

DEVELOPMENT AMERICAN POLITICS



Edited by GILLIAN PEELE,
CHRISTOPHER J. BAILEY,
BRUCE CAIN and B. GUY PETERS

Developments in American Politics 2

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

Editors

CHATHAM HOUSE PUBLISHERS, INC.
Chatham, New Jersey

DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICAN POLITICS 2

Chatham House Publishers, Inc.
Box One, Chatham, New Jersey 07928

Editorial matter and selection © Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey,
Bruce Cain, B. Guy Peters 1994, 1995

Individual chapters (in order) © Pippa Norris, Bruce Cain,
Paul S. Herrnson, Frank L. Davis, John Hart, Roger H. Davidson,
Gillian Pelle, Martin Laffin, John Kincaid, Desmond S. King,
Paul Peretz, B. Guy Peters, John Francis, Phil Williams, Calum Paton,
Barbara Burrell, Tim Hames, Christopher J. Bailey 1994

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any
means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the publisher.

First American edition, 1995

Library of Congress Cataloging-In-Publication Data

Developments in American politics 2 / Gillian Peele ... [et al.]. —
1st American ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-56643-023-2

1. United States—Politics and government—1993- I. Peele,
Gillian, 1949-

E885.D48 1995

320.973 '09 '049—dc20

95-6667
CIP

Manufactured in the United States of America

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Preface to the American Edition

The American political system presents us with a paradox. The rhetoric of politicians frequently celebrates openness, movement, and change. Yet institutional deadlock, policy stagnation, and political frustration often appear the normal characteristics of political life in the United States. The chapters in this book analyze different aspects of American government and politics with two broad questions in mind. First, the authors have assessed the extent to which key institutions, processes, and policy areas might be changed by a Democratic president whose election appeared to mark a break with the values of Ronald Reagan and George Bush. Secondly, the authors have highlighted the intractable problems associated with many important areas of American policy and have underlined the difficulties of achieving significant reform in such a highly pluralistic system.

The lessons which the authors of *Developments in American Politics 2* draw from their varied studies have a significance beyond the early period of the Clinton presidency. Indeed the results of the mid-term elections of 1994 reinforce the doubts that many of the authors express here about the Clinton presidency and its likely impact on the American political scene. The Republican sweep of both the House and the Senate in 1994 has been likened to an earthquake. Not since 1954 had Republicans held both houses of Congress; not since 1946 had Republicans won Congress while a Democrat occupied the White House.

Certainly the victory was more startling than the Republicans' 1980 triumph. For, although the Republicans won the presidency and the Senate in 1980, the House stayed solidly Democratic, reflecting in part at least the strength of the incumbency factor.

The most obvious implication of the 1994 elections for American politics is the return of divided government. Although President Clinton's relationship with the 103rd Congress was hardly trouble-free, and although they were sometimes divided over individual policies and tactics, the administration and the Democratic majority

in Congress from 1993-1994 shared many broad goals and values. The 104th Congress, in contrast, is a partisan opponent of President Clinton's agenda, and its Republican leaders have a more compelling mandate than the President's. Even if the President and congressional leaders manage to agree on a bipartisan approach to legislation, the President will still be vulnerable to checks on appointments and other initiatives from individual Republican committee chairmen. Clinton's opportunity to promote major legislative change such as health care reform has almost certainly passed, and his re-election prospects in 1996 look bleak.

Two other features of the 1994 mid-term elections stand out. First, the Republican advance is also very much a conservative advance. The building-blocks of the G.O.P. electoral victory were white Protestants and born-again Christians, males, southerners, and those aged between 30 and 44. Although the Republican "Contract with America" omitted discussion of abortion and prayer in schools for tactical reasons, it emphasized strongly the social issues of crime, welfare, and health care. The strategy was not so much to appeal to the religious right as to bring back into a conservative coalition the Reagan Democrats and other voters lost to Ross Perot in 1992.

Secondly, the Republican advance in 1994 was built on a strong mood of hostility toward Washington. As was evident in the 1992 elections, there was much anger at the federal government and at existing political elites. In 1992 this anger was reflected in a strong third party vote, in efforts to establish term-limits for legislators, and in a general anti-incumbency mood. In 1994 the electorate's anger resulted in a Republican surge and gave credence to the claims of Newt Gingrich (who became House Speaker in 1995) to a clear mandate to reduce the role of government.

