

List of illustrative material

Profiles

The world
Uganda
Mexico
China
Germany
Spain
Venezuela
Russia
United States
European Union
Italy
South Africa
Canada
United Kingdom
France
Japan

Spotlights

A world of states 15
State collapse and reconstruction in Uganda 35
Democracy in Mexico 55
Authoritarian rule in China 71
Political culture in Germany 107
The media in Spain 133
Petro-populism in Venezuela 159
Participation in Russia 177
Elections in the United States 197
Interest groups and the European Union 222
Parties in Italy 247
The constitution and the legal framework in South Africa 265
Federalism in Canada 287
The British parliament 321
The political executive in France 347
Public management in Japan 370

Debates

14 Should states promote multiculturalism? 19
34 Are states dinosaurs waiting to die? 37
54 Is liberal democracy ceasing to be democratic? 50
70 Should the international community promote
democracy in authoritarian states? 79
106 Is a clash of civilizations remaking the world? 118
132 Will the internet remake politics? 127
158 Is authoritarian rule the best foundation for
economic development? 153
176 Are Americans bowling alone? 171
196 Should voting be compulsory? 202
221 Is the American political system pluralist? 215
246 Are parties in crisis? 243
264 Should the judiciary play a political role? 271
286 Is the European Union a federation? 289
320 Are legislatures in decline? 316
346 Should a new democracy adopt presidential
government? 335
369 Should affirmative action be used to obtain a
representative bureaucracy? 360

Timelines

The European Union 39
Communism's key dates, 1848–2006 69
Germany 108
Hugo Chávez 159
The Court of Justice of the European
Communities (ECJ) 269
The European Parliament 312

Maps

1.1 A stateless nation: the Kurds 21
4.1 The ten largest authoritarian states by
population 62
11.1 The European Union 225
14.1 Belgium 284

List of illustrative material | xi

10.3	Major changes to the electoral systems used in legislative elections, 1800–2002	194	5.1	The advantages of comparison	84
12.1	Falling party membership in selected democracies, 1960–99	238	5.2	Levels of analysis in comparative politics	85
14.1	Some federations in liberal democracies	284	5.3	Major techniques in comparative politics	89
14.2	Subnational government in unitary states: some European examples	292	5.4	Some types of case study	91
15.1	Selection to the upper chamber in some liberal democracies	308	5.5	The difficulties of comparison	95
18.1	Introduction of social insurance to some liberal democracies	388	6.1	Elite political culture and political stability in divided societies: definitions	115
18.2	Social expenditure in major Nordic states as a percentage of gross domestic product, 1981–2004	390	6.2	A clash of civilizations?	116
18.3	Case-by-case privatization in the United Kingdom, 1980s	391	6.3	Relationships between states and civilizations	117
			7.1	Contemporary trends in mass communication	125
			7.2	Media effects	129
			7.3	Some tests used by journalists to determine newsworthiness	130
			7.4	Measuring public opinion	135
			7.5	China and the internet	139
			7.6	The main television channels in Russia, 2004	140
			8.1	Key thinkers in political economy	144
			8.2	Varieties of capitalism: liberal and coordinated market economies	147
			8.3	Main level of wage negotiations in selected European countries, 2003	148
			8.4	Members of Volkswagen's Supervisory Board, 2007	149
			9.1	Patterns of political participation, by type of regime	166
			9.2	Comparing social movements, political parties and protective interest groups	169
			9.3	Participation in genocide	179
			9.4	A century of revolutions	180
			10.1	Electoral systems: legislatures	187
			10.2	Methods for electing presidents: some examples	198
			10.3	The referendum, initiative and recall	199
			10.4	Features of the political system and of individuals which increase turnout	201
			10.5	Decline in party identification, 1970s–1990s	204
			11.1	Motives for joining interest groups	210
			11.2	Waves of interest group formation in the United States	211
			11.3	Protective and promotional groups	212
			11.4	Examples of social organizations in contemporary China	226
			12.1	Typical elements of party organization in Western Europe	232
			12.2	Types of party organization	233

