

Comparative Politics Today

A World View

G. Bingham Powell, Jr.

Russell J. Dalton

Kaare Strom



Eleventh Edition

MyPoliSciLab®

Comparative Politics Today

A WORLD VIEW

Contributors

OLADIMEJI ABORISADE
University of North Carolina, Charlotte

HOUCHANG E. CHEHABI
Boston University

WAYNE A. CORNELIUS
University of California, San Diego

RUSSELL J. DALTON
University of California, Irvine

FRANCES HAGOPIAN
Harvard University

ARANG KESHAVARZIAN
New York University

THAD KOUSSER
University of California, San Diego

A. CARL LEVAN
American University

MELANIE MANION
University of Wisconsin, Madison

SUBRATA K. MITRA
Universitat Heidelberg, Germany

G. BINGHAM POWELL, JR.
University of Rochester

TIMOTHY J. POWER
St. Anthony's College, Oxford

AUSTIN RANNEY
Late, University of California, Berkeley

THOMAS F. REMINGTON
Emory University

RICHARD ROSE
University of Strathclyde Glasgow

FRANCES ROSENBLUTH
Yale University

MARTIN A. SCHAIN
New York University

KAARE W. STRØM
University of California, San Diego

MICHAEL F. THIES
University of California, Los Angeles

JEFFREY A. WELDON
Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México

Comparative Politics Today

A WORLD VIEW

ELEVENTH EDITION

G. Bingham Powell, Jr.

University of Rochester

Russell J. Dalton

University of California, Irvine

Kaare W. Strøm

University of California, San Diego

PEARSON

Boston Columbus Indianapolis New York San Francisco Upper Saddle River
Amsterdam Cape Town Dubai London Madrid Milan Munich Paris Montréal Toronto
Delhi Mexico City São Paulo Sydney Hong Kong Seoul Singapore Taipei Tokyo

Editorial Director: Dickson Musslewhite
Publisher: Charlyce Jones Owen
Program Manager: LeeAnn Doherty
Editorial Assistant: Maureen Diana
Director of Media and Assessment: Brian Hyland
Media Production Manager: Peggy Bliss
Media Project Manager: Claudine Bellanton
Marketing Manager: Wendy Gordon
Project Manager: Mirella Signoretto
Project Coordination, Text Design, and Electronic Page Makeup: PreMediaGlobal
Senior Project Manager, PreMediaGlobal: Melissa Sacco
Cover Design Manager: Jayne Conte
Cover Designer: Suzanne Behnke
Procurement Manager: Mary Fischer
Procurement Specialist: Mary Ann Gloriande
Printer and Bindery: Courier, Kendalville
Cover Printer: Phoenix Color/Hagerstown

For permission to use copyrighted material, grateful acknowledgment is made to the copyright holders on pp. 726–730, which are hereby made part of this copyright page.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Comparative politics today: a world view / edited by G. Bingham Powell, Russell J. Dalton, Kaare W. Strøm—
Eleventh edition.

p. cm

ISBN-13: 978-0-13-380772-1 (alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-13-380772-X (alk. paper)

1. Comparative government. I. Powell, G. Bingham. II. Dalton, Russell J. III. Strøm, Kaare.

JF51.C62 2014

320.3—dc23

2013046431

Copyright © 2015, 2012, 2010, 2008, by Pearson Education, Inc.

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, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Printed in the United States.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

PEARSON

ISBN-10: 0-13-380772-X
ISBN-13: 978-0-13-380772-1

**The editors of the eleventh edition of
Comparative Politics Today wish to dedicate this edition to
Richard Rose, whose chapter on Britain (or England)
has been an important part of every edition of
CPT for 40 years.**

Brief Contents

Detailed Contents	vii
A Guide to Comparing Nations	xii
A Brief Guide to Analyzing Visuals	xiv
Preface	xxi

PART ONE Introduction

- 1 Challenge and Change in Comparative Politics** 1
- 2 Comparing Political Systems** 22

PART TWO System, Process, and Policy

- 3 Political Culture and Political Socialization** 39
- 4 Interest Articulation** 56
- 5 Interest Aggregation and Political Parties** 75
- 6 Government and Policymaking** 96
- 7 Public Policy** 122

PART THREE Country Studies

- 8 Politics in Britain** *by Richard Rose* 148
 - 9 Politics in France** *by Martin A. Schain* 194
 - 10 Politics in Germany** *by Russell J. Dalton* 244
 - 11 Politics in Japan** *by Frances Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies* 294
 - 12 Politics in Russia** *by Thomas F. Remington* 336
 - 13 Politics in China** *by Melanie Manion* 384
 - 14 Politics in Mexico** *by Wayne A. Cornelius and Jeffrey A. Weldon* 432
 - 15 Politics in Brazil** *by Frances Hagopian and Timothy J. Power* 482
 - 16 Politics in Iran** *by H. E. Chehabi and Arang Keshavarzian* 532
 - 17 Politics in India** *by Subrata K. Mitra* 582
 - 18 Politics in Nigeria** *by A. Carl LeVan and Oladimeji Aborisade* 630
 - 19 Politics in the United States** *by Thad Kousser and Austin Ranney* 678
- Credits 726
Index 731

Detailed Contents

A Guide to Comparing Nations xii
A Brief Guide to Analyzing Visuals xiv
Preface xxi

PART ONE **Introduction**

CHAPTER 1

Challenge and Change in Comparative Politics 1

What Is Comparative Politics? 2
Challenges: Building Community 3
Fostering Economic Development 6
Fostering Democracy, Human Rights, and Civil
Liberties 11
The Contribution of Globalization 14
What Governments Do 15
When Does Government Become the
Problem? 17
Looking Forward 19
Review Questions 20
Key Terms 20
Suggested Readings 20
Endnotes 21

CHAPTER 2

Comparing Political Systems 22

Why We Compare 22
How We Compare 23
How We Explain and Predict 23
Political Systems: Environment and
Interdependence 26
Political Systems: Structures and Functions 29
An Illustrative Comparison: Regime Change in
Russia 33

The Policy Level: Performance, Outcome, and
Evaluation 36
Review Questions 37
Key Terms 37
Suggested Readings 38
Endnotes 38

PART TWO **System, Process, and Policy**

CHAPTER 3

Political Culture and Political Socialization 39

Mapping the Three Levels of Political Culture 40
Why Culture Matters 45
Political Socialization 47
Agents of Political Socialization 48
Trends Shaping Contemporary Political Cultures 52
Review Questions 53
Key Terms 54
Suggested Readings 54
Endnotes 54

CHAPTER 4

Interest Articulation 56

Citizen Action 57
How Citizens Participate 58
Interest Groups 60
Civil Society 64
Interest Group Systems 65
Access to the Influential 67
Interest Group Development 71
Review Questions 72
Key Terms 72
Suggested Readings 72
Endnotes 73

CHAPTER 5

Interest Aggregation and Political Parties 75

- Personal Interest Aggregation 76
- Institutional Interest Aggregation 77
- Competitive Party Systems and Interest Aggregation 78
- Authoritarian Party Systems 88
- The Military and Interest Aggregation 90
- Trends in Interest Aggregation 91
- Significance of Interest Aggregation 92
- Review Questions 93
- Key Terms 94
- Suggested Readings 94
- Endnotes 94

CHAPTER 6

Government and Policymaking 96

- Constitutions and Decision Rules 97
- Democracy and Authoritarianism 98
- Separation of Government Powers 99
- Geographic Distribution of Government Power 102
- Limitations on Government Power 103
- Checking the Top Policymakers 105
- Assemblies 106
- Political Executives 109
- The Bureaucracy 116
- Review Questions 119
- Key Terms 119
- Suggested Readings 120
- Endnotes 120

CHAPTER 7

Public Policy 122

- Government and What It Does 122
- Public Policy Outputs 125
- Domestic Policy Outcomes 133
- International Outcomes 143
- The Complexity of Policy Choice 145
- Review Questions 145
- Key Terms 146
- Suggested Readings 146
- Endnotes 146

PART THREE Country Studies

CHAPTER 8

Politics in Britain 148

by *Richard Rose*

- Current Policy Challenges 150
- The Legacy of History 152
- The Environment of Politics: One Crown but Five Nations 156
- The Structure of Government 159
- Political Culture and Legitimacy 170
- Political Socialization and Participation 172
- Political Participation 174
- Political Recruitment 174
- Organizing Group Interests 176
- Party System and Electoral Choice 179
- Centralized Authority and Decentralized Delivery of Policies 183
- Policy Performance 188
- Policy Challenges in a World of Interdependence 189
- Review Questions 191
- Internet Resources 192
- Key Terms 192
- Suggested Readings 192
- Endnotes 193

CHAPTER 9

Politics in France 194

by *Martin A. Schain*

- Current Policy Challenges 196
- A Historical Perspective 197
- Economy and Society 198
- The Constitutional Tradition 199
- Political Culture 200
- Political Socialization 204
- Recruitment and Style of Elites 208
- Interest Groups 210
- Political Parties 215
- Patterns of Voting 223
- Policy Processes 227
- The State and Territorial Relations 233
- Performance and Prospects 235
- Review Questions 240
- Key Terms 240
- Suggested Readings 241

Internet Resources 241
Endnotes 241

CHAPTER 10

Politics in Germany 244

by *Russell J. Dalton*

Current Policy Challenges 246
The Historical Legacy 247
Following Two Paths 249
Social Forces 252
The Institutions and Structure of Government 255
Remaking Political Cultures 260
Political Learning and Political Communication 264
Citizen Participation 266
Politics at the Elite Level 268
Interest Groups 269
Party Government 272
The Party System 273
The Policymaking Process 280
Policy Performance 284
Addressing the Policy Challenges 288
After the Revolution 290
Review Questions 290
Key Terms 290
Suggested Readings 291
Internet Sources 291
Endnotes 292

