

# Preface

**C**omparative Politics: An Introduction shows new students of world politics how the methods and concepts of comparative politics can lead them to ask critical questions to better understand the complex world around them. The majority of undergraduates in introductory comparative politics courses do not plan to pursue graduate education in political science nor embark upon careers as political scientists. Most hope to take part in public and perhaps international affairs as elected officials, civil servants, or engaged citizens. As such they will need to make countless decisions about public policy, including foreign policy, throughout their careers. In *Comparative Politics: An Introduction* we equip them to make better, more informed decisions. Central to that task are three important goals: (1) to introduce readers to the conceptual foundations of comparative politics, (2) to enhance their analytical and critical-thinking skills through an introduction to basic empirical techniques of political and social science, and (3) to promote their understanding of a wide range of countries and political leaders.

## CONCEPTS AND COUNTRIES: A CRITICAL FRAMEWORK

In the study of politics and public affairs, comparative politics serves the crucial role of illuminating the many alternative political regimes, including the range of institutional options among democracies; the different forms of political participation, peaceful and violent; the way competing political ideologies have been implemented and their consequences; and the alternative economic development strategies available to policy makers and their differential results, to cite a few examples. *Comparative Politics: An Introduction* addresses these and other complex matters from a critical framework that first introduces key concepts in comparative politics (Chapters 1 to 12) and then applies them to specific countries and their respective political systems (Chapters 13 to 19).

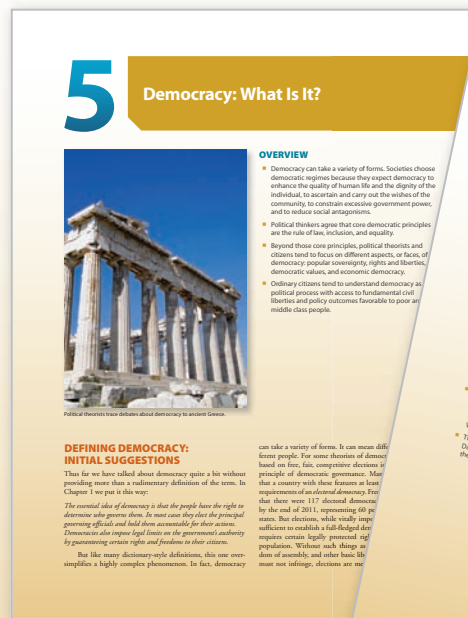
The first part of *Comparative Politics: An Introduction* introduces many of the most essential concepts of the field and offers numerous examples of them

in the contemporary world. Extensive examples are distinguished from the main text by placement in boxes and sidebars intended to underscore for readers that we are providing illustrations of conceptual material introduced in the main text. Where possible we offer explicit comparisons of important examples such as the treatment of the Arab Spring in Chapters 1 and 7, for example.

In each of the country studies in the second part of the book we return to as many of those concepts as are relevant to each country. We show, for example, how political participation is practiced in contemporary Russia, what the key institutions of the German state are, and how Chinese leaders have sought to promote economic development but stave off democracy.

Overall, *Comparative Politics: An Introduction* provides significant coverage of nine major states: United Kingdom, France, Germany, China, Russia, Brazil, Mexico, Nigeria, and South Africa. Beyond those country chapters, however, the conceptual chapters include extensive examples of additional countries and regions. More importantly, we provide the conceptual tools that will allow well-prepared readers to learn the essentials of the politics of any other country with which they need to become familiar by knowing which questions to ask.

We illustrate the country chapters and some conceptual chapters with profiles of important political leaders and activists. The



Profile features are not meant to be merely short biographies of great women and men. Rather, they illustrate typical political recruitment patterns in the countries we explore and articulate the key policy stances adopted by contemporary leaders and some key figures from the past. Each seeks to personalize conceptual points made earlier in the book. They thereby bring home in a more tangible way to college readers the ways in which a concept is expressed in a political leader's life.

516 Chapter 19 Nigeria and South Africa

**PROFILES** Nelson Mandela



Nelson Mandela is considered the father of postapartheid South Africa.

