ROBERT S. LORCH

THE GREAT ENTANGLEMENT

SECOND EDITION

 $\Omega ^{\prime }$

second edition

Robert S. Lorch

University of Colorado at Colorado Springs

Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632 Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

LORCH, ROBERT STUART, (DATE)

State and local politics.

Bibliography: p. Includes index.

1.-State governments. 2.-Local government-United States. I. Title.

IK2408.L67-1986 320.8'0973 85-12109

ISBN 0-13-843467-0

© 1986, 1983 by Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any means without permission in writing from the publisher.

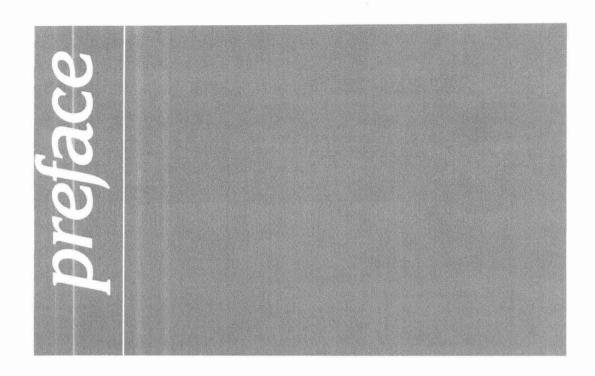
Printed in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Editorial/production supervision and interior design by Judith Winthrop Manufacturing buyer: Barbara Kittle

ISBN 0-13-843467-0 01

Prentice-Hall International (UIK) Limited, London Prentice-Hall of Australia Pty. Limited, Sydney Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., Toronto Prentice-Hall Hispanoamericana, S.A., Mexico Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi Prentice-Hall of Japan, Inc., Tokyo Prentice-Hall of Southeast Asia Pte. Ltd., Singapore Editora Prentice-Hall do Brasil, Ltda., Rio de Janeiro Whitehall Books Limited, Wellington, New Zealand



"Cover the subject, but don't give us an encyclopedia." "Don't make it too long; we plan to use some supplementary reading." "Give us about three-fourths state and one-fourth local." "Above all, write a book that will hold the interest of the students, especially students enrolled in their first political science course, who may never take another."

Those are some of the things I have been told by numerous teachers of

state and local government. This book is an attempt to respond.

From my point of view, the nicest thing anyone could say about this book is that it is accurate, that it is lucid, that it broadly covers the subject, and that (in places at least) it is fun to read. In all sincerity I dedicate this book to those who are forced to read it at gunpoint, who are reading it because they have to—because it is assigned. You are with me in every paragraph. I understand you. I was a college student for eight years.

It is not easy to teach a course in state and local government, or to study the subject. The 50 states vary so much that professors have difficulty saying anything definite that applies to them all. Yet the states do have many fundamentals in common. In a sense our states are like a pack of dogs (pardon the comparison). They all have four legs, two eyes, one tail, and a nose. Yet they have great differences. The bull terrier's tail is different from the foxhound's, and the doberman's legs aren't like the chow chow's.

The eighty some thousand local governments have lots in common,

despite their differences.

In writing this book I often had to say "often"; frequently had to say "frequently"; commonly had to say "commonly." After hundreds of pages the sight of one of those fuzzy words was painful. I ached for something concrete

and universal. But in the study of state and local government nothing is as lonesome as a concrete universal truth.

All purported conversations in this book, though entirely fictional, are based on actual conversations or on data acquired in other ways. They are simply intended to be a somewhat less formal way of presenting information. Any resemblance to persons living or dead is entirely coincidental.

