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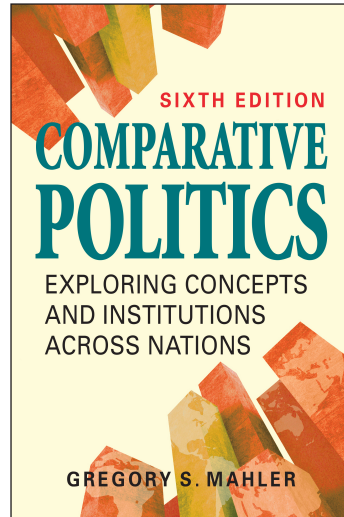
Comparative Politics:
Exploring Concepts and
Institutions Across Nations

SIXTH EDITION

Gregory S. Mahler

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1

Comparative Political Analysis: An Introduction

Learning Outcomes

After reading this chapter, you will be able to

- Explain why we study politics.
- Describe the different approaches to how we study politics, and explain the relative value of each of the different approaches.
- Understand the nature of comparative political analysis, and explain the difference between comparative politics and area studies.
- Describe the concept of a political system, and give examples of different kinds of systems and subsystems.
- Appreciate the importance of the idea of a political culture, and explain why an understanding of a political culture is crucial to understanding how politics operates in a context.
- Offer illustrations for why an institutional approach to the study of comparative politics is important, and show how an institutional approach differs from other approaches to this study.

Politics. The word conjures up visions of political campaigns, voting, military action, subtle political influence by lobbyists, or a long and painfully drawn-out process of policy decisionmaking. For the student who is more politically experienced, the word may suggest other images—images such as legislatures, courts, and interest groups. The more advanced student may also associate concepts such as power, influence, socialization, or recruitment with the concept of politics.

One point that is clear to all students is that the term *politics* is an extremely broad one. It means all of the things just indicated, and

more.¹ Political science as a discipline can be traced back to the time of Plato (c. 427–347 B.C.E.) and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.). Aristotle is often referred to as the first “real” political scientist—and we could add first “comparativist” as well—because of his study of the many political systems that he found in the political world of his time. His comparisons of constitutions and power structures contributed many words to our political vocabulary today—words such as *politics*, *democracy*, *oligarchy*, and *aristocracy*.²

The study of politics can be characterized as the study of patterns of systematic interactions between and among individuals and groups in a community or society.³ This does not involve random interactions, but rather focuses upon those interactions that involve power, or authority. Aristotle saw many different types of relationships involved in this “political” association, but central to the concept was the idea of rule, or authority. In fact, one of the central criteria by which Aristotle classified constitutions in his study involved where power or authority to rule was located in the polis, the political system.⁴ The seventeenth-century philosopher Thomas Hobbes felt that power had to do with the general capacity to attain goals in society.⁵ Harold Lasswell put the question succinctly in the title of his classic book *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?*⁶ Much more recently, David Easton referred to politics as dealing with the “authoritative allocation of values for a society.”⁷ Thus, the study of politics may involve the study of legislatures, the study of the role of a minority group in a political system, more generally the study of how public policy is made, or all of these—and more.

Why Do We Study Politics?

It could be argued that political scientists since the time of Aristotle have been studying the same things—constitutions, rulers, the ruled, the behavior of political actors, and so on—and have not yet managed to come up with a formula for the establishment of a perfect society. Why do we continue to study politics, then? If we have not found what we are looking for by now, are we likely to? These are all good questions, and they are hard questions to answer, too.

What are we looking for? The subjects of inquiry are many. Some political scientists are trying to learn about justice. Others are concerned with how **social policy*** is made; they study political structures that are involved in the policymaking process. Others seek to understand why a given election is won by one political party rather than another. Still

*Terms that appear in the Glossary are shown in the text in boldface on first substantive use.

others study politics simply because political relationships seem to be important to our daily lives.

More than this, there is a remarkable range in how we study politics. Some studies approach politics from a philosophical perspective, perhaps asking questions related to whether political institutions or behavior are good or bad. Others approach politics from a more measurement- or data-oriented perspective, seeking to quantify different dimensions of politics. These different approaches contribute to the wide range of political perspectives in the literature.

In short, there are as many different reasons for studying political behavior as there are different aspects of political behavior to study. One thing, however, is clear: political science is only one of the social sciences concerned with helping us to understand the complex world around us. The others, including (but not limited to) economics, sociology, and anthropology, also study the same general types of social phenomena that political scientists study.

The same type of question can also be asked in relation to comparative politics: Why should we study comparative politics? Many American political scientists tend to label as comparative politics anything that does not fit into one of the subdisciplines of international relations, methodology, political theory, or US politics. For them, the subdiscipline of comparative politics would include politics in Japan, politics in Zimbabwe, and so on, with the general formula being politics in any nation other than the United States.

It should be added that American political scientists are not the only ones to have this perspective. If one were to travel to France, the study of US politics would be found within the subdiscipline of comparative politics; there, any area studies other than French politics would fall into the comparative basket. The same could be said for anything other than German politics in Germany, or anything other than Chinese politics in China.

But comparative politics should be more than that. Studying politics in other nations can more properly be referred to as area studies. Area studies, involving a detailed examination of politics within a specific geographical setting, are a legitimate kind of inquiry, but not one that necessarily involves any explicit comparison. Roy Macridis and Bernard Brown many years ago criticized comparative politics at the time for not being truly comparative, for being almost completely concerned with single cases (for example, politics in Egypt) and single area studies (for example, politics in the Middle East).⁸ Comparative politics is—or should be—more than area studies. This is an area of debate in the discipline that continues to receive a great deal of attention and continues to cause a great deal of discussion.⁹

When we speak of comparative politics in this book, we are including the idea of the actual act of comparison. We all know what comparison is; it involves terms of relativity, terms like *bigger*, *stronger*, *more stable*, *less democratic*, and so on. Comparative politics, then, involves no more and no less than a comparative study of politics—a search for similarities and differences between and among political phenomena, including political institutions (such as legislatures), political behavior (such as voting), or political ideas (such as liberalism or Marxism). Everything that politics studies, comparative politics studies; it just undertakes the study with an explicitly comparative methodology in mind.