The youth organizers eventually were elected to the ANC's National Executive Committee. After World War II, when the National Party began to implement apartheid, Mandela and the ANC became more militant, organizing boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience campaigns, and other acts of noncooperation with the regime. Among their demands were full citizenship and direct parliamentary representation for all South African regardless of color. In 1955, he was instrumental in the drafting of the landmark Freedom Charter, which committed the ANC to a radical, multiracial South Africa with freedom and equality for all. During this time, Mandela was at times banned, arrested, and briefly imprisoned. In the early 1960s, as it became clear that the apartheid government's policies were becoming ever more cruel and discriminatory, Mandela was designated to form the armed wing of the ANC. He later wrote that only the intransigence of the apartheid government led him and his ANC colleagues to turn to violent armed struggle. Mandela became commander-in-chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the spearhead of the nation. Although for a time he ended the met of the white police, eventually they managed to apprehend him, and he was charged with treason. At the Robben Island, he conducted his own defense, among these words that continue to ring in the South African national psyche:

I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is not least while I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Mandela was convicted at Robben Island, sentenced to life in prison, and spent the next 27 years clandestinely directing the liberation movement from prison. By the late 1980s, senior leaders of the white minority government were secretly visiting him in prison to explore a negotiated solution to the escalating conflict. Finally, in February 1990, he was released following a bold decision by de Klerk to negotiate a new constitutional dispensation. Mandela demonstrated tremendous magnanimity and called for national reconciliation, reassuring the white minority and in particular the Afrikaners of their place in a postapartheid nation. He engaged white leaders with no signs of personal bitterness and steadfastly led the ANC through the first full franchise elections in April 1994. Mandela was elected president. From 1994 to 1999, he served not only as the country's chief executive, but also as its moral force, firmly launching the new democracy on a path of tolerance, moderate politics, and national reconciliation. After stepping down at the age of 81 in 1999, he traveled the world advocating international assistance to help poor children and mediating disputes in other countries such as war-torn Burundi. At age 94 in 2013, Mandela has now his birthplace in a quiet rural area, at times providing moral guidance to his country and the world.

## CONCEPTS AND COUNTRIES: CUSTOMIZE YOUR COURSE



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## CRITICAL THINKING

Political science has developed many analytical techniques that can serve the decision maker every bit as well as the social scientist to think critically about our political world. We focus on *hypothesis testing*, which starts with the formation of good questions about a political phenomenon that grow out of reading the relevant literature on that topic and then moves to the statement of a hypothesis that can be rejected or accepted based on a well-designed test.

## Hypothesis-Testing Exercises

The hypothesis-testing exercises in each chapter are sufficiently varied in their content and the methods we employ in

Chapter 3 The State and Its Institutions 51

**HYPOTHESIS-TESTING EXERCISE**  
Ethnic Conflict and State Failure

**Hypothesis** In what situations might we expect to encounter falling states? One line of argument posits that state failure is more likely to occur in societies with high levels of ethnic conflict. This might occur in two situations: (1) In an ethnically divided society in which one ethnic group controls the state and discriminates against other groups, policy mismanagement (for example, poor economic performance) causes the discriminated-against groups to rebel. (2) Even if it has been inclusive and nondiscriminatory, a weak state might respond to policy inefficiencies by beginning to favor one ethnic group over others, leading discriminated-against groups to revolt. Either situation can lead to acute conflict, causing the state to be unable to fulfill its fundamental roles—providing legit and law and order.<sup>11</sup>

**Altering** That other factors might influence state failure, we can nonetheless hypothesize that state failure is more likely to occur in ethnically divided societies. Conversely, state failure is less likely to occur in ethnically homogeneous societies.

**Variables** In this hypothesis, the dependent variable is state failure. The independent variable is ethnic fragmentation, a measure of ethnic division.

**Expectations** If our hypothesis is correct, we would expect that societies with higher levels of ethnic fragmentation are more likely to experience state failure. Societies with lower levels of ethnic fragmentation—that is, those that are more homogeneous—are less likely to have falling states.

**Evidence** Foreign Policy magazine and a nonprofit organization, The Fund for Peace, produce an annual Failed States Index (FSI) as a way to measure the extent to which states fail to meet the expectations of a state.<sup>12</sup> The FSI incorporates the following factors: demographic pressures, large movements of ethnically/regionally displaced persons (IDPs), a history of group grievances, large-scale human flight from the country, uneven economic development across social groups, economic decline, or delegitimation of the

