

POLITICS  
IN  
STATES  
AND  
COMMUNITIES

EIGHTH EDITION



THOMAS R. DYE

POLITICS  
IN  
STATES  
AND  
COMMUNITIES

EIGHTH EDITION

THOMAS R. DYE  
*Florida State University*



PRENTICE HALL, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 07632

Dye, Thomas R.  
Politics in states and communities / Thomas R. Dye. — 8th ed.  
p. cm.  
Includes bibliographical references and index.  
ISBN 0-13-042714-4  
1. State governments—United States. 2. Local government—United States. I. Title.  
JK2408.D82 1994  
320.8'0973—dc20  
93-19487  
CIP

Acquisitions editor: Charlyce Jones Owen  
Editorial/production supervision: Marina Harrison  
Cover and interior design: Jerry Votta  
Production coordinator: Mary Ann Gloriande  
Photo research: Rhoda Sidney  
Photo editor: Lorinda Morris-Nantz  
Cover photo: Comstock



© 1994, 1991, 1988, 1985, 1981, 1977, 1973, 1969 by Prentice-Hall, Inc.  
A Paramount Communications Company  
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

ISBN 0-13-042714-4

Prentice-Hall International (UK) 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*  
Simon & Schuster Asia Pte. Ltd., *Singapore*  
Editora Prentice-Hall do Brasil, Ltda, *Rio de Janeiro*

POLITICS  
IN  
STATES  
AND  
COMMUNITIES



*To Joann*

---

# PREFACE

---

Since its first edition, *Politics in States and Communities* has maintained certain distinguishing features:

- Its focus on *politics*
- Its *comparative* approach
- Its concern with *explanation*
- Its interest in *policy*

The Eighth Edition continues the development of each of these themes. The focus remains on conflicts in states and communities and the structures and processes designed to manage conflict. This “conflict management” theme emphasizes the sources and nature of conflict in society, how conflict is carried on, how key decision makers in states and communities act in conflict situations, how public policies emerge and determine “who gets what.”



## POLITICS

The *political conflict* theme guides the discussion of formal governmental structures: federalism, state constitutions, parties and primaries, apportionment, legislative organization, gubernatorial powers, court procedures, nonpartisanship, mayor and manager government, metropolitan government, community power, school boards and superintendents, tax systems, budget making, and so on.

This theme also guides the discussion of *illustrative studies* in state and local politics:

- Tax Limitation Initiatives
- Term Limit Battles
- Congress Raises the Drinking Age
- The States and ERA
- Money in Politics
- The Great Incumbency Machine
- Impeachment: Arizona’s Evan Mecham
- The Lawyering of America
- The Rejection of Rose Bird
- The War on Drugs
- Political Corruption
- “Reinventing Government”
- The Radical Style: Politics in Berkeley
- Minorities in Local Politics

Machine and Reform Politics in Chicago  
Top Bananas in the Big Apple  
Busing and Racial Balancing in Schools  
The Battle over Abortion  
The Inner City: Racial Tensions and Rioting  
Wilder of Virginia: Putting Race to Rest  
Educational Reform  
Revolting Against Taxes  
“No-Growth” Politics and the Nimby Syndrome

The timely case studies are designed to both improve understanding and stimulate interest in state and local politics.



## COMPARISON

In each chapter, *comparative analysis* is used both to describe and to explain differences among states and communities in governmental structures, political processes, and public policy. Students observe the relative ranking of their own state on such measures as

Income  
Education  
Urbanization  
Growth  
Black and ethnic populations  
Liberalism and conservatism  
Reliance and Federal Aid  
Party competition  
Political participation  
Interest groups  
Black representation in legislatures  
Professionalism in legislatures  
Governors' powers  
Governors' Fiscal Conservatism  
Judicial selection  
Crime rates  
Police protection  
Prison populations  
Drop out rates  
Educational spending  
Income inequality  
Welfare spending  
Tax burdens

“Rankings of the states” are presented in clear bar graphs and plots. They enable students and instructors to assess their own state’s position in relation to all fifty states.



## EXPLANATION

We want to know “what” is happening in American politics, but we also want to know “why.” *Comparative analysis* lays the groundwork for explanation. In each chapter, recent systematic research in the social sciences is summarized for undergraduate students. Difficult theoretical questions are presented clearly and concisely for undergraduates:

- Direct versus representative Democracy
- Politics and the popular initiative
- Why federalism?
- How money shifted power to Washington
- Are protests effective?
- The effects of party competition
- Apportionment, districting, and gerrymandering
- Are legislators responsible policy makers?
- Governors versus Legislatures
- Are school boards responsible policy makers?
- Are council members responsible policy makers?
- Crime and deterrence
- Types of cities and forms of government
- Privatization as Reform
- Reformism and public policy
- Models of community power
- How to study community power
- Metropolitan government as marketplace
- Explaining educational policies in the states
- Explaining welfare policies in the states
- Explaining state tax systems
- Explaining the tax revolt

The most recent systematic social science research of these topics is presented in the Eighth Edition.