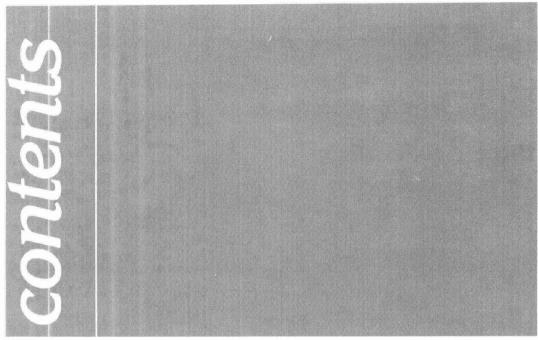
The English language has no singular third-person pronoun that is both masculine and feminine. To correct this unfortunate circumstance we have used "he or she" rather than just "he," "his or hers" rather than just "his," and so on, except in passages where such double pronouns would impede the flow of language.

If any person reading this book is moved to write me a letter about it, please do so. I want to know what you like or don't like about the book. Future editions may reflect your observations. Your letter will be gratefully received,

and answered if possible.

Certainly I would not want to lay responsibility on anyone but myself for these pages, but I must acknowledge with gratitude the numerous helpful criticisms made by W. Lee Johnston, University of North Carolina; Mavis Mann Reeves, University of Maryland; Donald Ranish, Antelope Valley College; and Ed Sidlow, Miami University of Ohio. I am also grateful to the reviewers: Karl Svenson, California State University; David Bingham, West Virginia University; and Kenneth T. Palmer, University of Maine.

Robert S. Lorch Colorado Springs



	preface	xiii
one	introduction	1
	OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND 3 States and the Mass Media, 3 Newspapers, 3 Television, 4 ARE THE STATES ALIKE? 4 Physical Differences among States, 4 Social and Economic Differences, 5 Uniformity of Political Culture, 6 Governmental Similarities and Differences, 7 WHY STUDY STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT? 8 SUMMARY 10 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 10	
two	state constitutions	11
	SIMILARITIES AMONG STATE CONSTITUTIONS 13	

Basic Principles, 13
THE AMENDMENT PROCESS 14
Initiation, 14 Ratification, 14 Should Constitutions Be Difficult to Amend? 15
Frequency of Amendment, 15

OTHER FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION 60 NOMINATIONS 61 Primary Elections, 61 Caucuses, 61 Conventions, 61 Runoff Primaries, 64 Open and Closed Primaries, 64 Nonpartisan Primaries, 65 THE GENERAL ELECTION 65 Ballots, 65 Party Column versus Office Block Ballots, 67 Voting Devices, 68 Voting, 68 NONPARTISAN ELECTIONS 70 REFERENDUM AND INITIATIVE ELECTIONS Referendum, 72 Initiative, 72 Disadvantages of Direct Legislation, 72

RECALL ELECTIONS 72 SUMMARY 74 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 75

five parties, pressure groups, and elites

PARTY FUNCTIONS THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM 78

Party History, 79 Why Two Parties? 80 Third Parties, 81 Party Ideology, 81

PARTY ORGANIZATION 83

The Organization Chart, 83 Hundreds of Parties, 83 Who Are Party Members? 83

Parties as State Agencies, 84 Structure, 84 The National Convention, 87

Campaign Organizations, 88 Party Discipline, 88

CAMPAIGNS 89

Campaign-Management Services, 89 Media Science, 90 Polling, 90 Computers, 91

Where Does the Old Style of Politics Still Survive? 91 CAMPAIGN FINANCE

91

Mother's Milk, 91 Campaign Costs, 92 Consequences of Cost, 92

Campaign-Finance Laws, 93

TWO- AND ONE-PARTY STATES

ELITES

The Iron Law of Oligarchy, 97 Who Are the Leaders? 98 A Divided Oligarchy, 98

Are Elites Antidemocratic? 99 Do Economic Elites Rule? 100

PRESSURE GROUPS 103

LOBBYING 104

Regulation of Lobbying, 104

SUMMARY 105

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 107

six the governor

108

76

GOVERNORSHIP AS AN INSTITUTION SOME ADVICE FOR NEW GOVERNORS

The Risks of Appointing Campaign Staff to Personal Staff, 111

Managerial Appointments, 111 Staying in Command, 112 Avoiding Splendid Isolation, 112