We could make the argument, in fact, that all of political science is comparative. The study of international relations compares diplomatic relations and strategies over time and between nations. The study of political behavior compares types of activity in different political contexts. The study of political philosophy compares perspectives of what ought to be and what is. Even the study of US politics is implicitly comparative: we study the power of the president as compared to the power of the Congress, or why one interest group is more powerful than another, and so on.

To return to the question of why we should study comparative politics, then, an answer now may be suggested. As Mattei Dogan and Dominique Pélassy observed, “Nothing is more natural than to study people, ideas, or institutions in relation to other people, ideas, or institutions. We gain knowledge through reference. . . . We compare to evaluate more objectively our situation as individuals, a community, or a nation.”¹⁰ The study of comparative politics is useful because it gives us a broader perspective of political phenomena and behaviors, and this broader perspective can contribute a great deal to both our understanding and our appreciation of the phenomena we are studying. We compare to escape from our ethnocentrism, our assumptions that everyone behaves the same way we do; we seek to broaden our field of perspective. We compare to discover broader rules of behavior than we might find in more narrow studies.

For example, the simplicity and brevity of the Constitution of the United States is more impressive when it is examined alongside longer constitutions of other nations.¹¹ We can better understand the significance of presidential government when we know about alternatives to presidential government. We can learn about those factors contributing to political stability by studying a country that is regarded as being politically stable. We can learn even more by including a country not regarded as stable in our study and looking for similarities and differences between the two countries.

How Do We Study Politics?

Broadly speaking, there are two paths on the road of inquiry: one is called the **normative approach to inquiry**, and the other is called the **empirical approach to inquiry**. The normative approach focuses upon principles, philosophies, or “shoulds.” The empirical approach relies on data, measurement, and observation. Normativists might investigate the same questions as empiricists, but they go about their investigations differently. Normativists might study justice, equality, the “good society,” and so on, and so might empiricists. The difference between the two groups is simply in how these questions would be approached.

Let us take an example to highlight differences in approach, studying the concept of justice. The normative approach might focus on the concept of justice itself: What is justice? Does the concept of justice ever change or vary? Should it do so? Should all citizens in a society have equal resources? Should there be free education? What policy would principles of justice demand?

The empirical approach would not ask many of these questions. The job of the empiricist is not to ask what should be, but simply to ask what is. The empirical approach might involve interviewing policymakers and ascertaining what they feel justice is. It might involve studying laws and their enforcement. It might involve examining economic distribution in order to observe patterns of material distribution. Do all people in a society have roughly equivalent resources? Do all people in a society have equal access to education? In brief, although both approaches would study the same general subject, the approaches would be different. In fact, the empirical approach does not utilize only one method of gathering information.¹² Arend Lijphart has suggested that there are four basic methods of discovering and establishing general empirical propositions. One of these methods is the **experimental method of inquiry**, while the other three are nonexperimental. The nonexperimental methods are the case study method, the statistical method, and the comparative method.¹³

The **case study method of inquiry** involves “the intensive study of individual cases. Case studies run the gamut from the most micro-levels to the most macro-levels of political phenomena.”¹⁴ Micro-level work might focus on individuals; macro-level work might focus on political interest groups, regional groups, or institutional groups. An area study, as described earlier, might be a case study (such as voting behavior in Lesotho), but clearly not all case studies involve area studies. In this method, the investigator picks one case—whether that case be a single nation, a single voter, or a single political structure—and studies it. Through the case study method one develops a certain amount of

expertise in whatever one is studying, but the scope of one's study may be quite limited.¹⁵

The **statistical method of inquiry** involves more sophisticated forms of measurement and observation than the empirical method. Public opinion polls, survey research,¹⁶ and various other forms of quantitative measurement are used to help make the measurements and observations that are characteristic of the empirical approach even more accurate.¹⁷

The **comparative method of inquiry** may be likened to two or more case studies put together. It focuses on a particular political structure or behavior and examines it in a comparative perspective. It looks for similarities and differences. The comparison may also be done in one setting, but across time—this is called diachronic comparison. For example, we may compare a given legislature in 2019 with the same legislature in 1919 in order to observe differences in the relative power and structures of that legislature. Or we may compare institutions or behavior at one point in time—synchronic comparison—but compare across national borders, for example by comparing the role of the legislature in Great Britain with the role of the legislature in Thailand or Jordan.¹⁸

These three nonexperimental methods are based exclusively upon observation and measurement. The experimental approach involves manipulation of variables. That is, whereas in the case study method one simply observes something, in the experimental method one manipulates one variable in order to observe its effect upon another variable. This is difficult to do in political research, because we are asking questions of extremely broad scope and usually cannot control the environment within which we are operating. We cannot, for example, set up two identical presidential elections at the same time in the same place—one with two candidates, and one with three candidates—in order to see the relationship between the number of candidates and voting turnout. Society is too complex to enable us to manipulate and experiment with many political structures and institutions.

Each of the methods in the empirical approach has its own advantages and disadvantages for the researcher. The chief advantage of the comparative approach is the broad perspective mentioned earlier. For example, studying the British Parliament in 2019 may tell us a great deal about that institution. We will learn more about the significance of what we are observing, however, if we compare our observations—either compare the observations with observations of the British Parliament of 1819 and 1919, or compare the British Parliament of 2019 with observations of the Indian Lok Sabha, the Japanese Diet, or the Israeli Knesset in the same year.

The study of comparative politics—or more properly, the comparative approach to the study of politics—is becoming more and more common in the discipline of political science today. We find comparative studies of legislatures, political elites, ideologies, women in politics, constitutions, legal cultures, revolutionary movements, political executives, and political parties. We also find comparative studies of the role of the military in government, of democracies, of new democracies, of political development, of political culture, and of political behavior.

The Nature of Comparative Political Analysis

How do we go about using the comparative method? If we start indiscriminately comparing every object on the political landscape with every other object, in a very short time we will find ourselves inundated with measurements of similarities and differences, most of which will turn out to be trivial distinctions either in scope or in significance. Suppose, for example, that we examine legislatures. One of the first things we will note is that legislatures are not physically the same. One legislature may have 100 seats, another may have 75 seats, and a third may have 500 seats. One building may be five stories high, another only two. One legislature may have its seats arranged in straight rows, while another may have its seats arranged in semicircles; indeed, one legislature may give its members individual desks, while another may only have long benches upon which many legislators must crowd.¹⁹

So what? Before we get bogged down in inconsequential detail (and of course detail need not be inconsequential), we need to plot a course of inquiry. We need to decide what questions we are interested in investigating, and why, and we need to understand the relationships between and among the objects of our scrutiny.

