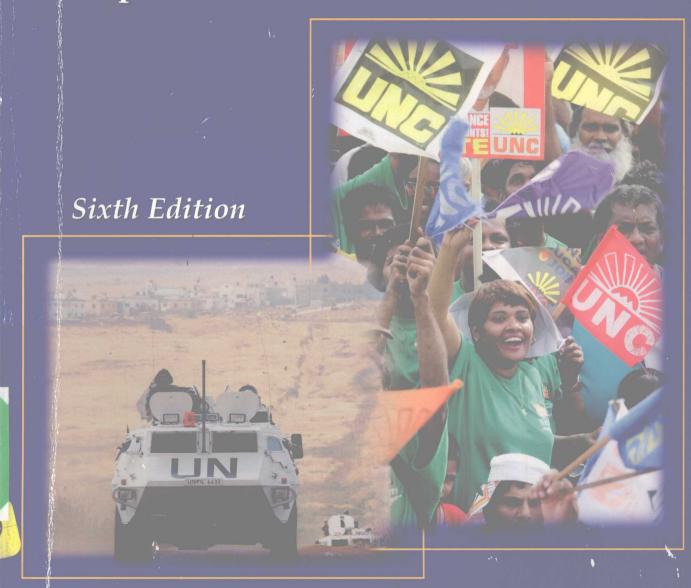
# Understanding the Political World

A Comparative Introduction to Political Science



James N. Danziger

# Understanding the Political World

A Comparative Introduction to Political Science



New York San Francisco Boston London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore Madrid Mexico City Munich Paris Cape Town Hong Kong Montreal

# TO HEINZ EULAU, A SPLENDID MENTOR, AND, AS ALWAYS, TO LESLEY, NICK, AND VANESSA

Vice President/Publisher: Priscilla McGeehon

Executive Editor: Eric Stano

Associate Editor: Anita Castro

Marketing Manager: Megan Galvin-Fak

Supplements Editor: Teresa Ward

Production Manager: Ellen MacElree

Project Coordination, Text Design, and Electronic Page Makeup:

Electronic Publishing Services Inc., NYC

Cover Design Manager: Wendy Ann Fredericks

Cover Designer: David G. Bartow

Cover Photos: (Left) ©AP Wide World Photos, (Right) ©Karamallah Daher/Reuters/TimePix

Photo Researcher: PhotoSearch, Inc. Manufacturing Buyer: Roy Pickering

Printer and Binder: Hamilton

Cover Printer: Phoenix Color Corp.

For permission to use copyrighted material, grateful acknowledgment is made to the copyright holders on p 513, which are hereby made part of this copyright page.

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Danziger, James N.

Understanding the political world: a comparative introduction to political science / James N. Danziger.--6th ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-321-10192-8

1. Political science. I. Title.

JA66.D36 2002

320-dc21

2002023588

Copyright © 2003 by Addison Wesley Longman, 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.

Please visit our website at http://www.ablongman.com

ISBN 0-321-10192-8

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10—HT—05 04 03 02

12/00

#### PREFACE

In these early years of the twenty-first century, there are especially good reasons why we should attempt to enhance our understanding of the political world. For Americans, the shocking attacks on September 11, 2001 brought into sharp relief what many others around the world were already experiencing: That the post-cold war period, despite expectations that it would usher in a benign "new world order," is neither orderly nor benign. Moreover, while increased globalization has resulted in new levels of prosperity and interdependence, it has also heightened antagonisms and exacerbated conflicts within and between countries.

At this time, there are a variety of "more than ever" situations that intersect with politics in many ways. There are more electoral democracies than at any time in history. The power of transnational/multinational actors, whether the European Union or a large corporation, is at its highest point ever. The political world has never been characterized by as many countries or as many ethnic groups attempting to establish new states that correspond to their identity group. Potent technologies, ranging from those manipulating information to those capable of mass destruction, are more prevalent and pervasive than ever. The political economies of individual countries have never been as interdependent. At no time have larger numbers of people lived in such material abundance and/or have so many suffered from relative deprivation in the distribution of resources.

