

Contents

Tables, Figure, and Boxes xiii

Preface xvii

About the Authors xxi

Introduction: The Why, What, and How of Comparative Politics 1

A Common Analytical Framework 3

Choice of Cases 4

Contrasting System Types 4

Notes 6

Part 1. United Kingdom

B. Guy Peters and Christopher J. Carman

1.1 The Context of British Politics 11

A United Kingdom of Four Countries 11

Stability and Change 17

Traditional and Modern: The Political Culture of the United Kingdom 19

Class Politics, But . . . 22

Conservatively Liberal Policy Ideas 24

Isolated but European 25

Notes 26

1.2 Where Is the Power? 28

British Parliamentary Government 29

The Monarch 31

The Prime Minister 33

Cabinet and Government 35

Parliament 38

The Civil Service 43

The Judiciary 46

The Rest of Government 47

Notes 50

1.3 Who Has the Power? 53

Political Parties 53

The Party and Electoral Systems 54

The Two Major Parties	58
Voting and Elections	65
Pressure Groups and Corporatism	69
Notes	74

1.4 How Is Power Used? 76

The Parliamentary Process and New Policies	77
Policy Continuation: Budgeting	84
Policy Making in Great Britain	88
Notes	89

1.5 What Is the Future of British Politics? 90

The Economy	90
The Public Sector	91
Who Rules Great Britain?	92
Who Rules in Government?	93
Continued Devolution, Breakup, or What?	95
Notes	96
For Further Reading	97

Part 2. France

William Safran

2.1 The Context of French Politics 101

Religion and Social Class	102
Education	105
Revolutions, Regime Changes, and Legitimacy Crises	107
Aspects of French Political Culture	110
Notes	112

2.2 Where Is the Power? 114

The President and the Government	114
The Parliament	123
The Administrative State	128
Notes	134

2.3 Who Has the Power? 136

Political Parties: Traditional 'Political Families'	136
Parties and Elections in the Fifth Republic	139
Interest Groups	161
Notes	166

2.4 How Is Power Used? 168

Deputies, Senators, and Decisions	170
Bureaucratic Politics	172

Delegating Responsibility for Decisions	174
Conflicts within the System	175
Notes	177

2.5 What Is the Future of French Politics? 178

Stability, Modernization, and Democracy	178
Administration and Justice: Developments and Reforms	179
Problems and Prospects for France	181
Notes	186
For Further Reading	187

Part 3. Germany

David P. Conradt

3.1 The Context of German Politics 191

Historical Context	192
Federalism	198
Geographic and Demographic Context	201
Religion	202
Socioeconomic Structure	203
Education	206
Political Attitudes	207
Notes	210

3.2 Where Is the Power? 213

Policy-making Institutions	213
‘Chancellor Democracy’	220
Formal Policy-making Procedures	225
The Judiciary	226
Notes	228

3.3 Who Has the Power? 229

Political Parties	229
Interest Groups	240
Citizens and Elections	242
Notes	250

3.4 How Is Power Used? 252

Semipublic Institutions	253
The Use of Power in the Social-Liberal Era, 1969–1982	256
How Power Was Used after the <i>Wende</i> , 1982–1989	257
How Power Was Used in the Unification Process	257
The Use of Power By Schröder’s Red-Green Coalition (1998–2002)	259
How Power Was Used in Schröder’s Second Term (2002–2005)	260
How Power Will Be Used: Grand Coalition, 2005	261

The Process of Policy Implementation	262
Notes	263

3.5 What Is the Future of German Politics? 265

Institutional Gridlock and the Federal System	265
The Economy	266
Putting Germany Back Together Again: The Continued Challenge of Rebuilding and Integrating the East	267
Minorities: Foreign Residents, Immigrants, and Right-Wing Violence	270
Germany's International Role	273
Germany and the September 11 Attacks	273
Notes	275
For Further Reading	276

Part 4. Italy

Raffaella Y. Nanetti

4.1 The Context of Italian Politics 279

Historical Context	280
Socioeconomic Context	286
Religion	290
Education	292
Political Culture	293
Notes	296

4.2 Where Is the Power? 298

The President: Guarantor of the Constitution and Ceremonial Chief of State	298
The Prime Minister and the Cabinet	302
The Parliament	306
The Bureaucracy	310
Public Corporations and Semi-independent Agencies	311
The Judiciary	313
Subnational Governments	315
Notes	319

