OXFORD
Introduction to
POLITICS
Robert Garner
Peter Ferdinand
Stephanie Lawson
David B. MacDonald
Second Canadian Edition

Introduction to

POLITICS

Robert Garner
Peter Ferdinand
Stephanie Lawson
David B. MacDonald

Second Canadian Edition

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries.

Published in Canada by
Oxford University Press
8 Sampson Mews, Suite 204,
Don Mills, Ontario M3C 0H5 Canada

www.oupcanada.com

Copyright © Oxford University Press Canada 2017

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First Canadian Edition published in 2013

Introduction to Politics was originally published in English in 2009 by Oxford University Press Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, England, 0X2 6DP, with the ISBN 9780199231331. This adapted edition has been customized for Canada only and is published by arrangement with Oxford Publishing Limited. It may not be sold elsewhere. Oxford University Press Canada is solely responsible for this adaptation from the original work. Copyright © Robert Garner, Peter Ferdinand, Stephanie Lawson 2009

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Permissions Department at the address above
or through the following url: www.oupcanada.com/permission/permission_request.php

Every effort has been made to determine and contact copyright holders.
In the case of any omissions, the publisher will be pleased to make
suitable acknowledgement in future editions.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Garner, Robert, 1960-, author
Introduction to politics / Robert Garner, Peter Ferdinand,
Stephanie Lawson, and David MacDonald. – Second Canadian
edition.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-19-902173-4 (paperback)

1. Political science – Textbooks. 2. International relations –
Textbooks. I. Lawson, Stephanie, author II. Ferdinand, Peter, author
II. MacDonald, David B., 1973-, author IV. Title.

JA66.G37 2016 *320* C2016-904359-2

Cover image: Rachel Husband/Getty Images

Oxford University Press is committed to our environment.
Wherever possible, our books are printed on paper which comes from
responsible sources.

Printed and bound in the United States of America

1 2 3 4 — 20 19 18 17

Contents Overview

List of Boxes *xiv*
List of Tables *xvii*
About the Authors *xxiv*

INTRODUCTION What Is Politics and How Should We Analyze It? *1*

PART I | Political Concepts and Ideas *17*

Introduction *17*
Chapter 1 Politics and the State *19*
Chapter 2 Political Power, Authority, and the State *40*
Chapter 3 Democracy and Our Relationship to the State *55*
Chapter 4 Freedom and Justice *71*
Chapter 5 Traditional and Western Ideologies *87*
Chapter 6 Alternatives to the Mainstream Western Ideologies *108*

PART II | Comparative Politics *133*

Introduction *133*
Chapter 7 Institutions and States *135*
Chapter 8 Key Elements of the State: Laws, Constitutions, and Federalism *160*
Chapter 9 Legislatures and Legislators *183*
Chapter 10 Bureaucracies, Policymaking, and Governance *205*
Chapter 11 Voting, Elections, and Political Parties *218*
Chapter 12 Civil Society, Interest Groups, and the Media *238*
Chapter 13 Political Culture *261*

PART III | International Relations *281*

Introduction *281*
Chapter 14 Sovereignty, the State, and International Order *283*
Chapter 15 Traditional Theories of International Relations *303*
Chapter 16 Alternative Approaches to International Relations *322*
Chapter 17 Security and Insecurity *342*
Chapter 18 Diplomacy and Foreign Policy *362*
Chapter 19 International Organizations *383*
Chapter 20 International Political Economy *404*

CONCLUSION *425*

Glossary *433*
References *439*
Index *459*

Detailed Contents

List of Boxes *xiv*
List of Tables *xvii*
Publisher's Preface *xviii*
About the Authors *xxiv*
Acknowledgements *xxvi*

Introduction What Is Politics and How Should We Analyze It? *1*

Chapter Outline *1*
Chapter Overview *1*
Why Is Politics So Hard to Define? *2*
Is Politics Unavoidable? *3*
Political Questions *4*
Boundaries of the Political: State, Society, and the International Community *6*
The Study of Politics *9*
The Rise and Fall of Normative Analysis *9*
Empirical and Semantic Analysis *11*
Deductive and Inductive Theories of Politics *12*
Can Politics Be a Science? *14*
Conclusion *15*
Key Questions *15*
Further Reading *15*
Web Links *16*

PART ONE | Political Concepts and Ideas *17*

Introduction *17*

Chapter 1 Politics and the State *19*

Chapter Outline *19*
Chapter Overview *19*
The Political Importance of the State *20*
A Typology of the State *20*
Theories of the State *23*
The Role of the State: What Should the State Do? *31*
The Future of the State *36*
Conclusion *38*
Key Questions *38*
Further Reading *38*
Web Links *39*

Chapter 2 Political Power, Authority, and the State *40*

Chapter Outline *40*
Chapter Overview *40*
Power and Authority *41*
Conceptual Questions about Power *44*
Power and Theories of the State *46*
Pluralism and Lukes's Three Dimensions of Power *47*
Interests and Power *51*
Socialism and Power *52*
Conclusion *54*
Key Questions *54*
Further Reading *54*
Web Link *54*

Chapter 3 Democracy and Our Relationship to the State *55*

Chapter Outline *55*
Chapter Overview *55*
What Is Democracy? *56*
Historical Background *59*
Competing Theories of Democracy *62*
Deliberative Democracy *64*
Why Is Democracy Thought to Be Special? *66*
Is Democracy Special? The Problem of Majority Rule *67*
Cosmopolitan Democracy *68*
Conclusion *69*
Key Questions *70*
Further Reading *70*
Web Links *70*

Chapter 4 Freedom and Justice *71*

Chapter Outline *71*
Chapter Overview *71*
Constraints on Freedom *72*
Negative and Positive Freedom *74*
Is Freedom Special? *75*
The Meaning of Justice *79*
Rawls's Theory of Justice *80*
Critiques of Rawls *81*
Alternative Theories of Justice *82*
Conclusion *85*
Key Questions *85*
Further Reading *85*
Web Links *86*

Chapter 5 Traditional and Western Ideologies *87*

Chapter Outline *87*
Chapter Overview *87*
What Is an Ideology? *88*
Liberalism *89*
Socialism *91*
Conservatism *95*
Nationalism *99*
Fascism *102*
Anarchism *105*
Conclusion *106*
Key Questions *106*
Further Reading *106*
Web Links *107*

Chapter 6 Alternatives to the Mainstream Western Ideologies *108*

Chapter Outline *108*
Chapter Overview *108*
Postmodernism *110*
Feminism *112*
Environmentalism *118*
Multiculturalism *122*
Religious Fundamentalism *127*
Conclusion *130*
Key Questions *131*
Further Reading *131*
Web Links *132*

PART TWO | Comparative Politics *133*

Introduction *133*

Chapter 7 Institutions and States *135*

Chapter Outline *135*
Chapter Overview *135*
Understanding Institutions: Informal and Formal *136*
States *139*
The Rise of the European State *140*
The Spread of the European State Model *142*
The Modern State *148*
The Democratic State *154*
Conclusion *158*
Key Questions *158*
Further Reading *158*
Web Links *159*

Chapter 8 Key Elements of the State: Laws, Constitutions, and Federalism *160*

Chapter Outline *160*
Chapter Overview *160*
Law and Politics *161*
Constitutions *165*
Fundamental Rights *168*
Constitutional Courts and Judicial Review *170*
Legal Adjudication of Political Problems *171*
Federalism, Consociational Democracy, and Asymmetrical Decentralization *173*
Conclusion: The Legalization of Political Life *178*
Key Questions *180*
Further Reading *181*
Web Links *181*

Chapter 9 Legislatures and Legislators *183*

Chapter Outline *183*
Chapter Overview *183*
The Functions of Legislatures *184*
Types of Legislatures *197*
The Structure of Legislatures *198*
Legislators *201*
Conclusion *202*
Key Questions *203*
Further Reading *204*
Web Links *204*

