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Democracies of the Modern World

SECOND EDITION

KENNETH NEWTON and JAN W. VAN DETH
This book is dedicated to Konstanza and Joke
Contents

List of briefings page xviii
List of fact files xx
List of controversies xxi
List of tables xxii
List of figures xxiii
Preface to the second edition xxiv
Acknowledgements xxv
List of abbreviations and acronyms xxvi
Key terms and concepts xxviii
How to use this book xxix

Introduction 1
Why comparative politics? 1
Understanding our own country 1
Understanding other countries 2
Constructing valid generalisations 2
The strengths and weakness of cross-national comparative political science 4
The pros and cons of cross-national comparative politics 5
It cannot answer questions of values 5
It lacks evidence 5
It deals in probabilities not certainties or laws 6
It suffers from the fatal flaw that what it can measure is not worth studying 6
Every country in the world is unique so comparisons are impossible 7
The themes that run through the book – what to watch for 8
The importance of institutions 9
History matters 9
The social and economic basis of politics 9
Politics matters
From a mass of detail to general types

PART I
The state: origins and development

1 The development of the modern state
What is a state?
Territory, people and sovereignty
The rise of the modern state
Historical origins and development
State formation and nation building
Catalysts: warfare and capitalism
Growth after 1945
State theories
Constitutional approaches
Ethical and moral approaches
Conflict approaches
Pluralist approaches
Other theories
What have we learned?
Lessons of comparison
Projects
Further reading
Websites

2 States and democracy
Why study states
The modern state and democracy
Citizens’ rights
Elections and parliamentary accountability
Democracy and the rise of democratic states
Redistribution and the welfare state
Theories of state and society
State supremacy
State dependency
Interdependency
Separation and autonomy
What have we learned?
Lessons of comparison
Projects
Further reading
Websites
# Contents

3 Democratic change and persistence 53

- Transitions towards democracy 54
- The limits of democratisation 57
- Embedded, partial and defective democracies 59
- Theories of democratic change and persistence 63
- What have we learned? 65
- Lessons of comparison 65
- Projects 66
- Further reading 66
- Websites 67

## PART II

The polity: structures and institutions 69

4 Constitutions 71

- What a constitution is, and why we have them 72
- The separation of powers 75
  - Executives 75
  - Legislatures 76
  - Judiciaries 79
  - Judicial activism 81
- Unitary and federal states 82
- The limits of constitutionalism 82
- Constitutional and institutional theories 83
  - The ‘old constitutionalism’ 83
  - The ‘new constitutionalism’ 85
  - The ‘new institutionalism’ 86
- What have we learned? 88
- Lessons of comparison 89
- Projects 89
- Further reading 90
- Websites 90

5 Presidential and parliamentary government 91

- Presidential systems 92
- Parliamentary systems 94
- Semi-presidential systems 96
- Presidential, parliamentary and semi-presidential systems compared 97
- Theories of parliamentary, presidential and semi-presidential government 99
- What have we learned? 102
### Contents

- The lessons of comparison .............................................. 102
- Projects .................................................................. 103
- Further reading ............................................................. 103
- Websites .................................................................. 103

#### 6 Multi-level government: international, national and sub-national 105

- Supra-national and international government .................. 107
  - Confederations ....................................................... 107
  - The European Union: federation or confederation? ........ 109
- The national level: federal and unitary states .................. 109
  - Geographically large countries .................................... 111
  - Countries with markedly different geographical regions .... 112
  - Unitary and federal systems in practice ....................... 114
  - Local government .................................................... 117
  - Central-local political conflict ..................................... 119
  - Democracy, size and efficiency .................................... 120
  - Restructuring local government ................................... 122

- The interplay of multi-level government: the case of the EU .... 125
- The arguments for and against centralisation and decentralisation 125
- Arguments for centralisation ........................................ 126
- Theories of multi-level government ................................ 127
  - Philosophical and political theories: Mill and Tocqueville .... 127
  - Pluralist theory ....................................................... 127
  - Economic theories .................................................. 128
  - Centre-periphery relations ........................................ 129
- What have we learned? .................................................. 130
- Lessons of comparison .................................................. 131
- Projects ................................................................ 131
- Further reading ............................................................ 132
- Websites ................................................................ 132

