Political Science

An Introduction

FOURTEENTH EDITION

Michael G. Roskin • Robert L. Cord
James A. Medeiros • Walter S. Jones

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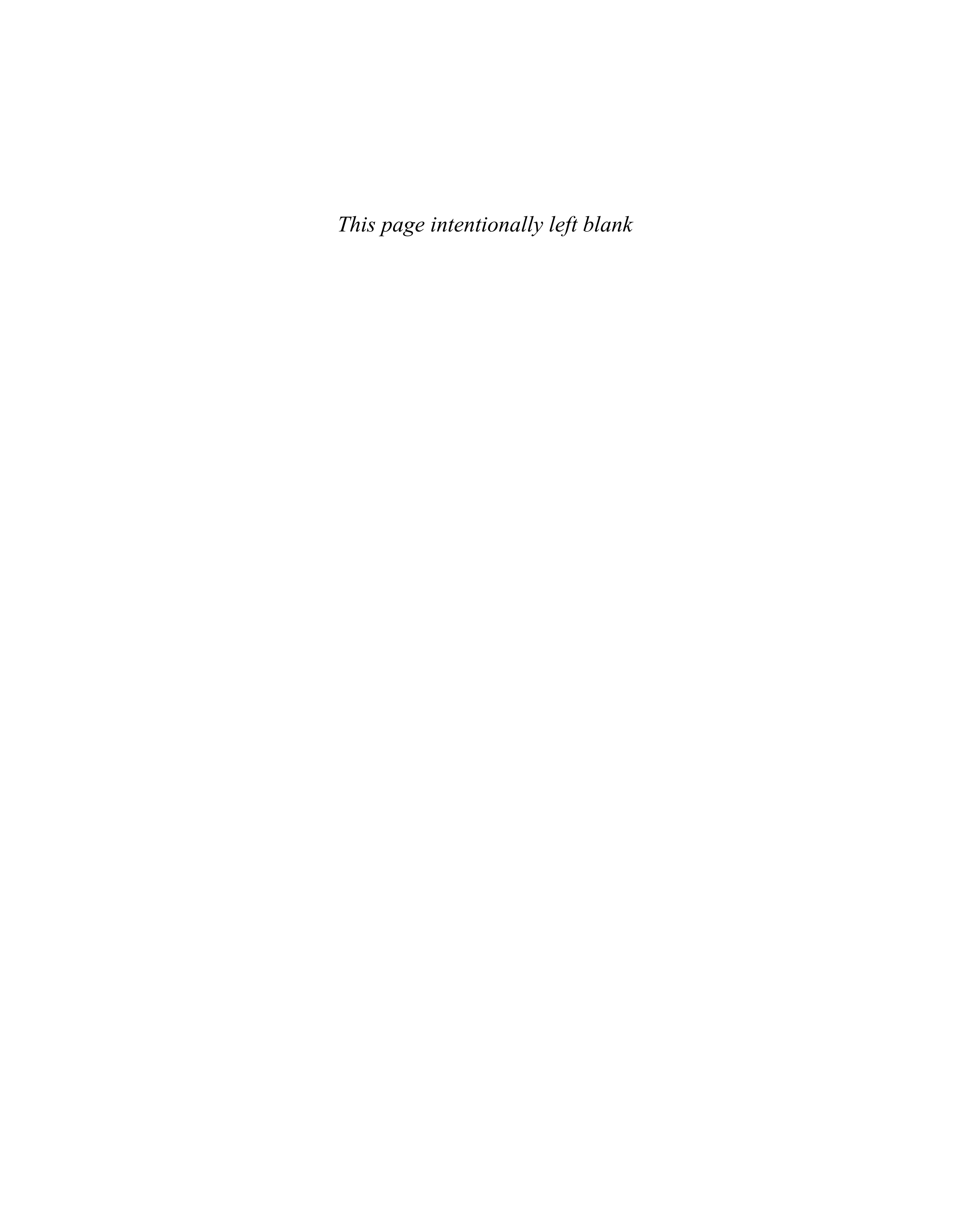
Political Science

An Introduction



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GLOBAL EDITION

Michael G. Roskin
Lycoming College

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Brief Contents

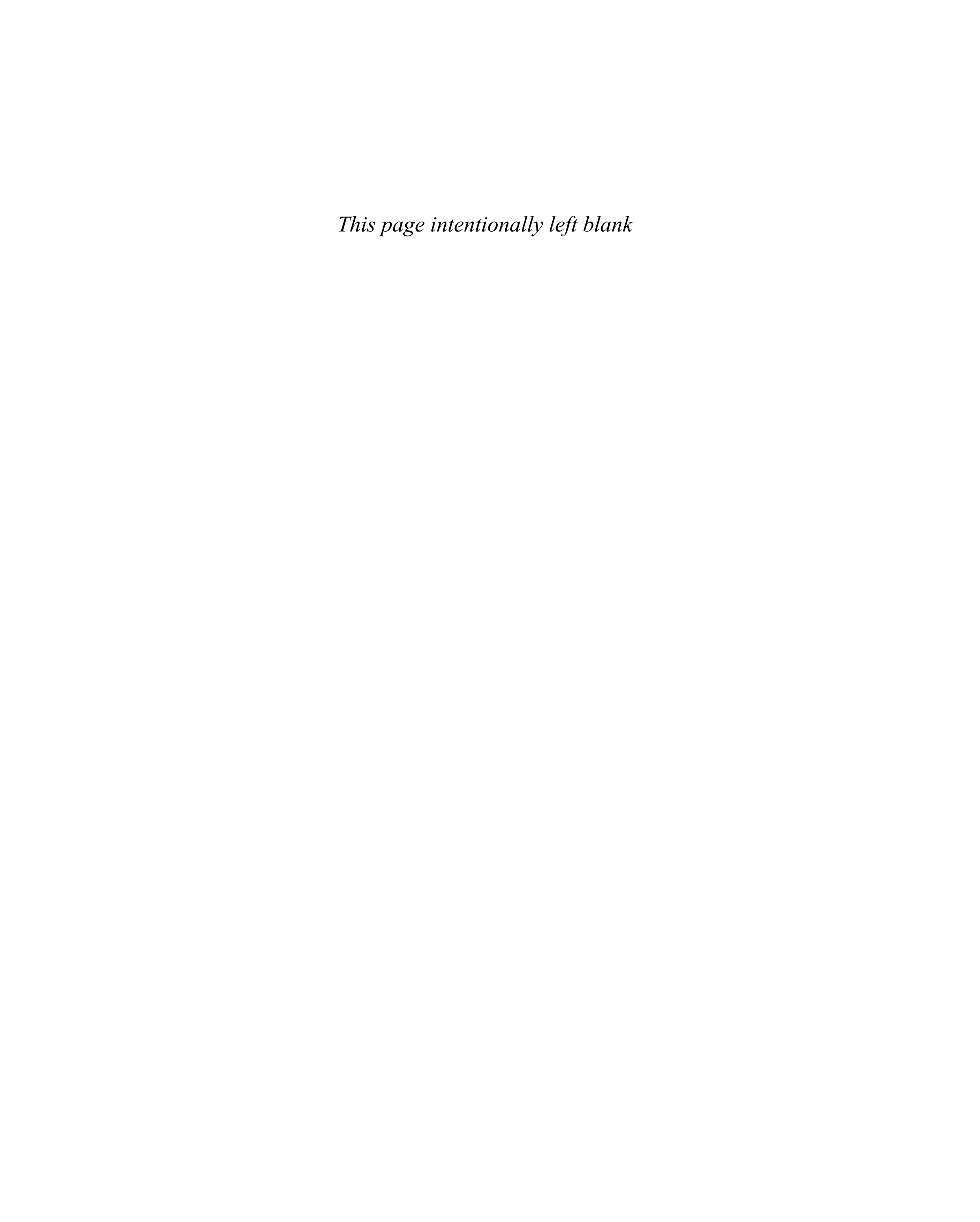
PART I The Bases of Politics 15
1 Politics and Political Science 16
2 Political Ideologies 42
3 States 63
4 Constitutions and Rights 82
5 Regimes 100