CHAPTER 11

Politics in Japan 294

by *Frances Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies*

Current Policy Challenges 296
Historical Origins of the Modern Japanese State 298
The Occupation 299
Social Conditions 300
Political Institutions 301
Political Culture and Issue Cleavages 305
Political Socialization 309
Political Participation and Voting Behavior 311
Electoral Systems and Electoral Competition 313
The Japanese Party System 315
Interest Groups 321
The Policymaking Process 323
Policy Performance 326
Concluding Thoughts about Japanese Politics 330

Review Questions 332
Key Terms 332
Suggested Readings 332
Internet Resources 333
Endnotes 333

CHAPTER 12

Politics in Russia 336

by *Thomas F. Remington*

Ensuring Continuity of Leadership 337
Current Policy Challenges 339
Historical Legacies 340
The Contemporary Constitutional Order 344
Russian Political Culture in the Post-Soviet Period 354
Political Participation 358
Interest Articulation: Statism, Corporatism, and Pluralism 361
The Dominant Party Regime 366
Russia and the Resource Curse 372
Toward the Rule of Law? 378
Russia and the International Community 379
Review Questions 380
Key Terms 380
Suggested Readings 381
Internet Resources 381
Endnotes 381

CHAPTER 13

Politics in China 384

by *Melanie Manion*

Current Policy Challenges 386
Historical Setting 387
Social Conditions 392
Structure of the Party-State 393
Political Socialization 403
Political Culture 405
Political Participation 407
Interest Articulation and Aggregation 412
Policymaking and Implementation 414
Policy Performance 419
Hong Kong 425
China and the World 426
China's Political Future 426
Review Questions 427
Key Terms 427
Suggested Readings 428
Internet Resources 428
Endnotes 428

CHAPTER 14

Politics in Mexico 432

by *Wayne A. Cornelius and Jeffrey A. Weldon*

- Current Policy Challenges 434
- Historical Perspectives 435
- Political Culture 443
- Mass Political Socialization 445
- Political Participation 448
- Political Structure and Institutions 450
- Recruiting the Political Elite 458
- Interest Representation and Political Control 460
- Political Parties 461
- Government Performance 469
- Mexico's Political Future 477
- Review Questions 479
- Key Terms 479
- Suggested Readings 479
- Internet Resources 480
- Endnotes 480

CHAPTER 15

Politics in Brazil 482

by *Frances Hagopian and Timothy J. Power*

- Current Policy Challenges 484
- Historical Perspectives 486
- Economy and Society 489
- Institutions and Structures of Government 492
- Political Culture 495
- Political Recruitment and Political Participation 500
- Interest Groups 504
- Political Parties and Elections 508
- The Policymaking Process 516
- Policy Performance 518
- International Relations 525
- Prospects for the Future 526
- Review Questions 528
- Key Terms 528
- Suggested Readings 529
- Internet Resources 529
- Endnotes 530

CHAPTER 16

Politics in Iran 532

by *H. E. Chehabi and Arang Keshavarzian*

- Current Policy Challenges 534
- Historical Legacy 536

- Institutions of the Islamic Republic 542
- Elections and Parties 547
- Political Culture 553
- Political Socialization 557
- Recruiting the Political Elite 561
- Interest Articulation and Aggregation 562
- Policy Formulation 566
- Policy Outcomes 569
- Conclusion 576
- Review Questions 577
- Key Terms 578
- Suggested Readings 578
- Internet Resources 578
- Endnotes 579

CHAPTER 17

Politics in India 582

by *Subrata K. Mitra*

- Current Policy Challenges 584
- History in the Making of Contemporary Politics 587
- The "Givens" of Indian Society 591
- Political Institutions and the Policy Process 595
- The Federal Structure 604
- The Articulation of Interests 605
- The Party System 608
- Political Culture 613
- Elections and Participation 615
- Political Recruitment 616
- Policy Outputs: Economics, Welfare, and Poverty 617
- Conclusion: Conflation of Democracy and Development 622
- Review Questions 625
- Key Terms 625
- Suggested Readings 626
- Internet Resources 626
- Endnotes 626

CHAPTER 18

Politics in Nigeria 630

by *A. Carl LeVan and Oladimeji Aborisade*

- Current Policy Challenges 632
- The Effects of History 633
- Environmental Potential and Limitations 636
- Political Culture and Subcultures 642

Political Socialization	647
Political Recruitment	650
Political Structure	652
Interest Articulation	657
Political Participation	659
Parties and Elections	660
Policy Formation and Implementation	666
Nigeria in Africa and in the World	671
Prospects for Development	673
Review Questions	674
Key Terms	674
Suggested Readings	675
Internet Resources	675
Endnotes	676

CHAPTER 19

Politics in the United States 678

by *Thad Kousser and Austin Ranney*

Current Policy Challenges	680
History	682

Social Conditions	685
The Constitutional System	687
Political Culture and Socialization	691
Political Participation and Recruitment	695
Recruitment of Leaders	697
Interest Articulation: PACs and Pressure Groups	699
The Special Characteristics of American Political Parties	704
The Policymaking Process in America	712
Policy Performance	715
American Exceptionalism: Myth or Reality?	719
Conclusion	722
Review Questions	723
Key Terms	723
Suggested Readings	723
Internet Resources	724
Endnotes	724

Credits 726

Index 731

A Guide to Comparing Nations

This analytic index provides a guide to where specific themes are addressed in each chapter.

Topics	Chapters					
	1–7	Britain	France	Germany	Japan	Russia
History	28–29	152–156	197–198	247–252	298–300	340–344
Social Conditions	3–11	158–159	196–199	252–255	300–301, 308–309	350–352
Executive	109–116	161–166	227–229	257–258	302–304	344–346
Parliament	106–109	166–169	229–232	256–257	301–302	346–349
Judiciary	103–105	169–170	232–233	259–260	305	349–350
Provincial Government	102	156–158, 184–185	233–235	255–256	304–305	350–354
Political Culture	39–47	170–172	200–204	260–264	305–309	354–357
Political Socialization	47–52	172–174	204–208	264–266	309–311	357–358
Participation/Recruitment	56–60	174–176	208–210	266–269	311–312	358–361
Interest Groups	60–72	176–179	210–214	269–272	321–323	361–366
Parties and Elections	78–90	179–183	215–227	272–280	313–321	366–372
Policy Process	96–119	183–188	227–233	280–284	323–326	344–349
Outputs and Outcomes	122–145	188–189	235–238	284–289	326–332	372–379
International Relations	14–15, 143–145	189–191	238–240	289–290	326–328	379–380

China	Mexico	Brazil	Iran	India	Nigeria	United States
387–392	435–443	486–488	536–542	587–591	633–636	682–684
392	469–471	490–492	538, 572	591–595	636–642	685–687
393–394	456–458	493	544	596–599	656	714–715
395–396	452–456	493–494	544–547	599–602	656–657	689–690
396–397	472–474	494–495	545–546	602–603	657	690–691
425–426	451–452	492–493		604–605	653–656	688–689
405–407	443–445	495–499	553–557	613–615	642–647	691–693
403–404	445–448	499–500	557–561		647–650	693–694
400–402, 407–412	448–450, 458–460	500–504	561–562	615–616, 616–617	659–660, 650–652	695–697, 697–699
412–414	460–461	504–508	562–566	605–608	657–659	699–704
393–403	461–468	508–516	547–553	608–612	660–665	704–710
414–419	455	516–518	566–569	600–602	654, 656	712–715
419–425	469–475	518–524	569–573	617–625	666–671	715–719
426–427	475–477	525–526	573–576	621–622	671–673	680–682

A Brief Guide to Analyzing Visuals

We are used to thinking about reading written texts critically—for example, reading a textbook carefully for information, sometimes highlighting or underlining as we go along—but we do not always think about “reading” visuals in this way. We should, because images and informational graphics can tell us a lot if we read and consider them carefully. Especially in the so-called information age, in which we are exposed to a constant stream of images on television and the Internet, it is important to be able to analyze and understand their meanings. This brief guide provides information about the types of visuals you will encounter in *Comparative Politics Today: A World View* and offers some questions to help you analyze everything from tables to charts and graphs to news photographs.

Tables

Tables are the least “visual” of the visuals we explore. They consist of textual information and/or numerical data arranged in columns and rows. Tables are frequently used when exact information is required and when orderly arrangement is necessary to locate and, in many cases, to compare the information. For example, Table 7.3 Health Outcomes makes data on the various measures of citizens’ health in many nations organized and easy to compare. Here are a few questions to guide your analysis:

- What is the purpose of this table? What information does it show? There is usually a title that offers a sense of the table’s purpose.

TABLE 7.3
Health Outcomes

Government efforts can help combat the problems of low economic development for citizens’ health.

Country	Physicians per 1,000 Citizens, 2011	Life Expectancy at Birth, 2011	Infant Mortality per 1,000 Live Births, 2011	Fertility Rate, 2012
Brazil	1.8	74	14	1.8
Britain	2.8	80	4	1.9
China	1.5	79	13	1.7
France	3.4	82	3	2.0
Germany	3.7	81	3	1.4
India	0.7	65	47	2.5
Iran	0.9	73	21	1.9
Japan	2.1	83	2	1.4
Mexico	2.0	75	13	2.2
Nigeria	0.4	53	78	6.0
Russia	4.3	69	10	1.5
United States	2.4	79	6	2.0

Source: World Health Organization (data downloaded June 9, 2013, from <http://apps.who.int/gho/data>).

