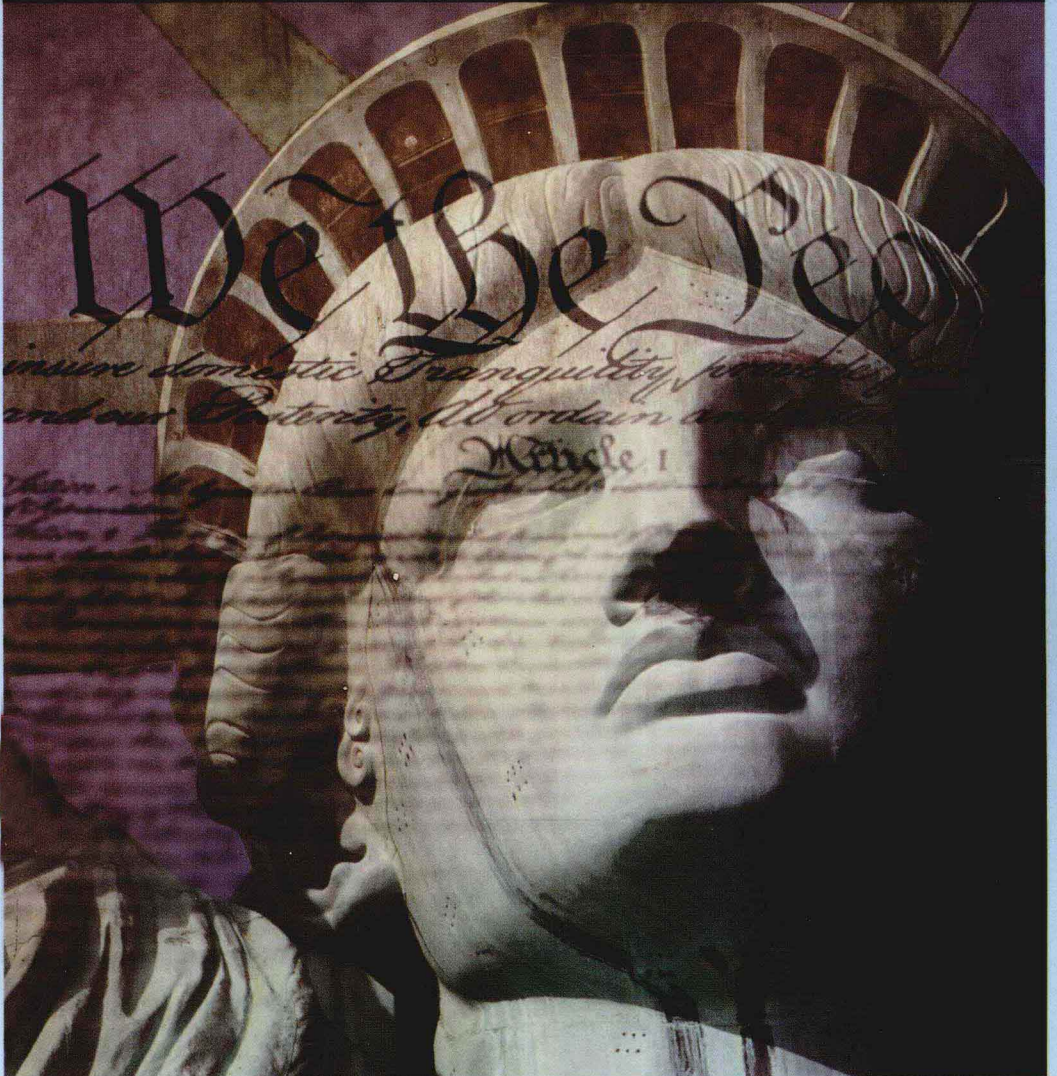




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# AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EDWARD S. GREENBERG • BENJAMIN I. PAGE





*Penguin Academics*

# AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC



**EDWARD S. GREENBERG**

University of Colorado

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"One of my biggest frustrations as a professor has been trying to communicate an appreciation of the rhythms of American political development beyond mere coincidence and fortuitous happenstance. This text does an incredibly effective job with this."

