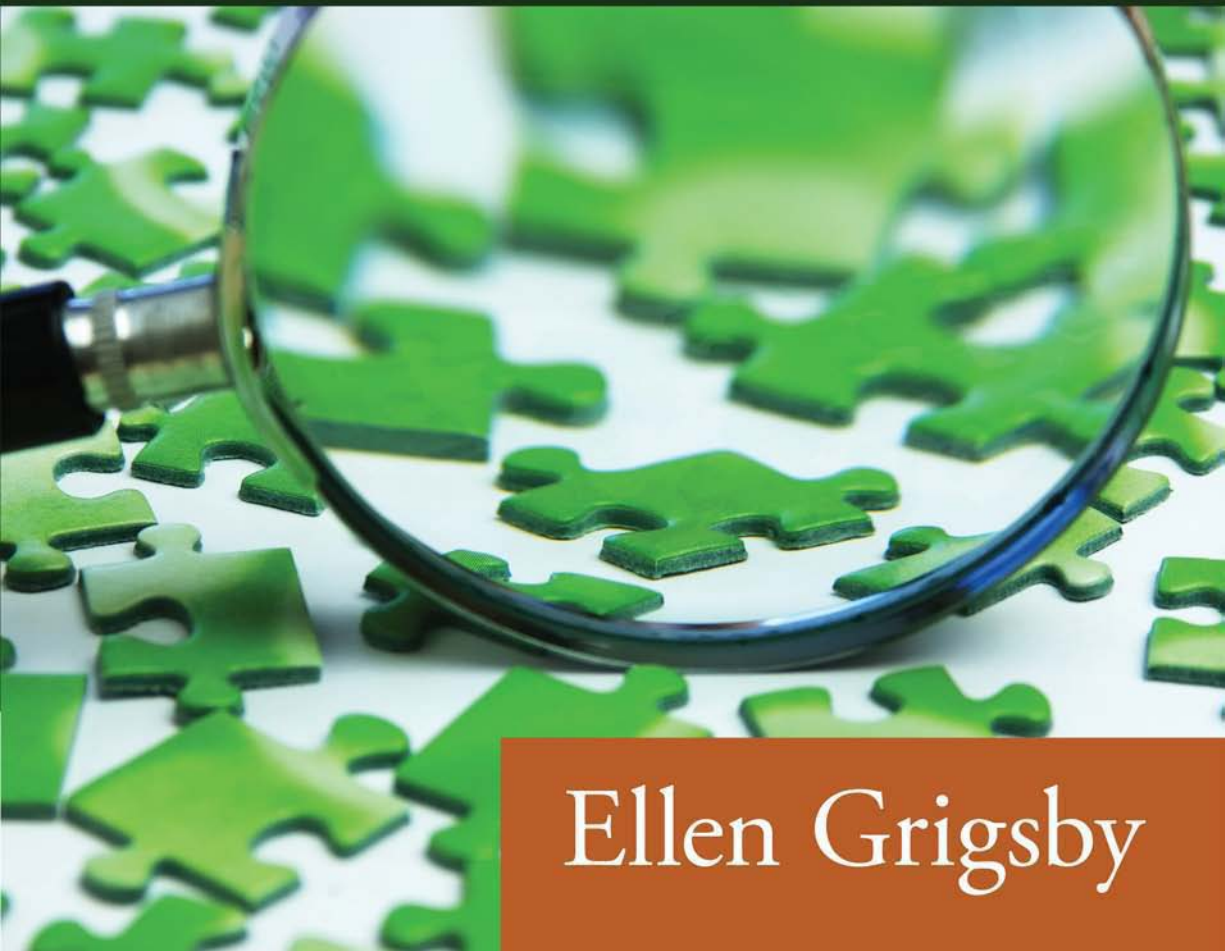


Cengage Advantage
Books

SIXTH EDITION

Analyzing Politics

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE



Ellen Grigsby

Analyzing Politics

An Introduction to Political Science

SIXTH EDITION

ELLEN GRIGSBY

University of New Mexico



Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

This is an electronic version of the print textbook. Due to electronic rights restrictions, some third party content may be suppressed. Editorial review has deemed that any suppressed content does not materially affect the overall learning experience. The publisher reserves the right to remove content from this title at any time if subsequent rights restrictions require it. For valuable information on pricing, previous editions, changes to current editions, and alternate formats, please visit www.cengage.com/highered to search by ISBN#, author, title, or keyword for materials in your areas of interest.

**Analyzing Politics:
An Introduction to Political
Science, Sixth Edition**

Ellen Grigsby

Product Director: Suzanne Jeans

Product Team Manager: Carolyn
Merrill

Content Developer: Jennifer
Jacobson, Ohlinger Publishing
Services

Content Coordinator: Eireann
Aspell

Product Assistant: Abigail Hess

Media Developer: Laura
Hildebrand

Marketing Manager: Valerie
Hartman

Rights Acquisitions Specialist:
Jennifer Meyer Dare

Manufacturing Planner:
Fola Orekoya

Art and Design Direction,
Production Management, and
Composition: PreMediaGlobal

Cover Image: © Laborant/
Shutterstock

© 2015, 2012, 2009 Cengage Learning

WCN: 02-200-203

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. No part of this work covered by the copyright herein may be reproduced, transmitted, stored, or used in any form or by any means graphic, electronic, or mechanical, including but not limited to photocopying, recording, scanning, digitizing, taping, web distribution, information networks, or information storage and retrieval systems, except as permitted under Section 107 or 108 of the 1976 United States Copyright Act, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