How to implement the agenda of a new and constrained role for federal government will inevitably absorb much of the attention of those inside the Beltway in the next two years. However, as the chapters in this book underline, federal government resources have already been radically reduced in previous efforts to reduce the budget deficit. Indeed, the Republicans' inheritance in 1995, like Clinton's in 1993, is a set of policy problems—including health care, racial tensions, drugs, welfare, and homelessness—which at first sight demand more, not less, federal intervention. And, as is made clear throughout the book, the divisions and cleavages in American society—divisions not just of gender, of religion, and of ethnicity but also between the

old and the young, the employed and the unemployed—make it extremely difficult to address the substantial policy dilemmas facing the United States.

Looked at in this light, the “earthquake” of 1994 may, in retrospect, turn out to be of limited impact. No one would doubt that it created movement; and there will undoubtedly be a series of aftershocks inside Congress as the new majority flexes its muscles and as efforts are made to promote the Republican agenda. However, the fundamental character of American government at both federal and state levels, and the inchoate nature of the American policy process, are likely to endure.

20 January 1995

Gillian Peele

List of Contributors

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

Barbara Burrell is a researcher at the Wisconsin Survey Research Laboratory at the University of Wisconsin Extension.

Bruce Cain is Professor of Government at the University of California, Berkeley, where he is also Associate Director of the Institute of Government Studies, Berkeley.

Roger H. Davidson is Professor of Government at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Frank L. Davis is Associate Professor of Government at Lehigh University.

John Francis is Professor of Politics at the University of Utah.

Tim Hames is American Studies Research Officer at Nuffield College, Oxford.

John Hart is Reader in Political Science at the Australian National University.

Paul Herrnson is Associate Professor of Government at the University of Maryland, College Park.

John Kincaid is Executive Director of A.C.I.R.

Desmond S. King is Fellow and Tutor in Politics at St John's College, Oxford.

Martin Laffin is Senior Lecturer in Public Policy at the Graduate School of Business, University of Sydney, and was Visiting Fellow in the Graduate Public Policy Program, Georgetown University, Washington D.C., 1992–93.

Pippa Norris is Associate Director and Lecturer, Joan Shorenstein Barone Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard University.

Calum Paton is Professor of Health Care Management at Keele University.

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

Paul Peretz is Associate Professor of Political Science at California State University, Fullerton.

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

Phil Williams is Professor of Public and International Affairs and Director of the Ridgeway Center, University of Pittsburgh.

List of Abbreviations

A.A.R.P.	American Association of Retired Persons
A.B.C.	American Broadcasting Corporation
A.C.I.R.	Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations
A.F.D.C.	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
A.F.L.-C.I.O.	American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations
A.H.P.	Accountable Health Partnership
A.M.A.	American Medical Association
A.P.A.	Administrative Procedures Act
Ark.	Arkansas
bn.	Billion
C.B.S.	Columbia Broadcasting System
C.D.B.G.	Community Development Block Grant
C.E.T.A.	Comprehensive Employment and Training Act
D.	Democrat
D.C.	District of Columbia
D.C.C.C.	Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee
D.N.C.	Democratic National Committee
D.S.C.C.	Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
D.O.D.	Department of Defense
D.O.J.	Department of Justice
D.R.G.s	Diagnostic Related Groups
E.E.A.	Economic Equity Act
E.I.S.	Environmental Impact Statement
EMILY	Early Money Increases Like Yeast
E.P.A.	Environmental Protection Agency
E.R.A.	Equal Rights Amendment
F.B.I.	Federal Bureau of Investigation
F.D.A.	Food and Drug Administration
F.D.R.	Franklin Delano Roosevelt
F.E.C.A.	Federal Election Campaign Act
F.Y.	Fiscal Year
G.A.O.	General Accounting Office