In this book we are interested in presenting an introduction to the comparative study of politics. What does this mean? We want to show how comparative analysis is undertaken, and why it is undertaken, and we want to provide examples of the types of things that one might look at while engaging in this kind of study.

In one very useful analysis of the values of comparative inquiry many years ago, Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune discussed two general approaches to the comparative method that they called the **most similar systems design** and the **most different systems design**. They argued that most comparativists use the most similar systems design. Investigators take two systems that are essentially similar, and subsequently study differences that exist between the two basically similar systems. They may then observe the impact of these differences on some other social or political phenomenon. These studies are based on

the belief that “systems as similar as possible with respect to as many features as possible constitute the optimal samples for comparative inquiry.”²⁰ If some important differences are found between two essentially similar countries, then “the number of factors attributable to these differences will be sufficiently small to warrant explanation in terms of those differences alone.”²¹

An example may help to make this clear. We could study two essentially similar nations, say Canada and Australia. These two nations have similar political histories, similar political structures, and substantially similar political cultures. If we notice that in Australia public policy appears to be made easily and efficiently, while in Canada it appears to be very difficult to enact, we can conclude that the cause of this difficulty is probably not the substantial number of characteristics that they share in common. It must be something else that accounts for the difference, and we will be able to look at a relatively small list of possible factors for explanation.

In contrast, the most different systems approach directs us to select two or more systems to compare that are not essentially similar. Instead of looking for differences between two or more essentially similar nations, focusing upon nation-states, for example, we look for similarities between two or more essentially different nations.²²

Let us take as an example the cases of the United Kingdom (UK) and the United Arab Emirates (UAE), two very different nations in terms of their political structures and behavior. If we find a political behavior that is similar in the two systems and we are interested in knowing why that behavior is the way that it is, we know that the explanation cannot lie in the many political structures and patterns of behavior that differ in the two nations; we must look elsewhere.

The point of all of this is to indicate that a number of different approaches are possible within the broad framework we call the comparative method. The important consideration in all cases is a theoretical rationale: Why are we undertaking the comparison that we are undertaking? What kind of objects do we want to study? The subjects of comparative political inquiry are as disparate and varied as one might imagine. Generally, it can be suggested that there are three broad categories of subjects of examination in the comparative study of politics: public policy, political behavior, and governmental structures.

In studies of comparative public policy,²³ the focus of attention is upon what governments do. Comparisons may be made between governments of different nations, governments in various stages of development (for example, developed nations versus underdeveloped nations), or governments and policy over time (for example, the gov-

ernment of Poland in 1969 and the government of Poland in 2019). Although the focus is upon what governments do, these studies will invariably pay some attention to the related questions of how and why governments act, as well as what the stimuli are that help governments to decide to act in the direction that they do at the time that they do.

A second general thrust of study is oriented to political behavior. Studies of this type may focus upon voting behavior, leaders in politics, and so on.²⁴ The central ideas of this approach involve the assumption that if one understands how people behave in a political system—and this includes all people, both the leaders and the led—then one will develop an understanding of the political systems within which that behavior takes place. This approach will include discussion of comparative public policy, primarily as an example of the behavior that is the focus of study, and also may include some study of the governmental institutions within which the behavior takes place.

The third general approach focuses upon governmental institutions themselves. This type of study may focus upon legislatures, constitutions, legal systems, and perhaps even political parties.²⁵ By studying the institutions of a regime, we are in a better position to understand how the regime operates than we would be with either the behavioral approach alone or the policy approach alone. This approach may well include some secondary subjects of scrutiny. It is possible that a study of governmental institutions might include a subject of policy output as an example of what it is that governmental institutions produce. In addition, a study of governmental institutions might include discussion of political behavior—both behavior of governmental officials as well as behavior of the public that may influence the government to act.

Often in comparative analysis we focus our attention on countries. Countries are important to study for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that they happen to be the units into which the contemporary world is divided. That is, it would be difficult to engage in comparative research without touching upon the political structure that we call the nation-state. Beyond this, however, nation-states often are useful bases for analysis because of what they represent.

A **nation**, a **state**, and a **nation-state** are not, strictly speaking, the same thing, although often these terms are used somewhat interchangeably.²⁶ The concept of nation has been used in an anthropological way to denote a group of people with shared characteristics, perhaps a shared language, history, or culture. A state, on the other hand, is an explicitly political entity, created and alterable by people, based upon accepted boundaries. It implies the notion of sovereignty, having the ability to make final decisions regarding policy, as well as the concept

of legitimacy, the idea that the citizens of the state owe allegiance to the government, and that other states diplomatically recognize the state and consider that the government in question has a right to exist. A nation-state involves an instance in which the nation and the state overlap, where the unit that is found on the map corresponds to a meaningful use of the term *nation*.

Political borders can (and do) change, either as a result of war, as a result of agreement between parties involved, or perhaps as a result of both. For example, the United States and Mexico have reached agreement over a method of having periodic meetings between the two countries to “correct” the mapping of their border because of the gradual movement of the river that serves as a part of their common border, the Rio Grande.²⁷

It is possible to find self-proclaimed nations that are not states as the term has just been defined. For example, many Canadian citizens today who are living in the province of Québec argue that there is a French nation in Canada that should be given independence. They are not content with being a self-perceived nation within a state (Canada), having an identifiably different language, with the powers that the Canadian federal balance gives to Québec alone; many citizens of Québec want to formalize their perceived differences with the rest of Canada and become an independent nation-state.²⁸ Similarly, the notion of Zionism at the turn of the twentieth century was based upon the idea that there was a nation of Jewish people who were stateless in a number of nation-states around the world, and that a Jewish state was needed for them to call their home. This Zionist concept subsequently gave birth to the state of Israel.²⁹ It is indeed ironic that in a very similar manner today Palestinians are claiming the need for a state of their own, independent of Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and other Middle Eastern states.³⁰

In any type of comparative political inquiry there are certain analytical problems of which we should be aware that might make our work more difficult than it otherwise might be. The first of these problems involves what we call the **levels of analysis**, and relates to the types of observations and measurements we are using and the types of conclusions that we can draw from those observations and measurements.³¹ Generally, we can speak of two levels of data, or observation: an **individual level of analysis**, and an aggregate or **ecological level of analysis**. As the names suggest, the former focuses on individuals, the latter on groups.