For product information and
technology assistance, contact us at **Cengage Learning
Customer & Sales Support, 1-800-354-9706**

For permission to use material from this text or product,
submit all requests online at **www.cengage.com/permissions**
Further permissions questions can be emailed to
permissionrequest@cengage.com

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013944150

ISBN-13: 978-1-285-46559-3

ISBN-10: 1-285-46559-8

Cengage Learning

200 First Stamford Place, 4th Floor
Stamford, CT 06902
USA

Cengage Learning is a leading provider of customized learning solutions with office locations around the globe, including Singapore, the United Kingdom, Australia, Mexico, Brazil and Japan. Locate your local office at **www.cengage.com/global**.

Cengage Learning products are represented in Canada by
Nelson Education, Ltd.

For your course and learning solutions, visit **www.cengage.com**

Purchase any of our products at your local college store or at our
preferred online store **www.cengagebrain.com**

Instructors: Please visit **login.cengage.com** and log in to access
instructor-specific resources.

Printed in the United States of America
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 17 16 15 14 13

BRIEF CONTENTS

- 1 INTRODUCTION 1
- 2 POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SCIENTIFIC METHODS
IN STUDYING POLITICS 12
- 3 KEY CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL SCIENCE 45
- 4 POLITICAL THEORY: EXAMINING THE ETHICAL
FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICS 78
- 5 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES I: LIBERALISM
CONSERVATISM, AND SOCIALISM 102
- 6 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES II: FASCISM 133
- 7 POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES III: FEMINISM,
ENVIRONMENTALISM, AND
POSTMODERNISM 151
- 8 COMPARATIVE POLITICS I: GOVERNMENTAL
SYSTEMS: DEMOCRACY AND
NONDEMOCRACY 173
- 9 COMPARATIVE POLITICS II: INTEREST GROUPS,
POLITICAL PARTIES, AND ELECTIONS 203
- 10 COMPARATIVE POLITICS III: GOVERNING
DEMOCRACIES: EXECUTIVES, LEGISLATURES,
AND JUDICIARIES 243
- 11 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS I: 266
- 12 INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS II:
CONTEMPORARY ISSUES 289

CONTENTS

PREFACE ix

1 Introduction 1

ANALYZING POLITICS AS A STUDY OF PUZZLES 11

2 Political Science and Scientific Methods in Studying Politics 12

THE RANGE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE 15

 Historical Developments 15

 Traditionalism, Behavioralism, and Postbehavioralism 15

THINKING SCIENTIFICALLY: SOME FOUNDATIONS OF SCIENTIFIC INQUIRY 20

THINKING SCIENTIFICALLY ABOUT POLITICS 24

 Case Studies 24

 Survey Research 27

 Experiments and Quasi-Experiments 31

 Quantitative Analysis 32

SCIENCE: LIMITATIONS 34

 How Can We Have a Science of Human Behavior if Human Behavior Is Potentially Unique? 34

 How Do We Know Our Findings Are Correct? 35

 Does the Pursuit of Science Lead Us to Ignore Important Questions? 36

 Does Science Sometimes Contradict Its Own Logic? 36

 Can Science Avoid Coming into Conflict with Ethics? 38

SUMMING UP 42

ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF SENATOR RUBIO'S RESPONSE 43

STUDY QUESTIONS 43

GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION 44

3 Key Concepts in Political Science 45

POWER 46

 Types of Power 47

 Debates in the Study of Power 61

STATES	61
STATES: STATE FORMATION, DEVELOPMENT, AND CHANGE	64
Debates in the Study of States	65
NATIONS	72
States and Nations: Relations and Interactions	72
Debates in the Study of Nations	75
SUMMING UP	75
ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF PROJECT PREVENTION	76
STUDY QUESTIONS	77
GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION	77

4 Political Theory **78**

ANALYZING POLITICAL THEORY: PLATO'S ALLEGORY OF THE CAVE	80
SOME FUNDAMENTAL ETHICAL QUESTIONS IN POLITICS	82
What Purpose Should the State Serve?	83
Should States Promote Equality?	86
Should States Be Organized to Maximize Their Own Power or Organized to Restrain This Power?	91
Should States Try to Help Us Be Ethical?	94
SUMMING UP	98
ANALYZING THE ETHICAL PUZZLES OF DRONES	99
STUDY QUESTIONS	100
GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION	100

5 Political Ideologies I **102**

LIBERALISM	103
Classical Liberalism	103
Modern Liberalism	108
Classical and Modern Liberalism Today	111
CONSERVATISM	112
Traditional Conservatism	112
Traditional Conservatism Today	116
Traditional Conservatism and Classical Liberal Conservatism in Conflict	117
Socialism	120
Marxism	122
Marxism–Leninism	126
Social Democracy	128
SUMMING UP	130
ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF PRESIDENT OBAMA'S IDEOLOGY	130
STUDY QUESTIONS	131
GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION	131