Chapter 10 Bureaucracies, Policymaking, and Governance *205*

Chapter Outline *205*
Chapter Overview *205*
The Civil Service *206*
"Embedded Autonomy" *209*
Theories of Bureaucratic Policymaking *209*
"Agencification" *212*
Governance *213*
Policy Communities, "Iron Triangles," and Issue Networks *214*
Conclusion: Toward a Network State? *216*
Key Questions *217*
Further Reading *217*
Web Links *217*

Chapter 11 Voting, Elections, and Political Parties *218*

Chapter Outline *218*
Chapter Overview *218*
The Voting Paradox *219*
Elections *220*
Political Parties *222*
Emergence of Parties *224*
Functions of Parties *226*
Party Systems *230*
Problems Facing Parties *232*
Conclusion *236*
Key Questions *236*
Further Reading *236*
Web Links *237*

Chapter 12 Civil Society, Interest Groups, and the Media *238*

Chapter Outline *238*
Chapter Overview *238*
Civil Society *239*
Interest Groups *245*
Modern Corporatism *247*
Infrapolitics and Subaltern Studies: The State Viewed from Below *248*
The Impact of the Media *251*
The Challenge of New Technologies *253*
Conclusion *258*
Key Questions *259*
Further Reading *259*
Web Links *260*

Chapter 13 Political Culture *261*

Chapter Outline *261*
Chapter Overview *261*
Civic Culture and Political Culture *262*
Challenges to the Concept of Political Culture *264*
The Persisting Significance of Political Culture *273*
Conclusion *278*
Key Questions *278*
Further Reading *279*
Web Links *279*

PART THREE | International Relations *281*

Introduction *281*

Chapter 14 Sovereignty, the State, and International Order *283*

Chapter Outline *283*
Chapter Overview *283*
Discipline, Definitions, and Subject Matter *284*
States and International Systems in World History *288*
The Rise of Modernity and the State System in Europe *295*
The Emergence of Sovereignty *296*
The Globalization of the Sovereign State System *299*
Conclusion *301*
Key Questions *301*
Further Reading *301*
Web Links *302*

Chapter 15 Traditional Theories of International Relations *303*

Chapter Outline *303*
Chapter Overview *303*
Liberalism and the Rise of International Relations *304*
The Realist Turn *308*
Behaviouralism versus Normative Analysis *313*
The English School and the Idea of International Society *314*
Neoliberalism and Neorealism *317*
Conclusion *320*
Key Questions *320*
Further Reading *321*
Web Links *321*

Chapter 16 Alternative Approaches to International Relations *322*

Chapter Outline *322*
Chapter Overview *322*
Socialism *323*
Critical Theory *324*
Constructivism *327*
Feminism and Gender Theory *329*

Postmodernism/Poststructuralism 335
Postcolonial Theory 339
Conclusion 339
Key Questions 340
Further Reading 340
Web Links 341

Chapter 17 Security and Insecurity 342

Chapter Outline 342
Chapter Overview 342
Security, Insecurity, and Power Politics 343
The United Nations and Collective Security 345
The UN Security Council 346
The Role of NATO 350
Alternative Approaches to Security 351
Post–Cold War Conflicts 356
From State Security to Human Security 356
Security and Insecurity after 9/11 357
Conclusion 360
Key Questions 360
Further Reading 361
Web Links 361

Chapter 18 Diplomacy and Foreign Policy 362

Chapter Outline 362
Chapter Overview 362
Diplomacy and Statecraft in International History 363
Diplomacy in the Contemporary World 365
Cold War Diplomacy 368
Summit Diplomacy 372
Public Diplomacy 374
Foreign Policy 376
The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy 379
Conclusion 381
Key Questions 381
Further Reading 382
Web Links 382

Chapter 19 International Organizations 383

Chapter Outline 383
Chapter Overview 383
What Is an International Organization? 384
The Emergence of International Organizations 386
Colonialism and the Spread of European Power 388
Intergovernmental Organizations 390

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) 398
Social Movements and International Civil Society 400
Conclusion 401
Key Questions 402
Further Reading 402
Web Links 402

Chapter 20 International Political Economy 404

Chapter Outline 404
Chapter Overview 404
International Relations and the Study of IPE 405
The Age of Mercantilism 406
The Rise of Liberal Political Economy 408
Critical IPE 411
The Postwar International Economic Order 414
The North–South Gap 416
Globalization and Regionalization in the Post–Cold War World 418
Conclusion 422
Key Questions 423
Further Reading 423
Web Links 424

Conclusion 425

Chapter Outline 425
Chapter Overview 425
Politics in Context 426
Globalization 427
The New Medievalism 429
The Rise of the Global South 430
The Study of Politics in a Globalizing World 432