- What information is provided in the column headings (the table's top row)? How are the rows labeled? Are there any clarifying notes at the bottom of the table?
- Is a time period indicated, such as July to December 2009? Or, are the data as of a specific date, such as January 1, 2010? Are the data shown at multiple intervals over a fixed period or at one particular point in time?
- If the table shows numerical data, what do these data represent? In what units? Dollars spent on social service programs? Percentage of voters who support the British Labour Party? Years of life expectancy?
- What is the source of the information presented in the table? Is it government information? Private polling information? A newspaper? A corporation?

The United Nations? An individual? Is the source trustworthy? Current? Does the source have a vested interest in the data expressed in the table?

Charts and Graphs

Charts and graphs depict numerical data in visual forms. The most common kinds of graphs plot data in two dimensions along horizontal and vertical axes. Examples that you will encounter throughout this book are line graphs, pie charts, bar graphs, and timelines. These kinds of visuals emphasize data relationships: at a particular point in time, at regular intervals over a fixed period of time, or, sometimes, as parts of a whole. Line graphs show a progression, usually over time. (as in Figure 17.2 Chronology of Casualties: Kashmir 1988–2011.)

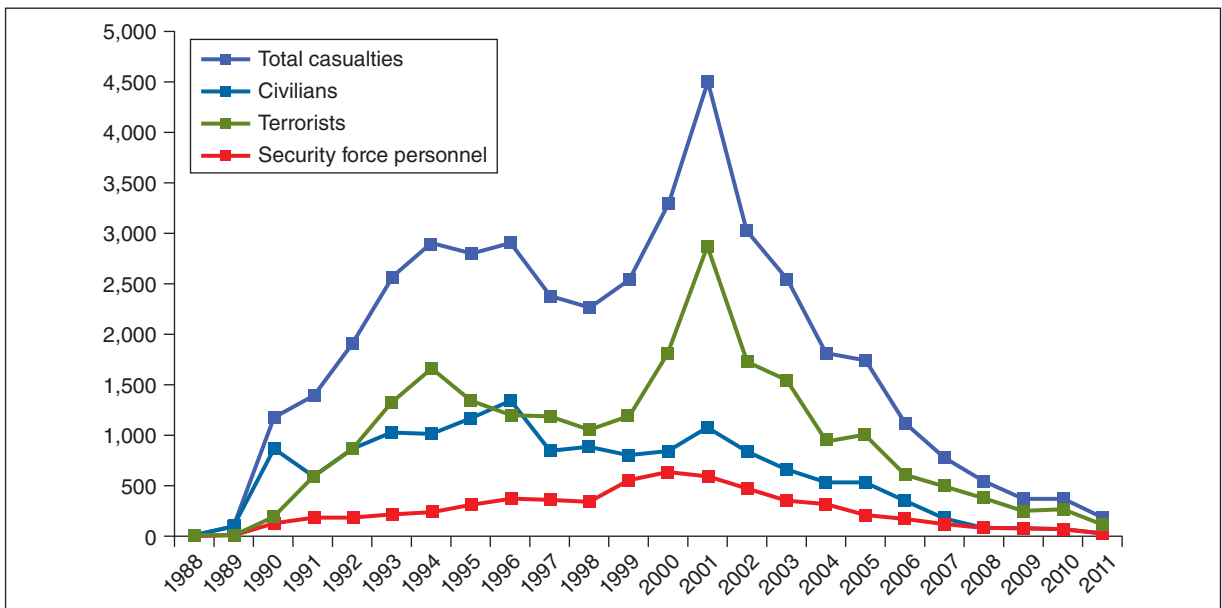


FIGURE 17.2
Chronology of Casualties: Kashmir (1988–2011)

Source: www.satp.org.

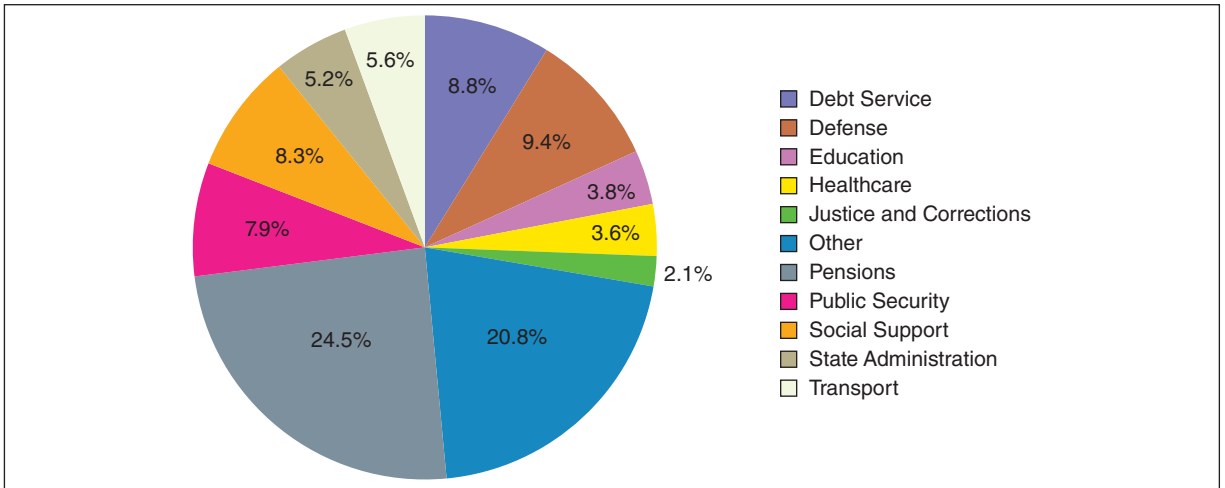


FIGURE 12.7
Russian State Budget Breakdown, 2013

Pensions take up a full quarter of the state budget, an expense that is likely to grow in coming years. It exceeds spending on education, health care, and assistance to the needy combined.

Source: Ministry of Finance website, www.minfin.ru

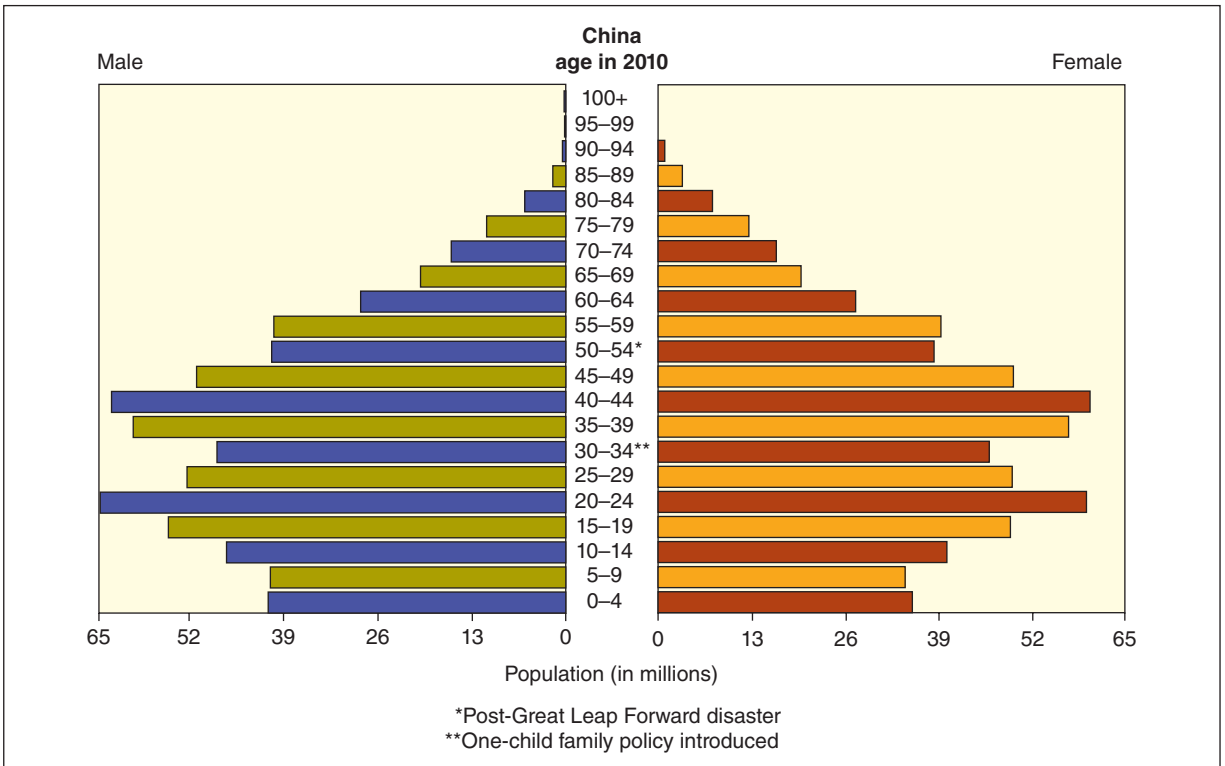


FIGURE 13.5
Population Structure, 2010 Midyear, by Age and Sex

Policies since the 1970s have reduced population growth in the world's most populous country.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, International Data Base, www.census.gov/ipc/www/idb/country.php.

Pie charts (such as Figure 12.7, 2013 Russian Federal Budget) demonstrate how a whole (total government spending) is divided into its parts (different types of government programs). Bar graphs compare values across categories, showing how proportions are related to each other (as in Figure 13.5, showing the male and female populations in China by age bracket). Bar graphs can present data either horizontally or vertically. Timelines show events and changes over a defined period of time (such as the list of prime ministers of Britain in Figure 8.2). You will also encounter charts that map out processes and hierarchies throughout this book (as in the structure of the government of Nigeria shown in Figure 18.4).