6 Political Ideologies II **133**

- THE FASCISM OF MUSSOLINI AND HITLER 134
 Fascism: Origins and Attacks on Other Ideologies 134
 Fascism and Totalitarianism 139
 The Nazi State 143
 NEOFASCISM 146
 SUMMING UP 148
 ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF
 GERMANY'S PERPETUAL OBLIGATION 149
 STUDY QUESTIONS 149
 GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION 150

7 Political Ideologies III **151**

- FEMINISM 152
 Liberal Feminism 157
 Radical Challenges to Liberal Feminism 158
 ENVIRONMENTALISM 162
 Basic Principles 163
 Diversity within Environmentalist Ideology 167
 A NOTE ON POSTMODERNISM 169
 SUMMING UP 170
 ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF CLIMATE DISPLACEMENT AND ITS
 GENDER DIMENSIONS 171
 STUDY QUESTIONS 171
 GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION 172

8 Comparative Politics I **173**

- DEMOCRACY AS A FLUID AND VARIED GOVERNING PROCESS 174
 Components of Democracy 174
 Complexities Associated with the Five Components of Democracy 177
 DEMOCRACIES COMPARED 179
 Participation: The United States and Switzerland 179
 Pluralism: The United States and Germany 182
 Developmentalism: The United States and Argentina 185
 Protection: The United States and Great Britain 188
 Performance: The United States and India 190
 NONDEMOCRACY: A FLUID AND VARIED GOVERNING PROCESS 192
 Questions about China 197
 SUMMING UP 199

ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF COMPETING VOICES FROM THE ARAB SPRING	201
STUDY QUESTIONS	201
GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION	202

9 Comparative Politics II **203**

INTEREST GROUPS	204
Interest Groups in the United States	205
Interest Groups Compared: Democracies	214
Interest Groups Compared: Nondemocracies	217
POLITICAL PARTIES	218
Political Parties in the United States	219
Political Parties Compared: Democracies	223
Political Parties Compared: Nondemocratic and Transitional Systems	226
ELECTIONS	227
Elections in the United States	227
Presidential Elections in the 1990s	228
Presidential Elections: 2000–2012	230
Elections Compared: Democracies	237
Elections Compared: Nondemocracies	239
SUMMING UP	240
ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF HOW REPUBLICANS CAN WIN IN THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION	241
STUDY QUESTIONS	242
GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION	242

10 Comparative Politics III **243**

EXECUTIVE–LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS: PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEMS	244
The U.S. Presidential System: The Executive	245
President Bush and the Department of Homeland Security	245
President Obama and Health Care Reform	246
Presidential Powers, Persuasion, and Effectiveness	248
The British Parliamentary System: The Executive	252
Other Examples of Executive–Legislative Relations	254
The U.S. Presidential System: The Legislature	254
The British Parliamentary System: The Legislature	259
JUDICIAL REVIEW VERSUS PARLIAMENTARY SOVEREIGNTY	261
SUMMING UP	263

ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF PRESIDENTIAL–CONGRESSIONAL INTERACTIONS AFTER THE SANDY HOOK ELEMENTARY SCHOOL KILLINGS	264
STUDY QUESTIONS	264
GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION	265

11 International Relations I

266

MODELS OF ANALYSIS	269
Liberalism	269
REALISM	271
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: OUT OF BIPOLARISM AND INTO THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY	274
Bipolar Politics	274
After Bipolarism	276
International Security Questions	277
SUMMING UP	287
ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF U.S. RESPONSES TO 2011 BAHRAIN PROTESTS DURING THE ARAB SPRING	287
STUDY QUESTIONS	288
GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION	288

12 International Relations II

289

LESSONS FROM 9/11	291
MEDIA AND POLITICS	293
Is Global News Really Global?	293
Patterns in Broadcast Media Ownership and Funding Differ across Countries	294
Reporting News or Making News	295
Whom You Watch Affects What You Know	296
Changing Perceptions of Journalists and Journalism	297
ECONOMICS AND POLITICS	299
SUMMING UP	306
ANALYZING THE PUZZLE OF MEDIA COVERAGE AND THE BOSTON MARATHON BOMBING OF 2013	307
STUDY QUESTIONS	307
GO BEYOND CLASS: RESOURCES FOR DEBATE AND ACTION	308
NOTES	309
GLOSSARY	358
INDEX	364

PREFACE

I believe that among the most satisfying moments in teaching are those when we help students realize that the more complex we allow questions to be, the more exciting it is to study those questions. As I enter my third decade of teaching undergraduates, I find myself increasingly convinced of the importance of helping students understand that analytical approaches to the study of politics have many practical and immediate uses, whether in clarifying the logic behind divergent perspectives on international security questions or in identifying the shared ontological assumptions of individualist conservatism and classical liberalism. In fact, I believe that introductory students—no less than graduate students—need to begin to see that academic disciplines are constituted by the scholarly debates that they themselves unleash.

To this end, the sixth edition incorporates a new theme: It introduces the reader to some ways in which political science evaluates and seeks to unravel some of the complexities of twenty-first-century politics. Because politics is rarely straightforward, students of political science need to be prepared for surprises—surprises so multilayered that they can be conceptualized as puzzles or riddles. The new edition confronts these complexities directly and brings them into every chapter of the book. Indeed, an image of the Egyptian sphinx—an iconic memorial of the centuries-old importance of riddles and puzzles in human societies—is used in each chapter as a visual guide for students as they are challenged to analyze some of the ways in which political questions defy quick and easy answers.