Glossary 433
References 439
Index 459

List of Boxes

KEY QUOTE BOXES

0.1 Defining Politics: A Few Opinions *4*

1.4 David Held on Mary Wollstonecraft *33*

1.5 State of Nature or State of Man? J. Ann Tickner on How Women Can Change Perceptions and Bring Peace *34*

2.4 The Third Face of Power *50*

3.4 Canada's Three Referendums over a Century *64*

5.2 Marx's Vision of Communism *92*

6.5 Rise of the Islamic State of Iran and the Levant *130*

7.3 Colonial "Sea Pirates" *144*

7.6 Hillary Clinton Compares Electoral Corruption in Nigeria and the United States *155*

8.1 Indigenous Governance Models in Canada *162*

8.3 Anthony King Defines *Constitution* *165*

9.1 Should the Minister of Indigenous Affairs Be Indigenous? *186*

9.6 Qualifications for the US Senate *200*

10.1 Max Weber on the Efficiency of Modern Bureaucratic Organization *207*

11.2 Nyerere on Party Politics *223*

11.7 Is the United States Still a Democracy? *235*

12.2 Mrs. Universe 2015 Calls for Change *241*

12.3 On the Fraser Institute *247*

12.5 *Rolling Stone* on the Internet and Authoritarian States *256*

13.2 The Battle over the Confederate Flag *266*

14.1 The Case for a Specialized Discipline of International Relations *284*

14.2 Peter Singer's One World *285*

14.4 A "Band of Brothers": New Zealand's Prime Minister Declares Support for Britain *293*

15.3 The Melian Dialogue *310*

15.4 Hans J. Morgenthau on Power Politics *312*

15.5 Hedley Bull on the Society of States *314*

15.6 Thinking about Theory with Canadian English School Theorist Barry Buzan *316*

16.2 Robert Cox Explains How He Developed His Internationalist Approach to the Study of IR *326*

17.5 Green Party Leader Elizabeth May on the Conservative Environmental Record *355*

18.1 Kautilya on an Ancient Principle of Diplomacy *363*

18.2 Indigenous Diplomacies *364*

18.3 The ASEAN Way *367*

18.4 The "Munsinger Affair" *370*

18.5 FBI Breaks Up a Russian Spy Ring in New York City *371*

18.7 Nye on "Soft Power" *374*

19.1 Preamble to the Charter of the United Nations *392*

19.2 The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) *394*

20.2 "Should Tiger Woods Mow His Own Lawn?" *409*

20.3 David Ricardo on Comparative Advantage *410*

20.6 Is the Trans-Pacific Partnership Good for Canada? *419*

KEY CONCEPT BOXES

0.2 Aristotle's Classification of Governments *5*

0.3 Civil Society *7*

0.4 Positivism *10*

0.5 Behaviouralism *12*

1.3 Natural Rights *33*

1.6 Communitarianism *36*

2.2 Weber on Authority *43*

2.3 The First Face of Power and Its Critics *48*

3.2 The Utilitarian Theory of Democracy *61*

3.3 Advocates of the Protective and Participatory Theories of Democracy *62*

3.5 Six Big Changes the Charter of Rights Has Brought *68*

4.1 Freedom and Cultural Pluralism *76*

5.1 Enlightenment *88*

5.6 Elitism in Political Thought *103*

5.7 Nazism and the Biological State *104*

6.1 Ontology, Epistemology, and Foundationalism *110*

6.2 Fordism *111*

6.3 Anthropocentrism *119*

7.1 The Libyan Revolution of 2011 and the Civil War of 2014 *137*

7.2 The Governmental Innovations of the American Revolution *141*

8.2 Eight Requirements for Just Laws *164*

8.5 Features of Consociationalism *177*

9.2 Women and Representation: But What Type? *187*

9.3 The State of Gender Representation in 2015 *188*

9.5 Reforming the Canadian Senate *199*

10.2 Key Features of New Public Management *211*

10.3 The Elements of Good Governance *214*

11.1 Types of Electoral Systems *220*

11.3 Functions of Political Parties *226*

11.5 Typology of Political Parties *229*

13.1 The Four Pairs of Values of the Civic Culture *263*

13.4 The EU's Copenhagen Criteria for New Members *274*

14.3 Article 11, Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, 1933 *286*

17.1 Treaties and Alliances *344*

17.2 UN Peacemaking, Peacekeeping, and Peacebuilding *348*

17.3 History: Reformulating NATO's Strategic Concept *351*

17.4 New Zealand and the Anti-Nuclear Movement *352*

18.8 Canada's Special Relationship with the United States *378*

18.9 EU Common Foreign and Security Policy: Achievements in 2014 *380*

19.3 The Crime of Genocide in International Law *396*

20.1 The Rise of Mercantilism *407*

20.7 China's Growing Influence in the Developing World *420*

BIOGRAPHY BOXES

1.2 Milovan Djilas *28*

4.3 John Rawls *80*

5.3 Tommy Douglas *94*

5.4 Edmund Burke *95*

15.1 Woodrow Wilson *305*

16.1 Antonio Gramsci *325*

CASE STUDIES

1.1 Corporatism: Europe versus North America *26*

2.1 The Supreme Court of Canada: Authority, Power, and Legitimacy *42*

3.1 Singapore as an Illiberal Democracy *57*

4.2 Smoking and Liberty *78*

4.4 Climate Change and Justice *83*

5.5 Canadian Social Liberalism versus American Conservatism *97*

6.4 Whaling and Environmental Ethics *120*

7.4 A Turkish Model for Iraq? *146*

7.5 Somalia as a Failed State *152*

7.7 Brexit: Great Britain Votes to Leave the European Union *156*

8.4 Collapse of the Former Yugoslavia *176*

9.4 Presidentialism in the Philippines *192*

11.4 Uganda as a No-Party State *227*

11.6 Venezuela and the Downfall of Liberal Democracy *234*

12.1 Civil Society and the Collapse of Communism *240*

12.4 The Fall of Joseph Estrada *255*

13.3 Political Culture and the Collapse of Soviet Communism *271*

14.5 The Peace of Westphalia *296*

15.2 Liberal Theory and the League of Nations *307*

16.3 Gender and Genocide in the Bosnian War, 1992–5 *334*

16.4 Positioning Iraq in the Metanarrative of the War on Terror *337*

17.6 The Rise of Al-Qaeda and Islamic Militancy *359*

18.6 Arab–Israeli Relations, Summit Diplomacy, and the Camp David Accords *373*

19.4 The Origins and Development of the Red Cross/Red Crescent Movement *399*

20.4 Globalization, Labour Markets, and Gender *413*

20.5 The WTO and the Global Trading Regime *414*

List of Tables

0.1 Aristotle's Classificatory Schema *5*

2.1 The Pluralist Decision-Making Approach *48*

2.2 Pluralism and Issue Preferences *48*

6.1 The Political Representation of Women in the Canadian House of Commons, 1984–2015 *113*

6.2 Political Representation of Women in Parliaments, 2015 *114*

7.1 Index of State Weakness in the Developing World *151*

8.1 Federalism among the Ten Largest States in the World by Territory *175*

8.2 List of Federations *175*

9.1 Confidence in Parliament, 2005–2007 *202*

10.1 Growth of General Government Expenditure in Selected Countries, 1870–1996 (per cent of GDP) *206*

11.1 Hypothetical Distribution of Votes *219*

11.2 Membership Trends in European Parties, 1980–2000 *233*

14.1 A Brief Guide to Historical Empires *291*

Publisher's Preface

Welcome to the second Canadian edition of *Introduction to Politics*. The work of four political scientists from Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom, it is truly an international introduction to the discipline. The text covers fundamental political concepts and ideologies before examining political institutions through historical and comparative perspectives. It then provides an overview of international relations. With increased content on alternatives to mainstream western ideologies, Indigenous people, and minority groups, this new edition provides an inclusive, wide-ranging introduction to politics accompanied by a variety of learning features designed to help you navigate the text material, hone your critical skills, and deepen your understanding of how politics affects your life.

A Guided Tour

A variety of learning features will help you navigate the text material and reinforce your comprehension of it. To get the most out of this book, take advantage of these features:

CHAPTER 16

Alternative Approaches to International Relations

- Socialism 323
- Critical Theory 324
- Constructivism 327
- Feminism and Gender Theory 329
- Postmodernism/Poststructuralism 334
- Postcolonial Theory 339
- Conclusion 339
- Key Questions 340
- Further Reading 340
- Web Links 341

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Many students of IR find traditional theory unsatisfying and inaccurate in its account of world politics. While liberal and realist theorists of IR probe each other's ideas for faults and weaknesses, both see a similar world: an international order of sovereign states interacting under supposed conditions of anarchy. Neither theory has challenged capitalism and its implications for the global economy, nor do they address gender or racial inequality. Questions of colonialism and the rights of Indigenous peoples are also sidelined, if discussed at all.

With the exception of socialism and Indigenous critiques, major challenges to traditional approaches did

▲ A propaganda poster commemorating the 60th anniversary of the Vietnamese victory at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu (© Ian Simpson/Alamy Stock Photo).

CHAPTER OVERVIEWS indicate the scope of coverage in every chapter by identifying the key concepts and central debates surrounding the topic at hand.

KEY CONCEPT BOX 20.7

China's Growing Influence in the Developing World

The People's Republic of China has stocked up some $3.65 trillion in foreign reserves. This is allowing China to compete with the United States and its European allies in a variety of ways, including a higher GDP when viewed through purchasing power parity. From 2000 to 2014 China's exports and imports grew from 3 to 10 per cent of all goods traded around the world. China is now the largest trading partner for 124 countries, easily eclipsing the United States. In terms of tactical investments, China has been investing heavily in African infrastructure ($26 billion in 2013) and is developing strong ties with Latin America, promising an investment of $250 billion in the near future. As *Time* reports:

> China also wants to use its money to reshape the world's financial architecture. To that end, Beijing just launched the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank to rival the Washington-based IMF and World Bank. Given that 57 countries have signed up as founding members, some of them US allies who chose to ignore US objections, it's well on its way. (Bremmer, 2015)

Meanwhile, many people in Western countries are wondering what the rise of the Asian economies means for them. Is Asia rising at the expense of the West, or will its new powerful economies benefit everyone through technological advances and cheaper prices? The latest survey by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (Kafura & Smeltz, 2015) suggests that Americans are generally supportive of globalization and have become more optimistic since the financial crisis of 2008:

> Americans believe economic strength (77%) is more important than military strength (23%) to a nation's power and influence in the world, and seven in ten (72%, up 5 points since 2012) say that signing free trade agreements is an effective means to achieve foreign policy objectives. Americans also express broad support for globalization and free trade. As the US economy continues to recover from the largest global economic collapse since the 1930s, public views on globalization have returned to 2004 levels. Two out of three Americans say that globalization is mostly a good thing (65% vs. 34% bad thing), the highest recorded percentage to feel this way since the question was first asked in 1998. (Kafura & Smeltz, 2015)

Though some have seen regionalization as leading to the formation of rival trading blocs and hence as a threat to "the multilateral order," others find it to be perfectly compatible with global integration (Haggard, 1997, p. 20). Indeed, in some parts of the world it is regarded as promoting participation in a globalized economy by creating opportunities for economic growth via free trade and other arrangements within a regional framework. From this perspective regionalization itself is part of the broader globalization process.