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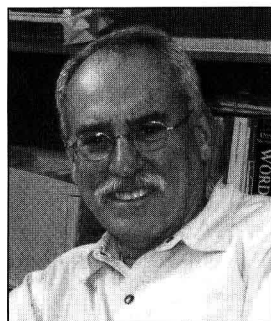
—Professor Paul Kantor, Fordham University

# ABOUT THE AUTHORS



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Ed Greenberg is professor of political science and director of the Research Program on Political and Economic Change in the Institute of Behavioral Science at the University of Colorado, Boulder. He received his BA in chemistry from Miami University and his PhD in political science from the University of Wisconsin. Before joining the CU faculty, he held political science faculty appointments at Stanford University and Indiana University.

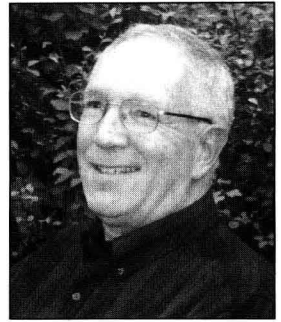


Ed Greenberg's research and teaching interests include American government and politics, domestic and global political economy, and democratic theory and practice, with a special emphasis on workplace issues. He is the author or coauthor of several books including: *The Struggle for Democracy* (Longman, 7th edition, 2005, with Ben Page), *The American Political System* (5th edition, 1989), *Workplace Democracy* (1986), *Capitalism and the American Political Ideal* (1985), and *Serving the Few* (1974). Ed Greenberg has been the recipient of three major grants from the National Science Foundation and two from the National Institutes of Health. He is now engaged in a multiyear, longitudinal study, funded by NIH, that examines the effect of corporate restructuring on employees, including their mental and physical health and their social and political outlooks.

Although he enthusiastically takes part in all officially sanctioned and socially acceptable Boulder, Colorado, leisure activities—hiking, biking, and skiing—he is happiest hanging out and reading in sidewalk cafes and coffee houses and sampling the fare in the city's many fine restaurants with his wife, Martha. He also is inordinately proud of his two sons, who, in addition to their many accomplishments, have shown the good sense to live in cities Ed and Martha love to visit: San Francisco and New York.

## BENJAMIN I. PAGE

Ben Page is the Scott Fulcher Professor of Decision Making in the Department of Political Science at Northwestern University. He received his AB in history at Stanford University, his JD from Harvard Law School, and his PhD from Stanford. Before coming to Northwestern, he was on the faculty at Dartmouth College, the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin–Madison, and the University of Texas–Austin.



Ben Page's research and teaching interests include political economy, the effect of the mass media on politics, the making of U.S. foreign and domestic policy, the American presidency, and democratic theory. He is, most especially, one of the nation's leading students of American public opinion; his landmark book, *The Rational Public*, co-authored with Robert Shapiro, recently won the Converse Award from the American Political Science Association in recognition of its singular contributions to the discipline. He also has been honored by the Policy Studies Organization for his book, *Who Gets What from Government?* His scholarly standing has been recognized by his election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, his selection as a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and his recognition by *PS* as one of the most frequently cited political scientists in the world. He is the author or coauthor of more than 25 articles in refereed scholarly journals, 10 books, and numerous chapters in edited volumes. He is also the winner of several research grants from the National Science Foundation.

Ben has never been into golfing or weekend sports, preferring to spend his time reading and thinking about almost anything, from Robert Dahl to Robert Frost to the Bible to the latest grocery store best-seller, and listening to an equally wide range of musical works. When he's not reading or listening (and sometimes, concurrently), he likes to spend time in Idaho's Sawtooth Mountains with his wife and family. He and his wife, Mary, are also regular theater goers in Chicago.