Boxes

1.1	Hobbes's case for government	5
1.2	Aristotle's classification of governments	6
1.3	A classification of governments	8
1.4	Weber's classification of authority	12
1.5	Nations and states	20
2.1	Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man and the Citizen, France	26
2.2	The Western state: expansion (1789–1974) and restructuring (1975–2000)	28
2.3	States from empires: waves of decolonization	31
2.4	Some cases of state collapse in Africa	32
2.5	Country indicators	33
2.6	The impact of IGOs on national politics: winners and losers	38
3.1	Forms of democracy	44
3.2	Aristotle's characterization of democracy	45
3.3	Deliberative democracy in America: Leib's proposal for a popular branch of government	46
3.4	A range of democratic decision rules	47
3.5	Is this country a liberal or an illiberal democracy? Which country is it?	51
3.6	Huntington's three waves of democratization	53
4.1	Forms of authoritarian rule	66
4.2	The totalitarian syndrome	67
4.3	Communist party states, 2006	68
4.4	Military influence in politics	75

xii | List of illustrative material

12.3	Selecting candidates for legislative elections	236	16.1	The American presidency: a classification of powers	331
12.4	Selection of party leaders in liberal democracies	237	16.2	Separate elections in the United States	333
12.5	Public funding of political parties: for and against	239	16.3	Comparing presidential powers in Brazil and the USA	334
12.6	Party systems in liberal democracies	244	16.4	Procedure for installing a government in parliamentary systems when no party possesses a majority of seats	338
12.7	Major party families in Western Europe	249	16.5	Location of decision-making in parliamentary government	340
13.1	The arrangement of constitutions	261	16.6	Cabinet committees in Canada, 2006	343
13.2	Entrenching the constitution: some examples	262	16.7	Selecting the head of state in some parliamentary democracies	344
13.3	Judicial review: supreme courts vs. constitutional courts	266	16.8	Institutional support for the Russian president	352
13.4	Article I of the Chinese constitution, 1982	276	17.1	Max Weber on bureaucracy	356
13.5	Principles 1–4 of the Nuremberg Charter, 1945	279	17.2	The three Es: economy, efficiency and effectiveness	357
14.1	The allocation of functions in the Canadian and German federations	283	17.3	The organization of government: departments, divisions and agencies	359
14.2	Financial transfers from the federal government to states	290	17.4	Agencies within the Department of Health and Human Services, USA	361
14.3	Federalism: strengths and weaknesses	291	17.5	Types of non-departmental public body	363
14.4	Methods for distributing power away from the centre	292	17.6	Multiple accountabilities: deputy ministers (DMs) in Canada	364
14.5	Exploring the status of local government	295	17.7	Overseeing the bureaucracy	365
14.6	Structures for local government	297	17.8	Steer, don't row! Osborne and Gaebler's ten principles for improving the effectiveness of government agencies	367
14.7	Typical powers of local authorities	298	17.9	Components of new public management	368
15.1	Parliamentary committees	309	17.10	The organization of central government in Russia	373
15.2	Functions of legislatures	310	18.1	Rational and incremental models of policy-making	380
15.3	Resolving differences in the versions of a bill passed by each chamber	314	18.2	A selection of policy instruments	385
15.4	Techniques for scrutinizing the executive	317	18.3	The changing agenda of the Western state	387
15.5	Stages of recruitment to the legislature	319	18.4	Welfare state regimes	389
15.6	Actresses, athletes and astronauts: celebrities in national legislatures	323			
15.7	Born to run: the Nehru–Gandhi political dynasty	324			
15.8	Comparing Russia's State Duma and America's House of Representatives	326			

Preface

This edition retains the purpose of its predecessors: to provide a wide-ranging, contemporary and clearly written introductory text for courses in comparative politics and other introductory courses in politics and political science.

