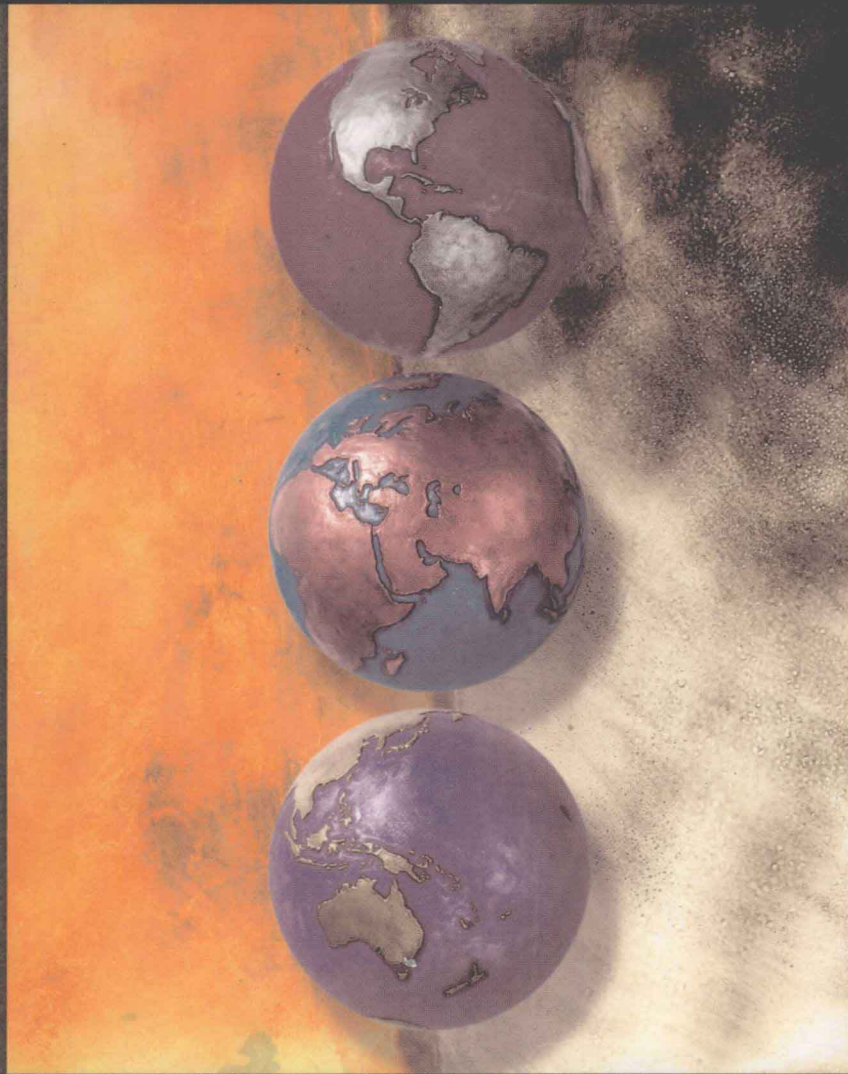


Gabriel A. Almond G. Bingham Powell, Jr. Kaare Strøm Russell J. Dalton



COMPARATIVE POLITICS TODAY

A WORLD VIEW

Eighth Edition

Comparative Politics Today

A World View

Eighth Edition

Gabriel A. Almond

Stanford University

G. Bingham Powell, Jr.

University of Rochester

Kaare Strøm

University of California, San Diego

Russell J. Dalton

University of California, Irvine



PEARSON
Longman

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

Vice President and Publisher: Priscilla McGeehon
Executive Editor: Eric Stano
Senior Marketing Manager: Megan Galvin-Fak
Supplements Editor: Kristi Olson
Media Editor: Patrick McCarthy
Production Manager: Joseph Vella
Project Coordination, Text Design, and Electronic Page Makeup: Shepherd Incorporated
Cover Design/Manager: John Callahan
Cover Photo: Courtesy of PhotoDisc, Inc.
Photo Research: Photosearch, Inc.
Manufacturing Buyer: Dennis J. Para
Printer and Binder: Courier Corporation—Kendallville
Cover Printer: Coral Graphics Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Comparative politics today : a world view / [edited by] Gabriel A. Almond ... [et al.].— 7th ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-321-15896-2

1. Comparative government. I. Almond, Gabriel Abraham

JF51 .C62 2002

320.3—dc21

2002025485

Copyright © 2004 by Gabriel A. Almond, G. Bingham Powell, Jr., Kaare Strøm, and Russell J. Dalton

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 0-321-15896-2

4 5 6 7 8 9 10—CRK—06 05 04

The editors and co-authors of the eighth edition of *Comparative Politics Today* dedicate this book to the memory of Gabriel A. Almond, a giant in the field of comparative politics and a friend, colleague, and leader, who passed away at the age of 91, shortly after this edition was completed.

