

Second Edition Update



COMPARATIVE POLITICS

David J. Samuels



Comparative Politics

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PRAISE FOR COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND CASE STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS

"I have looked at many comparative politics textbooks and none of them have appealed to me the way that this one did right away. Some aim too high and ask far too much of students, losing them in a sea of concepts with few tools to make sense of them. Others aim too low and ask far too little of students, failing to challenge them on the essential themes and concepts of comparative politics. This one finds the middle ground by presenting topics in an interesting and engaging manner and challenging students to cultivate their analytical skills."—*Katy Crossley-Frolick, Denison University*

"David Samuels helps students make sense of complex theoretical questions and approaches, and he applies them very effectively to case examples. This textbook beats all the alternatives; it is very well thought-out."—*Kenneth Roberts, Cornell University*

"Samuels engages professors as well as students by making our field accessible without compromising the curiosities and complexities that make it so interesting. The study of institutions, interests, and identities introduces undergraduates to the politics of countries in the world through a rigorous lens of comparative analysis. Samuels raises the most interesting questions and puzzles within our field and guides the student through the methods of comparative politics science. To have a textbook that moves beyond a list of concepts and an historical chronology of countries is immensely satisfying."—*Lauretta Frederking, University of Portland*

"I am delighted that the author recognizes how graduate-level comparative political scientists are trained and that he has brought this approach to the undergraduate level. This is useful training not only for budding comparative politics students but for those who seek to become informed world citizens."—*Jennifer White, University of Georgia*

"*Comparative Politics* is a theory-centered introductory text that perfectly balances the substantive nature of our field with the level of accessibility necessary for an undergraduate class."—*Julie Mazzei, Kent State University*

"David Samuels provides a strong introduction to the themes, concepts, and current debates of comparative politics without burying the reader in a mound of empirical details. It encourages hypothesis testing, fosters students' critical thinking skills, and encourages students to place current political developments in context."—*John Scherpereel, James Madison University*

"I am impressed that Samuels does not shy away from introducing students to the major debates in comparative politics and having them evaluate competing arguments. In trying to get the students to think theoretically, he has definitely chosen an approach that will challenge the best students."—*Steve Barracca, Eastern Kentucky University*

"This is a readable and well-organized exploration of major topics in comparative politics that brings together basic as well as more advanced topics. It provides students with examples of how to actually do comparative politics and prompts them to think through the major arguments of the field."—*Wendy N. Whitman Cobb, Santa Fe College*

“David Samuels does a better job than any I have seen of discussing key themes in comparative politics in an intelligent and well-written way. He raises the big questions in a straightforward and engaged manner, and he does a good job of addressing them in comparative perspective with the American institutions that my students know well.”—*Kevin Deegan-Krause, Wayne State University*

“Samuels offers students a theoretically robust yet highly accessible introduction to the study of comparative politics. He clearly introduces core concepts and theories, offering compelling examples that encourage students to think through different ways of answering fundamental questions that define the field. I’m thrilled to see the strong focus on political identity in an introductory textbook.”—*James Ross, University of Northern Colorado*

“I have been teaching introductory comparative politics for over four years now, and I have examined some fifteen textbooks for this class. Samuels’ textbook is one of the best, and I will strongly consider adopting it.”—*Anca Turcu, University of Central Florida*

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David J. Samuels
University of Minnesota



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Preface

Students who enroll in an introductory course on comparative politics should be prepared to encounter some tough but fascinating questions: Why are some states democracies while others are not? Why does ethnicity seem to be at the heart of so much conflict in the world today? Can religious extremism coexist with democracy? How and why do men and women participate in politics differently around the world? What prompts people to become politically active? Why are some countries increasingly rich while others remain desperately poor? These questions touch upon just a few of the themes that comparative politics explores today.

Students and scholars of comparative politics are trained to use these kinds of questions to delve into their own particular interests. I wrote *Comparative Politics*—using a question-driven approach—to mirror the process of good political science research. I aimed to make this text different from other introductions to comparative politics by focusing on asking the sorts of questions that engage *anyone* with an interest in politics—citizens, students, and scholars—and on *answering* those questions in ways that are meaningful to undergraduates.

