

The Decline of Federalism and the Rise of Morality-Policy Conflict in the United States

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Morality policies—such as those pertaining to abortion, capital punishment, gambling, gay rights, pornography, and sex education—generate conflict over core values. These policies tend to be technically simple, potentially salient to the general public, and involve higher than normal levels of citizen participation. They are, therefore, highly susceptible to being thrust into the active phase of policymaking when an incongruity develops between public opinion and public policy. The reservation of authority to the states on these issues embodied in the Tenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution allows for closer policy-opinion congruence, therefore stabilizing morality policy politics. However, recent federal actions on a range of morality policies have thrust these issues onto the active political agenda of the states.

Abortion, pornography, gambling, sex education, gay rights, the right to die, and capital punishment are pivotal political issues in the United States at the turn of the twenty-first century. Yet because these morality-policy issues generate significant conflict over first principles, political activity on them is not explained neatly by the standard theories of the policy process that emphasize the pursuit of economic self-interest.¹ Morality policy has only recently begun to be studied as a class by political scientists. Rather than the mere “flashes of political insanity” that they were once written off as being,² morality policies generate predictable and distinctive patterns of political behavior. Furthermore, recent research has demonstrated that morality policy, especially on abortion, has shaped recent politics in the United States like no other set of issues.³ For instance, these generally simple, persistent, and salient issues may have been

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I wish to thank John Kincaid for the important insights he contributed to this article.

¹For example, see Mancur Olson, Jr., *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper & Row, 1957).

²James Davidson Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991), p. 33.

³Geoffrey C. Layman and Edward G. Carmine, “Cultural Conflict in American Politics: Religious Traditionalism, Postmaterialism, and U.S. Political Behavior,” *Journal of Politics* 59 (August 1997): 751-777; Geoffrey C. Layman and Thomas M. Carney, “Why Do Party Activists Convert? An Analysis of Individual-Level Change on the Abortion Issue,” *Political Research Quarterly* 51 (September 1998): 723-750; Greg D. Adams, “Abortion: Evidence of Issue Evolution,” *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (July 1997): 718-738.

Reforming The Poor Welfare Policy Federalism And Morality

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