Developments in American Politics 3

***Developments* titles available from Macmillan**

Patrick Dunleavy, Andrew Gamble, Ian Holliday and Gillian Peele (eds)
DEVELOPMENTS IN BRITISH POLITICS 5

Peter A. Hall, Jack Hayward and Howard Machin (eds)
DEVELOPMENTS IN FRENCH POLITICS (Revised Edition)

Gillian Peele, Christopher Bailey, Bruce Cain and B. Guy Peters (eds)
DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS 3

Martin Rhodes, Paul Heywood and Vincent Wright (eds)
DEVELOPMENTS IN WEST EUROPEAN POLITICS

Gordon Smith, William E. Paterson and Stephen Padgett (eds)
DEVELOPMENTS IN GERMAN POLITICS 2

Stephen White, Judy Batt and Paul Lewis (eds)
DEVELOPMENTS IN CENTRAL AND EAST EUROPEAN
POLITICS 2

Stephen White, Alex Pravda and Zvi Gitelman (eds)
DEVELOPMENTS IN RUSSIAN AND POST-SOVIET POLITICS
(Third Edition)

If you have any comments or suggestions regarding this list or other
Developments titles, please write to Steven Kennedy, Publishing Director,
Macmillan Press Ltd, Houndmills, Basingstoke RG21 6XS, UK

Developments in American Politics 3

**Gillian Peele
Christopher J. Bailey
Bruce Cain
B. Guy Peters**
Editors

Editorial matter and selection © Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Bruce Cain and B. Guy Peters 1998

Individual chapters (in order) © Graham Wilson, John E. Owens, Cornell W. Clayton and James Giordano, Patricia Ingraham, Christopher J. Bailey, Gillian Peele, Steve Reilly, Bruce Cain and Allison Wegner, B. Guy Peters, Dilys M. Hill, John Dumbrell, Jonathan Parker, Richard L. Engstrom, Jason F. Kirksey, Brian D. Jacobs, Philip John Davies, Alan Ware 1998

All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

No paragraph of this publication may be reproduced, copied or transmitted save with written permission or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, or under the terms of any licence permitting limited copying issued by the Copyright Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 9HE.

Any person who does any unauthorised act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

The authors have asserted their rights to be identified as the authors of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published as *Developments in American Politics* 1992

Reprinted twice

Second edition 1994

Reprinted twice

Third edition 1998

Published by

MACMILLAN PRESS LTD

Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS

and London

Companies and representatives

throughout the world

ISBN 978-0-333-66017-1

ISBN 978-1-349-26834-4 (eBook)

DOI 10.1007/978-1-349-26834-4

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources

Copy-edited and typeset by Povey-Edmondson
Tavistock and Rochdale, England

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xiii
<i>List of Tables, Figures and Maps</i>	xv
<i>List of Abbreviations and Acronyms</i>	xvii
<i>Map of the United States of America</i>	xxii

1 Introduction: The United States in the 1990s	
<i>Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, Bruce Cain and B. Guy Peters</i>	1

PART ONE THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

2 The Presidency	<i>Graham Wilson</i>	19
A shrunken presidency?		19
Perspectives on the presidency		20
The significance of Clinton		23
Dimensions of disaster and triumph		26
Rebuilding a reputation:		31
The importance of formal powers		31
A rhetorical presidency		32
The Executive Branch presidency		33
“Ours is not a presidential system”		37
Implications for future presidents		39
3 Congress and Partisan Change	<i>John E. Owens</i>	42
Agenda change and partisan change		42
Institutional Change		45
Conditional party government		46
Republican Party government in the House		48
The Contract With America – a party manifesto		48
More centralized leadership		49
Party control and committees		49
Centralization within committees		51
Enacting the Contract		52
After the Contract		53

Change in the Senate	55
Enacting the Contract	55
The individualistic Senate	56
Dole and the Senate Republicans	57
Making the Senate (a little bit) more like the House	59
A more combative leadership?	62
The limits of institutional change	64
Explaining institutional change	65
Conclusions	69
 4 The Supreme Court and the Constitution	
<i>Cornell W. Clayton and James Giordano</i>	71
The Court's legal and political context	72
Judicial decision-making	75
The right to privacy and abortion	80
Equal protection and affirmative action	82
Church and state	84
Free expression	86
The separation of powers and federalism	87
The Justice Department and Clinton's legal policy	88
Lower-Court appointments	94
Conclusions	95
 5 The Federal Bureaucracy <i>Patricia Ingraham</i>	97
Assessment of the role and effectiveness of bureaucratic institutions	97
"Reinventing government"	100
Downsizing the American federal government	103
The administrative implications of policy devolution	107
The Government Performance and Results Act (1993)	110
Performance-based organizations	112
Conclusions	112
 6 The Changing Federal System <i>Christopher J. Bailey</i>	114
The dynamics of federalism	116
The politics of contemporary federalism	119
The "Devolution Revolution"	125
Conclusions	132