Guarding One's Time, 112 Trying To Do Everything, 113 Setting Priorities, 113

Miscellaneous Advice, 113

A Winter Pastime, 145 Frequency of Sessions, 145 Length of Sessions, 140	
Special Sessions, 146 Should Frequency and Duration of Sessions Be Limited? 146	
Modification of Session Limitations, 147 Interim Committees, 147	
LIMITATIONS ON LEGISLATIVE POWER 148	
Debt Limits, 148 Earmarking, 148 Miscellaneous Legal Limitations, 149	
Special Legislation, 149	
BICAMERALISM 149	
Why Bicameralism? 149 Nebraska, 151 Nomenclature, 151 Upper and Lower House SIZE OF THE LEGISLATURE 152	2S, 152
Is a Large Legislature More Representative? 153 TERMS AND TURNOVER 154	
Reasons for High Turnover, 154 Are Short Terms More Democratic? 155 COMPENSATION 156	
Differences among States, 156 What is Pay? 156 Proper Level of Pay, 157 IS THE LEGISLATURE REPRESENTATIVE? 157	
Can a Legislature Mirror the Public? 157 Occupation, 157 THEORIES OF REPRESENTATION 158	
Is There a Majority View? 158 What Is a Mandate? 158 The Legislator as Agent, 159 APPORTIONMENT AND REAPPORTIONMENT 159	
Gerrymandering, 159 Geographic Representation Leads to Malapportionment, 160 Political versus Judicial Solutions, 161 Has One-Man-One-Vote Improved Things? 161	
Is Gerrymandering Dead? 162	
STAFF SERVICES TO LEGISLATORS 163	
Offices and Personal Staffs, 163 Committee Staffs, 163 The Legislative Council, 164	
Bill-Drafting Service, 165 Revisor of Statutes, 165 Postauditor, 166	
State Library, 166 Commission on Uniform State Law, 166	
Compensation Commission, 167 Clerk of the House and Secretary of the Senate, 167	
Sergeant at Arms, 167 Budget Staff, 167	
STANDING COMMITTEES 168	
Importance, 168 Number, 168 Joint Committees, 169 Power, 169	
Chairpersons, 169 Membership, 170	
State Legislative Committees versus Congressional Committees, 170	
Interim Committees, 170	
SPEAKER AND PRESIDENT PRO TEM 171	
OTHER OFFICES 171	
HOW TO KILL A BILL 171	
The Idea, 172 The Interests, 172 The Leg Men, 173 The Drafting Service, 173	
Introduction of the Bill, 174 Delivery to the Clerk, 174 Which Committee? 174	
In Committee, 175 The Rules Committee, 176 Another Committee, 176	
The Committee of the Whole, 177 The Conference Committee, 178 The Governor, 178	
SUMMARY 178	
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 180	
eight courts and law	101
eight courts and law	181

182

184

GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF THE COURT SYSTEM

Original and Appellate Jurisdiction, 184 Fact and Law, 185

TRIAL AND APPEALS COURTS OF GENERAL JURISDICTION

182

Municipal Courts, 183 Justices of the Peace, 183

LOCAL COURTS

Planning, 240 Zoning, 241 Subdivision Regulation, 242
Building Codes, 242 County Finance, 243
THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN 243
TOWNSHIPS 246
SPECIAL DISTRICTS 248
How Many? 248 Definition, 248 Organization, 249
The Need for Special Districts, 249 Faults of Special Districts, 251
SUMMARY 252
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 254

ten cities and metropolitan areas

255

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS 257

An Artificial Person, 257 Compared with Counties, 257 Size, 257

CITY CHARTERS 258

General-Law Charters, 258 Home-Rule Charters, 259

FORMS OF CITY GOVERNMENT 260

The Commission Form, 260 Council-Manager Form, 263 Mayor-Council Form, 264

MAYORS 265

Is There a Future in Being Mayor? 265 Strong and Weak Mayors, 267 Election, 267

The Symbol of the City, 267 The Chief Administrator, 268

Controlling the Civil Service, 268 Innovators, 269

CITY COUNCILS 270

Size, 270 Influence of Bureaucrats, 270 Part-Time Members, 271 Pay, 271

Office and Staff, 272 Attitudes, 272 Council-Mayor Disharmony, 272 Unicameralism, 273