The new theme is carried out pedagogically throughout the text, serving as an explicit intellectual framework: Each chapter begins with a contemporary puzzle that relates to the chapter's topic and poses questions that will be examined throughout the chapter. These puzzles include the following: the discrepancy between what people have the potential to know regarding political issues and what they do, in fact, know (Chapter 1); Senator Marco Rubio's 2012 response to a question about the Earth's age (Chapter 2); Project Prevention, a controversial California organization that pays people to get sterilized (Chapter 3); the use of drones (Chapter 4); the disagreement surrounding President Obama's ideological identity (Chapter 5); Chancellor Merkel's statement about Germany's special and perpetual obligation to make ever present knowledge of the Holocaust while taking measures to ensure the absence of Nazism itself (Chapter 6); climate displacement and its gender dimensions (Chapter 7); competing voices of the Arab Spring (Chapter 8); the Republican Party's Growth and Opportunity Project, about how they can win in 2016 (Chapter 9); presidential-congressional interactions after the Sandy Hook Elementary School killings (Chapter 10); comparatively muted U.S. support for 2011 Arab Spring protests in Bahrain (Chapter 11); and media coverage of the Boston Marathon bombing as a case study pointing to patterns in media coverage of international politics (Chapter 12).

Sphinx puzzle icons appear in the margins within the chapter to identify explicitly concepts or details that are especially relevant to the opening puzzle. These icons also draw students' attention to key evidence in analyzing the opening puzzle within the larger context of the chapter's themes. "Analyzing the Puzzle" sections at the end of each chapter address the questions posed at the start.

I have revised this edition also by creating new "Controversies In" boxes to highlight issues that reviewers identified as especially interesting to their students and to themes that I find, in my own teaching, to be particularly intriguing to students. Examples include Controversies in Science, which discusses DNA testing procedures in newborns (Chapter 2), Controversies in States and Power: Is the U.S. Playing Terrorball? (Chapter 3), Controversies in Presidential–Congressional

Relations: Presidential Signing Statements (Chapter 10); and Controversies in Media Coverage of Political Topics: What Makes Someone an Expert? (Chapter 12).

The goal of encouraging students to think critically about political science topics has also motivated every decision made about this text. *Analyzing Politics* is written not only to instruct but also to challenge and sometimes to unsettle readers. Furthermore, I hope the text invites students to explore a broader range of perspectives and sources than those traditionally incorporated into introductory political science textbooks. I have thus included more advanced topics, such as postmodernism, mitigation versus adaptation policy approaches in environmental politics, and a discussion of the Taliban's Islamic fundamentalism within the context of larger questions relating to the ethical foundations of politics. Included also in this edition is new attention given to the topic of accuracy in political science forecasting, new data on nongovernmental organizations and transnational advocacy networks, a discussion of the implications of the work of Philip Tetlock and Nate Silver on political science expertise for media studies, and analyses of 2012 presidential campaign and election data.

The major organizational features of this text reflect the logic of trying to balance (1) acknowledgment of the breadth of the discipline of political science with (2) awareness of the benefits of keeping the length of the text manageable. The historical development of political science as a science is discussed in Chapter 2, a chapter in which students are also asked to reflect on controversies relating to both the practice and philosophy of science. Key concepts in political science analysis are presented in Chapter 3 but are also integrated into later chapters, as those concepts relate to elections, parties, and transnational issues. Chapter 4 explores how ethical frameworks for evaluating politics can be informed by Socratic, Platonic, Aristotelian, Machiavellian, Hobbesian, Madisonian, Millian, and Nietzschean insights. Chapters 5 through 7 introduce students to liberal, conservative, socialist, fascist, feminist, environmentalist, and postmodern theory. Chapters 8 through 10 discuss U.S. and comparative politics, with attention given to democratic-nondemocratic analytical frameworks (Chapter 8); comparative electoral, political party, and interest group strategies and patterns (Chapter 9); and comparative executive, legislative, and judicial institutions (Chapter 10). Chapters 11 and 12 close the text by introducing students to models of analysis as well as contemporary media and global poverty controversies in international relations.

Due to the superb work of Development Editor Jennifer Jacobson, this edition also has a new reader-friendly format with a larger font, easier-to-read design format and shading, more accessible headings and subheadings, better writing, more logically organized boxes, and brighter photographs. As an instructor, I know the challenges involved in encouraging students to read texts closely, and I understand that art, design, and copy decisions have profound pedagogical effects. Ms. Jacobson's editorial direction turned this into a text wherein the visuals, organization, content, and fonts serve to help students with reading and learning, not distract from it.

Numerous individuals have helped in the production of this text. I owe many thanks to Executive Editor Carolyn O. Merrill, Senior Content Project Manager Joshua Allen, Editorial Assistant Eireann Aspell, and PreMediaGlobal Senior Project Manager Rathi Thirumalai. I wish to thank the following individuals for reviewing the text and offering thoughtful suggestions for improvement: Jody Neathery-Castro, University of Nebraska at Omaha, and Willie Fowler, Parkland College. I thank also the many students who, through e-mail or in person in my own classes, have shared questions and offered insights about the topics covered in the text. My most enduring thanks go to Tracie Bartlett. Despite all the help and support, I find the process of writing an introductory text challenging and humbling, and all errors I failed to identify and correct are my responsibility alone.