PART II Political Attitudes 122
6 Political Culture 123
7 Public Opinion 141

PART III Political Interactions 161
8 Political Communication 162
9 Interest Groups 182
10 Parties 201
11 Elections 221

PART IV Political Institutions 241
12 Legislatures 242
13 Executives and Bureaucracies 262
14 Judiciaries 283

PART V What Political Systems Do 304
15 Political Economy 305
16 Violence and Revolution 325
17 International Relations 345



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Contents

Preface 11

PART I The Bases of Politics 15

1 Politics and Political Science 16

What Is Politics? 17

CLASSIC WORKS: Concepts and Percepts 18

What Is Political Science? 22

CLASSIC THOUGHT: "Never Get Angry at a Fact" 23

METHODS: Learning a Chapter 24

Theory in Political Science 29

THEORIES: Models: Simplifying Reality 33

"Political Theory" versus Theory in Political Science 36

CLASSIC WORKS: Not Just Europeans 37

Review Questions 40 • Key Terms 40 • Further Reference 41

2 Political Ideologies 42

What Is Ideology? 43

THEORIES: The Origins of Ideologies 44

Liberalism 45

Conservatism 47

Socialism 49

Nationalism 53

METHODS: Theses 55

Ideology in Our Day 56

CASE STUDIES: Islamism: A Political Ideology Emanating from Islam 59

DEMOCRACY: Authoritarian Capitalism 60

Is Ideology Finished? 61

Review Questions 61 • Key Terms 62 • Further Reference 62

3 States 63

Institutionalized Power 64

CLASSIC WORKS: Aristotle's Six Types of Government 66

Effective, Weak, and Failed States 66

THEORIES: Political Development in Three Stages 67

Unitary or Federal Systems 68

METHODS: Sources 69

CASE STUDIES: The Shaky Lives of Confederations 71

Electoral Systems 75

CASE STUDIES: French and German Variations 77

States and the Economy 78

Review Questions 80 • Key Terms 81 • Further Reference 81

4 Constitutions and Rights 82

Constitutions 84

The Highest Law of the Land 85

CASE STUDIES: The Dangers of Changing Constitutions 86

CASE STUDIES: Canada's New Constitution 88

Can Constitutions Ensure Rights? 90

The Adaptability of the U.S. Constitution 91

THEORIES: What Is a Right? 92

Freedom of Expression in the United States 93

METHODS: References 97

Review Questions 98 • Key Terms 98 • Further Reference 98

5 Regimes 100

Representative Democracy 102
Democracy in Practice: Elitism or Pluralism? 108
Totalitarianism 111
- DEMOCRACY: Dahl's "Influence Terms" 111
- METHODS: Tight Writing 114
- DEMOCRACY: Why Democracies Fail 115

Authoritarianism 116
- CASE STUDIES: Democracy in Iraq? 118

The Democratization of Authoritarian Regimes 118
Review Questions 120 • Key Terms 120 • Further Reference 121

PART II Political Attitudes 122

6 Political Culture 123

What Is Political Culture? 124
- CLASSIC WORKS: The Civic Culture 126
- DEMOCRACY: Civil Society 127
- METHODS: Quotations 128

The Decay of Political Culture 129
- CASE STUDIES: Soviet Political Culture and the New Russia 130

Elite and Mass Subcultures 131
- THEORIES: Culture and Development 132

Minority Subcultures 133
- CASE STUDIES: "Yes Scotland" versus "Better Together" 134
- DEMOCRACY: The Three Israels 136

Political Socialization 136
- CLASSIC WORKS: The Authoritarian Personality 137
- CASE STUDIES: China Builds Unity 138

Review Questions 139 • Key Terms 140 • Further Reference 140

7 Public Opinion 141

What Public Opinion Is and Isn't 142
- DEMOCRACY: A Short History of Polling 144

The Shape of Public Opinion 145
- CLASSIC WORKS: Almond's Three Publics 147
- DEMOCRACY: Opinion Curves 151

Public-Opinion Polls 151
- METHODS: Variables 155

American Opinion 155
Review Questions 159 • Key Terms 160 • Further Reference 160

PART III Political Interactions 161

8 Political Communication 162

The Mass Media and Politics 163
- CLASSIC WORKS: The Two-Step Flow of Mass Communications 164
- DEMOCRACY: The Tendency to Media Oligopoly 167

Social Media 168
- CASE STUDIES: The Media and War 169

The Giant: Television 170
- METHODS: Defining Variables 172
- THEORIES: The Framing of News 174

Are We Poorly Served? 175
- CASE STUDIES: The Media and Watergate 177

The Adversaries: Media and Government 178
Review Questions 180 • Key Terms 180 • Further Reference 180

9 Interest Groups 182

The Ubiquity of Interest Groups 183
- THEORIES: Countervailing Power 185

Interest Groups and Government 185
- CASE STUDIES: French Antipluralism 187

Effective Interest Groups 188
- CASE STUDIES: Trade Unions and the Right to Strike in the U.K. 191
- METHODS: Tables 192

Interest Group Strategies 193

■ CLASSIC WORKS: Olson's Theory of Interest Groups 196
Interest Groups: An Evaluation 197
Review Questions 199 • Key Terms 199 • Further Reference 200

10 Parties 201
■ METHODS: Cross-Tabulations 202
Functions of Parties 203
■ DEMOCRACY: Parties That Ignore Voters 206
Parties in Democracies 207
■ THEORIES: What Is a "Relevant" Party? 209
■ CLASSIC WORKS: Duverger's Three Types of Parties 210
Classifying Political Parties 211
■ CLASSIC WORKS: Kirchheimer's "Catchall" Party 213
Party Systems 213
■ DEMOCRACY: Multiparty Systems Are More Fun 214
■ THEORIES: Sartori's Party Competition 217
The Future of Parties 218
Review Questions 219 • Key Terms 219 • Further Reference 219

11 Elections 221
Why Do People Vote? 222
Who Votes? 223
■ THEORIES: Downs's Theory of Voting 223
■ METHODS: Tendency Statements 225
Who Votes How? 226
■ CASE STUDIES: Is the U.S. Electoral System Defective? 231
Electoral Realignment 233
■ DEMOCRACY: Partisan Polarization 234
What Wins Elections? 235
■ DEMOCRACY: Changing Positions 238
Review Questions 239 • Key Terms 239 • Further Reference 239

