

CONTENTS

Preface xvii

PART ONE DILEMMAS OF DEMOCRACY 1

1 Freedom, Order, or Equality? 3

The Purposes of Government 5

Maintaining Order 6 Providing Public Goods 7 Promoting Equality 8

A Conceptual Framework for Analyzing Government 10

The Concepts of Freedom, Order, and Equality 11

Freedom 11 Order 13 Equality 15

Two Dilemmas of Government 17

The Original Dilemma: Freedom Versus Order 17 The Modern Dilemma: Freedom Versus Equality 19

Ideology and the Scope of Government 21

Totalitarianism 21 Socialism 23 Capitalism 24 Libertarianism 24 Anarchism 25 Liberals and Conservatives—The Narrow Middle 25

American Political Ideologies and the Purpose of Government 26

Liberals Versus Conservatives: The New Differences 26 A Two-Dimensional Classification of Ideologies 27

Summary 29

2 Majoritarian or Pluralist Democracy? 33

The Theory of Democratic Government 35

The Meaning and Symbolism of Democracy 36
The Procedural View of Democracy 37
A Complication: Direct Versus Indirect Democracy 38 The Substantive View of Democracy 40
Procedural Democracy Versus Substantive Democracy 42

Institutional Models of Democracy 44

The Majoritarian Model of Democracy 44
An Alternative Model: Pluralist Democracy 46
The Majoritarian Model Versus the Pluralist Model 48
An Undemocratic Model: Elite Theory 48
Elite Theory Versus Pluralist Theory 51

Democracies Around the World 52

Testing for Democratic Government 53
American Democracy: More Pluralist than Majoritarian 55

Summary 57

PART TWO FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT 61

3 The Constitution 63

The Revolutionary Roots of the Constitution 65

Freedom in Colonial America 67 The Road to Revolution 68
Revolutionary Action 70
The Declaration of Independence 70

From Revolution to Confederation	73
The Articles of Confederation	73
Under the Confederation	74
From Confederation to Constitution	76
The Virginia Plan	78
The New Jersey Plan	79
The Great Compromise	79
Compromise on the Presidency	80
The Final Product	81
The Basic Principles	82
The Articles of the Constitution	85
The Framers' Motives	89
The Slavery Issue	90
Selling the Constitution	92
The Federalist Papers	92
A Concession: The Bill of Rights	94
Ratification	95
Constitutional Change	96
The Formal Amendment Process	96
Interpretation by the Courts	100
Political Practice	100
An Evaluation of the Constitution	101
Freedom, Order, and Equality in the Constitution	101
The Constitution and Models of Democracy	103
Summary	103

4

Federalism 107

Theories of Federalism	110
Representations of American Federalism	112
Dual Federalism	114
Cooperative Federalism	115
The Dynamics of Federalism: Legal Sanctions and Financial Incentives	117
Legislation and the Elastic Clause	118
Judicial Interpretation	119
Grants-in-Aid	120
The Developing Concept of Federalism	122
<i>McCulloch v. Maryland</i>	122
States' Rights and Dual Federalism	123
The New Deal and Its Consequences	124
Desegregation and the War on Poverty	126
A New, Newer, Newest Federalism	129
Nixon's New Federalism: Revenue Sharing	130
New Federalism Under Reagan and Bush	131
Some Consequences of New Federalism	133

Other Governments in the Federal System 134

The Kinds of Local Governments	135
So Many Governments: Advantages and Disadvantages	136

Contemporary Federalism and the Dilemmas of Democracy 139

Federalism and the Values of Freedom, Order, and Equality	140
Federalism and Pluralism	141

Summary 142**PART THREE LINKING PEOPLE WITH GOVERNMENT 145**

5

Public Opinion and Political Socialization 147**Public Opinion and the Models of Democracy 151****The Distribution of Public Opinion 155**

Shape of the Distribution	155
Stability of the Distribution	157

Political Socialization 159

The Agents of Early Socialization	159
Continuing Socialization	164

Social Groups and Political Values 165

Education	166
Income	167
Region	168
The "Old" Ethnicity: European Origin	170
The "New" Ethnicity: Race	171
Religion	172

From Values to Ideology 172

The Degree of Ideological Thinking in Public Opinion	172
The Quality of Ideological Thinking in Public Opinion	174
Ideological Types in the United States	175