ELECTIONS 273

At-Large versus District Elections, 273 Federal Involvement, 276 Nonpartisan Elections, 277

METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT 277

Annexation, 278 Extraterritorial Jurisdiction, 280 City-County Mergers, 280

City-States, 282 Metropolitan Districts, 283 Cooperation, 284 Contracts, 285

SUMMARY 286

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 287

eleven money

288

THE BUDGET 290

Chloroform, 290 What Is a Budget? 290 Who Makes a Budget? 290

Incremental Budgeting, 291 Budgeting as a Power Struggle, 292 Rationality in Budgeting, 293

Zero-Based Budgeting, 293 Cost-Benefit Analysis, 294 Clarity of Budgets, 295

THE FISCAL YEAR 296

APPROPRIATIONS 297

AUDITING 297

The Controller, 297 The Treasurer, 297 Pre- and Postaudits, 298 The Auditor, 298

Elected or Appointed? 298 Legislative Audit Committees, 298 Legislative Oversight, 299

Performance Auditing, 300 EXPENDITURES 300

State Expenditures, 300 Local Expenditures, 302 Growth of Spending, 302

contents

appendix	37
JOURNALS 378 OTHER REFERENCE SOURCES 379	
glossary	38
index	20

REVENUE AND TAXATION 304
State Revenue, 304 Local Revenue by Source, 305 Who Levies What Tax? 305
What Is a Good Tax? 306 Income Taxes, 306 The Sales Tax, 307
The Real-Property Tax, 308 The Personal-Property Tax, 311
Federal-State Reciprocal Tax Immunity, 312 State Debt Limits, 313
Local Debt Limits, 314 Evading Debt Limits, 314 Tax Limits, 315
SUMMARY 316
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 317

twelve civil servants

319

HOW MANY AND HOW HIRED? 321 THE MERIT SYSTEM 321 The Case for Spoils, 323 Classification of Jobs, 324 The Civil-Service Commission, 325 Centralization versus Decentralization of Personnel Management, 325 Noncompetitive Jobs, 326 The Growth of State and Local Merit Systems, 327 Illegal Patronage, 329 Firing People, 330 Is Merit a Fraud? 331 PUBLIC-SERVICE UNIONISM 332 Some History, 332 Unions Today, 332 Growth of Unions, 332 Difficulties Unions Face, 333 Public-Service Strikes, 334 Union versus Merit, 335 Right of Nonassociation, 336 A National Labor Law? 337 OUR RULING SERVANTS: BUREAUCRATS AS JUDGES AND LEGISLATORS 337 ADMINISTRATIVE LAWMAKING 338 They Ask for It, 340 Monopolies, 341 Influencing Legislators, 341 ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUDICATION 342 Judicial Power, 342 The Primary Jurisdiction Doctrine, 342 The Exhaustion of Remedies Doctrine, 342 Appeal-Only Law, 342 Constitutionality, 343 SUMMARY 344 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 345

thirteen agencies and functions

THE BUREAUCRACY 348 THE POLITICS OF ORGANIZATION 350 Sunset and the Licensing Boards, 350 The Attempt to Reorganize, 351 WHAT DOES THE BUREAUCRACY DO? 352 Public Schools, 353 Colleges and Universities, 354 The State Library, 355 Transportation, 356 Health, 357 Welfare, 357 Agriculture, 362 Environmental Protection, 364 Energy Conservation, 367 Corrections, 367 Police, 370 Fire Protection and Emergency Help, 371 The Militia, 372 State Police and Highway Patrols, 372 Labor, 373 SUMMARY 374 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 375

