GLOBAL DIMENSIONS of PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND GOVERNANCE

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JOS C.N. RAADSCHELDERS • ERAN VIGODA-GADOT

WITH MIRIT KISNER

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CONTENTS

List of Tables and Figures  xiii
Foreword  xv
Acknowledgments  xix
The Authors  xxiii

1 Globalization and Government: Combining Global and Comparative Perspectives upon the State of Modern Government  1
   Levels of Analysis and Understanding  5
   Globalization  6
   Combining a Global and Comparative Perspective  7
   Combining the Studies of Administration and Politics  9
   Audience for and Structure of This Book  10
   Concluding Remarks: “Flying” and Comparing across the Globe  12
PART ONE  THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND DISSEMINATION OF GOVERNMENT: STRUCTURING TERRITORY AND ORGANIZATION   15

2 The Roots and Development of Governance, Government, and Public Administration: The Envelopment of Local Communities in Upper-Local Polities over Time   17
   Types of Governing Associations   19
   All Government and Governance Started Local   23
   The Emergence of Territorial States as Upper-Local Polities   29
   A Global Model of Government Development   32
   The Development of Thinking about Government:
       From Political Theory to Public Administration   37
   Comparing Government Models: Concluding Remarks   39

3 Structuring Governance and Government: The Layered Territorial and Bureaucratic Organization of the World   41
   Territoriality and Property   42
   Territorialization of the World   46
   International Boundaries   48
   Subnational Jurisdictions: Historical Trends   51
   Subnational Jurisdictions: The Contemporary Situation   55
   Bureaucracy as Organizational Structure: The
       Bureaucratization of the World   62
   The Influence of Colonization   66
   Concluding Remarks: Boundaries Creating Polities   68

4 State Making, Nation Building, and Citizenship   71
   Defining State and Nation   74
   State Making: Models and Explanations   82
   The Separation of Organized Religion and the State: A Recent Phenomenon?   85
   Nation Building: From Subjects to Citizens   89
   Citizenship as Layered Phenomenon   91
   A Future for State, Nation, and Citizenship?   94

5 Political-Administrative Systems and Multilevel Government   97
   Basic Distinctions of Political Systems   98
   Five Types of Political Systems in Relation to Political Party System   98
Contents

Unitary and Federal Systems  102
Typologies of Democratic Systems  108
Presidential and Parliamentary Systems  113
Party-Political and Bureaucratic-Prominent Systems  115
The Three Branches of Government and Core Features of Democratic Political Systems  118
The Structure of Government Departments  120
Multilevel and Multiactor Government and Governance  123
Concluding Remarks  128

6 Bureaucratic Organization and Culture  129
Defining Bureaucracy: The Influence of Max Weber and His Fears  130
Bureaucracy in the Evolution of Human Communities: The Origin of the Stereotype?  135
Societal Culture  138
Organizational Culture  146
Perceptions of Public Individuals  152
Sucking Water from Straws or Opening the Tap in the Kitchen  155

7 Organization, Management, and Policy: Comparing the Competencies of Government and Public Administration  157
The Human Side of Public Enterprise: Management, Organizations, and Behavior in Comparative Public Administration  158
The Public Management Revolution: Comparative Views  161
Comparing the Sectors  163
The Implementation of NPM in Western Democracies  165
The United States: Measuring Performance  165
Britain: Who Comes First, the Public or the Nation?  166
The European Continent: Cultural Gaps beyond a Few Generic Similarities  167
Australia: The Administrative Responsibility Approach  168
Canada: Collaboration in Research and the Shaping of Public Policy  169
New Zealand: The Reshaping of Welfare Policy  170
Israel: Decentralization and Privatization  171
The Implementation of NPM in Other World Regions  172
Asia  173
Africa  175
Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Other Countries  177
The “Dinosaur Syndrome” and the Comparative Movement: A Midrange Comment 182
The Organization and Management of Global Policy and Public Administration 184
Summary 186