G.O.P.	Grand Old Party (Republican Party)
G.R.S.	General Revenue Sharing
G.S.	General Schedule
H.I.A.A.	Health Insurance Association of America
H.I.P.C.	Health Insurance Purchasing Cooperative
H.M.O.s	Health Maintenance Organizations
H.U.D.	Housing and Urban Development
I.G.	Inspector General
Ill.	Illinois
I.N.S.	Immigration and Naturalization Service
L.A.	Los Angeles
Miss.	Mississippi
M.T.V.	Multiple Transferable Vote
N.A.F.T.A.	North American Free Trade Agreement
N.A.S.A.	National American Space Agency
N.B.C.	National Broadcasting Corporation
N.C.P.S.	National Commission on the Public Service
N.E.P.A.	National Environmental Policy Act
N.E.S.	National Election Survey
N.I.H.	National Institutes of Health
N.O.W.	National Organization of Women
N.W.P.C.	National Women's Political Caucus
O.E.C.D.	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
P.A.C.	Political Action Committee
P.A.S.	Presidential Appointment [with] Senate Confirmation
P.P.I.	Progressive Policy Institute
P.R.	Proportional Representation
R.	Republican
R.N.C.	Republican National Committee
S.E.S.	Senior Executive Service
S.M.S.P.	Single Member Simple Plurality (First Past the Post)
T.C.O.s	Transnational Criminal Organizations
T.Q.M.	Total Quality Management
U.D.A.G.	Urban Development Action Grant

Contents

<i>Preface</i>	ix
<i>List of Tables and Figures</i>	xii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xv

1 Introduction <i>Gillian Peele, Christopher J. Bailey, B. Guy Peters and Bruce Cain</i>	1
---	----------

PART ONE: DYNAMICS

2 The 1992 Presidential Election, Voting Behavior and Legitimacy <i>Pippa Norris</i>	18
The Social and Geographic Basis of the Vote	20
Changes in the geographic basis of the vote	24
Changes in the social basis of the vote	26
Evaluations of the Bush Presidency	30
Perot and the Challenge to Two-party Politics	36
Conclusions	41
3 Racial and Ethnic Politics <i>Bruce Cain</i>	45
The Spread of Multiculturalism	49
Political Diversity and Multiracialism	53
The Political Consequences of Multiracialism	60
4 American Political Parties: Growth and Change <i>Paul S. Herrnson</i>	67
Emergence and Decline	68
Party Reform and Renewal	71
Party Organizations and Campaign Activities	75
Conclusion	82
5 Interest Groups and Policymaking <i>Frank L. Davis</i>	85
Interest Groups' Narrower Focus	86

Variation in Involvement	90
Private Versus Public Interest Groups	91
Representativeness of Interest Groups	92
Bias?	93
How Involved in Health Care are Interest Groups?	94
Subsystems Versus Issue Networks	94
Resources, Tactics, and 'Interested Publics'	97
Interest group tactics	98
Lobbying	98
Advertisements aimed at government officials	98
Campaign contributions	99
Appealing to the courts	100
Publicizing public support	101
News coverage and mass advertising	101
Tactics in the Health Care Debate	102
A Coordinated Campaign	105
Legitimation of Policy	106
Final Conclusions	107

PART TWO: THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

6 The Presidency in the 1990s	<i>John Hart</i>	110
The Clinton Inheritance		112
The Context of the Clinton Presidency		118
The election and the mandate		118
The policy agenda		120
Leadership style		121
The Clinton Presidency: Problems and Prospects		123
Managing Congress		125
Managing the media		127
Managing public opinion		128
Institutional support		130
The Post-Watergate Presidency and Presidential Leadership		131
7 Congress in Crisis . . . Once Again	<i>Roger H. Davidson</i>	134
Sources of Crisis		135
Congress as Representative: Parochialism and Professionalism		137
Constituency outreach		138

The 'Incumbency Party'	139
Congress as Lawmaker: Organizational Fissures	141
The Committee system	141
Leadership and management	145
Paths to the Present Crisis	147
Conclusion: The Two Congresses Problem	150
8 The Supreme Court and the Constitution <i>Gillian Peele</i>	152
The Clinton Administration and the Department of Justice	156
The Composition of the Supreme Court	160
The Judicial Role	163
The Conservative Legacy	165
Abortion	169
Church and State	169
Conclusion	170
9 Reinventing the Federal Government <i>Martin Laffin</i>	172
The Challenges of the 1990s	173
The Role of the Federal Government	175
The Structure of the Federal Government	176
Presidential Leadership of the Federal Government	179
Congress and the Bureaucracy	182
Inspectors General	185
The Management of Federal Departments	186
Bureaucrats as 'Political Entrepreneurs'	188
The Role of Political Appointees	189
Appointee-Careerist Relations	191
The 'Quiet Crisis' and Reinvigorating the Bureaucracy	192
The National Performance Review	193
Third Party Government	196
The Prospects for Change	198
10 Governing the American States <i>John Kincaid</i>	200
Explaining the Paradox	201
Origins of American Federalism	203
Dual, Cooperative, and Coercive Federalism	205
Characteristics of Coercive Federalism	208
Diminished federal aid to states and localities	208
Aid to persons over places	209

