, this emphasis reflected our own backgrounds and interests. Fiorina has devoted his professional career to the study of elections—both narrowly, in the sense of why people vote the way they do, and more broadly, in the sense of how elections affect politicians, political institutions, and the policies they produce. Peterson began his career with a focus on citizen participation in the War on Poverty and later studied the way the federal system limited what local officials could do. In recent years, he has examined the ways elections shape government response to budget deficits, welfare needs, race relations, educational issues, and the changing foreign policy environment. But it was not just our own research interests that brought election issues to the fore. Both of us attempt to keep our lectures connected to present-day government and politics, and as a reflection of a changing reality, we found our lectures increasingly infused with the connections between elections and the work of government.

We have learned that students are keenly aware of the way elections affect the decisions and strategies of political leaders, as well as a great many other things that happen in government. As a result, we have written a different kind of American government textbook, one that gives a central place to elections and their consequences.

## *Level and Tone of This Textbook*

It is all too common today to criticize the preparation and motivation of American undergraduate students: the belief that students are less well prepared for college work and less motivated to undertake it than in the “good old days” is widespread. This viewpoint has led some instructors to oversimplify their courses and the readings they assign. This, in turn, has led some publishers to urge textbook writers to oversimplify their books to make them more suitable for this contemporary world.

Our view is that you may be different from students of a generation ago, but that does not necessarily mean that you are any less capable. Some think students are less proficient in skills such as writing. Perhaps so, but you also have skills that were nonexistent years ago. (We bet that on average you are better at surfing the Internet than your professors!) As for motivation, that is something not purely your responsibility. It is our job as teachers to make the material as stimulating to you and as relevant to your lives as possible. Our premise is that undergraduate students are fully capable of understanding information and analyses that are clearly expressed. For this reason, this book emphasizes meaning and significance. It contains considerable interpretation in addition to the essential facts.

We do not shy away from controversy. Some individuals in American higher education would protect students from intellectual discomfort. The consequences of such beliefs include well-intentioned efforts to place some subjects and arguments outside the boundaries of classroom discussion. We do not agree with this approach. Our view is that politics is fundamentally about conflict. People have conflicting interests and, even more seriously, conflicting values. Politics is the nonviolent resolution of such conflicts. People can settle their disagreements and rise above their dislikes through political deliberation, or they can choose weapons, as so many have over the course of human history.

We believe that you need to learn to engage in such political deliberation. Within the bounds of civil discourse, you should be challenged, even at times provoked. Education proceeds by defending one's viewpoints and by learning to understand those of others. Thus, in the chapters that follow, we consider arguments that some of you may find uncomfortable. In the realm of education, a better, clearer understanding supersedes all other values.

Although the study of American politics is far more than the study of current events, a book that emphasizes the importance of elections can make its points come to life by placing them in the context of contemporary politics. This second edition is a complete revision of the first edition, updated and enhanced to include information about important recent events such as the impeachment of President Clinton, the arrival of a new era of budgetary surplus, the latest Supreme Court decisions, the impact of Welfare Reform, and the 2000 campaigns and elections. Of course, these stories—like politics generally—continue to evolve, and we hope this text provides you with the information you need to understand future developments.

### ***Specific Features***

This book has a number of specific features, many related to our elections theme. We call your attention to the following:

- Each chapter introduces you to the subject matter with an **opening vignette** on a high-interest issue or incident. Some are classics from American history, while others are current events. Examples include the debate over whether carrying a gun on school grounds should be a federal crime (Chapter 3—Federalism); a comparison of differing media and public responses to Vietnam War-era events (Chapter 9—The Media); President Clinton's stand on gays in the military (Chapter 13—The Presidency: Powers and Practice); and the recent uproar over affirmative action in California (Chapter 17—Civil Rights). Following each vignette is a list of the questions and topics that the chapter covers.
- To illustrate the book's focus on electoral forces, each chapter includes a box entitled **Election Connection**, describing the relationship between elections and institutions or policies, often by describing how a particular election shaped a feature of American government. For instance, Chapter 4's describes California's Proposition 187; Chapter 9's details the media's role in the election of 1960; Chapter 10's reports on the campaign finance scandals of 1996; and Chapter 19's discusses how the economy shaped the election of 1980.
- Each chapter contains a special box that compares a feature of American government with a similar feature in other countries. This **International Comparison** will give you a better understanding of the strengths and limitations of American democracy by letting you think about real alternatives, not just unattainable ideals. Chapter 1's looks at the timing of elections in other democracies; Chapter 2's looks at the making of a constitution in Russia; and Chapter 10's explains why campaign financing isn't such a big issue in other countries. Chapter 16's surveys what other countries are doing to protect privacy in the Internet age; and Chapter 17's outlines controversies over the civil rights of minorities in Great Britain.
- You are given an opportunity to exercise your own critical thinking by considering a **Democratic Dilemma** in each chapter. Are there instances in which democratic values are in conflict? Will policy changes or institutional reforms actually achieve the goals their proponents claim? This special box presents arguments pro and con, poses questions, and invites students to grapple with them. Examples include Chapter 1's consideration of the conflict between responsive and efficient government, Chapter 4's listing of multicultural issues, Chapter 14's reflection on whether or not bureaucrats should be partisans, and Chapter 18's discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of regulation.
- Each chapter includes full **marginal definitions** for key terms that are boldfaced in the text and included in the end-of-book Glossary.



## New to This Edition

This book has been extensively revised since its first edition. This second edition includes substantive rewrites and reorganization, the addition of new features, and the inclusion of the latest information on key topics. For example:

- Extended explanations of historical practices or terms appear in a new feature called **Window on the Past**. Chapter 4's explains the origin of the "melting pot" metaphor; Chapter 6's discusses the important Voting Rights Act of 1965, Chapter 15's explains the Supreme Court's pivotal decision in *Marbury v. Madison*, and Chapter 20's reviews the history of U.S. involvement in the Philippines.
- Because we are emphasizing what is new in American democracy, we provide the most up-to-date information and examples possible, including discussion of the following:
  - The 2000 elections
  - The politics of gun control
  - The projected federal budget surplus
  - Recent developments in state and local politics, including the history and implications of redistricting
  - The latest Supreme Court decisions concerning federalism, civil liberties, and other issues, including the reaffirmation of the Miranda decision
  - The impeachment and trial of President Clinton and resulting implications for future presidents
  - The emerging conflicts over U.S. trade policy
  - The civil rights of Latinos, Asian Americans, and gays and lesbians
- We have added new **critical thinking questions** to most figures, photographs, and boxes to provoke discussion and thought about the issues at hand.
- At the end of each chapter we include a new **On the Web** feature to direct readers to Web sites where they can find more information on the topics discussed.
- Throughout the text, icons can be found in the margins referring readers to *LongmanParticipate.com*, Longman's new interactive Web site for American Government. Each icon appears next to a particular topic and indicates that a simulation, visual literacy exercise, interactive timeline, participation activity, or comparative government exercise related to that topic exists on the site. Each activity provides feedback, helps the reader better understand the concepts presented in the text, and makes learning fun. See the insert at the front of this text for more information.
- Also included are new **Section Summaries** throughout each chapter, while a **Chapter Summary, Key Terms** (alphabetized at the end of the chapter, with page references), and annotated **Suggested Readings** appear in revised form at the end of each chapter.



## Supplements

- **LongmanParticipate.com** ([www.longmanparticipate.com](http://www.longmanparticipate.com)). More interactive, more comprehensive, and more engaging than any American Government Web site currently available, LongParticipate.com offers instructors and students an exciting new resource for teaching and learning about our political system that's easy to integrate into any course. For each major topic in American government, there are five highly interactive, in-depth exercises (simulation, visual literacy, interactive timeline, participation activity, and comparative government) and much more! Every new copy of the text comes with a **free** six-month subscription to this revolutionary new site. LongmanParticipate.com icons in the margins of this text direct students to relevant activities on the site.
- **Companion Web Site** ([www.ablongman.com/fiorina](http://www.ablongman.com/fiorina)). This companion Web site provides a wealth of resources for students and instructors using *The New American Democracy*, Second Edition. Students will find chapter summaries, practice tests, Web links, simulations, a guide to researching online, and a variety of other learning tools. Instructors will have access to portions of the instructor's manual, PowerPoint® slides, downloadable figures from the text, and teaching links.

