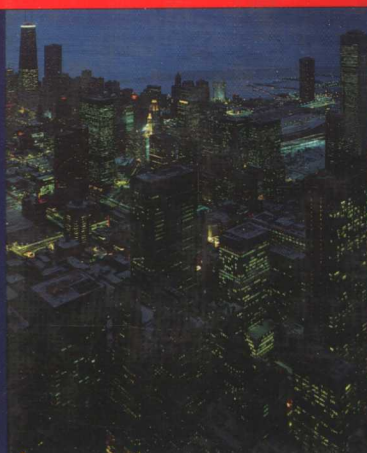
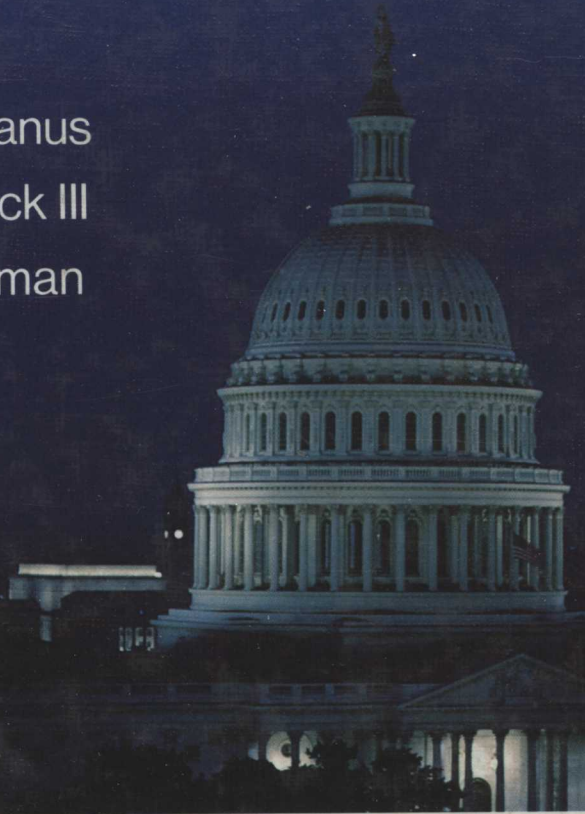


GOVERNING A CHANGING AMERICA

Susan A. MacManus

Charles S. Bullock III

Donald M. Freeman





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Susan A. MacManus

UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON

Charles S. Bullock, III

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

Donald M. Freeman

UNIVERSITY OF EVANSVILLE

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PREFACE

Over the years, new people, values, issues, and technologies have continually changed the face of America. What is striking is the ability of our system of government, devised over two centuries ago, to adapt to these changes. For some the changes have been too slow; for others, too fast. Yet while our nation, its people, and its governments are constantly in flux, our democracy remains intact.

This book focuses on the ability of the American political system to react to changes in the makeup, attitudes, needs, and demands of the nation's population. Specifically, it shows how changes in our society create new issues and problems that policymakers must attempt to solve. It also demonstrates the system's responsiveness and provides a positive, upbeat view of our democratic system.

Governing a Changing America is unique in several respects. First, the book does not start with the traditional, frequently boring, historical discussion of the nation's founding. We have discovered from our years of teaching that such approaches tend to alienate students rather than excite and encourage them to read the rest of the book. Instead, we begin with an introductory chapter designed to show how much our country has changed before describing the constitutional framework that has accommodated these transformations. We rely heavily on U.S. Bureau of the Census materials to document shifts in the demographic, socioeconomic, political, and institutional makeup of America. Longitudinal attitudinal surveys are used to trace changes in Americans' attitudes toward each other (e.g., increasing tolerance), toward government and its officials, and toward other nations.

Our second chapter, "America's Changing Needs and the Process of Making Public Policy," links changes in the population discussed in the

introductory chapter to the emergence of new problems and issues that confront the nation (and world) today: the economy, energy and environment, and lifestyle. Instead of simply identifying these problems as important, we provide extensive substantive background material on each. This background material is vitally important for the student to understand the issues involved in making decisions regarding these problems.

