

# ESSENTIALS OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS SECOND EDITION

PATRICK H. O'NEIL

University of Puget Sound



W. W. NORTON & COMPANY

New York . London

W. W. Norton & Company has been independent since its founding in 1923, when William Warder Norton and Mary D. Herter Norton first published lectures delivered at the People's Institute, the adult education division of New York City's Cooper Union. The Nortons soon expanded their program beyond the Institute, publishing books by celebrated academics from America and abroad. By mid-century, the two major pillars of Norton's publishing program—trade books and college texts—were firmly established. In the 1950s, the Norton family transferred control of the company to its employees, and today—with a staff of four hundred and a comparable number of trade, college, and professional titles published each year—W. W. Norton & Company stands as the largest and oldest publishing house owned wholly by its employees.

Copyright © 2007, 2004 by W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America.

Fig. 3.4: © 2003 The Economist Newspaper, Ltd. All rights reserved. Reprinted with permission. Further reproduction prohibited. www.economist.com; Figs. 8.1, 10.5: © Pew Research Center; Figs. 10.1, 10.4: © Foreign Policy Magazine

Editor: Ann Shin

Copy Editor: Janet Greenblatt Project Editor: Sarah Mann Editorial Assistant: Robert Haber

Book Design: Chris Welch

Production Manager: Diane O'Connor

Composition by Matrix Publishing Services, Inc.

Manufacturing by Courier Companies

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

O'Neil, Patrick H., 1966-

Essentials of comparative politics / Patrick H. O'Neil—2nd ed.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: States — Nations and society — Political economy — Authoritarianism — Democracy — Advanced democracies — Communism and postcommunism — Less-developed and newly industrializing countries — Globalization.

ISBN-13: 978-0-393-92876-1 (pbk.) ISBN-10: 0-393-92876-4 (pbk.)

- 1. Comparative government. 2. State, The. 3. Capitalism. 4. Democracy.
- 5. Post-communism. I. Title.

JF51.O54 2006 320.3—dc22

2006046354

W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 500 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10110 www.wwnorton.com

W. W. Norton & Company Ltd., Castle House, 75/76 Wells Street, London W1T 3QT

# ESSENTIALS OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS SECOND EDITION

# ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Patrick H. O'Neil is Associate Professor of Politics and Government at the University of Puget Sound in Tacoma, Washington. Professor O'Neil's teaching and research interests are in the areas of democratization, conflict and political violence, and the politics of risk and technology. His publications include the books *Revolution from Within: The Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party "Reform Circles" and the Collapse of Communism* and *Communicating Democracy: The Media and Political Transitions* (editor). He is coeditor with Ron Rogowski of *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*, Second Edition, and coauthor with Karl Fields and Don Share of *Cases for Comparative Politics*, both published by W. W. Norton & Company.

# **PREFACE**

The past twenty years have seen a dramatic transformation of comparative politics: the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the spread of democracy around the world, the rise of new economic powers in Asia, and globalization. For a time, many regarded these changes as unmitigated progress that would bring about a decline in global conflict and produce widespread prosperity. Recently, however, there has been growing doubt, as the uncertainties of the future seem to portend more risk than reward, more conflict than peace. It is increasingly difficult to sustain the notion that any nation can function without a good understanding of the billions of people who live outside its borders. We ignore the world at our peril.

This textbook is meant to contribute to our understanding of comparative politics—the study of domestic politics around the world—by investigating the central ideas and questions that make up this field. It begins with the most basic struggle in politics—the battle between freedom and equality and the grave task of reconciling or balancing these ideals. How this struggle has unfolded across place and time represents the core of comparative politics. The text continues by emphasizing the importance of institutions. Human action is fundamentally guided by the institutions that people construct, such as culture, constitutions, and property rights. Once established, these institutions are influential and persistent—not easily overcome, changed, or removed. How these institutions emerge and how they affect politics are central to this work.

With these ideas in place, the book tackles the basic institutions of power: states, markets, societies, democracy, and authoritarianism. What are states, how do they emerge, and how can we measure their capacity, autonomy, and efficacy? How do markets function, and what kinds of relationships exist between states and markets? How do societal components such as nationalism, ethnicity, and ideology shape political values? What are the main differences between democracy and authoritarianism, and what explains why one or the other predominates in various parts of the world?