What is the pedagogical payoff from a thematic, question-driven approach to comparative politics? I know from personal experience as well as from countless conversations with colleagues around the world that, in the classroom, we often struggle to teach students how to recognize a good argument in political science, not to mention the effort we put into teaching them to make their own arguments—that is, how to formulate a thesis, connect statements logically, determine whether evidence is confirmatory or

contradictory, and bring everything together in a strong conclusion.

Comparative Politics not only introduces students to the main questions comparative politics explores; it introduces them to how scholars go about *doing* comparative politics. Our discipline is fundamentally about constructing arguments, and an introductory course should focus on developing not just informed and engaged citizens, but informed, engaged, and *analytical* citizens—the last being a core element in a liberal arts education. This may seem like a tall order, yet I have written *Comparative Politics* with this goal as a central organizing principle. Students who use this text will learn to identify and discuss questions central to our subfield. They will also learn to recognize competing hypotheses, apply research to arguments by analyzing and critically assessing evidence, and relate different perspectives to each other analytically.

Features Approach

To support the question-driven approach described above, each chapter of *Comparative Politics* begins with a question that focuses on a core aspect of what politics is all about around the world. Framing the chapter's subject as a question provides a narrative thread for students to follow as they read the chapter; it also fosters classroom discussion, illustrates how scholars go about answering similar questions, and provides a clear reference point for students to articulate answers on their own that they can use for assignments and exams. To help students grasp the importance

of the chapter-opening question, a real-world example is provided. For example, in Chapter 6, the opening image shows a French Muslim woman in a red, white, and blue headscarf, and the example explores the French separation of church and state; both set up the question, “When does identity become politicized?”

After the main question is introduced, each chapter is organized around the ways scholars have attempted to answer it. For example, Chapter 10 asks, “What causes political violence?” It then guides students through the various facets of the topic and ways to critically assess and weigh sources of conflict. Every chapter in *Comparative Politics* follows a similar approach, posing a question that introduces a theme, and then exploring different ways to answer that question. Throughout every chapter, more real-world examples are employed to ground the question and clarify the discussion. Although the chapter topics are sometimes complex, they are all tightly organized and written in clear and accessible prose.

Furthermore, as each chapter progresses, the core chapter question is supported by subquestions that appear in the margins to encourage students to examine more than one facet of a political puzzle. For example, political economy can be an intimidating topic for many. The main question in Chapter 11 is “How do states promote economic development?” To answer that question, students must first understand how states and markets are intertwined. Therefore, the first section of the chapter asks and answers the question, “What is the relationship between states and markets?” Every subquestion relates back to the chapter’s core question and builds toward the next subquestion, and each chapter concludes by returning to the chapter question and summarizing what was learned. In short, each chapter shows students how political scientists engage a smaller piece of a larger puzzle and then explore, debate, and articulate plausible answers to key questions about politics in the world today.

Coverage

Comparative Politics introduces students to the full breadth of our subfield by exploring common themes like institutions and interests, as well as topics that are often downplayed, particularly how political identities bridge institutions and interests. An understanding of political identity is vital today, because many of the most pressing and contentious political issues around the world—issues that students find personally compelling—touch on such questions as the tension between ethnicity and political instability, gender and political change, and religion and democracy.

Chapter 1 poses the question some undergraduates might ask their instructors—“Why study comparative politics?”—and focuses on the methods we use to ask and answer these sorts of questions. At its simplest, the comparative method involves comparing and contrasting cases that share attributes but differ on outcomes, or that differ on attributes but share outcomes. The goal of such comparisons is to generate hypotheses that offer plausible answers to our questions about what politics is all about.

Chapter 2 asks the foundational question “Where do ‘states’ come from?” and begins to answer it by unraveling Hobbes’s collective action problem. Chapters 3 and 4 define and differentiate the different kinds of states: democratic and non-democratic political regimes. Chapter 5 focuses on the causes of transitions from democracy to non-democracy, or vice versa.

The next few chapters shift the focus toward political identities, keeping in mind that they cannot be fully separated from political institutions or interests. After all, institutions shape how identities gain representation in the formal realm of politics—and political identity is often the raw material from which individuals and groups construct their political interests. Chapter 6 asks, “When does identity become politicized?” and explores the conditions under which ethnicity and

nationalism become politicized. Chapter 7 turns to another significant question—“What is the relationship between religious identity and democracy?”—while Chapter 8 explores the political consequences of changing conceptions of gender around the world.

