# CONTENTS

T C	
Descharge	WI
Preface	$\mathbf{v}$

#### CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1

Public Policy, Government, and Politics 3

Public Policy 3/Government 4/Politics 5

The Special Problems of Governing the United States 5/The Approach of This Book: An Invitation to Analysis 8

Evaluating Public Policies 8/Evaluating Democratic Procedures 9

\*References 10\*\*

### CHAPTER 2 IDEAS AND IDEALS IN AMERICAN POLITICAL LIFE 11

The Heritage of English Thought and Practice 13/Political Philosophy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries 16

John Locke 16/Charles de Montesquieu 17/Political Ideas in the American Colonies 17

## The Passions of Independence 19

Tensions Between Colonies and Crown 19/The Declaration of Independence (1776) 20

## The Beginnings of Self-Government 21

The State Constitutions 21/The Articles of Confederation 22

#### The Constitution 24

States and the Nation 25/Governmental Authority and Individual Liberty 26/The Allocation of National Power 27/Boxed Insert: The First Amendment in Practice: Defining Freedom of Expression 28

Summary 31/References 31/Selected Readings 32

## CHAPTER 3 THE AMERICAN CITIZEN 33

Coming of Age Politically: The Process of Individual Political Socialization 35

Political Socialization over the Life Cycle 36/Political Socializing Agents 39/Boxed Insert: Becoming Political: Three Experiences 44/Political Socialization: Some Conclusions 44

## Political Participation 46

Modes of Participation 47/Who Participates? 52/The Impact of Political Participation 52

Summary 55/References 55/Selected Readings 56

## CHAPTER 4 THE ELECTORAL PROCESS 57

Critical Criteria an Electoral System Must Satisfy 58/The Electoral Process in America: The Formalities 59

Types and Timing of Elections 59/Who May Vote? 60

#### Political Parties 61

Characteristics of the American Party System 61/Republicans and Democrats 62/Parties in Decline 64

#### Presidential Elections 66

The Presidential Nominating Process 67/General Election Contests for the Presidency 71/Determinants of Campaign Outcomes 73/Boxed Insert: Interpreting the 1984 Presidential Election 78

### Congressional Elections 76

The Congressional Nominating Process 77/General Elections for Congressional Seats 80

Summary 86/References 87/Selected Readings 88

### CHAPTER 5 INTEREST GROUPS AND AMERICAN PLURALISM 89

## Interest Groups and Political Action 91

Interest Group Resources 91/Strategies and Techniques 98/Boxed Insert: Public Policy from the Pulpit: Lobbying for the Christian Right 100

## Interest Groups and Modern Public Policy 107

Interest Groups: Opposing Perspectives 107/Policy Makers and Interest Groups 109

Summary 110/References 110/Selected Readings 111

#### CHAPTER 6 CONGRESS AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS 113

## Members of Congress and Their Work Environment 114

The Members of Congress: A Composite Portrait 115/The Work Environment 116/Staff and Support Services 116

## The Functions of Congress 119

Legislation 120/Boxed Insert: From the Rio Grande to Capitol Hill: The Battle for Immigration Reform 126/Representation 126/Boxed Insert: Three Congressional Districts Up Close 132/Administrative Oversight 134

## The Organization of Congress 137

Congressional Parties 138/The Committee System 142/The Allocation of Legislative Power 145

Summary 147/References 147/Selected Readings 148

#### CHAPTER 7 ENERGY POLICY 149

## The Origins of the Energy Status Quo in the 1980s 150

Turning Point: The Arab Oil Embargo 15.0/Energy Problems After the Embargo 152

## Energy Policies Before 1973 154

Oil Policy: A Case Study 155/Policy Impacts of Subsystem Dominance 157
The Search for a National Energy Policy 158

The Energy Policy Environment in the 1970s 159/Project Independence 161/The Carter Energy Program 165/The Return to Free Enterprise 167/The Legacy of the Arab Oil Embargo 168