Once these concepts and questions have been explored, subsequent chapters will apply them directly to various political systems: the advanced democracies, communist and postcommunist countries, and newly industrializing and less-developed countries. In each of these the basic institutions of the state, markets, society, and democracy or authoritarianism shape the relationship between freedom and equality. What basic characteristics lead us to group these countries together? How do they compare with one another, and what are their prospects for economic, social, and democratic development? From here we will consider globalization and how the institutions of politics and the battle over freedom and equality may be transformed by a globalized world. Finally, we shall conclude with a discussion of political violence, looking at terrorism and revolution in particular—their sources, dynamics, and implications.

The format of this text is different from those of most textbooks in this field. Traditionally, comparative politics textbooks have been built around a set of country studies, with introductory chapters for the advanced, Communist/postcommunist, and less-developed worlds. Although such textbooks can provide a great deal of information about a wide range of cases, the trade-off is often a less thorough consideration of the basic grammar of comparative politics. We might know who the prime minister of Japan is but have less of an understanding of, say, political culture, mercantilism, or state autonomy—all ideas that can help us make sense of politics across time and place. This text strives to fill this gap, and can be used alongside traditional case studies to help draw out broader questions and issues. By grasping these concepts, arguments, and questions, students will better understand the political dynamics of the wider world.

This thematic approach to the essential tools and ideas of comparative politics is supported by a strong pedagogy that clarifies and reinforces the most important concepts. "In Focus" boxes throughout every chapter highlight important material that students will want to review. Numerous figures and tables illustrate important concepts and provide real-world data related to the topic at hand. Timelines and thematic maps show important political developments over time and around the globe. The importance of institutions is emphasized by new "Institutions in Action" boxes.

Essentials of Comparative Politics is designed to offer instructors flexibility in creating the course that they want to teach. In addition to the core textbook, a corresponding casebook and a reader are also available. Cases in Comparative Politics, coauthored by Karl Fields, Donald Share, and myself, applies the concepts from Essentials of Comparative Politics to twelve country studies. In Essential Readings in Comparative Politics, my coeditor Ronal Rogowski and I have selected key readings to accompany each chapter in the textbook.

W.W. Norton will also be offering the textbook and casebook in eBook format. Support materials for instructors, including a test bank and PowerPoint lecture outlines, are also available.

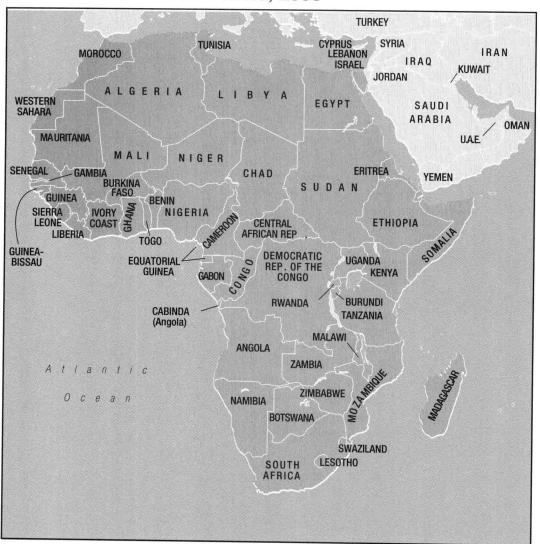
Many people have contributed to this work. The text itself is inspired by Karen Mingst's Essentials of International Relations. When W. W. Norton first published this work, I was struck by its concision and came to the conclusion that comparative politics would benefit from a similar kind of text. At Norton, Roby Harrington asked me to develop the initial chapters, championed its publication, and provided important feedback at many stages. As editor, Ann Shin held me to a high standard of writing and argumentation on the first edition, which was at times frustrating and demanding-precisely what I needed. On this second edition, Peter Lesser took over editorial duties, helping to further improve the work in content and style. Peter's role as editor was particularly appropriate, since it was he who first suggested that I write this book some years ago. I am thus doubly indebted to him. My thanks, too, to Jessica Box for her research assistance, to John McAusland for helping to develop the artwork, to Birgit Larsson for her manuscript preparation, to Sarah Mann for her project management, and to Janet Greenblatt for her meticulous copy-editing.

