

CHAPTER 17

The Policy-Making Process

REVIEWING THE CHAPTER

CHAPTER FOCUS

In this chapter we move from the study of political and governmental institutions (president, Congress, courts, etc.) to the study of the policies that all those institutions have produced. The purpose of this chapter is to provide you with a set of categories (majoritarian, interest group, client, and entrepreneurial politics) to help you better understand politics in general and the remainder of the book in particular. After reading and reviewing the material in this chapter, you should be able to do each of the following:

1. Explain how certain issues at certain times get placed on the public agenda for action.
2. Identify the terms *costs*, *benefits*, and *perceived* as used in this chapter.
3. Use these terms to define the four types of politics presented in the text—majoritarian, interest group, client, and entrepreneurial—giving examples of each.
4. Review the history of business regulation in this country, using it to exemplify these four types of politics.
5. Discuss the roles played in the process of public policy formation by people's perceptions, beliefs, interests, and values.

STUDY OUTLINE

- I. Setting the agenda
 - A. Most important decision affecting policy-making is deciding what belongs on the political agenda
 1. Shared beliefs determine what is legitimate
 2. Legitimacy affected by
 - a) Shared political values
 - b) Weight of custom and tradition
 - c) Changes in way political elites think about politics
 - B. The legitimate scope of government action
 1. Always gets larger
 - a) Changes in public's attitudes
 - b) Influence of events
 2. May be enlarged without public demand even when conditions improving
 3. Groups: a motivating force in adding new issues
 - a) May be organized (corporations) or disorganized (urban minorities)
 - b) May react to sense of relative deprivation—people's feeling that they are worse off than they expected to be
Example: Riots of the 1960s

- c) May produce an expansion of government agenda
Example: New commissions and laws
 - d) May change the values and beliefs of others
Example: White response to urban riots
 - 4. Institutions a second force adding new issues
 - a) Major institutions: courts, bureaucracy, Senate, national media
 - b) Courts
 - (1) Make decisions that force action by other branches: school desegregation, abortion
 - (2) Change the political agenda
 - c) Bureaucracy
 - (1) Source of political innovation: size and expertise
 - (2) Thinks up problems to solve
 - (3) Forms alliances with senators and their staffs
 - d) Senate
 - (1) Once a slow moving, status quo club
 - (2) Influx of liberal activist Senators in the 1960s
 - (3) Now—contrary to the intent of the Framers—a major source of change
 - e) Media
 - (1) Help place issues on political agenda
 - (2) Publicize those issues raised by others, such as safety standards proposed by Senate
 - 5. Action by the states
 - a) Sometimes laws are pioneered in states
 - b) State attorneys general can file suits against businesses that result in settlements binding throughout the country
 - 6. Evolution of political agenda
 - a) Changes in popular attitudes that result in gradual revision of the agenda
 - b) Critical events, spurring rapid changes in attitudes
 - c) Elite attitudes and government actions, occasioning volatile and interdependent change
- II. Making a decision
 - A. Nature of issue
 - 1. Affects politicking
 - 2. Affects intensity of political conflict
 - B. Costs and benefits of proposed policy a way to understand how issue affects political power
 - 1. Cost: any burden, monetary or nonmonetary
 - 2. Benefit: any satisfaction, monetary or nonmonetary
 - 3. Two aspects of costs and benefits important:
 - a) Perception affects politics
 - b) People consider whether it is legitimate for a group to benefit
 - 4. Politics a process of settling disputes about who benefits and who ought to benefit
 - 5. People prefer programs that provide benefits at low cost
 - 6. Perceived distribution of costs and benefits shapes the kinds of political coalitions that form but not who wins.
- III. Majoritarian politics: distributed benefits, distributed costs
 - A. Gives benefits to large numbers
 - B. Distributes costs to large numbers
 - C. Initial debate in ideological or cost terms, for example, military budgets

