COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Dino Bozonelos
Victor Valley College

LibreTexts™

Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics

Dino Bozonelos, Ph,D., Julia Wendt, Ph.D., Charlotte Lee, Ph.D., Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Ph.D., Josh Franco, Ph.D., Byran Martin, Ph.D., Stefan Veldhuis

Academic Senate for California Community Colleges Open Educational Resources Initiative

Adobe PDF: 978-1-7351980-2-6

The LibreTexts libraries are Powered by NICE CXOne and are supported by the Department of Education Open Textbook Pilot Project, the UC Davis Office of the Provost, the UC Davis Library, the California State University Affordable Learning Solutions Program, and Merlot. This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant No. 1246120, 1525057, and 1413739.

Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation nor the US Department of Education.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Licensing

*A detailed breakdown of this resource's licensing can be found in **Back Matter/Detailed Licensing**.*

An Open Educational Resource Supported by the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges Open Educational Resources Initiative

The Academic Senate for California Community Colleges Open Educational Resources Initiative (OERI) was funded by the California legislature in trailer bill language during the summer of 2018. The OERI's mission is to reduce the cost of educational resources for students by expanding the availability and adoption of high quality Open Educational Resources (OER). The OERI facilitates and coordinates the curation and development of OER texts, ancillaries, and support systems. In addition, the OERI supports local OER implementation efforts through the provision of professional development, technical support, and technical resources.

Please bring all such errors and changes to the attention of Academic Senate of California Community Colleges OER Initiative via e-mail (oeri@asccc.org).

Academic Senate for California Community Colleges
One Capitol Mall, Suite 230
Sacramento, CA 95814

Instructor Resources

Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics website

Preface

Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics is the first open educational resource (OER) on the topic of comparative politics, and the second OER textbook in political science funded by ASCCC OERI, in what we hope will become a complete library for the discipline. This textbook aligns with the C-ID Course Descriptor for Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics in content and objectives.

With chapter contributions from Dr. Julia Wendt at Victor Valley College, Dr. Charlotte Lee at Berkeley City College, Jessica Scarffe at Allan Hancock College, Dr. Masahiro Omae at San Diego City College, Dr. Josue Franco at Cuyamaca College, Stefan Veldhuis at Long Beach City College, Dr. Byran Martin at Houston Community College, and myself, the purpose of this open education resource is to provide students interested in or majoring in political science a useful textbook in comparative politics, one of the major subfields in the discipline.

It is organized thematically, with each chapter accompanied by a case study or a comparative study, one of the main methodological tools used in comparative politics. By contextualizing the concepts, we hope to help students learn the comparative method, which to this day remains one of the most important methodological tools for all researchers.

I chose to pursue this project as I felt that an OER textbook in comparative politics would otherwise never have been written. After many years of teaching at a community college, my colleagues and I realized a need existed for a zero-cost textbook. With the rising costs of education and textbooks, community college students may be deterred from exploring political science courses. I believe that this is where the next elected leader, policymaker or military strategist needs to come from. This is a grassroots textbook, written with these and future community college students in mind.

 We hope that it will encourage them further their studies in comparative politics and in political science.

Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D.
May 2022

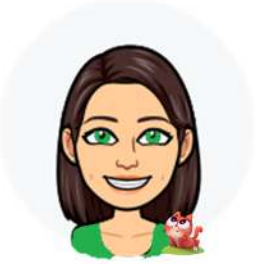
About the Authors

About the Authors

Dr. Dino Bozonelos

Dr. Dino Bozonelos, Victor Valley College, Political Science: Dino Bozonelos is a Professor of Political Science at Victor Valley College. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Riverside. His research interests revolve around global issues, including geopolitics, migration, religious tourism and pilgrimage, religion and politics, and comparative political economy. He has published in several journals, including *Politics & Religion* and the *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*, and in several edited volumes. He is also the coauthor of another open-source textbook, *Introduction to Political Science Research Methods* and is the co-editor of an upcoming book, *The Politics of Religious Tourism*.