In addition to the people at Norton, many fellow academics have helped improve this work. Most important have been my own colleagues at the University of Puget Sound, in particular Don Share and Karl Fields. Don, Karl, and I have regularly team taught introductory comparative politics, and working with these two outstanding teachers and scholars helped generate many of the ideas contained in this book. Don and Karl were also kind enough to use draft chapters of this text in their courses and provided a great deal of feedback and numerous suggestions. I am fortunate to have such valuable colleagues. Important input also came from the reviewers who advised me on various drafts of the first edition: Douglas Durasoff (Seattle Pacific University), Cynthia Enloe (Clark University), Damian J. Fernandez (Florida International University), Michael Fleet (Marquette University), David Leheny (University of Wisconsin), Andrew Milton, Karen Mingst (University of Kentucky), Vincent Wei-Cheng Wang (University of Richmond), and Bruce Wilson (University of Central Florida). I also received valuable advice on the second edition from Kathleen Bruhn (University of California, Santa Barbara), Claudio Holzner (University of Utah), Charles King (Georgetown), Jose Antonio Lucero (Temple University), Csaba Nikolenyi (Concordia University), Kristen Parris (Western Washington University), John Sutcliffe (University of Windsor), and Daniel Unger (Northern Illinois University). I thank them for their words of encouragement as well as their sharp critiques.

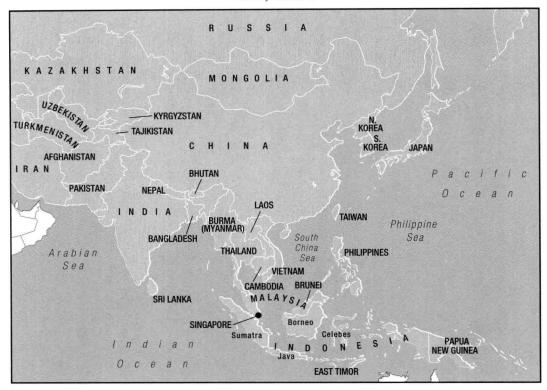
Finally, I would like to thank the students of the University of Puget Sound for their questions and insights; the administration of the university for their support of this project; and my wife, Jayne, and son, Thomas, for their patience with me during this long task.