PART TWO DYNAMICS

7 Political Parties	<i>Gillian Peele</i>	137
An anti-party environment?		138
Perot and the third-party phenomenon		140
Ideology, issues, and the party response		141
The Democratic Party		143
The Republican Party		148
Republican presidential politics		151
The Republican Party in Congress		152
Republican governors		155
Party organization		156
Democratic organization		156
Republican organization		157
Candidates, campaigns, and money		158
Conclusions		160
8 Interest Groups in National Politics	<i>Steve Reilly</i>	162
Interest groups and organized interests		162
Organized interests in the 1990s		164
Business groups		164
Labor unions		166
Other membership groups		169
Think-tanks		173
Trends in strategy and tactics		175
Coalitions		176
Organized interests and campaign finance		178
The Internet		180
Conclusions		182
9 Electoral Politics	<i>Bruce Cain and Allison Wegner</i>	183
Volatility examined		184
Trends in state government		193
Republican gains and frustrations		197
The quest to control short-term forces		201

PART THREE PUBLIC POLICY

10 Economic Policy	<i>B. Guy Peters</i>	211
The challenges of economic policy		212
The goals of economic policy		213

The instruments of economic policy	215
The public household	218
Emerging issues in the economy	219
The basic paradox: doing better and feeling worse	220
Macro-performance	221
Conclusions	228
11 Social Policy <i>Dilys M. Hill</i>	230
The policy climate	231
Heath care insurance for all	233
The demands for change	233
The groundwork of the plan	234
Challenges to change	236
From opposition to defeat	237
Welfare, work, and dependency	240
The American approach to welfare	240
Attacking poverty or attacking the poor?	243
The Clinton plan	244
The Personal Responsibility and Work	
Opportunity Act (1996)	246
Outputs and outcomes	248
Ending the New Deal assumptions	249
Conclusions	250
12 Foreign Policy <i>John Dumbrell</i>	252
The Clinton Administration and post-Cold War	
internationalism	253
Republicans and foreign policy	260
Defense, intelligence and trade	263
Post-Cold War foreign policy-making	267
Conclusions	271
 PART FOUR CONTEMPORARY ISSUES	
13 Education Policy <i>Jonathan Parker</i>	277
State and local control of elementary and secondary	
education	279
The limited role of the federal government	281
The role of the courts	284
Education reform	285

Higher education	289
Prospects for the future	290
14 Affirmative Action and the Politics of Race	
<i>Richard L. Engstrom</i>	292
Compensatory action as policy	294
White reactions to affirmative action	295
Affirmative action as a political issue	299
Affirmative action as a legal issue	302
The uncertain future of affirmative action	304
15 Campaign-finance Reform <i>Jason F. Kirksey</i>	307
The 1996 elections	308
The presidential election	308
“Soft” money	310
Congressional elections	312
Independent expenditures	314
Prospects for campaign-finance reform	315
Campaign-finance reform opponents	317
Congressional hearings	318
Conclusion: the structure of campaign-finance reform	318
16 The Regional City: Governance and Competitiveness in Pittsburgh <i>Brian D. Jacobs</i>	320
Cities are important	320
Entrepreneurial cities	323
The competitive challenge in “America’s new economy”	324
Pittsburgh: defending the base	326
Networked governance: overcoming fragmentation	329
Community empowerment	334
Conclusion	336
17 The Media and U.S. Politics <i>Philip John Davies</i>	337
All’s fair in love and war	337
The Hollywood sign: the fear and fascination of mass-media entertainment	339
Drawing a line in the sand: grandstanding against cultural threats	340
The media market	341

x *Contents*

Segmentation of provision	343
The developing information environment	344
The traditional news media	346
The political campaign and the media	347
1996	349
Conclusions	352

**PART FIVE AMERICAN POLITICS AT THE CENTURY'S
END: AN OVERVIEW**

18 The American Political System in Transition to a New Century	<i>Alan Ware</i>	357
Evidence of turbulence and conflict		357
Would we have expected the 1990s to be an era of political conflict?		363
The sources of political conflict and turbulence		364
Antagonistic subcultures		366
The worsening position of the American worker		367
The impact of the end of the Cold War		371
Increasing ideological cohesion in the political parties		372
The consequences of political reform in the 1970s		373
The role of individual politicians		374
The future of the unquiet polity		376
<i>Guide to Further Reading</i>		383
<i>Bibliography</i>		387
<i>Index</i>		412

Preface

This is the third *Developments in American Politics* volume. All the chapters are new and, with the exception of the editors there is a totally new group of contributors. We have been fortunate in attracting an outstanding international team of authors and a number of younger scholars of American politics to write for the book.

