Second Edition

COMPARATIVE POLITICS

David J. Samuels

Comparative Politics

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PRAISE FOR *COMPARATIVE POLITICS* AND *CASE STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS*

"*Comparative Politics* and *Case Studies in Comparative Politics* are cutting-edge and high quality textbooks that many political scientists of my generation will consider using. They address many of my concerns with existing texts by providing instructors with a great deal of leeway in designing a syllabus. Each case study is written by a prominent scholar or rising comparativist and is nicely linked to the thematic survey. This would allow me the flexibility of using a different survey text or no survey text at all."—*Emmanuel Teitelbaum, George Washington University*

"I have looked at many comparative politics textbooks and none of them have appealed to me the way that this one did right away. Some aim too high and ask far too much of students, losing them in a sea of concepts with few tools to make sense of them. Others aim too low and ask far too little of students, failing to challenge them on the essential themes and concepts of comparative politics. This one finds the middle ground by presenting topics in an interesting and engaging manner and challenging students to cultivate their analytical skills."—*Katy Crossley-Frolick, Denison University*

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"*Comparative Politics* is a theory-centered introductory text that perfectly balances the substantive nature of our field with the level of accessibility necessary for an undergraduate class."—*Julie Mazzei, Kent State University*

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"David Samuels does a better job than any I have seen of discussing key themes in comparative politics in an intelligent and well-written way. He raises the big questions in a straightforward and engaged manner, and he does a good job of addressing them in comparative perspective with the American institutions that my students know well."—*Kevin Deegan-Krause, Wayne State University*

"Samuels offers students a theoretically robust yet highly accessible introduction to the study of comparative politics. He clearly introduces core concepts and theories, offering compelling examples that encourage students to think through different ways of answering fundamental questions that define the field. I'm thrilled to see the strong focus on political identity in an introductory textbook."—*James Ross, University of Northern Colorado*

"I have been teaching introductory comparative politics for over four years now, and I have examined some fifteen textbooks for this class. Samuels' textbook is one of the best, and I will strongly consider adopting it."—*Anca Turcu, University of Central Florida*

Comparative Politics

SECOND EDITION

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Preface

Students who enroll in an introductory course on comparative politics should be prepared to encounter some tough but fascinating questions: Why are some states democracies while others are not? Why does ethnicity seem to be at the heart of so much conflict in the world today? Can religious extremism coexist with democracy? How and why do men and women participate in politics differently around the world? What prompts people to become politically active? Why are some countries increasingly rich while others remain desperately poor? These questions touch upon just a few of the themes that comparative politics explores today.

Students and scholars of comparative politics are trained to use these kinds of questions to delve into their own particular interests. I wrote this book—using a question-driven approach—to mirror the process of good political science research. I aimed to make this text different from other introductions to comparative politics by focusing on asking the sorts of questions that engage *anyone* with an interest in politics—citizens, students, and scholars—and on *answering* those questions in ways that are meaningful to undergraduates.

What is the pedagogical payoff from a thematic, question-driven approach to comparative politics? I know from personal experience as well as from countless conversations with colleagues around the world that, in the classroom, we often struggle to teach students how to recognize a good argument in political science, not to mention the effort we put into teaching them to make their own arguments—that is, how to formulate a thesis, connect statements logically, determine whether evidence is confirmatory or contradictory, and bring everything together in a strong conclusion.

Comparative Politics not only introduces students to the main questions comparative politics explores; it introduces them to how scholars go about *doing* comparative politics. Our discipline is fundamentally about constructing arguments, and an introductory textbook should focus on developing not just informed and engaged citizens, but informed, engaged, and *analytical* citizens—the last being a core element in a liberal arts education. This may seem like a tall order, yet I have written this book with this goal as a central organizing principle. Students who use this text will learn to identify and discuss questions central to our subfield. They will also learn to recognize competing hypotheses, apply research to arguments by analyzing and critically assessing evidence, and relate different perspectives to each other analytically.

Features

Approach

To support the question-driven approach described above, each chapter of *Comparative Politics* begins with a question that focuses on a core aspect of what politics is all about around the world. Framing the chapter's subject as a question provides a narrative thread for students to follow as they read the chapter; it also fosters classroom discussion, illustrates how scholars go about answering similar questions, and provides a clear reference point for students to articulate answers on their own that they can use for assignments and exams. To help students grasp the importance of the chapter-opening question, a real-world example is provided. For example, in Chapter 6, the

opening image shows a French Muslim woman in a red, white, and blue headscarf, and the example explores the French separation of church and state; both set up the question, "When does identity become politicized?"

After the main question is introduced, each chapter is organized around the ways scholars have attempted to answer it. For example, Chapter 10 asks, "What causes political violence?" It then guides students through the various facets of the topic and ways to critically assess and weigh sources of conflict. Every chapter in the book follows a similar approach, posing a question that introduces a theme, and then exploring different ways to answer that question. Throughout every chapter, more real-world examples are employed to ground the question and clarify the discussion. Although the chapter topics are sometimes complex, they are all tightly organized and written in clear and accessible prose.

Furthermore, as each chapter progresses, the core chapter question is supported by subquestions that appear in the margins to encourage students to examine more than one facet of a political puzzle. For example, political economy can be an intimidating topic for many. Chapter 11's main question is "How do states promote economic development?" To answer that question, students must first understand how states and markets are intertwined. Therefore, the first section of the chapter asks and answers the question, "What is the relationship between states and markets?" Every subquestion relates back to the chapter's core question and builds toward the next subquestion, and each chapter concludes by returning to the chapter question and summarizing what was learned. In short, each chapter shows students how political scientists engage a smaller piece of a larger puzzle and then explore, debate, and articulate plausible answers to key questions about politics in the world today.

Coverage

Comparative Politics introduces students to the full breadth of our subfield by exploring common themes like institutions and interests, as well as topics that are often downplayed, particularly how political identities bridge institutions and interests. An understanding of political identity is vital today, because many of the most pressing and contentious political issues around the world—issues that students find personally compelling—touch on such questions as the tension between ethnicity and political instability, gender and political change, and religion and democracy.

Chapter 1 poses the question some undergraduates might ask their instructors—"Why study comparative politics?"—and focuses on the methods we use to ask and answer these sorts of questions. At its simplest, the comparative method involves comparing and contrasting cases that share attributes but differ on outcomes, or that differ on attributes but share outcomes. The goal of such comparisons is to generate hypotheses that offer plausible answers to our questions about what politics is all about.