Dr. Julia Wendt



Dr. Julia Wendt, Victor Valley College, Political Science & Cooperative Education: Julia Wendt is Professor at Victor Valley College. She teaches in two departments, Political Science and Cooperative Education. Her research interests in Political Science revolve around comparative politics and international relations, focusing on global human capital development and investment. Her work in Cooperative Education centers on giving students the opportunity to prepare for the workforce upon graduation by providing the opportunity for students to earn transferrable college credit for working at their jobs or participating in internships. She holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Claremont Graduate University and two Master's Degrees, one from Claremont Graduate University in International Studies with an emphasis quantitative studies, and a Master's Degree from the University of San Diego in International Relations with an emphasis in qualitative methods.

Dr. Charlotte Lee

Dr. Charlotte Lee, Berkeley City College, Political Science: Charlotte Lee teaches courses in Comparative Politics, International Relations, and Global Studies. Her research focuses on bureaucratic politics and institutional change. She has published research on the politics of China, transition in Eastern Europe, and the democratic peace. She is the author of *Training the Party: Adaptation and Elite Training in Reform-era China* (Cambridge University Press, 2015). With support from the Academic Senate for California Community Colleges, she was a contributing author for an Open Educational Resources (OER) textbook in political

science research methods. She received her B.A. from the University of California, Berkeley, in Political Economy and Asian Studies. She holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from Stanford University. Prior to that, she was a US Peace Corps Volunteer (assigned to Romania).

Jessica Scarffe

Jessica Scarffe, Allan Hancock College, Political Science: Jessica Scarffe is a Professor of Political Science at Allan Hancock College in Santa Maria, California, joining the faculty in 2008. She has taught at other colleges in California, including College of the Desert, Butte College and Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo. She has a B.A. in Political Economy of Industrial Societies from the University of California, Berkeley and a M.A. in Political Philosophy – The Idea of Toleration from York University in England, where she studied as a Rotary International Ambassadorial Scholar. Prior to her career in education, she worked for elected officials, on political campaigns, in government relations and real estate development. Her professional interests include international relations, democratic practices, open educational resources [OER], and diversity, equity, inclusion [DEI].

Dr. Masahiro Omae

Dr. Masahiro Omae, San Diego City College, Political Science: Dr. Omae is a Dean for the School of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Consumer and Family Studies at San Diego City College. He holds a Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of California, Riverside. Additionally, Dr. Omae served as a staff researcher for the Children´s Service Division at Riverside County Department of Public Social Services where he designed and evaluated various services and programs to improve child welfare.

Dr. Josh Franco

Dr. Josue (Josh) Franco, Cuyamaca College, Political Science: Josh Franco is a full-time, tenure-track Assistant Professor at Cuyamaca College in east San Diego county, California. He holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in Political Science and B.A. in public policy from the University of California, Merced, and A.A.s in economics and political science from Cerritos Community College. Dr. Franco has five years of experience working in the California State Government and U.S. House of Representatives. Additionally, he is a co-author of Introduction to Political Science Research Methods open education resource textbook and has published in the peer-reviewed *Journal of Political Science Education*.

Dr. Byran Martin

Dr. Byran Martin, Houston Community College, Political Science: Byran Martin is a Professor of Government for the Houston Community College System. He holds a Ph.D. and M.A. in Political Science from the University of California, Riverside, and B.A. from the University of California, San Diego. His research interests focus on Public Opinion, Congress, and Mass Political Behavior. In addition to his scholarship, Dr. Martin also has experience managing and conducting public opinion polls for the Survey Research Center at the University of California, Riverside.

Stefan Veldhuis

Stefan Veldhuis, Long Beach City College, Political Science: Stefan Veldhuis is a professor at Long Beach College who has been teaching Political Science at the college level since 2007. He received his B.A. in Political Science at Christopher Newport University, his M.A. in International Relations at University of San Diego and his PhD (AbD) in American & Comparative Politics at Claremont Graduate University. He played 4 years of NCAA Fútbol (soccer) coached 3 years of NCAA and has enjoyed coaching all 3 of his children. Stefan is a connoisseur of Fútbol and loves how the beautiful game transcends culture and country.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

1: Why Study Comparative Politics?