We have all met what can be called problems of overgeneralization in our lives. This is the case when an individual takes an observation made

at the general level and assumes that it can be validly applied to every case in a general setting. For example, to take a nonpolitical case, let us imagine that an individual has had negative experiences with fast-food restaurants in the past and does not like them. One day this person is traveling, looking for a place to have lunch; the only places available are fast-food restaurants. She enters, expecting to hate the food, and finds to her surprise that the food in *this* establishment is better than her past experiences would have led her to expect. What we have here is an instance in which the person has made a general observation (that is, food in fast-food restaurants is not very good), and she has encountered an individual case for which the general rule simply is not valid, or correct.

In political science we refer to this type of error as an ecological fallacy. That is, we take data, a measurement or an observation from the broad, ecological level, and apply it incorrectly to an individual case. The observation may be quite correct over a large population, as a generalization (for example, as a general rule food in fast-food restaurants is not very good), but this does not mean that it will be correct in every individual case within that population, and we need to be aware that when we make generalizations of this kind we may be making an error of this type.

More broadly, we have here a problem of two different levels of analysis—the individual level and the ecological, or aggregate, level. To take a political example, if we find on a national (aggregate) level that Republicans tend to vote more frequently than Democrats, this does not guarantee that every individual Republican that we might meet is going to vote, or that every individual Democrat that we might meet is not going to vote. It means that, on the whole, over the large population, Republicans as a group are more likely to vote than Democrats as a group.

To take another example, if we find in our cross-national research that the population of Côte d'Ivoire has overall a lower level of education than does the population of the United States (two aggregate-level observations), this does not mean that every citizen of Côte d'Ivoire is less educated than every citizen of the United States. It might in fact be the case that if we took a random sample from each nation, we might select an American with a sixth-grade education and a citizen of Côte d'Ivoire with a PhD from Duke University. In short, an ecological fallacy involves taking what may be a perfectly valid observation or generalization on the aggregate level and incorrectly assuming that it will always apply to every case on the individual level. It may apply in most cases (which may be why it is a general observation), but we may be leaving ourselves in a vulnerable position—and we may be drawing

incorrect conclusions from our data—if we assume that it will always apply in every case.

We must also be aware of the reverse of the ecological fallacy: the individualistic fallacy. This occurs when we make an individual-level observation and incorrectly generalize from it to the aggregate level. For example, to stay with the example just introduced, it would clearly be incorrect to conclude from meeting one Duke-educated PhD from Côte d'Ivoire that all citizens of Côte d'Ivoire have PhD degrees from Duke, or that all PhD recipients from Duke come from Côte d'Ivoire. To be sure, there may be several individuals in this category, but we would be incorrect to generalize from this individual case to the entire population.

The importance of the “levels of analysis” problem can be summed up, then, by stating that observations made on one level of analysis, either the individual level or the aggregate (or ecological) level, are safely used only on that level. It does regularly happen, of course, that we will undertake a study in a situation in which we are forced to use data from one level to learn about another level. We may not be able to afford to question every individual in Côte d'Ivoire about their level of education, and we may have to rely on ecological or aggregate data. If all we have available to us is aggregate-level data about education (for example, average number of years of education), or health care (for example, number of hospital beds per population unit), or some similar characteristic, then we have to do our best with the data we have. We simply must keep reminding ourselves that conclusions we draw from one level of data must be used carefully on another level.

Another major pitfall in comparative analysis that we want to avoid involves making assumptions about the functions performed by political structures. It is possible that we will find two institutions, or patterns of behavior, that look alike in two different settings, but that perform entirely different functions in their respective settings. We might study, for example, the House of Commons in Britain, and see that the legislature in that setting is most important in the process of selecting government leaders and in establishing governmental legitimacy. In another setting, however, a similarly structured legislature may not be at all significant in the creation of a government or in the establishment of legitimacy, and to assume that because the British House of Commons is significant in this regard, all legislatures are significant in this regard, would be an example of an individualistic fallacy: incorrectly generalizing from the individual level (i.e., “it works that way in Britain”) to the aggregate level (i.e., “it works that way everywhere”).

The converse of this is true, too. Whereas we might find one structure (for example, a legislature) that performs two entirely different

functions in two different nations, we might also find two entirely different structures in two different nations that perform similar or identical functions. Although the Congress performs the legislative function in the United States, the real designing of legislation in East Germany was done by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, not the legislature (although the legislature did subsequently give its approval to the measure prior to its becoming official).

This type of error of over-assuming can be especially troubling when students from stable, established Western democracies turn their attentions to non-Western systems. The problem of **political ethnocentrism**—of assuming that because political institutions or relationships work one way in stable Western democracies, they must work the same way in all political systems—is a real one, and we must be continuously on guard against making these types of assumptions, or falling victim to cultural bias. This is especially true when we turn our attention to political systems that are not stable, or not Western.³² Indeed, this paragraph would represent an example of Western ethnocentrism in its own right if we did not observe that in many settings the very institutions or patterns of behavior that we take for granted in the West—such as legislatures or elections—may simply be irrelevant to other political cultures. Many critics of US foreign policy dealing with Iraq in the recent past have noted that the articulated US goal of “exporting democracy” to Iraq was too simplistic: democracy is very complex and cannot be exported like commercial goods, or transplanted like a plant from one pot to another. Iraq does not have a history of stable Western democracy, and because democratic institutions work in the United States does not necessarily mean that they will work in Iraq.

When we undertake comparative political analysis, then, we need to keep our eyes open for errors that we can make by simply assuming too much. We must take the political environment into consideration before drawing conclusions or making broad generalizations; we must make sure to “scout out the landscape” to make sure that we have included in our analysis all of the factors that may be of significance in that particular political system. In some systems the list of significant factors may be very long; in others it might be very short.