Chapter 2 asks the foundational question "Where do 'states' come from?" and begins to answer it by unraveling Hobbes's collective action problem. Chapters 3 and 4 define and differentiate the different kinds of states: democratic and non-democratic political regimes. Chapter 5 focuses on the causes of transitions from democracy to non-democracy, or vice versa.

The next few chapters shift the focus toward political identities, keeping in mind that they cannot be fully separated from political institutions or interests. After all, institutions shape how identities gain representation in the formal realm of politics—and political identity is often the raw material from which individuals and groups construct their political interests. Chapter 6 asks, "When does identity become politicized?" and explores the conditions under which ethnicity and nationalism become politicized. Chapter 7 turns to another significant question—"What is the relationship between religious identity and democracy?"—while Chapter 8 explores the political consequences of changing conceptions of gender around the world.

The next two chapters turn to the question of how and why individuals' political interests and identities are mobilized collectively.

Chapter 9 explores peaceful forms of collective action—interest groups, social movements, and political parties—while Chapter 10 asks why people sometimes take up arms against the established political order.

The last three chapters turn to pressing questions at the intersection of politics and economics. Chapter 11 asks, "How do states promote economic development?" while Chapter 12 explores why some countries tax and spend more than others. Finally, Chapter 13 investigates the question of globalization and its impact.

Pedagogy

Extensive pedagogy is also included in every chapter to help students comprehend key concepts and apply them.

- Hypothesis Testing boxes allow students to apply what they have learned in every chapter. As opposed to asking questions, each box opens with a statement that can be tested by exploring real-world country cases. Every box is consistently structured to walk students through the process of "Gathering Evidence" in order to "Assess the Hypothesis." Each exercise is meant to engage students actively with the process of comparative politics, providing them with opportunities to learn how to recognize and ultimately construct their own arguments.
- Every major section concludes with a summary table that reviews key concepts in an organized and easy-to-read format.
- Every chapter includes a marginal glossary to support students' understanding of new and important concepts at first encounter.
- For easy reference, key terms from the marginal glossary are repeated at the end of each chapter, along with review questions and an annotated list of suggested readings.
- Numerous color photos and figures are integrated into the text to enliven the narrative.

New to This Edition

- **Updated figures and tables** that support the narrative through the presentation of pertinent data that concisely illustrate key concepts
- **Updated discussion of electoral institutions** to account for results of elections in the UK and elsewhere
- **Revised exploration of the topic of regime change** to enhance relevance and promote discussion of recent "pessimistic" views of global politics, which predict a weakening or even collapse of democracy around the world
- **Updated discussion of the aftermath of the Arab Spring** and the paths of democracy and dictatorship in the Middle East and North Africa
- **New photos** to enhance the relevance of chapter topics for today's students
- **Expanded coverage of nationalism** in Chapter 6 to take into account recent events such as Brexit in the UK, the election of Donald Trump in the United States, and the spread of anti-immigrant sentiment in Western Europe
- **Numerous new examples** introduced throughout the text, recognizing the need to continuously update and refresh the material; politics involves constant change, and to keep the text relevant to disciplinary questions, many examples have been replaced or updated

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Case Studies in Comparative Politics

For instructors and students who want more specific country information to complement the questions raised here, a casebook is available that matches the pedagogical approach of this survey. Each chapter is written by a different country expert, and the collection includes cases on the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Japan, India, Mexico, Russia, China, Nigeria, and Iran.

Like each chapter in this book, the country chapters in the casebook are each organized around a core question. Although every chapter takes on a different country and thus asks a different question, they all follow the same basic framework. First, an introductory section offers background information on the historical development of each country. The second section describes the country's political institutions and explains why each country has emerged as a democracy or remained a dictatorship. Each chapter's third section focuses on the main forms of political identity in the country, such as ethnicity, nationalism, economic class, language, religion, or gender. The fourth section focuses on the patterns of competition over the distribution of political power and wealth between the different organized interests and identities in each society—parties, interest groups, and social movements. Every chapter concludes by reviewing how the exploration of the country's institutions, identities, and interests has helped answer the question posed at the start.

Supplements

Pearson is pleased to offer several resources to qualified adopters of *Comparative Politics* 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 http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc 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 IRC.

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. Available exclusively on the IRC.

PowerPoint Presentation

Organized around a lecture outline, these multimedia presentations also include photos, figures, and tables from each chapter. Available exclusively on the IRC.

Acknowledgments

My students at Minnesota initially inspired me to write this book. When I agreed to teach our Introduction to Comparative Politics class, I found that no existing text fit the way that I

wanted to teach. So I developed and tinkered with lectures over a few years, "learning by doing" what worked well—and what didn't—from my students. Although he probably doesn't remember, I thank Jamie Druckman for nudging me to turn my lectures into textbook chapters. I also owe a debt to Phil Shively for inspiration, and for his hard-earned wisdom gained from decades of experience writing textbooks—and dealing with editors! For helpful comments on different chapters, I also thank Ethan Scheiner, Dara Strolovitch, Teri Caraway, Frances Rosenbluth, Edward Gibson, Leander Schneider, Druscilla Scribner, Kathleen Collins, Jeremy Weinstein, Wanjiru Kamau-Rautenberg, and Donna Lee Van Cott.