I think that political science is analyzed most effectively and enjoyably within the context of community, live or virtual. I invite both instructors and students to e-mail me at egrigsby@unm.edu to raise comments and questions beyond those I include in these pages.

SUPPLEMENTS FOR STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS

Instructor's Manual/Test Bank Online for Grigsby's *Analyzing Politics, 6th Edition*

ISBN-13: 9781285781426

A revised Instructor's Manual and Test Bank offers suggestions for class discussions, writing assignments, Internet and research projects, and exam questions to make course preparation easier. The instructor's manual and test bank have been updated with new material to reflect changes in the new edition.

Free Companion Web Site for Grigsby's *Analyzing Politics, 6th Edition*

ISBN-13: 9781285855554

Students will find open access to learning objectives, tutorial quizzes, chapter glossaries, flashcards, and crossword puzzles, all correlated by chapter. Instructors also have access to the Instructor's Manual. All content, including learning objectives, tutorial quizzes, chapter glossaries, flashcards, and crossword puzzles, has been updated for the new edition. This is a free, password-protected website. Access your resources by logging into your account at www.cengage.com/login.

CourseReader 0–30: Introduction to Political Science

PAC ISBN: 9781133232162

IAC ISBN: 9781133232155

CourseReader: Introduction to Political Science allows you to create your reader, your way, in just minutes. This affordable, fully customizable online reader provides access to thousands of permissions-cleared readings, articles, primary sources, and audio and video selections from the regularly-updated Gale research library database. This easy-to-use solution allows you to search for and select just the material you want for your courses. Each selection opens with a descriptive introduction to provide context, and concludes with critical-thinking and multiple-choice questions to reinforce key points. CourseReader is loaded with convenient tools like highlighting, printing, note-taking, and downloadable PDFs and MP3 audio files for each reading. CourseReader is the perfect complement to any Political Science course. It can be bundled with your current textbook, sold alone, or integrated into your learning management system. CourseReader 0–30 allows access to up to 30 selections in the reader. Please contact your Cengage sales representative for details.

Introduction

1



Copyright © 2015 Cengage Learning.



Tuomas Kujansuu/iStockphoto.com

In March 2013, the United Nations announced that the number of refugees from the Syrian civil war had reached 1 million. During the previous month, a Pew Research public opinion poll found that only 50 percent of U.S. citizens could identify Syria on a map.

However, the same survey pointed out that 91 percent of young (18–29 years), 88 percent of middle-aged (30–49 years), and 67 percent of older (50 years or older) American citizens could identify the Twitter logo. The gap illustrated here in 2013 between what people have the potential to know regarding political issues and what they do, in fact, know is not unprecedented; public opinion polls documented that at one point, almost 70 percent of the U.S. public believed that Saddam Hussein had been responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Bombarded with partisan talking points and confusing images, citizens can feel overwhelmed by political rhetoric. How can political science help citizens decide for themselves, in an informed manner, what they need to know?

Sources: UNHCR, “Press Release: UNHCR Chief: Syria Refugees Reach One Million” (March 6, 2013), http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/uploads/Press_release_One_million_refugees.pdf/; Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, “What the Public Knows in Pictures, Graphs, Maps, and Symbols: News and Political Knowledge Quiz” (February 5, 2013), <http://www.people-press.org/2013/02/05/what-the-public-knows-in-pictures-maps-graphs-and-symbols/>; Lydia Saad and Frank Newport, “Gallup Poll: Americans Believe Saddam Hussein Behind 9/11—Bush Clarifies,” *Gallup Poll News Service* (September 23, 2003).

This text introduces you to some of the ways in which political science evaluates and seeks to unravel some of the complexities of twenty-first century politics. Because politics is rarely straightforward, students of political science need to be prepared for surprises, surprises so multilayered that they can be conceptualized as puzzles or riddles. Consider, for instance, differences between the two most recent U.S. presidents: One expanded the regulatory reach of the U.S. federal government so dramatically that it required 7,000 pages to describe all the new regulations put in place during his administration; the other reduced the pace of federal spending increases. One has been called a conservative and the other a socialist. However, it was the so-called socialist (President Obama) who reduced the growth in federal government spending and the so-called conservative (President Bush) who expanded the federal government.¹

If that were not sufficiently surprising, consider also how confounding it can be to try to figure out what it even means to be a conservative in the United States

these days. This label—conservative—is used by groups as diverse as gay rights activists (e.g., Log Cabin Republicans) and vocal opponents of gay rights (e.g., Focus on the Family) and by pro-choice groups (e.g., Republican Majority for Choice) and pro-life groups (e.g., Republican National Coalition for Life).²

And, as one thinks about how these and other groups seek to promote their political objectives, let's consider how the U.S. Constitution accords each state two senators regardless of that state's population. If you are a resident of Wyoming and you want to lobby in support of your political beliefs, you're competing with about half a million people for your senators' attention. If you are a resident of California, you are competing with more than 38 million others. Does this make sense?