8 Bureaucracy as Personnel System and Political-Administrative Relations 187
The Importance of the Personnel Function for Responsive Government 188
Defining Bureaucracy as Personnel System: Max Weber’s Juridical Perspective 191
Categories of Public Servants in a Sociological Perspective 193
Variation in the Size of the Civil Service 198
Political-Administrative Relations: Intertwinement, Politicization, and Consultation 202
Development of the Personnel Function in Developed Countries 206
The Organizational Level: Personnel Management Focused on the Organization 211
The Individual Level: The Employee as a Person with Rights, Needs, and Feelings 213
The Societal Environment: Public Pressure for Change 215
Concluding Comments 217

PART TWO MANAGING POLICIES: CONTINUITY, CHANGE, AND DIVERSITY 219

9 Traditional Government Activities I: National Defense, Police, Law and Order 221
Atrocities of Man and Nature: National Defense and Emergency Management 221
France: Europeanization, Professionalization, and the End of Conscription 222
Israel: Militarized Society or Civilianized Military? 225
United States: Resting on Its Laurels—FEMA’s Vicissitudes from Ignominy to Luster and Vice Versa 231
Internal Security: Enforcing Law and Order 236
Colombia: A Quagmire of Guerillas, Drug Cartels, and Paramilitaries—Demilitarization Bogging Down 237
Contents

South Africa: Post-Apartheid Community Policing—Transmuting the Police Force to a Police Service 244
Britain: Integrating Offender Management—Performance, Contestability, and Amalgamation 248
The Judiciary System: One State under the Rule of Law 254
The People’s Republic of China: The Silent Revolution—Rationalization, Modernization, and Constitutionalization 254
The UN Security Council: Reforming a Perplexed Peacekeeper 259
Germany: A Nonimmigration Nation, Rife with Immigrants—Article 16 of the Basic Law in the Limelight 264
Comparing Defense, Police, and Judiciary across Nations 268

10 Traditional Government Activities II: Economy, Finance, and Taxation Systems 275
Economy and Finance 276
Romania: Restructuring Agriculture in a Transition Economy 276
Spain: Faltering Growth, Wavering Employment Rates—An Economy Veering between Prosperity and Downspin 279
Greece: Footing the Bill for Laxity during the Ostensive Boom Years 283
Iran: The Paradox of Plenty—Replete with Hydrocarbon Reserves and Yet in a Pickle 287
Tax Reforms: Taking for Giving 292
Denmark: Searching for the Magic Bullet to Reduce Income Tax Pressures and Labor Costs 292
Belgium: Spurring Unemployed and Low Earners into Labor 295
Estonia: Going Flat—An Avant Garde That Has Become a Common Practice 298
Comparing Economy, Finance, and Taxation Systems across Nations 302

11 Social-Economic Services: Energy Management, Planning and Zoning, Industry and Trade 311
Energy Management 312
Russia: The Kremlin’s Bear Hug 312
Germany: Renewable Energy Sources Come to the Throne 315
California: A Calamity Precipitated by Deregulation 317
India: A Public Leopard with Private Spots 319
Planning and Zoning 322
Zimbabwe: Land Reform in a Ruptured Ex-Colony 322
# Contents

New Zealand’s Resource Management Act: A Spearhead of Sustainable Development 324  
Brazil: Frontiers, Landlords, Squatters, and a Vacillating Government 327  
Laos: The Desperate Ecocide of the Poor 330  
Industry and Trade 332  
Morocco: Liberalization of Trade and Tariff Reforms 333  
The Czech Republic: Cars, Motors, and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) 335  
Canada: Trade Agreements with the Northern Empire 338  
Mexico: The Poor Cousin of NAFTA’s Triad 341  
Comparing Energy Management, Planning and Zoning, and Industry and Trade across Nations 344  