Many of the same questions you ask about tables are also important when analyzing graphs and charts (see above). Here are more questions to help you:

- In the case of line and bar graphs, how are the axes labeled? Are symbols or colors used to represent different groups or units?
- Are the data shown at multiple intervals over a fixed period or at one particular point in time?
- If there are two or more sets of figures, what are the relationships among them?
- Is there distortion in the visual representation of the information? Are the intervals equal? Does the area shown distort the actual amount or the proportion? Distortion can lead you to draw an inaccurate conclusion on first sight, so it's important to look for it.

Maps

Maps of countries, regions, and the world are very often used in political analysis to illustrate demographic, social, economic, and political issues and trends. See, for example, Figure 16.1, Map of Iran's Ethnic Minorities.

Though tables and graphs might sometimes give more precise information, maps help us to understand, in a geographic context, data that are more difficult to express in words or numbers alone. Here are a few more questions to add to those in the above sections:

- What does the map key/legend show? What are the factors that the map is analyzing? Are symbols or colors used to differentiate sections of the map? Maps can express information on political boundaries, natural resources, ethnic groups, and many other topics, so it is important to know what exactly is being shown.

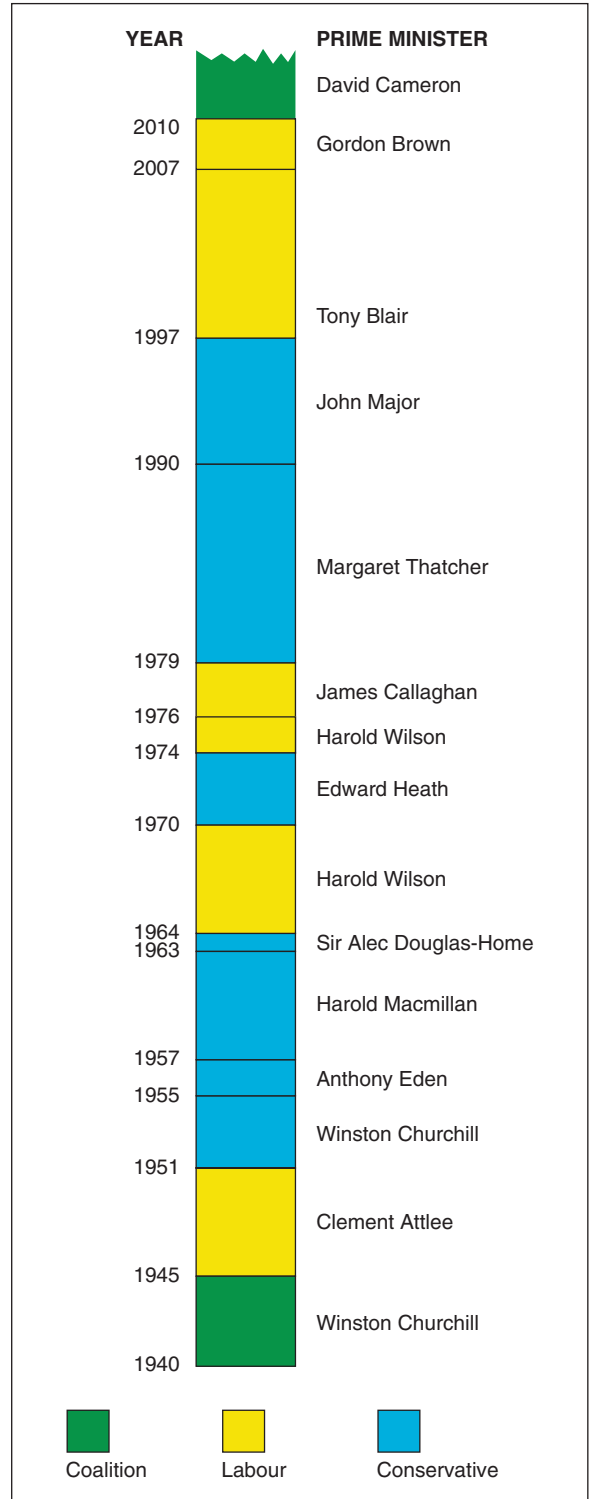


FIGURE 8.2
Long- and Short-Term Tenures at Downing Street
Prime Ministers and Governments since 1940.

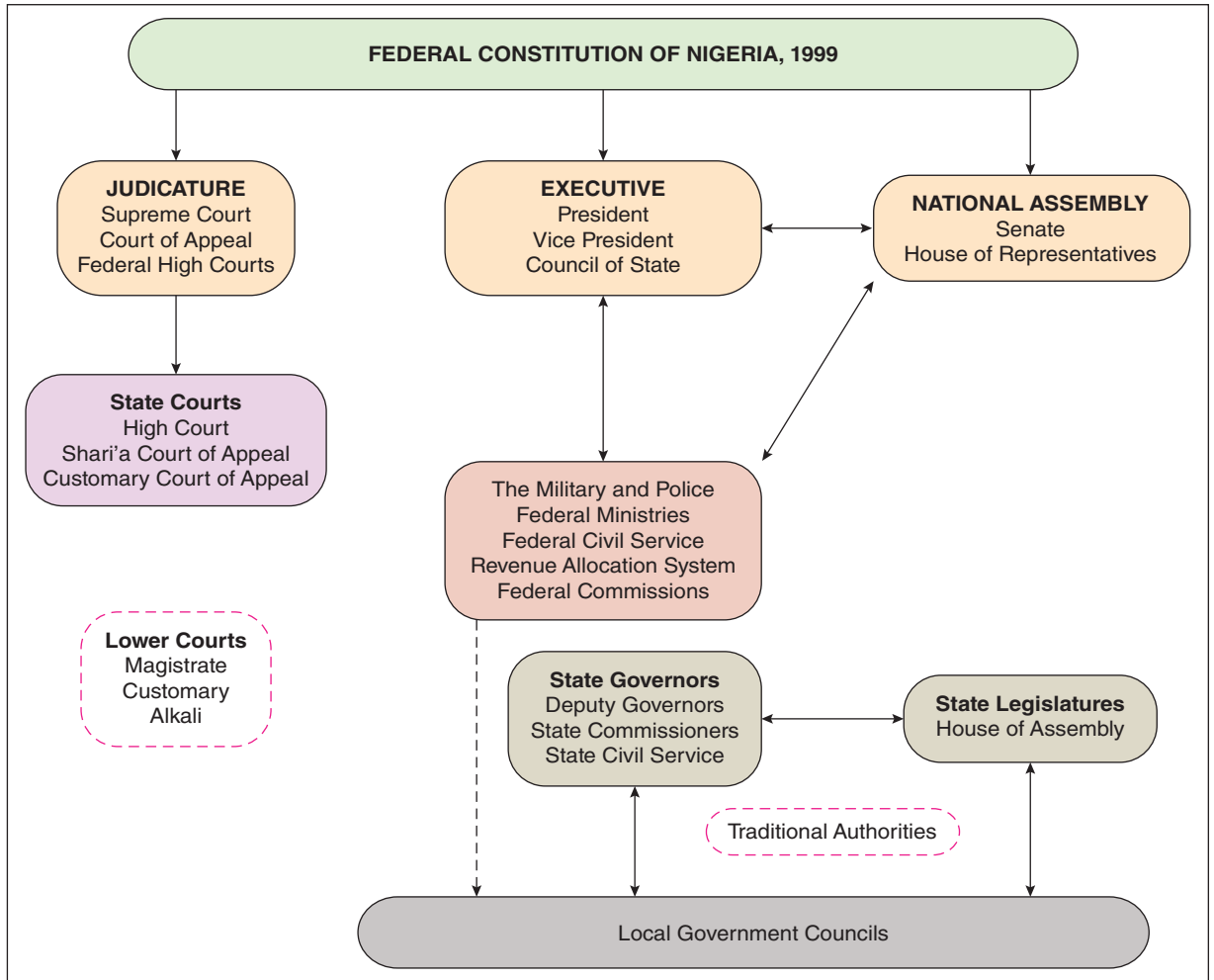


FIGURE 18.4
The Structure of Government under the 1999 Constitution

Nigeria has a presidential system with a bicameral legislature.

Source: Based on United Nations Development Program, Human Development Report 2009.

- What is the region being shown? How detailed is the map?
- Maps usually depict a specific point in time. What point in time is being shown on the map?

News Photographs

Photos can have a dramatic—and often immediate—impact on politics and government. Think about some photos that have political significance.

For example, do you remember the photos from the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks? Visual images usually evoke a stronger emotional response than do written descriptions. For this reason, individuals and organizations have learned to use photographs to document events, make arguments, offer evidence, and even, in some cases, manipulate the viewer into having a particular response. The photo of a student protester confronting tanks in Tiananmen Square (page xix) captured the attention of the world and drew attention to the violent response of



FIGURE 16.1

Map of Iran's Ethnic Minorities

www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/iran_ethnoreligious_distribution_2009.jpg



Facing Down the Tanks in June 1989

In 1989, ordinary Chinese participated in the largest spontaneous protest movement the communists had ever faced. A lone protester shows defiance of regime violence in his intransigent confrontation with a Chinese tank.

