PART 1

PROLOGUE: WHAT CAN GOVERNMENT DO? THE CASE FOR LESS, AND MORE 1
What Can Government Do? 2
The Case: Robinson Crusoe's Choices • Insights
Decisions That Society Must Make 5
What Will Be Produced? • In What Manner Will Things Be Produced? • To Who Will Goods and Services Be Distributed?
The Case for Less Governmental Involvement 8
Let the Private Market Make Social Choices • The Private Market Works Efficiently • The Private Market Promotes Important Values
The Case for More Governmental Involvement 10
The Private Market May Fail to Work Efficiently • The Private Market May Fail to Work Fairly • The Private Market May Fail to Promote Other Social Values
Summary 13
FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT 17
WHAT SHOULD GOVERNMENT DO? THE CENTRAL QUESTION 19
Government's Proper Role 20
The Case: President Lincoln's Decision to Issue the Emancipation Proclamation Insights
The Central Question in American Political Life 23
Governmental Institutions • Democratic Governments Need Legitimacy
A Dialogue with Professors Aaron Wildavsky and Nelson Polsby 26
Democratic Governments React to Dissatisfaction
Policies 36
Diagnosing the Problem • Administering the Remedy
Politics 39
Conflicts Among Values • The Way We Fight Over Government's Proper Role
Summary 43
THE CONSTITUTION: BALANCING LIBERTY AND ORDER 47
The Birth of National Government 48
The Case: When Passion Wrestled With Reason During the Drafting of the
Constitution • Insights

	The Mortal Problem Solvers: Contentious and Passionate • The Problems: Foreign and Domestic Threats to Liberty • The Politics of Problem Solving The Background of the Constitutional Convention 59
	The Political Heritage • The Intellectual Heritage
	Constitutional Foundations 66 Republicanism • Constitutionalism • Judicial Review
	The Constitutional Framework for Government's Evolving Role Social Consensus • Constitutional Change • The Constitution's Impact on Government, Policies, and Politics
	Summary 76
3	FEDERALISM: SHIFTING NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL RESPONSIBILITIES 81
	The Formation of a Federal System 82 The Case: The Career of Chief Justice John Marshall • Insights
	The Nature of Federalism Federal Forms of Government The Foundations of National Authority Federalism and Change
	Federalism and Change The Politics of Federalism 97
	Reactions to Pressure • Struggles Among Competing Values
	The Federal Framework for Government's Evolving Role 104 Intergovernmental Relations • Fiscal Federalism • Implications for Government, Policies, and Politics
	Summary 113
4	CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CIVIL RIGHTS: THE ENDURING STRUGGLE 117 Civil Liberties and Civil Rights 118
	The Case: For Digging Up a Crime, A Reporter Goes to Jail • Insights Personal Protections 121
	Freedom and Progress • The Limits of Freedom
	Civil Liberties: Protections from Government 123 The Major Civil Liberties • Limits on Civil Liberties
	Civil Rights: Protections by Government 130 The Major Civil Rights • Limits on Civil Rights
	Liberties and Rights Evolve 139 Major Evolutionary Branches
	The Polsby—Wildavsky Dialogue Continued 140 Major Evolutionary Processes
	Boundaries on Government's Role 147 The Boundaries • Patrolling the Boundaries
	Summary 148

The Founders

51

5 POLITICAL CULTURE: WHAT DO AMERICANS CARE ABOUT? 153

Culture and Democracy 154

The Case: Alexis de Tocqueville's Search for America • Insights

Political Culture 158

A Psychological View of Political Culture • The American Triumvirate: Individualism, Liberty, and Equality

Political Socialization 164

The Nongovernmental Nature of Political Socialization • The Agents of Socialization Public Opinion 169

The Private Preoccupations of Americans • The Pluralistic Quality of Public Opinion
The Impact of Political Culture and Public Opinion 177

Expectations About Government's Proper Role • Contributions to System Stability

The Polsby—Wildavsky Dialogue Continued . . . 180 Summary 184

6 POLITICAL PARTIES AND INTEREST GROUPS: DO WE NEED THEM? 187

Political Parties and Political Interest Groups 188

The Case: Might the Democratic Party Have Been Different if Robert Kennedy Had Not Been Assassinated? • Insights

The Relationship Between Political Parties and Interest Groups

Expressions of Factiousness • Linkages Between People and Government • Shifting Alliances

Political Parties 198

The Nature of Political Parties • The Organizational Characteristics of Parties • The Organizational Components of Parties

Political Interest Groups 208

The Nature of Political Interest Groups • The Organizational Characteristics of Groups • The Organizational Components of Groups

The Proper Role of Parties and Groups 221

The Wildavsky—Polsby Dialogue Continued . . . 222

The Effects of Parties and Interest Groups • The Drive to Reform Parties and Regulate Groups