The Political System

We have been discussing comparative political analysis, and problems that may ensue in the research process, but we have not as yet laid out any framework for establishing the ground upon which we will base our research. The central concept in discussions of political analysis is that of the political system. Generally speaking, not confining ourselves

only to the political, there are two types of systems that we can discuss: analytic systems and concrete systems.

We are all familiar with the concept of a system. Such terms as “nervous system,” “electrical system,” or even “solar system” are all examples of instances in which we use the term *system* in our daily lives. When we speak of a system such as one of these, we are speaking of a **concrete or real system** we can actually see (or touch, or feel, or measure). For example, we could actually touch the components of a skeletal system if we wanted to. In an electrical system we can touch wires involved and follow them along from one object to another. The solar system is a bit more difficult, since we cannot directly touch the force connecting the member units, but it can be measured with sophisticated instruments and observations.

Much more interesting for us as political scientists, however, are **analytic systems**. We can define analytic systems as groups of objects that are connected with one another in an analytic way. That is, it is our theories and perceptions that provide the links between the objects in question. The political system that we refer to as US government is not real or concrete in the same manner that the plumbing system of a house is. We cannot actually touch or feel the links between and among the House of Representatives and the Senate and the Supreme Court and the White House. (Literally, of course, we probably could make the argument that one could touch a telephone wire and trace it to a central switchboard where all Washington, D.C., telephones are connected, and thereby claim that these institutions are, in fact, physically connected, but that would be stretching the point.) The important and meaningful connection among these institutions is power, and the power relationship that is to be found in the Constitution of the United States and in US political tradition.³³

When we talk about “developing nations” or the “political left” or “legislatures” or “interest groups” or the “Middle East,” we are using analytic concepts to bring together groups of objects—in many cases individuals, in other cases regions, nations, or institutions—that we perceive to have something in common. These are political systems, sets of political objects or political concepts that are theoretically related to each other in some analytic way. These systems of objects—analytic systems—are the basis of comparative political research.

We cannot stop at the level of the system, however. Systems can be broken down into subsystems. A subsystem is an analytical component of a political system that is a system in its own right. The US political system has many subsystems, each of which could be studied on its own. To begin, of course, are the fifty subsystems that we call states. If

we wanted to, we could study the political system of one state on its own; if our focus is on the United States, however, the state would be perceived as a subsystem, not a system. Other subsystems of the US political system might be the bureaucracy, the legislature, political parties, and so on.

Similarly, we can use the term *supersystem* to refer to that collection of objects of which our focus is only a part. If our focus is still on the US political system, then a supersystem might be Western governments, or democracies, or presidential systems—all groups of objects of which our focus is simply an example. Table 1.1 provides an illustration of the way in which we can use these terms.

We can shift our point of focus, too. If our focus is the US political system, then the Congress is a subsystem, and the House of Representatives is a sub-subsystem, and the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives is a sub-sub-subsystem, and Republicans on the Foreign Affairs Committee are a sub-sub-sub-subsystem. If our focus were the House of Representatives, the Congress would be a supersystem, the US political system would be a super-supersystem, and the Foreign Affairs Committee would be a subsystem. And so on.

Although these terms may seem confusing at first, they can be extremely valuable in our analysis of politics. Unlike chemists or physicists who may use sophisticated physical instruments to help them in their measurement and analysis, we political scientists have to rely on concepts and theoretical frameworks to help us with our measurement, observation, and analysis. Terminology, then, is important for us.

Just as with many of the other terms we have introduced in this chapter, the concept of a system is not as simple as it first appears. There have been many different approaches to political systems over the years, each developing its own vocabulary and literature. Probably the two biggest contributions to systems theories, in terms of their subse-

Table 1.1 Using Systems as Frames of Reference

Level	Set 1	Set 2
Super-supersystem	World governments	Constitutional systems
Supersystem	Democracies	Presidencies
System	US political system (focus)	US political system
Subsystem	A state	Congress
Sub-subsystem	A county	Senate

quent generation of literature in the discipline, have been made by David Easton and Gabriel Almond.

Easton's variation on the political system, first introduced in the mid-1960s, has been referred to as **input-output analysis**.³⁴ Although many political scientists today feel that Easton's variation never realized its potential as a framework capable of explaining the operation of the political system, it did give rise to a great deal of literature on **systems theory**, and it can still be cited as one way of looking at the political system, even if it does not provide all of the answers that earlier theorists had hoped it might.

Easton's analytic framework viewed the political system as a continuously operating mechanism, with demands and supports going in (inputs), and authoritative decisions and actions coming out (outputs). Demands are defined as "an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so."³⁵ Supports are those inputs between the political system and its environment that remain after demands have been subtracted.³⁶ The framework includes very elaborate regulatory mechanisms for preventing demand overloads and for maintaining the smooth operation of the system.

One of the major criticisms of Easton's framework involved its ethnocentrism, a concept introduced earlier. Many of the assumptions of Easton's model suggest that there will inevitably be the types of political structures and behaviors found in stable Western democracies (such as legislatures, bureaucracies, and so on), assumptions that are clearly not always valid. Further, the model was criticized by many because of what they suggested was an implied goal of "system maintenance" that put too much emphasis on political stability and that was inherently conservative.

The other major variation on systems theory was suggested by Gabriel Almond and is referred to as **structural-functional analysis**.³⁷ This analysis focuses upon what Almond refers to as political structures, by which he means either political institutions or behavior, and political functions, by which he means the consequences of the institutions or the behavior. This kind of analysis asks the basic question, What structures perform what functions and under what conditions in a political system? While the term *function* may be interpreted to mean "consequence," the framework introduced a new term as well, *dysfunction*. Simply put, a function is a good consequence, and a dysfunction is a bad consequence.

Both of these approaches, it should be explicitly noted, are quite sophisticated and quite substantial—far beyond what can be adequately discussed in this context. In addition, they are not the only variations on

what is referred to as systems theory. They are, however, significant, and the test of time has indicated their impact on the discipline of political science. The concept of the political system, whether we use Easton's input-output framework, or Almond's structure-function framework, or any of a number of other variations on the theme, is another tool we have at our disposal to help in our cross-national comparison.