Regionalization is proceeding in Africa, the Americas, North Africa, and the Middle East; in the regions of the former USSR, including Central Asia, South Asia, Southeast and East Asia; and in the Pacific and Caribbean. There are also organizations covering huge swathes of the globe. The Asia–Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, for example, has grown from an initial membership of 12 when it was formed in 1989 to a cur-

"KEY CONCEPT BOXES" elaborate on important themes and ideas introduced in the narrative.

KEY QUOTE BOX 18.2

Indigenous Diplomacies

Acclaimed writer Leanne Betasamosake Simpson of Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg ancestry describes the complex diplomatic protocols and practices of Indigenous peoples in what is now Canada, both before and after colonization:

> Each nation has its own spiritual and political mechanisms, rooted in its own unique legal system, for maintaining the boundaries of territory, for immigration and citizenship, and for developing and maintaining relationships with other nations regarding territory, the protection of shared lands, economy, and well-being, among many other things. Indigenous diplomatic traditions generate peace by rebalancing conflict between parties. Spiritual and social practices such as storytelling, the oral tradition, ceremonies, feasting, and gift-giving are designed to bond people together toward a common understanding. Our diplomacy concerns itself with reconciliation, restitution, mediation, negotiation, and maintaining sacred and political alliances between peoples. (Simpson, 2013)

Most analyses of diplomatic history have focused on developments in Europe, partly because the European state system has been so dominant through colonization and other forms of expansion of influence. This is so partly because norms and negotiating practices in contemporary diplomacy reflect long-established European practices (including the use of English and French as the standard languages of diplomacy).

The first formal diplomatic practices in early modern Europe were developed in Italy, where resident embassies were established by the 1450s. Niccolò Machiavelli was among the most experienced diplomats of his time as well as one of the most famous commentators on statecraft. In addition to serving on bodies that oversaw the conduct of Florence's war efforts between 1500 and 1511, Machiavelli acted as a government envoy on 35 missions, including missions to France, the Papal Court, and the German Emperor (Miller, 1991, p. 303). The prime responsibility of an ambassador as a servant of the state was well understood by this time.

The practice of maintaining embassies quickly spread to other parts of Europe, where it became part and parcel of the sovereign state system (Mattingley, 1955, p. 10). In seventeenth-century France, the administrative machinery for managing foreign policy took on a more advanced form under the guidance of one of diplomatic history's foremost figures, Cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642). Richelieu famously established a system characterized by a continuous flow of information both in and out of Paris, careful record-keeping, and a unified system of management under his control. This type of bureaucratic centralization was largely absent elsewhere in Europe, where effective centralized government barely existed and foreign policy often depended "on the coming and going of court favourites, the whim of a monarch and accidents of administrative chaos—to name just three possibilities" (Langhorne, 2000, p. 37).

Another significant development was the consolidation of the notion of *raison d'état*. As we have seen, this reflected the idea that the state amounted to more than its ruler and that its needs should therefore come before the wishes of the king or (occasionally) queen (Craig & George, 1990, p. 5). The term subsequently became associated with realist ideas

"KEY QUOTE BOXES" provide insightful observations from political actors and scholars in a sidebar format that does not interrupt the flow of the discussion.

the marketization of China—the only

llectual Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937).
eation of hegemony by elites, Gramsci
ntrol, even in the absence of constant
m natural, inevitable, and even right.
o control "hearts and minds" resonates
ness, Gramsci emphasized the consen-
ee Box 16.1.
economist Robert W. Cox, have found
tions of hegemony focused on material
Gramsci's cultural hegemony opened
s and ideas in the international sphere.
ys for someone, and *for* some purpose"
d what he meant: "[T]here is no theory for itself . . . There is no neutral theory concerning human affairs, no theory of universal validity. Theory derives from practice and experience, and experience is related to time and place. Theory is a part of history" (Cox, 2010). In other words, theorists are never neutral in their selection and interpretation of facts around us, and since their theories reflect subjective values and interests they tend to support those values and interests. If facts and values do not exist independently of each other, it follows that no theory can be "value-free" and no knowledge can be totally objective.

Realism, Cox suggests, is an *ideology of the status quo*. It supports the existing international order and therefore the interests of those who prosper under it. Furthermore, because it perceives the existing order as *natural*, inevitable, and unchanging, it sees any difficulties that arise within the order as problems to be solved within the parameters of that order; the order itself does not come under challenge. By contrast, Cox and other critical theorists insist that no order is "natural" or immune to change. All political orders, whatever

BIOGRAPHY BOX 16.1

Antonio Gramsci

Antonio Gramsci was a political theorist and activist who at one time served as the leader of the Italian Communist Party. Deeply opposed to fascism, he was imprisoned under Mussolini's regime. His notes and essays were collected and published posthumously as *Prison Notebooks*. Gramsci accepted Marx's analysis of capitalism and the idea that struggle between the ruling and working classes was the driving force of society. But he rejected the materialist basis of Marxist theory, including the notion of an "objective reality" that could be described "scientifically," arguing that "reality" does not exist independently of human interest, purpose, or interpretation. Similarly, he drew attention to the danger of believing that society as we know it is the way it should be, of assuming "that it is 'natural' that [what exists] should exist, that it could not do otherwise than exist" (Gramsci, 1967). The Gramscian theory of cultural hegemony combines coercion and consent to explain how the dominated (the masses) come to accept their subordination by an elite, as well as the values of that elite, as part of the natural order of things.

"BIOGRAPHY BOXES" provide the context to assess the contributions of major political figures and theorists.

CASE STUDY 3.1

Singapore as an Illiberal Democracy

The city-state of Singapore declared independence from Britain in 1963. Since then, its political institutions have been impeccably democratic on the surface, with *plurality*-based elections and a Westminster system of Parliament, cabinet, and prime minister. Yet one party, the People's Action Party (PAP), has won control of Parliament in every election, and one individual, the late Lee Kuan Yew, was prime minister from 1959 to 1990, making him the longest-serving prime minister in the world. The current prime minister, Lee Hsien Loong, is the eldest son of Lee Kuan Yew and has served as head of government since 2004. As a result, opposition parties have argued that it is essentially a one-party state. Of course, the fact that one party has remained in power for decades is not necessarily inconsistent with liberal democracy—voters may really like the government and want to see it continue in power. The opposition parties may not represent a viable alternative to the government. However, elements of Singapore's politics suggest that it is a classic example of an illiberal democracy, containing elements of both democracy and authoritarianism.

© Chris Pancho/iStockphoto

PHOTO 3.1 | Singapore is an extremely wealthy and ultra-modern city-state, but its democratic credentials are questionable.

Although elections are not rigged, the PAP has been accused of manipulating the political system through censorship (the broadcasting media are state-owned, newspapers are heavily controlled, and the use of satellite receivers is illegal), gerrymandering (where constituency boundaries are altered to benefit the ruling party), and use of the judicial system against opposition politicians. As for liberal democratic values, freedom of speech is heavily curtailed and the penal system (which includes capital punishment) is draconian. In general, economic development (where there has been huge progress) is given a higher priority than democratic development.

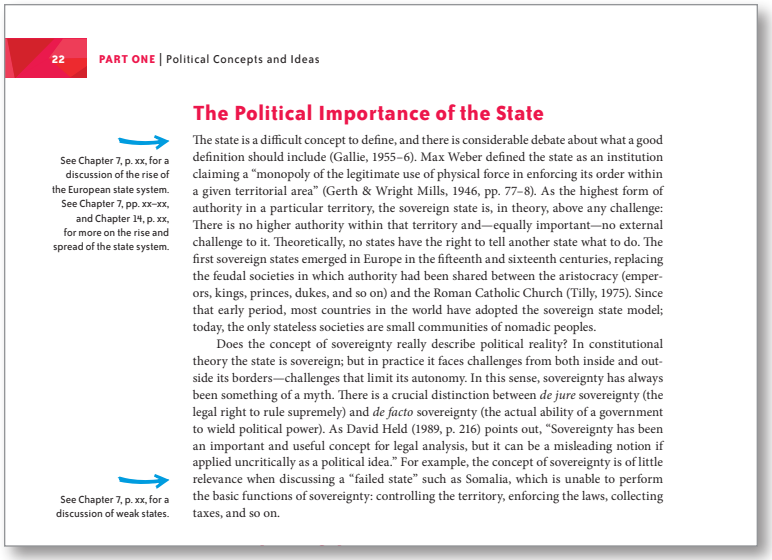
Sources: *abc News* (2011); Mauzy & Milne (2002); Worthington (2002).