1.1: What is Comparative Politics?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define key concepts within the discipline of comparative politics.
- Understand the scope of comparative politics and its place within the discipline of political science.

Introduction

Have you ever read the news and wondered,

- "Why is this country at war with another country?" or
- "Why did that world leader say or do that?" or
- "Why doesn't this country trade with that country?" or maybe, very simply,
- "Why can't all these countries just get along?"

If you have, you've already begun asking a few of the many questions scholars within the field of comparative politics ask when practicing their craft. Many of the questions and concerns within the realm of comparative politics are centered on a wide spectrum of social, political, cultural, and economic circumstances and outcomes, which provide students and scholars alike with robust and diverse opportunities for inquiry and discussion. The field of comparative politics is broad enough to enable provocative conversations about the nature of violence, the future of democracy, why some democracies fail, and why vast disparities in wealth are able to persist both globally and within certain countries. Whether a student watches or reads the news, or expresses any outward concern for global and current events, many of the problems and issues within comparative politics inevitably affect every person on the planet.

So, what exactly is comparative politics? What differentiates comparative politics from other subfields within political science? What can be gained from studying comparative politics? The following sections introduce the field, outlook, and topics within comparative politics that this textbook will further explore.

Overview

When defining and describing the scope of comparative politics, it is useful to back up and recall the purpose of political science from a broad perspective. **Political science** is a field of social and scientific inquiry which seeks to advance knowledge of political institutions, behavior, activities, and outcomes using systematic and logical research methods in order to test and refine theories about how the political world operates. Since the field of political science is so broad, it has a number of subfields within it that enable students and scholars to focus on various phenomena from different analytical lenses and perspectives. Although there are many topics that can be addressed within political science, there are eight subfields that tend to garner the most attention. These subfields include: (1) comparative politics, (2) American politics, (3) international relations, (4) political philosophy, (5) research methodology, (6) political economy, (7) public policy, and (8) political psychology. All of these subfields, to varying degrees, are able to leverage findings and approaches from a diversity of disciplines, including anthropology, economics, history, law, philosophy, psychology, and sociology. Given the vast scope of political science, and in order to understand where comparative politics fits within the discipline, it is useful to briefly consider each of these subfields.

Comparative Politics

This subfield of political science seeks to advance understanding of political structures from around the world in an organized, methodological, and clear way. Scholars can, for instance, analyze countries, in part or in whole, in order to consider similarities and differences between and among countries. While the name of the field itself suggests a methodology of comparing and contrasting, there is ample room for debate over the best way to analyze political units side-by-side. In this chapter, we show different ways to prepare a comparison, whether one focuses on area studies, cross-national studies, or subnational studies. Comparative politics involves looking first within countries and then across designated countries (this contrasts with international relations, which is described below, but entails looking primarily across countries, with less attention given to within-country analysis). Throughout this textbook, we discuss many of the themes for analysis, whether the scholar is focusing on "the state," political institutions, democracies and non-democracies, political identity, collective action, or political violence. After briefly

considering the other subfields within political science, we will revisit the question of the definition and scope of comparative politics.

Figure 1.1.1: Comparativists (those studying comparative politics) look within countries and then across designated countries to compare and contrast. One theme a comparativist may study is how types of leadership, and the associated political regime types (e.g., democracy, dictatorship), differ across countries. A scholar may ask: Who are the heads of state, where do they conduct their official government work, and how does this vary across countries? (Sources (from left to right): White House by Matt Wade is licensed under CC-BY-SA 3.0; Tokyo, Japan, Seimon Ishibashi Bridge by Kakidai is licensed under CC-BY-SA 3.0; Madrid, Spain, Royal Palace of Madrid by Bernard Gagnon is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0; London, Britain, Number 10 Downing Street by Sergeant Tom Robinson RLC is licensed under Open Government License version 1.0; Reykjavík, Iceland, Bessastaðir, Wohnsitz der isl. Präsidenten by Balou46 is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