#### 7 Policy making and legislating: executives and legislatures 134

- Making laws: executives and legislatures ....................... 135
  - The rise of executives ............................................. 136
  - Increasing power of executives? ................................. 139
- The functions of legislatures .......................................... 141
  - Representation of public opinion ............................... 141
  - Legitimation .......................................................... 142
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contents</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Law making</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scrutiny of the executive and the administration</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative committees</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theories of democratic institutions: consensus and majoritarian systems</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majoritarian democracy, or the ‘Westminster model’</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consensus democracy</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What have we learned?</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons of comparison</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further reading</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Websites</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8 Implementation: the public bureaucracy</strong></td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The organisation of the state bureaucracy</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy making and administration</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The dictatorship of the official?</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The power of the official</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanisms of control</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The New Public Management: reinventing government</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privatisation and market efficiency</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empowerment</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theories of public bureaucracy</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The rational-legal ideal-type</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clientelism</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The new right, rational choice and the New Public Management</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What have we learned?</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lessons of comparison</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Further reading</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Websites</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PART III</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citizens, elites and interest mediation</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9 Political attitudes and behaviour</strong></td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political attitudes</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political interests and identity</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political culture</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The civic culture</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materialism and post-materialism</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-cultures and elite cultures</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contents

Political cleavages 180
Different cleavage lines 181
Cleavages in countries and world regions 183
Political behaviour 184
Modes of political behaviour 185
Conventional and unconventional political behaviour 187
Patterns of political behaviour 187
Theories of political attitudes and behaviour 193
Marxist and class theory 193
Elite theory 193
Rational-choice theory 194
Social capital theory and civic participation 195
What have we learned? 195
Lessons of comparison 196
Projects 196
Further reading 197
Websites 197

10 Pressure groups and social movements 198
Political connections 199
Voluntary organisations and pressure groups 199
Pressure groups and political parties 201
Social movements 203
Pressure groups and social movements in action 205
Groups and issues 206
The nature of government 207
Determinants of power 210
Group features 211
The political environment 212
Corporatism, para-government and tri-partism/pluralism 213
Corporatism 213
Para-government 214
Tri-partism/pluralism 215
International NGOs 216
Groups, pressure groups and democracy 216
Theories of voluntary organisations 217
Pluralism 217
Marxist/elite theory 219
Social capital and civil society theory 220
What have we learned? 221
Lessons of comparison 221
Projects 222
### Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Further reading</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Websites</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 11 The mass media 224

- The mass media and democracy 225
- Regulating the media 227
  - The public service model 227
  - The market model 229
- Ownership and control 233
- The impact of the new media technology:
  - Globalisation and E-politics 234
- Theories of the mass media 239
- What have we learned? 242
- Lessons of comparison 243
- Projects 243
- Further reading 244
- Websites 244

#### 12 Voters and elections 245

- Elections 246
  - Democratic elections 246
  - Voting systems 246
  - Voting turnout 250
  - Declining turnout? 251
  - Determinants of election turnout 252
- Party voting 254
  - Economic voting and stratification 255
  - Religious voting 256
  - Other voting patterns 258
  - New party voting patterns 258
  - Tradition and change in Mexico 260
- Theories of voting 261
  - Sociological approaches: the Columbia school 261
  - Psychological approaches: the Michigan school 262
  - Rational choice 263
- What have we learned? 265
- Lessons of comparison 265
- Projects 266
- Further reading 266
- Websites 266

#### 13 Party government 268

- Party organisation 269
Contents

New parties and movements 271
Party systems and party families 272
  Party families 272
  Party systems 273
  One-party and coalition government 276
Coalition government 277
Coalitions and government effectiveness 280
Parties and democracy 281
Theories of parties 281
  The ‘iron law of oligarchy’ 281
  Duverger’s law 283
  Coalition theory 284
  Majoritarian and consensus government revisited 285
What have we learned? 286
Lessons of comparison 287
Projects 287
Further reading 288
Websites 288