As in the last volume, individual authors were asked both to analyze recent developments in their area and to balance the theoretical and empirical material. They were also asked to produce chapters which would be accessible and useful to students at an early stage of studying American politics as well as stimulating to more advanced students. All authors were asked to concentrate on the contemporary American scene, but the proximity of the publication of this volume to the turn of the century has prompted us to give the Introduction and the concluding section of the book a slightly broader historical focus than in earlier volumes as a way of encouraging reflection on the significance of recent political development.

In order to make the book user-friendly to its readers around the world and to convey the color and idioms of American politics, we have used American spelling throughout and, where appropriate, the party and state of elected politicians has been included. The references to works cited in the chapters are collected together at the end of the book, and there is also a short Guide to Further Reading for each of the chapters.

The editors would like to thank our publisher Steven Kennedy for the help and encouragement he has given to this volume. We also thank our American publishers Chatham House and record with sadness the death of Ed Artinian, who did so much to improve earlier versions of the book. We also thank our anonymous referees. The editors acknowledge with gratitude the intellectual support given by their respective colleagues at the University of Oxford, the University of Keele, the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Pittsburgh. We are also especially grateful to the secretarial and support staff in our respective

institutions. We also gratefully acknowledge the range of fund-raising bodies which have supported our studies and especially the Mellon Trust which has done so much for American research at Oxford. A special vote of thanks goes to Elizabeth McLeish, Samuel Gregg and Teresa Curristine, all in the University of Oxford, who rendered vital and good humoured assistance at various stages in the preparation of this book.

List of Contributors

Christopher J. Bailey is a Senior Lecturer in American Studies at Keele University.

Bruce Cain is Robson Professor of Government and Acting Director of the Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California at Berkeley.

Cornell W. Clayton is Professor of Political Science at Washington State University at Pullman.

Philip John Davies is Professor of American Studies at De Montfort University.

John Dumbrell is a Senior Lecturer in American Studies at Keele University.

Richard L. Engstrom is a Research Professor of Political Science at the University of New Orleans.

James Giordano is a doctoral candidate at Washington State University.

Dilys M. Hill is Professor of Politics at the University of Southampton.

Patricia W. Ingraham is Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University.

Brian D. Jacobs is Reader in the Faculty of Social Studies at Staffordshire University.

Jason F. Kirksey is Hannah D. Atkins Professor of Political Science at Oklahoma State University.

John E. Owens is Director of the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster.

Jonathan Parker is a Lecturer in American Studies at Keele University.

Gillian Peele is Fellow and Tutor in Politics at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

B. Guy Peters is Maurice Falk Professor of American Government at the University of Pittsburgh.

Steve Reilly is a Lecturer in International Relations at the University of Kent.

Alan Ware is Professor of Politics at Worcester College, Oxford.

Allison Wegner is a doctoral candidate at the University of California at Berkeley.

Graham Wilson is Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

List of Tables, Figures and Maps

Tables

2.1	Presidential approval ratings since F.D.R.	28
3.1	Party control of Congress, 1900–98	43
3.2	Changing vote alignments in the House across four dimensions, 1981–96	69
5.1	Budget and workforce reduction in U.S. federal agencies, 1993 and 1996	105
9.1	Independent party identification 1952–94	185
9.2	Partisan party identification, 1952–94	190
9.3	1996 vote compared to population statistics, 1995	191
9.4	Gender and the vote, 1992 and 1996	192
9.5	Divided government at the state level, 1988–96	195
10.1	Economic growth of the United States and other industrialized democracies, 1970–79 to 1996	211
10.2	Unemployment rates, 1980–96	222
10.3	Inflation rates, 1980–96	222
10.4	The public deficit as a percentage of G.D.P., 1985–95	222
16.1	Regional partnership development: the “layer cake”	331
16.2	The Working Together Consortium: aims and partners	335

Figures

3.1	House members’ changing support of four policy dimensions, 1977–94	44
3.2	Percentage of votes which divided the parties, 1954–97	67
3.3	Mean House–party support scores, 1954–97	68
9.1	Correlations between district presidential vote and House vote, 1952–96	186

xvi *List of Tables, Figures and Maps*

9.2	Republican strength in the House, by region, 1946–96	187
9.3	Democratic strength in the House, by region, 1946–96	187