PART IV Political Institutions 241

12 Legislatures 242
The Origins of Parliaments 243
Presidential and Parliamentary Systems 244
■ CLASSIC WORKS: Where Did the U.S. System Originate? 246
Bicameral or Unicameral? 249
What Legislatures Do 250
■ METHODS: Longitudinal Studies 251
The Decline of Legislatures 254
■ DEMOCRACY: Pork-Barrel Politics 255
Review Questions 260 • Key Terms 260 • Further Reference 261

13 Executives and Bureaucracies 262
Presidents and Prime Ministers 263
■ DEMOCRACY: Israel's Directly Elected Prime Ministers 266
■ DEMOCRACY: Putin's Authoritarianism 267
■ CLASSIC WORKS: Lasswell's Psychology of Power 268
Executive Leadership 268
■ DEMOCRACY: An Imperial Presidency? 269
■ METHODS: Graphs 270
Cabinets 272
■ CLASSIC WORKS: American Paranoia 274
Bureaucracies 274
■ CLASSIC WORKS: Weber's Definition of Bureaucracies 275
The Trouble with Bureaucracy 279
■ THEORIES: Bureaucratic Politics 280
Review Questions 281 • Key Terms 281 • Further Reference 282

14 Judiciaries 283
Types of Law 284
■ CLASSIC WORKS: The Roots of Law 286
The Courts, the Bench, and the Bar 287

- CASE STUDIES: Common Law versus Code Law 288
- Comparing Courts 290
- CLASSIC WORKS: *Marbury v. Madison* 293
- The Role of the Courts 294
- METHODS: Scattergrams 295
- The Supreme Court's Political Role 297
- Review Questions 302 • Key Terms 302 • Further Reference 302

PART V What Political Systems Do 304

15 Political Economy 305

- What Is Political Economy? 306
- CASE STUDIES: How High Are U.S. Taxes? 308
- Government and the Economy 308
- METHODS: Maps 312
- What Is Poverty? 316
- DEMOCRACY: Poverty and Ideology 317
- CASE STUDIES: Welfare Spending versus Tax Expenditures 319
- The Costs of Welfare 320
- How Big Should Government Be? 322
- Review Questions 323 • Key Terms 324 • Further Reference 324

16 Violence and Revolution 325

- System Breakdown 326
- Types of Violence 328
- METHODS: Thinkpieces 329
- THEORIES: Rising Expectations 332
- Terrorism 333
- CASE STUDIES: Revolutionary Political Warfare in Vietnam 334
- Revolutions 335
- CASE STUDIES: The Iranian Revolutionary Cycle 337
- After the Revolution 338
- CASE STUDIES: Violent versus Velvet Revolutions 340
- Review Questions 343 • Key Terms 343 • Further Reference 343

17 International Relations 345

- What Is International Relations? 346
- Power and National Interest 348
- METHODS: Avoid “They” 348
- THEORIES: Types of National Interest 349
- The Importance of Economics 350
- Why War? 352
- CLASSIC WORKS: Kennan's Dinosaur Analogy 354
- Keeping Peace 355
- Beyond Sovereignty? 357
- DEMOCRACY: The Democratic Peace 359
- U.S. Foreign Policy: Involved or Isolated? 359
- THEORIES: Klingberg's Alternation Theory 360
- CLASSIC WORKS: Thucydides on War 362
- Review Questions 363 • Key Terms 363 • Further Reference 363

Glossary 365

Index 374

Preface

Political Science and Democracy

Some people say political science is impractical. It may be interesting, they add, but it really cannot be used for anything. Not so. Political science began as practical advice to rulers and still serves that function. Plato, Aristotle, Confucius, Machiavelli, Kautilya, and Ibn Khaldun, among others, aimed to give sound advice based on one or another theory. John Locke and the Baron de Montesquieu deeply influenced the framers of the U.S. Constitution. Political science has always entwined theoretical abstractions with applied reasoning. You may not become a political scientist, but you should equip yourself with the knowledge to make calm, rational choices and protect yourself from political manipulation.

One of the great questions of our day, for example, is whether democracy can and should be exported. China, the Middle East, and many other areas could benefit from democratic governance, but is it practical to push democracy on them? One of the original aims of the 2003 Iraq War was to install a democratic regime which would then inspire others in the region. The country has instead become a hotbed of regional instability.

Even the United States, after more than two centuries of trying to apply a democratic constitution, is far from perfect. Reforms are badly needed—but blocked at every turn—in taxation, voting fairness, election campaigning, powerful lobbies, economic policy, and the inefficiency and complexity of government programs. By examining such problems, students see that democracy is a constantly self-critical and self-correcting process moved by open discussion and the admission of mistakes. It is always a work in progress.

Political science instructors may take some joy in the uptick of student interest in politics, although we cannot be sure how deep and durable this interest may be. Budgetary cliffhangers, spending cuts, and tax increases can provoke discussion. For some years, students were rather apolitical, a trend this book always tried to fight. We ask them, "Well, what kind of a country do you want? You'd better start developing your own rational perspectives now because soon you will have to make political choices."

Political Science: An Introduction seeks to blend scholarship and citizenship. It does not presume that freshmen taking an intro course will become professional political scientists. Naturally, we hope to pique their curiosity so that some will major in political science. This is neither a U.S. government text nor a comparative politics text. Instead, it draws examples from the United States and from other lands to introduce the whole field of political science to new students. Fresh from high school, few students know much of other political systems, something we attempt to correct.

The fourteenth edition continues our eclectic approach that avoids selling any single theory, conceptual framework, or paradigm as the key to political science. Attempts to impose a grand design are both unwarranted by the nature of the discipline and not conducive to broadening students' intellectual horizons. Instructors with a wide variety of viewpoints have no trouble using this text. Above all, the fourteenth edition still views politics as exciting and tries to communicate that feeling to young people new to the discipline.

New To This Edition

Instructor input, the rapid march of events, and the shift to digitalization brought some changes to the fourteenth edition:

- The old Chapter 2, Theories, has been merged into Chapter 1 to bring the total number of chapters down to seventeen, to better fit a semester.
- Jonathan Williamson of Lycoming College contributes to Chapter 1 with discussions of political theory and how political science contrasts with history and journalism.
- A new box in Chapter 3 explains Francis Fukuyama's three-step theory of the origins of political order.
- The 2015 *Charlie Hebdo* murders in Paris illustrate the problem of free speech as opposed to hate speech in Chapter 4.
- Recent Hong Kong protests now start Chapter 5, illustrating the struggle for democracy. Also new: Opportunism and corruption undermine Communist regimes.
- A new box in Chapter 6, "The Three Israels," shows how successive waves of immigrants brought distinctive political cultures to Israel.
- Jonathan Williamson, a pollster himself, updates Chapter 7 on public opinion.
- The rise of the Tea Party and super-PACs raises questions about the relevance of U.S. parties in Chapter 10.
- Nonwhite voters are increasingly important, and realignments may evolve more slowly than previously thought, explains Chapter 11.
- Incomprehensible, overlong legislation is now highlighted in Chapter 12.
- Chapter 13 now includes Fukuyama's thesis that uncorrupt, merit-based bureaucracies are the basis of good governance.
- Chapter 16 gives more emphasis to the mostly unhappy results of the Arab Spring and to ISIS and Islamic fundamentalism.
- Chapter 17 begins with the dangers of a new Cold War between the United States, Russia, and China.