It is important that we observe that a political system need not be the same thing as a nation or a state. It may be convenient to use a nation or state as a point of departure in comparative analysis, but a system may be something else, as well. We may want to study a legislative system—that is, a collection of objects that are in some analytical way related and whose relationship is based upon legislation or the legislature. We may want to study the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). We may want to study electoral systems. In short, although nation-states are convenient to study because we can find them on a map and their borders are (relatively) clearly defined, many of the subjects of comparative political analysis do not lie clearly within one set of national borders.

Political Culture

The concept of **political culture** is important in the study of comparative politics. As Gabriel Almond has noted, “something like a notion of political culture has been around as long as men have spoken and written about politics,”³⁸ and related concepts—such as subculture, elite political culture, political socialization, and cultural change—have also been used in a variety of settings since time immemorial. Indeed, Almond argues that the concept of political culture played a very important role in Plato's *Republic* when Plato observed “that governments vary as the dispositions of men vary, and that there must be as many of the one as there are of the other. For we cannot suppose that States are made of ‘oak and rock’ and not out of the human natures which are in them.”³⁹ The concept of a political culture can be traced from Plato through Aristotle, Machiavelli, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Tocqueville, and up to modern times.⁴⁰

Political culture, Almond tells us, “is not a theory; it refers to a set of variables that may be used in the construction of theories.”⁴¹ As Sidney Verba notes, it consists of “the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols, and values which defines the situation in which political action takes place.”⁴² As Carole Pateman notes, it “is concerned with psychological orientation toward social objects . . . the political system as internalized in the cognitions, feelings, and evaluations of citizens.”⁴³ Among the major dimensions of political culture are included a sense of national identity, attitudes one holds toward

one's fellow citizens, attitudes about governmental performance, and knowledge and attitudes about the political decisionmaking processes.

In fact, scholars tell us, we can refer to three different directions in which political culture runs: a system culture, a process culture, and a policy culture.⁴⁴ The system dimension of political culture is made up of attitudes toward the nation, the regime, and the authorities who control power at any given time. This includes values related to national identity, regime legitimacy, institutional legitimacy, and the effectiveness of individuals who hold significant political positions. The process dimension of political culture is made up of attitudes toward the role that the individual plays in the political arena, and attitudes about other political actors. The policy dimension of political culture focuses upon the results of politics, the outputs of the political system.

As suggested earlier, the importance of the political culture is that it refers to a number of political variables that we may use in our analysis of the political world and in our construction of political theories. Political culture has been argued to be significant in the process of political development, in the development of regime legitimacy, in economic and industrial development, and in social integration and regime stability. It is a concept that we shall use on a number of occasions in this book, especially in Part 2 when we turn our attention to area studies to illustrate the importance of the political institutions and political behaviors that we shall examine in the first part of this book.

When we consider political culture we must be aware of the danger of an ethnocentric approach to our study. We should not make the assumption that the way social relationships and institutions exist in our culture and society is necessarily the same way they exist in all other societies, or is the standard for institutions and behavior that other cultures strive to develop. There are many characteristics of what can be called Western culture that are definitely not sought by non-Western societies. Indeed, there are many characteristics of contemporary Western society that we do not like ourselves, such as contemporary crime rates, drug problems, the weakening of the nuclear family unit, and so on. We must keep in mind that Western capitalist democracies are not always the model chosen by others in the world, and whether we agree with this or not, we must be careful not to assume that our way is the only way.

Globalization

While the term *culture* refers to the way people or groups of people interact and the values that they may hold, there is another broad-ranging term that we should meet at this point in our study that also deals with ways that people or groups of people interact, and that is the term *glob-*

alization, increasingly used today as a shorthand for a huge range of impressive and important issues. The World Bank has noted that globalization “is one of the most charged issues of the day,” although it notes that “there does not appear to be any precise, widely-agreed definition” of the term.⁴⁵ While there are clear supporters and opponents of the process—the former seeing globalization as the key to the future for the developing nations and the latter seeing it as a sure-thing destroyer of the environment and economic oppressor of citizens of have-not nations—there is no consensus on its meaning or on exactly how it should be measured.

Students of the process believe the core sense of the concept of economic globalization refers to the observation that a quickly rising share of economic activity in the world recently seems to be taking place between people who live in different countries rather than in the same country. This includes such topics as international trade, foreign direct investment, environmental policy, human rights, and a variety of other issues. The position of the World Bank in this debate is that

- it is necessary to distinguish between globalization’s different forms, including trade, investment, market behavior, regulation, and so on;
- it is necessary to recognize that globalization does not affect all nations in the same way or to the same extent—participation in globalization varies widely;
- we must be careful to distinguish between the times that we use “globalization” in its economic sense and the times that we use it in other ways.⁴⁶

The fact is that nation-states in today’s environment are interrelated in ways that could only have been dreamed about in years past. Not only are nations connected by Internet and email in a way that wasn’t imaginable, but their economies are integrated and interdependent in a way similarly unimaginable even a decade ago. In his book *The World Is Flat*, Thomas Friedman shows how buying a computer in the United States directly affects the economies of a half dozen nations—all in a way that may be invisible to the American consumer.⁴⁷

There are several different dimensions of what we can today refer to as globalization. These include the movement of money around the world, multinational corporations, and international trade. Each of these merits brief discussion here.

Capital moves around the world today as if there were no such thing as the nation-state. The Chinese government, which we shall discuss in considerably more depth later in this book, owns a considerable share of the US national debt, and this worries many US policymakers

in terms of the potential problems this might create in future years. People in one nation, whether that nation is the United States, Japan, China, or India, have the ability to invest in industry and business in other nations. While this is a good thing for those businesses and industries that are seeking outside investment, it may have the consequence of making it more difficult for national governments to plan—and control—their economies.

Multinational corporations (MNCs) may have the same effect. The behavior of most MNCs is focused on increasing their “bottom line,” the profits that they earn for their shareholders. This means that in most situations the MNC has very little or no loyalty to the community or nation in which it is operating. If it can make more money by paying lower wages, it will do so. If this requires the MNC to move, so be it. For many years this behavior was relatively invisible to most Americans in an international context, although they were often aware of mills and factories in the northern states closing in order to move to southern states where labor was cheaper and labor unions were less powerful or nonexistent. Today, of course, even those southern factories have closed, and the jobs have moved to Mexico, or Asia, or Ireland, or other settings around the world, where the MNC involved can pay lower wages, with lower benefits (such as less health insurance), and increase their profits.