- **Interactive Edition CD-ROM.** The Interactive Edition CD-ROM is a dynamic learning tool that combines your textbook with the latest in multimedia. The CD contains the full text of the book with contextually placed media icons—audio, video, Web links, practice tests, primary sources, and more—that link students to additional content directly related to key concepts in the text. It is free when ordered packaged with this text.
- **American Government Tutor Center.** This free tutoring service is offered only by Longman. When instructors order *The New American Democracy* packaged with the Tutor Center registration card, their students can contact our tutor—a qualified American government instructor—for help on material in the book. The tutor can be contacted in three toll-free ways: phone, fax, or e-mail.
- **Student Wizard CD-ROM.** Prepared by Michael Meager of the University of Missouri, 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. *Student Wizard* also provides a link to the text-specific Web sites in the textbook to offer students additional pedagogical support. It is available in Windows and Macintosh formats.
- **Study Guide.** Prepared by Larry Elowitz of Georgia College and State University, this study guide contains a chapter outline, significant themes and highlights, learning goals, key terms, sample test questions, and essays.
- **Getting Involved: A Guide to Student Citizenship.** This unique and practical handbook guides students through political participation with concrete advice and extensive sample material—letters, telephone scripts, student interviews, and real-life anecdotes—for getting involved and making a difference in their lives and communities. This is free when ordered packaged with the text.
- **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.
- **Writing in Political Science, Second Edition.** Political science writing requires a distinct set of skills, vocabulary, sources, and methods of inquiry. This guide, by Diane E. Schmidt, takes students step-by-step through all the aspects of writing for political science courses. With an abundance of samples from actual students, the guide also features a section on how to address writing problems and a new section on how to evaluate and cite Internet sources. It is available at a significant discount when packaged with the text.
- **Discounted Penguin-Putnam Inc. Titles.** 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 more than a 60 percent discount when ordered packaged with *The New American 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. It is available free when shrink-wrapped with the text.
- **Texas State Supplement.** This 70-page supplement is a brief primer on state and local issues in Texas for use in the American government course. It is available free when shrink-wrapped with the text.
- **Newsweek Discount Subscription.** Students can receive 12 issues of *Newsweek* magazine at an 80 percent savings off the regular subscription price! Contact your Longman representative for more information.

# To Our Colleagues

The chapters that follow speak directly to students in down-to-earth language. In this preface we address their teachers, our colleagues, in more professional terms, about the reasons we decided to write this text.

A generation ago, one of the leading political scientists of the century, Robert Dahl, published a textbook entitled *Pluralist Democracy in the United States*.<sup>1</sup> Dahl was the acknowledged leader of the pluralist school of American political science, which viewed American politics as a collection of arenas in which leaders of organized interest groups bargained over the substance of public policies, with public officials involved both as brokers and as representatives of broader societal interests. Political institutions, in turn, were viewed as regularized bargaining arenas in which leaders were constrained by formal rules. *Groups, bargaining, leaders, and representation* were the operative terms for understanding American politics.

American politics has changed a good deal since Dahl wrote. Indeed, Dahl himself recently noted a number of these changes:

*Without intending to do so, over the past thirty years or so Americans have created a new political order. Although it retains a seamless continuity with the order it has displaced, in its present form it constitutes something so new that journalists, commentators, scholars, and ordinary citizens are still struggling to understand it.*<sup>2</sup>

Dahl argues that this new political order is more fragmented and more plebiscitary than the old one. The proliferation of interest groups combined with the deterioration of traditional party organizations has strengthened divisive forces and weakened unifying ones. Such political developments, along with social and technological changes, have left public officials more exposed to popular pressures than in the past. As a consequence, Dahl contends, representation and deliberation have suffered. He worries that these changes might create “a pseudo democratic facade on a process manipulated by political leaders to achieve their own agendas.”<sup>3</sup>

Another leading political scientist of Dahl’s generation, Gabriel Almond, weighs in with similar sentiments:

*Television and radio have largely preempted the print media and the primary opinion leaders. . . . Domestic and international events are brought into the living room with powerful visual and emotional impact—a telepopulism that constrains and distorts public policy. The deliberative processes of politics are diluted and heated by this populism, and by “instant” public opinion polls based on telephone samples.*<sup>4</sup>

Although we do not agree with every particular of these indictments, they serve to emphasize that something has happened to American government since the days when an earlier generation of scholars characterized it as a pluralist democracy. For better or for worse, it has become something closer to a popular democracy. In the pages that follow we describe the forces that have brought about these changes as well as their impact on contemporary politics, institutions, and policies. But, we are getting ahead of ourselves here.