P R E F A C E

The eighth edition of *Comparative Politics Today* continues to embody the system, process and policy framework that Gabriel Almond introduced to the comparative field and which has proved to be so useful for describing and explaining politics in different political systems. The early editions of this book in the 1970s pioneered the teaching of systematic comparison of the political cultures, diverse processes and varying performances of political systems throughout the world. This approach linked a theoretically informed overview with analyses of specific countries by leading specialists. Later editions also described the impact of enormous changes in world politics—such as democratization, the break-up of the Soviet empire, and intensified threats from ethnic conflict—shaping politics in many nations. These editions reflect Almond's creativity and his determination to show how the framework could adapt to the changing concerns of the political science community.

As in the popular seventh edition, this eighth edition begins with the theme of why governments exist, what functions they serve, how they create problems as well as solutions. We explore the debates about the costs and benefits of government in the history of philosophy and in the contemporary exchanges among academics and politicians. The first chapter also introduces the three great challenges that face most states in the world today: building a common identity and sense of community, fostering economic and social development, and securing democracy, human rights, and civil liberties. The second chapter in Part One sketches the concepts needed to compare different politics in very different societies: political system and environment, structures and functions, policy performance and its consequences.

Part Two elaborates important elements in the system, process and policy framework, discussing the causes and consequences of important aspects of political cultures, interest groups, parties and other aggregation structures, constitutions, key policymaking structures, types of public policies, and their

consequences. Tables, figures, and boxes in these five chapters provide examples, compare the systems described in Part Three, and discuss important trends, such as value changes, the rise of fundamentalism, democratization, the recruitment of women into leadership roles, the rule of law, and international interdependence.

Part Three presents systematic description and analysis of politics in twelve national states. In each case the chapters, written by distinguished specialists, begin with a discussion of current policy challenges facing citizens of that country and also provide an historical perspective. Each chapter then uses the system, process, and policy framework in a unique way to highlight the distinctive features of its politics, while providing systematic description that facilitates comparison to other countries. These rich country studies introduce systems from all the major regions of the world, and include five developed democratic countries (England, France, Germany, Japan, and the U.S.), six developing countries at various levels of development and democratization (Brazil, China, Egypt, India, Mexico, and Nigeria) and Russia, which has a fascinatingly complex blend of development and democratization, achievements, and problems. Most of the world's large and influential countries are thus included, and a wide range of political possibilities, problems, and limitations are illustrated.

As with each new edition, both the introductory sections and the country chapters have been updated to reflect current data and political events as well as recent political theory. The reshaping of world events following the terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001, plays a role in many places as well as in the United States. Since the seventh edition there have also been national elections in most democratic countries, including Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and the United States, and particularly dramatic ones in Brazil and Mexico. China has experienced an important leadership change. These and other significant political events are analyzed in this eighth edition.

Two contributors to this volume are no longer among us. Our colleague and good friend Robert J. Mundt, long-time collaborator and co-author of the Nigeria chapter, died unexpectedly in December 2000; he was sadly missed in the revisions for this edition.

Gabriel Almond passed away in December 2002, just short of his 92nd birthday. His influence upon the study and teaching of comparative politics, and upon each of us, was enormous. He wrote at length about many important political topics, including the types of interest groups, the culture of democracy, the nature of fundamentalism, and the history of political science. One of his greatest achievements was his

continuing commitment to finding ways to understand, compare, and explain the most diverse forms of political life. This text is deeply shaped by that commitment, both by his own involvement in writing it and by his influence upon us. And one of his greatest legacies is the generation of students who have learned about comparative politics and our world through the insights he provided.

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

SUPPLEMENTS FOR QUALIFIED ADOPTERS

Longman Publishers is pleased to be able to offer qualified adopters of this text, and their students, several ancillaries that will make the teaching and learning from this text even more effective and enjoyable.

Instructor's Manual/Test Bank

Prepared by Waco Worley of the University of Utah. This supplement provides chapter overviews, chapter outlines, learning objectives, teaching suggestions, key terms, discussion and essay questions, and multiple choice questions for each chapter. In addition, reproducible transparency masters are available at the back of the manual.