These circumstances are indicative of a period that is extraordinary and that poses fascinating challenges to those of us who attempt to use information and the concepts of political science in order to understand better the real world of politics.

#### **Objectives**

Addressing such challenges is at the heart of this book. The central objective is, as the book's title indicates, to help the reader better understand the political world. It attempts to link the central analytic concepts of political science that have emerged over decades of research to the realities of the political world in the early twenty-first century. Using contemporary and some historical evidence, the emphasis is on empirical research that illuminates the processes and structures of politics. The level of analysis ranges from the individual's political beliefs and actions through the politics of groups and states to the dynamics of the international system.

This book asks the reader to assess whether it is possible and useful to develop generalizations about political phenomena. It combines attention to systematic

#### XVIII PREFACE

descriptive analysis—the *what* questions—with efforts to explain underlying patterns—the *why* and *how* questions. And readers are continually reminded that they must consider the important normative questions that are embedded in most issues about politics. Many topics are also presented in a manner that encourages the reader to think as a political scientist, structuring questions and assessing evidence in order to make inferences.

#### **Features**

This sixth edition has retained most key features of the earlier editions:

- A strong, comparative framework
- Coverage of micropolitics, macropolitics, and international relations
- A focus on political economy, including a complete chapter on this important topic
- Thorough analyses of key political processes
- An engaging, readable style
- Presentation of current data to facilitate analysis and comparisons on many topics
- The instructive use of political cartoons and photographs throughout the book

In addition, the book features sixty-two boxed discussions that offer rich, memorable examples of key concepts and issues, such as the different paths of political activism taken by Gandhi and Osama bin Laden, the rational choice perspective on why a person should not vote, the nature of globalization's effects on the political world, Russia's struggles to establish democratic politics and a market economy, the political impacts of television, the effects of colonialism and neocolonialism on Congo, the different policies for dealing with population growth in developing countries, the extensive social control exercised by the state in Singapore, and the American imposition of a constitution on Japan.

#### **New to This Edition**

Given the extraordinary rate of change in the political world, there are updated examples throughout this edition. In addition, there are significant changes:

- Given the stunning attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, there is expanded consideration of international terrorism and the "war on terrorism," as well as a character study of Osama bin Laden, leader of Al-Qaeda.
- The dynamics associated with globalization and its impacts on politics, economics, and the international system are considered explicitly within various relevant topics.
- There is an expanded examination of the conditions that seem most conducive to the effective pursuit of the dual goals of economic development and deepening democracy.
- The strategy of "microcredit" as a facilitator of development, focusing especially on women in the Global South and with emphasis on the Grameen Bank of Bangladesh, is explored.
- The recent economic, political, and social changes in the post-communist developed countries, both positive and negative, are analyzed.
- There is consideration of the serious problems emerging in many transitional and developing countries as they attempt to implement neoliberal economic reforms at the same time that they extend democratic political processes.
- Many discussions have been tightened to increase clarity and shorten the chapters.

- A list of "Key Concepts" has been added at the end of each chapter.
- "On the Web"—a list of URLs of particularly useful Internet sites—is included at the end of most chapters.

#### Organization

The sixth edition retains the conceptual framework of the fifth edition, focusing on micropolitics and macropolitics.

- Chapter 1 and the Appendix introduce students to the logic of political science and the methods of political analysis.
- Chapters 2 through 4 examine political behavior at the individual and group levels, describing and explaining the causes of individual political beliefs and actions.
- Chapters 5 through 8 emphasize the structural and institutional elements of political systems, offering analytic frameworks for characterizing the different ways in which people organize themselves politically.
- Chapters 9 through 11 analyze interesting and important political processes, such as
  decision making and the exercise of power, political and economic development, and
  political violence.
- Chapter 12 examines the patterns of cooperation, competition, and conflict among countries and other actors in the international environment.
- Chapters 13 through 15 explain in detail how certain groups of countries try to achieve
  their broad goals of prosperity, stability, and security within the complex international
  environment. Specific analysis is provided for the developed countries, the developing countries, and two sets of transitional countries—the post-communist developed
  countries and the newly industrializing countries.
- Chapter 16 concludes with a prospective assessment of the major political challenges in the early twenty-first century.