**Table 3.1 Ethnic Fractionalization and Falling States**

HIGHEST FAILED STATE INDEX SCORES			LOWEST FAILED STATE INDEX SCORES		
Country	FSI	Ethnic Fractionalization	Country	FSI	Ethnic Fractionalization
Samoa	115.4	0.81	United States	34.8	0.49
Chad	110.3	0.86	Belgium	34.1	0.66
Sudan	108.7	0.71	United Kingdom	34.0	0.12
Congo (Democratic Rep.)	108.2	0.87	Finland	34.0	0.10
Niue	107.9	0.99	Germany	33.9	0.17
Zimbabwe	107.9	0.39	Portugal	33.8	0.05
Algeria	107.5	0.77	Japan	31.9	0.03
Central African Republic	105.0	0.83	Ireland	30.1	0.08
Iraq	104.8	0.87	Netherlands	28.3	0.11
Cote d'Ivoire	102.8	0.82	Australia	28.1	0.09
Ghana	102.5	0.74	Canada	27.7	0.71
Philippines	102.3	0.71	France	27.5	0.11
Nigeria	99.9	0.85	Luxembourg	26.1	0.13
Myanmar	99.2	0.85	Italy	25.3	0.12
Kenya	98.7	0.86	New Zealand	24.8	0.40
Burundi	98.6	0.30	Denmark	24.8	0.08
Cuba (Cuba)	98.3	0.81	Norway	23.2	0.13
Myanmar (Burma)	98.3	0.83	Sweden	22.8	0.06
Ethiopia	98.2	0.23	Hongary	20.4	0.06
Uganda	96.3	0.93	Ireland	19.7	0.13
Mean Ethnic Fractionalization Score		0.69			0.23

Source: Fund for Peace, "The Failed States Index 2011 Interactive Grid," <http://www.fundforpeace.org/global/fsi/>; Hoyle (2011); Alberto Alesina, Anselmo D'Ottaviano, William Easterly, Sergio Lippi, and Francesco Lippetti, "Theoretical Foundations of the Failed States Index," <http://www.fundforpeace.org/global/fsi/>, pp. 103–104.

them. Readers will see how posing questions sharply enough to permit hypothesis testing can be useful in many aspects of their lives. Each hypothesis-testing exercise has a hypothesis formulated in a brief, clear "if, then" format and is set off from the text. To the extent possible, each presents empirical data (where appropriate, in a table or chart) that allows us to reject or not reject the hypothesis. Where possible, we will state where the data to test the hypothesis can be gathered by the students. One example of a Hypothesis Testing Exercise occurs in Chapter 6 (page 132). The hypothesis, relating to the topic of how democracy works, asks the question, "Do PR systems have higher turnout than plurality systems?" In it the author identifies the variables, states his expectations, provides evidence, and draws a conclusion in response to the question. This format makes the research experience come alive for students.

In some cases where we summarize another author's hypothesis testing, we provide briefly the debate in the literature between that author and his or her critics.

Most importantly, we think that decision makers must be willing to move beyond gut instincts or standard operating procedures when making choices. To do so they must both ask critical questions and have a means to put to the test the evidence they unearth as they find answers to those questions. The decision makers that comparative politics students will become—at the local, state, national, and international level, whether in their families, businesses or nonprofit organizations, or in the public sector—must learn critical-thinking skills in their college courses. We hope the approach in this book will provide new tools for our readers.

## Essential Concepts and Case Study

In addition to the hypothesis-testing exercises, we offer two other features that enhance critical thinking: Essential Concepts are one- to two-page empirical applications of a concept using real-life examples, while the case studies are one- to two-page expositions that offer clear comparative analyses of actual political situations. The Essential Concepts feature in

**Table 6.5 Irish Dail Elections, 1987**

Party	No. of Seats (of 104 total)	% of Seats
Fianna Fail	81	48.8%
Protestant	21	20.1%
Progressive Democrats	14	8.4
Labour Party	12	11.2
Others and Independent	8	4.8

... would pass with a majority of the parliamentary vote cast on the day. The Fianna Fail coalition supported it. In some democracies, all that is needed to confirm a government is a power or pass a bill into law is a majority of those present and voting. If some legislators abstain on a given vote or are not present in the chamber when the vote takes place, their "nonvotes" are not counted as votes against the government or against a particular piece of legislation. Missing governments of this type are usually highly unstable. The abstaining parties may not be willing or able to vote for a government in which they did not participate or from which they derive few, if any, benefits. The Thatcher government proved remarkably stable, though. However, there is no reason to expect that any government can last a long time on a single basis for stable rule over the long run. Nevertheless, there is a relatively common occurrence in today's parliamentary systems.

... Chapter 6: Democracy How Does it Work? 119

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**Table 9.2 Must Political Leaders Believe in God?**

PERCENTAGE OF THE PUBLIC WHO AGREE THAT "POLITICIANS WHO DO NOT BELIEVE IN GOD ARE UNFIT FOR PUBLIC OFFICE" IN THE 2004-08 WAVE OF THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY.