We have made four substantial changes to this new edition. First, we have recast our classification of governments. This edition is based on a division between liberal democracies, illiberal democracies and authoritarian states. While the previous distinction between established and new democracies served us well, it no longer carries much relevance for students with no memory of communism's collapse. In any case, we wanted to reflect the turn in the literature away from the study of transition towards an understanding of hybrid regimes that can no longer be credibly presented as emerging liberal democracies. By using the term 'illiberal democracy', rather than alternatives such as 'electoral authoritarianism', we hope to encourage Western students to contrast illiberal democracy with liberal democracy, thus facilitating an understanding that liberal democracy is itself a compromise between liberal and democratic principles.

The countries we have used most often as examples of illiberal democracy are Russia (especially under Vladimir Putin) and Venezuela (especially under Hugo Chávez). Because illiberal democracy is not a completely stable regime type, these countries will no doubt continue to evolve or, perhaps more likely, regress. We explore these issues in new sections on classifying governments in Chapters 1 and 3.

Second, we have added a new chapter on political economy, previously only available on our website (our thanks to those who provided feedback on the draft version). This new chapter enables us to address a number of themes well-suited to comparative political analysis: varieties of capitalism; convergence; the developmental state; the relationship between authoritarian rule and economic development; and the resource curse in rentier states. We have tried to write this chapter in a non-technical way, for a politics rather than an economics constituency, but our experience is that politics students do appreciate the significance of these topics for their understanding of the contemporary world.

Third, we have recast the discussion of authoritarian regimes, enabling us to focus more clearly on states of obvious international importance, such as China and Saudi Arabia. Although the book's institutional emphasis leads naturally to a primary concern with established liberal democracies, we do not see how any introduction to comparative politics can exclude non-democracies. After all, ten of the 45 largest countries by population are still governed by authoritarian means and those regimes control most of the world's remaining oil reserves. Some appreciation of politics within authoritarian states is surely an important foundation for understanding contemporary world politics.

Major changes in this edition

Chapter 1

New section

Classifying governments

Chapter 2

New section

Collapsed states and state building

Chapter 3

New section

Liberal and illiberal democracy

Chapter 4

Restructured

Chapter 8

New chapter

Political economy

Chapter 9

New section

Participation in political violence

Chapter 10

New section

Design and reform of electoral systems

Chapter 14

New section

What is multilevel governance?

Chapter 15

New section

Membership (including celebrity politicians)

Chapter 18

New section

Policy instruments

Fourth, we have given the entire text a thorough updating, adding eight new sections and subsections designed to address current and interesting topics. These include a section on collapsed states, which again provides a useful contrast for students more familiar with the hard states of European origin; a section on the members of legislatures, including some material on celebrity politicians; and a section on policy instruments which provides useful grounding for the rather airy notion of governance. The chapter on federal, unitary and local government has become multilevel governance; the bureaucracy has become public management and administration. To enhance clarity, the chapter on the comparative approach has been reordered. Most important, if perhaps least visible, we have tried throughout to capture a significant proportion of relevant recent research, with over 700 new references.

The country profiles now include a range of national rankings from sources such as Freedom House, the CIA and the World Bank. Such rankings are increasingly prominent and we introduce them below. In addition, each profile is now matched to a separate spotlight providing a case study relating that particular country to the chapter theme. Apart from the chapters on the comparative approach and public policy, which are rather more abstract in character, each chapter now includes a profile and a matching spotlight. We hope this arrangement will offer flexibility to those teachers incorporating a country-based element into their courses.

This edition is the work of many hands. At Palgrave Macmillan, we would like to thank Steven Kennedy for his continuing editorial advice and Stephen Wenham for steering the book from typescript to publication. We thank Keith Povey and Nick Fox for their copy-editing, Ian Wileman for designing the new livery, Thea Edwards for research assistance and Joanne Vasey for preparing the references. We owe a special debt to the publishers' anonymous reviewers for their careful but constructive comments and especially for putting us to rights on electoral systems. Any 'wrongs' that remain are of course solely our own responsibility.