#### **Audience**

This book is written for any person who wants to enrich his or her basic understanding of the political world and to learn how political scientists attempt to describe and explain politics. Such a person might be in an introductory course in political science or comparative politics, but could also be in a "capstone" course that integrates one's political science studies. Such a person might also be any individual who wants to think about the fascinating and confusing world of politics in a more informed and systematic way.

#### **Supplements for Instructors**

Instructor's Manual with Test Bank to Accompany Understanding the Political World, Sixth Edition. Written by James N. Danziger himself, the Instructor's Manual with Test Bank includes up-to-date chapter summaries, multiple-choice questions, essay questions, and discussion questions.

TestGen-EQ 2.0. The test bank questions are also available electronically through a computerized testing system, TestGen-EQ 2.0. This fully networkable test generating software is now available on a cross-platform CD-ROM. TestGen-EQ's friendly graphical interface enables instructors to view, edit, and add questions,

transfer questions to tests, and print tests in a variety of fonts and forms. Search and sort features allow instructors to locate questions quickly and arrange them in a preferred order.

#### **Supplements for Students**

Microsoft® Encarta® Interactive World Atlas CD-ROM. Deeply discounted when ordered packaged with the text! This state-of-the-art CD-ROM provides over 1.2 million place names, 192 country home pages, 7,000 articles, a map gallery with twenty-one styles of interactive maps; a statistics center with current information about any country, measured by more than 350 statistical indicators; and much more!

Discounted Subscription to Newsweek Magazine. Students can receive twelve issues of Newsweek at an 80 percent savings off the regular subscription price! An outstanding way to engage students and get them involved in the most current events and issues in politics today. Contact your local Addison Wesley Longman rep for ordering information.

#### **Acknowledgments**

Many sources of ideas and information constitute the basis of *my* understanding about politics. Broadly, you should know that I was born and have primarily been educated in the United States. I have studied, lived, and/or spent significant periods in North America, Western and Eastern Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. The people I met and the events I experienced in these places have certainly influenced my perceptions about politics.

More direct contributions to this book have come from my colleagues in political science and from the many students and others in the political world with whom I have interacted. I have drawn deeply and often from the ideas of these groups.

By the publication of a sixth edition, the layers of contributions and ideas to the construction of this book are deep, rich, and rather indescribable. In every edition, there is a list of people who added positively to that edition, and I continue to be grateful to them all. Explicit guidance and advice regarding the writing of this particular edition have come from several valuable sources: the cadre at Longman Publishers, including the executive editor, Eric Stano, and the associate editor, Anita Castro; scholarly colleagues who have offered useful suggestions, including Russ Dalton and Marty Wattenberg; and students who have provided specific material for the book, especially Leah Donahue, Sharon McConnell, Amit Pandhi, and Nisha Singh. The reviewers, who offered very thoughtful and constructive commentaries for this edition, are: Alex L. Avila, Mesa Community College; Michael J. Gorges, University of Maryland, Baltimore County; Anthony Neal, Buffalo State College; and William A. Welsh, University of Arizona.

I am very grateful for the help provided by all these (and many unnamed) sources. Regarding the roads not taken and the missteps in this book, the respon-

sibility is mine.

#### TO THE READER

The aim of this book is revealed by its title: It is meant to help you understand the political world. It assumes that you are willing to think about politics. It does not assume that you have substantial knowledge about politics or political science. It does not assume you know the difference between politics and political science. I hope that when you complete the book (especially if it is complemented by instruction about politics from a teacher), you will feel that you have increased your

knowledge about the contemporary political world.