American Politics

This subfield of political science focuses on political institutions and behaviors within the United States. Those interested in American politics will focus on questions like: What is the role of elections in American democracy? How do interest groups affect legislation in the United States? What is the role of public opinion and the media in the United States, and what are the implications for democracy? What is the future of the two-party system? Do political parties delay important political action? Those who decide to specialize in American politics could find themselves with a variety of career opportunities, such as the following: teaching; journalism; working for government think-tanks; working for federal, state, or local governmental institutions; or even running for office.

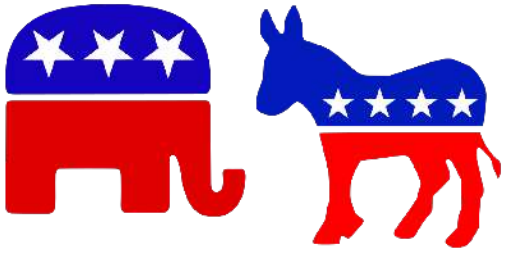


Figure 1.1.2: Political scientists who study American politics have a variety of research interests, and one area of inquiry is the study of political parties and partisanship in the United States. Political parties began forming almost immediately upon the United States' Declaration of Independence, though a number of founders, including George Washington, warned early on about the influence and possible dangers of political parties on the state of democracy. The two main political parties in the United States are the Republican Party (logo in the image on the left) and the Democratic Party (logo in the image on the right). (Sources (from left to right): Republican Elephant by Republican Party (United States) is licensed under CC01 - Universal Public Domain; Democratic Donkey by Steven Braeger is licensed under Public Domain CC0 1.0 Universal)

International Relations

Sometimes called world politics, international affairs, or international studies, international relations is a subfield of political science which focuses on how countries and/or international organizations or bodies interact with each other. Those interested in international relations consider questions like: What causes war between countries? How does international trade affect relationships between countries? How do international bodies, like non-governmental organizations, work with various countries? What is globalization and how does it affect peace and conflict? What is the best balance of power for the global system? Individuals interested in this field of political science may be looking for careers in teaching, non-governmental organizations, the United Nations, or governmental think-tanks focused on foreign policy.

Figure 1.1.3: Academics involved in the study of international relations are often interested in themes of international conflict. To this end, some studies involve looking at members of the United Nations (headquarters in New York City pictured above). The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization formed in 1945 with the goal of promoting peace and preventing international conflicts. (Source: The United Nations by Tom Page is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0)

Political Philosophy

Sometimes called political theory, political philosophy is a subfield of political science that reflects on the philosophical origins of politics, the state, government, fairness, equality, equity, authority, and legitimacy. This field can consider themes in broad or narrow terms, considering the origins of political principles, as well as implications for these principles as they relate to issues of political identity, culture, the environment, ethics, distribution of wealth, and other social phenomena. Those interested in political philosophy may ask questions like: Where did the concept of "the state" arise? What were the different ancient beliefs regarding the formation of states and cooperation within societies? How is power derived within systems, and what are the best theories to explain power dynamics? Individuals who are interested in political philosophy may find careers in teaching, research, journalism, or consulting.

Figure 1.1.4: Political philosophers are interested in a large scope of issues relating to the nature and basis of political power. They consider concepts like authority, equality, freedom, justice, legitimacy, and rights. The above-pictured political philosophers considered many of these themes. (Sources (from left to right): Confucious by Kanō Sansetsu is licensed under CC BY 4.0; Socrates, by Eric Gaba is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.5; Al Farabi, by Unknown Author is CC01 - Universal Public Domain; Thomas Hobbes, Line engraving by W. Humphrys is licensed under CC BY 4.0; John Locke, by Godfrey Kneller is licensed under CC01 - Universal Public Domain; Jean-Jacques Rousseau by Maurice Quentin de La Tour is licensed under CC01 - Universal Public Domain).