Maps

<i>Frontispiece</i> The United States: states and main cities excluding Alaska and Hawaii		
16.1	The Pittsburgh region, including M.S.A. counties	327

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AARP	American Association of Retired Persons
ABC	American Broadcasting Corporation
ACIR	Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
AFL–CIO	American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organization
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
CATS	Conservative Action Team
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CEOs	Chief Executive Officers
CSE	Citizens for a Sound Economy
CETA	Comprehensive Employment Training Act
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
COS	Conservative Opportunity Society
CPI	Citizens for Public Integrity
CREF	Citizens for the Republic Education Fund
CRS	Congressional Research Service
CSRA	Child Support Recovery Act (1988)
D	Democrat
DAETC	Denver Area Educational Telecommunications Consortium Inc.
DHHS	Department of Health and Human Services
DLC	Democratic Leadership Council
DNC	Democratic National Committee
DOD	Department of Defense
DOE	Department of Energy
DOEd	Department of Education
DOJ	Department of Justice

DOMA	Defense of Marriage Act (1996)
EEOC	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
EC	Empowerment Community
EMU	European Monetary Union
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
ESEA	Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965)
EU	European Union
EZ	Empowerment Zone
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FCC	Federal Communications Commission
FDA	Food and Drug Administration
FEC	Federal Election Commission
FECA	Federal Election Campaign Act (1971, amended 1974)
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
FY	Fiscal Year
GAO	General Accounting Office
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GI	General Issue
GOP	Grand Old Party (the Republican Party)
GPRA	Government Performance and Results Act (1993)
GRS	General Revenue Sharing
GSA	General Services Administration
HMOs	Health Maintenance Organizations
HUD	(Department of) Housing and Urban Development
IDEA	Individuals with Disabilities Education Act
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
IT	Information Technology
JOBS	Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (program)
JTPA	Job Training and Partnership Act
JVSVN	Joint Venture Silicon Valley Network
MSA	Metropolitan Statistical Area
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAM	National Association of Manufacturers

NAPA	National Academy of Public Administration
NBC	National Broadcasting Corporation
NCES	National Center for Educational Statistics
NES	National Election Study
NFIB	National Federation of Independent Businesses
NGA	National Governors' Association
NOW	National Organization for Women
NJ	New Jersey
NPR	National Performance Review
NSF	National Science Foundation
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
OPM	Office of Personnel Management
PAC	Political Action Committee
PBO	Performance-Based Organization
PPI	Progressive Policy Institute
PR	proportional representation
R	Republican
R&D	research and development
RCCC	Republican Congressional Campaign Committee
RNC	Republican National Committee
SAG	Speaker's Advisory Group
SES	Senior Executive Service
SME	small and medium-sized enterprise
SSI	Social Security Insurance
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
TAFTA	Transatlantic Free Trade Agreement
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
UDAG	Urban Development Action Grant
URA	Urban Redevelopment Authority (Pittsburgh)
UN	United Nations
USAID	US Agency for International Development
VA	(Department of) Veterans' Administration
VNS	Voter News Service
WIN	Work Incentives (program)
WLC	White House Legal Counsel's Office
WTO	World Trade Organization

State Abbreviations

Ariz.	Arizona
Ark.	Arkansas
Calif.	California
Colo.	Colorado
Conn.	Connecticut
D.C.	District of Columbia
Del.	Delaware
Fla.	Florida
Ga.	Georgia
Ill.	Illinois
Ind.	Indiana
Kans.	Kansas
Ky.	Kentucky
La.	Louisiana
Maine	Maine
Mass.	Massachusetts
Md.	Maryland
Mich.	Michigan
Minn.	Minnesota
Miss.	Mississippi
Mo.	Missouri
Mont.	Montana
N.C.	North Carolina
N.Dak.	North Dakota
Nebr.	Nebraska
Nev.	Nevada
N.H.	New Hampshire
N.J.	New Jersey
N.Mex.	New Mexico
N.Y.	New York
Okla.	Oklahoma
Oreg. or Ore.	Oregon
Pa.	Pennsylvania
R.I.	Rhode Island
S.C.	South Carolina
S.Dak.	South Dakota
Tenn.	Tennessee
Tex.	Texas

Utah	Utah
Va.	Virginia
Vt.	Vermont
Wash.	Washington State
Wis. <i>or</i> Wisc.	Wisconsin
W. Va.	West Virginia
Wyo.	Wyoming

The United States of America: states and main cities

(excluding Alaska and Hawaii)