CASE STUDIES demonstrate how abstract political ideas and theories play out in the real world.

KEY POINTS

- Members of legislatures represent the wider society, to which they are typically connected through territorial districts.
- Legislators' legitimacy is based in part on the assumption that they are also representative of society.
- Ethnic and racial minorities, as well as Indigenous peoples, are often underrepresented in Western settler legislatures, while white male representation is normally higher than their proportion of the population would suggest is fair.
- The introduction of quotas to increase recruitment of women in legislatures may lead to measures to do the same for other groups that are currently underrepresented.
- Appointed chambers such as the British House of Lords or the Canadian Senate have come under increasing scrutiny for being unrepresentative and therefore not as legitimate as they could be.

"KEY POINTS" BOXES throughout each chapter allow readers to review the essential ideas and arguments of the preceding section.


22 PART ONE | Political Concepts and Ideas

The Political Importance of the State

See Chapter 7, p. xx, for a discussion of the rise of the European state system. See Chapter 7, pp. xx–xx, and Chapter 14, p. xx, for more on the rise and spread of the state system.

The state is a difficult concept to define, and there is considerable debate about what a good definition should include (Gallie, 1955–6). Max Weber defined the state as an institution claiming a "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in enforcing its order within a given territorial area" (Gerth & Wright Mills, 1946, pp. 77–8). As the highest form of authority in a particular territory, the sovereign state is, in theory, above any challenge: There is no higher authority within that territory and—equally important—no external challenge to it. Theoretically, no states have the right to tell another state what to do. The first sovereign states emerged in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, replacing the feudal societies in which authority had been shared between the aristocracy (emperors, kings, princes, dukes, and so on) and the Roman Catholic Church (Tilly, 1975). Since that early period, most countries in the world have adopted the sovereign state model; today, the only stateless societies are small communities of nomadic peoples.

Does the concept of sovereignty really describe political reality? In constitutional theory the state is sovereign; but in practice it faces challenges from both inside and outside its borders—challenges that limit its autonomy. In this sense, sovereignty has always been something of a myth. There is a crucial distinction between *de jure* sovereignty (the legal right to rule supremely) and *de facto* sovereignty (the actual ability of a government to wield political power). As David Held (1989, p. 216) points out, "Sovereignty has been an important and useful concept for legal analysis, but it can be a misleading notion if applied uncritically as a political idea." For example, the concept of sovereignty is of little relevance when discussing a "failed state" such as Somalia, which is unable to perform the basic functions of sovereignty: controlling the territory, enforcing the laws, collecting taxes, and so on.

See Chapter 7, p. xx, for a discussion of weak states.

CROSS-REFERENCES in the margins make connections between ideas introduced in different chapters as a way to deepen understanding of recurring topics and themes. Page references and colour-coding aid navigation.

- **KEY QUESTIONS** at the end of every chapter help you assess your comprehension, and may also be used as topics for seminar discussions and coursework.
- **FURTHER READING** lists at the end of each chapter include annotations that can help you find the most useful sources for particular topics.
- **WEB LINKS** at the end of each chapter guide you to relevant learning material on the Web.
- **KEY TERMS** (bolded on their first appearance in each chapter) are defined at the end of the book in a glossary that will be especially useful when you're preparing for exams.

Online Resource Centre

This book is the central element of a complete learning and teaching package. Online supplements for instructors and students—including a test generator, online simulations of political situations, and links to speeches, debates, and special lectures—extend learning opportunities beyond the page. These ancillary materials are available on the companion website: www.oupcanada.com/Garner2Ce.

For Students

Student Study Guide

- Detailed chapter outlines are accompanied by questions that will help you test your grasp of the ideas discussed in the text.

Political Simulations

- Interactive simulations guide you through the complexities and strategies of various political processes.

Practice Quizzes

- Multiple-choice questions for each chapter allow you to test your understanding of the material as a way to review for tests and exams.

For Instructors

Instructor's Manual

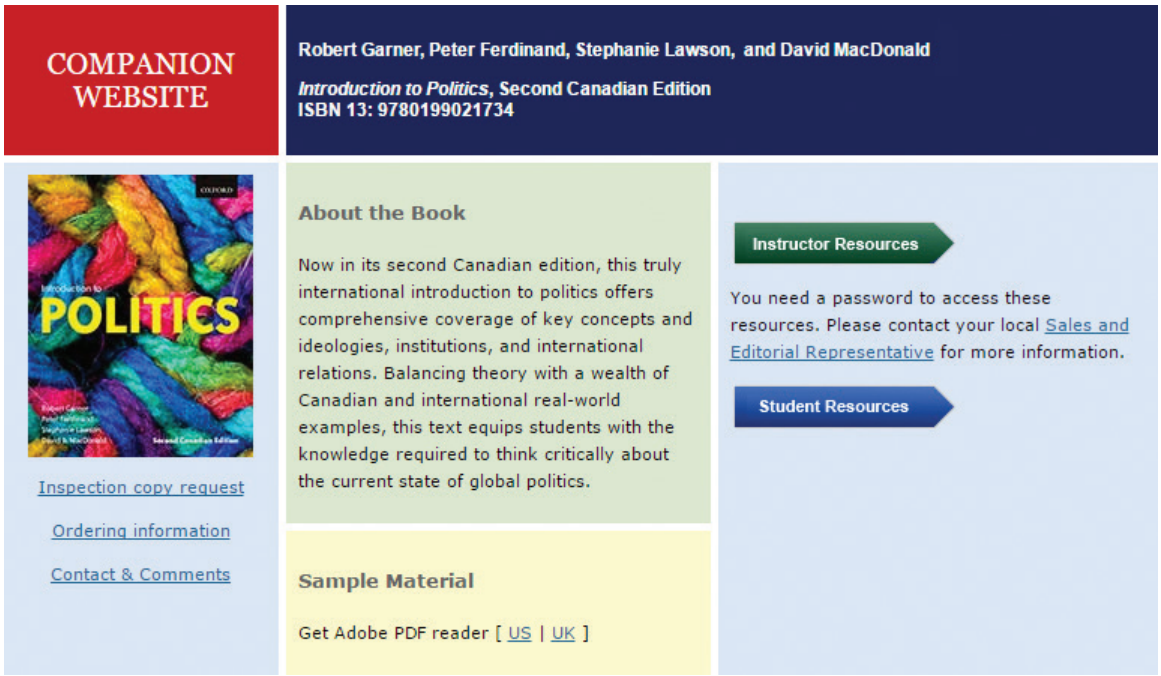
- This online guide includes detailed outlines of the various parts and chapters, along with chapter-specific questions designed to encourage classroom discussion and debate.

Presentation Slides

- A suite of customizable PowerPoint slides, arranged by chapter, provides an array of summary pages that can be presented as part of a lecture or distributed as handouts.

Test Generator

- A comprehensive set of multiple-choice, true-or-false, short-answer, and essay questions, with suggested answers, allows instructors to create customized tests for each chapter.



www.oupcanada.com/Garner2Ce

About the Authors

Robert Garner

Robert Garner is Professor of Politics at the University of Leicester in the UK. He was previously at the Universities of Buckingham and Exeter. He has published widely in the area of environmental politics in general and the politics and philosophy of animal rights in particular. His books include *A Theory of Justice for Animals* (2013), *Environmental Politics: The Age of Climate Change* (2011), *The Political Theory of Animal Rights* (2005), *Animal Ethics* (2005), and *Animals, Politics, and Morality* (2004).