The study of politics is full of fascinating questions. First are the questions about what is, such as: Who exercises political power and what values and purposes guide them? Why do people accept political authority? How do people organize themselves politically? What causes individuals and groups to take political action? A second set of questions concerns what ought to be: Who should exercise political power and what values should they pursue? Why should people accept political authority? How should political structures be organized? Why should individuals and groups act politically? People disagree sharply about answers to both these descriptive (what is) and normative (what ought to be) questions. In addition, the study of politics provokes a third set of questions regarding what we can actually know about the political world. Here also there are major disagreements about the appropriate methods for describing and understanding politics.

Although this book cannot resolve the underlying disputes, it offers you the basis for making sense out of politics at all three levels. As author, I make some basic assumptions: that you can think systematically about politics and make general statements about how politics works; that you will learn more about politics by considering the politics of many different places; that every observer of politics (certainly including you and me) has biases, only some of which can be understood; that you need a variety of sources of ideas and information before you can make informed and sensible decisions about the value disagreements pervading politics; and that this book is one such source that can be helpful to you. My efforts will be successful to the extent that you ultimately judge my assumptions to be correct

(especially the last one ...).

It is inevitable that you will be frustrated with the treatment of politics at some (many?) points in this book. I would say: Reader, be merciful! The study of politics is incredibly complex. Gather bits of understanding where you can find them.

#### **ABOUT THE AUTHOR**

James N. Danziger is a professor and former chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of California, Irvine, where he also has served as campuswide Dean of Undergraduate Education. He is recipient of many honors and awards, including a Marshall Scholarship (to Great Britain) and a Foreign Area Fellowship. He received the first UC Irvine Distinguished Faculty Lectureship Award for Teaching in 1987 and the UC Irvine Distinguished Service Award in 1997. His research has received awards from the American Political Science Association and the American Society for Public Administration. He has published extensively, particularly on information technology and politics, and he is on the editorial board of Local Government Studies. He has been an active participant in local politics and especially enjoys playing sports, travel, music, and cinema.

#### CONTENTS

Boxed Features xv
Preface xvii
To the Reader xxi
About the Author xxii

#### PART ONE ON KNOWING THE POLITICAL WORLD

#### CHAPTER 1 Politics and Knowledge 3

On Politics 3

Types of Political Knowledge 5

Description 6

Explanation 8

Prescription 8

Sources of Political Knowledge 8

Authority 8

Personal Thought 12

Science 13

Political Science 13

Political "Science"? 18

Criticisms of Political Science as a "Science" 18

Political Science as a Means of Understanding the Political

World 20

Where Is This Book Going? 20

Key Concepts 21

For Further Consideration 22

For Further Reading 22

On the Web 23

#### PART TWO POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

#### CHAPTER 2 Political Beliefs 25

Individual Political Beliefs 26 Belief Systems 28

Belief Systems among Mass Publics Belief Systems among Elites 30 Political Culture 31 National Character Studies 31 Survey Research 32 Political Ideology 35 Key Issues 35 Conservatism 38 Classical Liberalism 39 Socialism 41 Some Further Points about "Isms" 43 Looking Ahead 45 Key Concepts 46 For Further Consideration 46 For Further Reading 46 On the Web 47

#### **CHAPTER 3** Political Actions 49

Individual Political Actions 50 Modes of Political Activity 50 Political Activists 51 Political Participation Studies 53 Group Political Actions 57 Political Interest Groups 58 Activities of Political Interest Groups 58 Constraints on a Group's Behavior 60 Types of Interest Groups 62 Political Parties 64 Activities of Political Parties 64 Doing Politics 68 Key Concepts 71 For Further Consideration 72 For Further Reading 72 On the Web 73