# PREFACE



Americans are often frustrated by the seeming inability of the federal government to effectively address the nation's most important problems or to be responsive to what Americans want in terms of government policies and programs. This often causes Americans to become cynical about government, distrustful of political leaders, and pessimistic about the political process. All too often the result is withdrawal from civic life—the transformation of many Americans from active citizens to passive observers. Although academics and journalists tend to scold Americans for their frustration, cynicism, and disengagement, we take the view in this book that these unfortunate outcomes are rooted in a long-standing and inescapable tension lying at the very heart of the American political system, namely, the coexistence in the United States of strong democratic aspirations among the people and a republican constitutional framework bequeathed by the framers designed to constrain the influence of popular democracy in the affairs of government. The encounter of popular democracy and eighteenth-century republican constitutional foundations has produced a hybrid form of government that is unique in the world, what we call the *American democratic republic*. Our goal in this book is to help students better understand our democratic republic by coming to grips with how it came to be, how it works on a day-to-day basis, and what consequences it has for the quality of life of its people.

Although we have modeled this book on our introductory textbook, *The Struggle for Democracy* from Longman Publishers, we have taken the opportunity in *America's Democratic Republic* to change our focus somewhat, concentrating on new questions and issues. We have also tried to write a book that is more accessible and lively. *America's Democratic Republic* is considerably shorter than *The Struggle for Democracy*, for example, and is written in a more direct and engaging narrative style, with fewer textbooklike features. It is also more focused than is *The Struggle for Democracy* on a single story line. Our goal is to appeal to those faculty who generally are reluctant to use large, standard textbooks for one reason or another or who wish to assign a number of readings in their courses beyond the core textbook.

## THE ORGANIZING THEME

In addition to its lively narrative style, what most sets this book apart is its organization around a crystal-clear theme or story line. Each and every element of

this book is a dialogue about this theme and its implications for American political life. We describe the theme in this way:

The American democratic republic is the product of the encounter of the democratic aspirations of the American people with eighteenth-century republican constitutional foundations.

The framers created a republic, based on a constitution embodying eighteenth-century republican principles of limited government, fragmentation of government power, and protections against tyranny. Although committed to the idea that government must be based on popular consent, the Founders believed that too much participation in governance by ordinary people would likely lead to majority tyranny. From the very beginning of the Republic, however, many Americans believed strongly in popular democracy, a conception of politics and government in which ordinary people rule themselves on the basis of political equality. Over the course of American history, this democratic idea became more and more popular, with increasing numbers of Americans insisting that government in the United States better reflect the democratic principles of popular sovereignty, political equality, and the broad inclusion of the people.

From this two-century-long encounter between democratic aspirations and eighteenth-century republican institutions, a new American hybrid evolved: the *American democratic republic*. Although we live in such a democratic republic today in the United States, the character of the American democratic republic is never fixed or etched in stone. Variation is the watchword, a point we make throughout as we stress the following ideas:

- *The degree of democracy in the American democratic republic fluctuates over time.* We believe that the American republic has taken on an increasingly democratic character over time, with ordinary people playing a much more prominent role than imagined or considered proper by the framers of the Constitution. This blending together of democratic and eighteenth-century republican elements has not been a straight-line development, however. During some periods of our history, the democratic part of the democratic republican hybrid has been more prominent; in other periods, the republican element has been more prominent.
- *Some political and governmental institutions in the American democratic republic are more open than others to the influence of ordinary citizens.* The decisions of presidents, representatives, senators, and Supreme Court justices are not equally influenced by the public. Elections, political parties, social movements, and interest groups vary in the degree to which they are tools by which citizens can influence elected officials.
- *The marriage of democratic aspirations and eighteenth-century republican constitutional foundations has not always been harmonious.* Although



democratic values and republican institutions often fit together rather well—we will note the prominent place of political liberty in both democratic and eighteenth-century republican traditions, for example—they often are contradictory. The 2000 presidential election is a good example of the tension between the two. In that election, George W. Bush lost the popular vote (majority rule being a central principle of democracy) to Al Gore by more than one-half million votes, yet he won the presidency by virtue of gaining a majority of Electoral College votes (the Electoral College being a quintessential eighteenth-century republican constitutional institution).