And at the end of the day, the balance sheet of globalization can be summarized by international trade figures. Today’s de-industrialization in the United States and in the wealthier nations of the world (as industry moves to the poorer nations of the world where wages are lower) means that significant consuming funds are flowing outward, to nations where goods are produced. Increasingly, of course, this means China.

So, while globalization in the abstract may have many different definitions, its net effects can be seen in terms of jobs and trade, which in the final analysis pits all governments against other governments, and states against states, to attract business and capital to their settings.

The Institutional Approach

The approach to comparative politics that is used in this volume is an institutional one. Although there is no doubt that an emphasis on either public policy or political behavior would be a vehicle that would work in an introduction to comparative politics, the institutional approach has been selected here for several reasons. First, it lends itself to generalization more readily than do the other approaches. When we learn how a Westminster-model parliamentary system works in Britain, and we subsequently learn that Grenada, Tuvalu, and India have essentially Westminster-model parliamentary systems, we can relatively easily, and

relatively accurately, transfer a good deal of what we have learned about one system to another. An emphasis on public policy (e.g., British housing policy) or political behavior (e.g., British voting patterns) would not permit this transferability.

Second, the institutional approach is more enduring. Although it is true that individual nation-states do change their basic political institutions on occasion, it is much more often the case that political institutions do not change either as radically or as frequently as either individual policies or aggregate behavior. The French electoral system was changed in 1985, and subsequently changed again shortly thereafter, but this was a true deviation from the French norm and from the norm we shall see in other settings. On the other hand, housing policy, health policy, foreign policy, and environmental policy are subject to political change as the corresponding political climate changes.

Third, the institutional approach lends itself to observation and measurement more readily than do other approaches. Although politics such as Britain, France, or Germany have been the subject of a great deal of policy analysis and examination of political behavior, there are many politics in the world in which sophisticated policy analysis is simply not done, nor is detailed analysis of political behavior undertaken. We can, on the other hand, undertake an examination of their political institutions.

To be sure, the institutional approach does not work all of the time; thus we will not restrict ourselves to only its use here. We shall discuss aspects of public policy and political behavior in our analysis here, but the primary vehicle for analysis will be that of political institutions. In the case of our description of Russia, for example, we shall begin by observing that it is a polity in which an institutional approach has not appeared to work very well in recent history, and there we shall focus our efforts in alternative directions. However, on balance, the institutional approach seems to be the best vehicle for an introduction to comparative politics.

The Comparative Method in Perspective

Throughout the remainder of this book we shall endeavor to follow the guidelines that we have set down thus far as to the comparative method of inquiry. The value of the comparative method is in the broad perspective that it offers the student of political science; we will focus upon this broad perspective as we continue.

In the next several chapters we will develop a base for further inquiry. We will present a number of different political structures and behaviors comparatively, looking first at the existence of a structure in one setting and then at the same structure elsewhere. We will also

search for similarities and differences in the structures under examination, to try to understand how the political environments within which they exist have influenced them. Subsequently, we will turn our attention to a number of brief area studies to give ourselves the opportunity to better understand the political contexts within which the various political structures operate.

Discussion Questions

1. Can you explain why we study politics? How does the study of politics compare with other social sciences?
2. Describe the different approaches to how we study politics, and explain the relative value of each of the different approaches. When is a normative approach to inquiry more productive than an empirical approach?
3. What are the principle characteristics of comparative political analysis? How does a comparative approach differ from an area studies approach?
4. Can you describe the concept of a political system? What is the relationship between a political system, a political subsystem, and a political supersystem? In what way can these concepts be of analytic value?
5. What is a political culture? Why is the political culture of a polity an important thing to study and to understand?
6. What are the major advantages of an institutional approach to the study of comparative politics? What are the strengths of the institutional approach? What are its weaknesses?

Notes

1. Three very good recent general texts that show the range of concepts related to the term *politics* are Nigel Jackson and Stephen Tansey, *Politics* (London: Routledge, 2014); David Walsh, *Politics of the Person as the Politics of Being* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016); and Steven Bilakovics, *Democracy Without Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

2. See Ernest Barker, ed. and trans., *The Politics of Aristotle* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. xi–xix.

3. See Joel S. Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

5. See the classic essay by Talcott Parsons, “On the Concept of Political Power,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107, no. 3 (June 1963): 232.

6. Harold Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How?* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936). See also Michael Saward, *Democracy: Critical Concepts in Political Science* (London: Routledge, 2007).