#### CHAPTER 4 Influences on Beliefs and Actions 75

The Environment 76
Agents of Political Socialization 79
The Family 79
The Schools 80
Peer Groups 82
The Media and Culture 84
Events 88
Personal Traits 88
Political "Personality" 94
Personality 94
Human Nature 97

Concluding Observations 98
Key Concepts 100
For Further Consideration 100
For Further Reading 100
On the Web 101

#### PART THREE POLITICAL SYSTEMS

#### CHAPTER 5 States and Nations 103

The State 103

A Legal Definition 104

A Structural-Functional Definition 107

The Domain of State Action 108

The Nation 110

The Political System 114

Systems in General 114

The Political System Defined 115

Conceptualization of the Political System 119

System Persistence 122

The Utility of the Political Systems Approach 126

Three Major Concepts: A Reprise 126

Key Concepts 127

For Further Consideration 127

For Further Reading 127

#### CHAPTER 6 Political Institutions I: Structures 131

On the Web 129

The Legislature 132
Roles of the Legislature 132
Structural Arrangements 135
The Decline of Legislatures 136
Executives 140
Roles of Executives 140
Structural Arrangements 142
The Age of the Executive? 144
The Administration 144

Bureaucracy as One Form of Administration 145 Administrative Functions and Power 147

The Judiciary 148

Aspects of Adjudication 148

Judicial Structures 149

Concluding Observations 151

Key Concepts 152

For Further Consideration 152

For Further Reading 152

On the Web 153

## CHAPTER 7 Political Institutions II: Institutional Arrangements 155

Broad Taxonomies 156

Democracies and Nondemocracies 156

Defining Democracy 158

Defining Nondemocracies 163

A Democracy-Nondemocracy Continuum 165

Constitutional and Nonconstitutional Regimes 168

Constitutions 168

Constitutional Regimes 170

Nonconstitutional Regimes 171

Areal Distribution of Power 172

Unitary State 172

Federation 172

Confederation 173

Forms of Executive-Legislative Relations 174

Presidential Government 175

Parliamentary (Cabinet) Government 175

Hybrid Systems 177

Council Systems 179

Assembly Systems 180

Which Form Is Optimal? 180

Political Party Systems 181

Two-Party Systems 183

Multiparty Systems 184

Dominant-Party Systems 185

One-Party Systems 186

No-Party Systems 186

Classification and Clarity 187

Key Concepts 188

For Further Consideration 188

For Further Reading 188

On the Web 189

#### **CHAPTER 8** Political Economy 191

Politics and Economics 191

A Political-Economic Framework 192

Factors, Firms, and Households/Consumers 192

Getting and Spending 195

The State (and the World) Join In 197

Two Ideal-Type Political Economies 200

The Market Economy: Total Private Control 200 The Command Economy: Total State Control 203

Key Problems for Each Ideal-Type Political Economy 204

Market Economy 204

Command Economy 206

The Mixed Economy 207

Politics Plus Political Economy: The Other "Isms" 208

The Three "Isms" 208

The Real World 210

Concluding Observations 213

Key Concepts 214

For Further Consideration 214

For Further Reading 214

On the Web 215

#### PART FOUR POLITICAL PROCESSES

#### CHAPTER 9 Politics as a Value Allocation Process 217

The Elite Approach 218

Key Concepts 218

Major Theorists 218

The Value Allocation Process 220

The Prevalence of Elite-Based Political Systems 220

The Class Approach 222

The Group Approach 226

The Three Approaches Compared 230

Which Approach Is Correct? 230

Essential Similarities and Differences 232

Key Concepts 233

For Further Consideration 233

For Further Reading 234

#### CHAPTER 10 Change and Political Development 237

Change 238
Development 239
Characteristics of "More Developed" Social Systems 239
The Process of Development 241
The Dynamics of Economic Development 246
Political Development 251
Characteristics of Political Development 252
The Process of Political Development 253
Political Development as Democratization 254
Political Institutionalization and Political Decay 258
Achieving Political Development 259
World of Changes 260
Key Concepts 262
For Further Consideration 263

