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AN INTRODUCTION
TO POLITICAL SCIENCE



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POWER & CHOICE

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

NINTH EDITION

W. Phillips Shively

University of Minnesota



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POWER & CHOICE: AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

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W. PHILLIPS SHIVELY is Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, where he moved in 1971 after teaching at the University of Oregon and Yale University. He has also served as Visiting Professor at the University of Oslo in Norway. His research, which has appeared in numerous articles, deals with the comparative study of elections, and he has written *The Craft of Political Research*, an introduction to research techniques. He has also had practical political experience as a lobbyist in Minnesota. His true love is bird-watching.

PREFACE

This book provides a general, comparative introduction to the major concepts and themes of political science. For a number of years, I had taught a course that attempted to accomplish this aim, and that experience had shown me how badly we need a text that is conceptually alive and that engages students with concrete examples of analysis without losing them in a clutter of definitional minutiae. That is what I aimed for when I first wrote this book, and I've been most pleased at the response it has elicited.

The title of the book, *Power & Choice*, indicates a subsidiary theme that recurs at intervals. Politics may be seen as (1) the use of power or (2) the production of a public choice. Often one or the other is heavily emphasized in approaching the subject. Marxism emphasizes politics as the use of power, while pluralism and much formal modeling work emphasize the emergence of public choices. For our present purpose, I have defined politics as the use of power to make common decisions for a group of people, a definition that obviously demands that one hold both perspectives simultaneously. At various stages of my presentation, I note instances in which an emphasis on just one of the two halves of the definition may yield a distorted interpretation.

Behind this subsidiary theme lies a broader theme that remains largely implicit—that political analysis is best conducted eclectically, rather than being straitjacketed into a single approach. My own research is squarely in the “behavioral” realm, for instance, but I found as I was working on this book that necessities of exposition and understanding pulled me toward a greater emphasis on policy and institutions than I had originally intended. Similarly, the state as an organizer of politics thrust itself more to the fore than I had anticipated. Distinctions that provide useful boundaries for research proved unhelpful in my efforts to build an understanding of politics among students; I think this is a healthy sign.

Material in the book is presented topically rather than on a country-by-country basis; but in order to add the sort of detailed contextual grounding that students gain from a country presentation, I have included within each substantive chapter a couple of

extended examples from countries that particularly display the conceptual material of that chapter. For instance, Chapter 3, which deals with the state, concludes with detailed sections on the European Union and on the establishment and maintenance of the Nigerian state. Similarly, Chapter 16 “Bureaucracy and the Public Sector,” gives detailed treatment to France and Saudi Arabia.

NEW TO THE NINTH EDITION

Over the couple of decades since I first wrote this book, the world has proved to be a strange and wonderful place—even more than I realized at that time. The book has seen the joy and light of the young people who pulled down the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the darkness of the suicide attackers who destroyed the World Trade Center in 2001. As it has evolved across several editions during this time, very little that it started out with has remained unchanged. Its mood has also varied from time to time, but one thing that has been constant is my faith in people’s capacity to shape their futures through politics.

In this ninth edition there is, of course, a great deal of general updating. When a book deals with all states of the world, a lot changes over even a couple of years. In revising the book this time, I found that I needed to make deeper changes than usual. The revision responds partly to developments in the world of politics, and partly to developments in academic political science:

- I have blended two previous chapters on democratization and on autocratic government to be a new Chapter 8, “Democracy and Autocracy.” This chapter compares democratic and autocratic government; treatment of democratization has been moved to another chapter, *viz.*
- I have also added a new Chapter 13, “Social Movements and Contentious Politics.” A portion of this chapter deals with democratization.
- I have increased my treatment of the problem of public goods and free riders, moving its first introduction up to Chapter 3, in connection with the state as a provider of public goods. *Please note: I have also changed the term I use.* In previous editions, I called this the problem of “collective goods,” but this could be confused with the “collective decisions,” which I present as a central part of politics. In order to avoid any confusion, I have shifted in this edition to “public goods.”
- I have added special treatment of the problem of aging populations in advanced economies to Chapter 4, “Policies of the State.”
- I have added a box on “Baumol’s disease,” which accounts for the fact that governmental and other service costs generally rise faster than the rate of inflation—not because bureaucrats are lazy or venal, but because of the nature of service industries.
- I have added a box on the difficulty of holding elections in a new democracy, focusing on Papua New Guinea.
- In the sections on political culture, I have added some special treatment of Robert Kagan’s *Of Paradise and Power*.

I also have made a couple of pedagogical changes:

- To make the treatment of central terms more prominent, I have supplemented the glossary by setting each term that is treated in the glossary in bold font the first time it is introduced. I have also added at the end of each chapter a list of all of these terms that appeared in that chapter.
- Given the substantive additions to the book, in order to prevent it becoming longer (and therefore more expensive), I have eliminated the bibliography at the back of the book. Since citations are given at the bottom of each page in footnotes, and since the end of each chapter includes a section “Further Reading,” I do not believe the bibliography will be a loss for anyone. Do let me know if I have misjudged this! Just in case, McGraw-Hill will mount the bibliography on the website for this book: www.mhhe.com/shively9.

In addition to my changes in the book, with each copy of the text, McGraw-Hill provides access to PowerWeb for Political Science, a reservoir of course-specific articles and current events. All of the articles and web links on PowerWeb have been recommended by a panel of political science reviewers, which means that it only includes clear and concise learning tools that are continuously updated. PowerWeb also includes quizzes, interactive exercises, study tips, research tips, a career guide, and more. PowerWeb includes resources for instructors as well. Contact your McGraw-Hill representative for password access to these materials. In addition to PowerWeb, McGraw-Hill provides a book specific Online Learning Center at www.mhhe.com/shively9. Interactive quizzing, research links, and news sources are available for students. Instructors can access the online instructor’s manual along with a template and software to generate their own course related webpages. Again, instructor access to passwords can be obtained through your McGraw-Hill representative.

I have been very pleased by the response to this book. It is a wonderful experience to run into people who have used it and feel that it has helped them. I am grateful to the following reviewers, who will notice many of their suggestions incorporated:

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W. Phillips Shively

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PART ONE

THE IDEA OF POLITICS