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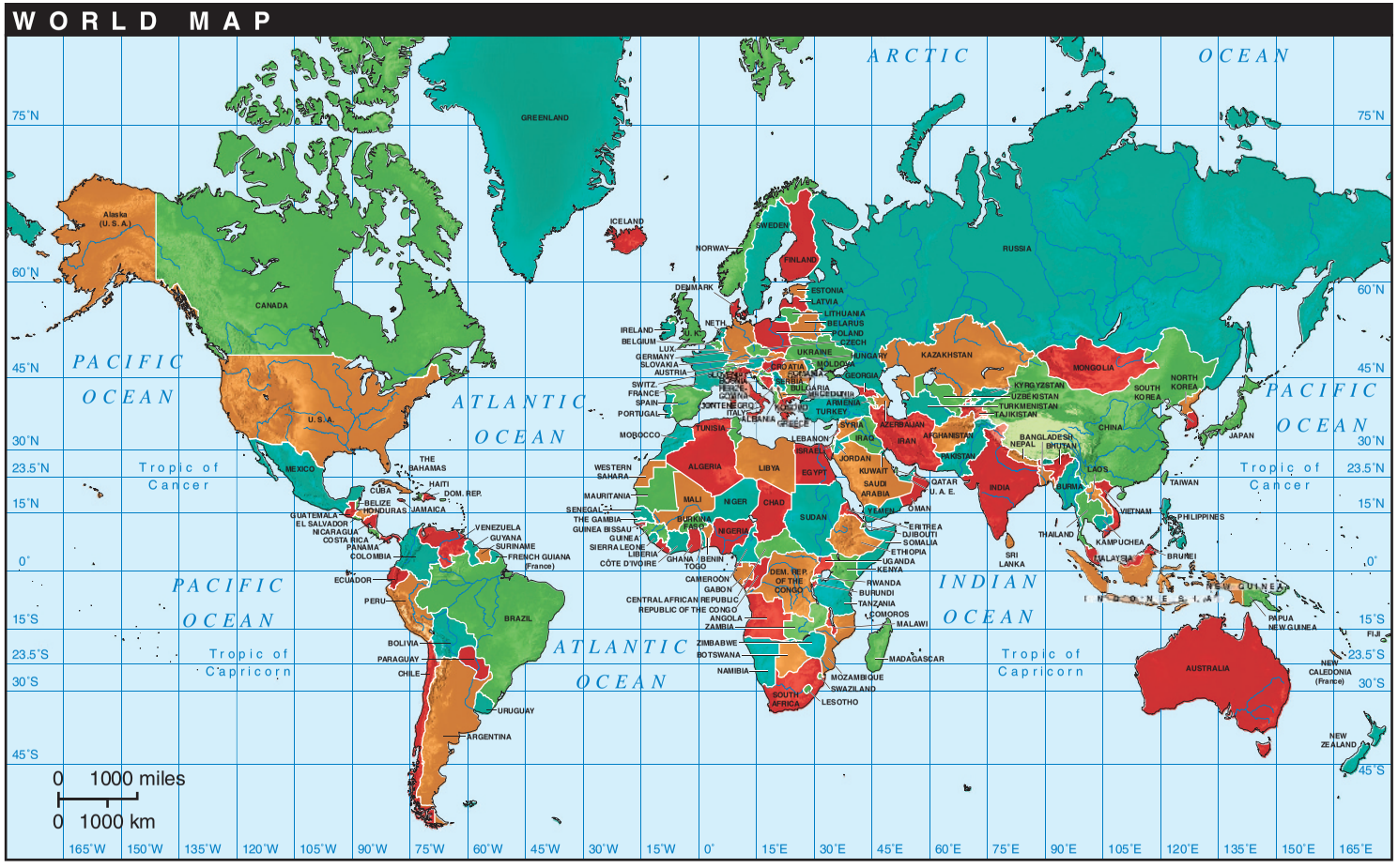
WORLD MAP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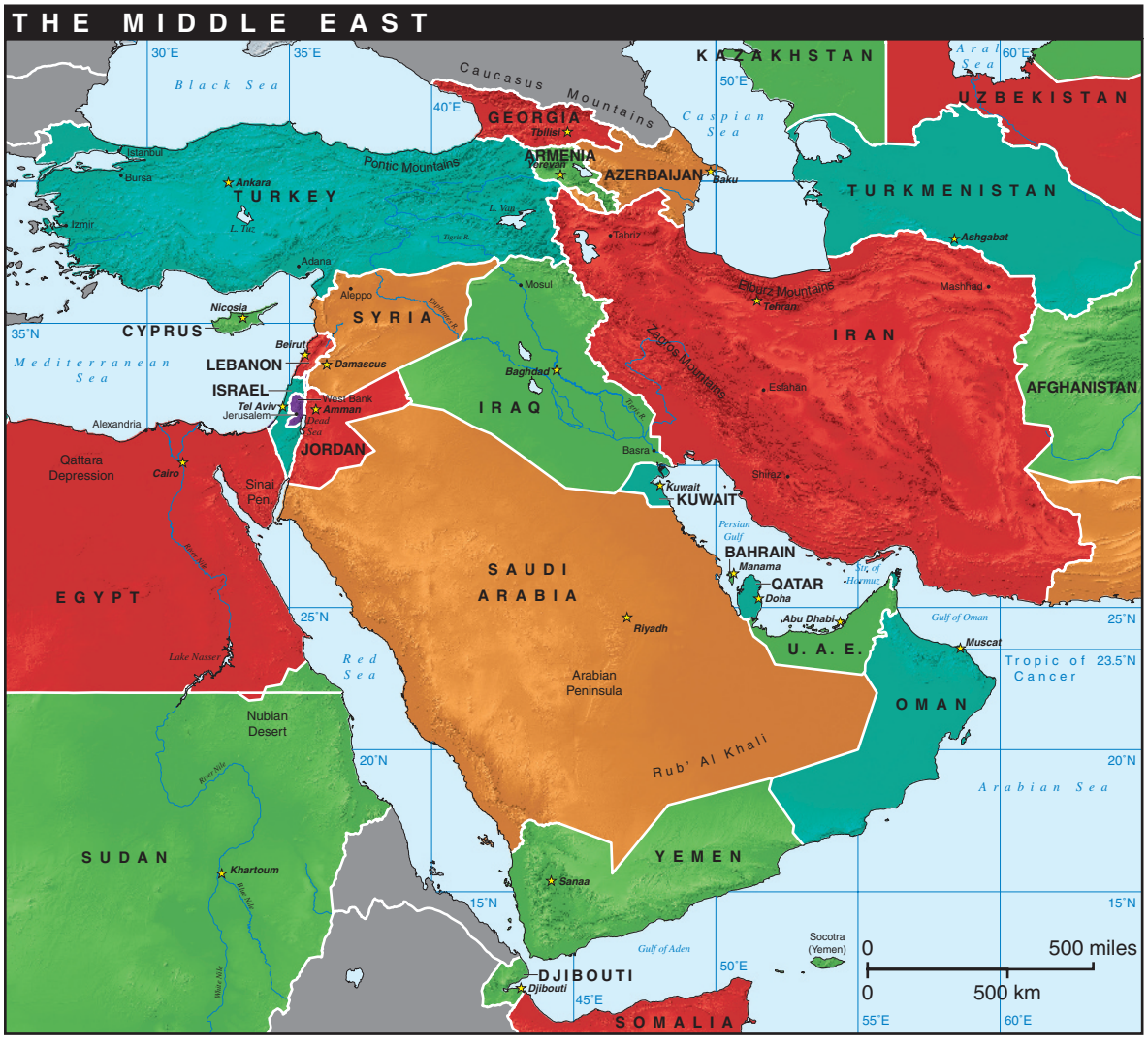
SAUDI ARABIA
EGYPT
LIBYA
ALGERIA
SUDAN
NIGERIA
BRAZIL
ARGENTINA
PERU
CHILE
BOLIVIA
PARAGUAY
URUGUAY
COLOMBIA
VENEZUELA
AUSTRALIA
INDONESIA
NEW GUINEA
NEW ZEALAND
Tropic of Cancer
Tropic of Capricorn
75°N
60°N
45°N
30°N
23.5°N
15°N
0°
15°S
23.5°S
30°S
45°S
0 1000 miles
0 1000 km
165°W
150°W
135°W
120°W
105°W
90°W
75°W
60°W
45°W
30°W
15°W
0°
15°E
30°E
45°E
60°E
75°E
90°E
105°E
120°E
135°E
150°E
165°E