Our changing economy has presented the makers of public policy with three critical issues: (1) how to deal with a stagflation economy, (2) how much government regulation to impose to strengthen the economy, and (3) how to ease tensions among the classes (poor, middle class, wealthy). Changes in the world's supply of natural resources have presented policymakers with dilemmas about how to decrease our nation's dependency on foreign products, develop alternative energy sources, and achieve greater energy efficiency, while at the same time protecting the environment. The lifestyles and values of many Americans have also changed. As a consequence, policymakers must address such issues as: (1) how to change the public's expectations about its standard of living, including such factors as home ownership, temperature control, and food consumption, (2) how to create a satisfactory balance between work and leisure from the perspectives of both the individual and the economy, (3) how to balance affirmative action with equal opportunity in the workplace, (4) how to meet the health and income needs of America's aging population, and (5) what role the government should play in the individual's exercise of lifestyle choices. These issues are woven into every chapter to demonstrate the role each governmental institution (Congress, the Presidency, the Bureaucracy, the Judiciary) plays in the policymaking process and how individuals can influence the process. The close inter-

relationship of these various policy questions is also demonstrated through numerous examples and case studies.

Throughout the book we rely on research findings from other disciplines as well as from our own. For example, the introductory chapters and the media, budgeting, domestic policy, foreign policy, nominations and campaigns, and elections chapters incorporate data from the business, economics, communications, and science and technology fields. We also rely on our extensive practical experiences as policy analysts for various public agencies such as the U.S. Departments of Commerce, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Labor, several congressional subcommittees in both the House and the Senate, and numerous state and local governments. We have also served as policy analysts for private agencies and groups, including The Brookings Institution, National Academy of Public Administration, Princeton Urban and Regional Research Center, the American Public Welfare Association, the Joint Center for Political Studies, and one of the major news networks. Each of these experiences has broadened our understanding and appreciation of the dynamics of the policymaking process, as well as the outcomes.

Another unique feature of the book is its coverage of America's minorities, which focuses on their increasing political influence. From chapter content, to case studies, to the Appendix (which includes The Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, and the Emancipation Proclamation), we attempt to show how our nation has reacted to established minorities as well as to newly emerging groups such as the handicapped.

There is also a strong economic tone to the book. Recognizing the increasingly close tie between government and the economy, we have attempted to inform the student how the two relate, both nationally and internationally. Issues such as protectionism, the flat-rate tax, government spending on defense versus social programs, jobs programs, government loans to declining industries, PAC spending in election campaigns, and Reaganomics are just a few that we discuss in the book.

In summary, our approach is a policy approach. The difference in this perspective, compared with that of other texts, is that we focus on the *dynamics* of the policymaking process, rather than merely on the outcomes. Changes in the population are linked to changes in the political arena that are linked to changes in issues and, ultimately, to decisions regarding those issues. Particular care has been taken to make political processes and governmental institutions relevant to the personal lives and everyday experiences of the reader.

This book was greatly enhanced by the comments and critiques of a number of our professional colleagues throughout the country as well as at our respective universities. We are especially indebted to John Alford, Lenore Alpert, James Anderson, David Brady, Lee Epstein, Robert Erikson, Darwin Gamble, Joan Grafstein, Dennis Johnson, John Kay, Sam Kirkpatrick, Joan Lomax, David Neubauer, Karen O'Connor, Bruce Oppenheimer, Glenn Parker, Virginia Perrenod, C.K. Rowland, Sarah Slavin, Robert Stein, and Kent Tedin.

We are also greatly appreciative of the efforts of a number of individuals who helped in the preparation and typing of the manuscript: Patricia Cobb, Pearl Durkee, Peggy Elliott, Ina Freeman, Jeannine Hall, Earlene Huck, Sharon Fitzgerald Lukish, Ann Martin, Kay Trine, and Yolanda Villareal. Very special thanks go to Barbara Langham and Andrea Zaricznyj for their outstanding editorial efforts.