These and other complexities are the very soul of politics, and, rather than try to make politics seem simpler and neater than it actually is, this text confronts these complexities directly and brings them into every chapter of the book. Specifically, each chapter begins with an example of a contemporary puzzle that relates to the chapter's topic—such as that posed earlier about the discrepancy between what people have the potential to know regarding political issues and what they do, in fact, know. Then, as you read each chapter, you will encounter puzzle icons in the margin; these icons identify especially relevant concepts or details found throughout the chapter and they alert you to key evidence you can use in analyzing the opening puzzle within the larger context of the chapter's themes.

As you study the various puzzles that political science takes as its subject matter, you may find that your conception of politics has been influenced by many factors. For example, consider how differently you might view your life, your goals, and your attitudes about politics if you could be transported across the boundaries of identity, gender, nationality, age, and/or economic status. Imagine, for instance, that you reside in Cairo's City of the Dead, a sprawling, crowded cemetery in which tombs share space with satellite TV dishes. The City of the Dead has become home to many of Cairo's poor and homeless as Cairo's population growth has outpaced its infrastructure. If recent predictions by the United Nations prove to be correct, this life—one lived in congested urban quarters—will become the life of more and more men and women as the year 2030 approaches. Indeed, the United Nations cautions that the world is becoming “a planet of slums.”

Now, imagine yourself a member of the Nukak-Maku, a nomadic, self-contained people living far away from cities and deep in the forests of Colombia. If you happened to be one of the approximately 80 members of your people who recently—for reasons unclear to outsiders—left the Amazonian jungle and entered San Jose del Guaviare, you encountered an unfamiliar world. You brought with you no word for money, you have no understanding of airplanes (you have asked if they move on hidden paths in the sky), and you have never heard of Colombia, the country in whose borders you and your people have existed for hundreds of years.

Try to imagine sharing the experiences of Tsutomu Yamaguchi. Mr. Yamaguchi was working in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, the day the atomic bomb was dropped on the city. The atomic bombing of Hiroshima killed 140,000 people, but somehow he survived. Feeling profoundly fortunate to be alive still, he left Hiroshima and headed for his home, Nagasaki. On August 9, an atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki and Mr. Yamaguchi, again, survived. One of perhaps more than 100 people to have survived two atomic bombs, Mr. Yamaguchi went on to become a teacher and to raise



Toni L. Sandys/The Washington Post/Getty Images

The controversies arising during President Obama's second term in office offer glimpses into the complex nature of politics itself. In dealing with issues ranging from U.S. computer expert Edward Snowden's public disclosure of classified U.S. surveillance programs to the Syrian civil war, the Obama administration faces many of the challenges of analyzing politics that will be discussed throughout this text.

a family. It was only in his old age that he started speaking publicly about his life as a *hibakusha* (atomic bombing victim) and his views on nuclear war. Before his death in 2010, Mr. Yamaguchi stated that, in his opinion, the only people who should ever have the power to authorize the use of nuclear weapons were mothers with young children.

Try imagining how your understanding of politics might change if your life were similar to that of Dena al-Atassi, the only Muslim student in her high school in Bunnell, Florida. A daughter of a Syrian father and a U.S. mother, Dena received death threats for simply wearing a headscarf (*hijab*). Her stepmother stopped wearing her scarf out of fear of a backlash against all Muslims after 9/11. However, she finds strength in following the example of Muslim women who wear the head covering and pledged never to let her fear compel her to alter her religious attire.

Imagine crossing the boundary separating your experiences from those of Ehren Watada. Ehren was studying for a business degree at Hawaii Pacific University in Honolulu when the United States was attacked on 9/11. He joined the military to be part of the fight against terrorism, but, over time, he became increasingly critical of the Iraq war. Determined to serve his country and his conscience, he volunteered to be deployed to Afghanistan, but refused to serve in Iraq. The military brought charges against him and his court martial ended in a mistrial in February 2007.

Imagine the political questions, challenges, and concerns you might have if you could trade places with Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. In 2005, Johnson Sirleaf was elected as Liberia's first woman president and Africa's first woman elected head of state. A winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011, she has directed numerous anti-poverty efforts in her country by pursuing debt relief/forgiveness for Liberia under the Heavily Indebted



Courtesy of Ellen Grigsby

City of the Dead, Cairo, Egypt. Cairo's vast cemetery is also home to many of the city's poor and otherwise homeless. The United Nations estimates that a billion people—more than one-third of all those living in urban areas—reside in slums.

SOURCE: On the growth in global urbanization and slum rates, see Mark Jacobson, "Dharavi: Mumbai's Shadow City: Some Call the Dharavi Slum an Embarrassing Eyesore in the Middle of India's Financial Capital. Its Residents Call it Home," *National Geographic* (May 2007).

Poor Countries Initiative, a program discussed in Chapter 12. Johnson Sirleaf's election was not the only milestone for feminist politics in recent years: Laura Chinchilla won the presidential election in Costa Rica in 2010, and Michelle Bachelet was elected Chile's first female president in 2006, the same year in which the women of Kuwait, for the first time in history, were accorded the right to vote in parliamentary elections.