The next two chapters turn to the question of how and why individuals’ political interests and identities are mobilized collectively. Chapter 9 explores peaceful forms of collective action—interest groups, social movements, and political parties—while Chapter 10 asks why people sometimes take up arms against the established political order.

The last three chapters turn to pressing questions at the intersection of politics and economics. Chapter 11 asks, “How do states promote economic development?” while Chapter 12 explores why some countries tax and spend more than others. Finally, Chapter 13 investigates the question of globalization and its impact.

Pedagogy

Extensive pedagogy is also included in every chapter to help students comprehend key concepts and apply them.

- Hypothesis Testing boxes allow students to apply what they have learned in every chapter. As opposed to asking questions, each box opens with a statement that can be tested by exploring real-world country cases. Every box is consistently structured to walk students through the process of “Gathering Evidence” in order to “Assess the Hypothesis.” Each exercise is meant to engage students actively with the process of comparative politics, providing them with opportunities to learn how to recognize and ultimately construct their own arguments.
- Every major section concludes with a summary table that reviews key concepts in an organized and easy-to-read format.
- Every chapter includes a marginal glossary to support students’ understanding of new and important concepts at first encounter.
- For easy reference, key terms from the marginal glossary are repeated at the end of each chapter, along with review questions and an annotated list of suggested readings.
- Numerous color photos and figures are integrated into the text to enliven the narrative.

New to This Update

- **Updated figures and tables** that support the narrative through the presentation of pertinent data that concisely illustrate key concepts.
- **Revised discussion of how political scientists measure “state strength” using the Fragile States Index**, with new, more intuitive discussion of the index’s application to real-world events.
- **Updated discussion of electoral institutions** to account for results of elections in Israel, Portugal, France, India, and Germany.
- **Revised exploration of the topic of “illiberal democracies” and the future of regime change** to enhance relevance and promote discussion of recent pessimistic views of global politics, which predict a weakening or even collapse of democracy around the world.
- **Expanded coverage of nationalism** in Chapter 6 to take into account recent events such as Brexit in the United Kingdom, the election of Donald Trump in the United States, and the spread of anti-immigrant sentiment in Western Europe.
- **Updated discussion of the political consequences of globalization** to tie the topic to current events in Europe and elsewhere.

- **Numerous new examples** introduced throughout the text, recognizing the need to continuously update and refresh the material; politics involves constant change, and to keep the text relevant to disciplinary questions, many examples have been replaced or updated.

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- **Current Events Bulletins** feature author-written articles that put breaking news and current events into the context of comparative politics.
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 - **Shared writing prompts** encourage students to think critically about the concepts and challenges laid out in the chapter.

Through these discussion threads, instructors and students can explore multiple sides of an issue by sharing their own views and responding to each other's viewpoints.

- **Essay prompts** are from Pearson's Writing Space, where instructors can assign both automatically graded and instructor-graded prompts. Writing Space is the best way to develop and assess concept mastery and critical thinking through writing. Writing Space provides a single place within Revel to create, track, and grade writing assignments; access writing resources; and exchange meaningful, personalized feedback quickly and easily to improve results.

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Pearson is pleased to offer the following resources to qualified adopters of *Comparative Politics*. Several of these supplements are available for instant download on the Instructor Resource Center (IRC); please visit the IRC at www.pearsonhighered.com/irc to register for access.

- **Test Bank**

Evaluate learning at every level. Reviewed for clarity and accuracy, the Test Bank measures this material's learning objectives with true/false, multiple-choice, and essay questions. You can easily customize the assessment to work in any major learning management system and to match what is covered in your course. Word, PDF, and BlackBoard versions are available on the IRC, and Respondus versions are available on request from www.respondus.com.

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- **Instructor's Resource Manual**

Create a comprehensive road map for teaching classroom, online, or hybrid courses. Designed for new and experienced instructors, the Instructor's Resource Manual includes learning objectives; chapter summaries and outlines; lecture and discussion suggestions;

and activities for in or out of class. Available within Revel and on the IRC.