PATRICK H. O'NEIL Tacoma, Washington September 2005

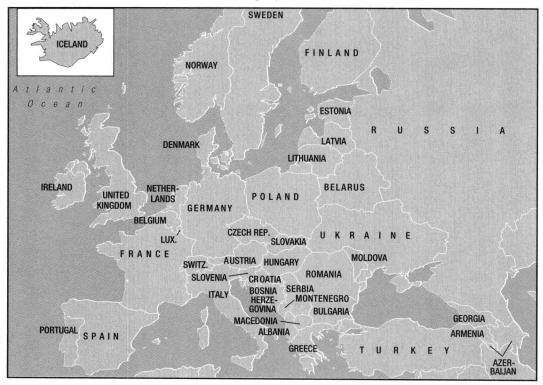
#### Africa, 2006



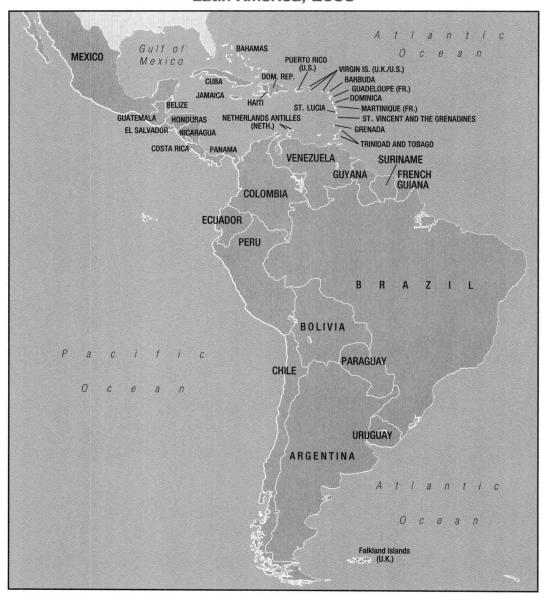
#### Asia, 2006



Europe, 2006



### Latin America, 2006



# CONTENTS

LIST OF MAPS xi
ABOUT THE AUTHOR xiii
PREFACE xv
1 INTRODUCTION 1
What Is Comparative Politics? 3
The Comparative Method 3
Quantitative versus Qualitative Research 6
Debates in Comparative Politics 7
A Guiding Approach: Political Institutions 14
A Guiding Idea: Reconciling Freedom and Equality 16
In Sum: Looking Ahead 18
2 STATES 20
Defining the State 20
The Origins of Political Organization 25
The Rise of the Modern State 28
Comparing State Power 33
Legitimacy 34
Centralization or Decentralization 37
In Sum: Studying States 41

# 3 NATIONS AND SOCIETY 44

Ethnic Identity 45

National Identity 47

Citizenship and Patriotism 49

Ethnic Identity, National Identity, and

Citizenship: Origins and Persistence 51

Sources of Ethnic and National Conflict 53

Political Attitudes and Political Ideology 56

Political Attitudes 57

Political Ideology 61

Fundamentalism and the Crisis of Ideology 65

Political Culture 70

In Sum: Society and Politics 74

# 4 POLITICAL ECONOMY 77

# The Components of Political Economy 78

Markets and Property 78

Public Goods 80

Social Expenditures: Who Benefits? 8

Taxation 82

Money, Inflation, and Unemployment 82

Regulation 86

Trade 87

#### Political-Economic Systems 8

Liberalism 90

Social Democracy 9

Communism 95

Mercantilism 9

# Political-Economic Systems and the State: Comparing

Outcomes 100

Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 10

Gini Index 102

Human Development Index (HDI) 104

The Future of Political Economy 106
In Sum: The End of Economic History? 108
O AUTHORITARIANISM AND TOTALITARIANISM 110
Defining Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism 110
Sources of Nondemocratic Rule 113
Economic Sources of Nondemocratic Rule 113
Societal Sources of Nondemocratic Rule 115
Nondemocratic Regimes and Political Control 118
Coercion and Surveillance 118
Co-optation 120
Personality Cults 122
Nondemocratic Regimes and Legitimacy 123
Types of Nondemocratic Rule 124
Personal and Monarchical Rule 124
Military Rule 125
One-Party Rule 127 Theocracy 128
Theocracy 128 Illiberal Regimes 130
In Sum: Nondemocratic Regimes in Retreat? 131
DEMOCRACY 134
What Is Democracy? 135
The Origins of Liberal Democracy and the Rule of Law 136
Athenian Democracy and Roman Republicanism 137
England: The Birthplace of Liberal Democracy 137
Institutionalizing Democracy 140
Participation: Voting and Elections 140
Electoral Systems 142
Referendum and Initiative 147
Competition: Political Parties and the Separation of Powers 148
Political Parties 149
The Separation of Powers 150
Liberty: Civil Rights, Civil Liberties, and Civil Society 156
In Sum: Future Challenges to Democracy 158

7	ADVANCED DEMOCRACIES 161
	Defining Advanced Democracy 162
	Freedom and Equality in Advanced Democracies 166
	Advanced Democracies Today 169
	States and Sovereignty: Challenges and Opportunities 170
	The European Union: Integration, Expansion, and Resistance 170
	Devolution and Democracy 177
	Social Change and Conflict 178
	Postmodern Values and Organization 179
	Diversity, Identity, and the Challenge to Postmodern Values 180
	Economic Change 183
	Postindustrialism 183
	Maintaining the Welfare State 185
	In Sum: The Advanced Democracies in Transition 187
$\gamma$	
S	COMMUNISM AND POSTCOMMUNISM 189
	Communism, Equality, and the Nature of Human Relations 190
	Revolution and the "Triumph" of Communism 192
	Putting Communism into Practice 194
	Communist Political Economy 198
	Societal Institutions under Communism 200
	The Collapse of Communism 201
	Political Institutions in Transition 205
	Reorganizing the State and Constructing a Democratic Regime 205
	Evaluating Political Transitions 207

210

**Economic Institutions in Transition** 

Privatization and Marketization 2
Evaluating Economic Transitions
Societal Institutions in Transition

Evaluating Societal Transitions 215

In Sum: The Legacy of Communism

Re-creating Identities