Finally, imagine how differently you might view politics if yours were the experiences of Rahm Emanuel. Now the mayor of Chicago, Emanuel served as President Obama's chief of staff and as a member of the U.S. Congress. As 2007 Democratic Party Caucus Chair, he made a name for himself by working to dissuade Democratic politicians from appearing on Steven Colbert's *The Colbert Report*. His strategy was clear, for he knew that Colbert had roughly 1.2 million viewers and an uncanny skill for maneuvering politicians into embarrassing situations. Colbert once asked Illinois Representative Phil Hare, "If you could embalm anyone in Congress, who would it be?" Colbert asked Georgia Republican Lynn Westmoreland, a cosponsor of a bill that would have required the posting of the Ten Commandments in the nation's capital, to recite all ten and Westmoreland could come up with only three. Colbert coaxed Florida Democrat Robert Wexler to agree to complete the following sentence: "I like cocaine because . . ." Emanuel was determined to use his skills to prevent more Democrats from boosting Colbert's ratings.³



Gail Oskin/WireImage/Getty Images

Stephen Colbert's *The Colbert Report* subverts conventional presentations of "newsworthy" events.



The challenges of trying to view the world of politics from so many different perspectives—perspectives ranging from that of a resident of a dense urban setting to that of the member of a remote, isolated people; from the perspective of a high school student experiencing religious discrimination to that of an African head of state; from the perspective of an ambitious politician trying to build a powerful political party machine to that of a young man who volunteered for the armed forces but decided to follow conscience at whatever cost to his own personal status—have threatened to overwhelm the most experienced and respected of political scientists.⁴ As you read this text, keep in mind what political scientist David Easton has observed: Politics involves “change.”⁵ In an increasingly interdependent world, even those changes that appear essentially domestic in nature may resonate with international significance.⁶

Politics also involves decision making over the world's *resources*. Whereas we can look to Easton's comments to appreciate the concept of change as central to politics, we can also draw on the teachings of political scientist Harold Lasswell to consider that politics is about deciding who does and does not get access to what the world has to offer.⁷ Lasswell's insights are important for us to reflect on as we begin studying politics because they point us in the direction of questions both intriguing and disturbing in their complexity, such as why is an American citizen likely to live longer than a Liberian citizen? Politics, Lasswell's insights would tell us, has a lot to do with it. Life expectancy, access to safe water sources, and opportunities for jobs paying livable wages are all areas of our lives affected enormously by political decisions of the world's governments, as those governments make choices about how the world's resources are to be distributed and how conflict is

Box 1.1 Change and Politics**What Were U.S. Citizens Concerned About 100 Years Ago?**

Studying politics involves studying change—change in governments, laws, and political–social attitudes and opinions. An examination of public attitudes held by U.S. citizens 100 years ago reveals that our counterparts 100 years ago had much to worry about:

- Air pollution. *Filthy air seemed an inevitable part of city living. In 1881, New York’s State Board of Health found that air quality was compromised by fumes from sulfur, kerosene, manure, ammonia, and other smells, producing “an inclination to vomit.” The term smog was coined soon after the turn of the century, in 1905.*
- Crowding. *Busy city streets were hazardous. Pedestrians risked injury from trolleys and carriages. Indeed, Brooklyn’s beloved baseball team (the Trolley Dodgers) took its name from a dangerous, but unavoidable, urban practice of competing for scarce space with speeding trolleys.*
- Food impurities. *Americans of the late nineteenth century often found interesting additives in their basic foodstuffs. Milk, for example, was likely to contain chalk or plaster of Paris, in that both items could improve the appearance of milk produced from diseased cattle. Drunken cows were another problem. Distilleries often used waste products from whiskey production as cattle feed; milk from these cows could contain enough alcohol to intoxicate babies who consumed the milk.*
- Epidemics. *Smallpox and malaria were two diseases threatening Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. Women and men were vulnerable to these predators and were often fearful of losing their lives to diseases they could neither understand nor be assured of protection against.*
- Race relations. *Racism was pervasive as the twentieth century approached. Violence against African-Americans was widespread. Lynchings of African-Americans reached record numbers in the 1890s and declined with the turn of the century; from 1882 to 1968, however, 4,743 (of whom 3,446 were African-American) Americans were lynched.*
- Family stability. *In the years around 1900, approximately 20 percent of American children lived in orphanages because their parents were too poor to provide for them. In other families, children worked in factories and mines to supplement unstable family incomes. At the beginning of the twentieth century, approximately one-fourth of the employees in textile mills in the southern United States were children.*
- Household budgets. *Some historians have described the last half of the nineteenth century as the age of the “robber barons,” as millionaires such as Cornelius Vanderbilt, Andrew Carnegie, and John D. Rockefeller assumed positions of influence. As the nineteenth*

(Continued)

century closed, the gap between rich and poor was vast, as average Americans struggled and saved to pay their bills. Indeed, more than 80 percent of the country's wealth was controlled by just over 10 percent of the nation's households in 1890.

- Progress. X-rays, telephones, record players, electric lighting, combustible engines, and other inventions from the late nineteenth century promised to change life in the twentieth century. Americans had hopes that the changes would be for the good, as seen, for instance, in the optimism surrounding the World Fairs at which many of these inventions were showcased. At the same time, the new inventions could shock and frighten. One wonders, for instance, how many Americans could identify with the character in Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain* when he remarked that looking at an X-ray was like looking into the grave.