12 Welfare Services and Policies: Health Care, Education, and Social Services 349  
Health Care 350  
Singapore: The “3Ms” triad—Medisave, Medishield, and Medifund 351  
The Netherlands: Dutch-Managed Competition—Getting the Full Monty 354  
Argentina: Promoting a Health Care System under a Sick Economy 357  
Australia: A Public-Private Seesaw 360  
Education 364  
Wisconsin: Vouchering Together—Unlikely Allies in Milwaukee 364  
France: Contractualization au Courant—Le Central Unleashes Higher Education 368  
The People’s Republic of China: Between a Soviet Rock and a Western Hard Place—Higher Education on the Horns of a Dilemma 372  
Britain: New Right, New ERA, Old Cleavages 376  
Social Security 381  
Chile: Social Security Gone Outright Private 381  
Japan: A Double-Edged Sword—Super-Aged, Poorly Funded 386  
Poland: Farewell Redistribution, Hello Funded Defined Contribution 390  
Sweden: Transforming Corporatism and Remodeling Labor Market Policies 394  
Comparing Health Care, Education, and Social Services across Nations 398
Contents

13 A Vision for Comparative Theory and Practice: Horizons of the Comparative Voyage 407
   Comparison in Motion: Divergence and Convergence across Time and States 409
   The Comparative Approach in Service of Interconnectedness, Emulation, and Policy Transfer 411
   Comparative Public Administration and Governance: Between Transfer and Diffusion 414
   Horizons for Comparative Public Administration and Governance 418
   Summary and Final Remarks 421

Appendix One Structural Similarities—Cultural Differences:
   The Need for and Development of Comparative Government Studies 427
   The Function of Comparison in Society and in the Social Sciences 428
   The Importance of Comparison in the Study of Public Administration 430
   Geographical Fragmentation of Comparative Research and Understanding 432
   Substantive Fragmentation of Comparative Research and Understanding 435
   Methodological and Epistemological Fragmentation of Comparative Research and Understanding 440
   The Development of Comparative Public Administration 443

Appendix Two Motives, Types and Theories, Methods for, and Challenges of Comparative Perspectives 449
   Motives for Comparison 451
   Theories, Methods, and Types of Comparison 454
   Approaches to and Theories in Comparative Public Administration and Governance 454
   Three Basic Methods of Comparison 458
   Types of Comparisons 461
   Challenges of Comparative Research 464
   Conceptual, Linguistic, and Semantic Problems 465
   Theoretical and Methodological Problems 468
   Research Technical Problems 472
   Problems of Application 473

Bibliography 475

Index 525
## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

### Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Types of Governing Associations</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Types of Formal Local (i.e., Subnational) Governments</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>Municipal Amalgamations in Western Europe, 1950–2010</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>Examples of Two-Tiered Nested Subnational Governments</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>Examples of Three-Tiered Nested Subnational Governments</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Examples of Four-Tiered Nested Subnational Governments</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Examples of Multitiered Subnational Governments in Asia (UNESCAP)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Patterns of State-Making</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Characterizing States I: Unitary–Federal and Centralized–Decentralized Dimensions (Examples)</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Characterizing States II: Executive Government and (De)centralized Dimensions</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Examples and Characteristics of Unitary and Federal Political Systems</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Parliamentary, Presidential, and Hybrid Democracies</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Six Types of Political Systems according to Aristotle</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Hofstede’s Characterization of Cultures</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Perception about and Reality of Government</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3 Conceptions of Political Authority 150
6.4 Stereotypes and Reality about Politics and Elected Officials 152
6.5 Stereotypes about and Reality of Citizens 153
8.1 The Corruption Perception Indexes 2012 190
8.2 Total Employment in the General Government Sector: Absolute Size and as Percentage of the Total Labor Force 198
8.4 Public Sector Personnel Size in the European Union as a Percentage of the Total Public Workforce (1998) 202
8.5 The Development of Human Resource Management in the Developed World 207
A2.1 Traditional, Behavioral, and Postbehavioral Approaches to Politics 457

Figures

2.1 A Model of Political Evolution from a Bottom-Up Perspective 32
3.1 Size of Empires 3000 BCE–2000 CE 51
3.2 Simplified Diagrams of Local Government Units 57
5.1 The Structure of the Government of Israel and the Prime Minister Office 123
5.2 The Israeli Ministry of Welfare and Social Services 124
5.3 The Structure of the North District of Welfare and Social Services 125
A1.1 Development of Systematic Comparative Research in Public Administration 444
A2.1 Main Types of Comparison 463
A2.2 Number of Properties and Phenomena 466
A2.3 Level of Abstraction 467
It is a great pleasure to be able to contribute a foreword to this book by two eminent scholars in the field of public administration. The pleasure arises not just from cooperating with these two colleagues, but also from recognizing and emphasizing several important points being made in this volume. These are issues which are not entirely new but which require further discussion and elaboration. That need for additional elaboration is all the more true as governance changes in response to changing demands, changing sources of legitimacy, and a changing resource base. This volume is therefore an important statement about contemporary governance and the role of public administrators in those processes.