Research Methodology

Research methodology is a subfield of political science that seeks to consider the best practices for analyzing themes within political science through discussion, testing, and critical analysis of how research is constructed and implemented. This subfield is concerned with finding techniques for testing theories and hypotheses related to political science. An ongoing and heated debate often arises out of the proper or applicable usage of quantitative versus qualitative research designs, though each inevitably can be appropriate for various research scenarios.

Quantitative research centers on testing a theory or hypothesis, usually through mathematical and statistical means, using data from a large sample. Quantitative research can be beneficial in situations where a researcher is looking to test the validity of a theory, or general statement, while looking at a large sample size of data that is diverse and representative of the subjects being studied. Scholars in many subfields of political science can, depending on the subject they are considering, find practical applicability for quantitative research methods. Someone interested in international relations, for instance, may want to test the influence of global trade on conflict. For this, the sample size of the study may be 172 countries engaged in international trade over a period of 10, 20, or even 50 years. Looking at data from this sample, the researcher may wish to test this theory: Trade improves relations between states, making conflict less likely. The researcher testing the theory would need to find ways to quantify the two key variables over time--trade relations and conflict--and collect data for the entire sample. The method for testing this theory quantitatively would then involve statistical analysis.

Qualitative research centers on exploring ideas and phenomena, potentially with the goal of consolidating information or developing evidence to form a theory or hypothesis to test. Qualitative research involves categorizing, summarizing, and analyzing cases thoroughly to gain greater understanding. Often, given the need for detailed description, qualitative research will have a small sample size, perhaps only comparing a small number of countries at a time, or even examining an individual country as a single case study. Some of the methods for qualitative research involve conducting interviews, constructing literature reviews, and preparing ethnographies.

Regardless of a quantitative or qualitative approach, topics of interest within the subfield of research methodology focus on advancing discussions of best practices in research design; understanding causal relationships; considering how to validly and reliably measure social, economic, cultural, and political trends; and reducing errors due to issues like selection bias and omitted variable bias (among many others). This subfield is critical to all other subfields within political science, and this book will examine the topics identified above in greater detail in Chapter 2. Those who are interested in pursuing research methodology as a subfield will find career openings related not only to political science, but also to data science, mathematics, the nature of inquiry, and statistics.

Political Economy

This subfield of political science considers various economic theories (e.g., capitalism, socialism, communism, fascism), practices, and outcomes either within a country, or among and between countries in the global system. Those interested in political economy will become versed with the theories brought forth by Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Karl Marx, and Max Weber (among others) to gain greater understanding into economic systems, their outputs, and their effects on society. Political economy can be studied from the standpoints of a few other subfields in political science. For instance, a scholar of comparative politics may consider political economy when comparing and contrasting countries. A scholar of international relations may consider questions relating to global inequalities, relationships between poor and wealthy countries, or the role of non-governmental organizations or multinational corporations on international trade and finance. Those who are interested in political economy may pursue careers in analysis (e.g., of the stock market), economics, teaching, or research.

Public Policy

This subfield of political science explores political policies and outcomes, and focuses on the strength, legitimacy, and effectiveness of political institutions. Scholars in this subfield may ask questions similar to the following: How is the agenda for public policies set? Which public policy issues get the most attention, and why? How do we evaluate the effectiveness of a public policy? To what extent can a public policy hurt or help democracy? Those who are interested in public policy may seek careers relating to almost any item on the political agenda (e.g., education, healthcare, military affairs, welfare); they may go into teaching and research; or they may serve as public policy consultants for federal, state, or local governmental organizations.

Political Psychology

This subfield of political science weds together principles, themes, and research from political science and psychology to understand the psychological roots of political behavior. Is there a psychological reason world leaders behave in a certain way? Is a leader's behavior strategic and, consciously or not, rooted in some psychological basis? Can theories of cognitive and social processes explain various political outcomes? Those who are interested in the psychological origins of political behavior may find interesting careers in teaching, research, and consulting.