Jeff Widener/AP Images

the Chinese government to the protesters. Here are a few questions to guide your analysis:

- When was the photograph taken? (If there is no date given for the photograph in its credit line or caption, you may be able to approximate the date according to the people or events depicted in the photo.)
- What is the subject of the photograph?
- Why was the photo taken?
- Is it spontaneous or posed? Did the subject know he or she was being photographed?
- Who was responsible for the photo (an individual, an agency, or an organization)? Can you discern the photographer's attitude toward the subject?
- Is there a caption? If so, what information does it provide? Does it identify the subject of the photo? Does it provide an interpretation of the subject?

Preface

We are glad to introduce this eleventh edition of *Comparative Politics Today: A World View*, which for the past three decades has been among the most influential textbooks in comparative politics. The world continues to grow more interdependent. Students are exposed to more cultures and communities; their lives and careers are affected by events around the world. An appreciation of comparative politics is becoming ever more essential. As a text, *Comparative Politics Today* is ideally suited for courses that combine a broad and comprehensive thematic overview with rich and high-quality country studies written by expert scholars in their respective fields.

The eleventh edition of *Comparative Politics Today* continues to teach students to understand politics through the conceptual system, process, and policy framework that Gabriel Almond introduced. The early editions of this book pioneered the teaching of systematic comparison of the political cultures, structures, processes, and policy performances of the world's political systems. Later editions have described how enormous changes—such as democratization and backsliding, the breakup of the Soviet empire, globalization, intensified threats from ethnic and religious conflict, and international economic recession—have shaped politics in many nations. Throughout, these editions build on the strong theoretical foundation that Almond constructed and apply his framework to the changing concerns of students of political science.

New to This Edition

There are many new features of this eleventh edition of *Comparative Politics Today*:

- A substantially revised set of theory chapters (1–7) introduces the key concepts and theories that are applied in the country studies. Data tables and references have been updated, with more of our countries systematically covered. A more extensive use of graphs and charts better illustrates relationships and enhances the text.
- Chapters 1, 3, and 7 provide more thorough discussion of globalization and its components and consequences. Chapters 1 and 2 have also been reorganized to create a more reader-friendly introduction.
- Chapter 7 introduces its concept of “political goods” with reference to the United Nations Millennium Goals and systematically treats policy goals and consequences, including welfare, fairness, liberty, and security outcomes. The chapter now includes a discussion of politicides, cases of extreme government abuses of their own populations.
- All chapters now include learning objectives keyed to the main chapter headings, as well as review questions designed to emphasize the key themes of each chapter.
- All of the country studies have undergone major revision and updating. A brief summary of the major changes includes:
 - Britain—The 2010 election produced Britain's first coalition government since World War II. The chapter describes how the coalition government of Conservatives and Liberal Democrats under the prime ministership of David Cameron has performed.
 - France—French voters rejected President Sakozy's bid for a second term in May 2012 and elected a self-confessed “normal” Socialist, François Hollande, as president. But even with a new legislative majority, Hollande's policy initiatives have had mixed successes.
 - Germany—In the recent 2013 election, voters strongly endorsed Angela Merkel's largely successful economic policies. But the FDP, her previous government partner, lost its legislative representation. A complex bargaining process eventually resulted in a grand coalition between the Merkel-led CDU/CSU and the SPD.

- Japan—The election of 2012, reinforced by the 2013 upper house election, returned the Liberal Democrats to government. The LDP prime minister, Shinzō Abe, has begun a dramatic reform program intended to revive the national economy.
- Russia—The 2012 election of Vladimir Putin to a third presidential term is covered, as well as the continuing slide toward autocracy and human rights abuses.
- China—China’s Communist Party managed a successful transition to a “fifth generation” of leaders and was able to sustain continuing economic expansion and growing international economic influence, while still suppressing human rights and political challenges.
- Mexico—The 2012 election of President Enrique Peña Nieto brought the once-dominant PRI party back into power for the first time since Mexico’s democratizing election of 2000. The chapter describes the new president’s initiatives and efforts to deal with divided government in the context of an increasingly active citizenry using social media to hold politicians accountable.
- Brazil—Dilma Rousseff was elected president in 2011. She is continuing the economic and social programs of the Workers Party that began under the popular Lula administration.
- Iran—Hassan Rouhani’s election as president in 2013 may mark a fundamental change in Iran’s foreign and domestic policies—and a sharp break from Ahmadinejad’s administration. Although he served in previous Iranian governments, Rouhani has expressed support for reform causes and has opened a dialogue with Western governments over their sanctions against Iran’s nuclear program.
- India—India continues to face the dual challenges of deepening democracy and improving the economy in a global setting. The booming IT sector and some decline in militancy in Kashmir have created opportunities, but many obstacles remain.
- Nigeria—Nigeria continues its longest period of civilian rule under President Goodluck Jonathan, confirmed in a nationwide election in 2011. But intensified regional divisions, religious conflict, and massive corruption make governing difficult and democracy fragile.

- United States—President Barack Obama’s reelection in 2012 is discussed, along with the continuing Republican control of the House of Representatives and the problems of policy-making under conditions of divided government and intense policy polarization between Democrats and Republicans.

With all these revisions and improvements, we hope and believe that this eleventh edition of *Comparative Politics Today: A World View* will serve students and instructors across the world better than ever.

Features

This newest edition begins by explaining why governments exist, what functions they serve, and how they create problems as well as solutions. The first chapter also introduces the three great challenges that face most states in the world today: building a common identity and sense of community, fostering economic and social development, and securing democracy, human rights, and civil liberties. Chapter 2 sketches the concepts needed to compare and explain politics in very different societies: political systems and their environments, structures and functions, and policy performance and its consequences. Jointly, these two chapters spell out the unique framework that this book employs.

Chapters 3 through 6 elaborate important political structures, functions, and processes. They discuss the causes and consequences of political cultures, interest groups, parties and other aggregation structures, constitutions, and key structures of policymaking. The unprecedented spread of democracy in recent decades is not only a development to celebrate but also a reason that issues of democratic representation, as discussed in Chapters 4 through 6, are increasingly relevant to an ever-larger share of the world’s population. Growing prosperity in many parts of the world means that the challenges of development and public policy (Chapters 1 and 7) are changing. Chapter 7 compares the policies and their consequences in a framework consistent with the United Nations Millennium goals. These chapters give an unusually rich account of political processes in highly diverse environments. They provide theoretical foci and empirical benchmarks for the country chapters that follow.

While the global incidence and human costs of war have declined in recent years, conflicts still devastate or threaten communities in regions such as

Afghanistan, the Middle East in the aftermath of the Arab Spring, South Asia, Sudan, and other parts of Africa. Moreover, the world faces enormous challenges, new as well as old, in such areas as climate change, migration, globalization, epidemic disease, international terrorism, and nuclear proliferation. All these developments make it more important than ever to understand how political decisions are made and what their consequences might be, in the very different political systems that make up our political world. This edition, like the last, emphasizes democratization and globalization, particularly examining the international financial crisis of 2008–2011 and its continuing effects on rich as well as poor countries.

The bulk of the book, Chapters 8 through 19, presents systematic analyses of politics in twelve selected countries. In each case, the distinguished specialists who have contributed to this volume begin by discussing the current policy challenges facing citizens of that country and then provide a historical perspective on its development. Each chapter then uses the system, process, and policy framework to highlight the distinctive features of that country's politics. The most recent elections, leadership, and policy changes in each country are discussed. The systematic application of a consistent framework facilitates comparison among countries, and "A Guide to Comparing Nations" (pp. xii–xiii) helps students and instructors navigate such comparisons. The "Brief Guide to Analyzing Visuals" helps students understand and utilize the tables, graphs, maps, and photographs. The in-depth country studies in our book encompass all the major regions of the world, including five developed democratic countries (England, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States), six developing countries at various levels of democracy and dictatorship (Brazil, China, India, Iran, Mexico, and Nigeria), and Russia, with its fascinating blend of development and poverty, democracy and authoritarianism. The book thus includes most of the world's large and influential countries and illustrates a wide range of political possibilities, problems, and limitations.

Supplements

Pearson is pleased to offer several resources to qualified adopters of *Comparative Politics Today* 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 site that allows instructors to quickly download book-specific supplements. Please visit the IRC welcome page at www.pearsonhighered.com/irc to register for access.

MyPoliSciLab This premium online learning companion features multimedia and interactive activities to help students connect concepts and current events. The book-specific assessment, video case studies, mapping exercises, comparative exercises, newsfeeds, current events quizzes, and politics blog encourage comprehension and critical thinking. With Grade Tracker, instructors can easily follow students' work on the site and their progress on each activity. Use ISBN 0-13-383338-0 to order MyPoliSciLab with this book. To learn more, please visit www.mypolisilab.com or contact your Pearson representative.

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 for download only from the Pearson Instructor's Resource Center (IRC).

Pearson MyTest This powerful assessment generation program includes all of the items in the instructor's manual/test bank. Questions and tests can be easily created, customized, saved online, and then printed, allowing flexibility to manage assessments anytime and anywhere. To learn more, please visit www.mypearsonstest.com or contact your Pearson representative.

PowerPoint Presentation Organized around a lecture outline, these multimedia presentations also include photos, figures, and tables from each chapter. Available for download only from the Pearson Instructor's Resource Center (IRC).

Atlas of World Issues (0-205-78020-2) From population and political systems to energy use and women's rights, the *Atlas of World Issues* features full-color thematic maps that examine the forces shaping the world. Featuring maps from the latest edition of *The Penguin State of the World Atlas*, this excerpt includes critical thinking exercises to promote a deeper understanding of how geography affects many global issues. To learn more, please contact your Pearson representative.