The first important point made through this volume is the importance of public administration in governance. The conventional description of public administration emphasizes the formal structures of bureaucracy and the implementation of public policies. But it is crucial to understand the more central role that the bureaucracy plays, especially in the contemporary state. As well as “mere administration,” the public bureaucracy is also a major source of policy advice for ministers and the legislature. And by making secondary legislation, bureaucracies are themselves major sources of rules for the society.

But that “mere implementation” is also crucial for governance, providing the linkage between state and society. Citizens do not interact on a
regular basis with their elected officials, even in well-functioning democracies, but they interact on an almost daily basis with public bureaucrats such as postal personnel, the police, social workers, public health officials, and the like. The interactions between state and society are important not only because the lower echelons of the bureaucracy make decisions about clients. These interactions also provide citizens with a picture of the nature of that state, including its probity. Thus, the bureaucracy is central to the legitimation of the contemporary state.

A second important dimension of this volume is that it emphasizes the importance of comparison. Much of our understanding of public administration is restricted to the institutions of our own country, or perhaps a few other countries that are relatively similar. Although a thorough analysis of our own system is desirable and essential for understanding additional administrative systems, it is not sufficient for developing theory, or for more nuanced understandings of how governance and administration actually function. That said, comparison is not easy, but this volume provides the reader with an appreciation of the possibilities of effective comparison.

As well as examining administration comparatively, this volume extends the discussion of the role of multiple governance systems to consider the increasing global dimension of governance and administration. While we need to understand differences among individual governance systems, it is increasingly difficult to discuss these systems in isolation. One obvious impact of globalization of governance is the diffusion of ideas, but the effects are more pervasive. On the one hand the close connections within the international system limit the capacities of governments. On the other hand, however, there is a much larger field for governments and public administrators to play on, with the capacity to move policy problems among venues, especially in more institutionalized transnational entities such as the European Union.

As well as discussing the contemporary nature of governance and public administration, this volume also supplies a rich historical background for understanding that contemporary reality. The authors, and especially Professor Raadschelders, have made numerous contributions to the study of administrative history, and those intellectual roots are demonstrated very clearly in this volume. The historical backgrounds of individual governance systems produce traditions and some path dependence that are crucial for understanding contemporary actions.

Finally, this volume points to issues in the governance of the welfare state, as well as demonstrating the importance of the warfare state. Both of these emphases on the activities of the state produced distinctive patterns of
governance and distinctive challenges for administration. While the warfare state may demand the development of efficient administrative systems for defense, the welfare state requires that plus the capacity to deliver services to large numbers of people in a humane manner. Further, the effective functioning of the welfare state is crucial for the legitimation of the contemporary state.

In summary, this is an important book that should be read by the expert and the novice alike. It presents an extensive, and at the same time nuanced, analysis of public administration. Perhaps more than anything it demonstrates how central public administration is to governing, and that improving and strengthening administration is crucial for an effective state.

B. Guy Peters
University of Pittsburgh
This book is a true voyage, for those who wrote it and for those who shall read it. It started as an idea that emerged during a discussion between the two authors, who accidentally met in the exhibit hall during the annual conference of the American Society of Public Administration in Baltimore, mid-March 2011. We later realized that many accidental events shape our world in a peculiar way. Prominent unusual events impact our lives through governmental decisions and non-decisions, actions and reactions, reforms and regressive-reforms in a culturally diverted global environment. The voyage of this book started in that meeting.