Peter Ferdinand

Peter Ferdinand is Reader in Politics and International Studies and former Director of the Centre for Studies in Democratization at the University of Warwick in the UK. A former Head of the Asia–Pacific Program at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, he is the author of *Governance in Pacific Asia* (2012) and *Communist Regimes in Comparative Perspective: The Evolution of the Soviet, Chinese and Yugoslav Models* (1992) and has edited a number of books on politics and political economy in Taiwan, Central Asia, and Hong Kong. He is also the editor of *The Internet, Democracy, and Democratization* (2000). His interests are in the politics of Pacific Asia, the former Soviet Union, democratization, political economy, and new rising world powers.

Stephanie Lawson

Stephanie Lawson is Professor of Politics and International Relations at Macquarie University, Sydney. She has also held teaching and research appointments at the University of Birmingham, the University of East Anglia, the Australian National University, and the University of New England. Her main research interests focus on culture, ethnicity, nationalism, and democracy and combine comparative and normative approaches to the study of world politics. She is the author of many book chapters and articles dealing with these issues in the Asia–Pacific region as well as globally. Her recent books include *Culture and Context in World Politics* (2006), *Europe and the Asia–Pacific: Culture, Identity and Representations of Region* (2003), *International Relations* (2003), and *The New Agenda for International Relations: From Polarization to Globalization in World Politics* (2002).

David B. MacDonald

David B. MacDonald is Professor of Political Science at the University of Guelph, Ontario. He received his Ph.D. in International Relations from the London School of Economics and has also held posts as Senior Lecturer at Otago University, New Zealand, and Assistant Visiting Professor at the ESCP-Europe Graduate School of Management, Paris. He is the author of three books—*Balkan Holocausts? Serbian and Croatian Victim-Centred Propaganda and the War in Yugoslavia* (2002); *Identity Politics in the Age of Genocide* (2008); and *Thinking History, Fighting Evil* (2009)—and co-editor of *The Ethics of Foreign Policy* (2007) and *The Bush Leadership, the Power of Ideas and the War on Terror* (2002). He has also written many articles and book chapters on his areas of interest: colonialism and genocide, comparative Indigenous politics, US foreign policy, and the comparative politics of Western settler societies. His website is www.davidbmacdonald.com. (Photo credit: Gulliver MacDonald)

Acknowledgements

Several members of the OUP editorial teams deserve special thanks from the authors. In the UK, Ruth Anderson, the Commissioning Editor, got three of us together in the first place and ensured that the project ran smoothly. Monika Faltejskova took on the difficult job of coordinating the writing schedule in the early stages and was succeeded by Emily Medina-Davis. In Canada, Kate Skene, Meg Patterson, and Leanne Rancourt deserve special thanks for overseeing the adaptation process and the creation of this second edition. Finally, we are grateful to reviewers Janni Aragon (University of Victoria), Kelly Blidook (Memorial University), Chris Bourne (Dawson College), Marcella Firmini (Dalhousie University), Paul Hamilton (Brock University), James Milner (Carleton University), Stephen Phillips (Langara College), and Elizabeth Smythe (Concordia University), as well the various reviewers in Canada and the UK who preferred to remain anonymous. Their constructive criticisms of draft chapters have made the final product that much stronger. Our thanks to them all.

INTRODUCTION

What Is Politics and How Should We Analyze It?

- Why Is Politics So Hard to Define? *2*
- Is Politics Unavoidable? *3*
- Political Questions *4*
- Boundaries of the Political: State, Society, and the International Community *6*
- The Study of Politics *9*
- The Rise and Fall of Normative Analysis *9*
- Empirical and Semantic Analysis *11*
- Deductive and Inductive Theories of Politics *12*
- Can Politics Be a Science? *14*
- Conclusion *15*
- Key Questions *15*
- Further Reading *15*
- Web Links *16*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Let's begin this introduction by considering what politics is and by asking whether it is an unavoidable part of all human societies. On the surface it certainly seems to be. Two important questions often come up whenever we try to establish the boundaries of what is political and what is not. First of all, should politics be defined narrowly, so that it excludes everything but the institutions of the state (such as the House of Commons, the Senate, Indigenous

▲ The Knowledge Totem, erected in 1990, stands in front of the British Columbia Parliament Buildings (©Andre Jenny/Alamy Stock Photo).

and Northern Affairs Canada, and so on), or should the definition be broad enough to include other social institutions and relationships, such as the Canadian Wheat Board, the local school board, or the family? Second, is politics by definition a matter of co-operation and consensus seeking, or is there always going to be conflict? Moving on to the study of politics, we distinguish between three forms of political analysis: empirical, normative, and semantic. Finally, we ask whether politics is a science in the sense that the natural sciences are.

Why Is Politics So Hard to Define?

Politics is an exciting and dynamic area of study, but it is so vast and many-sided that it is difficult to define precisely. At the very least we can say that politics is a social activity, that in any group of people there will be discussions and even conflict over what the group should be doing and how it should achieve its goals. There may also be disagreements as to who is or is not a member of the group. Whether the study of politics should be confined to large entities like the state or also include an examination of power dynamics within the family is open to discussion. Coming up with a clear definition can be difficult, especially when we recognize that politics is often seen in a negative light, associated with conflict and corruption of the sort typified in Canada by the "sponsorship scandal" that helped to bring down the Liberal government of Paul Martin in 2006, or the more recent saga of Senator Mike Duffy's inexplicable expenses. However, politics can also be seen positively, as a calling to improve the lives of the people that politicians represent. There was widespread hope when the American public voted Barack Obama into the White House, and also when Justin Trudeau and the Liberals were voted into power in October 2015. Some European political thinkers, including Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), have considered participation in political life to be a noble calling. Indeed, many politicians like to talk about "public service" and "giving back to the community" when they describe their decision to run for office.

We might argue that politics is associated with conflict precisely because all complex societies contain many different interests and values. In fact, one popular definition of politics sees it as the process by which groups representing divergent interests and values make collective decisions. There are two assumptions here. The first is that all complex societies will always a need ways of sorting out those different interests and values and trying to reconcile them; the second is that economic scarcity is an inevitable part of all societies. If there are not enough goods to go around, a society needs some mechanism to determine how those limited goods will be distributed.

See Chapter 3, pp. 62–3 for a discussion of the classical theory of democracy.

Political decisions about how economic goods will be distributed—what the American political scientist Harold Lasswell (1936) called "Who Gets What, When, How"—help to determine both the nature of society and the well-being of those who live in it. As we will see in Chapter 4, competing theories of justice focus on a particular ordering of economic goods. However, these are not the only goods that humans value.

See Chapter 4, pp. 79–84 for a discussion of theories of justice.

The study of politics before the nineteenth century was focused on the study of values. What is the good life? What is the best kind of society for us to live in? Political philosophers have offered many conflicting answers. For the last two centuries, however, as Stoker points out, one "central divide . . . has been between those who prefer liberty over equality and those who prefer equality over liberty" (2006, p. 6). An example might

be: "Is it better to have the choice of healthcare provider and medical procedure as in the American system, even if you can't pay for it, or is it better to have much less choice but state-funded healthcare as in Canada?" Most Canadians prefer equal access and low cost over the sort of freedom to choose that exists south of the border. However, many American resent the imposition on their freedom that this would represent. In the twenty-first century, the conflict between liberty and security is of growing importance; we will revisit this theme in the chapters that follow.

Is Politics Unavoidable?

If we define politics in terms of differences, conflicts, and scarcity, then we might say that it is an unavoidable aspect of all societies. It's unavoidable because if no one agrees on either goals for a society or the means of achieving them, systems need to be developed so that society can function in the absence of consensus. Not everyone will agree, of course. For some, such a claim underestimates the possibility of achieving greater social cohesion based on agreement around core values. Marxists, for example, argue that differences of interests in society centre on conflicts between competing social classes, and hence that the elimination of class distinctions would offer the prospect of a society based on consensus and co-operation, one in which there would be no need for either politics or the state.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels famously argued in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848/1976, p. 105) that politics is "merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another." The idea here was that if the capitalist system was overthrown, there would be no competing classes and therefore, by definition, no politics. Everyone would agree on the way forward and would simply go about implementing decisions that everyone knew were correct. Critics, however, charged that Marxism was idealistic and foolish because it failed to take into account human difference, ambition, and competition. Indeed, history has shown that no communist state has ever been free of intrigue, corruption, and politicking.