Goode's World Atlas (0-321-65200-2) First published by Rand McNally in 1923, *Goode's World Atlas* has set the standard for college reference atlases. It features hundreds of physical, political, and thematic maps as well as graphs, tables, and a pronouncing index. Available at a discount when packaged with *Comparative Politics Today*.

Acknowledgments

We are pleased to acknowledge the contributions of some of the many people who helped us prepare this eleventh edition of *Comparative Politics Today*.

We would like to thank the following individuals for their careful reviews and analyses of the book:

Luis F. Clemente, Ohio University
Howard Cody, University of Maine
Zachary Irwin, Pennsylvania State University
Erie Julie Van Dusky-Allen, Keuka College

Our co-authors wish to acknowledge their gratitude to a number of individuals who have contributed to their respective chapters. Kaare Strøm wishes to thank Lydia L. Lundgren for research assistance on several chapters. Frances Rosenbluth and Michael Thies thank Yui Margaret Komuro, Kota Matsui, and Evan Walker-Wells for research assistance on the

Japan chapter. Subrata Mitra wishes to thank Lionel Koenig and Radu Carciumaru for assistance on the chapter on India. A. Carl LeVan thanks Peter Glover for research assistance with the Nigeria chapter. Thad Kousser thanks Mona Vaklifathi for research assistance with the U.S. chapter.

Our thanks also go to the editorial and production teams, at Pearson: Charlyce Jones Owen, Publisher; LeeAnn Doherty, Program Manager; Mirella Signoretto, Project Manager; Barbara Ryan, Permissions Project Manager; Annette Linder, Image Permissions Coordinator; and Maureen Diana, Editorial Assistant; and at PreMediaGlobal: Melissa Sacco, Senior Project Manager; and James Fourtney, Permissions Researcher.

G. BINGHAM POWELL, JR.
RUSSELL J. DALTON
KAARE W. STRØM

CHAPTER 1

Challenge and Change in Comparative Politics

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- 1.1** Briefly describe the public and authoritative aspects of political decisions.
- 1.2** Discuss the challenges of building a national identity for a nonhomogeneous population.
- 1.3** Explain the processes and challenges of economic development, giving specific examples from various countries.
- 1.4** Describe the characteristics of representative democracy and the connections between economic development and democratization.
- 1.5** Discuss the positive and negative effects of globalization.
- 1.6** List five ways in which a government can help its citizens.
- 1.7** List five ways in which a government can harm or hinder its citizens.

In the past few decades, the world has undergone a fundamental transformation that will affect the rest of our lives, especially for the young. One of the most dramatic changes was the Third Wave of democracy.¹ After forty years of Cold War conflict between East and West, and the dominance of autocratic governments in the Third World, the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 expanded the new era of **democratization**, which had begun a decade earlier. The communist nations of Eastern Europe shed their autocratic regimes almost overnight, and developed into new and often vibrant democracies. Other nations in East Asia, Africa, and Latin America participated in this democratic transition, allowing hundreds of millions to enjoy democratic freedoms. Today, democracy has become the dominant method of organizing government, even if democratic development is still incomplete.

Behind this democratic transition has been a slow but relatively steady process of **socioeconomic modernization** in most regions of the globe. In the 1980s, a quarter of the world's population lived in

absolute poverty, unable to meet everyday food and shelter needs and struggling with disease and the consequences of poverty. The number of people living in absolute poverty has dropped by nearly 1 percent a year since then, as the world's population has continued to grow.² In China alone, economic growth has taken 600 million people out of absolute poverty since 1981. In 2008, for the first time in history, less than half of the people in sub-Saharan Africa lived below the poverty line. Even in the advanced industrial democracies of Western Europe and North America, income levels and social conditions continued to improve compared to the 1950s and 1960s. The global recession of 2008 produced a partial retrenchment in socioeconomic conditions, but the world today is much richer and more socially secure than a generation or two ago.

This process of socioeconomic modernization has many consequences. Modernization has expanded the educational levels of the world's population, providing the skills and resources that lead to better occupations and hopefully to better citizens. In advanced industrial

democracies, this has meant the expansion of university and graduate degrees; in the developing world, this has meant increasing rates of literacy and basic education. About 90 percent of the world's population is now literate.³ The impact of modernization has especially transformed the conditions of women. In many developing nations, women were formerly second-class citizens, excluded from economic and political life. Literacy rates have increased the most for women, birth rates have fallen, and women's participation in the labor market in developing nations has expanded dramatically. In advanced industrial democracies, more women are being elected to governmental offices and taking high-ranking business jobs. Economic growth has also increased access to health care across the world, and contributed to dramatic progress in medical science. Among your own family, there are probably relatives who would have died in the 1950s and 1960s because necessary care was unavailable. And modernization has increased our access to information about the world and our lives. From the Nigerian taxi driver who watches the news on his cell phone to the Japanese college student who is connected 24-7, we live in a new information age. Often, social modernization is unsettling and evokes conflict, but the long-term benefits have improved the quality of life for most of the world's population. Moreover, these societal changes contribute to the expansion of democracy and citizen rights in both developed and developing societies.

The third force transforming contemporary societies is the rapid process of **globalization**, in which nations have become more open to and dependent on one another. Globalization has many faces. One is increasing trade in goods and services, which means that many of the products we buy are made in China and many of the telephone calls we make are answered in India. Outsourcing and loss of local jobs have been among the negative consequences of this aspect of globalization. Globalization has lowered the prices of many products and increased the richness of life. Globalization may also mean that citizens of all (or most) countries increasingly share common norms of an international system. But these effects have also created serious challenges for many states. Some, such as North Korea, Myanmar, and Iran, have sought to isolate themselves from its effects. Others have responded in a more accepting manner. Most of the industrialized countries of Europe have created a common market economy and a set of supranational political institutions embodied in the European Union.

What Is Comparative Politics?

1.1 Briefly describe the public and authoritative aspects of political decisions.

A key factor in these changes in the world today is the government system—which is the focus of this book. Governments, on their own or as representatives of their citizens, take policy actions that can foster or retard economic development. They are the primary guarantor of the rights and liberties of the citizens; sometimes they are the greatest threats to these liberties. They take actions that expand or retard the living conditions of their citizens. When nations must work together in the international system, governments attend international conferences and sign treaties. When states go to war, it is typically through the actions of a government or semigovernmental organization.

This book describes the variations in the governments and political systems that take these actions and make decisions affecting the nation. The actions of government constantly touch our lives. Our jobs are structured by government regulations, our homes are built to conform to government housing codes, public schools are funded and managed by the government, and we travel on roads maintained by the government and monitored by the police. Politics thus affects us in many important ways. Therefore, it is important to study how political decisions are made and what their consequences are.

Politics deals with human decisions, and political science is the study of such decisions. Yet not all decisions are political, and many of the social sciences study economic and social decisions that are of little interest to political science. Political scientists study decisions that are *public* and *authoritative*. The public sphere of politics deals with collective decisions that extend beyond the individual and private life, typically involving government action. Most of what happens within families, among friends, or in social groups belongs to the private sphere and is not controlled by the government. In totalitarian states, like East Germany before 1989 or North Korea today, the public sphere is very large and the private sphere is very limited. The state tries to dominate the life of its people, even intruding into family life. On the other hand, in some less developed nations, the private domain may almost crowd out the public one. Many people may be uninvolved

in politics and are untouched by the decisions made in the nation's capital. Western democracies have a more balanced mix of private and public spheres. However, the boundaries between the two spheres are redrawn all the time and may be a matter of contention.

Political decisions are also authoritative. Authority means that formal power rests in individuals or groups whose decisions are expected to be carried out and respected. Governments and other authorities may use persuasion, inducements, or brute force to ensure compliance. For instance, a religious authority such as the pope has few coercive powers. He can persuade, but rarely compel, the Catholic Church's followers. In contrast, tax authorities, such as the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, can both exhort and compel people to follow their rules.

Thus, *politics* refers to activities associated with the control of public decisions among a given people and in a given territory, where this control may be backed up by authoritative means. Politics involves the crafting of these authoritative decisions—who gets to make them and for what purposes.

Our approach to studying the political process is based on two principles. The first was articulated by the late Seymour Martin Lipset, who frequently said that he who knows one country knows no country. Lipset's argument was that in order to understand any one nation and its government, we need to compare it to others to see what is truly distinctive or similar relative to other nations. For instance, all governments face the challenge of raising taxes; by comparing different tax systems across nations, we see the benefits and limits of various tax policies. We might think that the conditions in one nation are dependent on specific institutional arrangements or the nation's political history, but we can only determine this by comparing nations with different institutions or histories. The nature of good science, including political science, is comparison—and this book follows this premise by comparing a dozen nations of varying social and political conditions.

Our second principle is that to compare political systems and their governments, we need a conceptual framework that facilitates comparison of what are seemingly quite different elements. How does one compare, for example, the theocratic government of Iran with the centuries-old democracy in Britain, or the governing experience in Nigeria? Comparing apples and oranges is difficult, but it can be done. This book builds on a theoretical model that compares the governing process in its basic elements, connecting

these elements together to describe the overall political process (see Chapter 2).⁴

We live in one of the most exciting times to study politics. The end of the Cold War created a new international order, although its shape is still uncertain. Democratic transitions in Latin America, Eastern Europe, East Asia, and Africa have transformed the world, although it is unclear how many of these new democracies will endure and what forms they might take. Throughout the world, globalization brings the citizens of different countries closer together and makes them more dependent on one another, for better or worse. Some of the issues that people in many societies confront—such as climate change and achieving international peace—are transnational and indeed global. Part of their solutions, we hope, lies in the political choices that people in different communities make about their collective future. In this book, we try to give you a sense of how governments and politics address these challenges.