NORTH AMERICA
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
CANADA
U.S.A.
MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
Caribbean Sea
Baffin Bay
Hudson Bay
Hudson Strait
Davis Strait
Denmark Strait
Labrador Sea
Beaufort Sea
Gulf of Alaska
Bering Sea
Bering Strait
Chukchi Sea
Greenland Sea
Norwegian Sea
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Brooks Range
Mt Mckinley
Mt Logan
Mackenzie Mountains
Rocky Mountains
Great Bear Lake
Great Slave Lake
Lake Athabasca
Lake Winnipeg
Lake Superior
Lake Oahe
Lake Sakakawea
Great Salt Lake
Great Plains
Appalachian Mts
Nuuk (Godthab)
Vancouver
Calgary
Olympic Mts.
Seattle
Spokane
Portland
Minneapolis
Milwaukee
Chicago
Detroit
Cleveland
Buffalo
Rochester
Montreal
Ottawa
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington D. C.
Norfolk
San Francisco
Oakland
Los Angeles
San Diego
Death Valley
Mojave Desert
Boulder
Omaha
Kansas City
St. Louis
Louisville
Charlotte
Memphis
Birmingham
Dallas
San Antonio
Houston
New Orleans
Jacksonville
Orlando
Tampa
West Palm Beach
Miami
THE BAHAMAS
Nassau
Havana
CUBA
HAITI
Santo Domingo
San Juan
DOM. REP.
Port-au-Prince
Kingston
JAMAICA
Willemstad
Baja California
Sierra Madre Occidental
Sierra Madre Oriental
Sierra Madre Del Sur
Mexico City
Yucatan Peninsula
Belize City
BELIZE
Belmopan
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
EL SALVADOR
San Salvador
NICARAGUA
Managua
L. Nicaragua
COSTA RICA
San Jose
PANAMA
Panama
Tropic of Cancer
Gulf of California
Gulf of Tehuantepec
0 500 miles
0 500 km
180°W
165°W
150°W
135°W
120°W
105°W
90°W
75°W
60°W
30°W
15°W
0°
90°N
75°N
60°N
45°N
30°N
15°N
23.5°N


SOUTH AMERICA
Caribbean Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
80°W
70°W
60°W
50°W
40°W
30°W
10°N
0°
10°S
20°S
23.5°S
30°S
40°S
50°S
Tropic of Capricorn
Barranquilla
Maracaibo
Barquisimeto
Valencia
VENEZUELA
GUYANA
SURINAME
Paramaribo
Georgetown
Cayenne
FRENCH GUIANA (France)
Medellin
Bogotá
Cali
COLOMBIA
Quito
ECUADOR
Guayaquil
Gulf of Guayaquil
Amazon Basin
Manaus
Marajó Island
Belém
Fortaleza
Teresina
Recife
Salvador
BRAZIL
Andes Mountains
PERU
Lima
Mato Grosso Plateau
BOLIVIA
La Paz
Lake Titicaca
Sucre
Brasília
Goiania
Belo Horizonte
Rio de Janeiro
Campinas
São Paulo
Cabo Frio
CHILE
PARAGUAY
Asunción
Curitiba
Atacama Desert
Porto Alegre
ARGENTINA
Cerro Aconcagua
Santiago
Rosario
URUGUAY
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
Pampas
Andes Mountains
Patagonia
Isla Grande de Chiloe
Gulf of San Matias
Valdes Penninsula
Gulf of San Jorge
Taitao Penninsula
FALKLAND ISLANDS
Port Stanley
Strait of Magellan
Tierra Del Fuego
SOUTH GEORGIA ISLAND
0
500 miles
0
500 km


AFRICA
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
50°E
Caspian Sea
Algiers
Tunis
Valletta
MALTA
Strait of Gibraltar
Madeira Island (Portugal)
Casablanca
Rabat
MOROCCO
Atlas Mountains
Mediterranean Sea
TUNISIA
Tripoli
Alexandria
30°N
Canary Islands (Spain)
ALGERIA
LIBYA
EGYPT
Cairo
Tropic of Cancer
Persian Gulf
WESTERN SAHARA
Ahaggar Mtns.
Sahara Desert
Libyan Desert
Nile R.
Lake Nasser
23.5°N
20°N
Tibesti Mtns.
Nubian Desert
Red Sea
MAURITANIA
Nouakchott
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
ERITREA
Asmara
Khartoum
Sudan Desert
Dakar
Banjul
SENEGAL
THE GAMBIA
Niger R.
Niamey
L. Chad
N'Djamena
Bamako
Ouagadougou
Blue Nile R.
DJIBOUTI
Djibouti
Gulf of Aden
Bissau
BURKINA FASO
BENIN
NIGERIA
GUINEA
10°N
GUINEA BISSAU
Conakry
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
Lake Volta
Abuja
Ibadan
Benue R.
Ethiopian Highlands
Addis Ababa
SOMALIA
ETHIOPIA
CÔTE D'IVOIRE
TOGO
GHANA
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Monrovia
LIBERIA
Yamoussoukro
Accra
Lomé
Porto Novo
CAMEROON
Douala
Bangui
Gulf of Guinea
Yaoundé
Lake Turkana
Mogadishu
EQUATORIAL GUINEA
Bata
Libreville
Sao Tome
DEM. REP. OF THE CONGO
Lake Albert
UGANDA
KENYA
0°
REP. OF THE CONGO
Mbandaka
Kampala
Lake Victoria
GABON
Congo Basin
RWANDA
Nairobi
Igali
L. Kivu
Mt. Kilimanjaro
Brazzaville
Kinshasa
Bujumbura
BURUNDI
TANZANIA
Zanzibar
Dar es Salaam
Matadi
L. Tanganyika
Luanda
Lake Mweru
Malawi
10°S
ANGOLA
Likasi
Lubumbashi
Katanga Plateau
MALAWI
Comoros
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Huambo
ZAMBIA
MOZAMBIQUE
Lilongwe
Lusaka
Mozambique Channel
Lake Kariba
MADAGASCAR
Antananarivo
Harare
NAMIBIA
ZIMBABWE
20°S
BOTSWANA
Bulawayo
Windhoek
Walvis Bay
Kalahari Desert
Namib Desert
Tropic of Capricorn
23.5°S
Gaborone
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Maputo
Mbabane
SWAZILAND
30°S
Bloemfontein
Maseru
Durban
SOUTH AFRICA
Umtata
LESOTHO
INDIAN OCEAN
Cape Town
0 500 miles
0 500 km
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
50°E