The Process of Forming Political Opinions 176

Self-Interest	177
Political Information	178
Opinion Schemas	179
Political Leadership	181

Summary 181

6

The Mass Media 185**People, Government, and Communications 188****The Development of the Mass Media in the United States 189**

Newspapers	189
Magazines	192
Radio	193
Television	194

Private Ownership of the Media	196
The Consequences of Private Ownership	196
The Concentration of Private Ownership	199

Government Regulation of the Media	199
Technical and Ownership Regulations	200
Regulation of Content	202

Reporting and Following the News	203
Covering National Politics	203
Presenting the News	205
Where the Public Gets Its News	206
What People Remember and Know	209

The Political Effects of the Media	211
Influencing Public Opinion	212
Setting the Political Agenda	212
Socialization	216

Evaluating the Media in Government	217
Is Reporting Biased?	217
Contributions to Democracy	218
Effects on Freedom, Order, and Equality	219

Summary	221
----------------	------------

7 Participation and Voting 225

Democracy and Political Participation	227
--	------------

Unconventional Participation	228
Support for Unconventional Participation	229
The Effectiveness of Unconventional Participation	231
Unconventional Participation in America	233

Conventional Participation	233
Supportive Behavior	234
Influencing Behavior	234
Conventional Participation in America	238

Participating Through Voting	239
Expansion of Suffrage	240
Voting on Policies	244
Voting for Candidates	247

Explaining Political Participation	248
Patterns of Participation over Time	251
The Standard Socioeconomic Explanation	252
Low Voter Turnout in America	253

Participation and Freedom, Equality, and Order	256
Participation and Freedom	256
Participation and Equality	256
Participation and Order	257

Participation and the Models of Democracy	259
--	------------

Participation and Majoritarianism	259
Participation and Pluralism	260

Summary	260
----------------	------------

8 Political Parties 263

Political Parties and Their Functions	265
Definitions	266
Party Functions	268

A History of U.S. Party Politics	269
The Preparty Period	269
The First Party System: Federalists and Democratic Republicans	270
The Second Party System: Democrats and Whigs	273
The Present Party System: Democrats and Republicans	274
Eras of Party Dominance Since the Civil War	275

The American Two-Party System	279
Minor Parties in America	279
Why a Two-Party System?	281
The Federal Basis of the Party System	282
Party Identification in America	283

Party Ideology and Organization	285
Differences in Party Ideology	287
National Party Organization	289
State and Local Party Organizations	293
Decentralized but Growing Stronger	294

The Model of Responsible Party Government	294
--	------------

Summary	296
----------------	------------

9 Nominations, Campaigns, and Elections 299

Evolution of Campaigning	302
---------------------------------	------------

Nominations	303
For Congress and State Offices	305
For President	305

Campaigns	310
Political Context	310
Financing	312
Strategies and Tactics	315

Elections	320
Presidential Elections	320
Congressional Elections	322

Explaining Voting Choice 325
 Party Identification 326 Candidates'
 Attributes 326 Issues and Policies 328
 Campaign Effects 330

Campaigns, Elections, and Parties 331
 Parties and the Majoritarian Model 332
 Parties and the Pluralist Model 332

Summary 333

10 Interest Groups 337

Interest Groups and the American Political Tradition 339

Interest Groups: Good or Evil? 339 The Roles
 of Interest Groups 340

How Interest Groups Form 345

Interest Group Entrepreneurs 347 Who Is Being
 Organized? 349

Interest Group Resources 350

Members 351 Lobbyists 353 Political
 Action Committees 356

Lobbying Tactics 359

Direct Lobbying 359 Grassroots
 Lobbying 361 Information Campaigns 362
 Coalition Building 363

The Growth of Interest Group Politics 363

The Public Interest Movement 363 Business
 Lobbies 366

Interest Groups: An Evaluation 368

Regulation 369 Campaign Financing 369

Summary 370

PART FOUR INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT 373

11 Congress 375

The Origin and Powers of Congress 377

The Great Compromise 377 Duties of the
 House and Senate 378

Electing the Congress 379

The Incumbency Effect 379 Whom Do We
 Elect? 383

How Issues Get on the Congressional Agenda 385

The Dance of Legislation: An Overview 387

Committees: The Workhorses of Congress 389

The Division of Labor among Committees 390
 Congressional Expertise and Seniority 392
 Committee Reform 392 The Lawmaking
 Process 393 Committees: The Majoritarian and
 Pluralist Views 394

