

# American Government

EIGHTH EDITION



WELCH GRUHL

COMER RIGDON

EIGHTH EDITION



# *American Government*

**SUSAN WELCH**

*The Pennsylvania State University*

**JOHN GRUHL**

*University of Nebraska—Lincoln*

**JOHN COMER**

*University of Nebraska—Lincoln*

**SUSAN M. RIGDON**

*University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*

Political Science Publisher: Clark Baxter  
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# Preface

**P**opular esteem for American political institutions continues to decline. The public alternates between curiosity about, and revulsion toward, politics and politicians. Yet beneath the scandals, and the attempts of elected officials to gain political advantage or minimize political disadvantage from these scandals, the role of government in our lives remains crucial. The eighth edition of our text, *American Government*, tries, as did the previous editions, to demonstrate to students why government is important, and to interest students in learning about the exciting, important, and controversial issues in American public life. We believe an introductory course succeeds if most students develop an understanding of major ideas, an interest in learning more about American government, and an ability to begin to understand and evaluate the news they hear about American political issues. Although a firm grounding in the essential “nuts and bolts” of American government is crucial, other approaches are helpful in motivating students’ interest in government.

We offer the essential “nuts and bolts” of American government, but we also want the student to understand why (and sometimes how) these important features have evolved, their impact on government and individuals, and why they are controversial (if they are) and worth learning. For example, we prefer students to leave the course remembering why campaign finance laws were created and why they are generally ineffective than to memorize specific dollar limitations on giving for different types of candidates from different types of organizations. The latter will change or will soon be forgotten, but understanding the “whys” will help the student understand the campaign finance issue long after the course is over.

We have also tried to interest students by describing and discussing the impact of various features of govern-

ment. For example, students who do not understand why learning about voter registration laws is important may “see the light” when they understand the link between such laws and low voter turnout. Therefore, a particular emphasis throughout the book is on the *impact* of government: how individual features of government affect its responsiveness to different groups (in Lasswell’s terms, “Who gets what and why?”). We realize that nothing in American politics is simple; rarely does one feature of government produce, by itself, a clear outcome. Nevertheless, we think that students will be more willing to learn about government if they see some relationships between how government operates and the impact it has on them as American citizens.

## Changes in the Eighth Edition

This edition is again substantially revised. We cover the 2000 national elections, although our publication deadlines gave little time for postelection reflection.

We have added a new feature in each chapter: a timeline of important events. This timeline, found near the end of each chapter, is designed to help students remember key events and developments in the topic addressed in the chapter and to get a better sense of chronology of these events. Given national studies that show that a majority of college graduates are woefully ignorant about the chronology of even important events such as major wars and pathbreaking presidential administrations, we thought that students needed assistance in visualizing key points in the development of the American polity.

We have retained the feature box added in the seventh edition labelled *What Government Does Right*. In an era when it is fashionable to run against government when running for public office, and at a time when



charges of scandal and corruption seem to come ever more frequently, we thought it useful to give students some examples of successful governmental activities.

This edition features new material on contemporary issues ranging from campaign finance reform to gun control, from capital punishment to the evolving role of technology in political communications and campaigning.

We have reordered some of the chapters in Part Two, Links between People and Government. Following Chapter 4 on public opinion comes the chapter on the media, followed by chapters on interest groups and political parties. Chapter 8, Elections, follows that, and this section ends with the money and politics chapter. We reorganized the part in this way to bring the chapters on public opinion and the media into proximity and to bring together those on elections and money and politics.

As always, we have updated the judiciary, civil liberties, and civil rights chapters to incorporate new Supreme Court decisions. Chapter 15, Civil Rights, includes a new treatment of the women's movement, a new section on sexual harassment and another on discrimination against men, a new discussion on the contemporary status of African Americans, and a revised treatment of affirmative action.

In the policy section, we begin this edition with a chapter on economic policy followed by one on social welfare and health care. This reflects two changes. First, we decided to begin the policy section with economic policy, which seems fundamental to understanding the way government works. Second, we reorganized the chapter on social welfare policy to provide a more coherent discussion on health policy, and in so doing renamed the chapter to reflect that near equal emphasis. Of course, all the policy chapters have been revised to reflect new public policy developments. Beyond that, Chapter 19 on foreign policy has been significantly revised.

We are delighted to have the opportunity to write an eighth edition and to improve the text further in ways suggested by our students and readers. We have been extremely pleased by the reaction of instructors and students to our first seven editions. We were especially gratified to have won three times the American Government Textbook Award from the Women's Caucus for Political Science of the American Political Science Association.

## Special Features

Student interest and analytic abilities grow when confronted with a clash of views about important issues. Today there is much discussion about how to stimulate the critical thinking abilities of students. Beginning with the first

edition, our text has provided features especially designed to do this by involving students in the controversies—and excitement—of American politics.

## You Are There

Each chapter opens with a scenario called You Are There. In a page or two the student reads about a real-life political dilemma faced by a public official or a private citizen involved in a controversial issue. Students are asked to put themselves in that individual's shoes, to weigh the pros and cons, and to decide what should be done. The instructor may want to poll the entire class and use the You Are There as a basis for class discussion. In the Epilogue at the end of the chapter, we reveal the actual decision and discuss it in light of the ideas presented in the chapter.

One-third of the You Are There features in this edition are new. They focus on contemporary topics such as the political struggle over preserving national environmental treasures (Chapter 3), the appropriate and ethical role of the media in exposing scandal (Chapter 5), the dilemma faced by John McCain in supporting George W. Bush (Chapter 7), the influence of support for campaign finance on a candidate's chances (Chapter 9), the political liabilities for opposing cuts in death taxes (Chapter 16), and choices confronting the president in deciding whether to send American troops on humanitarian missions (Chapter 19).