- *The tension between democratic aspirations and our republican constitutional foundations is unlikely to disappear any time soon.* Although the public's democratic aspirations are often frustrated by republican constitutional principles, the public has shown time and again that it is not much interested in abandoning the fundamentals of the American Constitution. Such eighteenth-century republican aspects of our Constitution as federalism, checks and balances, and the separation of powers are probably here for the long haul. The American public and its public and private leaders seem both willing and able to live with the fundamental tension at the center of our political life.

### AN IMPORTANT NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

The following warning for students appears in Chapter 1 and is repeated in various forms at a number of points throughout the book:

*When we refer to democracy or democratic theory in this book, we are not referring to the Democratic Party. Similarly, when we refer to republican doctrine or republican political theory or eighteenth-century republicans—note the use of the lower case—we are not referring to the Republican Party or its adherents. Both modern Republicans and Democrats—leaders, members, and followers of the political parties—believe in most elements of the democratic ideal; both are also committed to the Constitution, which is based on important eighteenth-century republican ideas.*

### CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

Each chapter contains the following features:

- “In This Chapter” lists the subjects to be covered in the narrative.
- A chapter-opening story—sometimes about a historical event or phenomenon; sometimes about a more contemporary event or phenomenon—provides a compelling discussion that draws the reader into the basic subject matter of the chapter and previews how the institution under consideration in the chapter (whether it be political parties, elections, Congress, or the Supreme Court) is shaped by the historic and contemporary encounter of democratic aspirations and eighteenth-century republican constitutional foundations.

- A concluding section on “The American Democratic Republic” serves both as a review of the principal points made in the body of the chapter and as a commentary on the encounter of democratic aspirations and eighteenth-century republican foundations and its meaning for the American politics and government today.
- Highlighted key word terms are defined in the Glossary.
- “Suggestions for Further Reading” and “Internet Sources” appear at the end of each chapter.

## ORGANIZATION AND COVERAGE

Part One lays out the basic encounter between democratic aspirations and eighteenth-century republican constitutional foundations, the central theme of this book. Chapter 1 carefully defines and examines the meaning of democratic and republican doctrines of government and shows why each has been attractive to so many people. It also provides students with tools to help them recognize democratic and republican institutions and processes in politics and government. Chapter 2 addresses the eighteenth-century republican foundations of the U.S. Constitution, with special attention given to what the framers were trying to achieve. In the remaining chapters of Part One—on federalism, civil liberties, and civil rights—we examine the several dramatic ways in which the encounter between democratic aspirations and republican constitutional foundations is played out in domains that are particularly consequential for Americans.

Part Two focuses on political institutions—political parties, elections, public opinion, news media, and interest groups—that serve to convey the wants, needs, and demands of various individuals and social groups to public officials, asking whether these institutions help or hinder the expression of democratic aspirations in American politics and government. Part Three concentrates on the central institutions of the national government—the presidency, Congress, the federal bureaucracy, and the Supreme Court—focusing on the extent to which democratic aspirations may have reshaped their original constitutional design. Part Four describes the kinds of policies the national government produces, analyzing how effective government is in solving pressing social and economic problems and how the encounter between democratic aspirations and republican constitutional foundations shapes what government does.

## SUPPLEMENTS

### INSTRUCTOR’S MANUAL/TEST BANK

Prepared by James D. Fairbanks of the University of Houston–Downtown, this resource manual contains an overview of what each chapter tried to accomplish and how the material fits into an undergraduate classroom. For each chapter, it provides instructors with a list of learning objectives, suggests possible pedagogical

strategies to assist with classroom use of the book, outlines in detail the arguments and evidence contained in the body of the book, and lists numerous test questions drawn directly from the readings.