As ever, I am open to all instructor comments, including those on the number, coverage, and ordering of chapters. Would, for example, a textbook of fourteen chapters—one for each week of a typical semester—be a better organization?

Features

The fourteenth edition merges old Chapters 1 and 2 (Theories) to give us seventeen chapters. The consolidation of twenty-one chapters into eighteen, more rationally arranged, received very positive instructor feedback in the eleventh and twelfth editions. We retain the introduction of methodologies early in an undergraduate's career. This does not mean high-level numbers crunching—which I neither engage in nor advocate—but a reality-testing frame of mind that looks for empirical verifiability. Where you can, of course, use valid numbers. As an instructor, I often found myself explaining methodologies in the classroom in connection with student papers, so I decided to insert some basic methodologies in boxes. Each of these boxes make one methodological point per chapter, covering thesis statements, references, quotations, tables, cross-tabulations, graphs, scattergrams, and other standard points, all at the introductory level. Instructors suggested that topics as important as "Key Concepts" should be integrated into the narrative, and I have done so. Boxes on Democracy, Theories, Classic Works, and Case Studies still highlight important political science ideas, provide real-world examples, and break up pages, making the text reader friendly.

The text boldfaces important terms and defines them in running marginal glossaries throughout the chapters. As an instructor, I learned not to presume students understood the key terms of political science. The definitions are in the context under discussion; change that

context, and you may need another definition. There is a difference, for example, between the governing elites discussed in Chapter 5 (a tiny fraction of 1 percent of a population) and public opinion elites discussed in Chapter 7 (probably several percent). Italicized terms signal students to look them up in the glossary at the book's end.

Supplements

Pearson is pleased to offer several resources to qualified adopters of *Political Science* and their students that will make teaching and learning from this book even more effective and enjoyable. Several of the supplements for this book are available at the Instructor Resource Center (IRC), an online hub that allows instructors to quickly download book-specific supplements. Please visit the IRC welcome page at **www.pearsonglobaleditions.com/Roskin** to register for access.

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL/TEST BANK This resource includes learning objectives, lecture outlines, multiple-choice questions, true/false questions, and essay questions for each chapter. Available exclusively on the Instructor Resource Center, www.pearsonglobaleditions.com/Roskin.

POWERPOINT PRESENTATION Organized around a lecture outline, these multimedia presentations also include photos, figures, and tables from each chapter. Available exclusively on the IRC, www.pearsonglobaleditions.com/Roskin.

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Are further changes needed in the book, or have I got it about right? Instructors' input on this matter—or indeed on anything else related to the text or supplementary materials—is highly valued. Instructors may contact me directly at maxxumizer@gmail.com.

Michael G. Roskin

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Part I
The Bases of Politics

Ch. 1 Politics and Political Science We study politics like a scientist studies bacteria, never getting angry at a fact but trying to understand how and why something happens. Political science focuses on power—how A gets B to do A wants. We do not confuse our partisan preferences with the scholarly study of politics. Theories provide the framework for understanding the politics we study. Alternatives to the objective, theory-driven approach of political science include the emphasis on the unique taken by historians and journalists and the normative questions of political theorists.

Ch. 2 Political Ideologies Ideologies are plans to improve society. The classic liberalism of Adam Smith and classic conservatism of Edmund Burke and the modern versions of the same are still with us. Marx led to both social democracy and, through Lenin, to communism. Nationalism is the strongest ideology, sometimes turning into fascism. New ideologies include neoconservatism, libertarianism, feminism, environmentalism, and, a political ideology emanating from Islam, Islamism. We study ideologies; we don't believe them.

Ch. 3 States Not all states are effective; many are weak, and some are failed. Aristotle's division of governments into legitimate and corrupt is still useful. Basic institutional choices can make or break a state. The territorial organization of states—unitary versus federal—and electoral systems—single-member versus proportional representation—are such basic choices. State intervention in the economy, or lack of it, may facilitate prosperity or stagnation.

Ch. 4 Constitutions and Rights These institutionalized documents formalize the basic structure of the state, limit government's powers, and define civil rights. Judicial review, the great U.S. contribution to governance, has over the years curbed sedition laws and expanded freedom of speech and freedom of press.

Ch. 5 Regimes Democracy is complex and must include accountability, competition, and alternation in power. In even the best democracies, elites have great influence but do not always trump pluralistic inputs. Totalitarianism is a disease of the twentieth century and has largely faded, but plenty of authoritarian states still exist. Democracy is not automatic but can fail in unprepared countries like Russia and Iraq.

Chapter 1
Politics and Political Science

Learning Objectives

1.1 Evaluate the several explanations of political power.

1.2 Justify the claim that political science may be considered a science.

1.3 Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of several theoretical approaches to political science.

1.4 Contrast normative theories of politics to political science.

When the Cold War ended, several thinkers held that democracy had won and would encompass the world. Soviet communism had collapsed and Chinese communism had reformed into state-managed capitalism. There were scarcely any other models for governance than Western-style capitalist democracy, argued some neo-conservatives. Even the Middle East, home to some of the worst dictators, would give way to democracy, argued Bush administration neo-cons as the United States invaded Iraq in 2003. The 2011 Arab Spring seemed to show the longing for democracy, aided by the new hand-held social media.

But we were too optimistic. Not everyone craved democracy; many, in fact, either feared it or wanted to use it for misrule. Russian democracy collapsed back into an autocracy that is now hostile to the United States. China's Communist chiefs oversaw dramatic economic growth but proclaimed that they would keep ruling. They jailed dissenters and also turned hostile to the United States. In the Middle East, elections produced undemocratic regimes (exception: Tunisia) and dangerous chaos. What had gone wrong? And what can political science tell us about why democracy did not spread as planned? Were these countries simply not ready for democracy, which seems to require a degree of universal education and awareness, as well as a largely, pluralist culture? Long-run, over several decades of economic and educational growth, is a march toward democracy likely to resume?

Questions like these make political science relevant and exciting. As its two-word name implies, political science is both a topic of study and a method for studying its topic. If we are studying politics, we need to start by thinking about what politics is. If we are studying it with science, we need to consider what makes the scientific method distinct from other ways to study politics.

What Is Politics?

1.1 Evaluate the several explanations of political power.

When you think of politics, you probably think of government and elections. Both are clearly political, but politics can happen in many more places. Politics happens in the workplace, in families, and even in the classroom. Consider the kid in class who asks too many questions and keeps the class late. What happens? Either the professor cuts the kid off, or his classmates express their disapproval to shape his behavior to achieve their goals. Either way, the kid's behavior is shaped by the politics of the classroom.

Politics is the ongoing competition between people, usually in groups, to shape policy in their favor. To do so, they may seek to guide policy indirectly by shaping the beliefs and values of members of their society. Notice this definition can encompass the politics of government, but it can also encompass the political dynamics in other contexts. While this text will largely focus on politics of governments, it is important to understand that politics is more fundamental than governments but occurs wherever human competitions play out.

Political Power

As Renaissance Florentine philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) emphasized, ultimately politics is about power, specifically the power to shape others' behavior. Power in politics is getting people to do something they wouldn't otherwise do—and sometimes having them think it was their idea.

political power
Ability of one person to get another to do something.