Challenges: Building Community

1.2 Discuss the challenges of building a national identity for a nonhomogeneous population.

One of the first, perhaps the first, challenge that a new state faces is to build a national community. Most states do not have a homogeneous population, and instilling a sense of shared identity can be difficult to accomplish. Building a common identity and a sense of community is important because conflicts over national, ethnic, or religious identities can be explosive causes of political turmoil, as we have witnessed in Iraq, the former Yugoslavia, and the Sudan. It is difficult to advance socially, economically, or politically if the citizens of a region do not share some common bond and a commonly accepted set of goals.

While building community is a common challenge, some countries are in a much better situation than others. Japan, for example, has an ethnically homogeneous population, a common language, and a long national political history. Most Japanese share in the religions of Buddhism and Shintoism, and the country is separated by miles of ocean from its most important neighbors. Nigeria, in contrast, is an artificial creation of British colonial rule and has no

common precolonial history. The population is sharply divided between Muslims and Christians; the Christians are divided equally into Catholics and Protestants. There are some 250 different ethnic groups in Nigeria, speaking various local languages in addition to English. Obviously, the challenges of building community are much greater in Nigeria than they are in Japan. The challenge of community building is most prominent in the developing world, where current political structures are relatively young, although even Europe faces challenges, as in Basque and Scottish autonomy movements.

Building a common sense of community is often described as part of a process of nation building. The word *nation* is frequently used interchangeably with the word *state*, as in the *United Nations*. Strictly speaking, however, we use the term **nation** to refer to a group of people with a common identity. That common identity may be built upon a common language, history, race, or culture, or simply upon the fact that these people have occupied the same territory. Nations may or may not have their own state or independent government. In some cases—such as Japan, France, or Sweden—there is a close correspondence between the memberships of the state and the nation. Most people who identify themselves as Japanese do in fact live in the state of Japan, and most people who live in Japan identify themselves as Japanese.

In other cases, states are *multinational*—consisting of a multitude of different nations. The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and the Sudan were multinational states that broke apart. Some nations are much larger than the corresponding states, such as Germany for most of its history or China. Other nations have split into two or more states for political reasons, such as Korea today and Germany between 1949 and 1990. Some groups with claims to be nations have no state at all, such as the Kurds, the Basques, and the Tamils.

Ethnicity

Ethnic groups are typically defined by common physical traits, languages, cultures, or history. Like nationality, **ethnicity** need not have any objective basis in genetics, culture, or history. German sociologist Max Weber defined ethnic groups as “those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of

colonization and migration. . . . [I]t does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists.”⁵ For example, the Serbs, Croats, and Muslim Bosnians may believe they are descended from different ancestors and hence are physically different as well. Over centuries, originally homogeneous populations may intermix with other populations, even though the culture may continue.

In many developing countries, the former colonial powers established boundaries that cut across ethnic lines. In 1947, the British withdrew from India and divided the subcontinent into a northern Muslim area—Pakistan—and a southern Hindu area—India. The most immediate consequence was a terrible civil conflict and “ethnoreligious” cleansing. There still are almost 100 million Muslims in India and serious religious tensions. Similarly, forty years ago, the Ibo ethnic group in Nigeria fought an unsuccessful separatist war against the rest of the country, resulting in the deaths of roughly a million people. The Tutsi and Hutu peoples of the small African state of Rwanda engaged in a civil war of extermination in the 1990s, with hundreds of thousands of people slaughtered and millions fleeing the country in fear of their lives.

The migration across state boundaries is another source of ethnic differentiation. The American descendants of formerly enslaved Africans are witnesses to the largest coercive labor migration in world history. In contrast, today, there are Indians, Bangladeshis, Egyptians, and Palestinians seeking better lives in the oil sheikhdoms around the Persian Gulf, Mexican and Caribbean migrant workers moving to the United States, and Turkish and North African migrants relocating to Europe. Two scholars refer to the contemporary world as living through an “Age of Migration” comparable in scale to that of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶

The later chapters of this book will focus on twelve states to illustrate the detailed working of the political process and how governments are structured to address the challenges they face. All twelve of these nations still include a significant ethnic or racial minority. For example, recent migration has made such previously homogeneous states as Britain, France, Japan, and Germany more multiethnic. Other countries, such as the United States, have long been multiethnic and have become even more so. India and Nigeria were multicultural regions that took on national form with colonization and decolonization. Russia reflects the diversity of



Globalization Takes Many Forms

German universities now have a diverse student body drawn from around the world.

historical empire building. Moreover, globalization and migration seem destined to increase the diversity of many societies worldwide.

Language

Another challenge in building community may be language differences. Language can be a source of identity that may overlap with ethnicity. There are approximately 5,000 different languages in use in the world today, and a much smaller number of language families. Most of these languages are spoken by relatively small tribal groups in the developing world. Only 200 languages have a million or more speakers, and only 8 may be classified as world languages.

English is the most truly international language. Close to one-third of the world's population lives in countries in which English is one of the official languages. Other international languages include Spanish, Arabic, Russian, Portuguese, French, and German. The language with the largest number of speakers, though in several varieties, is Chinese (with well over a billion speakers). The major languages with the greatest international spread are those of the former colonial powers—Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.

Linguistic divisions can create particularly thorny political problems. Political systems can choose to ignore racial, ethnic, or religious differences among their citizens, but it is more difficult to function using several languages. Linguistic conflicts typically show up in controversies over educational policies, or over language use in the government. Occasionally, language regulation is more intrusive, as in Quebec, where English-only street signs are prohibited and large corporations are required to conduct their business in French.

Religious Differences and Fundamentalism

States also vary in their religious characteristics. In some—such as Israel, the Irish Republic, and Pakistan—religion is a basis of national identity for most of the population. Iran is a theocratic regime, in which religious authorities govern and religious law is part of the country's legal code. In other societies, such as Poland under communism, religion can be a rallying point for political movements. In many Latin American countries, the clergy have embraced a liberation theology that fosters advocacy of the poor and criticism of government brutality.

Christianity in its various forms is the largest and most widely spread religion in the world today. Roughly one-third of the world's population belongs to the Christian Church, which is divided into three major groups—Roman Catholics, Protestants (of many denominations), and Orthodox (e.g., Greek and Russian). Catholics are dominant in Europe and Latin America; there is a more equal distribution of Catholics and Protestants elsewhere. While the traditional Protestant denominations have declined in North America in the last decades, three forms of Protestantism—fundamentalist, Pentecostal, and evangelical—have increased there, and also, especially, in Latin America and Asia. The Muslims are the second largest religious group and the most rapidly growing religion. Between one-fourth and one-fifth of the world's population is Muslim, and it is concentrated in Asia and Africa. Islam has become revitalized in Central Asia, and Muslims have been particularly successful in missionary activities in sub-Saharan Africa.

Religion typically guides the social and political behavior of its supporters. This may lead one to be concerned about others, or become a source of intense disagreement with those who hold different beliefs. For instance, religious groups often battle over such issues as the rules of marriage and divorce, child rearing, sexual morality, abortion, the emancipation of women, and the regulation of religious observances. Religious communities often take a special interest in educational policies in order to transmit their ideas and ethics. On such issues, religious groups may clash with one another as well as with more secular groups.

Religious fundamentalism has emerged in some form in all major faiths, often in reaction to social modernization. While each religion disagrees over the interpretation of its sacred texts and values, fundamentalists believe in the absolute truth of their religion in relation to others. Some want political life to be organized according to their sacred texts and doctrines. The rise of fundamentalism has affected the entire world. For example, India has frequent confrontations between Hindus and Muslims; Nigeria sees conflict between Muslims and Christians.

Too often, religious fundamentalists employ violence to assert their positions. These acts of terrorism are intended to stagger the imagination, frighten, and weaken the will. The September 11, 2001, jihadist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon involved not only suicide pilot-hijackers but also aircraft

filled with volatile fuel and innocent passengers converted into immense projectiles. These attacks were followed by jihadist assaults in Bali, Madrid, London, Riyadh, and other cities. Many nations worldwide now face the challenge of dealing with international terrorism by religious and other extremists.

Fostering Economic Development

1.3 Explain the processes and challenges of economic development, giving specific examples from various countries.

The nation of Bhutan has a national goal to develop its level of Gross National Happiness (GNH). The Bhutanese idea is to measure social progress in terms of the quality of life in more holistic and psychological terms than the standard measures of economic well-being. Its Buddhist religious heritage has led to government programs and research to increase the happiness of the society, even though it is a low-income nation.

Bhutan is very unusual; people in most political systems want their government to foster social and economic development. Thus, economic and social development are important state goals. Economic development implies that people can enjoy new resources and opportunities, and that parents can expect their children to do at least as well as themselves. Many people expect government to improve their living conditions through economic growth, providing jobs, and raising income standards. The success of governments—both democratic and autocratic—is often measured in economic terms.

In affluent, advanced industrial societies, contemporary living standards provide for basic social needs (and much more) for most of the public. Indeed, the current political challenges in these nations often focus on problems resulting from the economic successes of the past, such as protecting environmental quality or managing the consequences of growth. New challenges to social welfare policies are emerging from the medical and social security costs of aging populations. For most of the world, however, substantial basic economic needs still exist, and governments focus on improving the socioeconomic conditions of the nation.

Over the past two to three decades, economic growth has transformed living conditions in many nations more than in any similar period in the past.