PART IV
Policies and performance 289

14 Political ideologies: conservatism, liberalism, Christian democracy and socialism 291
The nature of ideology 292
Four democratic ideologies 294
  Conservatism 294
  Liberalism 297
  Christian democracy 299
  Socialism and social democracy 302
Three minor schools of thought 304
  Nationalism 304
  Green political thought 305
  Populism 307
Theories of ideology 307
  Marxist and neo-Marxist theories 308
  Material and non-material interests 309
  The end of ideology and the end of history 310
What have we learned? 311
Lessons of comparison 312
Projects 312
Further reading 313
Websites 313
# 15 Decision making

- Public policies: their nature and importance
- Goals and results
- The nature of policy-making processes
- The public policy cycle
  - Agenda setting
  - Decision making
  - Choice of means
  - Implementation
  - Outputs and outcomes
  - Evaluation and feedback
- Public policy structures
  - Corporatism
  - Pluralism
- Theories of decision making
  - The rational-comprehensive model
  - The incremental model
- What have we learned?
- Lessons of comparison
- Projects
- Further reading
- Websites

# 16 Defence and security

- The state and security
- Defence and national security
  - Conflict resolution
  - Just wars
  - Military expenditure
- Internal law and order
  - Law enforcement
  - Crime, punishment and prevention
- Other forms of protection
  - Information
  - Certification
  - Permission
  - Product safety
- The limitations of state security
  - Terrorism
  - International crime
  - Corruption
  - The limits of state power
- Theories of security and conflict
  - The origins of conflict
Contents

Realism and idealism 354
Policy communities 355
The military–industrial complex 356
What have we learned? 356
Lessons of comparison 357
Projects 357
Further reading 358
Websites 358

17 Welfare 360
Welfare states and redistribution 361
Social security 363
Social security and social expenditure 363
Comparing social security systems 366
The level of social expenditure 366
The composition of social expenditure 366
Trends in social expenditure 369
Pensions and health programmes 370
Pensions 371
Health 372
Social security and taxation 374
Theories of the welfare state 376
Conflict-oriented approaches 377
Functionalist explanations 377
Institutional approaches 377
International and transnational dependencies 379
What have we learned? 380
Lessons of comparison 381
Projects 381
Further reading 381
Websites 382

18 The future of the democratic state 383
States and sovereignty 385
Conventional states, proto-states and supra-national states 385
Challenges to the state 387
The retreat of the state? 390
Democracy without borders 392
The quality of democracy 392
Reform of state and government 393
The future 396
What have we learned? 397
Contents

Lessons of comparison 398
Projects 398
Further reading 399
Websites 399

Postscript: How and what to compare? 400
Comparing many or a few countries? 401
  Comparing many cases 402
  Comparing a few cases 404
Selecting comparable countries 405
How many countries is enough? 408
Comparing apples and oranges 410
  Looking for more abstract concepts 411
  Looking for equivalent concepts 412
What have we learned? 413
Projects 414
Further reading 414
Websites 415

Glossary of key terms 416
Index of names 430
Index of subjects 433
Introduction 1  Is widespread gun ownership in the USA responsible for its high gun crime figures?  page 4

1.1 First three articles of the ‘Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen’ (Paris, 1789)  15
1.2 Not every human being is a citizen…  20
1.3 R2P: sovereignty entails responsibility  21

2.1 Only the state can bail out private actors and guarantee financial security  38
2.2 Democracy: universal principles and limitations  45

3.1 Comparing democracy and democratic development: major indicators  60
3.2 Expediency takes the place of democracy  63
4.1 Constitutions  73
4.2 The constitutions of Argentina, France and Japan  84
5.1 The three major forms of democratic government: main features  98
5.2 The perils of presidential government  101

6.1 The Dominican Republic: membership of international organisations  108
7.1 A legislature at work: the Swedish Riksdag  143
8.1 Policy making and administration  157
9.1 Reinforcing and cross-cutting cleavages: Belgium and Switzerland  182
9.2 Varieties of political behaviour  185
9.3 Modes of political behaviour  187
10.1 Pressure groups in India, Ghana, and the Dominican Republic  202
10.2 International peak organisations  207
10.3 A life of pressure: Peter Jenkins, a public affairs officer with the British Consumers’ Association  210
10.4 Corporatism, interest groups and democracy in Latin America  215
11.1 Newspaper subsidies in Norway  230
11.2 The mass media systems: Finland, Bolivia and Japan  231
11.3 Mass media ownership: the case of Time Warner  235
List of briefings