Finally, this book could never have been completed without help and encouragement from publishing professionals. We sincerely thank the following individuals at John Wiley & Sons, Inc.: Wayne Anderson, formerly political science editor, now publisher; Mark Mochary, political science editor; Maryellen Costa, administrative assistant; Stella Kupferberg, photo editor; Kathy Bendo, picture editor; Jan Lavin, production supervisor; Carolyn Moore, marketing manager, Rafael Hernandez, assistant design director, and Daniel Otis, manuscript editor. We would also like to thank Joanne Daniels (now with Congressional Quarterly Press) for her initial encouragement to undertake the project.

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CHAPTER

1

THE CHANGING FACE OF AMERICA: A CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

Government's Role in a Changing Society: Making Public Policy ■ Changes in the Population ■ Changes in Values ■ Changes in Political Participation ■ Two Theories of Policymaking: Elitism and Pluralism ■ Why Study Government? Learning How to Influence Policymaking

America has changed drastically since its founding in 1776. Who among the country's founders would have—could have—predicted that its population would grow from 2.7 million in 1780 to 227 million in 1980? What would George Washington, for example, have thought if told that many of America's farms and much of its wilderness would become concrete and glass cities crisscrossed by highways? Or that blacks, descendants of the slaves he had at Mount Vernon, would be members of Congress, state legislators, and mayors of large cities? Or that some women, no less genteel than his wife, Martha, would be carpenters, doctors, Supreme Court justices? Imagine his surprise at hearing that America would face the possibility of running out of energy sources and that government, rather than families, would assume primary care of the poor and the elderly! More startling to him might be our nation's capability to blow up the world.

Yet America continues to change. Even 20 years

ago, who could have predicted the tremendous increase in women working outside the home? the climb in divorce rates? the rise of families with only one parent? Who could have foreseen even the *question* of drafting women into the armed forces? widespread citizen tax revolts? the massive movement of people into the Sun Belt? the declining birth rate? the huge influx of immigrants—Cubans, Vietnamese boat people, Mexicans?

Despite these big changes, America has remained a democracy. The American system of government, devised 200 years ago, has been able to adapt. When change has occurred, government leaders have reacted to—and in some measure accommodated—the new needs and demands of various individuals and groups. In fact, *politics is really the struggle to make policies that meet the needs and demands of people*. The primary role of government, then, is to make public policy. The difficulty, of course, is the frequent conflict over *whose* needs are most important.

BY
HEWLETT & BRIGHT.

SALE OF
**VALUABLE
SLAVES.**

(On account of departure)

The Owner of the following named and valuable Slaves, being on the eve of departure for Europe, will cause the same to be offered for sale, at the NEW EXCHANGE, corner of St. Louis and Chartres streets, on **Saturday, May 16, at Twelve o'clock, viz.**

1. SARAH, a mulatress, aged 45 years, a good cook and accustomed to house work, is general, is an excellent and faithful nurse, for sick persons, and is every respect a first rate character.
2. DENNIS, her son, a mulatto, aged 24 years, a first rate cook and steward for a vessel, having been in that capacity for many years on board one of the Mobile packets, is strictly honest, temperate, and a first rate cook.
3. CHOLE, a mulatress, aged 36 years, she is, without exception, one of the most amiable persons in the country, a first rate washer and presser, does up hair, a good cook, and for a laundress who makes a handsome charge she would be invaluable; she is also a good tailor, having travelled in the South in that capacity.
4. FANNY, her daughter, a mulatress, aged 16 years, speaks French and English, is a superior bath-house, (pupil of Cullinan,) a good seamstress and tailor's maid, is smart, intelligent, and a first rate character.
5. DANDRIDGE, a mulatto, aged 36 years, a first rate dining-room servant, a good painter and rough carpenter, and has but few equals for honesty and sobriety.
6. NANCY, his wife, aged about 34 years, a confidential house servant, good seamstress, seamstress and milliner, a good cook, washer and ironer, etc.
7. MARY ANN, her child, a creole, aged 7 years, speaks French and English, is smart, active and intelligent.
8. FANNY or FRANCES, a mulatress, aged 22 years, is a first rate washer and presser, good cook and house servant, and has no equal in the city.
9. EMMA, an orphan, aged 10 or 11 years, speaks French and English, has been in the country 7 years, has been accustomed to waiting on table, serving etc., is intelligent and active.
10. FRANK, a mulatto, aged about 32 years speaks French and English, is a first rate butcher and charcutier, understands perfectly well the management of horses, and is in every respect, a first rate character, with the exception that he will occasionally drink, though not an habitual drunkard.