Leaders and Followers in Congress 395

The Leadership Task 395 Rules of
 Procedure 399 Norms of Behavior 399

The Legislative Environment 401

Political Parties 401 Interest Groups 402
 Colleagues 403 Staff 403
 The President 404 Constituents 405

Oversight: Following Through on Legislation 406

The Dilemma of Representation 408

Presidents and Shopping Bags 408 Trustees or
 Delegates? 409

Pluralism, Majoritarianism, and Democracy 410

Parliamentary Government 410 Pluralism
 Versus Majoritarianism in the Congress 411

Summary 412

12 The Presidency 415

The Constitutional Basis of Presidential Power 418

Initial Conceptions of the Presidency 418 The
 Powers of the President 419

The Expansion of Presidential Power 422

The Inherent Powers 422 Congressional
 Delegation of Power 423 The President's
 Power to Persuade 424 The President and the
 Public 425

The Electoral Connection 429

Elections and Mandates 430 Divided
 Government 431

The Executive Branch Establishment 433

The White House Staff 433 The Vice President 437 The Cabinet 437

The President as National Leader 439

From Political Values ... 439 ... To Policy Agenda 441 Chief Lobbyist 442 Party Leader 444

The President as World Leader 445

Foreign Relations 445 Crisis Management 447

Presidential Character 448**Summary 452****13 The Bureaucracy 455****Organization Matters 458****The Development of the Bureaucratic State 459**

The Growth of American Government 459
Can We Reduce the Size of Government? 462

Bureaus and Bureaucrats 464

The Organization of Government 464 The Civil Service 466 Presidential Control over the Bureaucracy 468

Administrative Policymaking: The Formal Processes 470

Administrative Discretion 470 Rule Making 474 Adjudication 476

Administrative Policymaking: Informal Politics 476

The Science of Muddling Through 476
The Culture of Bureaucracy 477

Problems in Implementing Policy 479**Reforming the Bureaucracy: More Control or Less? 480**

Deregulation 481 Monitoring, Oversight, and Accountability 483

Summary 484**14 The Courts 487****Federal Judicial Supremacy 490**

Judicial Review of the Other Branches 490

Judicial Review of State Government 492

The Exercise of Judicial Review 493

The Organization of the Federal Courts Today 494

The U.S. District Courts 495 The U.S. Courts of Appeals 498

The Supreme Court 502

Access to the Court 504 The Solicitor General 506 Decision Making 507 Strategies on the Court 511 The Chief Justice 512

Judicial Recruitment 513

The Appointment of Federal Judges 514
Recent Presidents and the Federal Judiciary 516
Appointment to the Supreme Court 517

The Legal Profession 520

Growth of the Profession 520 What Lawyers Do 521 U.S. Attorneys 521

The Consequences of Judicial Decisions 522

Supreme Court Rulings: Implementation and Impact 522 Public Opinion and the Supreme Court 523

The Courts and Models of Democracy 524**Summary 527****PART FIVE CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS 531****15 Order and Civil Liberties 533****The Bill of Rights 535****Freedom of Religion 536**

The Establishment Clause 538 The Free-Exercise Clause 541

Freedom of Expression 543

Freedom of Speech 545 Freedom of the Press 553 The Right to Peaceable Assembly and Petition 556

Applying the Bill of Rights to the States 557

The Fourteenth Amendment: Due Process of Law 560 The Fundamental Freedoms 560
Criminal Procedure: The Meaning of Constitutional Guarantees 561

The Ninth Amendment and Personal Autonomy	566
Controversy: From Privacy to Abortion	567
Personal Autonomy and Sexual Orientation	569
Constitutionalizing Public Policies	571
Summary	572

16 Equality and Civil Rights 575

The Civil War Amendments	577
Congress and the Supreme Court: Lawmaking Versus Law Interpreting	578
The Roots of Racial Segregation	579
The Dismantling of School Segregation	580
Pressure for Equality ...	581
... And Pressure for Desegregation	582
The Civil Rights Movement	585
Civil Disobedience	586
The Civil Rights Act of 1964	587
From Restriction to Restoration to Restriction	590
Racial Violence and Black Nationalism	591
Civil Rights for Other Minorities	592
Native Americans	593
Hispanic-Americans	595
Disabled Americans	596
Gender and Equal Rights: The Women's Movement	597
Protectionism	597
Political Equality for Women	598
Prohibiting Sex-Based Discrimination	599
Stereotypes Under Scrutiny	600
The Equal Rights Amendment	601
Affirmative Action: Equal Opportunity or Equal Outcome?	603
Reverse Discrimination	604
Victims of Discrimination	605
Two Conceptions of Equality	609
Summary	609