Each year as we considered the range of texts available for the introductory American government course, we decided that available books, however worthy, did not match our views. In the first place, many gave less emphasis than we would like to topics that are essential parts of contemporary American politics—elections, most obviously, but also closely related topics such as public opinion, political participation, and the media. Second, in many texts the role of prime mover implicitly is assigned to the courts, whereas we see electoral context as an important influence on judicial activity and judicial outcomes. Third, contemporary textbooks typically separate the study of elections from other major headings: constitutional fundamentals,



bureaucratic politics, the courts, and the formation of public policies. As James Stimson comments:

*In our texts public opinion is a chapter or two. The various branches of government are usually a chapter each. And the connection between what the public wants and what the government does is on the page fold between them. Public opinion is conceptualized as a set of measures and processes that do not speak to government. Governing institutions are studied in a manner which doesn't deny public opinion influence, but doesn't permit its active study. When citizens of Washington, D.C., could not vote the analogy was complete; all opinion was outside the beltway, all government was inside.<sup>5</sup>*

This book breaks down the artificial and unfortunate separation identified by Stimson. Rather than discuss public opinion in one self-contained chapter, political participation in a second, and elections in a third, then move on to a series of institutional and policy chapters, we give public opinion and electioneering their due in individual chapters devoted to those topics, but we continue to trace their effects on other political and institutional processes, culminating in discussions of why American public policies have the shape they do. Thus, the chapters of this text bear the familiar titles, but they are linked by an extended discussion of the pervasiveness of electoral influences in the new American democracy.

When we began writing the first edition of this book in 1993, we knew that our argument for the contemporary dominance of electoral forces would meet with some resistance. Most of the developments we described were fairly recent and we understood that some colleagues might not see as sharp a break with the pre-1960s era as we did. But the passing of seven years has lessened the novelty of our argument. Under Bill Clinton's "horse race presidency" the line between electioneering and governing all but disappeared, as the techniques of the campaign moved to the very pinnacle of government.<sup>6</sup> Our view that contemporary American politics is a "permanent campaign" is now common. In fact, the Pew Charitable Trusts recently organized a consortium of public policy think tanks to study the permanent campaign—how it has affected the range of American institutions and the policy process, with what consequences, and how (whether?) a line between electioneering and governing might once again be drawn.<sup>7</sup> This second edition now lies squarely in the mainstream of thinking about American politics.

We emphasize that to say that public opinion, political campaigns, and elections are of great import is to offer neither a celebrationist nor a cynical interpretation of American politics. On the one hand the shift to a more popular democracy is associated with a greater role for previously disadvantaged voices in the population. No longer are they supplicants—wards of the courts, so to speak; they now exercise electoral power. On the other hand the shift to a more popular democracy grants greater access to special interests and limits opportunities for reflective consideration of the long-range consequences of policy choices. But there is no reason to rush to a critical judgment. Future generations of scholars can judge whether the new order does more or less to advance the welfare of the American people than the old one.

Nor should our emphasis on elections suggest a focus on anything so narrow as what happens on election day or in the campaigns that precede it. When we say that elections play a dominant role, we are thinking not only of their direct effects but also of the indirect ways in which they affect the thinking of interest groups, parties, and public officials, both elected and appointed. It is not so much elections themselves as their anticipation that provides so much of the motive power in contemporary political life in the United States.

Finally, we understand that our colleagues will be understandably skeptical of any attempt to squeeze the study of American government into any single thematic frame—even one defined as broadly as our understanding and interpretation of electoral influence. The subject matter of American government is voluminous, and an introductory course must touch on its many aspects. We do not believe that elections explain all that needs to be known about all aspects of American government and pol-

itics. Our general approach is to consider the incentives at work in any situation. If electoral incentives are often a major force, they certainly are not the only one. Some leaders risk their reputations with the public for the good of the country. Some act out of ideological commitments, regardless of their electoral consequences. Some realize that foreign policies must take into account the interests of nations throughout the world. Where these and other nonelectoral factors are important, we recognize that fact and proceed accordingly. The result is a book that is more focused than most American government texts, but not one that forces the whole subject into a single theme.