4.3 Who Has the Power? 321

Political Parties	321
The Voters: The Electoral System and Voting Behavior	348
Interest Groups	352
Notes	357

4.4 How Is Power Used? 361

Policy Formulation	361
Policy Implementation	366

Policy Outputs 368

Notes 374

4.5 What Is the Future of Italian Politics? 377

Elements of Strength and Seeds of Crisis in the Italian Political System 377

Italy and the European Union 381

The Question of Institutional Reform 384

An Uncertain Future 386

Notes 387

For Further Reading 388

Part 5. Sweden

M. Donald Hancock

5.1 The Context of Swedish Politics 393

Geography, Resources, and Population 394

Early Political Development 396

Democratization and Industrialization 397

Political Culture: Constants and Change 398

Neutrality and Internationalism 399

Development of the Welfare State 401

Notes 402

5.2 Where Is the Power? 404

The Riksdag 404

The Prime Minister and the Cabinet 407

The Monarch 408

Other Institutional Actors 409

A Consensual Democracy 412

Notes 412

5.3 Who Has the Power? 414

Political Parties 414

Interest Groups 421

Administrative Elites 423

Elections 423

Governments and Opposition 425

Notes 426

5.4 How Is Power Used? 427

Policy Process 427

Policy Outcomes 428

Dealignment and Erosion of the Swedish Model: A Chronology 432

Sweden and the European Union 440

Implications for Power as Process and Outcomes	441
Notes	441

5.5 What Is the Future of Swedish Politics? 444

Transforming Trends	444
Transformation of the Swedish Model	445
'Breakthrough' versus 'Rationalizing' Politics	447
Notes	447
For Further Reading	447

Part 6. Russia

Stephen White

6.1 The Context of Russian Politics 453

A Continent More than a Country	453
A Slavic People	454
Patterns of History	456
The Impact of Communist Rule	458
Political Development and Democratization	460
Gorbachev and <i>Perestroika</i>	461
Constructing Postcommunism	467
Notes	469

6.2 Where Is the Power? 471

The Russian Presidency	472
The Premier and Government	479
The Duma and the Legislative Process	480
Notes	481

6.3 Who Has the Power? 483

Toward Competitive Politics	484
The 1999 and 2003 Duma Elections	486
The Political Parties	488
Parties and Politics in Postcommunist Russia	492
Notes	494

6.4 How Is Power Used? 495

Privatizing the Economy	495
Foreign and Security Policy	500
The CIS and the East	503
Notes	505

6.5 What Is the Future of Russian Politics? 507

An Incomplete Democracy	508
Human Rights	509

Notes	512
For Further Reading	513

Part 7. Poland

Marjorie Castle

7.1 The Context of Polish Politics 517

Geographic and Historical Context	517
Present-Day Cleavages	525
Political Culture	528
Notes	530

7.2 Where Is the Power? 532

Politics by Trial and Error: Changing Rules with Uncertain Implications	532
The Institutions of Power	537

7.3 Who Has the Power? 543

Parties and the Party System	543
Other Political Forces at Work	553
Notes	555

7.4 How Is Power Used? 556

Two Criteria: Electoral Accountability and Policy Responsiveness	556
Explaining Political Performance	557
Cleavages and the Party System	559
Notes	560

7.5 What Is the Future of Polish Politics? 561

Political Realignment	561
Economic Prospects and Political Consequences	562
Notes	563
For Further Reading	563

Part 8. European Union

M. Donald Hancock and B. Guy Peters

8.1 The Context of European Union Politics 569

A Comparative Overview	569
From the ECSC to the EU	571
Economic, Monetary, and Political Union	575
The Amsterdam Treaty and Beyond	579
Notes	580

8.2 Where Is the Power? 582

- The European Council and the Council of the European Union 582
- Decision Modes 587
- The European Commission 589
- The European Parliament 592
- The Court of Justice of the European Communities 595
- The European Central Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development 597
- Other Institutions 598
- Notes 599

8.3 Who Has the Power? 601

- National Governments as Actors 601
- The Councils as Actors 604
- The European Commission and 'Bureaucratic Politics' 604
- European Parliament as Legislator and Watchdog 606
- Private Interests 607
- Public Opinion 608
- Influential Individuals 609
- Notes 609

8.4 How Is Power Used? 611

- Executive Accountability 611
- Policy Making 613
- The Role of Implementation 615
- The Budgetary Process 615
- Common Foreign and Security Policy 620
- Notes 623