- IV. Interest group politics: concentrated benefits, concentrated costs
 - A. Gives benefits to relatively small group
 - B. Costs imposed on another small group
 - C. Debate carried on by interest groups (labor unions versus businesses)
- V. Client politics: concentrated benefits, distributed costs
 - A. Relatively small group benefits; group has incentive to organize
 - B. Costs distributed widely
 - C. Most people unaware of costs, sometimes in form of pork barrel projects
- VI. Entrepreneurial politics: distributed benefits, concentrated costs
 - A. Gives benefits to large numbers
 - B. Costs imposed on small group
 - C. Success may depend on people who work on behalf of unorganized majorities
 - D. Legitimacy of client claims is important, for example, the Superfund
- VII. The case of business regulation
 - A. The question of wealth and power
 - 1. One view: economic power dominates political power
 - 2. Another view: political power a threat to a market economy
 - 3. Text cautious; weighs variables
 - B. Majoritarian politics
 - 1. Antitrust legislation in the 1890s
 - a) Public indignation strong but unfocused
 - b) Legislation vague; no specific enforcement agency
 - 2. Antitrust legislation in the twentieth century strengthened
 - a) Presidents take initiative in encouraging enforcement
 - b) Politicians, business leaders committed to firm antitrust policy
 - c) Federal Trade Commission created in 1914
 - d) Enforcement determined primarily by ideology and personal convictions
 - C. Interest group politics
 - 1. Labor-management conflict
 - a) 1935: labor unions seek government protection for their rights: businesses oppose
 - (1) Unions win
 - (2) Wagner Act creates NLRB
 - b) 1947: Taft-Hartley Act a victory for management
 - c) 1959: Landrum-Griffin Act another victory for management
 - 2. Politics of the conflict
 - a) Highly publicized struggle
 - b) Winners and losers determined by partisan composition of Congress
 - c) Between enactment of laws, conflict continues in NLRB
 - 3. Similar pattern found in Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970
 - a) Reflects a labor victory
 - b) Agency established
 - D. Client politics
 - 1. Agency capture likely
 - 2. Licensing of attorneys, barbers, and so on
 - a) Prevents fraud, malpractice, and safety hazards
 - b) Also restricts entry into occupation or profession; allows members to charge higher prices
 - c) Little opposition since:
 - (1) People believe regulations protect them
 - (2) Costs are not obvious

3. Regulation of milk industry
 - a) Regulation prevents price competition, keeping price up
 - b) Public unaware of inflated prices
 - c) Consumers have little incentive to organize
 4. Sugar quotas also benefit sugar producers
 5. Attempts to change regulations and cut subsidies and quotas
 - a) 1996 bill replaced crop subsidies with direct cash payments
 - b) Subsidies continued to increase
 - c) 2002 law replaced 1996 law, and new subsidies were authorized
 - d) Subsidies: the result of history and politics
 6. Client politics for “special interests” seems to be on decline
 - a) Importance of appearing to be “deserving”
 - b) Regulation can also serve to hurt a client (e.g., FCC and radio broadcasters/telephone companies)
- E. Entrepreneurial politics; relies on entrepreneurs to galvanize
1. 1906: Pure Food and Drug Act protected consumers
 2. 1960s and 1970s: large number of consumer and environmental protection statutes passed (Clear Air Act, Toxic Substance Control Act)
 3. Policy entrepreneur usually associated with such measures (Ralph Nader, Edmund Muskie)
 - a) Often assisted by crisis or scandal
 - b) Debate becomes moralistic and extreme
 4. Risk of such programs: agency may be “captured” by the regulated industry
 5. Newer agencies less vulnerable
 - a) Standards specific, timetables strict
 - b) Usually regulate many different industries; thus do not face unified opposition
 - c) Their existence has strengthened public-interest lobbies.
 - d) Allies in the media may attack agencies with pro-business bias
 - e) Public-interest groups can use courts to bring pressure on regulatory agencies
- VIII. Perceptions, beliefs, interests, and values
- A. Problem of definition
1. Costs and benefits not completely defined in money terms
 2. Cost or benefit a matter of perception
 3. Political conflict largely a struggle to make one set of beliefs about costs and benefits prevail over another
- B. Types of arguments used
1. “Here-and-now” argument
 2. Cost argument
- C. Role of values
1. Values: our conceptions of what is good for our community or our country
 2. Emphasis on self-interest
 3. Ideas as decisive forces
- D. Deregulation
1. Example: airline fares, long-distance telephone rates, trucking
 2. A challenge to “iron triangles” and client politics
 3. Explanation: the power of ideas
 - a) Idea: government regulation was bad
 - b) Started with academic economists
 - c) They were powerless but convinced politicians
 - d) Politicians acted for different reasons
 - (1) Had support of regulatory agencies and consumers

- (2) Industries being deregulated were unpopular
4. Presidents since Ford have sought to review government regulation
 5. Many groups oppose deregulation
 - a) Dispute focuses mostly on how deregulation occurs
 - b) "Process regulation" can be good or bad
 6. The limit of ideas
 - a) Some clients are just too powerful, for example, dairy farmers, agricultural supports
 - b) But trend is toward weaker client politics