We talked about the state of comparative research and at some point observed that an update of Ferrel Heady’s book would be in order, but that it had to be a new book. Heady’s first edition had been published in 1966 and contained 115 pages. By the time its sixth iteration came on the market (2001), it counted 484 pages. Heady’s study was unusual in that it combined attention to political with that of bureaucratic institutions and organizations. It was even more unusual in that it was truly global in perspective, that is, inclusive of all world regions. It became clear to us that merely updating Heady’s book would not be sufficient. Instead, we felt that content on political and bureaucratic institutions had to be matched with content on management and policy areas. Heady’s study is mainly descriptive. His study is also comparative, and given that it includes all world regions, it is global.
However, we now live in a time when globalization affects domestic politics, policies, and bureaucracies in a manner very different from the time when Heady wrote his first edition. The traditional empirical research using a comparative perspective focuses on the political system, or some policy area, or bureaucracy, of a number of generally “related” countries. We wanted to address politics, bureaucracy, and policy in one descriptive volume that treats the reader to insights into converging trends in government and governance, and into divergence of policy making and implementation. Globally, governments face comparable challenges; domestically, they solve or resolve them in the context of a political-administrative tradition and culture that changes, but perhaps not as rapidly as their natural and social environments do (just think of natural disasters such as major hurricanes and tsunamis, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions; and of manmade disasters such as 9/11). The political-administrative system of a country evolves and adapts to changing environments, but how it appears in the present is a product of the past. While Heady did address historical development, one important feature of this volume is that it discusses the emergence and development of governments throughout the world from the earliest times up to the present.

As the reader can see, we have built this book upon a substantial amount of literature. In other words, without all that research we would not have been able to write this book. And the research we have accessed is not limited to public administration and political science, for we draw upon publications from law, history, evolutionary biology, anthropology, archaeology, cognitive psychology, economics, and so forth. Thus, another feature of this book is its explicit interdisciplinarity. How could it be otherwise? Government is a social phenomenon existing since human beings adopted sedentary lifestyles, but in its current role and position in society it is unique to the modern age (that is, since the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries). In fact, it is central to the survival of modern society, and thus it is that it has drawn attention from scholars across the social sciences.

In our approach to understanding the role and position of government in society in the world today, we are generalists. When writing the chapters of this book, we have not sought the input of specialists, but instead relied on the knowledge we acquired in the course of our own studies that started as students and have continued ever since; and on the discussions we have had over the years with colleagues about the challenges and opportunities of comparative research. Raadschelders presented an expanded version of Chapters 2 and 3 at the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis of Indiana University (November 2011), and he is grateful for the commentary.
Elinor Ostrom and others present gave. We are also very much in debt to Ms. Mirit Kisner, a PhD candidate at the University of Haifa, who helped us by collecting, analyzing, and producing valuable material for Chapters 9 to 12. She deserves our recognition as a colleague with high professional standards and a commitment to comparative studies. And then, obviously, we are very appreciative of the enthusiastic support of Alison Hankey, executive editor of business management, who shepherded this book through the publishing process at Jossey-Bass. We would also like to thank Deborah Schindlar, senior production editor, and Rob Brandt, editorial projects manager, for both have been very helpful.

This work could not have been carried out without the help of many who supported this project since its birth in 2011. We are especially grateful to those young students and early-stage scholars who worked with us during these years and continue to support our pursuit for better comprehensive understanding of comparative research in public administration. They share with us the sense of contributing not only to science and knowledge but also to society and to citizens and governments across the globe, as our study demonstrates. We are thus thankful to all of our students who supported the study throughout the years. Our special thanks go to our research assistants—Ms. Rotem Miller-Mor, Mr. Noam Cohen, Mr. Amir Hefetz, and to three students who have progressed since then and whom we are proud to call our colleagues: Dr. Galit Meisler, Dr. Haim Cohen, and Dr. Nissim Cohen.