TestGen EQ CD-ROM

The printed Test Bank is also available through our computerized testing system, TestGen EQ. This fully

networkable, user-friendly program enables instructors to view and edit questions, and print tests in a variety of formats.

Longman Comparative Politics Website

This one-of-a-kind website lets students explore over 20 countries, check their knowledge of key issues in comparative politics, hone their geography skills, learn how to interpret data with case studies, and more.

Microsoft® Encarta® World Atlas CD-ROM

This CD offers students literally hundreds of interactive maps, videos, photos, etc. to support any class in comparative politics and engage students in the world around them. Available to qualified adopters and only if an instructor has ordered the special text and CD package.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are pleased to acknowledge the contributions of some of the many people who helped us prepare this eighth edition of *Comparative Politics Today*. In particular, we are grateful to Carl LeVan, who made a most valuable and timely contribution to the updating of the Nigeria chapter. We would also like to thank the following individuals for their careful review and analysis of the book: Maria Hsia Chang at the University of Nevada, Reno; James Sperling at the University of Akron; James Warhola at the University of Maine.

The co-authors want to make a number of specific acknowledgements for help on their contributions to *Comparative Politics Today*, eighth edition.

Melanie Manion wishes to thank Russ Dalton for his helpful comments and to thank Michel Oksenberg and Nina Halpern for their comments on an earlier version of the China chapter.

Wayne Cornelius and Jeffery Weldon wish to thank Claudia Y. Carmona and Luis Estrada for research assistance on the Mexico chapter.

Subrata Mitra wishes to thank Karsten Frey and Alexander Fischer for research assistance on the chapter on India.

Oladimeji Aborisade thanks Robert LaGamma, Curtis Huff, Arlene Jacquerre, and Charlotte Peterson for bringing together himself and Robert Mundt under the auspices of the U.S. Information Agency, and colleagues John A. Ayoade, Cecil Brown, Roger Brown, Charles Coe, Chukwuemeka Ebo, Alex Gboyega, Jim Mean, Aladosu Oyelakin, Gary Rassel, Jim Svava, and Deil Wright for help in comparing the United States and Nigeria in the earlier version of the Nigeria chapter.

Cristine Maisano, Allison McNamara, and Joe Vella shepherded this book through the Longman planning and designing processes; and Ken Harrell of Shepherd Incorporated was responsible for the final editing and production of the book. We are also grateful to Shawn Dohogne for developing the index to this eighth edition.

C O N T R I B U T O R S

OLADIMEJI ABORISADE

Obafemi Awolowa University, Nigeria

GABRIEL A. ALMOND

Stanford University

WAYNE A. CORNELIUS

University of California, San Diego

RUSSELL J. DALTON

University of California, Irvine

FRANCES HAGOPIAN

University of Notre Dame

MELANIE MANION

University of Wisconsin

ANN M. LESCH

Villanova University

SUBRATA K. MITRA

Universitaet Heidelberg, Germany

ROBERT J. MUNDT

University of North Carolina at Charlotte

G. BINGHAM POWELL, JR.

University of Rochester

AUSTIN RANNEY

University of California, Berkeley

THOMAS F. REMINGTON

Emory University

RICHARD ROSE

University of Strathclyde, Scotland

FRANCES ROSENBLUTH

Yale University

MARTIN A. SCHAIN

New York University

KAARE STRØM

University of California, San Diego

MICHAEL F. THIES

University of California, Los Angeles

JEFFREY A. WELDON

*Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México
(ITAM)*

B R I E F C O N T E N T S

Detailed Contents	ix
Preface	xvii
Acknowledgments	xix
Contributors	xxi

PART ONE Introduction

- 1 Issues in Comparative Politics 1
- 2 Comparing Political Systems 31

PART TWO System, Process, and Policy

- 3 Political Culture and Political Socialization 46
- 4 Interest Articulation 62
- 5 Interest Aggregation and Political Parties 81
- 6 Government and Policymaking 101
- 7 Public Policy 129

PART THREE Country Studies

- 8 Politics in England, *Richard Rose* 156
- 9 Politics in France, *Martin A. Schain* 206
- 10 Politics in Germany, *Russell J. Dalton* 260
- 11 Politics in Japan, *Frances Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies* 316
- 12 Politics in Russia, *Thomas F. Remington* 366
- 13 Politics in China, *Melanie Manion* 418
- 14 Politics in Mexico, *Wayne A. Cornelius and Jeffrey A. Weldon* 466
- 15 Politics in Brazil, *Frances Hagopian* 520
- 16 Politics in Egypt, *Ann Mosely Lesch* 580
- 17 Politics in India, *Subrata K. Mitra* 634
- 18 Politics in Nigeria, *Robert J. Mundt and Oladimeji Aborisade* 690
- 19 Politics in the United States, *Austin Ranney* 742