KEY TERMS MATCH

Match the following terms and descriptions:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. A business that will not employ non-union workers | a. agenda setting |
| 2. A situation in which government bureaucracy thinks up problems for government to solve | b. benefit |
| 3. Political activity in which both benefits and costs are widely distributed | c. boycott |
| 4. Deciding what belongs on the political agenda | d. client politics |
| 5. Individual who noted the government big enough to give you everything you want is also big enough to take away everything you have | e. closed shop |
| 6. Political activity in which one group benefits at the expense of many other people | f. cost |
| 7. Intended to force industries to clean up their own toxic wastes, but a good illustration of entrepreneurial politics | g. cost argument |
| 8. Political activity in which benefits are distributed, costs are concentrated | h. Do Not Call Law |
| 9. Political activity in which benefits are conferred on a distinct group and costs on another distinct group | i. entrepreneurial politics |
| 10. A sense of being worse off than one thinks one ought to be | j. Gerald Ford |
| 11. Example of legislation pioneered in the states and replicated by the federal government | k. the Grange |
| 12. A situation in which people are more sensitive to what they might lose than to what they might gain | l. interest-group politics |
| | m. logrolling |
| | n. majoritarian politics |
| | o. policy entrepreneurs |
| | p. political agenda |
| | q. pork-barrel projects |
| | r. process regulation |
| | s. professionalization of reform |
| | t. relative deprivation |
| | u. Theodore Roosevelt |
| | v. secondary boycott |
| | w. Sherman Antitrust Act |
| | x. Superfund |

13. People in and out of government who find ways of creating a legislative majority on behalf of interests not well-represented in government
14. A boycott by workers of a company other than the one against which the strike is directed
15. A law passed in 1890 making monopolies illegal
16. An organization of farmers especially outspoken in its criticism of large corporations
17. Any satisfaction that people believe they will derive if a policy is adopted
18. A concerted effort to get people to stop buying from a company in order to punish and to coerce a policy change
19. Individual who persuaded Congress to fund five full time lawyers to prosecute antitrust violations
20. The perceived burden to be borne if a policy is adopted
21. Mutual aid among politicians, whereby one legislator supports another's pet project in return for the latter's support
22. A set of issues thought by the public or those in power to merit action by government
23. Legislation that gives tangible benefits to constituents in the hope of winning their votes
24. Rules regulating manufacturing or industrial processes, usually aimed at improving consumer or worker safety and reducing environmental damage

PRACTICING FOR EXAMS

TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements *T*. If any part of the statement is false, mark it *F*, and write in the space provided a concise explanation of why the statement is false.

1. T F The expansion of government has been the result, fundamentally, of a non-partisan process.

2. T F There was no public demand for government action to make automobiles safer before 1966.

3. T F Congressional action has been the preferred vehicle for advocates of unpopular causes.

4. T F The bureaucracy reacts to policy, but is not a source of policy.

5. T F Somewhat contrary to the intent of the Framers, the House of Representatives has become a source of significant political change.

6. T F Increasingly, the actions of state governments are irrelevant to national policy-making.

7. T F Conflicts between rival interest groups are not nearly so important in majoritarian politics.

8. T F Interest-group politics often produce decisions about which the public is uninformed.

9. T F The Brady Bill requires background checks on gun buyers before they can purchase a firearm.

10. T F The Founders deliberately arranged things so that it would be difficult to pass a new law.

11. T F Policy entrepreneurs are outside of government.

12. T F Ralph Nader is a well known example of a policy entrepreneur.

13. T F Entrepreneurial politics cannot occur without the leadership of a policy entrepreneur.
-
14. T F Superfund is a good example of entrepreneurial politics.
-
15. T F In part, the decentralization of Congress is responsible for the prominence of entrepreneurial politics.
-
16. T F Much of the antitrust legislation that was passed in this country was the result of entrepreneurial politics.
-
17. T F The Grange was an association of small businessmen who were sharply critical of business monopolies and large corporations generally.
-
18. T F Anti-trust sentiment was strong in the late 1800s and early 1900s, but it was not focused on any single industry.
-
19. T F The Sherman Act (1890) spelled out rules for restraining monopolies and created an enforcement mechanism.
-
20. T F Theodore Roosevelt was influential in prompting more prosecutions for violations of antitrust laws.
-
21. T F Our antitrust policy is perhaps the strongest found in any industrial nation.
-
22. T F Antitrust enforcement in any particular administration is largely determined by the amount of interest-group pressure that is applied.
-
23. T F In the labor conflicts of the 1940s and 1950s, Republicans and southern Democrats tended to support the interests of businesses.
-
24. T F Each president has tried to tilt the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) in one direction or the other by means of appointments.
-
25. T F Between 1996 and 2001 subsidies for farmers decreased.
-
26. T F Farm subsidies are a legacy of the Great Depression.
-