11.4 Global communications corporations 236
12.1 Main voting systems 248
12.2 The left–right dimension in politics 256
12.3 Cleavages and politics: Chile 259
13.1 Party families 274
13.2 Government formation: parliamentary systems 278
14.1 Conservative thinkers 296
14.2 Two concepts of liberty 298
14.3 Liberal thinkers 300
14.4 Socialist thinkers 303
15.1 The public–private divide 320
15.2 Mexican corporatism: rise and fall 328
16.1 The life of man [is] solitary, poore, nasty, brutish and short 338
16.2 Economic sanctions or genocide? 339
16.3 The world prison population 348
17.1 The OECD classification of social expenditure 364
17.2 A typology of welfare states 378
18.1 The need for good governance 396
Postscript 1 John Stuart Mill on comparisons 406
## Fact files

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>The Treaty of Westphalia (1648)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>The Freedom House rating of states</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>The worst of the worst</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Constitutions</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Heads of state and heads of government</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Legislatures</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Judiciaries</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Presidential and parliamentary systems</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Semi-presidentialism</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Confederations</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Federal states</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Unitary states</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Sub-central government: patterns of change</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Public bureaucracies</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Political attitudes and values</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Mass political behaviour</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Pressure groups</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>The political media</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>Voters and elections</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>Party systems, government formation, coalitions and electoral systems</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Controversies

1.1 What is a state? page 18
2.1 Focusing on the state is… 37
4.1 One chamber or two? 78
5.1 Presidential, parliamentary or semi-presidential government? 100
6.1 Unitary, federal or confederal? 116
6.2 To centralise or decentralise? 126
7.1 Parliaments and legislatures 137
8.1 The New Public Management 162
9.1 Political culture as a tool of political science: for and against 173
10.1 Do pressure groups sustain or undermine democracy? 218
11.1 Public service versus commercial media? 228
13.1 Parties and democracy 282
16.1 Is government the greatest threat to human security? 345
16.2 Terrorism: a fundamental mind-trick? 351
16.3 The price of security? 353
17.1 What is a welfare state? 363
17.2 The end of the welfare state? 372
17.3 The American welfare state: unusually small? 376
18.1 Complaints about democracy? 393
## Tables

2.1 Parliamentary accountability and universal suffrage, selected countries  
   page 41

2.2 Free and independent states, 2008  
   44

6.1 Share of public employment, late 1990s  
   111

6.2 Federal states: names and numbers of regional units of government, 2000  
   113

7.1 The source of legislation: governments and legislatures  
   139

7.2 The main institutional features of majoritarian and consensus democracies  
   147

8.1 Public employment as a percentage of total employment, OECD countries, 1990s  
   154

9.1 Rates of political participation, western Europe, 1974–1990  
   189

11.1 Newspaper readership, TV ownership and internet users: selected democracies, 2000–2004  
   238

12.1 Liberal democracies: voting systems, 1990s  
   251

12.2 Voting turnout as a percentage of those registered, selected democratic countries, 2004–2008  
   253

12.3 Class, religious and value voting, 1990s  
   257

15.1 Corporatism in eighteen democracies, 1950s–1970s  
   329

16.1 UN missions around the world  
   343

16.2 Criminal offences, selected countries, 2001  
   347

18.1 The ten largest corporations in the world, 2008  
   388
# Figures

1.1 States of the world, 2007 ........................................ page 16  
1.2 UN member states, 1945–2007 ......................... 29  
3.1 Partial democracies: examples from diminished sub-types .... 62  
6.1 Share of total government expenditure: central and non-central government, 1994 .... 110  
6.2 Share of total government receipts, 1994 .......... 110  
9.1 Expansion of the political participation research agenda since the 1940s .... 186  
15.1 The six stages of the policy cycle .............. 319  
15.2 General government expenditure as a percentage of GDP, OECD countries, 2007 .... 321  
16.1 Intra- and inter-state conflicts of high intensity, 1945–2007 ........ 341  
17.1 Public social expenditure, by broad social policy areas, 2001 .... 367  
17.2 Composition of public social expenditure, selected countries, 2003 .... 368  
17.3 Trends in public social expenditure, selected countries, 1980–2001 .... 370
Preface to the second edition