EUROPE
20°W
10°W
0°
10°E
20°E
30°E
40°E
50°E
40°W
30°W
20°W
70°N
60°N
40°N
Greenland Sea
Denmark Strait
Jan Mayen
Barents Sea
Kolgujev
Ural Mountains
Reykjavik
ICELAND
Norwegian Sea
White Sea
Gulf of Bothnia
Faroe Islands (Denmark)
Torshavn
Shetland Islands
Orkney Islands
Hebrides
SWEDEN
FINLAND
NORWAY
Oslo
Stockholm
Helsinki
Gulf of Finland
Tallinn
L. Ladoga
St. Petersburg
Perm
Izevsk
Kazan
Jaroslavl
Rostov
Gorkiy
Tol Yatti
Moscow
ESTONIA
RUSSIA
U. K.
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Belfast
Sunderland
IRELAND
Dublin
Limerick
Cork
Liverpool
Manchester
Leeds
Birmingham
North Sea
DENMARK
Goteborg
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Riga
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
Vilnius
Kaliningrad
Minsk
Saratov
Volgograd
NETH.
Amsterdam
The Hague
Rotterdam
London
Hamburg
Berlin
POLAND
Gdańsk
Poznań
Warsaw
Łódź
BELARUS
Voronez
Kharkov
Kiev
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
English Channel
Brussels
BELGIUM
Luxembourg
LUX.
Bonn
Frankfurt
Leipzig
GERMANY
Prague
CZECH
Brno
Kraków
Lviv
UKRAINE
Donetsk
Krivoy Rog
Paris
Nantes
FRANCE
Strasbourg
Nurnberg
SLOVAKIA
Bratislava
Vienna
Budapest
MOLDOVA
Chisinau
Frunze
Sea of Azov
Krasnodar
Caucasus Mts
Odessa
Carpathian Mountains
Cluj-Napoca
LIECHTENSTEIN
Vaduz
Zurich
Bern
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Bay of Biscay
Bordeaux
Lyon
Geneva
SWITZERLAND
Mont Blanc
Milano
SLOVENIA
Ljubljana
Zagreb
CROATIA
ROMANIA
Timisoara
Bucharest
Black Sea
Bayonne
ITALY
Genova
Monaco
Adriatic Sea
Belgrade
BOSNIA HERZE-GOVINA
SERBIA
Sarajevo
Varna
Burgas
BULGARIA
Porto
Valladolid
ANDORRA
Marseille
Firenze
Appennines
KOSOVO
Podgorica
Sofia
Pristina
PORTUGAL
Madrid
Barcelona
Corsica
MONTENEGRO
Skopje
MACEDONIA
Lisbon
Rome
Tirana
Vesuvius
ALBANIA
Thessaloniki
SPAIN
Cordoba
Valencia
Majorca
Sardinia
Naples
Tyrrhenian Sea
GREECE
Lesbos
Agrinion
Aegean Sea
Gibraltar
Mediterranean Sea
Palermo
Monte Etna
Sicily
Ionian Sea
Athens
Peloponnesus
Rhodes
Crete
Mediterranean Sea
Red Sea
0
500 miles
0
500 km


THE MIDDLE EAST
30°E
35°E
40°E
50°E
60°E
Black Sea
Caucasus Mountains
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
KAZAKHSTAN
UZBEKISTAN
GEORGIA
Tbilisi
ARMENIA
Yerevan
AZERBAIJAN
Baku
Istanbul
Bursa
Ankara
TURKEY
Pontic Mountains
Izmir
L. Tuz
L. Van
Tigris R.
Tabriz
TURKMENISTAN
Ashgabat
Adana
Aleppo
Mosul
Elbarz Mountains
Tehran
Mashhad
Nicosia
CYPRUS
SYRIA
Euphrates R.
Zagros Mountains
IRAN
35°N
Mediterranean Sea
Beirut
Damascus
LEBANON
Baghdad
ISRAEL
Tel Aviv
Jerusalem
West Bank
Amman
Dead Sea
IRAQ
Esfahan
AFGHANISTAN
Alexandria
JORDAN
Basra
Qattara Depression
Cairo
Sinai Pen.
Kuwait
KUWAIT
Shiraz
Persian Gulf
BAHRAIN
Manama
Str. of Hormuz
QATAR
Doha
SAUDI ARABIA
Riyadh
Abu Dhabi
U. A. E.
Gulf of Oman
Muscat
25°N
EGYPT
River Nile
Lake Nasser
Red Sea
Arabian Peninsula
Tropic of Cancer 23.5°N
OMAN
Nubian Desert
Rub' Al Khali
20°N
Arabian Sea
SUDAN
Khartoum
Blue Nile
White Nile
YEMEN
Sanaa
15°N
Gulf of Aden
Socotra (Yemen)
DJIBOUTI
Djibouti
45°E
50°E
55°E
60°E
SOMALIA
0
500 miles
0
500 km