Note—all the above named Slaves are well educated and excellent subjects; they were purchased for their present condition, being men, men, and children, by several, successful parties, all were and are perfectly provided for by law, and except FRANK, who is fully provided for every other respect for the above description.

TERMS—Cash, and the whole lot to be taken at the month, down and extended to the satisfaction of the Vendor, with special advantage on the three, will find payment. The lots of Sale to be passed before WILLIAM BOWEN, Notary Public, at the residence of the Purchaser.

New-Orleans, May 13, 1835.

PRINTED BY BENJAMIN LEVY.



Once regarded merely as property to be sold rather than as citizens with voting rights (left), blacks in America are now very active and influential in politics. In several large U.S. cities, blacks such as Harold Washington of Chicago (right) have been elected mayor.

GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN A CHANGING SOCIETY: MAKING PUBLIC POLICY

The *policymaking process* consists of three stages: *policy formation*, *policy implementation*, and *policy evaluation*¹ (see Figure 1.1). Not only must a policy be drawn up and adopted, but it must also be carried out and then evaluated.

Suppose that the Houston City Council is faced with the needs of two groups of citizens: one group wants to build a park for teenagers; the

other wants to buy vans for transporting the city's wheelchair-bound citizens around town. If the Council members favor building a park, they must also decide:

1. What type of park to build (a neighborhood playground or softball-tennis complex);
2. Where the park will be (inner city, suburb);
3. When it will be built (next year or five years from now);
4. How it will be financed (higher taxes, bond sale, grant from the federal government).

Policy Formation

Such decisions as those facing the Council are part of the first stage of the policymaking process. *Policy formation* involves both the identification of a particular need and the adoption of a policy to meet that need. The formation of policy is influenced throughout by individual citizens or groups of citizens trying to convince the policymakers (in this case, the Houston City Council) that their needs are most urgent and their ideas the best.

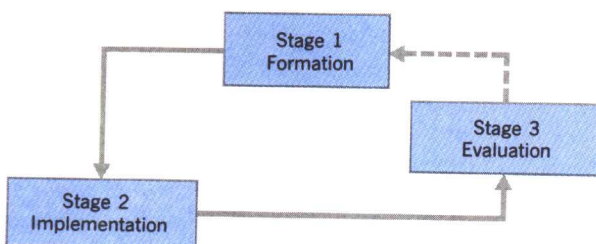


FIGURE 1.1
The Public Policymaking Process

The final decision about building the park or buying the vans lies with the City Council. While *policy formation* depends on individual citizens or groups of citizens telling government officials what they want or don't want, the power to *adopt* the policy lies with government officials alone. They have the final responsibility for deciding which need is greater—a decision that may be based on the relative political strength of the two groups of citizens. If the Council members make a decision that a majority of the city's population strongly disagrees with, they can be voted out of office. In a democracy, government officials are held accountable for their policymaking activities by citizens using the power of the ballot box.

Policy Implementation

Once the Council makes a decision, the policy must be carried out, or implemented. Suppose the Council decides to buy the vans. Implementation of this city policy will involve such activities as:

1. Putting out bids to van dealers;
2. Determining the lowest bidder;
3. Having the city's financial officer certify that money is available;
4. Having the city attorney draw up a purchase contract;
5. Having the city planner determine the routes of the vans based on the needs of the city's handicapped residents;
6. Hiring van drivers and supervisors;
7. Informing the handicapped of the new service.

Policy implementation, then, is the actual carrying out of a policy decision by government officials. Employees of all government departments and agencies (whether it be the U.S. Department of Defense, the Texas Department of Human Resources, or the Kansas City Garbage Department) spend most of their working hours implementing government policies that directly or indirectly affect the public.