- **PowerPoint Presentation**

Make lectures more enriching for students. The PowerPoint Presentation includes a full lecture outline and figures from the book and Revel edition. Available within Revel and on the IRC.

Acknowledgments

My students at Minnesota initially inspired me to write *Comparative Politics*. When I agreed to teach our Introduction to Comparative Politics class, I found that no existing text fit the way that I wanted to teach. So I developed and tinkered with lectures over a few years, “learning by doing” what worked well—and what didn’t—from my students. Although he probably doesn’t remember, I thank Jamie Druckman for nudging me to turn my lectures into textbook chapters. I also owe a debt to Phil Shively for inspiration, and for his hard-earned wisdom gained from decades of experience writing textbooks—and dealing with editors! For helpful comments on different chapters, I also thank Ethan Scheiner, Dara Strolovitch, Teri Caraway, Frances Rosenbluth, Edward Gibson, Leander Schneider, Druscilla Scribner, Kathleen Collins, Jeremy Weinstein, Wanjiru Kamau-Rautenberg, and Donna Lee Van Cott.

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Rebecca Aubrey, *University of Connecticut*

Steve Barracca, *Eastern Kentucky University*

Kathleen Barrett, *University of West Georgia*

Leah Blumenfeld, *Barry University*

Matthew Bradley, *Indiana University at Kokomo*

Cheryl L. Brown, *University of North Carolina at Charlotte*

Nic Cheeseman, *Oxford University*

Katy Crossley-Frolick, *Denison University*

Kevin Deegan-Krause, *Wayne State University*

Jason Enia, *Sam Houston State University*

Farideh Farhi, *University of Hawaii at Manoa*

Mark Frazier, *University of Oklahoma*

Lauretta Frederking, *University of Portland*

Daniel Fuerstman, *State College of Florida*

Wynford Grant, *University of Warwick*

Kenneth S. Hicks, *Rogers State University*

Jonathan Hollowell, *SUNY Brockport*

Carolyn Holmes, *Mississippi State University*

Debra Holzhauer, *Southeast Missouri State University*

Carrie Humphreys, *University of Utah*

Wade Jacoby, *Brigham Young University*

Mike Jasinski, *University of Wisconsin Oshkosh*

Ellis S. Krauss, *University of California, San Diego*

Eric Langenbacher, *Georgetown University*

F. David Levenbach, *Arkansas State University*