A more modern version of the Marxist end-of-conflict thesis is the "end of history" thesis proposed by the American conservative thinker Francis Fukuyama (1992). The argument here was that since 1945 liberal democratic ideology had proven its superiority over all rivals, and though it might still be challenged it would ultimately prevail around the world. By "the end of history" Fukuyama meant the end point of ideological evolution—the period in which everyone agrees that there is one desirable way to run a state: democratic government and free enterprise. It is true that when he was writing the Cold War had just come to an end, communism in Eastern Europe was being dismantled, and the growing affluence of the West was making it difficult for left-of-centre parties to attract political support.

See Chapter 1, pp. 32–4 for a discussion of human nature.

However, Fukuyama's thesis proved to be problematic, and there is no agreement about one system of government being superior to all others, nor is there likely ever to be. The ideal of spreading democracy to Iraq and Afghanistan has not worked out as planned; for many people, their ethnic or religious identities are more important than being citizens in a common democratic state. What's also become obvious is that democratic institutions can be tools for one country to dominate another, in addition to their more straightforward goal of representing the interests of voters.

As this book will reveal, a number of alternatives to the liberal democratic model are in use in various parts of the world (Heywood, 2004, pp. 71–2). Some of these alternatives have similarities with Western liberal democracy but also significant differences.

KEY QUOTE BOX 0.1

Defining Politics: A Few Opinions

A political system is "any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, control, influence, power or authority" (Dahl, 1991, p. 4).

Politics is the "the art of governing mankind by deceiving them" (Isaac D'Israeli, quoted in Crick 1962, p. 16).

"Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve, and amend the general rules under which they live. Although politics is also an academic subject (sometimes indicated by the use of 'Politics' with a capital P), it is then clearly the study of this activity. Politics is thus inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that, in order to influence these rules or ensure that they are upheld, they must work with others" (Heywood, 2013, p. 2).

"Politics is a phenomenon found in and between all groups, institutions (formal and informal) and societies, cutting across public and private life. It is involved in all the relations, institutions and structures which are implicated in the activities of production and reproduction in the life of societies. . . . Thus, politics is about power; about the forces which influence and reflect its distribution and use; and about the effect of this on resource use and distribution . . . it is not about Government or government alone" (Held & Leftwich, 1984, p. 144).

"Politics is designed to disappoint—that is the way that the process of compromise and reconciliation works. Its outcomes are often messy, ambiguous and never final" (Stoker, 2006, p. 10).

For example, many East Asian governments (such as China, Malaysia, and Singapore) emphasize economic development over democracy, sometimes at the expense of civil liberties and democratic procedures. The fragmentation of Syria and the rise of Daesh, or the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), presents a new and extremely threatening type of governance structure for Western countries. Finally, some alternatives have little in common with the Western liberal democratic model. The military regimes of some African countries fall into the latter category, as do fundamentalist Islamic regimes, like the Saudi Arabian monarchy, that put religious norms before liberty and democracy.

See Chapter 6, pp. 122–7 for a discussion of multiculturalism.

Political Questions

If we all had the same interests and values, and if there were enough of everything to go around, there would be no need for a mechanism to make decisions about "who gets what, when, and how." We could have everything we wanted without conflict. But politics is based on the assumption that this is not the case. As a result, students of politics ask a number of questions about the decisions that are taken.

In the first place, they ask what values such decisions serve. Do they serve the values of justice or liberty? If so, what do we mean by justice and liberty? Is a just decision one that is made in the interests of the few, the many, or all? The second basic set of questions concerns who makes the decisions and who should make them. Does one person do the

decision making, or a few, or many, or all? Is there anything special about democratic forms of government? Are we under a greater obligation to obey decisions made in a democratic way than in other ways? These are the kinds of questions that formed the basis of Aristotle's famous six-fold classification of **political systems**; see Box 0.2.

The third basic question that students of politics often ask is how those who make the decisions are able to enforce them. Here we need to distinguish between **power** and **authority**, two concepts that are central to politics. We could say that rulers are able to enforce their decisions either because they have the power to do so or because they have the authority to do so. The former implies some form of coercion: Those with power are able to force those without power to behave in ways they would not choose. As historical examples have shown, governments that rely exclusively on the exercise of power in that sense are likely to be inefficient and unstable. Such regimes will survive only if they are able to impose coercion continually—a difficult exercise. As Libya's former dictator Muammar Gadhafi found out in 2011, even the most coercive regime cannot hold on to power once the people decide to revolt.

See Chapter 2, pp. 41–3 for an exploration of the concepts of power and authority.

By contrast, a regime with authority hypothetically has no need of force, because the people recognize that the ruler has a legitimate right to exercise power and therefore they consent to be ruled. In other words, authority is defined in terms of legitimacy. Converting power into authority is the goal of most regimes, because it makes ruling far easier and less costly. It also makes leadership more stable. In practice, no government enjoys full authority, even in a democracy, because there are always those who disagree with the policies the government is trying to promote. It's also clear, as we shall see, that democratic systems are not perfect, especially when a government is elected that only represents the minority of voters.

KEY CONCEPT BOX 0.2

Aristotle's Classification of Governments

The Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BCE) argued that a government could be judged by the degree to which it ruled in the interests of all, as opposed to serving the interests of some small section of the population. Accordingly, he developed a six-part classification, containing three "proper" forms of government and three "deviant" forms. His preferred form was a monarchy. He classified democracy as a deviant form on the grounds that the rule of the many in their own interests would be little better than mob rule. However, he also considered democracy to be (as British Prime Minister Winston Churchill put it many centuries later) the least bad form of government (Cunningham, 2002, p. 7).

TABLE 0.1 | Aristotle's Classificatory Schema

	Rulers rule in the interest of . . .	
Number ruling	. . . all	. . . themselves
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

Source: Dahl, Robert A. (1991). *Modern political analysis , 5th edition.* ©1991. Printed and electronically reproduced by permission of Pearson Education, Inc., New York, New York.

KEY POINTS

- In societies of any complexity, politics is usually predicated on the existence of competing interests and values.
- Most commentators believe that politics is unavoidable because all societies contain differences that have to be managed in some way.
- The "end of history" thesis suggests that liberal democratic values are the only legitimate values left in the modern world after the defeat of fascism and communism, but this view is mistaken. Ideological conflicts persist throughout the world, and liberalism itself has faced challenges to its legitimacy.
- Given competing values and interests, the study of politics becomes the study of which values and interests dominate, who is responsible for the decisions that are made, and on what grounds they can or cannot be justified.

Boundaries of the Political: State, Society, and the International Community

Where does politics begin and end? Those who prefer a narrow definition would exclude all institutions other than those of the state. Others believe that to draw the boundaries so narrowly is to miss much of importance that is political. This narrow definition sets politics apart, however artificially, from other social sciences that we believe it is intimately connected with. In this book, therefore, we will refer to subfields of politics such as political sociology and political economy, which focus on the relationships between the state and society and the economy, respectively.

Why has political analysis traditionally centred on the state? Because, in the words of the German sociologist Max Weber, the state has a "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in enforcing its order within a given territorial area" (Gerth & Mills, 1946, pp. 77–8). In other words, the state is seen to be the highest authority in a society, and as such is **sovereign**; it has no legitimate competitors for authority either inside the state in the domestic realm or outside in the international system. As the supreme law-making body within a particular territory, the state ultimately has the power of life and death over individuals. It can put people to death for crimes they have committed, and it can demand that its citizens fight for their country in wars with other sovereign states. Defined in this way, the state can be distinguished from the government in the sense that it is a much larger entity, containing not just political offices but also bureaucratic, judicial, military, police, and security institutions.

See Chapter 12, pp. 238–45, for a discussion of civil society.