This second edition has been extensively revised and updated, based, in large part, on the comments and suggestions of anonymous readers contacted by Cambridge University Press. We could not follow all of their suggestions but have acted on most of them, resulting in a great many changes to the book, some major, some minor. We also had very useful feedback from Matthijs Bogaards and his students at the Jacobs University, Bremen, from Wolfgang Müller at the University of Mannheim, from Henk van der Kolk at Twente University and from the very helpful students at the University of Southampton who ‘road tested’ some of the chapters for us. Ursula Neumann and Benjamin Engst at the University of Mannheim checked many of the entries and provided updated information. Also, Benjamin Engst pitched in at the last stages of the revisions and helped us to meet our deadline.

Ken Newton would also like to thank Wolfgang Merkel and his colleagues in the DSL Research Unit in the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin for their continuing support and for providing a wonderful working environment. Susanne Fuchs was especially helpful and deserves special thanks.

As political scientists, not politicians, we cannot blame any faults and errors in this second edition on anybody but ourselves, least of all those named above.

Ken Newton and Jan W. van Deth
January 2009
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This book is the result of our discussions and contacts with many people at various places in the last few years. Ken Newton would like to thank the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin for time spent there researching and writing early drafts of chapters. Wolfgang Zapf and Roland Habich made this possible with a kind invitation to join their group as a visitor. Tom Cusack, Jan Delhey, Wolf-Dieter Eberwein, Dieter Fuchs, Rick Hofferbert, Ron Inglehart, Max Kaase, Hans-Dieter Klingemann, Christiane Neumann, Marion Obermaier and Edeltraud Roller all combined to make the visits both delightful and productive.

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Jan van Deth would like to thank his collaborators at the University of Mannheim and the Mannheim Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES) for similar friendship and intellectual stimulation. In Mannheim, too, many ideas were shot down with good arguments based on an excellent knowledge of the subject matter of comparative politics and a firm grasp of its methods.

Finally, we would like to thank Jana Jughard for preparing the final version of the manuscript.

Ken Newton and Jan W. van Deth
August 2004
Abbreviations and acronyms

AfDB  African Development Bank
ASEAN  Association of South East Asian Nations
AV  Alternative Vote
Benelux  Belgium Netherlands, Luxembourg Economic Union
CA  Consumer Association
CBA  Cost-benefit analysis
CEO  Chief executive officer
CIS  Confederation of Independent States
CND  Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CoR  Committee of the Regions (EU)
DARS  Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara
DGB  Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (trade union association, Germany)
EAPC  Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
ECHR  European Court of Human Rights
ECJ  European Court of Justice
ENA  *Ecole Nationale d'Administration*
EP  European Parliament
ESA  European Space Agency
ETUC  European Trade Union Confederation
EU  European Union
FBI  Federal Bureau of Investigation (USA)
GATT  General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GM  Genetically modified
IBRD  International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank)
ICJ  International Court of Justice
IDA  International Development Association
IISS  International Institute for Strategic Studies
ILO  International Labour Organisation
IMF  International Monetary Fund
IOC  International Olympic Committee
IOM  International Organisation for Migration
IPU  Inter-Parliamentary Union
List of abbreviations and acronyms

IT Information technology
JV Joint venture
MCW Minimum connected winning (coalition)
MITI Ministry of International Trade and Industry (Japan)
MMP Mixed-member proportional voting system
MNC Multi-national corporation
MWC Minimum winning coalition
NAFTA North American Free Trade Association
NASA National Aeronautics and Space Administration (USA)
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NGO Non-governmental organisation
OAU Organisation of African Unity
OECD Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFCOM Office of Communications (UK)
OPEC Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSCE Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PAC Political Action Committee (USA)
PPP Purchasing power parity
PR Proportional representation
R&D Research and Development
SB Second ballot (voting system)
SES Socio-economic status
SMSP Single member, simple plurality voting system
SNTV Single non-transferable vote
STV Single transferable vote
TI Transparency International
TNC Transnational Corporation
UK United Kingdom
UN United Nations
UNHCR UN High Commission for Refugees
UNITAR UN Institute for Training and Research
USA United States
USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union)
WDIs World Development Indicators
WEU Western European Union
WHO World Health Organisation
WTO World Trade Organisation
Key terms and concepts