## POLICY

Public *policy* is what governments do, and state and local governments in America do many things that touch the lives of all of us. This text is divided roughly into three parts: federalism and state politics, local politics and community power, and public policy. Specific attention is devoted to policy questions in



Crime in the states  
Police and law enforcement  
State correctional policies  
The death penalty  
Abortion  
The states and school desegregation  
Affirmative action  
The politics of higher education  
The politics of "no-growth"  
Housing and development policy  
Poverty in America  
Health care in the states  
The tax revolt  
The politics of budgeting  
Fiscal stress and cutback management

The Eighth Edition reflects the changing dynamics of conflict in states and communities, including debates over term limits and incumbency advantages, battles over abortion restrictions following *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, controversies over the privatization of governmental services, fights over educational performance and its measurement, and disputes over welfare and health care reform. It describes increased minority representation in state legislatures and city councils, following recent redistricting under federal court supervision. It focuses new attention on conflicts between governors and legislatures and the "gridlock" resulting from divided party control of state government. It reports on conditions in the nation's inner cities and racial tensions and rioting in Los Angeles and elsewhere. It describes the evolution of governmental reform, including the "reinventing government" movement supported by Bill Clinton in Arkansas. It focuses anew on local battles over the control of land use and the conflicting interests of developers, landowners, "no-growthers," environmentalists, and "Nimbys."

If this book has a theme, it is that states and communities in America play an important role in the political life of the nation. State and local governments do more than merely provide certain services such as education, road building, or fire protection. They also perform a vital political function by helping to resolve conflicts of interests in American society.

THOMAS R. DYE

# CONTENTS

---

## PREFACE      xiii



1	POLITICS IN STATES AND COMMUNITIES	1
	A Political Approach to States and Communities	1
	A Comparative Approach to States and Communities	2
	State Political "Cultures" and Ethnic Influences	10
	Liberalism and Conservatism in the States	13
	Race and Ethnicity	16
	The "Nationalization" of the States	18
	Policy Responsibilities of States and Communities	19
	"States," "Districts," and "Territories"	22



2	DEMOCRACY AND CONSTITUTIONALISM IN THE STATES	28
	Constitutional Government in the States	28
	State Constitutions: An Overview	35
	Constitutional Change in the States	37
	Democracy in the States	41
	Direct Versus Representative Democracy	43
	Tax Limitation Initiatives	44
	Term Limit Battles	47
	Politics in Constitutional Conventions	49
	Politics of State Constitutional Ratification	50



3	STATES, COMMUNITIES, AND AMERICAN FEDERALISM	54
	What Is Federalism?	54
	Why Federalism?	55
	Federalism's Faults	58
	The Structure of American Federalism	59
	Amending the U.S. Constitution: The States and ERA	64
	Constitutional and Historical Development of Federalism	67
	How Money Shifted Power to Washington	70
	Congress Raises the Drinking Age	72
	Federal Grants-in-Aid: Pros and Cons	75
	Federalism: Variations on the Theme	79
	The New Federalism	81
	Coercive Federalism	83

Representational Federalism	86
Centralization Within the States: Eroding Local Autonomy	87
Interstate Relations—Horizontal Federalism	89
Politics of Federalism	91



## 4 PARTICIPATION IN STATE POLITICS 94

The Nature of Political Participation	94
Explaining Voter Turnout	95
Voting in the States	98
Securing the Right to Vote	102
Voting and American Youth	107
Women in State Politics	108
Interest Groups in State Politics	109
Functions and Tactics of Interest Groups	111
Comparing Interest Groups in the States	115
Protest as Political Participation	118
The Effectiveness of Protests	120






## 5 PARTIES AND CAMPAIGNS IN THE STATES 122

American Political Parties in Disarray	122
Parties in the Fifty States	125
Republican and Democratic Party Fortunes	126
Party Competition in the States	128
The Effects of Party Competition	130
Party Activists and Political Ideology	134
State Party Organizations	136
Parties and Primaries	141
Professional Mass Media Campaigns	144
Money in Politics	147