Policy Evaluation

When policies are implemented, they must accomplish the original intent of the government policymakers. Suppose that the Houston City Council decides to build a neighborhood play-

ground. According to the Council members, the primary reason for their decision is to prevent an increase in juvenile delinquency in the neighborhood. Thus, the park will accomplish its purpose if the rate of juvenile delinquency in the neighborhood declines. To find out, the Council may direct that an evaluation of the park's impact on neighborhood youth be made. This is *policy evaluation: the measuring of the impact or consequences of policy implementation*. Policy evaluation lets citizens hold public officials accountable for their policy decisions. Just as importantly, it informs officials whether the old policy should be revised or replaced with a completely different one.

Suppose that after the park is built, a group of neighborhood residents complains that the park has been taken over by older, unemployed teenagers who vandalize surrounding homes and cars. And let's say that when the city recreation department completes a study of park activity, it finds that instead of reducing juvenile delinquency, the park actually increases it by serving as a recruitment ground for youth gangs. What will the Houston officials do? In the short term, they can make new policies for the parks—or for the city's unemployed youths. For example, they can:

1. Expand planned activities in the park (baseball tournaments, soccer matches, swimming lessons);
2. Increase police patrols in the neighborhood;
3. Have the city take part in a federally funded program to hire unemployed teenagers.

In the long term, the evaluation helps the Council make better, more informed policy decisions regarding any further park construction in neighborhoods with high concentrations of unemployed youths.

Policymaking and the Survival of Democracy

Making public policy is the primary responsibility of any government. The same is true of a president, governor, mayor, school board member, or other public official. A *public policy* is any decision, backed by the authority of a government, that determines who in the population gets what, where, when and how.²

Equally important from the citizen's perspective is *why* a particular policy is made. Understanding *why* often helps determine later whether the policy was good or bad in terms of accomplishing what was originally intended.

The policymaking process is dynamic and ongoing, which is why American democracy has survived. At any given time, numerous policies are being formulated, implemented, and evaluated by governments at all levels—national, state, and local. In its chief role of policymaker, government has changed policies in response to changing needs and demands of citizens. This brings up some important questions. How has America's population makeup changed? What effect have these changes had on new policies? Have these changes affected the participation of Americans in the policymaking process? How has government responded?

CHANGES IN THE POPULATION

Growth and Migration Patterns

America has grown rapidly from a population of 2.7 million in 1780 to 227 million in 1980. However, the population growth rate now shows signs of a decline. Between 1960 and 1970 it was 13.4 percent, whereas between 1970 and 1980 it was only 11.4 percent. This growth rate was the lowest in American history, except for the decade of the Great Depression.

Shifts have also occurred in where Americans live. Over the years, more and more people have moved away from farms to urban areas. By 1980, 74.8 percent of all Americans lived in densely populated urban areas. But recent migration patterns have shown that there is a "back-to-the-country" mood among many Americans. For one thing, there has been a mass migration of Americans out of the older, crowded, declining industrial states of the Frost Belt to the newer, more spread out, economically prosperous states of the Sun Belt. As a result of these population shifts shown in the 1980 census, Sun Belt states gained 17 representatives in Congress at the expense of Frost Belt states, which lost the same number. This shift substantially weakened the power in the House of the older, industrial cities of the Northeast and strengthened that of the newer, sprawling Sun Belt areas (see Table 1.1).

During the 1960s and 1970s a large number of Americans moved out of cities into suburbs—or even farther. Most of this outward movement can be explained by the movement of business and industry into suburban areas, where taxes are typically lower than in the central cities. Between 1962 and 1978, nonmetropolitan areas gained 56 per-

TABLE 1.1
Shifts of Power from Frost Belt to Sun Belt Cities, 1923-1983*

	1923		1943		1963		1973		1983**	
	City Reps.	Area Reps.	City Reps.	Area Reps.	City Reps.	Area Reps.	City Reps.	Area Reps.	City Reps.	Area Reps.
Frost Belt Cities										
Boston	5	6	4	5	3	6	3	6	2	6
New York	24	1	24	1	19	6	17	5	14	4
Philadelphia	7	2	7	3	5	3	5	3	4	3
Baltimore	4	0	4	0	4	1	3	1	2	2
Detroit	2	3	6	2	5	3	5	6	4	6
Chicago	10	1	10	1	11	4	8	8	7	7
Sun Belt Cities										
Miami	1	1	1	0	2	1	3	3	3	4
Houston	1	2	1	3	2	3	3	4	4	2
Dallas	1	3	1	4	1	4	3	3	4	3
Los Angeles	2	3	10	3	15	6	17	7	17	7
San Francisco	2	3	2	5	2	8	2	8	2	8

SOURCE: *National Journal*, November 14, 1981, p. 2037.