SOURCES: Otto Bettmann, *The Good Old Days—They Were Terrible* (New York: Random House, 1974); Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches, & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989); Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); Benjamin Schwarz, "American Inequality: Its History and Scary Future," *New York Times* (December 19, 1995): A19; Robert L. Zangrando, "Lynching," in *The Reader's Companion to American History*, eds. Eric Foner and John Garraty (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1991), pp. 684–686; Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Big Change, 1900–1950* (New York: Bantam, 1965), especially Chapters 1–4; Geoffrey C. Ward and Ken Burns, *Baseball: An Illustrated History* (New York: Knopf, 1994), p. xvii.

to be resolved. The world of politics consists of those governmental decisions that extend life expectancies or shorten them, enhance or reduce access to basic necessities, and implement a rule of law or violate it. In other words, politics involves the choices governments make in shaping the process whereby medicine, water, food, housing, and jobs are made available or unavailable to the world's people.

Indeed, politics encompasses all those decisions regarding how we make rules that govern our *common* life. These rules may be made in a democratic or authoritarian manner, may promote peace or violence, and may empower state or nonstate actors (such as trade associations, media representatives, and multinational corporations). Whatever the rules, however, politics is based on the recognition that our lives are shared, as long as we live in common, public spaces such as state territories. If you have traversed a public road, used books at a public library, stopped at a public street sign, or walked across a public university campus today, you have shared space and resources governed by politically made rules implemented by states. Thus, whether you are conscious of it or not, as you go about your days, you are immersed in politics. As the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle taught, in essence, we are political creatures, inhabiting a world of shared problems and possibilities.⁸

As you analyze politics, you will see that politics touches everything, as political scientist Robert Dahl once suggested.⁹ If you doubt Dahl's point, take a moment to think of an issue or topic that seems to have nothing to do with politics—it could

be art, love, emotion, or a myriad of topics seemingly personal and apolitical. If Dahl's observations are correct, by the end of this text you may well see politics enveloping even these aspects of your life.



This text seeks to introduce to you some of the ways in which political science analyzes politics by exploring different subfields of political science. This brief opening chapter introduces political science as a field of inquiry seeking to examine political processes in a manner that offers information without denying complexity and nuance. Chapter 2 looks at the ways in which political scientists analyze political data. Chapter 2 encourages readers to think about the process of thinking itself and to reflect on the proposition that the perspective from which you choose to view politics influences what you see; for example, traditionalists, behavioralists, and postbehavioralists may study the same political phenomenon but see different things. Chapter 3 examines key political science concepts such as power, states, and nations.

Chapter 4 explores a number of theoretical debates that have intrigued students of politics. For example, we will examine debates about whether governments should try to promote equality, and we will evaluate philosophical disagreements over whether governments should try to enforce public morality. In Chapters 5 through 7, we will analyze different political ideologies and see how liberalism, conservatism, socialism, fascism, feminism, and environmentalism differ in their views of politics, government, and citizenship.



Suzanne DeChillo/The New York Times

Artist Renee Cox has challenged political and cultural sensibilities through her art. In this photo, she is standing beside her work "Yo Mama's Last Supper." The former New York City Mayor—and 2008 Republican presidential hopeful—Rudolph Giuliani responded to Cox's work by raising questions about the appropriateness of displaying it in a publicly funded area. By articulating such questions, Giuliani suggested that the scope of politics—and the jurisdiction of government—includes setting boundaries on creative expression.

Box 1.2 What Is Political About That?

Many parts of our lives may, at first, appear apolitical. Very rarely is this true, however. Political decision making can include almost everything in its reach. Consider how politics touches the following ostensibly “nonpolitical” issues:

- *Art. Robert Mapplethorpe is one of several artists whose work has elicited debate between conservatives and liberals. Mapplethorpe’s portfolio includes photographs of gay men. Critics have often described these works as pornographic, whereas many supporters have countered that they are representations of gay erotica. Should public dollars be used to subsidize and promote such art? Politics involves making such decisions.*
- *Love. Two people in love may not believe that politics has anything to do with their relationship. However, politics greatly influences the ways in which love may be expressed. At what age may couples get married, for instance? Why can some couples (opposite-sex couples) get married in all 50 states within the United States, whereas others (same-sex couples) can marry in only some states? Governments answer such political questions.*
- *Emotion. What could be more personal than emotions? How can your emotions have anything to do with politics? Your emotions are very political if, for instance, you are accused of committing what the government defines as a crime. A person’s “state of mind” may be one of the variables considered when the state brings charges and makes recommendations for sentencing in criminal cases.*

Chapter 8 looks at variations in democratic and nondemocratic governments. Chapters 9 and 10 focus on comparisons of different aspects of citizen participation (such as voting) and government decision making (such as executive and legislative authority). These chapters discuss U.S. politics and government within the context of comparative analysis. By thinking about U.S. political issues from a comparative perspective, you can, perhaps, better view the United States as other countries might. You can assess U.S. government and political decision making as part of the larger political world, not in isolation from this world.

In Chapters 11 and 12, issues in international politics are examined. Realist and liberal debates on the nature of international affairs are scrutinized, as are questions concerning the place of the United Nations and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Globalization, media relations, and international economics are also discussed. For example, we will explore some of the dynamics by which the World Bank and other international financial institutions have become focal points for citizen groups wishing to discuss the connections among politics, change, resources,