Since its first publication 25 years ago, this book has sold well over 100,000 copies and been translated into many languages. We are grateful for the support reflected in these facts, as well as for the suggestions of the teachers who use the book. We also wish to thank the many students from around the world who have been kind enough to correct the inevitable mistakes of fact and interpretation which creep into each new edition. As ever, please feel free to contact Martin Harrop at:

*School of Geography, Politics and Sociology
University of Newcastle
Newcastle upon Tyne
England
NE1 7RU
e-mail: Martin.Harrop@newcastle.ac.uk*

ROD HAGUE
MARTIN HARROP

Guide to learning features

This book contains a range of features designed to aid your learning. These are outlined below.

Profiles

Profiles offer an outline of specific countries and regions to complement our thematic approach. For each country or region covered, our profile provides:

- ◆ A standard set of demographic, economic and political indicators;
- ◆ A capsule description of the country's main political institutions;
- ◆ A short account of its overall political configuration.

Spotlights

Spotlights follow on from profiles, providing a detailed case study of how the chapter theme plays out in the country profiled.

Learning resources

The learning resources at the end of each chapter offer guidance on exploring the topic in more depth. These sections should come in useful over the entirety of a politics degree. They cover:

- ◆ *Next step*: the one source which, in our opinion, represents your natural next move.
- ◆ *Further reading*: at least a dozen major publications on the chapter topic. Even a selection of these should provide highly detailed coverage.

- ◆ *Internet sources*: selected websites on the topic, often with a focus on factual or practical information which is useful for further research. For clickable links to these sources, visit our website.

Further reading on more detailed topics is also included in the debates, profiles and spotlights.

Note: All the references in this book are listed by chapter on our website, offering a comprehensive guide to the topic of each chapter.

Debates

Most chapters include a debate which presents in succinct form the main points for and against a particular perspective. These debates also enable the reader to ask, 'which position do I prefer (and why)?'

Definitions

The first time a technical term is used, it appears in **red** and is separately defined on the same page. In the index, these terms are also listed in **red** so that they can be located easily. All these definitions, and more, are also available in our on-line dictionary.

Boxes and tables

Boxes are used mainly to define, contrast and illustrate particular political processes. Tables display statistics, again usually with a comparative theme.

Hague and Harrop on the Web

Access to our website is free and unrestricted. Resources include:

- ◆ A new dictionary of comparative politics;
- ◆ Links to websites, by chapter;
- ◆ Interactive quizzes by chapter;

- ◆ Guide to comparative politics on the internet;
- ◆ Chapter summaries;
- ◆ Essay questions by chapter;
- ◆ The book's references listed by chapter.

<http://www.palgrave.com/politics/hague>

Guide to Profiles

In addition to profiles on the World and the EU there are 14 country profiles which include a number of figures, rankings and scales to indicate the social and political conditions of the country. These indicators and their sources are as follows.

A fuller discussion of these indicators is available in Box 2.5 (p. 33) and on our website.

Population (annual growth rate)

The median country's population is 4.5m. A high positive or negative growth rate can be destabilizing. Based on 2006 data.

Source: CIA (2006), itself based on US Bureau of the Census estimates

Income group

The World Bank's four-fold classification, based on 2005 data, is more precise than the traditional distinction between developed and developing countries:

- ◆ 55 *high* income countries (gross national income per head at least \$10,726). Examples: Japan, USA.
- ◆ 40 *upper middle* income countries (\$3,466–\$10,725). Examples: Mexico, Russia.
- ◆ 58 *lower middle* income countries (\$876–\$3,465) Examples: Brazil, China.
- ◆ 54 *low* income countries (\$875 or less). Examples: Nigeria, Pakistan.

Source: World Bank (2006a)

Human development index (HDI)

HDI is based on averaging three dimensions: life expectancy, education (enrolment, adult literacy) and gross domestic product per head. Of 177 countries ranked in the 2005 report, based on 2002 data, Norway scored highest (rank = 1) and Sierra Leone lowest.

Source: United Nations Development Programme (2005)

Regime type, political rights, civil liberties

Hague and Harrap classify governments as liberal democracies, illiberal democracies or authoritarian (as at 2006). Freedom House judges political rights and civil liberties, as at 2005, on a scale from 1 (most rights or liberties) to 7.