As key terms and concepts are introduced in the book, they are briefly defined in the margin of the text. Rather longer definitions, sometimes with qualifications and examples, are given in the Glossary at the end of the book and a fully searchable, electronic version is available on the companion website.
How to use this book

This book has many special features to help you work your way through the chapters efficiently and effectively and to understand them. This section shows you what these features are and how they help you work through the material in each chapter. Each chapter contains:

- An introduction with a brief account of the topics it covers, so that you know what to expect. For example, chapter 2 includes:
  - Why study states?
  - The modern state and democracy
  - The rise of democratic states
  - Redistribution and welfare states
  - theories of states and society

- Each chapter ends with a summary of its main findings and what we have learned from using the comparative approach to government and politics. For example, chapter 2 concludes with:

  ▶ What have we learned?
  - This chapter has dealt with the difficulties of characterising and defining states, and with the historical development of modern states, especially democratic ones.
  - Democracy is a variable not a constant. Accepted ideas about what democracy is, and how it operates, are changing as standards rise.

  ▶ The lessons of comparison
  - Although states across the globe, from the strongest to the weakest, are increasingly confronted with other powerful organisations, especially international business (MNCs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international agencies, they are still the most important political actors in the world.
  - A concluding section reviews the main theories and approaches of political science towards the subject matter of the chapter. By the end of the
How to use this book

book you will have covered every major theoretical contribution to com-
parative politics from Plato to the most recent researcher in the field.

■ Theories of state and society

Broadly speaking, there are four major approaches to the relationship
between ‘state’ and ‘society’:

- State supremacy
- State dependency
- Interdependency
- Separation and autonomy.

‘Key term’ entries. When a new concept is
introduced it is picked out in bold letters in the
text and defined in brief and simple terms in
the margin. All the key terms are then brought
together in the ‘Glossary of key terms’ at the end
of the book. This makes it easy to refresh your memory about concepts.

- ‘Controversy boxes’ provide you with an overview of the most contentious
topics in comparative government and politics.

CONTROVERSY 2.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of debate</th>
<th>Right, because:</th>
<th>Wrong, because:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Euro-centrism</td>
<td>Although the idea of the modern state originated in Europe, every corner of the world is now claimed by states.</td>
<td>The idea of the modern state is Euro-centred and ideologically loaded, and should be replaced by concepts taking account of political arrangements in other cultures.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- ‘Briefing boxes’ give you a rich and concise account of important topics and material to illustrate them and bring them alive.

Briefing 2.1

Only the state can bail out private actors and guarantee financial security

In the first years of the twentieth-first century housing prices exploded in many countries and personal debts increased as people tried to raise their standard of living. Banks and other financial institutions provided easy mortgage credits and loans to finance this boom and make big profits. With the collapse…etc.
In addition to the tables and figures, ‘fact files’ organise hard evidence to support the general accounts of comparative government and politics contained in the text.

Fact file 4.1

Constitutions

- The first codified constitution was San Marino’s (1600), followed by Canada’s (1774) and the USA’s (1787).
- Between 1990 and 1995 ninety-six countries – more than a third of the world’s total – adopted new constitutions. Twenty were in central and eastern Europe, but thirty-one were in central and southern Africa.
- Most countries have modified their constitutions at some point in their history, but Belgium, Canada, France (twice), the Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and Turkey have done so in major ways in recent decades. The Indian constitution…etc.

The end material of the chapters also includes:

- Two or three small projects that you can use to test your understanding and consolidate your learning.

Projects

1. Would you call the country you live in a ‘nation’ (or a ‘nation-state’)? What makes it a state, and when did it achieve statehood?
2. Draw up lists of:
   (1) the ten largest and smallest states in the world
   (2) the ten oldest and youngest states in the world
   (3) the ten richest and poorest states in the world.
   What do the oldest states have in common compared with the youngest, and what do the richest have in common compared with the poorest?

- A short list of further reading and details of useful websites.

Further reading

An overview of discussions of the state and its development.

A concise overview of the state and its development.