#### CHAPTER 11 Political Violence 267

Violence 268

On the Web 265

For Further Reading 263

Political Society 269
Types of Political Violence 269
State Violence against Individuals or Groups 270
Individual Violence against an Individual 272
Group Violence against an Individual 272
Group Violence against a Group 277
Individual or Group Violence against the State 278
Evaluating Political Violence: Means and Ends 287
Key Concepts 288
For Further Consideration 288
For Further Reading 289
On the Web 289

#### PART FIVE POLITICS AMONG STATES

#### **CHAPTER 12** Politics between States 291

The Goals of States 292
Realist and Idealist Perspectives on the State's "Motives" 292
Major Goals 293

Mechanisms of Cooperation between States 295
Diplomacy and Interstate Agreements 295
International Law 298
International Organizations 300

Balance of Power 303
Balance of Terror 304
Domination and Dependence 305

Competition in the Post-Cold War World 309

Violence between States 315

Threat of Force 315

Display of Force 315

Competition among States 303

Use of Force 316 War 317

What Causes War? 319

Is War Justifiable? 321 Key Concepts 322

For Further Consideration 323

For Further Reading 323 On the Web 325

#### **CHAPTER 13** The Developed Countries 327

An Introduction to the Next Three Chapters:
Grouping the States in the Contemporary World 327
The Developed Countries 329
The Developing Countries 329
The Transitional Developed Countries 329

Images of the Developed Countries 331 Political Culture 333 Goal: Prosperity 335 Mixed Economy 335 Performance 338 Challenges 340 Goal: Stability 345 Political Institutionalization Order Maintenance 348 Challenges to Stability 349 Goal: Security 353 The Era of Colonialism 353 The Cold War Period 354 Challenges to Security in the Post-Cold War Period 354 The Developed Countries Overall 356 Key Concepts 357

The Developed Countries Overall 35 Key Concepts 357 For Further Consideration 357 For Further Reading 358

On the Web 359

#### CHAPTER 14 The Developing Countries 361

Images of the Developing World 361

Developmental Classification 361

Regional Classification 362

Goal: Prosperity 366

Obstacles to Prosperity 372

Overall Performance 377

Prognosis 385

Goal: Security 386

Goal: Security 386

Interstate Violence 386

Economic Security 389

Goal: Stability 390

Challenges to Political System Effectiveness 391
The Decline of Political Order 392
Democratization 396

Political Approaches 397

Concluding Observations: It's Got to Get Better(?) 404 Key Concepts 405

For Further Consideration For Further Reading 406 On the Web 407

#### **CHAPTER 15** The Transitional Developed Countries 409

THE POST-COMMUNIST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES 409
Political Culture 411

Under Communism 411
Post-Communism 412
Goal: Prosperity 413
Under Communism 413

Post-Communism 414

Goal: Stability 420

Under Communism 420

Post-Communism 424

Goal: Security 429

Under Communism 429

Post-Communism 430

THE NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZING COUNTRIES 431

Political Culture 432

Goal: Prosperity 433

Goal: Stability 437

Goal: Security 443

THE FUTURE OF THE TRANSITIONAL DEVELOPED COUNTRIES 444

Key Concepts 445

For Further Consideration 446

For Further Reading 446

On the Web 447

### CHAPTER 16 The Last Chapter: Looking Backward, Looking Forward 449

Political Outputs 450

Political Structures 451

Political Processes 451

Political Change 452

Direction 452

Rate 452

Controllability 453

Into the Twenty-First Century: Understanding

and Action 453

Challenge 1: The Quest for Harmony with Our Technology

454

Challenge 2: The Quest for Harmony with Planet Earth 458 Challenge 3: The Quest for Harmony with One Another 459

Choosing a Future 460

Appendix: Political Analysis 463

Glossary 476

References 491

Credits 513

Index 515