Country	Percentage Agreeing	Percentage Agreeing	Percentage Agreeing				
Indonesia	88%	Zambia	55%	Peru	39%	Uruguay	13%
Iraq	87	Monaco	53	Cyprus	38	Italy	13
Georgia	83	Ethiopia	50	Argentina	33	Spain	11
Iran	75	India	49	United States	32	Germany	11
Ghana	73	Romania	49	Chile	30	Slovenia	11
Jordan	69	Burkina Faso	49	Bulgaria	28	Taiwan	10
Tanzania and Tobago	68	Brazil	49	Mexico	26	Finland	9
Thailand	64	South Africa	48	Viet Nam	18	N. Zealand	9
Malaysia	64	Ukraine	45	Poland	18	Japan	7
Mali	59	Rwanda	44	Canada	17	Norway	6
Guatemala	59	Moldova	43	South Korea	15	Sweden	4
Turkey	55	Serbia	41	Australia	13	Andorra	3

Source: World Values Survey 2004-08 wave, available at www.worldvaluessurvey.org

**Chapter 6: Democracy How Does it Work?**

**Case Study: Ethno-National Conflict in Sudan**

Sudan's ethnic diversity has been a source of tension and conflict. The country is home to over 50 ethnic groups, many of which are concentrated in different regions. This diversity has led to a long history of ethnic conflict, particularly in the south. The civil war in Sudan, which began in 1983, was largely driven by ethnic tensions between the Arab-dominated north and the non-Arab south. The conflict was fueled by competition for land, resources, and political power. The Sudanese government, led by the Arab-dominated Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA), sought to impose a centralized, Arab-dominated government on the diverse south. This led to the formation of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in the south, which fought for greater autonomy and recognition of the rights of non-Arab ethnic groups. The conflict ended in 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), which provided for a power-sharing arrangement between the north and south. The CPA established a coalition government and provided for a referendum on the south's status in 2011. The referendum resulted in the south's independence as the state of South Sudan in 2011.

**Map 6.1: Sudan, Center of the Arab World and Africa**

The map shows Sudan's location in the heart of Africa, surrounded by Egypt, Ethiopia, Chad, and the Central African Republic. It highlights the ethnic diversity of the country and the historical conflict between the north and south.

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Chapter 6 (page 119) examines the concept of “coalition formation.” In this case, the author starts by asking three questions *What determines who governs? Why do political parties come together to form governing regimes? And Is there any logic to the process of how parties come together?* These questions form the basis of an exploration of the case of Irish coalition formation. Again, by providing data and analysis, students gain a strong understanding of a vital concept in comparative politics.

The Case Study in Chapter 6 addresses the concept of proportional representation by applying it to the case of the Israeli Knesset. By providing data and analysis, the author helps students deepen their understanding of a key chapter topic.

**EMPHASIS ON QUANTITATIVE DATA**

Both the text and the features noted above are supported by substantial survey evidence and other quantitative data to illustrate concepts and to support arguments we advance in the book. It is essential in this knowledge-based economy to know how to analyze data and use them to make informed decisions. In particular, students are exposed to public opinion data on a daily basis and should be shown how those data can be used to support arguments in political science, as well as alerting them to how they can be misused.

Along with the presentation of more empirical data, we provide that evidence in clear, brief tables, graphs, and charts that effectively illustrate the conclusions that we believe should follow from the data. These visual aids are powerful tools for summarizing evidence.

**INSTRUCTOR RESOURCES**

The password-protected Online Learning Center for *Comparative Politics: An Introduction*, contains valuable tools for instructors to use in the classroom. This site includes chapter-by-chapter instructor’s manual, test bank files, and PowerPoint presentations. Contact your local McGraw-Hill publishing representative for log-in information: [www.mhhe.com/klesner1e](http://www.mhhe.com/klesner1e)

**Instructor’s Manual**

The instructor’s manual provides a great starting point for instructors, with comprehensive chapter-by-chapter lecture outlines along with questions to spark discussion.

**Test Bank**

The test bank provides approximately 20 multiple choice questions, three essay assignments, and three hypothesis-testing assignments per chapter, with page references given alongside the answers. The Bloom’s Taxonomy classified questions range in difficulty from recall questions based on the readings to thought-provoking essay prompts and hypothesis-testing assignments. All test questions are compatible with EZTest, McGraw-Hill’s Computerized Test Bank program.

**PowerPoint Presentations**

Our PowerPoint presentations cover key points of each chapter, including graphs and charts taken from the text. These presentations are designed to be used as-is or modified to meet the individual needs of instructors.

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ways to readers of undergraduate textbooks. Observing her work helped me visualize how I could take on such a major project. As I have worked through this book Kimberlee has offered frequent and excellent advice. To her I dedicate *Comparative Politics: An Introduction*.