Summary 227

THE MEDIA AND PARTICIPATION: THE PERMANENT CAMPAIGN 231 The Permanent Campaign 232 The Case: What President Carter's Failure Taught President Reagan • Insights The Media The Forms of Mass Media • Characteristics of Media Coverage • Managing the Media Political Participation 247 Forms of Political Participation • Levels of Political Participation • Voting Behavior • Elections • The Presidential Nomination Process • The National Conventions • Determinants of Electoral Success The Role of the Media and Political Participation 266 The Functions of the Media • The Consequence of Political Participation The Polsby—Wildavsky Dialogue Continued . . . Summary 274 PART 3 PUBLIC POLICY: ORGANIZATIONS, PROCESSES, GOALS POLICY ORGANIZATIONS—AND EDUCATION 279 8 Education Policy 280 The Case: Making Sure Californians Can Read and Write • Insights • The Historical Context: Educational Policies and Social Goals Policy Organizations Who Makes Public Policy? • The Nature of Policy Organizations • The Components of Policy Organizations Organizational Dynamics 297 Multiple Environments • Environmental Interactions • Environmental Inputs • Environmental Constraints • Converting Resources into Influence Summary 302 POLICY PROCESSES—AND CIVIL RIGHTS 305 Civil Rights Policy 306 The Case: Marching for Civil Rights in Birmingham • Insights • Historical Background: The Montgomery Experience The Policy-Making Process: An Overview 310 The Stages of Agenda Building Defining the Problem • Legitimizing the Problem Specifying Policy Alternatives • Establishing Government's Responsibility The Tactics of Incremental Decision Making 321 The Reactiveness of Decision Making • The Preference for Marginal Change •

The Search for Remedies, Not Cures • The Desire for Popular Approval

Summary

328

277

	Politics and Economics 332
	The Case: The National Debt • Insights
	Government and the Economy 336
	Federal Responsibilities • Federal Economic Policy Makers
	Economic Goals 346
	Economic Growth
	Economic Policies 353
	The Wildavsky—Polsby Dialogue Continued 354
	Fiscal Policies • Fiscal Subsidies and Tax Preferences • Monetary
	Policies • Regulatory Policies • Trade Policies
	Summary 362
	Summary 302
PART 4	GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS 365
11	THE PRESIDENCY: THE PERSONIFICATION OF POWER 367
	The Nature of the Presidency 368
	The Case: The Battle of the Budget, Part I • Insights
	The Organization of the Presidency 371
	Organizational Structure • Organizational Dynamics
	The Goals of the Presidency 378
	Governance Goals • Policy Goals • Political Goals
	Ways of Achieving Presidential Goals 389
	Overcoming Constraints
	The Polsby—Wildavsky Dialogue Continued 394
	Expanding Formal Powers • Creating and Exercising Political Power
	Summary 409
12	THE CONGRESS: CAN IT GET ITS ACTS TOGETHER? 413
	The Nature of Congress 414
	The Case: The Battle of the Budget, Part II • Insights
	The Organization of Congress 417
	Organizational Structure • Contemporary Organizational Characteristics • Organizational Dynamics
	The Goals of Congress 435
	Governance Goals • Policy Goals • Political Goals
	Ways of Achieving Congressional Goals 444
	Overcoming Constraints • Expanding Formal Powers • Creating and Exercising Political Power
	Summary 449
	Julian de la companya della companya de la companya de la companya della companya

POLICY GOALS—AND THE ECONOMY 331

	The Nature of the Bureaucracy 454
	The Case: The Costs of Trying Too Hard • Insights The Operation of the Federal Property 456
	The Organization of the Federal Bureaucracy 456
	Characteristics of the Federal Bureaucracy • Components of the Federal Bureaucracy
	The Goals of the Bureaucracy 470
	Governance Goals • Policy Goals • Political Goals
	Ways of Achieving Bureaucratic Goals 480 Overcoming Constraints • Expanding Formal Powers • Creating and Exercising Political Power
	The Wildavsky—Polsby Dialogue Continued 486
	Summary 489
	Federal Medical Liniess You Are in New England)
14	THE COURTS: LIFTING THE CURTAIN ON JUDICIAL BEHAVIOR 493
	The Nature of the Supreme Court 494
	The Case: The Brethren Brouhaha • Insights
	The Organization of Federal Courts 498
	Characteristics of the Supreme Court • Components of the Federal Judiciary
	The Goals of the Supreme Court 506
	Governance Goals • Policy Goals • Political Goals
	Ways of Achieving Judicial Goals 514 Overcoming Constraints • Expanding Formal Powers • Creating and Exercising Political Power
	Summary 521
	COLOR ESSAY I POLICY SYMBOLE EN ARCHER 190100
	THE DECLARATION OF THE PERMIT
PARI 5	POLICY EVALUATION 525
	Established Single Six Year Presidential Helica Talaccust
15	SOCIAL WELFARE: ARE MOST AMERICANS BETTER OFF? 527
	Social Welfare 528
	The Case: The Feminization of Poverty • Insights
	Social Welfare Policies 535 Are Most Americans Better Off? • How Did They Get That Way? • Will Americans Be Better Off in the Future?
	Domestic Policies 543 Historical Foundations • The Political Environment
	The Polsby—Wildavsky Dialogue Continued 548
	The Policy Process • Governmental Institutions Summary 557

THE BUREAUCRACY: LIFE IN THE TRENCHES

453

NATIONAL DEFENSE: IS AMERICA LESS SECURE? 16 561

National Defense 562

The Case: The Diplomatic War Between New Zealand and the United States • Insights

National Security 566

Is American Less Secure Than in the Past? • How Did It Get That Way? • Will America Be Even Less Secure in the Future?

Foreign Policies 577

Historical Foundations • The Political Environment • The Policy Process • Governmental Institutions

The Wildavsky—Polsby Dialogue Continued . . . 586

Summary 589

EPILOGUE: THE UNENDING SEARCH FOR GOVERNMENT'S PROPER ROLE 593

Perpetual Discontent 594

The Case: Leaving the Island of Despair • Insights

The Unending Search for Government's Proper Role Federal Retrenchment • Renewed Economic Faith • State and Local Resurgence • Private-Public Experimentation

Summary 601

COLOR ESSAY I: PARTICIPATION, following 208

COLOR ESSAY II: POLICY SYMBOLS, following 432

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 604

GLOSSARY 611

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 618

620 INDEX