

THE STRUGGLE FOR  
DEMOCRACY

THIRD EDITION



EDWARD S. GREENBERG

BENJAMIN I. PAGE

# THE STRUGGLE 301283 FOR DEMOCRACY

THIRD EDITION



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# **THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY**



# 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 to understand and appreciate the fascinating and complex operations of American government and politics. The enthusiastic reception of the first two editions of the 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 two main concepts: *democracy* and the story of how people have struggled to achieve it; and *tools for understanding* American government and politics, with special emphasis on the influence of structural factors like the economy, social change, cultural ideas, and the international system.

### ■ 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 for people to rule themselves. We think it is timely and important in light of the struggles for democracy going on in places like South Africa, China, 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** In order to properly examine and evaluate the health and vitality of democracy, 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 the first chapter, we carefully define democracy and suggest key factors that indicate the degree to which any society can be said to be democratic. In each subsequent 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 8, 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 as a way to suggest that the United States is a far more democratic place than it was at the beginning, and that the main reason why this is so has been because of the determination of Americans 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.

### ■ Tools for Understanding Politics and Government

We believe that government and politics can only be understood when they are analyzed in 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.

## Organization and Coverage

For the most part, the text is organized like the typical course in American government and politics. Part I is the introduction to the text and focuses on the issues of democracy and tools for understanding. Part II is about the struc-

tural 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 III focuses on what we call *political linkage* institutions, like 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 IV concentrates on the central institutions of the national government, including the presidency, Congress, and the Supreme Court. Part V includes chapters that describe the kinds of policies that the national government produces and attempt to analyze how effective government is in solving pressing problems.

Although all of the usual topics in the introductory course are covered in the text, our focus on democracy and the struggle for democracy, as well as our focus on tools for understanding that emphasize the larger environment within which American politics and government operate, allows us to talk about the traditional topics in a fresh way and to pay attention to topics that are not well covered in other texts.

- We pay much more attention than other texts to *structural* factors, including 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 first described in Chapter 4—a chapter that is unique among introductory texts—and brought to bear on a wide range of issues throughout 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.
- We attend very carefully to issues of *democratic political theory*. This follows from our critical thinking objective, which asks students to assess the progress and prospects for democracy in the United States, and from our desire to present American history as the history of the struggle for democracy.
- We also include more *historical* information than is common among introductory texts, because the struggle for democracy theme and the attention we pay to evaluating the progress of democracy in the United States require historical perspective. Our focus on the political impact of economic, social, and global change also requires a historical perspective.
- We also include substantial *comparative* information, because we believe that a full understanding of government and politics and of the impact of structural factors on them is only possible after developments, practices, and institutions in the United States are compared to those in other nations. Comparative materials are highlighted in the body of the text by a small globe that appears in the margin.
- Our approach also means that the subjects of *civil liberties* and *civil rights* are not treated in conjunction with the Constitution in Part II, which is the case with many introductory texts, but in Part V on public policy. This is because we believe that the real-world status of civil liberties and civil rights, while partially determined by specific provisions of the Constitution, is better understood as a product 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 on the state of public opinion, degrees of support from elected political leaders, and the decisions of the Supreme Court.

We realize, however, that many instructors prefer to introduce their students to the subjects of civil liberties and civil rights immediately after consideration of the Constitution. Those instructors who feel more comfortable presenting the materials in this way can simply assign the liberties and rights chapters out of order. No harm will occur by doing so.

## What's New in This Edition

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

- 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.
- Civil liberties and civil rights are treated in separate chapters in this edition rather than in a single chapter as in the first two editions. Additionally, the chapters now appear at the beginning of Part V as a way to emphasize the particular importance of rights and liberties in American democracy.
- We have made 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.
- We have placed our analytical framework further into the background. While the framework is still there—it determines the entire argument of the book as well the organization of the chapters—we no longer make it as prominent a feature as it was in the first two editions. A smaller portion of Chapter 1 is devoted to its presentation, for instance, and we no longer ask students to master the framework. We hope and expect that students will come to think about American government and politics in a holistic fashion, with special emphasis on the impact of structural factors like the economy and the global system, in the natural course of absorbing and thinking about materials presented in the text. Those instructors who found the analytical framework useful in their teaching will find that the framework is still here, though more subtly presented, and they can continue to emphasize it in their classes. Those instructors who are not interested in the framework per se, or who think it too complicated for their students, will find that this edition of *The Struggle for Democracy* will enhance their teaching because the analytical framework, though in the background, helps to organize course materials in such a coherent fashion that students can more easily understand the complexities of American government and politics.