The state can also be distinguished from **civil society**: the body of nongovernmental institutions that link the individual and the state (see Box 0.3). This is not to say that state legitimacy is not contested, because it often is. This might come from outside by other countries contesting its borders, or from inside by internal nations seeking independence (such as the Catalans, Basques, Scottish, Québécois) or by Indigenous peoples seeking to have their own rights to self-determination affirmed. The development of nation-to-nation relationships, as promised in the treaties between First Nations and the Crown, and reaffirmed in the Liberal Party's 2015 electoral platform, may lead to new and different ideas about sovereignty as something shared between different groups of people who possess rights that predate the Western settler state.

KEY CONCEPT BOX 0.3

Civil Society

The term *civil society* usually refers to the many private groups and institutions that operate between the individual and the state, from business organizations and trade unions (like the Canadian Union of Public Employees) to religious institutions, voluntary organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and interest groups of all kinds, such as the Council of Canadians and the Manning Centre. The German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770–1831) distinguished between the family and civil society, but other theorists include the family as an institution within civil society.

Discussions of political power usually focus on the state. However, some scholars argue that politics operates at many levels, and therefore they extend the boundaries of the political realm to include everything from the family to the international community. For theorists like Michel Foucault (1926–1984), politics is the use of power and can thus be found everywhere that people interact. He promoted a "micropolitical" analysis in his work, focusing on how power dynamics operate on a small scale (Thomas & Davies, 2005). Today, many are particularly interested in the study of politics at the supranational level. Arguably, too, the focus of politics has begun to shift as national economies become increasingly interdependent and the forces of globalization place increasing constraints on what individual "sovereign" states can do on their own.

See Chapter 3, p. 66, for a discussion of political obligation.

Certainly, the academic study of international relations has expanded enormously in the last few years. The fact that a third of this book is devoted to relations between states is a reflection of the growing importance of this field. However, we also need to recognize that the traditional "realist" approach to international relations still sees the state as the only actor with any real power, since **realism** is largely focused on issues of war and peace. In this model, the difficulty of securing agreement between states can be a significant barrier to the successful resolution of international problems. Other theories of international relations, such as liberalism, constructivism, poststructuralism, and feminism, are much less focused on the state as the dominant actor. They privilege international institutions, other actors within the state and outside, the role of ideas, group identities, and gender.

See Chapter 15, pages 308–12, for a discussion of realism.

There are many who argue that politics exists in the institutions of society below the state level. Colin Hay (2002, p. 3), for instance, insists that "the political should be defined in such a way as to encompass the entire sphere of the social." Leftwich (1984) substantially agrees, arguing that "politics is at the heart of *all* collective social activity, formal and informal, public and private, in all human groups, institutions and societies." The term **governance**, which is increasingly preferred to *government*, draws the boundaries of the governmental process much wider. It includes not only the traditional institutions of government, such as Parliament, the courts, and the bureaucracies, but all the other inputs that may influence decisions affecting society, such as the market, interest groups, business organizations, universities, churches, sport, and the family.

Some ideological traditions promote this wider view of politics. Many feminists, for example, believe the personal realm to be political as a result of the continued dominance of men in personal relationships and the family—hence the slogan "the personal is the political." The idea is that every family is the site of politics: about who is in control, and

See Chapter 6, pp. 112–17, for a discussion of feminism.

who gets what. As well, classical Marxists insist that political power comes from bourgeois dominance over the working classes in the economic realm. Similarly, despite the many divisions that have developed over the centuries, Islam's scripture-based tradition can theoretically govern all aspects of Muslim life, including relations within the family.

We can even ask whether the boundaries of the political should stop at our species. There might be a strong case for recognizing at least some nonhuman animals as beings whose interests should be taken into account in the political process (Garner, 2005). In general, according to Jamieson (2002, pp. 149–51), proponents of animal rights have advanced three main arguments:

1. Animals and humans are similar in ways that count. They are conscious beings capable of enjoying life or experiencing pain and suffering.
2. Animals are innocent. They have done nothing to deserve human mistreatment or cruelty.
3. Treating animals well helps create a more benevolent society, whereas cruelty and abuse leads to moral bankruptcy.

See Chapter 6, pp. 118–22, for a discussion of environmentalism.

Going further, the "deep" ecological school of thought seeks to extend the boundaries of the political to the whole of the natural world. This view bears some similarities to some Indigenous forms of knowledge. As Leroy Little Bear explains, "Aboriginal paradigms include ideas of constant flux, all existence consisting of energy waves/spirit, all things being animate, all existence being interrelated, creation/existence having to be renewed, space/place as an important referent, and language, songs, stories, and ceremonies as repositories for the knowledge that arise out of these paradigms" (Little Bear, 2009, p. 8). In an era of reconciliation, the interconnectedness of human with nonhuman animals and our interdependence with the natural world may take on a more important priority.

As problems of climate change become more acute, some traditional religious leaders have echoed similar perspectives. In 2015, Pope Francis, in his encyclical letter, called for an "integral ecology" and protection of what he called "our common home." He promotes the value of approaching "nature and the environment" with "openness to awe and wonder," moving beyond the old attitude of being "masters, consumers, ruthless exploiters, unable to set limits on their immediate needs." He notes that "The poverty and austerity of Saint Francis were no mere veneer of asceticism, but something much more radical: a refusal to turn reality into an object simply to be used and controlled" (Pope Francis, 2015, pp. 9–12).

KEY POINTS

- Defining politics is complicated by questions about where the boundaries should be drawn.
- Some argue that the boundaries of the political should be drawn narrowly, recognizing the state as the key political institution.
- Others argue that politics needs to be defined far more broadly, to include power relations in social institutions such as the family or political institutions at the supranational level.
- We can go even further to see our role as being part of the larger world that includes animals and the natural environment of which we are an interdependent part.

The Study of Politics

The study of politics in the Western world dates back to at least the fifth century BCE to the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle, who are considered the "founding fathers" of the discipline. Yet politics was not an independent discipline in university before the beginning of the twentieth century; until then it had been studied only in the context of law, philosophy, and history (Stoker & Marsh, 2002, p. 2). The American Political Science Association, the body of academics specializing in political studies, was formed in 1903, and the Canadian Political Science Association (CPSA) was formed in 1930. Today, 45 universities in Canada and numerous colleges offer courses in political science as well as undergraduate degree programs. Members of the CPSA meet yearly to present their work on various aspects of political science, and the CPSA publishes several issues annually of the *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (Whitaker, 2013).

The teaching of politics has traditionally been divided into three streams: the study of political ideas (political theory or philosophy), the study of political institutions and processes within states (comparative politics), and the study of relations between states (global politics or international relations). This book is structured around these distinctions, but we also need to be clear that these three areas of study overlap regularly because, of course, they all involve the interactions of human social groups in a variety of settings. As Part 1 of this book will show, the study of political ideas combines conceptual analysis, coverage of key figures in the history of political thought, and ideologies. The study of institutions and processes, covered in Part 2, can take a number of forms, including examination of the institutions of a single state, comparison of institutions and processes in various states, political history, electoral politics, and public administration. Finally, students of international politics, the subject of Part 3, often examine the role of states as well as supranational actors and institutions, either historically or contemporaneously.

The Rise and Fall of Normative Analysis

In all three branches of political science, at least three major kinds of political analysis are undertaken: normative, empirical, and semantic. The first one, **normative analysis**, asks questions about values: whether, when, and why we ought to value freedom, or democracy, or equality, for example, or under what circumstances we should or should not obey the laws of the state. The goal is to identify what is good, what we ought to want, or which alternative is better. For millennia, normative analysis was the core of Western political philosophy, and many of the "classics" in the history of political thought, from Plato's *Republic* through Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* to major twentieth-century works such as John Rawls's *Theory of Justice*, have been devoted to determining what constitutes the "good life," the kind of society and polity within which it would be desirable for us to live. Normative theory is meant to have a practical side—a guide to what sort of actions one should pursue in a range of different situations. Andrea Sangiovanni gives us a taste of what normative theory can help us do through an examination of actors and the sorts of decisions they need help making:

(a) a citizen contemplating which party to vote for or whether to vote at all;
(b) a legislator contemplating how to vote on a bill;
(c) a judge deciding a hard case;