### TESTGEN-EQ COMPUTERIZED TESTING SYSTEM

This easy-to-master electronic supplement on CD-ROM includes all the test items in the printed test bank. The software allows you to edit existing questions and add your own items. Tests can be printed in several different fonts and formats.

### LONGMANPARTICIPATE.COM 3.0 (WWW.LONGMANPARTICIPATE.COM)

A subscription to this popular Website is available for free with every new copy of *America's Democratic Republic*. *LongmanParticipate.com* 3.0, the most interactive and comprehensive Website for American government, offers more than 100 exciting, in-depth activities—all fully revised and updated from Version 2.0—covering all the major concepts in the course. The site continues to offer five types of exercises designed to engage students in the course material like nothing else can:

- **Simulations.** Students are given a role to play—such as Congress member, lobbyist, police officer—experiencing the challenges and excitement of politics firsthand. All simulations have been updated and revised for maximum relevance and student appeal. Plus, *LongmanParticipate.com* 3.0 includes 12 all-new simulations—more than 30 simulations in all!
- **Timelines.** With an abundance of media and graphics, students can step through the evolution of an aspect of government. All fully revised and updated.
- **Visual Literacy.** Students interpret data and work with graphs and charts dealing with intriguing political topics. Each activity begins with an interactive primer on reading graphics.
- **Participation.** Bringing the importance of politics home, and designed to encourage student participation, these activities appear in 3 types: (1) “Debates,” (2) “Surveys,” and (3) “Get Involved” activities. All fully revised and updated.
- **Comparative.** Students compare the U.S. political system with those of other countries. All fully revised and updated.
- **“Test Yourself” quizzes.** These 10-question multiple-choice quizzes at the end of every activity give instructors a quantifiable way to evaluate student performance. Student answers are e-mailed to the instructor.

### FACULTY GUIDE TO ACCOMPANY LONGMANPARTICIPATE.COM 3.0 WEBSITE

Contains chapter-by-chapter detailed summaries for each of the site’s interactive activities, as well as a list of the concepts covered, recommendations about how

to integrate the site into coursework, and discussion questions and paper topics for every exercise. This guide also provides instructors with detailed instructions and screen shots showing how to register on the site.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Writing and publishing a new book is a cooperative venture, and we want to take this opportunity to thank the many people who have helped make it happen. We want to thank two wonderful development specialists, Nancy Crociere and Barbara Muller, and then-Longman development editor Lisa Pinto, for helping us stay on track and completing the book we had envisioned when the whole process began several years ago. We also want to thank Sue Nodine of Elm Street Publishing Services, who shepherded the book through the editing and production processes with care, wisdom, and attention to the authors' tender feelings and their other professional commitments. We are grateful, as well, to the following reviewers whose observations, insights, and criticisms helped us clarify our arguments and avoid several egregious errors:

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Thanks also go to our many students at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and Northwestern University who have made teaching so fulfilling and whose questions and comments helped us realize that a book about the American democratic republican hybrid was necessary. But most of all, we want to thank the best social science editor in the business, Eric Stano, who first had the idea for this book, helped us hone in on its central theme, and supported us throughout the course of its gestation and birth.

EDWARD S. GREENBERG  
BENJAMIN I. PAGE

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# Part One



## DEMOCRATIC ASPIRATIONS, REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS

THE FRAMERS CREATED A REPUBLIC BASED ON A CONSTITUTION that embodied eighteenth-century republican principles of limited government, fragmentation of government power, and protections against tyranny. Although committed to the idea that government must be based on popular consent, the founders believed that too much participation in governance by ordinary people would likely lead to majority tyranny. Governance, in their view, ought to be left to those who are fit for the task by virtue of their character, standing, and education, and they fashioned a constitutional system meant to ensure that such a thing would happen. From the very beginning of the republic, however, many Americans believed strongly in popular democracy, a conception of politics and government in which ordinary people rule themselves on the basis of political equality. Over the course of American history, this democratic idea became more and more popular, with increasing numbers of Americans insisting that government in the United States better reflect the democratic principles of popular sovereignty, political equality,