fourteen epilog

376

347

SPECIALIZATION OF COURTS AND JUDGES 186 SOME SPECIALIZED COURTS 186

Small-Claims Courts, 186 Family Courts, 187 Juvenile Courts, 188

Domestic-Relations Courts, 189 Probate Courts, 189

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS 190

Number of Cases, 190 Hearings, 190 Only Limited Appeal to Court, 191

THE RELATIONSHIP OF FEDERAL AND STATE COURTS 19

Parallel Ladders, 191 Constitutional Cases: Either Ladder, 191

Additional Powers of Federal Courts, 193

197

JUDGES 193

Methods of Selection, 193 Removal of Judges, 196

JURIES

Their Function, 197 Must a Jury Be Unanimous? 198 Size of Juries, 199 Jury Duty, 199 Jury Selection, 200

LAW 201

A Lawyer's Secret, 201 Judge-Made Law, 202 Plessy and Brown, 203

The Civil-Law World, 204 Statutory Law, 205

Administrative Rules, 205 Civil and Criminal Law, 206

Civil and Criminal Cases, 206 Equity, 207

CRIMINAL AND CIVIL PROCEDURE, 208

Indictment; Information, 208 Arrest, 209

Right to Counsel, 209 Preliminary Hearing, 209 Bail, 210 Arraignment, 210

Jury Selection, 210

Opening Speeches and Presentation of Evidence by the Prosecutor, 211

Presentation of Evidence for the Defense, 211 Final Arguments, 211

Instructions to the Jury, 211 Jury Deliberations and Verdict, 212 Sentencing, 212

Motion for New Trial and Appeal, 212

Civil Procedure, 212

COURT REFORM 213

THE OMBUDSMAN 214

BARRIERS TO JUSTICE 215

SUMMARY

216

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 217

nine counties, towns, townships, and special districts

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL 221

Mother and Child, 221 Federal Involvement with Local Governments, 222

State Departments of Local Affairs, 223 Legal Status, 224

COUNTIES 225

What is a County? 225 How Do Counties and Cities Differ? 226

Particularities of Counties, 226 The Tangle of County Government, 227 County Boards, 229

County Clerk, 231 Recorder or Registrar of Deeds, 232 Clerk of the Court, 232

County Treasurer, 233 County Auditor, 233 County Assessor, 233 County Sheriff, 235

Prosecuting Attorney, 235 County Coroner, 236 County Superintendent of Schools, 236

County Surveyor, 236 Reforming the County, 237

COUNTY SERVICES 238

Health, 239 Welfare, 239 Parks and Recreation, 239

219

WHO BECOMES GOVERNOR? Race, Religion, Sex, Party, Occupation, and Demeanor, 114 Pregubernatorial Public Office, 114 PEOPLE WHO WORK IN THE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE 114 Dangers of a Poor Appointment, 114 Turnover, 115 Who Works for the Governor? 116 Duties of the Staff, 117 THE WAR AGAINST GOVERNORS 119 THE GOVERNOR'S APPOINTMENT POWER The Plural Executive, 120 Whom May the Governor Appoint? 121 The Legislature's Role in Appointments, 121 Limitations on Removal, 122 Impediments of the Merit System, 122 Gubernatorial Powerlessness, 123 A Source of Leverage on the Legislature, 123 THE GOVERNOR AS LEGISLATOR THE GOVERNOR'S ABILITY TO INFLUENCE PUBLIC OPINION Influencing Legislators through Public Opinion, 124 Concentrating on Issues, 125 Addressing Segments of the Public, 125 The Governor as a Celebrity, 125 Electronics Favor the Governor, 125 Building a Legislative Record, 126 The Disillusionment of New Governors, 126 THE GOVERNOR'S POWER TO CALL SPECIAL SESSIONS 127 THE GOVERNOR AS PARTY LEADER 127 Dangers of Party Disunity, 127 Maverick Governors, 128 Sources of the Governor's Influence in the Party, 128 THE VETO POWER 128 Item Veto, 129 The Legislature's Power to Override, 129 Governor and President Compared, 130 THE GOVERNOR'S TERM AS A POWER 130 THE GOVERNOR'S BUDGETARY POWER The Governor's Budget, 131 The Weight of the Governor's Budget, 131 Earmarking, 132 Incremental Budgeting, 132 WHAT IS A POWER? 132 Duties versus Powers, 132 The Difficulty of Ranking the Governor's Powers, 132 HOW STRONG SHOULD GOVERNORS BE? 134 Proposals for Strengthening Governors, 135 Gubernatorial Competence, 136 Do We Need a State Manager? 136 THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR 136 Should the Office Be Abolished? 136 Constitutional Duties, 137 Running as a Team with the Governor, 137 Negation of Separation of Powers, 138 Succession to the Governorship, 138 SUMMARY 139 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 140 141