EAST AND SOUTH ASIA


AUSTRALIA AND OCEANIA
Java Sea
Aru
PAPUA NEW GUINEA
NEW GUINEA
Bougainville
New Britain
SOLOMON ISLANDS
Solomon Sea
Honiara
Guadalcanal
Arafura Sea
Torres Str.
Port Moresby
10°S
Timor Sea
Darwin
Arnhem Land
Gulf of Carpentaria
Wellesley Islands
Great Barrier Reef
Coral Sea
New Hebrides
VANUATU
FIGI
Vanua Levu
Viti Levu
Suva
Efate I.
Port-vila
Indian Ocean
Kimberley Plateau
King Leopold Range
Great Sandy Desert
Tanami Desert
Macdonnell Ranges
Great Dividing Range
20°S
NEW CALEDONIA (France)
Loyalty Islands
Nouméa
Hammersley Range
Gibson Desert
Simpson Desert
Great Artesian Basin
Musgrave Range
AUSTRALIA
Fraser
Tropic of Capricorn
23.5°S
Brisbane
Norfolk Island
Kingston
Pacific Ocean
Great Victoria Desert
Darling Range
Nullarbor Plain
30°S
Perth
Great Australian Bight
Darling River
Murray River
Lachlan River
Sydney
Adelaide
Canberra
Mt. Kosciuszko
Kangaroo Island
Melbourne
Tasman Sea
Great Barrier Island
Auckland
North Island
40°S
Southern Ocean
Tasmania
Hobart
Wellington
NEW ZEALAND
South Island
Stewart Island
0 500 miles
0 500 km
120°E
130°E
140°E
150°E
160°E
170°E

Comparative Politics

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Chapter 1

Doing Comparative Politics

Brazilians gather in the streets to demand the resignation of President Fernando Collor de Mello, who was accused of corruption.

Learning Objectives

1.1 What is comparative politics all about?

1.2 What sorts of questions do we ask in comparative politics?

1.3 How do we build arguments in comparative politics?

1.4 What challenges confront building arguments in comparative politics?

1.5 How do we obtain evidence to build arguments in comparative politics?

Why study comparative politics?

After I graduated from college, I wanted to travel. In 1992 I ended up staying in Brazil for several months, living as the guest of a politician serving in Brazil's Congress. Brazil had recently emerged from a long military dictatorship, and its politicians had written an entirely new constitution—the country's seventh since independence in 1822. My friend and his colleagues in Congress were engaged in a high-stress and high-stakes effort to impeach Brazil's president, its first popularly elected leader since the military took power in 1964. Just a few years after the military had turned power over to civilians, things were not working out as millions of Brazilians had hoped.

One day, my friend turned to me in frustration and asked, "How did you *gringos* manage to write a constitution that has survived for 200 years, while we Latin Americans seem stuck with unstable governments and military takeovers? Your founding fathers must've been intellectual giants—but the people who've written our constitutions, not so much. Why? We're no different from you, really. But why are our politics so different?"

I had no answer—and political scientists still debate whether Latin America has put instability and military influence behind it—but my friend's query stuck with me. He had asked this question because he knew that I take for granted rights for which he had fought for years, such as freedom of speech. With 20/20 hindsight, I now know that he exaggerated the political challenges Brazil faced: despite successfully impeaching that president (and impeaching another one in 2016), it remains a stable democracy. Moreover, for the most part militaries around the region no longer meddle in politics like they used to.

Even so, posing a contrast I'd never thought about before—why *was* political instability so common historically in Latin America, but not in the United States?—and my own frustrating inability to offer an answer at that time—sparked a deeper interest not just in politics, but in political science, and over the years I have returned to my friend's question time and again in my teaching and research. What I've discovered is that the best way to think through any question about politics is to ask questions and pose comparisons.

Consider for a moment what happened a few years ago in the Middle East. Almost uniformly, dictators have long ruled the countries in the region. Yet in early 2011 massive popular protests exploded in several Arab countries. What made people so upset all of a sudden—and why would they risk going to jail just to complain about the government? Moreover, why did these protests quickly lead to the ouster of the long-term rulers of Egypt and Tunisia, but not those elsewhere in the region? And why did Tunisia then adopt democratic rules and institutions, while in Egypt a new dictator replaced the old one? Can democracy spread further in the Middle East?

Now consider recent developments in China. When I was growing up in the 1970s my dad would force me to eat all my vegetables at dinner because "kids are starving in China." Seeing the gleaming skyscrapers and traffic jams of Beijing or Shanghai today, one would hardly know that the country had been considered an impoverished global weakling just 30 years ago. Can more poor countries just "become" rich, in the span of one generation? How did they do it?

Scholars will be grappling with these questions for some time—but at least we have some tools to use to develop useful answers. ***Why study comparative politics?*** We study comparative politics because we want answers to questions like those posed above. A comparative perspective on politics calls for analysis that pays close attention to the experiences of different countries. However, we don't study comparative politics just because we want to learn about this or that country—and, in any case, the world's political and cultural diversity presents a challenge to any comparative politics textbook: the danger is that we might become overwhelmed by the details of the world's nearly 200 countries, without learning how to answer any of the questions that grab our attention.

My friend's question certainly encouraged me to learn more about Brazilian politics—but it also forced me to rethink what I thought I knew about American politics, as well as to wonder what I could learn about the sources of political stability and chaos, in general. The only way to do that was to think about whether I could plausibly compare Brazil against the experience of other countries.

Scholars do not do comparative politics research simply by learning about a few countries. They approach their subject by asking interesting and important questions about our world. Although this is a textbook, it will become clear that the questions we ask in comparative politics are not merely academic. Because comparative politics grapples with questions about the world in which we live, our inquiries are not mere intellectual flights of fancy or exercises in balancing angels on the head of a pin. The questions we ask have practical relevance for the lives of people all over the world.

The primary way this book differs from other introductory comparative politics texts is that it focuses on asking and answering questions. First, the book considers a set of key questions about politics around the world. Out of necessity, it cannot consider every question, or even every "important" question. However, the book's chapters cover the full range of important topics scholars and students explore today.

Second, this book helps you understand how we go about developing answers to the questions that we ask. Most people discuss and debate politics based on their opinions—but opinions can be fallible, particularly when confronted with uncomfortable facts or puzzling counterexamples. There is a difference between voicing an opinion and formulating an argument—and learning a comparative approach to the study of politics will help you learn how to build stronger arguments. To move from expressing an opinion based on intuition or feeling to articulating an argument based on facts and logic, political scientists put their curiosity to work—by asking questions in a particular way, and by employing particular methods that test the strength of their arguments. Studying politics this way helps us narrow down the range of plausible answers to questions like the one my friend posed.

This book is designed to give you the tools to learn how to critically engage key questions and build your own arguments about politics—to articulate strong answers to those questions we all have about how politics works. It is designed to help you learn how to gather evidence and articulate your own answers to important questions about poverty and wealth, democracy and dictatorship, and war and peace. Each chapter in this book explores a key question about politics around the world and considers the ways in which scholars have sought to answer that question.