27. T F Client politics appear to be on the increase in the United States.
-
28. T F Radio broadcasters strongly opposed the creation of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC).
-
29. T F Upton Sinclair's book *The Jungle* dramatized the frightening conditions in steel mills.
-
30. T F Newer consumer- and environmental-protection agencies are more vulnerable to capture than other agencies.
-
31. T F It has become more difficult for groups to use the federal courts to put pressure on regulatory agencies.
-
32. T F Wages paid to airline pilots and truck drivers are no longer protected by federal rules.
-

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. The most important decision that affects policy-making (and least noticed) is the decision to
 - a. enact the policy agenda.
 - b. determine what to make policy about.
 - c. enforce the policy agenda.
 - d. fund the policy agenda.
 - e. fund and enforce the policy agenda.
2. The national policy agenda was quite short until the
 - a. 1790s
 - b. 1870s
 - c. 1890s
 - d. 1930s
 - e. 1980s
3. The text suggests that, at any given time, what is considered legitimate (proper, right) for the government to do is affected by
 - a. shared political values.
 - b. the weight of custom.
 - c. the impact of events.
 - d. changes in the way political elites think.
 - e. all of the above.
4. What, according to the text, is "always getting larger"?
 - a. the scope of legitimate governmental action.
 - b. the scope of what is illegitimate for government to do.
 - c. the number of legislative proposals restricting the scope of governmental power.
 - d. the number of debates about the legitimacy of government programs.
 - e. B and D.

5. Who noted that the government “big enough to give you everything you want” is also the government “big enough to take away everything you have?”
 - a. Richard Nixon
 - b. Gerald Ford
 - c. Dwight Eisenhower
 - d. Jimmy Carter
 - e. Ralph Nader
6. The fact that there were impressive displays of expansion of governmental power in the administrations of Richard Nixon, Dwight Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan suggests
 - a. expansion is, fundamentally, the byproduct of liberalism.
 - b. expansion is, fundamentally, the result of Democratic politics.
 - c. expansion is, fundamentally, the byproduct of Republican politics.
 - d. expansion is, fundamentally, a non-partisan process.
 - e. A and B.
7. The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 was passed at a time when
 - a. the number of industrial deaths had increased steadily for a decade.
 - b. the number of industrial deaths had been dropping steadily for twenty years.
 - c. industrial fatalities had remained the same for several years.
 - d. data on industrial fatalities were unavailable to Congress.
 - e. data on industrial fatalities were unreliable.
8. The text’s explanation for the urban riots in the 1960s centers on
 - a. white radicals who mobilized blacks.
 - b. organized special-interest groups in urban areas.
 - c. followers of Marcus Garvey.
 - d. blacks’ sense of relative deprivation.
 - e. the Black Panther movement.
9. The text identifies which of the following institutions as “especially important” in influencing agenda setting?
 - a. The Senate
 - b. The courts
 - c. The bureaucracy.
 - d. All of the above.
 - e. The House of Representatives
10. Despite his dislike of using force against local government, Dwight Eisenhower used federal troops to
 - a. run steel mills.
 - b. assist with school desegregation.
 - c. collect federal taxes.
 - d. regulate speed limits on interstate highways.
 - e. distribute social welfare benefits.
11. Which of the following statements *best* describes government bureaucracy today?
 - a. It is a tool of big business.
 - b. It is a major source of policy proposals.
 - c. It is an impartial institution.
 - d. It is an appendage of the political parties.
 - e. It is without significant influence in the policy-making process.