PART SIX MAKING PUBLIC POLICY 613

17 Policymaking 615

Government Purposes and Public Policies	617
--	------------

The Policymaking Process	619
The Impact of Policy	619
A Policymaking Model	620

A Multiplicity of Actors	628
Multiplicity and Fragmentation	628
The Pursuit of Coordination	629

Issue Networks	630
Government by Policy Area	631
Iron Triangles	631
The Case of Telecommunications	633

Policy Expertise	636
-------------------------	------------

Issue Networks and Democracy	639
-------------------------------------	------------

Summary	640
----------------	------------

18 Economic Policy 643

Theories of Economic Policy	646
Laissez-Faire Economics	647
Keynesian Theory	648
Monetary Policy	650
Supply-Side Economics	652

Public Policy and the Budget	654
The Nature of the Budget	656
Preparing the President's Budget	656
Passing the Congressional Budget	658

Tax Policies	663
Tax Reform	664
Comparing Tax Burdens	666

Spending Policies	668
Incremental Budgeting ...	670
... And Uncontrollable Spending	671

Taxing, Spending, and Economic Equality	672
Government Effects on Economic Equality	672
Effects of Taxing and Spending Policies over Time	675
Democracy and Equality	676

Summary	678
----------------	------------

19 Domestic Policy 681

Policies That Protect: AIDS	683
Protection Through Education	684
Testing and Protection	685

Policies That Prohibit: Illegal Drugs 686
 Historical Perspective 686 Markets and Controls 688 Testing and Prohibition 689
 Values and Policies 690

Government Policies and Individual Welfare 691

The Growth of the American Welfare State 692
 The Reduction of the Welfare State 698

Policies That Provide: Social Insurance 699
 Social Security 699 Medicare 705

Policies That Provide: Public Assistance 707
 Poverty and Public Assistance 708 Cash Assistance: AFDC 710 Necessary Nutrition: Food Stamps 713

Benefits and Fairness 715

Summary 716

20 Global Policy 719

Americans View the World: Two Policy Paradigms 722

The Munich Paradigm 722 The Vietnam Paradigm 723 Consensus, Policy Paradigms, and the Post-Cold War World 723

U.S. Values and Interests: The Historical Context 725

From Isolationism to Globalism 725
 Containment and Korea 727 Cold War Commitments Under Eisenhower and Kennedy 730 Vietnam: The Challenge to America's Foreign Policy Consensus 732
 Carter's Search for a New Foreign Policy 734
 Foreign Policy Under Reagan 735 Bush and the New World Order 736 Conflicting Policy Paradigms and America's Foreign Policy Goals 737

Foreign Policymaking: The Constitutional Context 738

The Formal Division of Power 738
 Sidestepping the Constitution 740

Foreign Policymaking: The Administrative Machinery 742

The Department of State 742 The Department of Defense 743 The CIA and the Intelligence Community 744 The National Security Council 745

The Public, the Media, and Foreign Policy 747

The Public and the Majoritarian Model 747
 Interest Groups and the Pluralist Model 748
 The Media and Foreign Policy 748

The Foreign Policy Process 749

Sources of Information for the Executive Branch 749 Congress and the President 750
 Lobbies and the "Lobbyist in Chief" 751
 Policy Implementation 752

Foreign Policy Tools 752

Defense Policy 752 Economic Policy 754

Summary 758

APPENDICES A-1

The Declaration of Independence in Congress July 4, 1776 A-1

The Constitution of the United States of America A-3

Federalist No. 10 1787 A-14

Federalist No. 51 1788 A-17

Presidents of the United States A-20

Twentieth-Century Justices of the Supreme Court A-21

Party Control of the Presidency, Senate, and House of Representatives 1901-1993 A-22

GLOSSARY A-24

REFERENCES A-37

INDEX TO REFERENCES A-64

INDEX A-70