## 6 LEGISLATORS IN STATE POLITICS 153

Functions of State Legislatures	153
The Making of a State Legislator	154
Getting to the State Capitol	161
The Great Incumbency Machine	164
Legislative Apportionment and Districting	165
Legislative Organizations and Procedure	171
Informal Rules of the Game	174
Legislative Committees	175
Legislative Institutionalization	179
Role Playing in Legislatures	183
Party Politics in State Legislatures	185
Are Legislators Responsible Policy Makers?	187
Lobbying in State Legislatures	190
Legislatures in State Politics	192

	<b>7</b>	<b>GOVERNORS IN STATE POLITICS</b>	<b>194</b>
		The Many Roles of a Governor	194
		The Making of a Governor	196
		Gubernatorial Politics	198
		Executive Power in State Government	203
		The Governor's Managerial Powers	205
		The Governor's Fiscal Powers	210
		The Governor's Legislative Powers	213
		Divided Government: Governor Versus the Legislature	217
		Impeachments and Investigations	218
		The Governor as Political Leader	220
		Other Executive Offices	222
	<b>8</b>	<b>COURTS, CRIME, AND CORRECTIONAL POLICY</b>	<b>226</b>
		Politics and the Judicial Process	226
		The Lawyering of America	228
		The New Judicial Federalism	230
		The Structure of Court Systems	231
		The Making of a Judge	233
		The Rejection of Rose Bird	238
		Judicial Decision Making: Trial Courts	240
		Judicial Decision Making: State Supreme Courts	242
		Crime in the States	245
		The War on Drugs	246
		Police Protection in the States	252
		Police and Law Enforcement	253
		The Politics of Prosecution	257
		Crime and the Courts	258
		Rights of Defendants	259
		Crime and Deterrence	259
		State Prisons and Correctional Policies	263
		The Death Penalty	267
	<b>9</b>	<b>COMMUNITY POLITICAL SYSTEMS</b>	<b>270</b>
		Communities as Settings for Politics	270
		Coping with Community Conflict	272
		Eighty-six Thousand Governments: What They All Do	274
		County Governments: Rural and Urban	275
		The Structure of County Government	278
		Cities as "Municipal Corporations"	282
		Forms of City Government	285
		Types of Cities and Forms of Government	289
		Nonpartisan Elections	293
		At-Large and District Elections	297



## 10 STYLES OF COMMUNITY POLITICS 300

- Machines and Bosses 300
- Machine and Reform Politics in Chicago 303
- Reformers and Do-Gooders 307
- The Triumph of Reform? 311
- Reformism and Public Policy 313
- Privatization as Reform 315
- New Reforms: "Reinventing Government" 317
- Political Corruption 320
- The Radical Style: Politics in Berkeley 323



## 11 PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY POLITICS 326

- Voters in Municipal Elections 326
- Urban Voter Coalitions 327
- Getting into Community Politics 329
- Women in Local Politics 333
- Minorities in Local Politics 334
- Council Members: Responsible Policy Makers? 338
- City Councils and Public Policy 339
- City Managers in Municipal Politics 340
- Mayors in City Politics 344
- Top Bananas in the Big Apple 347
- Interest Groups in City Politics 351
- The Power of Municipal Unions 355



## 12 METROPOLITICS: CONFLICT IN THE METROPOLIS 358

- The Metropolis: Setting for Conflict 358
- Cities versus Suburbs 364
- The Case for Metropolitan Consolidation 368
- The Case for "Fragmented" Government 370
- Metropolitan Government as Marketplace 372
- "Solutions" to the Metropolitan Problem 373
- The Politics of Metropolitan Consolidation 377
- The Concentration of Social Problems in the Inner City 381
- The Inner City: Racial Tensions and Rioting 382



## 13 COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURES 386

- Models of Community Power 386
- The Elite Model of Community Power 387
- The Pluralist Model of Community Power 390
- Studying Community Power 392
- Systemic Power and Strategic Advantage 396
- Economic Power in Communities 398

Community Conflict and Counter-Elites	400
Elitism: Developmental and Redistributive Policies	402
Pluralism: Allocational and Organizational Policies	403
Pluralism and Elitism Reconciled?	405



## 14 POLITICS AND CIVIL RIGHTS 407

From Protest to Power	407
The Struggle Against Segregation	409
State Resistance	411
Busing and Racial Balancing in Schools	414
Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Civil Rights Movement	417
The Civil Rights Act of 1964	419
Affirmative Action	420
Wilder of Virginia: Putting Race to Rest	425
Hispanic Power	427
Gender Equality	429
The Battle over Abortion	431