The payoff from this question-driven approach to comparative politics is that you will learn to recognize competing arguments, and learn the basics of how to begin to construct your own arguments—how to formulate a thesis, connect statements logically, and determine whether evidence confirms or contradicts an argument.

Political science is fundamentally about constructing arguments. This text will give you the tools to identify and discuss questions central to our subfield, recognize competing hypotheses, apply research to arguments by analyzing and critically assessing evidence, and relate different perspectives to each other analytically. In short, this book teaches you how to actually "do" comparative politics. This introductory chapter explains how we go about doing comparative politics, and considers several challenges to comparative politics research.

Studying Comparative Politics

1.1 What is comparative politics all about?

What is politics all about? Political scientist Harold Lasswell (1902–1978) provided perhaps the best direct answer by defining politics as "who gets what, when, and how."[1] More specifically, **politics** is the process of making and contesting authoritative public decisions about the distribution of rights, responsibilities, wealth, and power. How do groups of people come to make a choice that all members of the community agree to respect? And what kinds of decisions must these groups of people make? Political choices determine how order is imposed in societies, which political institutions will be created, and which policies are enacted. Other choices involve whether or when to contest the established order, and if so, what new institutions to construct or policies to reform. Interesting political science research focuses on these kinds of questions, which become increasingly focused and specific.

politics
the making of authoritative public choices from private preferences.

Political science is the study of politics. Political scientists search for explanations of political behavior and events by breaking down "who gets what, when, and how" into specific and targeted queries. The academic field of political science is divided into four subfields: American politics, which studies politics within the United States; political theory, which focuses on philosophical questions concerning the nature and purposes of politics; international relations, which studies politics between countries; and comparative politics.

Comparative politics is the systematic search for answers to political questions about how people around the world make and contest authoritative public choices. In essence, it compares and contrasts why people around the world make similar decisions under different political rules—or why they make different decisions under similar rules. Unlike international relations, comparative politics focuses on politics within different countries around the world—both in terms of how countries are similar, and how they differ—while international relations studies the interactions between countries.

comparative politics
the systematic search for answers to political questions about how people around the world make and contest authoritative public choices.

We study comparative politics because we don't just want to describe "who gets what, when, and how" in different countries—we seek to explain how politics works around the world. Political scientists do not claim that their explanations will

always be definitive, but they try to identify arguments that are more convincing than others. This is the process of moving from opinion to explanation. More often than not, widely held opinions about politics—sometimes called the "conventional wisdom"—fall flat when confronted with comparative evidence.

Being the conventional wisdom doesn't mean an opinion is wrong. Political scientists use particular methods to show when the conventional wisdom is right, and when it is misleading. A comparative approach to understanding politics around the world seeks to ask questions, generate hypotheses that offer plausible potential answers to those questions, and test those hypotheses against evidence we gather from the real world to develop strong arguments, using what we call the *comparative method*. At its simplest, the comparative method involves comparing and contrasting cases (a set of countries, for example) that share attributes or characteristics but differ in terms of the outcome you're exploring—or that have diverse attributes but experience the same outcome. The goal of such comparisons is to generate hypotheses that provide convincing answers to our questions about what politics is all about. Each chapter in this book poses a question and uses examples from around the world to compare and contrast different ways to address that question. Let us first consider how comparative political scientists go about posing interesting questions.

The Foundations of Comparative Politics

1.2 What sorts of questions do we ask in comparative politics?

It's one thing to say that we study comparative politics because we want answers to questions about how politics works around the world—but it's another to recognize that comparative politics asks a set of "big" questions that in some cases we have been asking for centuries, but in other cases have emerged over time. It's also important to acknowledge that in attempting to offer answers that are more informative and convincing—better—than others, changes in world politics force us to continually re-examine both our questions and our answers.

The foundations of comparative politics were established in ancient times and evolved through history into the discipline we study today. Some of the questions that comparative politics research asks today are quite old, while others have become relevant only recently. Aristotle (384–322 BC) may very well have become the first comparative political scientist when he asked, "What sort of constitution best combines political stability and good government?" Aristotle then challenged his students to compare and contrast the constitutions of every country in the world known to ancient Greeks. He was convinced that the only way to answer his question was to explore evidence from the real world—the same approach scholars and students employ today when considering the question of how to combine limited and effective government to sustain democracy in the Middle East or elsewhere around the world.

Prior to the 1700s, the study of politics was rooted in moral and religious principles. All this began to change during Europe's so-called Age of Enlightenment, when

new scientific discoveries justified a logical and empirical approach to studying the natural and social world, and chipped away at the influence of religious dogma. During the Enlightenment, scholars increasingly considered questions about politics to be secular matters, casting aside arguments based solely in religion. For example, the work of philosophers such as Montesquieu (1689–1755), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), John Locke (1632–1704), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) asked whether a rational and secular basis for government existed independently of arguments for monarchy rooted in divine right, and whether there was room for individual rights and freedoms in such a secular political order. Their arguments provided the foundation for the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution, and sparked questions we explore in upcoming chapters: What is the state, and where does it come from? How can limits be imposed on government authority to protect individual liberty? What is the relationship between religious identity and democracy?

In the 1800s, new questions arose as a result of the Industrial Revolution, which caused massive socioeconomic change, particularly in Western Europe. Scholars such as Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Max Weber (1864–1920) considered the political impact of the shift from rural, agrarian societies to urban, industrial societies. Their work finds echoes to this day, as scholars continue to explore questions about the relationship between political and economic power: How can governments promote economic development? Why do some governments redistribute wealth more than others?

Old neighborhoods being swallowed up by new construction in Shanghai, China. China's government has carefully managed the country's amazing economic growth—a fact that raises the question about the proper level of government intervention in the market.

New questions emerged in the late 1800s and early 1900s about the sources and consequences of nationalism and forms of political ideology such as fascism and communism. Nationalism was blamed for igniting World War I (1914–1918); communism sparked revolutions in Russia (in 1917) and China (in 1949) and bloody rebellions elsewhere; and fascism inspired the regimes that started World War II (1939–1945). Scholars wondered why nationalism took a benign form in some countries but a virulent form in others, and they puzzled over why some people found communism appealing, while others found inspiration in fascism. Because so many dictators ascended to power in the 1930s, political scientists even wondered whether democracy would survive. This fear proved unfounded, yet although fascism and communism have virtually disappeared as governing philosophies, non-democratic political ideologies continue to challenge the stability of democracy all over the world, pushing scholars to ask new questions: What differentiates democracy from non-democracy? What causes peaceful political mobilization—and what causes political violence? Why does democracy sometimes collapse into non-democracy?