*The table lists the number of members representing 11 major cities at four points in the past six decades as well as those representing districts that included counties adjoining the center city; 1983 estimates are based on the 1980 census and early redistricting action. Except for Chicago, the city total also includes all parts of the county that contains the major city; the San Francisco area includes all counties in the immediate bay area. Districts that include both the city and outlying area are counted only in the "city" category.

**With the exception of Houston and Dallas, 1983 figures are estimated.



Newly arrived immigrants, like these Vietnamese refugees awaiting customs procedures at the Oakland Airport, tend to locate in large cities. According to some experts, this massive influx of new immigrant groups into our large cities is helping to offset the outmigration of long-time city residents to the suburbs.

cent of all new manufacturing jobs, of which 30 percent were in the South alone. Naturally people move to where the jobs are—if they can afford to move.

In the 1960s a proportionately greater number of whites than blacks moved to the suburbs. But during the 1970s greater proportions of blacks made the move. Between 1970 and 1980, the black suburban population increased by 1.8 million—a 44 percent gain. At the same time, the white suburban population increased by only 10.6 million, or 13 percent. The movement of blacks into suburbia has been attributed to the passage of laws (the making of public policy) preventing discrimination in housing, employment, and education. Most blacks who moved to the suburbs were wealthier and more educated than those who remain in central cities, but on average they were still poorer than their white suburban counterparts.

In addition to the 14.6 million who moved to the suburbs during the 1970s, another 7.3 million moved into rural areas. Most said they moved to get away from the noise, crime, and pollution associated with congested big cities. By “getting closer to nature,” many thought they could live a healthier life.

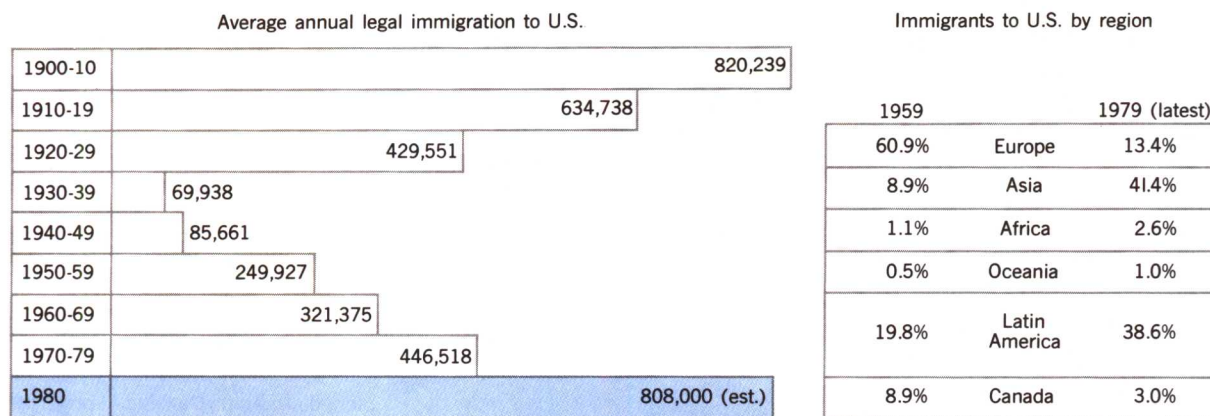
There is some question among population experts about whether these trends—population decline and migration to the suburbs and rural areas—will continue in the 1980s. The President’s Commission for a National Agenda for the Eight-

ies predicts that “the scattering of Americans into sprawling suburbs and rural areas will continue in the next few years despite scarce and expensive energy needed for transportation.”³

Arthur P. Solomon, Director of the Joint Center of Urban Studies at Harvard, has a different view. He predicts that migration to the suburbs will slow down because of changing lifestyles brought about by the economic squeeze, the energy crunch, and the growing number of working adults who choose not to have children.⁴ These changes, plus the rapid influx of Cubans, Mexicans, and Vietnamese refugees, may reverse the trend (see Figure 1.2).