Figure 1.1.5: Political psychologists are interested in the psychological roots of political behavior. To this end, they may conduct research and analysis on various personality types and potential psychological determinants for political behavior. Political psychologists have considered the personality characteristics of the three leaders pictured above: Kim Jong-Un (North Korea), Vladimir Putin (Russia), and Xi Jinping (China). (Sources (from left to right): Kim Jong-Un, by Alexei Nikolsky is licensed under CC-BY 4.0; Vladimir Putin, by The Presidential Press and Information Office is licensed under CC-BY 4.0; Xi Jiping, by Palácio do Planalto is licensed under CC-BY-SA)

Figure 1.1.6 provides a graphical representation of the subfields within political science, though it is important to point out that the subfields are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For instance, public policy, political economy, and political psychology can each

be analyzed through the lens of American politics, but they can also be the key point of consideration for studies within comparative politics or international relations. All of these subfields will need some level of specialization in research methodology to enable the systematic analysis of their subjects of interest. Without a basis in research methodology, these subfields would not be able to advance knowledge in the field in a substantive way.

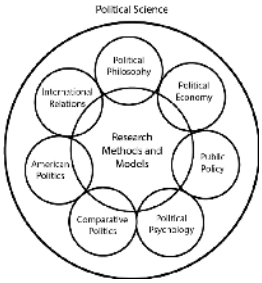


Figure 1.1.6: The diagram shows the subfields of political science in relation to each other with research methodology at the center, laying the basis for high-quality work in all subfields. (Source: Author Creation.)

Given the overall spectrum of subfields available within the field of political science, we will now take a closer look at comparative politics. In the following section, we will examine the origin of comparative politics, provide an expanded definition of the subfield, and highlight terminology frequently used by comparativists (those who study comparative politics).

A Brief History and Expanded Definition

In considering the other subfields within political science, it may not seem like a complicated process to define comparative politics. Comparative politics seems to be an area of study wherein scholars compare and contrast political systems, institutions, characteristics, and outcomes on one, a few, or a group of countries. In actuality, there has been ample debate over the ideal definition and scope of comparative politics. To consider comparative politics more thoroughly, it is helpful to consider its historical origins.

Most often, comparative politics is considered to have ancient origins, going back to at least Aristotle. Aristotle has sometimes been credited with being the “father” of political science, and attributed with being one of the first to use comparative methodologies for analyzing competing Greek city-states. The word politics derives from the Greek word, *politikos*, meaning “of, or relating to, the polis,” with polis being translated as city-state. Aristotle envisioned the study of politics to be one of the three major forms of science individuals could engage in. The first form of science, according to Aristotle, was theoretical science, and in modern terms, this refers closest to the studies of both physics and metaphysics, which he considered to be concerned with the pursuit of truth and knowledge for intrinsic purposes. The second form of science that Aristotle identified was practical science, which was the study of what is ideal for individuals and society. The final area of science Aristotle identified was productive science, which he envisioned as the making of important or beautiful objects. To Aristotle, political science fell within the realm of practical sciences, and political science ("the most authoritative science") was of critical concern when discussing what is best for society. To Aristotle, political science must concern itself with what is “good” or “right” or “just” for society, as the lives of citizens are at stake given political structures and institutions.