7. David Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1965), p. 50.
8. See Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown, eds., *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey, 1977), pp. 2–4. This criticism is still the focus of debate.
9. The January 10, 1997, issue of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* introduced a new version of a long-running debate over the value of area studies as distinct from comparative politics; see Christopher Shea, “Political Scientists Clash over Value of Area Studies,” p. A13. Harvard University’s Robert Bates suggests in this essay that a focus on individual regions leads to work that is “mushy and merely descriptive.” See also several of the essays in Margaret Levi, *Designing Democratic Government: Making Institutions Work* (New York: Russell Sage, 2008).
10. Mattei Dogan and Dominique Pélassy, *How to Compare Nations: Strategies in Comparative Politics* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1990), p. 3. See also Anthony Peter Spanakos and Francisco Panizza, *Conceptualising Comparative Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2016).
11. See, for example, the historical work by Howard Gillman, Mark Graber, and Keith Whittington, *American Constitutionalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); or Daniel Franklin and Michael Baun, *Political Culture and Constitutionalism: A Comparative Approach* (London: Routledge, 2015).
12. See Janet Ruane, *Introducing Social Research Methods* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2016); or Janet Buttolph Johnson, H. T. Reynolds, and Jason Mycoff, *Political Science Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Congressional Quarterly, 2016).
13. Arend Lijphart, “The Comparable Cases Strategy in Comparative Research,” *Comparative Political Studies* 8 (1975): 159. See also Theodore Meckstroth, “‘Most Different Systems’ and ‘Most Similar Systems’: A Study in the Logic of Comparative Inquiry,” *Comparative Political Studies* 8 (1975): 132. See Dogan and Pélassy, *How to Compare Nations*, for a very good job of discussing these issues at greater length.
14. See Harry Eckstein, “Case Study and Theory in Political Science,” in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science: Strategies of Inquiry* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975), p. 79.
15. Examples of this kind of work can be found in John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017); or Benjamin Most and Harvey Starr, *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015).
16. A very good essay on this is by Richard Boyd and Herbert Hyman, “Survey Research,” in Greenstein and Polsby, *Handbook of Political Science*, pp. 265–350. See also Willem Saris and Irmtraud Gallhofer, *Design, Evaluation, and Analysis of Questionnaires for Survey Research* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Interscience, 2007).
17. For a good introductory-level example of this approach, see Dvora Yanow and Peregrine Schwartz-Shea, *Interpretation and Method: Empirical Research Methods and the Interpretive Turn* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2006); or Charles Ragin and Claude Robinson, “The Distinctiveness of Comparative Research,” in Todd Landman and Neil Robinson, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Comparative Politics* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2009), pp. 13–33.
18. A good essay on the comparative method may be found in Todd Landman, *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2008). See chap. 2, “How to Compare Countries,” pp. 30–55.
19. For an incredible collection of comparative data dealing with legislatures, see Valerie Herman, ed., *Parliaments of the World* (London: Macmillan, 1976). There is an entire section of this 985-page book dealing with seating arrangements in legislatures; note Table 21, on seating arrangements, which itself is seven pages long.
20. Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry* (New York: Wiley, 1970), p. 32.

21. Ibid. See also Dogan and Pélassy, *How to Compare Nations*, chap. 16, “Comparing Similar Countries,” pp. 117–126.

22. See Dogan and Pélassy, *How to Compare Nations*, chap. 17, “Comparing Contrasting Nations,” pp. 127–132.

23. For example, Anne Marie Cammisa and Paul Christopher Manuel, *The Path of American Public Policy: Comparative Perspectives* (Lanham: Lexington, 2014); or Isabelle Engeli and Christine Rothmayr Allison, *Comparative Policy Studies: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

24. For example, see Fathali M. Moghaddam, *Sage Encyclopedia of Political Behavior* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2017).

25. There are few integrated and structural comparative studies. One is left to rely on more specific comparative studies, such as comparative studies of legislatures (Gerring, *Case Study Research*; Most and Starr, *Inquiry, Logic, and International Politics*) or comparative studies of executives (Dogan and Pélassy, “Comparing Contrasting Nations”), for example.

26. See, for example, Ailsa Henderson, Charlie Jeffery, and Daniel Wincott, *Citizenship After the Nation State: Regionalism, Nationalism, and Public Attitudes in Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); or D. L. Hanley, *Beyond the Nation-State: Parties in the Era of European Integration* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

27. See the article by Douglas Littlefield, “The Rio Grande Compact of 1929: A Truce in an Interstate River War,” *Pacific Historical Review* 60, no. 4 (November 1991): 497–516.

28. A very good discussion is provided by Wayne Reilly, “The Quebec Sovereignty Referendum of 1995: What Now?” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 25, no. 4 (1995): 477–496. See also my essay Gregory S. Mahler, “Canadian Federalism and the 1995 Referendum: A Perspective from Outside of Quebec,” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 25, no. 4 (1995): 449–476.

29. A very good discussion of the concept of Zionism as a nationalist movement can be found in the study by Shlomo Avineri, *The Making of Modern Zionism* (New York: Basic, 1981).

30. For discussion of the Palestinian case, see Noam Chomsky, Ilan Pappé, and Frank Barat, *On Palestine* (Chicago: Haymarket, 2015); or Elise G. Young, *Gender and Nation-Building in the Middle East: The Political Economy of Health from Mandate Palestine to Refugee Camps in Jordan* (New York: Tauris, 2012).

31. Good discussions of problems of levels of analysis and other methodological difficulties can be found in Paul Pennings and Hans Keman, *Doing Research in Political Science* (London: Sage, 2005); or W. Phillips Shively, *The Craft of Political Research* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2004).

32. Two very good—but different—illustrations of this concept can be found in Alessandro Ferrara, *The Democratic Horizon: Hyperpluralism and the Renewal of Political Liberalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and Mitchell Young and Eric Zuelow, *Nationalism in a Global Era: The Persistence of Nations* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

33. See Andreas Wimmer, *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

34. David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York: Wiley, 1965).

35. Ibid., p. 38.

36. Ibid., p. 159.

37. Gabriel Almond, “Introduction,” in Gabriel Almond and James Coleman, eds., *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960).

38. Gabriel Almond, “The Intellectual History of the Civic Culture Concept,” in Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture Revisited* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980), p. 1.

39. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 2.

40. Almond and Verba, *Civic Culture Revisited*. See also Jan-Erik Lane and Svante O. Ersson, *Politics, Culture, and Globalization: A Comparative Introduction* (London: Sage, 2001); and Irene Thomson, *Culture Wars and Enduring American Dilemmas* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

41. Almond, "Intellectual History," p. 26.

42. Sidney Verba, "Comparative Political Culture," in Lucian Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., *Political Culture and Political Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 513.

43. Carole Pateman, "The Civic Culture: A Philosophic Critique," in Almond and Verba, *Civic Culture Revisited*, p. 66.

44. This is a summation of much more detailed discussion in Almond, "Intellectual History," pp. 27–29.

45. PREM Economic Policy Group and Development Economics Group, "Assessing Globalization, Part I: What Is Globalization?" *Briefing Papers: What Is Globalization*, <http://www.worldbank.org/html/extdr/pb/globalization/paper1.htm>. See, as illustrative of a growing literature in this area, Ernesto Verdeja and Jackie Smith, *Globalization, Social Movements, and Peacebuilding* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013); or Lane Crothers, *Globalization and American Political Culture* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2012).

46. PREM Economic Policy Group, "Assessing Globalization."

47. Thomas Freedman, *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2005). For a very good, more "academic" study, see Donald Boudreaux, *Globalization* (Westport: Greenwood, 2008).