## 15 THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION 435

Goals in Educational Policy	435
Educational Performance Measurement	436
Educational Reform	440
Radical Reform, Parental Choice	444
The Limited Federal Role in Education	446
Organizing and Financing Public Schools	447
Explaining Educational Policies in the States	449
Governing Local Schools	451
The School District Superintendents	452
School Boards: Responsible Policy Makers?	454
The Politics of Higher Education	456
Reading, Writing, and Religion	461



## 16 THE POLITICS OF PLANNING, HOUSING, AND TRANSPORTATION 465

Controlling the Use of Land	465
Planners in Politics	467
Planning: Instruments of Control	469
Planning Practices	472
No-Growth Politics	473
Housing and Community Development Policy	475
National Transportation Policy	480
State Transportation Politics	483
Metropolitan Transportation	484

	<b>17 THE POLITICS OF POVERTY, WELFARE, AND HEALTH</b>	<b>487</b>
	Poverty in America	487
	Who Are the Poor?	488
	Poverty as Inequality	490
	Public Policy as a Cause of Poverty	493
	Social Insurance	494
	Public Assistance	496
	Welfare Politics in the States	498
	Health Care Policy	501
	Politics and Health Care Reform	504
	<b>18 THE POLITICS OF BUDGETING AND TAXATION</b>	<b>507</b>
	An Overview of Government Finances	507
	Types of Taxes and Tax Politics	509
	Explaining State Tax Systems	514
	Revolting Against Taxes	516
	Explaining Tax Revolts	518
	City Fiscal Stress and Cutback Management	519
	Politics and Fiscal Crisis	522
	The Politics of Budgeting	523
	When Ends Don't Meet: State and Local Debt	527
	<b>INDEX</b>	<b>531</b>



---

# 1

---

## POLITICS IN STATES AND COMMUNITIES

---



### A POLITICAL APPROACH TO STATES AND COMMUNITIES

The management of conflict is one of the basic purposes of government. Two hundred years ago, James Madison wrote that the control of “factions” was the principal function of government. He defined a faction as a number of citizens united by common interests that opposed the interests of other citizens “or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community.” He thought that regulating such conflict was “the principal task of modern legislation.”<sup>1</sup> To paraphrase Madison, the management of conflict is “the principal task” of state and local government.

Politics is the management of conflict. An understanding of “politics” in American states and communities requires an understanding of the major conflicts confronting society and an understanding of political processes and governmental organizations designed to manage conflict. State and local governments do more than provide public services such as education, highways, police and fire protec-

---

<sup>1</sup> James Madison, *The Federalist*, Number 10. New York: Modern Library, 1958.



tion, sewage disposal, and garbage collection. These are important functions of government to be sure; but it is even more important that government deal with racial tensions, school disputes, growth problems, economic stagnation, minority concerns, poverty, drugs, crime, and violence. These problems are primarily *political* in nature; that is, people have different ideas about what should be done, or if government should do anything at all.

Moreover, many of the service functions of government also engender political conflict. Even if “there is only one way to pave a street,” political questions remain. Whose street will get paved? Who will get the paving contract? Who will pay for it? Why not build a school gym instead of paving the street?

So it is appropriate that a book on *politics* in states and communities deals not only with the structure and organization of state and local government, but also with many of the central policy questions confronting American society. It is true that these problems are national in scope, but they occur in our communities and our states. And much of this book is devoted to describing how these questions arise in state and local settings, and how state and local governments confront them.



## A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO STATES AND COMMUNITIES

The task of political science is not only to *describe* politics and public policy in American states and communities, but also to *explain* differences encountered from state to state and community to community through comparative analysis. We want to know *what* is happening in American politics, and we want to know *why*. In the past, the phrase “comparative government” applied to the study of foreign governments, but American states and communities provide an excellent opportunity for genuine comparative study, which is *comparing political institutions and behaviors from state to state and community to community in order to identify and explain similarities or differences*.

Comparison is a vital part of explanation. Only by comparing politics and public policy in different states and communities with different socioeconomic and political environments can we arrive at any comprehensive explanations of political life. Comparative analysis helps us answer the question *why*.

American states and communities provide excellent “laboratories” for applying comparative analysis. States and communities are not alike in social and economic conditions, in politics and government, or in their public policies. These differences are important assets in comparative study because they enable us to search for relationships between different socioeconomic conditions, political system characteristics, and policy outcomes. For example, if differences among states and communities in educational policies are closely associated with differences in economic resources or in party politics, then we may assume that economic resources or party politics help “explain” educational policies.

State politics are often affected by unique historical circumstances. (See Figure 1-1, Table 1-1.) Louisiana is distinctive because of its French-Spanish colonial background, and the continuing influence of this background on its politics today.