12. Senate proposals for new safety standards for industry, coal mines and automobiles were closely correlated with
 - a. the number of registered lobbyists interested in those topics.
 - b. PAC money.
 - c. statistics on fatalities.
 - d. focus on those topics in the pages of the *New York Times*.
 - e. television nightly news.
13. The text observes states can play a particularly impressive role in national policy-making when
 - a. governors are supportive of federal regulations.
 - b. legislatures impose strict limits on liability suits.
 - c. courts interpret their own constitutions narrowly.
 - d. attorneys general settle suits with businesses that bind industries throughout the country.
 - e. they have low tax rate, stimulating economic vitality.
14. The nature of the issue on the current political agenda has its greatest influence on
 - a. presidential policy.
 - b. the prevailing ideas of society at large.
 - c. congressional monitoring.
 - d. prevailing media opinion.
 - e. the kinds of groups that get politically involved.
15. An example of a policy characterized by distributed benefits and distributed costs is
 - a. a tariff on bicycle chains.
 - b. farm subsidies.
 - c. dairy subsidies.
 - d. the construction of a dam.
 - e. increased Social Security benefits.
16. An example of a widely distributed benefit is
 - a. the reduction of factory pollution.
 - b. dairy subsidies.
 - c. farm subsidies.
 - d. the protection of a business from competition.
 - e. a dissident group's freedom to speak.
17. If you receive benefits from a policy achieved by a group to which you do not belong, you are
 - a. a majoritarian.
 - b. a policy entrepreneur.
 - c. a free rider.
 - d. a neo-institutionalist.
 - e. a secondary entrepreneur.
18. Majoritarian policies tend to reflect
 - a. interest-group activity.
 - b. interest-group conglomerations.
 - c. matters of cost or ideology.
 - d. the times.
 - e. political party activity.

19. When pork-barrel projects are conglomerated to the point that a majority coalition is formed, the process of building that coalition is known as
 - a. group facilitation.
 - b. favor empowerment.
 - c. legislative monopoly.
 - d. pork piling.
 - e. logrolling.
20. An example of client politics is
 - a. social welfare.
 - b. labor legislation.
 - c. licensing of barbers.
 - d. antitrust legislation.
 - e. all of the above.
21. An example of entrepreneurial politics would be
 - a. agricultural price supports.
 - b. Social Security.
 - c. a tariff on imported cars.
 - d. requirements for antipollution and safety devices on cars.
 - e. none of the above.
22. It is somewhat remarkable that policies which are the product of entrepreneurial politics are ever passed because
 - a. Courts rarely rule in a counter-majoritarian fashion.
 - b. the Founders made it so hard to pass laws to begin with.
 - c. power in Congress is so centralized.
 - d. policy entrepreneurs are outside of government.
 - e. there are few incentives for anyone to be interested in such legislation.
23. Policies with distributed benefits and concentrated costs are
 - a. opposed by policy entrepreneurs.
 - b. are not affected by the media.
 - c. are very rarely adopted.
 - d. adopted less and less.
 - e. adopted with increasing frequency.
24. The Superfund program was born in
 - a. 1950
 - b. 1960
 - c. 1970
 - d. 1980
 - e. 1990
25. The Superfund was intended to force
 - a. the automobile industry to manufacture cars that were more safe.
 - b. industries to clean up their own toxic waste sites.
 - c. the coal mining industry to reduce hours and increase wages.
 - d. paper mills to reduce the emission of air pollutants.
 - e. Congress to protect the rights of consumers.

26. The theory that the political system always operates to serve corporate interests is
 - a. Weberian.
 - b. pluralist.
 - c. Freudian.
 - d. Marxist.
 - e. sociological.
27. A policy that did *not* pit a majority against a hostile business community was the
 - a. antitrust policy.
 - b. farm subsidy policy.
 - c. space policy.
 - d. labor policy.
 - e. all of the above.
28. The president notable for persuading Congress to provide money for lawyers to enforce anti-trust legislation was
 - a. Theodore Roosevelt
 - b. Herbert Hoover
 - c. William H. Taft
 - d. Woodrow Wilson
 - e. Grover Cleveland
29. Over the years enforcement of antitrust policy has been
 - a. quite lax.
 - b. generally quite successful.
 - c. variable, depending on the president and the chief administrator.
 - d. consistently favorable to big business.
 - e. consistently biased against big business.
30. The Reagan administration ended its prosecution of _____ because it seemed the costs far outweighed the benefits.
 - a. IBM
 - b. Standard Oil
 - c. AT&T
 - d. Microsoft
 - e. Northern Songs Ltd.
31. The Reagan administration broke up _____ forcing it to compete with other companies of its kind.
 - a. IBM
 - b. Standard Oil
 - c. AT&T
 - d. Microsoft
 - e. Northern Songs Ltd.
32. The Clinton administration was notable for its antitrust suit against
 - a. IBM.
 - b. Standard Oil.
 - c. AT&T.
 - d. Microsoft.
 - e. Northern Songs Ltd.