In the 1960s and 1970s, the emergence of so many new nations in the wake of European decolonization generated a host of new questions, particularly about what might foster economic development and political stability in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Some scholars assumed that poor nations were doomed to perpetual exploitation by wealthier nations, but the rapid economic rise of "Asian Tigers" such as Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore invalidated such ideas and pushed scholars to ask whether economic development was due to political culture, non-democratic political institutions, or the ways in which governments intervened in and manipulated economic markets. The recent rise of the BRICs—Brazil, Russia, India, and China—has pushed scholars to reconsider some questions: What political factors can encourage economic development? To what extent does globalization impact politics?

By the 1990s, dozens of dictatorships around the world had adopted democracy, forcing political scientists to take yet another look at the question of why some non-democratic rulers relinquish their hold on power. These changes generated optimism about the future of democracy. Many even wondered whether the world was witnessing the twilight of the idea of dictatorship and the end of non-democratic ideologies once and for all. Still, given democracy's roots in Western Europe, scholars also wondered if democracy could survive in so many different cultures.

Most recently, political scientists have focused increased attention on questions related to the expanding role of women in politics, the growing influence of religion, and the impact of globalization on domestic and international politics. More and more women are winning elections around the world, leading scholars to ask: How do different attitudes about women's rights influence politics? The impact of religion seems obvious, but many assume that religious faith is a recipe for irreconcilable conflict between groups—while others call that assumption into question. And globalization brings us back to the sorts of questions Hobbes and Locke were asking hundreds of years ago: With the rising importance of transnational actors in world politics, such as corporations, terrorists and human rights activists, will the sovereign state wither away?

This is where we find comparative politics today—asking a series of questions about how politics works, and offering a method to help you make sense of the rapid and confusing political change happening around the world. At its essence, comparative politics is an argument for the existence of patterns—whether similarities or differences—across countries, and for undertaking a systematic effort to understand why different outcomes occur in similar places, or similar outcomes occur in different places. These efforts help us make sense of and simplify these complex patterns, offering simpler yet convincing answers to the questions that concern real-world political events.

The Comparative Method

1.3 How do we build arguments in comparative politics?

The questions we ask in comparative politics are always inspired by real-world events; there are no easy answers. The worst sorts of arguments in comparative politics are based on opinions rooted in stereotypes, in the belief that the past predicts the future, or on generalizations drawn from specific facts. For example, someone might stereotypically claim, "Democracy can never take root in Iraq because Iraqis are naturally anti-democratic," or "Iraq will never be a democracy simply because it has never been a democracy." Such arguments are unconvincing because they fail to engage available evidence—for example, public-opinion polls consistently reveal that Iraqi citizens want a democracy; and obviously every democratic country today was not always so. Someone might also offer the opinion, "Kuwait is next door to Iraq, and it's not a democracy, so obviously there's no way Iraq can become a democracy." This approach seems logical on the surface—but it too fails to consider the range of evidence. One cannot assume that if something happens in one place it is bound to happen in other places.

Asking Questions

So how does a comparative approach to politics move beyond merely stating an opinion? First, it takes a particular approach to asking and answering questions about political events that might seem inevitable or that might seem to have an "obvious" explanation: by exploring as wide a range of possible cases that have similar characteristics but that experience different outcomes—or vice versa, by looking at the set of cases with different characteristics that experience similar political outcomes. Both of these situations force us to dig deeper in such cases to find more viable explanations:

- Countries that share attributes but experience different political outcomes are puzzling because we expect countries with the same features to undergo similar experiences.
- Likewise, when a diverse set of countries experiences the same political outcome, the reason cannot be mere coincidence.

To illustrate the kinds of questions comparativists ask, consider an example of a dictatorship turned into a democracy: South Korea in 1987. How has democracy prevailed in South Korea? To answer this question, comparativists would not focus only or even largely on what transpired in South Korea in the 1970s or early 1980s. Instead, we would look to the broader world to find out if democratization in South Korea is part of a larger pattern of similar events that occurred in similar *and* dissimilar societies.

Think about the implications of focusing exclusively on South Korea. Perhaps, you reason, there is something about Korean culture that is inherently pro-democracy. Yet if that were true, then all countries that share Korean culture should have democratized—or at a minimum, we would see popular demand for democracy in such countries. South Korea is most similar to North Korea, which was and remains a non-democratic regime. Both countries share centuries of language, culture, and history. If Korean people were inherently pro-democratic, and if political outcomes followed from similar characteristics, then North Korea should also be a democracy. Yet despite sharing many attributes, North and South Korea have taken different political paths.

Comparativists shy away from building arguments based exclusively on the particulars of a single case. A good comparativist would ask, "Is the emergence of democracy in South Korea just one example of a pattern?" and would explore not just whether democracy has emerged in other similar places at the same time, but also whether it has emerged in different places at the same time. Depending on what we observe from the real world, we can begin to discount some answers and gain confidence in others.

It turns out that South Korea is an example of a common phenomenon—democratization—which becomes puzzling when we see that many other very different countries—such as Argentina, Turkey, the Philippines, and Poland—all experienced the same political outcome around the same time. To a comparativist, this pattern cannot be a coincidence, which calls into question the relative importance of factors unique to South Korea, and suggests that only by identifying the factors these diverse countries share will we be able to explain the pattern. South Korea's democratization raises interesting comparative politics questions both because similar countries (like North Korea) have not taken its path, and because different countries (like those listed above) have.

To nail down how comparativists ask questions about politics, consider how we might search for answers to the question of what causes civil wars. Let's apply the same logic as above. Suppose you had just read an article about ongoing violence in the West African country of Nigeria, and you wanted to understand why the conflict started. If you went online, it would take you just a few minutes to learn two key things about Nigeria: it's relatively poor, and it's divided between Christians and Muslims. "Ah!" you might say. "They're fighting over scarce resources, inspired by religious dogma." These are both plausible answers—a decent start to an argument that explains the causes of conflict, both in Nigeria and in general.

However, think about the implications of these two hypotheses. If they were true, we should see civil wars in similarly poor and religiously divided societies. And if you spent another few minutes on the Internet, you would discover that civil