Some people dislike the concept of **political power**. It smacks of coercion, inequality, and occasionally brutality. Some speakers denounce "power politics," suggesting governance without power, a happy band of brothers and sisters regulating themselves through love and sharing. Communities formed on such a basis do not last; or, if they do last, it is only by transforming themselves into conventional structures of leaders and followers, buttressed by obedience patterns that look suspiciously like power. Political power seems to be built into the human condition. But why do some people hold political power over others? There is no definitive explanation of political power. Biological, psychological, cultural, rational, and irrational explanations have been put forward.

BIOLOGICAL Aristotle said it first and perhaps best: "Man is by nature a political animal." (Aristotle's words were *zoon politikon*, which can be translated as either "political animal" or "social animal." The Greeks lived in city-states in which the polis was the same as society.) Aristotle meant that humans live naturally in herds, like elephants or bison. Biologically, they need each other for sustenance and survival. It is also natural that they array themselves into ranks of leaders and followers, like all herd animals. Taking a cue from Aristotle, modern biological explanations, some of them looking at primate behavior, say that forming a political system and obeying its leaders are innate, passed on with one's genes. Some thinkers argue that human politics shows the same "dominance hierarchies" that other mammals set up. Politicians tend to be "alpha males"—or think they are.

The advantage of the biological approach is its simplicity, but it raises a number of questions. If we grant that humans are naturally political, how do

Classic Works

Concepts and Percepts

The great Prussian philosopher Immanuel Kant wrote in the late eighteenth century, "Percepts without concepts are empty, and concepts without percepts are blind." This notion helped establish modern philosophy and social science. A percept is what you perceive through your sensory organs: facts, images, numbers, examples, and so on. A concept is an idea in your head: meanings, theories, hypotheses, beliefs, and so on. You can collect many percepts, but without a concept to structure them you have nothing; your percepts are empty of meaning. On the other hand, your concepts are "blind" if they cannot look at reality, which requires percepts. In other words, you need both theory and data.

we explain the instances when political groups fall apart and people disobey authority? Perhaps we should modify the theory: Humans are imperfectly political (or social) animals. Most of the time, people form groups and obey authority but sometimes, under certain circumstances, they do not. This begs the question of which circumstances promote or undermine the formation of political groups.

PSYCHOLOGICAL Psychological explanations of politics and obedience are closely allied with biological theories. Both posit needs derived from centuries of evolution in the formation of political groups. Psychologists have refined their views with empirical research. In the famous Milgram study, unwitting subjects were instructed by a professor to administer progressively larger electric shocks to a victim. The "victim," strapped in a chair, was actually an actor who only pretended to suffer. Most of the subjects were willing to administer potentially lethal doses of electricity simply because the "professor"—an authority figure in a white lab smock—told them to. Most of the subjects disliked hurting the victim but rationalized that they were just following orders and that any harm done to the victim was really the professor's responsibility. They surrendered their actions to an authority figure.

Psychological studies also show that most people are naturally conformist. Most members of a group see things the group's way. Psychologist Irving Janis found many foreign policy mistakes were made in a climate of "groupthink," in which a leadership team tells itself that all is well and that the present policy is working. Groups ignore doubters who tell them, for instance, that the Japanese will attack Pearl Harbor in 1941 or that the 1961 Bay of Pigs landing of Cuban exiles will fail. Obedience to authority and groupthink suggest that humans have deep-seated needs—possibly innate—to fit into groups and their norms. Perhaps this is what makes human society possible, but it also makes possible horrors such as the Nazi Holocaust and more recent massacres.

CULTURAL How much of human behavior is learned as opposed to biologically inherited? This is the very old "nurture versus nature" debate. For much of the twentieth century, the cultural theorists—those who believe behavior is learned—dominated. Anthropologists concluded that all differences in behavior were cultural. Cooperative and peaceful societies raise their children that way, they argued. Political communities are formed and held together on the basis of cultural values transmitted by parents, schools, churches, and the mass media. Political science developed an interesting subfield, *political culture*, whose researchers found that a country's political culture was formed by many long-term factors: religion, child rearing, land tenure, and economic development.

Cultural theorists see trouble when the political system gets out of touch with the cultural system, as when the shah of Iran attempted to modernize an Islamic society that did not like Western values and lifestyles. The Iranians threw the shah out in 1979 and celebrated the return of a medieval-style religious leader, who voiced the values favored by traditional Iranians. Cultural theories can also be applied to U.S. politics. Republicans try to win elections by

articulating the values of religion, family, and self-reliance, which are deeply ingrained into American culture. Many thinkers believe economic and political development depend heavily on **culture**.

culture
Human behavior that is learned as opposed to inherited.

The cultural approach to political life holds some optimism. If all human behavior is learned, bad behavior can be unlearned and society improved. Educating young people to be tolerant, cooperative, and just will gradually change a society's culture for the better, according to this view. Changing culture, however, is slow and difficult, as the American occupiers of Iraq and Afghanistan discovered.

Culture contributes a lot to political behavior, but the theory has some difficulties. First, where does culture come from? History? Economics? Religion? Second, if all behavior is cultural, various political systems should be as different from each other as their cultures. But, especially in the realm of politics, we see similar political attitudes and patterns in lands with very different cultures. Politicians everywhere tend to become corrupt, regardless of culture.

rational
Based on the ability to reason.

RATIONAL Another school of thought approaches politics as a **rational** thing; that is, people know what they want most of the time, and they have good reasons for doing what they do. Classic political theorists, such as Hobbes and Locke, held that humans form "civil society" because their powers of reason tell them that it is much better than anarchy. To safeguard life and property, people form governments. If those governments become abusive, the people have the right to dissolve them and start anew. This Lockean notion greatly influenced the U.S. Founding Fathers.

The biological, psychological, and cultural schools downplay human reason, claiming that people are either born or conditioned to certain behavior and that individuals seldom think rationally. But what about cases in which people break away from group conformity and argue independently? How can we explain a change of mind? "I was for Jones until he came out with his terrible economic policy, so now I'm voting for Smith." People make rational judgments like that all the time. A political system based on the presumption of human reason stands a better chance of governing justly and humanely. If leaders believe that people obey out of biological inheritance or cultural conditioning, they will think they can get away with all manner of deception and misrule. If, on the other hand, rulers fear that people are rational, they will respect the public's ability to discern wrongdoing. Accordingly, even if people are not completely rational, it is probably for the best if rulers think they are.

irrational
Based on the power to use fear and myth to cloud reason.

IRRATIONAL Late in the nineteenth century, a group of thinkers expounded the view that people are basically **irrational**, especially when it comes to politics. They are emotional, dominated by myths and stereotypes, and politics is really the manipulation of symbols. A crowd is like a wild beast that can be whipped up by charismatic leaders to do their bidding. What people regard as rational is really myth; just keep feeding the people myths to control them. The first practitioner of this school was Mussolini, founder of fascism in Italy, followed by

Hitler in Germany. A soft-spoken Muslim fundamentalist, Osama bin Laden, got an irrational hold on thousands of fanatical followers by feeding them the myth that America was the enemy of Islam.

There may be a good deal of truth to the irrational view of human political behavior, but it has catastrophic consequences. Leaders who use irrationalist techniques start believing their own propaganda and lead their nations to war, economic ruin, or tyranny. Some detect irrationalism even in the most advanced societies, where much of politics consists of screaming crowds and leaders striking heroic poses.