The book was written over a period in which every one of us had the chance to enjoy the collaboration of colleagues at several institutions and universities across the globe. We especially thank Prof. Geert Bouckaert and Prof. Annie Hondeghem at the Institute for Public Management, Leuven University, where some of the ideas for this book matured into a cohesive framework during the summer of 2013. We would also like to thank other colleagues whose observations and suggestions helped us construct the framework of this book. Among them are Prof. Jan-Erik Lane, Prof. Mildred Warner, Prof Gerald Caiden, and Prof. Naomi Caiden. Special thanks go also to our dear late friend who passed away just last year, Prof. Arie Halachmi at Tennessee State University, with whom we shared many of our ideas for comparative analysis over the years. We are grateful to the Israel Science Foundation and the Israeli National Insurance Institute as well as the research authorities at the University of Haifa for providing financial support for the project.

We wish to thank our colleagues at the Division for Public Administration & Policy both at the University of Haifa and at the John Glenn School of
Public Affairs at The Ohio State University, who were a source of inspiration and fresh critical thinking about this project and its implications. We hope to continue our studies in this area and by so doing improve the comparative knowledge and capacities for future studies in the public sector. Finally, we dedicate this book to our loved ones, for they shared the voyage with us, over time, space, and mind.

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than 170 articles and book chapters, 11 books and symposiums as well as many other scholarly presentations and working papers. More details about his work, publications, citations, and activities can be found on http://pmpc.haifa.ac.il/index.php/he/head-of-center.

**Mirit Kisner** is a doctoral student at the School of Political Science, University of Haifa, Israel. Her dissertation analyzes regressive effects of New Public Management (NPM) inspired reforms taking place worldwide. Her research interests also involve welfare state arrangements in comparative perspective.
CHAPTER ONE

GLOBALIZATION AND GOVERNMENT

Combining Global and Comparative Perspectives upon the State of Modern Government

People today live in a highly interconnected world. Perhaps we can even say a hyper-connected world, because the speed of communication has increased to the point that little happens that is not known on the other side of the globe within minutes, even seconds. There is no shortage of information, and one could very well argue that we are drowning in a deluge of information, making it increasingly difficult to determine what is important and what is not. In this hyper-connected world people are increasingly aware that it is a small world and that it may even be shrinking further. This awareness is perhaps best captured in the concept of globalization, and is most manifest in the interdependence of economies (think of trade, capital and investment movements, multinational corporations), the seemingly accelerating communication exchanges, rapid dissemination of knowledge, increasing managerial and technological innovations, the spread of fast food chains across the globe (e.g., McDonaldization), tourism and the migration of peoples, and the increased use of the English language as the *lingua franca* for the worlds of government, business, transportation, and education.

However, globalization in its various manifestations has made people also more aware of world-regional, national, and even subnational cultural differences. Globalization has not and—we suspect—will not in the foreseeable future lead to the kind of cultural uniformity some people fear. It is
actually because of globalization that people are more protective of what makes them unique as a nation and a culture. Therefore, to understand the world today we need a global perspective next to a comparative perspective. Globalization allows for more comparison, encouraging knowledge in and about different societies. Comparison also reinforces the globalization of knowledge and the manifestation of good ideas that structure good governance.

Yet, much of the literature concerning globalization is focused on economy, communication, and so forth, and it is surprising to see that—as far as we know—there is no study that probes what a global perspective upon government entails. There is ample attention for government in the studies of public administration and political science, but they are limited to providing a comparative perspective and then usually upon a specific group of countries. The systematic comparative study of government started in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries (see Appendix 1), with special attention paid to the structure of legal and political systems. From the second part of the nineteenth century, comparative studies started to focus more and more on substantive policy areas, and that was because governments were increasingly pressed to develop policies in response to the challenges posed by industrialization, urbanization, and rapid population growth. Seeking best practices elsewhere, civil servants looked for experiences from elsewhere. Up to the late twentieth century that comparative perspective served governments and their citizenry well.