In sum, we do not believe this book could or should have been written even as recently as a generation ago. For, although elections have always been central to American politics, we believe, with Dahl, that American politics became significantly more plebiscitary in the late twentieth century. The contributing factors are widely recognized. Transformations in the process of nominating and electing candidates produced an individualistic politics in which each candidate forms his or her own organization rather than relying on a common party organization. Transformations in communications technology—survey research, phone, fax, and the Internet—made it possible for politicians to learn the political impacts of their decisions almost instantaneously. Transformations in the media generated a seemingly insatiable demand for news material—a demand often satisfied by stories about political conflict. In this context, interest groups mushroomed, polls and primaries proliferated, and the permanent campaign arrived on the scene. Older concepts used to characterize pluralist politics—groups, bargaining, leaders, and representation—are still important, but a full and accurate account of American politics today must also include careful consideration of the roles played by the media, polls, and campaigns and elections.

### Approach and Organization

This book cuts across the old categories that characterize existing American government texts: historical development, political “inputs,” institutions, and policy “outputs.” Although we discuss all these aspects of American politics, we approach them in a more integrated manner. Following are a few illustrations of our approach:

- Contemporary practices are compared and contrasted with those existing in earlier periods, making the historical material more relevant to today’s readers.
- Chapters on so-called political inputs focus on the choices of individuals, groups, parties, and the media as a response to the incentives they face.
- Analyses of Congress, the presidency, the bureaucracy, and the judiciary do not just describe the main institutions of government; they also show how elections shape the behavior of officeholders within these institutions.
- Civil liberties and civil rights are treated not simply as the result of judicial decisions but also as the product of electoral forces. These chapters are placed in the policy section of the book, instead of at the beginning as part of the historical foundations of American government, in order to highlight the extent to which basic constitutional rights are themselves shaped by public opinion and electoral outcomes.
- Discussions of public policies do not just list policy problems or classify types of policies, but show how elections in particular and politics in general shape the way policies are addressed and adopted.

Finally, the book offers a critical but fair picture of American government and politics. Any objective observer must recognize that American government and politics have numerous shortcomings. We point out many of them and explain why they exist. But throughout the text we show that, judged against realistic standards, American politics and government are not nearly as blameworthy as the evening news and tabloid shows often suggest.

## Supplements

- **Companion Web Site ([www.ablongman.com/fiorina](http://www.ablongman.com/fiorina)).** This companion Web site provides a wealth of resources for students and instructors using *The New American Democracy, Second Edition*. Students will find chapter summaries, practice tests, Web links, simulations, a guide to researching online, and a variety of other learning tools. Instructors will have access to portions of the instructor's manual, PowerPoint® slides, downloadable figures from the text, and teaching links.
- **American Government Presentation Library CD-ROM.** This complete multimedia presentation tool provides a built-in presentation maker, 20 video clips, 200 photographs, 200 figures and graphs from Longman texts, 20 minutes of audio clips, and links to more than 200 Web sites. Media items can be imported into PowerPoint® and Persuasion® presentation programs.
- **Instructor's Manual.** Written by Linda Faye Williams of the University of Maryland, each chapter of this resource manual contains a Chapter Overview, Key Concepts and Objectives, Chapter Outline, Terms for Review, and Teaching Suggestions.
- **Test Bank with Practice Tests.** This test bank, prepared by Nancy Bond of Ranger College, contains hundreds of multiple-choice, true/false, short answer, and essay questions, all accompanied by an answer key.
- **TestGen EQ Computerized Testing System.** Prepared by Nancy Bond of Ranger College, this flexible, easy-to-use computer 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 formats and can include figures such as graphs and tables.
- **Text-specific Transparency Acetates.** Full-color transparencies drawn from *The New American Democracy* are available.
- **Interactive American Government Video.** Contains 27 video segments on topics ranging from the term-limit debate, to Internet porn, to women in the Citadel. Critical thinking questions accompany each clip, encouraging students to "interact" with the videos.
- **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 Longman sales representative for more information.
- **Active Learning Guide.** This guide is designed to get students actively involved in course material and encourage them to evaluate and defend viewpoints. Included in this guide are role-playing exercises, debates, and Web-based group projects.
- **Choices: An American Government Reader.** This exciting new customizable reader allows instructors to choose from an archive of more than 300 readings to create a reader that exactly matches their course needs. Contact your Longman representative for more information.



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