## Features

We have incorporated a number of features intended to make learning more interesting and effective. The following features are found in each chapter:



- *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), attempts to reform our present system of campaign finance (Chapter 7), the fight to make “one-person, one-vote” the law of the land (Chapter 14), the on-going effort by women to increase representation and power in governmental institutions (Chapter 15), and Thurgood Marshall’s courageous defense of black civil rights in the deep South in the 1950s (Chapter 17).
- *In This Chapter* opens each chapter and lists the major topics to be addressed.
- 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 welfare reform movement in the states (Chapter 3), corporate downsizing and the rise of income inequality in the United States (Chapter 4), the collapse of the Democratic Party’s New Deal coalition (Chapter 8), the Reagan Revolution (Chapter 12), the Oklahoma City bombing and the rise of militant anti-federal government sentiments (Chapter 13), and the budget deadlock in the 104th Congress and the partial closures of the federal government (Chapter 19). There are also new chapter-opening vignettes on the 1996 presidential and congressional elections.
- Boldfaced terms are tied to *definitions in the margins* and to a *glossary* at the end of the text.
- *Comparative* materials are highlighted in the margin by a globe, drawing students’ attention to the discussion.
- Discussions of *democracy* are highlighted by an icon that serves to draw students’ attention to the topic.
- A chapter *summary* helps students review important chapter materials.
- A list of annotated *Suggested Readings*, appearing at the end of each chapter, helps students delve deeper into subjects that interest them.
- An important new feature for this edition is an annotated *World Wide Web* list (of *Internet Sources*), with Internet addresses that links 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.



The following features appear frequently throughout the text:

*What Role for Government?* is a new boxed feature that addresses the ongoing controversies over the proper role of the national government in American life. Examples include the role of government in job creation in the economy (Chapter 4), in censoring the content of the Internet (Chapter 16), and in providing racial remedies such as affirmative action and minority “set asides” (Chapter 17).

*Politics and Film* boxes examine how Hollywood portrays various aspects of American politics. Examples include boxes on how the women's movement has influenced films (Chapter 10), on the changing treatment of African-Americans in films (Chapter 17), and how the Vietnam War was presented in cinema. Unique in introductory textbooks, this feature reflects the importance we attribute to popular culture in shaping American political life.

*Resource Feature* boxes provide additional information, often of a technical nature.

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

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*.

## 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 Longman. The manual also includes a new multimedia section containing annotated descriptions of a wide variety of films, videos, and software.

**Test Bank** Robert England of Oklahoma State University wrote and revised approximately 4,000 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 third edition 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, or 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 for Macintosh.

**QuizMaster** Coordinated with the *TestMaster* program, *QuizMaster* allows instructors to give students timed or untimed tests on line; on completing the 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, students' scores are saved so instructors can view students', class, or course progress. *QuizMaster* is available for IBM PCs and compatibles and for Macintosh.

**E-mail** Instructors and 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 at **Edward.Greenberg@colorado.edu**

**Transparency Resource Package** John C. Domino of Sam Houston State University has selected more than 80 full-color transparencies that reinforce the information and themes presented in *The Struggle for Democracy*, 3/e.

***Struggle for Democracy* Home Page** Designed and maintained by Michael Martinez of the University of Florida, the site features chapter-by-chapter summaries and topic links, updated analysis of current events by the authors, and student activities. The Internet address is **<http://www.awl.com/longman/amgov/struggle/struggle.html>**

## Laser Disc

### Multimedia

**Politics in Action Laser Disc** 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 available as an easy-to-use laser disc or videotape, and is accompanied by an extensive *User's Manual*, which provides background on the segments, links to topics in textbooks, discussion questions, and bar codes (for easy access when using the laser disc version).

## 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, crossword puzzles, 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*, 3/e.

**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 “Women and Politics”; “The Environment and Politics”; “Urban Politics”; “Latinos and Politics”; “National Health Care”; “Bill of Rights”; “Blacks and Politics”; “Landmark Supreme Court Decisions”; and “Affirmative Action and the Supreme Court.”

**SuperShell Student Tutorial Software** Prepared by Robert England of Oklahoma State University (the author of the *Test Bank*), *SuperShell* helps students retain key concepts and ideas from *The Struggle for Democracy, 3/e* 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.

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BENJAMIN I. PAGE

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