In the past 20 to 30 years or so, governments are increasingly confronted with problems that cannot be resolved within their own borders. There are many examples of policies that work far beyond the borders of specific nations. Policy and administration issues become more and more global concerns that require global knowledge and global remedies. This is obvious for such problems as global warming, environmental pollution, and international terrorism. But the case can be made that even policies that are seemingly domestic are influenced by events elsewhere. The member states of the European Union are not the only territories that experience interlocking; the whole world is becoming intertwined, albeit to regionally varying degrees. What is the role and position of governments in their respective societies in the context of a globalizing world? Is globalization changing the structure and functioning of governments, and if so, how? Also, are governments themselves globalizing? There are at least three ways to look at that. First, it is only in the past 60 years or so that governments effectively control the entire landmass of the earth (see Scott, 2009). Second, many governments are members of multiple intergovernmental
and supranational (forum) organizations. Third, and posed as a question, could governments be integrating into larger regional bodies, as is happening in the European Union and was predicted—as a general trend of integration—by Norbert Elias (1939)?

In this book we embed the traditional comparative perspectives upon government in a global perspective. We will see that with respect to structural institutional arrangements, governments have been converging toward organizing their territories by means of jurisdictional boundaries from the local up to the national level and governing them through bureaucratic organization. At the same time some of the internal structural arrangements for political order still vary. We will see that governments face comparable policy challenges, but that there are functional differences between these policies. To understand the world in which we now live, it is important that citizens, practitioners, and academicians understand the delicate balancing act between structural arrangements both at a global (jurisdictions and bureaucracy) and domestic level (variation in political–administrative system) on the one hand, and functional (policy) differences on the other. Therefore, we use a method of systematically analyzing a wide range of public policy and administration cases from across the globe to illustrate how modern government is different and similar in many ways. Our selection of public administration, policy, and management challenges from across the globe illustrates what many societies share regardless of geographic location, ethnical structure, or cultural differentiation. The problems, as will be shown, are quite similar, but the actors and the scenes are different and call for modifications in the form of action by policy makers. The balance we all search for is between the policy problem and the suggested explanations and remedies.

The remainder of this book is devoted to analyzing that balance. In this interconnected world it is extremely important to develop a general understanding of the similarities and differences between countries, policies, and organizations. In this book we will do so by presenting examples of government structures, of public organizations, and of policies, and illustrating each of these with examples from various countries. This should enable any reader to analyze her/his own country and its policies and organizations in terms of the examples described.

In this chapter we will first describe the general approach used in this volume, which is the notion that reality can be captured and understood at different levels of abstraction (Section 1). At the most concrete level “reality” is tangible through day-to-day operations and actions. These operations and actions are not random but conducted within a formally
and informally circumscribed decision-making arena. Who makes decisions about what? Who has veto power in determining who makes decisions? This constitutes an intermediate level of analysis since that which prompts, guides, influences, and manipulates day-to-day operations and actions is not always tangible. This intermediate level of analysis, i.e., that of rules that bind and actors in decision making, is embedded in a more abstract environment that is made up of the deep-seated values that are shared in a society.

In Section 2 we will briefly “visit” the concept of globalization. It is a very powerful concept in our time, but is it adequately describing what is happening in the world in general, and in the world of governments more specifically? This question is important because there is ample evidence that globalization on the one hand has increased awareness of and desire for localization on the other. Through Twitter, Facebook, and e-mail, people are more interconnected than ever before, but it has made people also more aware of “seeing” and “feeling” what differentiates them from “others.” It is one thing to say that we are citizens of the world, but does that mean that we are less and less citizens in and of a specific, jurisdictionally bounded government?

The statement that people are more interconnected than ever before and, simultaneously, more aware of what separates them from “others” means that we have to consider what globalization means in relation to localization. By habit, people compare, and so do the officials (that is, elected officeholders and civil servants) in their governments. Can we really understand the impact of globalization upon governments without considering how these governments and their citizens approach their domestic and international challenges? We believe it is important, perhaps even vital, to seek understanding of how this trend and phenomenon of globalization still requires comparative understanding. In Section 3 we shall outline why a combined global and comparative perspective is needed in the “world of government” today.

This “world of government” can be conceptualized in various ways. The authors of this volume approach it from their respective backgrounds. Vigoda-Gadot identifies himself as a political scientist and Raadschelders as a public administration scholar. Both the studies of public administration and political science pursue and develop comparative perspectives. Those who identify with the study of public administration seem to focus on policy processes and bureaucratic arrangements in terms of organizational structure, while those who define political science as their academic home sooner consider policy content or substance and bureaucratic