## The Future of Energy Policy 169

Future Policy Options 170/The Problem of Policy Choice 173/Boxed Insert: Conservation: One City's Experience 174

Summary 176/References 178/Selected Readings 178

#### CHAPTER 8 THE PRESIDENCY 179

The Modern Presidency 180

The Executive Office of the President 181

Presidential Roles and Responsibilities 182

Head of State 183/Boxed Insert: The President and the News Media 186/Coordinator of Economic Policy 185/Boxed Insert: The Annual Budget Cycle 190/Principal Participant in Domestic Policy Making 194/Congressional Relations 196/Manager of Policy Implementation 198

Capabilities and Constraints: Dilemmas of Presidential Leadership 200
Authority and Power 201/The Framers' Dilemma Revisited 205
Summary 205/References 206/Selected Readings 206

#### CHAPTER 9 NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY 207

National Security Policy After World War II 209

Fundamentals of a New Policy 210/Containment in Operation 211/Boxed Insert: The United States and Central America: Defining America's National Interest 216

The National Security Policy-making Process 215

Participants in National Security Policy Making 217/Central Actor: The President 223

Contemporary Challenges to National Security Policy 224

The Changing Shape of World Politics 224/Changes in the National Security Policy-making Process 227/Implications of Presidential Dominance of Foreign Policy 229

Summary 230/References 231/Selected Readings 231

#### CHAPTER 10 THE EXECUTIVE BUREAUCRACY 233

The Character of the Federal Executive Branch 234

Organizational Varieties 235/Personnel 239

The Federal Bureaucracy and Public Policy 241

What Do Executive Agencies Do? 242/Characteristics of Bureaucracies as Policy Makers 246/Boxed Insert: Life and Death for the U.S. Travel Service: An Iron Triangle at Work 249/Determinants of Bureaucratic Influence 250/The Problems of Accountability 252

Summary 254/References 255/Selected Readings 255

## CHAPTER 11 REGULATORY POLICY 257

The History of Regulatory Activity 259

Phase I: The Railroads, the Trusts, and the Progressives 259/Phase II: The New Deal 260/Phase III: Consumerism and the Shift to Social Regulation 261

Regulation: Criticisms and Reform 263

Criticisms of Contemporary Regulation 264/Regulatory Reform 266

Regulatory Behavior 269

Statutory Mandates 269/Boxed Insert: The Saccharin Ban and the Politics of Regulation 270/Administrative Resources 270/Technical Information 272/External Pressures 273

Summary 276/References 277/Selected Readings 277

### CHAPTER 12 COURTS AND THE JUDICIAL PROCESS 279

The Structure of the Federal Court System 281

State Courts 281/Federal Courts 284/Federal Judges 286

Courts at Work 291

The Functions of Courts 291/Boxed Insert: The Miranda Rules 294/Limits on the Judicial Role in Policy Making 295

Judicial Activism and the Policy-making Process 299

Trends in Judicial Activism 302/Implications of Judicial Activism 304 Summary 305/References 306/Selected Readings 306

#### CHAPTER 13 EQUAL RIGHTS POLICY 307

Desegregation 308

The Early Challenge to Segregation Policies 311/May 1954: The Turning Point 312/Boxed Insert: Plessy and Brown: Two Views of the "Separate But Equal" Doctrine 314/Changing Tactics: Direct Action and Legislation 316

Affirmative Action 322

The Affirmative Action Cases 323

Equal Rights and the Policy-making Process 326

Public Opinion and Equal Rights Policy 326/The Courts and Public Policy Making 328/The Limits of the Law 329

Summary 330/References 331/Selected Readings 331

#### CHAPTER 14 CONCLUSION 333

Obstacles to Democratic Self-Government 335

The Disaggregation of Political Life 335/The Decentralization of Government Authority 337/The Growth of Adjudication as a Policy-making Technique 339/The Changing Public Agenda 340

The Task Ahead 342

APPENDIX 1 DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE 345

APPENDIX 2 CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES 348

INDEX 359