33. Upton Sinclair's book *The Jungle* helped pave the way for legislation regulating
 - a. meatpacking.
 - b. automobile safety.
 - c. the stock market.
 - d. drug laws.
 - e. weapons in public schools.
34. The type of politics that often takes on a moralistic tone, with opponents portrayed as devils and compromises strongly resisted, is
 - a. interest-group politics.
 - b. majoritarian politics.
 - c. client politics.
 - d. entrepreneurial politics.
 - e. neo-institutional politics.
35. The passage of the auto safety law in 1966 made it easier to
 - a. pass a coal mine safety bill in 1969.
 - b. pass an occupational safety and health bill in 1970.
 - c. portray subsequent legislation as frivolous duplication.
 - d. condemn other attempts at regulation as "cheap imitations."
 - e. a and b.
36. One reason that the newer consumer protection agencies may not be so vulnerable to capture is that
 - a. older interest groups support them.
 - b. they do not impose very large costs on industry.
 - c. they impose a very large cost on industry.
 - d. their regulations are obviously beneficial.
 - e. they regulate several industries and so do not face a single, unified opponent.
37. The text speaks of the "power of ideas" as a key force in the deregulation of several industries that has occurred over the past two decades. Where did these ideas most often originate?
 - a. With academic economists
 - b. With the courts, especially the Supreme Court
 - c. With broadcasters in local news stations
 - d. With the national media
 - e. With Congress, especially the Senate

ESSAY QUESTIONS

Practice writing extended answers to the following questions. These test your ability to integrate and express the ideas that you have been studying in this chapter.

1. Identify the factors which appear to affect the sense that a government action is legitimate.
2. Discuss some examples of enlargement of government policy in absence of crises or widespread public demand.
3. What is relative deprivation and how is it relevant to mobilization of group efforts?
4. Explain the role that bureaucracy has played in policy formation in recent years.
5. Describe two ways that states have increasingly played a role in the formation of national policy.
6. Provide some examples of government policy which feature costs and benefits which are widely distributed and narrowly concentrated.

7. Explain why majoritarian politics can be controversial and why they do not feature the pulling and hauling among rival interest groups.
8. Compare and contrast client and entrepreneurial politics.
9. Discuss how anti-trust laws were strengthened from the administration of Theodore Roosevelt forward.
10. Why are the newer consumer and environmental protection agencies less vulnerable to capture?
11. What is the “here and now” argument and how does it impact the decision making of politicians?

ANSWERS TO KEY TERMS MATCH QUESTIONS

1. e
2. s
3. n
4. a
5. j
6. d
7. x
8. i
9. l
10. t
11. h
12. g
13. o
14. v
15. w
16. k
17. b
18. c
19. u
20. f
21. m
22. p
23. q
24. r

ANSWERS TO TRUE/FALSE QUESTIONS

1. T
2. T
3. F The courts are the preferred vehicle for unpopular causes.
4. F Increasingly, the bureaucracy is a major source of policy innovation.
5. F The Framers would have been pleased to see the House have a major role in policy formation. But, today, the Senate has taken on this role. The Framers envisioned the Senate, instead, as a moderating influence, resistant to change.

6. F National policy is increasingly made by the actions of state governments via laws which the federal government copies from the states and settlements by states attorneys general which are binding across state lines.
7. T
8. T
9. T
10. T
11. F They can be in or outside of government.
12. T
13. F It can occur with or without such leadership.
14. T
15. T
16. F Much of this legislation was the result of majoritarian politics.
17. F The Grange was an association of farmers.
18. T
19. F The *Act* did not define terms or create a regulatory agency.
20. T
21. T
22. F Such enforcement is determined more by the ideology and personal convictions of the administration in power.
23. T
24. T
25. F They increased.
26. T
27. F Client politics is becoming harder to practice in this country unless a group is widely thought to be deserving.
28. F They supported the legislation because they thought it would bring order and stability to their industry.
29. F The book focused on practices in meat packing plants.
30. F They are not as vulnerable because they have less discretion, they regulate many different industries, public interest lobbies are stronger and the media are more influential.
31. F Courts have made it easier to apply such pressure.
32. T

ANSWERS TO MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

1. b
2. d

3. e
4. a
5. b
6. d
7. b
8. d
9. d
10. b
11. b
12. d
13. d
14. e
15. e
16. a
17. c
18. c
19. e
20. a
21. d
22. b
23. e
24. d
25. b
26. d
27. a
28. a
29. c
30. a
31. c
32. d
33. a
34. d
35. e
36. e
37. a