Power as a Composite

There are elements of truth in all these explanations of political power. At different times in different situations, any one of them can explain power. Tom Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* rationally explained why America should separate from Britain. The drafters of both the U.S. Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were imbued with the rationalism of their age. Following the philosophers then popular, they framed their arguments as if human political activity were as logical as Newtonian physics. Historian Henry Steele Commager referred to the Constitution as "the crown jewel of the Enlightenment," the culmination of an age of reason.

But how truly rational were they? By the late eighteenth century, the thirteen American colonies had grown culturally separate from Britain. People thought of themselves as Americans rather than as English colonists. They increasingly read American newspapers and communicated among themselves rather than with Britain. Perhaps the separation was more cultural than rational.

Nor can we forget the psychological and irrational factors. Samuel Adams was a gifted firebrand, Thomas Jefferson a powerful writer, and George Washington a charismatic general. The American break with Britain and the founding of a new order were complex mixtures of all these factors. Such complex mixtures of factors go into any political system you can mention. To be sure, at times one factor seems more important than others, but we cannot exactly determine the weight to give any one factor. And notice how the various factors blend into one another. The biological factors lead to the psychological, which in turn lead to the cultural, the rational, and the irrational, forming a seamless web.

One common mistake about political power is viewing it as a finite, measurable quantity. Power is a connection among people, the ability of one person to get others to do his or her bidding. Political power does not come in jars or megawatts. Revolutionaries in some lands speak of "seizing power," as if power was kept in the national treasury and they could sneak in and grab it at night. The Afghan Taliban "seized power" in 1995–1996, but they were a minority of the Afghan population. Many Afghans hated and fought them. Revolutionaries think they automatically gain **legitimacy** and authority when they "seize power"—they do not. Power is earned, not seized.

legitimacy
Mass feeling that the government's rule is rightful and should be obeyed.

Is power identical to politics? Some power-mad people (including more than a few politicians) see the two as the same, but this is an oversimplification. We might see politics as a combination of goals or policies plus the power necessary to achieve them. Power, in this view, is a prime *ingredient* of politics. It would be difficult to imagine a political system without political power. Even a religious figure who ruled on the basis of love would be exercising power over followers. It might be "nice power," but it would still be power. Power, then, is a sort of *enabling device* to carry out or implement policies and decisions. You can have praiseworthy goals, but unless you have the power to implement them, they remain wishful thoughts.

Others see the essence of politics as a *struggle for power*, a sort of gigantic game in which power is the goal. What, for example, are elections all about? The getting of power. There is a danger here, however: If power becomes the goal of politics, devoid of other purposes, it becomes cynical, brutal, and self-destructive. The Hitler regime destroyed itself in the worship of power. Obsessed with retaining presidential power, President Nixon ruined his own administration. As nineteenth-century British historian and philosopher Lord Acton put it, "Power tends to corrupt; absolute power corrupts absolutely."

What Is Political Science?

1.2 Justify the claim that political science may be considered a science.

The study of politics can take many forms. Political science is a method of how to study politics. Political science ain't politics. It is not necessarily training to become a practicing politician. Political science is training in the calm, objective analysis of politics, which may or may not aid working politicians. Side by side, the two professions compare like this:

Politicians	Political Scientists
love power	are skeptical of power
seek popularity	seek accuracy
think practically	think abstractly
hold firm views	reach tentative conclusions
offer single causes	offer many causes
see short-term payoff	see long-term consequences
plan for next election	plan for next publication
respond to groups	seek the good of the whole
seek name recognition	seek professional prestige

Many find politics distasteful, and perhaps they are right. Politics may be inherently immoral or, at any rate, amoral. Misuse of power, influence peddling, and outright corruption is prominent in politics. But you need not like the thing

Classic Thought

"Never Get Angry at a Fact"

This basic point of all serious study sounds commonsensical but is often ignored, even in college courses. It traces back to the extremely complex thought of the German philosopher Hegel (1770–1831), who argued that things happen not by caprice or accident but for good and sufficient reasons: "Whatever is real is rational." This means that nothing is completely accidental and that if we apply reason, we will understand why something happens. We study politics in a "naturalistic" mode, not getting angry at what we see but trying to understand how it came to be.

For example, we hear of a politician who took money from a favor-seeker. As political scientists, we push our anger to the side and ask questions like: Do most politicians in that country take money? Is it an old tradition, and does the culture of this country accept it? Do the people even expect politicians to take money? How big are campaign expenses? Can the politician possibly run for office without taking money? In short, we see if extralegal exchanges of cash are part of the political system. If they are, it makes no sense to get angry at an individual politician. If we dislike it, we may then consider how the system might be reformed to discourage the taking of money on the side. And reforms may not work. Japan reformed its electoral laws in an attempt to stamp out its traditional "money politics," but little changed. Like bacteria, some things in politics have lives of their own.

you study. Biologists may study a disease-causing bacterium under a microscope. They do not "like" the bacterium but are interested in how it grows, how it does its damage, and how it may be eradicated. Neither do they get angry at the bacterium and smash the glass. Biologists first understand the forces of nature and then work with them to improve humankind's existence. Political scientists try to do the same with politics. The two professions of politician and political scientist bear approximately the same relation to each other as do bacteria and bacteriologists.

The Master Science

Aristotle, the founder of the **discipline**, called politics "the master science." He meant that almost everything happens in a political context, that the decisions of the *polis* (the Greek city-state and root of our words *polite, police,* and *politics*) governed most other things. Politics, in the words of Yale's Harold Lasswell (1902–1978), is the study of "who gets what." But, some object, the economic system determines who gets what in countries with free markets. True, but should we have a totally free-market system with no government involved? A decision to bail out shaky banks sparks angry controversy over this point. Few love the bankers, but economists say it had to be done to save the economy from collapse. Politics is intimately connected to economics.

discipline
A field of study, often represented by an academic department or major.

Suppose something utterly natural strikes, like a hurricane. It is the political system that decides whether and where to build dikes or deliver federal funds to rebuild in flood-prone seacoast areas. The disaster is natural, but its impact on society is controlled in large part by politics. How about science, our

Methods

Learning a Chapter

Read each chapter *before* class. And do not simply read the chapter; learn it by writing down the following:

A. Find what strikes you as the *three main points.* Do not outline; construct three complete sentences, each with a subject and predicate. They may be long and complex sentences, but they must be complete declarative sentences. You may find two, four, or six main points, but by the time you split, combine, and discard what may or may not be the main points, you will know the chapter. Look for abstract generalizations; the specifics come under the point C below, examples or case studies. Do not simply copy three sentences from the chapter. Synthesize several sentences, always asking what three sentences distilled from this chapter will most help me on the exam? These might be three main points from Chapter 1:

1. Study politics as a scientist studies nature, trying to understand reality without getting angry at it.
2. Political science combines many disciplines but focuses on power: who holds it and how they use it.
3. Politics can be studied objectively, provided claims are supported by empirical evidence and structured by theory.

B. List a *dozen vocabulary words*, and be able to define them. These are words new to you or words used in a specialized way. This text makes it easier with the boldfaced terms defined in the margins; for terms not in boldface, read with a dictionary handy.