Index	787
-------	-----

DETAILED CONTENTS

Preface	xvii
Acknowledgments	xix
Contributors	xxi

PART ONE Introduction

CHAPTER 1

Issues in Comparative Politics	1
What Is Politics?	1
Governments and the State of Nature	2
Why Governments?	3
When Does Government Become the Problem?	6
Political Systems	11
States	11
Building Community	16
Fostering Development	22
Securing Democracy, Human Rights, and Civil Liberties	27
<i>Key Terms</i>	29
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	29

CHAPTER 2

Comparing Political Systems	31
Why We Compare	31
How We Compare	32
Systems: Environment and Interdependence	34
Structures and Functions	36
An Illustrative Comparison: Russia in 1985 and 2002	40
The Policy Level: Performance, Outcome, and Evaluation	43
<i>Key Terms</i>	44
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	44

PART TWO System, Process, and Policy

CHAPTER 3

Political Culture and Political Socialization	46
Political Culture	46
Mapping the Three Levels of Political Culture	46
Political Socialization	52

Agents of Political Socialization	53
Trends in Contemporary Political Cultures	58
<i>Key Terms</i>	60
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	60

CHAPTER 4

Interest Articulation 62

Citizen Action	62
Interest Groups	65
Access to the Influential	71
Policy Perspectives on Interest Articulation	75
Interest Group Development	76
<i>Key Terms</i>	78
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	78

CHAPTER 5

Interest Aggregation and Political Parties 81

Personal Interest Aggregation	81
Institutional Interest Aggregation	83
Competitive Party Systems and Interest Aggregation	84
Authoritarian Party Systems	92
The Military and Interest Aggregation	94
Trends in Interest Aggregation	96
Significance of Interest Aggregation	97
<i>Key Terms</i>	98
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	98

CHAPTER 6

Government and Policymaking 101

Constitutions and Decision Rules	101
Democracy and Authoritarianism	103
Separation of Government Powers	104
Geographic Distribution of Government Power	107
Limitations on Government Power	108
Checking the Top Policymakers	110
Assemblies	111
Political Executives	115
The Bureaucracy	122
<i>Key Terms</i>	126
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	127

CHAPTER 7

Public Policy 129

Government and What It Does	129
Extraction	130

Distribution	133
Regulation	137
Community-Building and Symbolic Policies	140
Outcomes: Domestic Welfare	140
Domestic Security Outcomes	144
International Outputs and Outcomes	146
Political Goods and Values	148
Strategies for Producing Political Goods	150
Trade-offs and Opportunity Costs	153
<i>Key Terms</i>	154
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	154

PART THREE Country Studies

CHAPTER 8

Politics in England 156

Richard Rose

Current Policy Challenges	158
The Constraints of History	159
The Environment of Politics	162
The Structure of Government	167
Political Culture and Legitimacy	177
Political Socialization	180
Political Participation and Recruitment	183
Organizing Group Interests	186
Party System and Electoral Choice	190
Making and Delivering Government Policies	194
Policy Outcomes and Changes in Society	202
<i>Key Terms</i>	203
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	204

CHAPTER 9

Politics in France 206

Martin A. Schain

Current Policy Challenges	207
A Historical Perspective	208
Economy and Society	209
Constitution and Governmental Structure	211
Political Culture	214
Political Socialization	218
Mass Participation and Voting	222
Recruitment and Style of Elites	227
Interest Groups	229
Political Parties	233
Policy Processes	243
The State and Territorial Relations	249
Performance and Prospects	252

<i>Key Terms</i>	256
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	257

CHAPTER 10

Politics in Germany 260

Russell J. Dalton

Current Policy Challenges	262
The Historical Legacy	263
Following Two Paths	266
Social Forces	269
The Institutions and Structure of Government	271
Remaking Political Cultures	276
Political Learning and Political Communication	281
Citizen Participation	284
Politics at the Elite Level	286
Interest Groups	287
The Party System	290
The Electoral System	296
The Policy Process	299
Policy Performance	303
The Policy Challenges of Unification	308
After the Revolution	310
<i>Key Terms</i>	311
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	312