No one knows which prediction will come true, but one thing is certain: changes in population affect the policymaking activities of governments. The size of the population often determines how much federal aid a state or local government will receive to fund a child-care program, for example. Similarly, population migration often affects the type of policies that government officials implement. An example is the mass migration of more affluent citizens out of the nation’s Frost Belt cities into the Sun Belt. Cities that lose population have to concern themselves with funding their activities in the light of a shrinking tax base. Cities gaining population must try to expand utilities and other services to new residents as soon as possible.

Besides the shifts in where people live, important changes have occurred in the age, education,



An additional 500,000 to 1 million persons are believed to enter the U.S. illegally each year.

Note: Totals may not add because of rounding.

FIGURE 1.2

New Wave of Immigrants and New Origins

SOURCE: "New Wave of Immigrants." Reprinted from *U.S. News and World Report*. Copyright © 1982 by U.S. News and World Report, Inc. Used by permission.

income, occupation, employment, and racial and ethnic characteristics of America's population. These changes have also necessitated changes in policymaking.

Age

One of the most marked changes is the aging of America—or, as some say, the graying of America. During the past decade more than two full years were added to the average individual's life expectancy. At the same time, the birthrate declined. The "baby boom" (a rapid increase in the birthrate) has been replaced by a "baby bust," because young people today are getting married later and having fewer children. The result of the declining birthrate and higher life expectancy is an aging population. The percentage of the population over age 65 grew from 9.8 percent in 1970 to 11.3 percent in 1980.

Pressing policy issues will emerge because of this aging trend. One of these issues is the increasing strain on the Social Security system. More of the elderly are becoming eligible to draw benefits from the system, but fewer young people are growing up to contribute to it.

Another issue is the provision of health care for the elderly. This is a difficult, delicate matter because many Americans feel that health care is the responsibility of the family rather than of the government. But can the government ignore the growing number of senior citizens whose families

cannot or will not help at the time of their lives when they may most desperately need support?

A third pressing policy issue is the decreased demand for schools brought about by the declining birthrate. Government policymakers may be forced to choose which schools to close and what types of educational programs to cut first. Both are very difficult choices.

Education

Today's average American has far more formal education than his or her ancestors had. In 1850 only 47.2 percent of all school-age persons were enrolled in school. By 1980 this figure had risen to almost 90 percent. In 1870 only 2 percent of the population had graduated from high school, but by 1980 this figure was more than 65 percent. Likewise, the number of college graduates has increased dramatically. In addition, major changes have occurred in *who* goes to college.

In the 1970s, many blue-collar (skilled labor) jobs began to pay more than many white-collar jobs. As a result, greater numbers of high-school-age persons opted to go to technical school or to enter the work force right after graduation rather than go to college. College enrollment levels did not drop much, however, largely because of the influx of a new group of students—women. Between 1970 and 1980 the number of women 14 to 34 years old enrolled in college increased by 71 percent, compared with only a 14 percent increase

for men. This trend of women going to college coincided with the trend toward fewer children, later marriages, higher divorce rates, and increasing numbers of displaced homemakers (nonworking, middle-aged women suddenly left alone because of widowhood or divorce).

Changes in the public's educational aspirations, the economic pinch, and the declining birthrate will continue to create critical issues for policymakers in the 1980s. They will have to decide, for example, whether the national, state, or local level of government will bear primary responsibility for public education costs, how to fund public schools (with either the unpopular, locally raised property tax or state sales and income taxes), and, as we have already noted, which schools to close and what types of educational programs to cut.

Income

Median family income rose from \$3,319 in 1950 to \$22,390 in 1981. This may seem like a big jump, but much of the increase is due to inflation (a decline in the buying power of the dollar). Even so, a *Washington Post* survey of 2,505 Americans taken at the end of the 1970s found that 81 percent felt they were better off than their parents had been at the same age.⁵ The same survey revealed that the economy is nevertheless the biggest worry of most Americans. An overwhelming majority confessed that they are worried about whether they will have enough income to live on when they retire.