## American Diversity

In many chapters, American Diversity boxes illustrate the impact of the social diversity of the American population on political life. The boxes help students understand how a diversity of backgrounds and attitudes shapes views of politics and positions on issues.

## What Government Does Right

These boxes illustrate some of the successes of government. We believe this is a timely feature, given the antigovernment sentiment currently so pervasive. Far from being the ennobling activity as envisioned by the ancients, government now appears to be seen largely as corrupt and ineffective. Given this image, students might wonder why we have government at all. This feature gives students an opportunity to read about some concrete examples of government successes and think about the reasons for the existence of government.

## Timelines

Timelines in each chapter help the student visualize the chronological development of the American polity as well as highlight important issues in the chapter.

## Boxes

In each chapter, several boxes highlighting interesting aspects of American politics draw the students into the material. Many illustrate how government and politics really work in a particular situation—how a corporation lobbies for government benefits, how a seemingly powerless group is able to organize for political action, how interest groups solicit money by mail, and how political polls are done—while others highlight features of government that may be of particular interest to students—what standard of risk should government use in regulating acne medication, how ethnicity shapes voting behavior, and the impact of federal programs on students.

Several other features help students organize their study.

## Outline

Each chapter begins with an outline of its contents.

## Key Terms

Key terms are boldfaced within the text and listed at the end of each chapter and the glossary.

## Further Reading

A brief, annotated list of further readings contains works that might be useful to a student doing research or looking for further reading.

## Electronic Resources

Each chapter lists addresses of particularly interesting or useful sites on the Internet that relate directly to the topics covered in the chapter.

## Glossary

A glossary at the end of the book defines terms that may be unfamiliar to students.

## The Organization and Contents of the Book

While the basic organization of American government books is fairly standard, our text has a unique chapter on money and politics and a half chapter on environmental politics. Other features include a civil rights chapter that integrates a thorough treatment of constitutional issues concerning minorities and women, a discussion of the civil rights and women's rights movements, and contemporary research on the political status of these groups. We include in this chapter the special legal problems of Hispanics and Native Americans.

Substantive policy chapters reinforce the emphasis on the impact of government action. Our social-welfare-policy chapter is unique in its treatment of social welfare programs for the middle class and the wealthy as well as the poor. A chapter on economic policymaking complements the section on budgeting found in the chapter on Congress. The treatment of economic policy highlights the relationship between politics and the economy, and should help the student better understand issues such as the deficit, inflation, and unemployment. The chapter on regulation emphasizes the underlying rationale for regulation and its problems and benefits, with special emphasis on environmental regulation. The chapter on foreign policy places current foreign policy issues in the context of the history of our foreign policy aims, especially since World War II, and features new issues arising in the post-Cold War world.

Some instructors will prefer not to use any of the policy chapters. The book stands as a whole without them, as many policy examples are integrated into the rest of the text. Different combinations of the policy chapters may also be used, as each chapter is independent.

The organization of the book is straightforward. After material on democracy, the Constitution, and federalism, the book covers linkages, including money and politics, then institutions, and finally policy. Civil liberties and rights are treated after the chapter on the judiciary. But the book is flexible enough that instructors can modify the order of the chapters. Some instructors will prefer to cover institutions before process. Others may prefer to discuss civil liberties and rights when discussing the Constitution.

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## For instructors and students . . .

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## ***Acknowledgments***

We would like to thank the many people who have aided and sustained us during the lengthy course of this project. We first acknowledge the work of Margery Ambrosius, the coauthor of Chapters 12 and 17, for her intellectual contribution to this book. Our current and former University of Nebraska and Penn State colleagues have been most tolerant and helpful. We thank them all. In particular, we appreciate the assistance of John Hibbing, Philip Dyer, Robert Miewald, Beth Theiss-Morse, Louis Picard, John Peters, David Rapkin, Peter Maslowski, David Forsythe, W. Randy Newell, and Steven Daniels, who provided us with data, bibliographic information, and other insights that we have used here. We are especially grateful to Philip Dyer, Alan Booth, Louis Picard, Robert Miewald, and John Hibbing, who read one or more chapters and saved us from a variety of errors.

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# About the Authors

**SUSAN WELCH** received her A.B. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. She is currently Dean of the College of the Liberal Arts and Professor of Political Science at The Pennsylvania State University. Her teaching and research areas include legislatures, state and urban politics, and women and minorities in politics. She has edited the *American Politics Quarterly*.

**JOHN GRUHL**, a Professor of Political Science, received his A.B. from DePaul University in Greencastle, Indiana, and his Ph.D. from the University of California at Santa Barbara. Since joining the University of Nebraska faculty in 1976, he has taught and done research in the areas of judicial process, criminal justice, and civil rights and liberties. He won University of Nebraska campus-wide distinguished teaching awards in 1979 and 1986 for excellence in undergraduate teaching, and became a charter member of the University's Academy of Distinguished Teachers in 1995.

**JOHN COMER** is a Professor of Political Science at the University of Nebraska. He received his A.B. in political science from Miami University of Ohio in 1965 and his Ph.D. from the Ohio State University in 1971. His teaching and research focus on interest groups, public opinion, voting behavior, and political parties.

**SUSAN RIGDON** received A.B. and Ph.D. degrees in political science from the University of Illinois in 1966 and 1971. She has taught American Government at several institutions in the U.S. and China, and has other teaching and research interests in foreign policy, comparative government, and political development. She is a Research Associate in Anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

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