Source: Freedom House (2006a)

Freedom of the press

Freedom House assesses the freedom of print, broadcast and internet-based media in each country, based on the legal, political and economic environment for these media. Of 194 countries ranked in the 2005 report, based on 2005 data, Finland scored highest (rank = 1) and North Korea lowest.

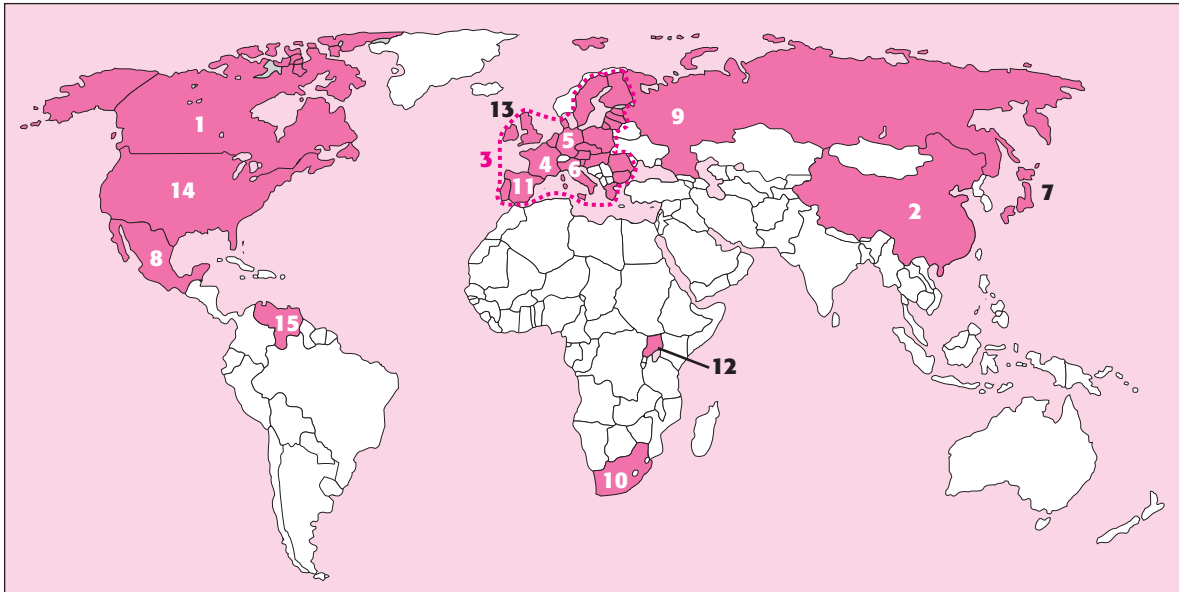
Source: Freedom House (2006b)

Ease of doing business

The World Bank ranks economies for ease of doing business, based on such indicators as starting a business, employing (and dismissing) workers and enforcing contracts. Of 175 countries ranked in 2006, based on 2006 data, Singapore scored highest (rank = 1 for ease of doing business) and the Democratic Republic of the Congo lowest.

Source: World Bank (2006b)

Map P1 Locating the Profiles



Areas features in the Profiles are shaded in the map and listed below

World p. 14	6 Italy p. 246	12 Uganda p. 34
1 Canada p. 286	7 Japan p. 396	13 United Kingdom p. 320
2 China p. 70	8 Mexico p. 54	14 The United States p. 196
3 The European Union p. 221	9 Russia p. 176	15 Venezuela p. 158
4 France p. 346	10 South Africa p. 264	
5 Germany p. 106	11 Spain p. 132	

Note: The statement in each profile that a score of 1 'is best' is made purely to clarify interpretation of the scores themselves and is not meant as an unsubstantiated value judgement. It is, in fact, debatable whether 'freedom of the press' should be unlimited when its components include the freedom of journalists to invade individual privacy and protect their sources in all circumstances. Similarly, 'ease of doing business' is not necessarily desirable when it includes unlimited flexibility to dismiss workers.