C. Note specific *examples* or *case studies* that illustrate the main points or vocabulary words. Most will contain proper nouns (i.e., capitalized words). Examples are not main points or definitions; rather, they are empirical evidence that support a main point. The examples need not be complete sentences. These might be examples from Chapter 1:

Aristotle's "master science"
AIDS versus breast cancer research
West Germany's success story
Communist regimes in Eastern Europe
Afghanistan's chaos
Shah's regime in Iran erodes

bacteriologists squinting through microscopes? That is not political. But who funds the scientists' education and their research institutes? It could be private charity (the donors of which get tax breaks), but the government plays a major role. When the U.S. government decided that AIDS research deserved top priority, funding for other programs was cut. Bacteria and viruses may be natural, but studying them is often quite political. In this case, it pitted gays against women concerned with breast cancer. Who gets what: funding to find a cure for AIDS or for breast cancer? The choice is political.

Can Politics Be Studied as a Science?

Students new to science often assume it implies a certain subject for study. But science is a way to study nearly any subject. It is the method, not the subject. The original meaning of science, from the French, is simply "knowledge." Later, the natural sciences, which rely on measurement and calculation, took over the term. Now most people think of science as precise and factual,

supported by experiments and data. Some political scientists have attempted to become like natural scientists; they **quantify** data and manipulate them statistically to validate **hypotheses**. The quantifiers make some good contributions, but usually they focus on small questions of detail rather than on large questions of meaning. This is because they generally have to stick to areas that can be quantified: public opinion, election returns, and congressional voting.

quantify
To measure with numbers.

hypothesis
An initial theory a researcher starts with, to be proved by evidence.

But large areas of politics are not quantifiable. How and why do leaders make their decisions? Many decisions are made in secrecy, even in democracies. We do not know exactly how decisions are made in the White House in Washington, the Elysée in Paris, or the Zhongnanhai in Beijing. When members of Congress vote on an issue, can we be certain why they voted that way? Was it constituents' desires, the good of the nation, or the campaign contributions of interest groups? What did the Supreme Court have in mind when it ruled that laying off schoolteachers based on race is unconstitutional but hiring them based on race is not? Try quantifying that. Much of politics—especially dealing with how and why decisions are made—is just too complex and too secret to be quantified. Bismarck, who unified Germany in the nineteenth century, famously compared laws and sausages: It's better not to see how they are made.

Does that mean that politics can never be like a natural science? Political science is an **empirical** discipline that accumulates both quantified and qualitative data. With such data we can find persistent patterns, much like in biology. Gradually, we begin to generalize. When the generalizations become firmer, we call them theories. In a few cases, the theories become so firm that we may call them laws. In this way, the study of politics accumulates knowledge, the original meaning of science.

empirical
Based on observable evidence.

The Struggle to See Clearly

Political science also resembles a natural science when its researchers, if they are professional, study things as they are and not as they wish them to be. This is more difficult in the study of politics than in the study of stars and cells. Most political scientists have viewpoints on current issues, and it is easy to let these views contaminate their analyses of politics. Indeed, precisely because a given question interests us enough to study it indicates that we bring a certain passion with us. Can you imagine setting to work on a topic you cared nothing about? If you are interested enough to study a question, you probably start by being inclined to one side. Too much of this, however, renders the study biased; it becomes a partisan outcry rather than a scholarly search for the truth. How can you guard against this? The traditional hallmarks of **scholarship** give some guidance. A scholarly work should be *reasoned, balanced*, supported with *evidence*, and a bit *theoretical.*

scholarship
Intellectual arguments supported by reason and evidence.

REASONED You must spell out your reasoning, and it should make sense. If your perspective is colored by an underlying assumption, you should say so. You might say, "For the purpose of this study, we assume that bureaucrats are rational," or "This is a study of the psychology of voters in a small town." Your

basic assumptions influence what you study and how you study it, but you can minimize bias by honestly stating your assumptions. German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), who contributed vastly to all the social sciences, held that any findings that support the researcher's political views must be discarded as biased. Few attempt to be that pure, but Weber's point is well taken: Beware of structuring the study so that it comes out to support a given view.

BALANCED You can also minimize bias by acknowledging other ways of looking at your topic. You should mention the various approaches to your topic and what other researchers have found. Instructors are impressed that you know the literature in a given area. They are even more impressed when you can then criticize the previous studies and explain why you think they are incomplete or faulty: "The Jones study of voters found them largely apathetic, but this was an off-year election in which turnout is always lower." By comparing and criticizing several approaches and studies, you present a much more objective and convincing case. Do not commit yourself to a particular viewpoint or theory, but admit that your view is one among several.

SUPPORTED WITH EVIDENCE All scholarly studies require evidence, ranging from the quantified evidence of the natural sciences to the qualitative evidence of the humanities. Political science utilizes both. Ideally, any statement open to interpretation or controversy should be supported with evidence. Common knowledge does not have to be supported; you need not cite the U.S. Constitution to "prove" that presidents serve four-year terms.

But if you say presidents have gained power over the decades, you need evidence. At a minimum, you would cite a scholar who has amassed evidence to demonstrate this point. That is called a "secondary source," evidence that has passed through the mind of someone else. Most student papers use only secondary sources, but instructors are impressed when you use a "primary source," the original gathering of data, as in your own tabulation of what counties in your state showed the strongest Obama vote. Anyone reading a study must be able to review its evidence and judge if it is valid. You cannot keep your evidence or sources secret.

THEORETICAL Serious scholarship is always connected, at least a little, to a theoretical point. It need not be a sweeping new theory (that's for geniuses), but it should advance the discipline's knowledge a bit. At a minimum, it should confirm or refute an existing theory. Just describing something is not a theory, which is why Google or Wikipedia are seldom enough. You must relate the description to some factor or factors, supported, of course, with empirical evidence. The general pattern of this is: "Most of the time there is C there is also D, and here's probably why." Theory building also helps lift your study above polemics, an argument for or against something. Denouncing the Islamic State, which we all may do with gusto, is not scholarship. Determining why people join IS (studied by several scholars) would have important theoretical and practical impacts.

What Good Is Political Science?

Some students come to political science supposing it is just opinions; they write exams or papers that ignore all or some of the preceding points. Yes, we all have political views, but if we let them dominate our study we get invalid results, junk political science. Professional political scientists push their personal views well to one side while engaged in study and research. First-rate thinkers are able to come up with results that actually refute their previously held opinion. When that happens, we have real intellectual growth, an exciting experience that should be your aim.

Something else comes with such an experience: You start to conclude that you should not have been so partisan in the first place. You may back away from the strong views you held earlier. Accordingly, political science is not necessarily training to become a practicing politician. Political science is training in objective and often complex analysis, whereas the practice of politics requires fixed, popular, and simplified opinions.

Political science can contribute to good government, often by warning those in office that all is not well, "speaking Truth to Power," as the Quakers say. Sometimes this advice is useful to working politicians. Public-opinion polls, for example, showed an erosion of trust in government in the United States starting in the mid-1960s. The causes were Vietnam, Watergate, and inflation. Candidates for political office, knowing public opinion, could tailor their campaigns and policies to try to counteract this decline. Ronald Reagan, with his sunny disposition and upbeat views, utilized the discontent to win two presidential terms.