Conditions of aid to states and localities	210
Federal mandates on states and localities	211
Federal preemption of state and local authority	212
Intergovernmental tax immunities	213
Decline of cooperative programs	213
Federal court orders	214
Conclusion	216

PART THREE: PUBLIC POLICY

11 The Politics of Urban Policy	<i>Desmond S. King</i>	220
The Problems of Cities		220
The Politics of the Cities		224
Federal Policy and the Cities		229
Conclusion		233
12 Economic Policy	<i>Paul Peretz</i>	237
Introduction		237
The 1980–86 Period		238
The Post-1986 Period		239
Fiscal policy under Bush		241
Monetary policy under Bush		244
Fiscal policy under Clinton		246
Monetary policy under Clinton		249
International trade		250
Policy Outcomes		251
13 Social Policy	<i>B. Guy Peters</i>	253
The United States as a Welfare State	Laggard	253
The Fundamental Problem: Inequality		257
The politics of poverty		259
The 'New Poverty'		264
Reagan, Bush, and the loosening of the social safety net		267
The Challenges for President Clinton		268
Fiscal Restraints – the Mortmain of Reagan and Bush		269
14 Environmental Policy	<i>John Francis</i>	271
The Character of American Environmental Politics		272

The Expanding Range and Persisting Nature of Environmental Policies	272
The Institutional Context	275
Political Parties, Interest Groups, and Environmental Politics	278
The Western Landscape and the Reccurring Question of Federal Land Use	281
Logging	284
Toxic substances	285
Transnational Dimensions	286
Conclusion	288
 15 Foreign Policy <i>Phil Williams</i>	 289
Introduction	289
The End of the Cold War	290
New Challenges and Issues	293
The Domestic Context	299
Implications for Policy	307
 PART FOUR: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES	
 16 Health Policy: The Analytics and Politics of Attempted Reform <i>Calum Paton</i>	 312
The Legacy	313
The Reemergence of Regulation	314
The Main Proposal	315
The Political Environment	319
Toward the Clintons' Plan	320
The 'Oregon Plan'	322
Conclusion	323
 17 . Women in American Politics <i>Barbara Burrell</i>	 325
The Range of Women's Organizations	326
Open Seats	329
General Elections	330
Policy Representation for Women	331
 18 The Changing Media <i>Tim Hames</i>	 335
The New American Media	335
The Press Post-mortem on 1988	338

The Candidates' New Media Strategies	340
The Media's Strategy to the Candidates	342
President Clinton's Media Strategy	344
Conclusion	346

PART FIVE: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

19 Visions of American Politics <i>Christopher J. Bailey</i>	350
The Study of American Politics	351
The institutional approach	353
The behavioral approach	356
The rational choice approach	358
Visions of American Politics	361
Interest Groups	364
Voting	365
The presidency	366
The US Congress	367
The Supreme Court	369
Bureaucracy	370
The policy process	371
The Study of Politics in the Post-Cold War Era	373
<i>Guide to Further Reading</i>	374
<i>Bibliography</i>	379
<i>Index</i>	407

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

2.1	Presidential elections 1968–92	21
2.2	Structural change in the size of voting groups	23
2.3	Social basis of the Democratic vote, 1952–92	29
2.4	Changes in the Presidential vote, 1988–92	30
2.5	Approval of President Bush	33
2.6	Economic evaluations and voting choice	34
2.7	Model of voting choice	35
2.8	Timing of voting decision	35
2.9	Change in the vote, 1988–92	40
2.10	Trust and cynicism in government, 1992	42
3.1	Distribution of states by percent minority populations	51
3.2	Distribution of Congressional districts by minority populations	52
3.3	Party identification and ideology	65
5.1	Examples of interest groups involved in health policy	88
5.2	Examples of the campaign expenditures of health-related Political Action Committees for the 1991–2 election cycle	104
13.1	Major welfare state beneficiaries and expenditures, 1990	256
13.2	Poverty and program participation by race	260

Figures

2.1	Electoral college 1992 U.S. election	25
4.1	Party receipts, 1976–92	76
12.1	Unemployment and real per capita disposable income, 1987–93	246