CHAPTER 11

Politics in Japan 316

Frances Rosenbluth and Michael F. Thies

Current Policy Challenges	318
Historical Origins of the Modern Japanese State	320
The Occupation	321
Political Institutions and the Policy Process	323
Electoral Systems and the Nature of Electoral Competition	332
The Japanese Party System	337
The Internal Organization of the LDP	344
Political Participation, Voting Behavior, and Interest Groups	345
Political Culture and Issue Cleavages	349
Policy Performance	352
Concluding Thoughts About Japan's Democracy	358
<i>Key Terms</i>	360
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	361

CHAPTER 12

Politics in Russia 366

Thomas F. Remington

Rebuilding Russia 367

Current Policy Challenges 368

Historical Legacies 369

The Contemporary Constitutional Order 373

Russian Political Culture in the Post-Soviet Period 381

Political Participation 384

Interest Articulation: From Statism to Pluralism 387

Parties and the Aggregation of Interests 390

The Politics of Economic Reform 400

Rule Adjudication: Toward the Rule of Law 406

Russia and the International Community 411

Key Terms 412

Suggested Readings 413

CHAPTER 13

Politics in China 418

Melanie Manion

Current Policy Challenges 420

Historical Setting 422

Political History of the PRC 423

Chinese Society 426

A Communist Party-State 427

Political Structures 428

Elite Recruitment 436

Rule by Law 436

Political Socialization 438

Political Culture 440

Political Participation 442

Interest Articulation and Aggregation 448

Policymaking and Implementation 450

Corruption 453

Policy Performance 455

Hong Kong 460

Taiwan 460

China's Political Future 461

Key Terms 462

Suggested Readings 462

CHAPTER 14**Politics in Mexico 466***Wayne A. Cornelius and Jeffrey A. Weldon*

- Current Policy Challenges 469
- Historical Perspectives 470
- Political Culture and Socialization 478
- Political Structure and Institutions 482
- Recruiting the Political Elite 493
- Interest Representation and Political Control 494
- Political Parties 496
- Government Performance 507
- Mexico's Political Future 515
- Key Terms* 517
- Suggested Readings* 517

CHAPTER 15**Politics in Brazil 520***Frances Hagopian*

- Current Policy Challenges 521
- Historical Perspectives 523
- Economy and Society 525
- Institutions and Structures of Government 530
- Political Culture 535
- Political Recruitment and Political Participation 541
- Political Representation and Interest Groups 548
- Political Parties and Elections 553
- The Policy Process 563
- Policy Performance 567
- International Relations 574
- Prospects for the Future 575
- Key Terms* 575
- Suggested Readings* 576

CHAPTER 16**Politics in Egypt 580***Ann Mosely Lesch*

- Current Policy Challenges 581
- The Importance of Place 582
- The Legacy of History 586
- Institutions and Structure of Government 591
- Party System and Elections 600
- Political Culture and Socialization 606
- Political Participation and Recruitment 611
- Articulation and Aggregation of Interests 613
- Public Policy and Performance 621

Crisis of Legitimacy 628

Key Terms 629

Suggested Readings 630

CHAPTER 17

Politics in India 634

Subrata K. Mitra

Current Policy Challenges 636

Beyond Indian “Exceptionalism” 637

Some Basic “Givens” of the Indian Social Structure: From Hierarchy
to Democratic Plurality 639

The Twin Legacy of Colonial Rule and the Anticolonial Movement 646

Political Socialization, Recruitment, and Political Culture 649

Political Institutions and Policy Process 656

The Federal Structure 664

The Articulation and Aggregation of Interests 666

The Economy, Welfare, and Regulation 676

Conclusion: The Resilience of Pluralist Politics in India 681

Key Terms 683

Suggested Readings 684

CHAPTER 18

Politics in Nigeria 690

Robert J. Mundt and Oladimeji Aborisade

Current Policy Challenges 691

The Effects of History 692

Environmental Potential and Limitations 696

Political Culture and Subcultures 701

Political Socialization 708

Political Recruitment 712

Political Structure 714

Interest Articulation 720

Political Participation 723

Parties and Elections 723

Policy Formation and Implementation 729

Nigeria in Africa and in the World 736

Prospects for Development 737

Key Terms 738

Suggested Readings 738

CHAPTER 19

Politics in the United States 742

Austin Ranney

Current Policy Challenges 743

The United States Among the World's Nations 745

The Constitutional System	748
Political Culture and Socialization	752
The Mass Communications Media	755
Political Participation and Recruitment	756
Recruitment of Leaders	758
Interest Articulation: Pressure Groups and PACs	760
The Special Characteristics of American Political Parties	764
The Policymaking Process in America	771
Policy Performance	774
American Exceptionalism: Myth or Reality?	779
Conclusion	783
<i>Key Terms</i>	783
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	783
Index	787