Some political scientists warned for years of the weak basis of the shah's regime in Iran. Unfortunately, such warnings were unheeded. Washington's policy was to support the shah, and only two months before the end of his rule did the U.S. embassy in Tehran start reporting how unstable Iran had become. State Department officials had let politics contaminate their political analyses; they could not see clearly. Journalists were not much better; few covered Iran until violence broke out. Years in advance, American political scientists specializing in Iran saw trouble coming. More recently, political scientists warned that Iraq was unready for democracy and that a U.S. invasion would unleash chaos, but Washington deciders paid no attention. Political science can be useful.

The Subfields of Political Science

Most political science departments divide the discipline into several subfields. The bigger the department, the more subfields it likely has. We will get at least a brief introduction to all of them in this text.

U.S. Politics focuses on institutions and processes, mostly at the federal level but some at state and local levels. It includes parties, elections, public opinion, and executive and legislative behavior.

Comparative Politics examines politics within other nations, trying to establish generalizations about institutions and political culture and theories of

democracy, stability, and policy. It may be focused on various regions, as in "Latin American politics" or "East Asian politics."

International Relations studies politics among nations, including conflict, diplomacy, international law and organizations, and international political economy. The study of U.S. foreign policy has one foot in U.S. politics and one in international relations.

Political Theory, both classic and modern, attempts to define the good polity, often focused on major thinkers.

Public Administration studies how bureaucracies work and how they can be improved.

Constitutional Law studies the applications and evolution of the Constitution within the legal system.

Public Policy studies the interface of politics and economics with an eye to developing effective programs.

Comparing Political Science to History and Journalism

Understanding how others study politics shows what makes political science distinct. History and journalism have different goals from political science, but they share common features. History studies the past, and not all history focuses on politics. Journalism covers the present, and only some news stories are on politics. What they share, however is a focus on unique events. When a historian studies the French Revolution, she wants to tell the story of the people, the places, and the events to better understand what happened and put forward a thesis about why it happened. She is not interested in comparing the French to the American Revolution, as those are distinct, unique events that deserve separate study.

Similarly, a journalist reporting on a war will describe the events as they unfold. He interviews people affected by the conflict and chronicles a battle to explain why it was a turning point.

Political science approaches these tasks differently. Instead of focusing on one revolution, a political scientist might compare several revolutions to discover what links them together. What factors cause revolutions? Why do they sometimes succeed and sometimes fail? What are the consequences of revolution?

Similarly, a political scientist would not necessarily be interested in writing about today's battle or interviewing a war refugee. Instead, political scientists might be interested in what causes wars generally or why some small conflicts result in major wars and others do not. Under what circumstances do civil conflicts lead to genocide? What forms of aid are most successful when faced with large numbers of refugees?

generalize
Explaining the causes of consequences of a whole class of events.

Where historians or journalists often seek to explain the unique circumstances of a particular event, political scientists seek to **generalize**. What are

the necessary and sufficient conditions that will lead to revolution, to war, or to other political outcomes? If decapitating the aristocracy happened only in the French Revolution, then a political scientist would dismiss it as a factor that explains revolution, whereas a historian might be very interested in guillotines. If a refugee suffered from war, the journalist might tell her story. A political scientist would focus on how a new strategy for the international response to a refugee crises led to a 50 percent increase in the number of refugees helped compared to the old strategy.

Political science ignores things that might appear important in one context but are irrelevant beyond that context. Instead, it can focus on the few factors that exist across similar contexts. Did a politician win an election because he ran an ad about his opponent who voted for an unpopular bill or because he spent $10 million to say so? Studying one campaign would not yield a definitive answer. Studying many campaigns could discover which was more important—negative advertising or campaign spending.

Theory in Political Science

1.3 Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of several theoretical approaches to political science.

Schools in the United States typically ask students to accumulate knowledge—to know more stuff. Critics point out that knowledge is more than just accumulating facts because the facts will not structure themselves into a coherent whole. Gathering facts without an organizing principle leads only to large collections of meaningless facts, a point made by Kant. In science, theories provide structure that give meaning to patterns of facts. To be sure, theories can grow too complex and abstract and depart from the real world, but without at least some theoretical perspective, we do not even know what questions to ask. Even if you say you have no theories, you probably have some unspoken ones. The kinds of questions you ask and which ones you ask first are the beginnings of theorizing.

Theories are not facts. They are suggestions as to how the facts should be organized. Some theories have more evidence to support them than others. All theories bump into facts that contradict their explanations. Even in the natural sciences, theories such as the so-called Big Bang explain only some observations. Theories often compete with other theories. How can you prove which model is more nearly correct? Political scientists—really all scientists—test theories with observations of the world and adjust theories to better reflect what they see. The accumulation of knowledge through science is nearly always a slow incremental process. The following sections outline several theoretical frameworks political scientists have used to understand the political world.

Behavioralism

institutions
The formal structures of government, such as the U.S. Congress.

From the late nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth century, American thinkers focused on **institutions**, the formal structures of government. This showed the influence of law on the development of political science in the United States. Woodrow Wilson, for example, was a lawyer (albeit unsuccessful) before he became a political scientist; he concentrated on perfecting the institutions of government. Constitutions were a favorite subject for political scientists of this period, for they assumed that what was on paper was how the institutions worked in practice. The rise of the Soviet, Italian, and German dictatorships shook this belief. The constitution of Germany's Weimar Republic (1919–1933) looked fine on paper; experts had drafted it. Under stress it collapsed, for Germans of that time did not have the necessary experience with or commitment to democracy. Likewise, the Stalin constitution of 1936 made the Soviet Union look like a perfect democracy, but it functioned as a brutal dictatorship.

The Communist and Fascist dictatorships and World War II forced political scientists to reexamine their institutional focus, and many set out to discover how politics really worked, not how it was supposed to work. Postwar American political scientists here followed in the tradition of the early nineteenth-century French philosopher Auguste Comte, who developed the doctrine of **positivism**, the application of natural science methods to the study of society. Comtean positivism was an optimistic philosophy, holding that as we accumulate valid data by means of scientific observation—without speculation or intuition—we will perfect a science of society and with it improve society. Psychologists are perhaps the most deeply imbued with this approach. **Behavioralists**, as they are called, claim to concentrate on actual behavior as opposed to thoughts or feelings.

positivism
Theory that society can be studied scientifically and incrementally improved with the knowledge gained.

behavioralism
The empirical study of actual human behavior rather than abstract or speculative theories.

Beginning in the 1950s, behaviorally inclined political scientists accumulated statistics from elections, public-opinion surveys, votes in legislatures, and anything else they could hang a number on. Behavioralists made some remarkable contributions to political science, shooting down some long-held but unexamined assumptions and giving political theory an empirical basis. Behavioral studies were especially good in examining the "social bases" of politics, the attitudes and values of citizens, which go a long way toward making the system function the way it does. Their best work has been on voting patterns, for it is here they can get lots of valid data.

By the 1960s, the behavioral school established itself and won over much of the field. In the late 1960s, however, behavioralism came under heavy attack, and not just by rear-guard traditionalists. Many younger political scientists, some of them influenced by the radicalism of the 1960s, complained that the behavioral approach was static, conservative, loaded with its practitioners' values, and irrelevant to the urgent tasks at hand. Far from being "scientific" and "value-free," behavioralists often defined the current situation in the United States as the norm and anything different as deviant. Gabriel Almond (1911–2002) and Sidney Verba (1932–) found that Americans embody all the