the legislature seven

THE TRIUMPH OF LEGISLATIVE POWER 142 DECLINE 142 DEMOCRATIZATION 143 CORRUPTION 143 Buying Legislation, 143 Curbing the Legislature, 144 REFORM 144 Muckrakers, 144 Progressive Movement, 145 SESSIONS 145

LENGTH OF CONSTITUTIONS 17
REVISION OF CONSTITUTIONS 17
Constitutional Conventions, 17 Revision by Interpretation, 18
How Many New Constitutions? 19 Constitution Writers Look to Precedent, 1
Constitutional Revision Today, 19 The Model State Constitution, 20
SUMMARY 20
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 21

three federalism

LENGTH OF CONCTITUTIONS

DUAL SOVEREIGNTY The Division of Power, 25 Why Has Federal Power Grown? 26 CONSTITUTIONAL AVENUES FOR THE RISE OF FEDERAL POWER 27 Style of the Constitution, 28 Spending Power, 28 Implied Powers, 28 Commerce Power, 29 Supremacy Clause, 29 Supreme Court as Umpire, 30 COOPERATIVE FEDERALISM 30 The Marble Cake, 31 Grants, 32 Grantsmanship, 33 General Revenue Sharing, 34 Have States Become "Middle Management"? 34 DOES FEDERALISM STILL HAVE A USEFUL FUNCTION? Are States Closer to the People? 36 Does Federalism Divide Power? 36 Gymnasiums and Laboratories of Democracy, 37 ADMISSION OF STATES TO THE UNION Original and Admitted States, 37 Procedure for Admission, 38 Legal Equality of Admitted States, 38 NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS TO THE STATES Republican Form of Government, 38 Territorial Integrity, 39 Protection from Invasion and Domestic Violence, 39 OBLIGATION OF STATES TO THE NATION Election of Federal Officials, 40 Consideration of Amendments, 40 INTERSTATE RELATIONS, 41 Full Faith and Credit, 41 Extradition, 42 Suits between States, 43 Privileges and Immunities, 43 SUMMARY 44 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING 45

22

46

four election machinery

THE SYSTEM DICTATES THE OUTCOME CONTROL OF ELECTIONS 48 Who Runs Elections? 48 Determining Who Shall Vote, 48 WHO MAY VOTE? 50 Age, 50 Residency and Citizenship, 51 Registration, 52 BLACKS AND THE ELECTION SYSTEM: A CASE STUDY Literacy Tests, 54 Other Tests, 55 White Primary, 56 Racial Gerrymandering, 56 Poll Taxes, 56 Intimidation, 57 NON-RACIAL DISCRIMINATIONS 57 WHO VOTES? NONVOTING IN AMERICA 58 DOES DEMOCRACY WORK? What Is a Mandate? 59

Introduction

one

HOW ENTERTAINING IS A STATE?

The 56-year-old man with flowing white hair tried to hold his temper, tried to be polite. He tried to answer insinuations calmly. He tried to do what panelists at the American Political Science Convention usually try to do: avoid ruffling any feathers, avoid insulting anyone, avoid treating fools as if they were fools. But finally he exploded. His fist came down on the panel table. Water in drinking glasses splashed. An ashtray bounced to the floor. The great head of white hair flew in all directions as the editor of the *Capitol Crier* shouted at a frail and balding professor in the audience, "Don't you know what the newspaper business is all about, you bloody fool?"