8.5 What Is the Future of European Union Politics? 625

- A Draft Constitutional Treaty for Europe 625
- Pending Enlargement of the EU 629
- The Future Is Now 630
- Notes 631
- For Further Reading 632

Index 635

Tables, Figure, and Boxes

Tables

- 1-1 Unemployment Levels by Region: United Kingdom, 2005 16
- 1-2 Citizens per Parliamentary Seat: United Kingdom, 1995 and 2005 57

- 2-1 France: Some Changes over Sixty Years 105
- 2-2 France: Political Cycles and Regimes 107
- 2-3 Political Composition of Selected French Fifth Republic Governments before 1981 121
- 2-4 Political Composition of Selected French Fifth Republic Governments, 1981–1988 122
- 2-5 Political Composition of Selected French Fifth Republic Governments since 1991 123
- 2-6 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections: France, 1958–2002 142
- 2-7 Composition of the National Assembly: France, 1956–2002 144
- 2-8 Cantonal and Regional Elections: France, 2004 160
- 2-9 Composition of the Senate: France, 1959–2004 161

- 3-1 States of the Federal Republic of Germany: Area and Population 199
- 3-2 States of the Federal Republic of Germany: Gross National Product, 2003 199
- 3-3 States of the Federal Republic of Germany: Workforce, Religion, and Politics 200
- 3-4 German Economic Record, 2000–2006 204
- 3-5 Income by Occupation: East and West German States, 2002 205
- 3-6 Satisfaction with Democracy: Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, European Union 209
- 3-7 Seat Distribution, 2005 German Election 244
- 3-8 Catching Up, Eastern Germany versus Western Germany: Economic Indicators, Selected Years, 1991–2004 269

- 4-1 Public Employment in Italy, 1970–2004 310
- 4-2 Percentages of Total Vote Polled by Italian Parties in Elections for the Chamber of Deputies, 1948–2006 324
- 4-3 Seats Won by Various Italian Parties in Elections for the Chamber of Deputies, 1948–2006 326

- 4-4 Migration into Italy, 1990–2003 370
- 4-5 Italian Economic Indicators, 2000–2005 374

- 5-1 Comparative Tax Payments, 2002 402
- 5-2 Election Results: Sweden, 1932–2002 415
- 5-3 Bloc Alignments: Sweden, 1958–2002 425
- 5-4 Swedish Governments, 1932–2006 426
- 5-5 Swedish Referendum on the Introduction of the Euro, September 14, 2003 441
- 5-6 Swedish Elections to the European Parliament, 1995–2004 441

- 6-1 Some Characteristics of Russia's Population 455
- 6-2 Soviet Economic Growth, 1951–1991 465
- 6-3 Looking Back at Communist Rule: Results of a Survey, 2004 469
- 6-4 Russian Presidential Elections, 2000 and 2004 478
- 6-5 Elections to the Russian State Duma, 1993–2003 485
- 6-6 Russians and the Political Process: Results of a Survey, 2003 493
- 6-7 Russian Economic Performance, 1992–2005 498
- 6-8 Freedom House Scores, 1980s–2005 510

- 8-1 Population and Area of EU Member States 570
- 8-2 Per Capita Gross Domestic Product of EU Member States, United States, and Canada 571
- 8-3 Levels of Economic Development of EU Member States, 2003 572
- 8-4 Distribution of Votes under Qualified Majority Voting, Council of the European Union 588
- 8-5 European Commission Portfolio Assignments, 2004–2009 591
- 8-6 Allocation of Seats per Member State in European Parliament, as of 2004 593
- 8-7 Allocation of Seats by Party Group in the European Parliament, 2004–2009 593
- 8-8 Allocation of Seats per Member State on the European Economic and Social Committee, as of 2004 599
- 8-9 Budget of the European Union: Sources of Revenue, 2000 and 2005 616
- 8-10 Six Largest National Contributors to EU Budgets, 2000–2005 617
- 8-11 EU Expenditures, 2006 618

Figure

- 3-1 German Federal Elections, 1949–2005 246

Boxes

- United Kingdom at a Glance 30
- France at a Glance 116

Germany at a Glance	216
Italy at a Glance	300
Sweden at a Glance	406
The Gorbachev Reforms: Some Key Terms	463
Russia at a Glance	473
Poland at a Glance	534
European Union at a Glance	584