Foundations of Comparative Politics

Democracies of the Modern World

SECOND EDITION

KENNETH NEWTON and JAN W. VAN DETH

List of briefing	S		<i>page</i> xviii
List of fact file.	5		XX
List of controve	ersies		xxi
List	of	tables	xxii
List of		figures	xxiii
Preface to the	second edition	1	xxiv
Acknowledgem	ents		XXV
List of abbrevi	ations and act	ronyms	xxvi
Key terms and	concepts		xxviii
How to use thi	s book		xxix
Introducti	ion		1
Why compare	rative politic	es?	1
Understand	ding our own	country	1
Understand	ding other co	ountries	2
Construction	ng valid gene	eralisations	2
The strength	is and weaki	ness of cross-national	
comparative	political sci	ience	4
The pros and	d cons of cro	oss-national comparative	
politics			5
It cannot a	nswer questio	ons of yalues	5
It lacks evi	dence		5
It deals in	probabilities	not certainties or laws	6
It suffers fi	rom the fatal	flaw that what it can measure	<u>;</u>
is not wort	th studying		6
Every cour	try in the wo	orld is unique so comparisons	
are imposs	ible		7
The themes	that run thr	ough the book - what to	
watch for			8
The impor	tance of insti	itutions	9
History ma	atters	_	9
The social	and economi	c basis of politics	9

Politics matters	10
From a mass of detail to general types	10
PARTI	
The state: origins and development	11
1 The development of the modern state	13
What is a state?	14
Territory, people and sovereignty	19
The rise of the modern state	23
Historical origins and development	23
State formation and nation building	24
Catalysts: warfare and capitalism	26
Growth after 1945	28
State theories	29
Constitutional approaches	30
Ethical and moral approaches	30
Conflict approaches	30
Pluralist approaches	31
Other theories	31
What have we learned?	31
Lessons of comparison	32
Projects	32
Further reading	33
Websites	33
2 States and democracy	34
Why study states	35
The modern state and democracy	39
Citizens' rights	39
Elections and parliamentary accountability	40
Democracy and the rise of democratic states	41
Redistribution and the welfare state	46
Theories of state and society	47
State supremacy	47
State dependency	48
Interdependency	49
Separation and autonomy	49
What have we learned?	50
Lessons of comparison	50
Projects	51
Further reading	51
Websites	52

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
	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-Dresidential systems	96
	Presidential, parliamentary and semi-presidential	
	systems compared	97
	Theories of parliamentary, presidential and	
	semi-presidential government "	99
	What have we learned?	102

	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	107
	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	14.1
	Legitimation	142

	Law making	142
	Scrutiny of the executive and the administration	142
	Legislative committees	144
	Theories of democratic institutions: consenus and	
	majoritarian systems	146
	Majoritarian democracy, or the 'Westminster model'	146
	Consensus democracy	148
	What have we learned?	149
	Lessons of comparison	149
	Projects	150
	Further reading	150
	Websites	150
8	Implementation: the public bureaucracy	152
	The organisation of the state bureaucracy	153
	Policy making and administration	157
	The dictatorship of the official?	158
	The power of the official	158
	Mechanisms of control	159
	The New Public Management: reinventing government	160
	Privatisation and market efficiency	160
	Empowerment	161
	Theories of public bureaucracy	161
	The rational-legal ideal-type	161
	Clientelism	163
	The new right, rational choice and the	
	New Public Management	164
	What have we learned?	166
	Lessons of comparison	166
	Projects	167
	Further reading	167
	Websites	168
	Citizana alitas and interact modiation	169
	Citizens, elites and interest mediation	109
9	Political attitudes and behaviour	171
	Political attitudes	172
	Political interests and identity	172
	Political culture	173
	The civic culture	175
	Materialism and post-materialism -	177
	Sub-cultures and elite cultures	179

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 Processing and social movements	198
10 Pressure groups and social movements 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/	212
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/elitist theory	219
Social capital and civil society theory	220
What have we learned?	. 221
Lessons of comparison	221
Projects	222

	Further reading	222
	Websites	223
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
	Futher 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

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?	3.11
Lessons of comparison	312
Projects	312
Further reading	313
Websites	313

15	Decision making	315
	Public policies: their nature and importance	316
	Goals and results	316
	The nature of policy-making processes	316
	The public policy cycle	318
	Agenda setting	318
	Decision making	321
	Choice of means	322
	Implementation	323
	Outputs and outcomes	324
	Evaluation and feedback	324
	Public policy structures	325
	Corporatism	326
	Pluralism	328
	Theories of decision making	331
	The rational-comprehensive model	331
	The incremental model	333
	What have we learned?	334
	Lessons of comparison	334
	Projects	335
	Further reading	335
	Websites	336
16	Defence and security	337
	The state and security	338
	Defence and national security	339
	Conflict resolution	339
	Just wars	341
	Military expenditure	342
	Internal law and order	345
	Law enforcement	345
	Crime, punishment and prevention	346
	Other forms of protection	349
	Information	349
	Certification	349
	Permission	349
	Product safety	350
	The limitations of state security	350
	Terrorism —	351
	International crime	352
	Corruption	352
	The limits of state power	352
	Theories of security and conflict	353
	The origins of conflict	354

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	3^70
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

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