Not everyone has benefited equally from the prospering of America. There are still greater proportions of blacks, Hispanics, and women below the poverty line than there are white males. In fact, even though levels of income have risen dramatically since World War II, the degree of inequality has remained about the same. Roughly three of every ten blacks (32.5 percent) and two of every ten Hispanics (25.7 percent) live in poverty compared to only one of every ten whites (10.2 percent).

More women, particularly female heads of household (single or divorced women with children), live in poverty than men. In addition, even though more women have entered the work force in recent years, women still earn less than men. However, some progress is being made. For example, among younger workers earning gaps tend to be smaller. But women still have a long way to go.

TABLE 1.2

Male-Female Earnings by Occupation, 1981 Weekly Medians

Occupation	Women's Pay	Men's Pay
Clerical workers	220	328
Computer specialists	355	488
Editors, reporters	324	382
Engineers	371	547
Lawyers	407	574
Nurses	326	344
Physicians	401	495
Sales workers	190	366
Teachers		
(elementary)	311	379
Waiters	144	200

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In 1979 the median earnings for women were \$10,550, or about 60 percent of the men's median income of \$17,514. The earnings gap was even greater in certain occupations, such as sales (see Table 1.2). Some of this continuing gap can be explained by the fewer years of work experience and lower educational levels of women, which limit the types of jobs they can hold and the wages they can make. However, some of the gap is the result of sex discrimination in hiring and promoting and the lack of child-care facilities.

The wide variations in the incomes of Americans create important policy issues for governments. They must make policies that help lift persons out of poverty but that at the same time do not destroy their incentive to work. In making policy decisions involving economic well-being, governments often cannot avoid class and racial issues, which make decisions doubly difficult. These class and racial issues will be discussed later in the chapter.

Occupation

Major shifts have occurred in the occupational structure of the United States largely because of marked changes in the incomes associated with certain types of jobs. A decline in the size of the blue-collar work force during the 1960s reversed in the 1970s. Shortages of skilled laborers such as plumbers, painters, carpenters, electricians, and mechanics drove their wages way above those of white-collar workers such as teachers, clerical and office workers, and middle managers. By 1980, the average weekly earnings of these skilled laborers were well above those of most white-collar



Left, Doctor Sally Ride was America's first woman astronaut sent into space. She might never have been given the opportunity to train for this position without passage of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibiting job bias on the basis of sex. Right, Elizabeth Dole was appointed U.S. Secretary of Transportation by President Ronald Reagan. As a woman Cabinet member, heading a very technical department, she is an example of how much the occupational opportunities for American women have improved in recent years.

workers, the exceptions being professionals (doctors, lawyers) and persons in the upper levels of management. Some have labeled this new group of affluent Americans the "new rich blue-collar."

The shift in incomes associated with certain occupations stimulated enrollment in technical schools and community college skill programs. Suddenly, going to college was no longer so necessary to earn a decent wage. In 1979, 17,268,000 persons were enrolled in vocational programs across the country, while only 11,570,000 were enrolled in colleges and universities. This trend is expected to continue into the 1980s. It is estimated that fewer than 20 percent of all new jobs in the 1980s will require college degrees.

Another change has been the entry of women into occupations that previously had been "for men only." Passage of the Equal Pay in Employment Act of 1963 (requiring equal pay for equal work) and Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (prohibiting job bias on the basis of sex) and the

higher pay associated with "men's jobs" attracted many young women into nontraditional blue-collar, craft-type jobs. However, most women workers are still clustered in the poorest-paying occupations. According to one report, in 1979 over 80 percent of all women workers were concentrated in low-paying, dead-end clerical, sales, service, and factory jobs.⁶ Eleanor Holmes Norton, head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) during the Carter administration, predicts that such job segregation will be one of the most important women's issues in the 1980s. According to her, women's work has traditionally been undervalued and continues to be so.

An example of undervalued women's work is the case of Linda Cooper, a production editor for a small New England publishing firm.⁷ Cooper considers her job of turning manuscripts into books just as valuable as that of the firm's manufacturing coordinator, who purchases the paper for the books and selects the printers. But her job,