Construction in China

With the Chinese government encouraging economic growth and foreign investment, the Shanghai skyline is now a mix of high-rises and construction cranes.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) combines measures of economic well-being, life expectancy, and educational achievement into its Human Development Index (HDI).⁷ The HDI shows dramatic improvements in life conditions in many regions of the world over the past three decades (see Figure 1.1). East Asia and South Asia have made substantial improvements since 1980. For instance, in 1975, South Korea and Taiwan had a standard of living close to many poor African nations, and they are now affluent societies. Even more striking is the change in the two largest nations in the world. China improved from a low HDI in 1975 (the same as Botswana or Swaziland) to a level that is close to Russia or Brazil by 2012; India followed a similar upward trajectory. These statistics represent improved living conditions for billions of people. Living conditions in sub-Saharan Africa have also recently begun to improve. Although severe economic problems remain, this development

trend is improving the living conditions of hundreds of millions of people, freeing them from absolute hunger and poverty, and providing the resources so their lives can improve in other ways.

The process of economic development typically follows a common course. One element is a transformation of the structure of the labor force from an agrarian to an industrial and then an advanced industrial economy. The five advanced industrial countries in this book all have agricultural employment of less than 10 percent of the labor force. Poor countries, in contrast, often have more than two-thirds of their labor forces employed in agriculture. In addition, economic development is typically linked to urbanization as peasants leave their farms and move to the cities. In nations undergoing rapid economic development, such as China, urban migration creates new opportunities for the workers but also new economic and social policy challenges for the governments.

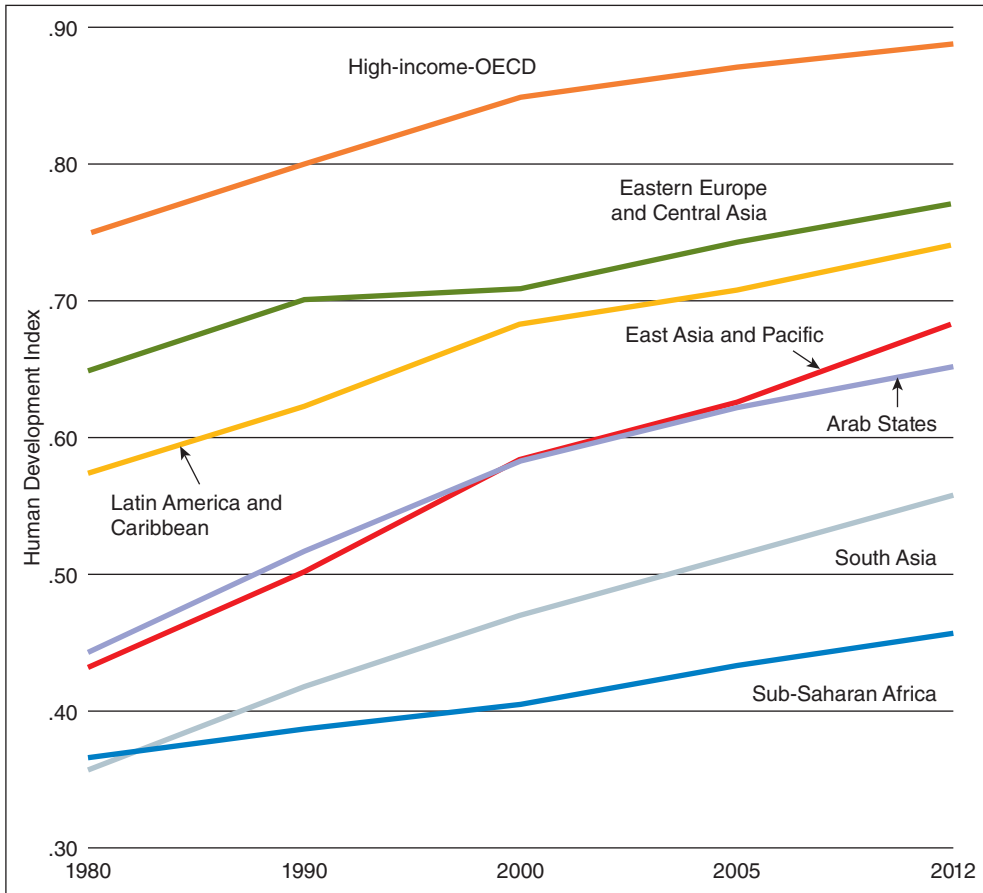


FIGURE 1.1
Changes in Human Development Index by Region

Source: United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 2013* (New York: United Nations, 2013).

Figure 1.2 presents the wide gap in living standards that still exists across the hundred largest nations in the world, and shows how levels of affluence affect basic social conditions. The horizontal axis in the figure aligns nations in terms of the **gross national income (GNI)** per capita, which is a measure of national affluence. The vertical axis displays average number of years of education for the population that is over fifteen years of age. The twelve core nations discussed in this book are highlighted in red.

Two things are obvious. Perhaps the most striking feature of this figure is the wide gap in living standards that still exists across nations worldwide, including eleven of the nations in this book. The level of affluence per capita is about twenty times higher in the Western advanced industrial democracies than in Nigeria.⁸ Second, affluence is strongly related to the educational levels of a nation's people. The fit between

education and income is so strong that the United Nations combines these two items (and other statistics) to define the HDI.

Income levels and education are also related to other measures of social development. The countries with the fewest literate citizens also have the fewest radios and television sets—even though these devices do not require literacy. Economic development is also associated with better nutrition and medical care. In the economically advanced countries, fewer children die in infancy, the impact of disease is limited, and the resources exist to improve the quality of life in many ways. Improvements in living conditions have substantially increased life expectancy in many low-income nations, such as Mexico and China. However, the average life expectancy of a Nigerian is less than fifty years, it is sixty-three years for an Indian, and over eighty years for a Japanese. Material productivity,

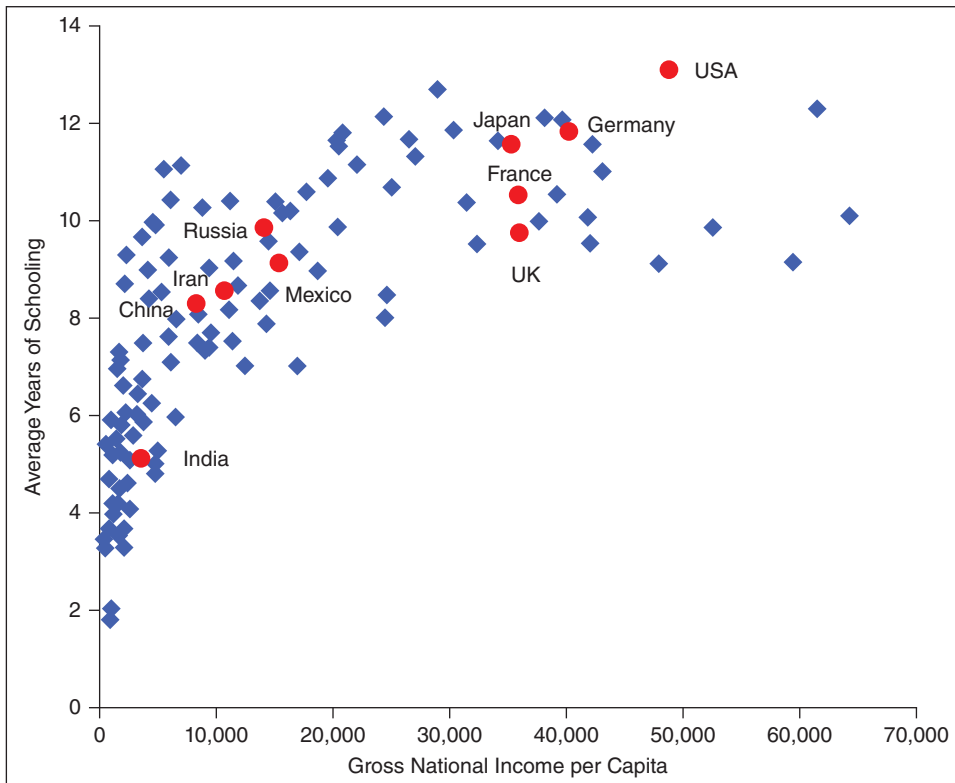


FIGURE 1.2

National Affluence and Schooling

Economic development improves the resources and opportunities of the public as seen in rising education levels.

Source: World Bank Indicators for 2011. Gross National Income is per capita based on purchasing power parity; years of schooling is for the population over age fifteen. Figure is based on 150 largest nations by population for which data are available.

education, exposure to communications media, and longer and healthier lives are closely interconnected.

Thus, low-income nations face the urgent issues of economic development: how to improve the immediate welfare of their citizens yet also invest for the future. Political leaders and celebrities, such as Bono and Angelina Jolie, have mobilized public awareness that these differences in living conditions are a global concern—for those living in the developing world, for the affluent nations and their citizens, and for international organizations such as the United Nations and the World Bank.

Problems of Economic Development

While economic development can be a partial solution to many of a country's needs, it can also create new challenges. Health, income, and opportunity are rarely evenly distributed within nations, and the unequal

distribution of resources and opportunities can stimulate political conflict. A high national income may conceal significant poverty and lack of opportunities in some sectors of society. A high rate of national growth may benefit only particular regions or social groups, ignoring other parts of the population. Parts of the “inner cities” of the United States, the older parts of Delhi and Kolkata in India, remote and landlocked parts of many African states, many rural areas in China, and the arid northeast of Brazil all suffer from poverty and hopelessness, while other parts of these countries experience growth and improved welfare. Moreover, rapid economic development may increase such inequalities.

Generally speaking, economic development improves the equality of income, at least past a certain stage of economic growth. Wealthy nations like Japan, Germany, and France have relatively more egalitarian income distributions than middle- or low-income countries. Still, the wealthiest 10 percent in