Yitan Li, *Seattle University*

Staffan Lindberg, *University of Florida*

Daniel Lynch, *University of Southern California*

Shannan Mattiace, *Allegheny College*

Julie Mazzei, *Kent State University*

Michael Mosser, *The University of Texas at Austin*

Anthony O'Regan, *Los Angeles Valley College*

Angela Oberbauer, *San Diego Mesa College*

Rebecca K. Root, *State University of New York at Geneseo*

James C. Ross, *University of Northern Colorado*

Amy Forster Rothbart, *University of Wisconsin at Madison*

John Scherpereel, *James Madison University*

Tracy H. Slagter, *University of Wisconsin Oshkosh*

Boyka Stefanova, *University of Texas San Antonio*

Tressa E. Tabares, *American River College*

Gunes Tezcur, *Loyola University Chicago*

Erica Townsend-Bell, *University of Iowa*

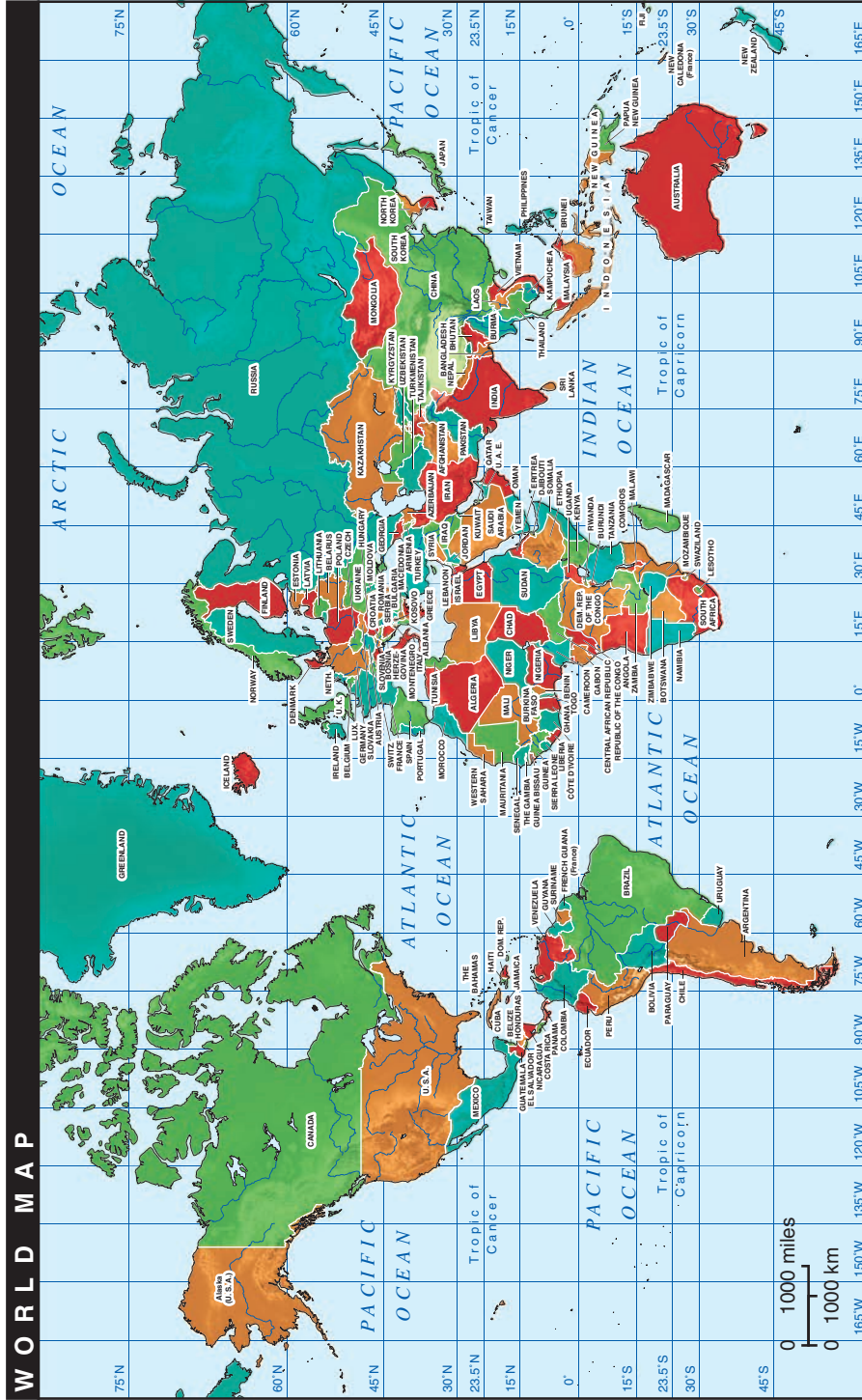
Anca Turcu, *University of Central Florida*

Wendy N. Whitman, *Santa Fe College*

Mark Wolfgram, *Oklahoma State University*.

David Samuels

WORLD MAP



[illegible]





This is a detailed political map of Europe and its surrounding regions. The map shows the following countries and territories:

- North Atlantic:** Iceland, Faroe Islands (Denmark), Shetland Islands.
- Scandinavia:** Norway, Sweden, Finland.
- Central Europe:** Denmark, Germany, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Greece.
- Western Europe:** Ireland, United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Andorra.
- Eastern Europe:** Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Greece.
- Russia:** Russia (labeled as RUSSIA).
- Other Regions:** Cyprus, Gibraltar, Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Etna, Vesuvius, Naples, Rome, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Zurich, Bern, Strasbourg, Paris, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Madrid, Cordoba, Valencia, Barcelona, Lisbon, Porto, Vigo, Oporto, Madrid, Cordoba, Valencia, Barcelona, Lisbon, Porto, Vigo, Oporto.

The map also shows major bodies of water: Atlantic Ocean, North Sea, Baltic Sea, White Sea, Black Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Aegean Sea, Red Sea, and the Ural Mountains. Major cities are marked with dots and labeled. A scale bar at the bottom left indicates distances in miles (0 to 500) and kilometers (0 to 500).