Such language was unheard-of at meetings where learned scholars exchange ideas politely among themselves. But the editor was not a professional scholar. He owned and ran the most profitable newspaper in his state.

The target of his wrath, sitting near the back of the room, wasn't accustomed to being called a bloody fool by anyone except his wife. Color drained from his face.

The editor continued to erupt: "For the past ten minutes you've been trying to make me out as some kind of hideous ogre devoid of any shred of social consciousness. You act as though you think the job of a newspaper is to be an educational institution for the masses. Education is your job, not mine. I run a business. That business is to make money. My stock in trade is something called 'news.' It isn't really news all the time—quite often it's entertainment in the guise of news. Whatever it's called and whatever it is, I'm not going to print it unless readers are going to read it. That's how I sell papers. I'm not going to print educational stuff that'll put me in the poorhouse."

The editor slowly sat down, eyes still glaring at his adversary. Stunned silence gripped the room. Finally the moderator, a young instructor from Nebraska who looked like Brooke Shields's twin brother, had the presence of mind to ask the professor whether he would care to respond to the editor's thoughtful remarks.

The professor paused and cleared his throat theatrically. This somehow produced a few giggles. Everyone turned around to see what he would say. "Now sir," began the professor, "I do not wish to paint you as any sort of ogre. I respect the important role played by the free press in America. I fully understand that a free press must be a private enterprise with a profit motive, and that you, unlike myself, have a payroll to meet and maybe some stockholders to satisfy. But your paper, which calls itself the *Capitol Crier*, gives almost no coverage of the state capitol—of state government. Why can't you entertain your readers with some state news?"

"I can't do that because the state government simply is not all that entertaining. I can't afford, and neither can anyone else, to hire a reporter to sit in the state capitol sending back dreary reports about a dreary government. People don't care about state government. They'd rather die than read about it. I'd go broke trying to get people interested in state government."

"But you do send a man to cover the legislature when it's in session, don't you?"

"Yes, because there's enough drama and idiocy there to amuse my readers. When the legislature adjourns, I pull my man back and put him to work writing up local murders."

"A good reporter," protested the professor, "can find drama, suspense, human interest, blood, and sex even in the state bureaucracy. A good reporter who is also a good writer can make the state department of agriculture as fascinating as a Shakespeare epic."

"If I had reporters who could write like that, they'd demand six times what I can pay."

OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND

States and the Mass Media

In America today the saying "out of sight, out of mind" can definitely be used to describe the governments of the states. They have a visibility problem. They are ignored, or at least overlooked, by the mass **media**, which probably give more coverage to foreign governments than to state governments. During the hostage crisis in Iran, for example, the U.S. media delved into every feature of Iranian politics; many Americans actually knew more about the government of Iran than about the government of their home state. The mass media are really not to blame for this. It's not their fault if people are more intrigued by hostages in Persia than by the sometimes dreary happenings in the statehouse.

State governments exist in the shadow of media coverage. Even local governments get more attention than states. One reason is that local newspapers and local television stations cover local events chiefly. There are very few state-oriented newspapers or television stations. True, some capital-city papers (the *Des Moines Register* and *Tribune*, for example) have a strong statewide circulation, but they remain first and foremost local papers and are apt to regard happenings at the state capitol merely as local news.

Newspapers

Only the biggest newspapers are likely to have a full-time reporter stationed in the capital city to cover state government, except of course capital-city papers. Quite commonly that reporter will remain at the capitol only while the legislature is in session, which "implies a rather bizarre view of the governmental process—namely, that only the legislative branch makes decisions important enough to warrant sustained coverage." An astonishing number of adult Americans do not read any newspaper at all and get no state news except for the rare items that happen to appear on television.

Some states are blessed with periodicals that address chiefly state politics—the *California Journal*, the *Empire State Report*, and *Illinois Issues*, to cite three

¹ William T. Gormley, Jr., "Coverage of State Government in the Mass Media," *State Government* (Spring 1979), p. 47.