It is not difficult to appreciate why Aristotle found political science, and comparative politics, so important given his overall beliefs on the function of politics within a society. In Aristotle’s time, the units of analysis were Greek city-states. If these city-states were stable, they enabled people to live productive lives; if these city-states were unstable, they did not produce such benefits. For Aristotle, it was critical to find ways to compare and contrast the city-states to understand how they operated and what outcomes they produced. To this end, Aristotle looked at the constitutions for various city-states, finding much variation in political outcomes. A city-state could have one ruler, who, depending on how the government was run, was either a rightful king or a tyrant running an authoritarian regime. Or, a city-state could have a few rulers, which, at best, could be an aristocracy, or at worst, could be an oligarchy where only the elite were included in decision-making and rewards. Finally, a city-state could have multiple rulers, balanced by a “middle” class that attempted to rule on behalf of the people’s interests. This “middle” group was not tremendously wealthy, nor woefully poor, and was able to understand the needs of society at large by virtue of being in the “middle.” While Aristotle considered democracy to have the possibility of being “deviant,” he also entertained the possibility that having more people involved in government could be a way to limit corruption. In either case, Aristotle spent much time comparing and contrasting political regime types to determine which produced the best outcomes for society.

Aristotle's work influenced a number of thinkers to continue the tradition of scientifically approaching problems in political science and comparative politics, including Niccolo Machiavelli (author of *The Prince*, 1532), Charles Montesquieu, (author of *The Spirit*

of the Laws, 1748), and Max Weber (author of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 1905), to name only a few.

Despite its extensive history, scholars still disagree on the exact definition of comparative politics. Table 1.1.1 provides three definitions from textbooks in comparative politics.

Table 1.1.1: No, really… What is Comparative Politics?

Textbook	Definition of Comparative Politics
The Art of Comparative Politics (Lane, 1997, p. 2)	"What is comparative politics? It is two things, first a world, second, a discipline. As a 'world,' comparative politics encompasses political behavior and institutions in all parts of the earth… The 'discipline' of comparative politics is a field of study that desperately tries to keep up with, to encompass, to understand, to explain, and perhaps to influence the fascinating and often riotous world of comparative politics."
Essentials of Comparative Politics (O'Neil, 2004, p. 3)	"Politics is...the struggle in any group for power that will give a person or people the ability to make decisions for the larger groups...comparative politics is a subfield that compares this struggle across countries."
New Directions in Comparative Politics (Wiarda, 2000, p. 7)	"Comparative politics involves the systematic study and comparison of the world's political systems. It seeks to explain differences between as well as similarities among countries. In contrast to journalistic reporting on a single country, comparative politics is particularly interested in exploring patterns, processes, and regularities among political systems."

While the differences in Table 1.1.1 may appear small on the surface, debate on the definition of comparative politics can sometimes be contentious. For example, Zahariadis (1997) argued that comparative politics needs to be a study of *foreign* countries. If this is true, does it mean that someone who lives in a country is unable to study their own country and still call it comparative politics? Was Aristotle's study of city-states methodologically flawed since he occasionally lived in different city-states? As another example, comparativists often disagree on the appropriate sample size for inquiry. Does the definition of comparative politics mandate that a researcher study a certain number of countries at a time? When Alexis de Tocqueville wrote *Democracy in America* (1835), was this study flawed because it only considered the political lives of Americans? If we use Zahariadis' definition, de Tocqueville did focus on a *foreign* country, but since it was only *one* country, does it fall outside the realm of comparative politics? While we will not definitively answer these questions in this textbook, we will provide an overview of various research methodologies used within comparative politics in Chapter 2.

Note for instructors: Page edited for clarity and consistency by Katherine Michel, Ph.D. on 2/23/2025.

1.2: Ways Comparativists Look at the World

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Differentiate between formal, informal, and political institutions.
- Describe the meaning and scope of area studies.
- Trace the origin and scope of cross-national studies.
- Identify the best application of subnational studies.

Introduction

Comparative politics involves looking inside countries, regions, institutions, or other entities and then comparing across them. But how do comparativists know what to compare? Comparativists often compare countries, but can they compare *any* two countries? What if those countries systematically differ? Do they *ever* want to compare countries that are systematically different? What best practices do comparativists follow when choosing cases? As we will discuss in Chapter 2, case selection is a foundational aspect of research design in comparative politics. However, before delving into the details of case selection, we first need to understand three broad approaches to comparative analysis: area studies, cross-national studies, and subnational studies. After defining key terms related to institutions that transcend the approaches, we will discuss each approach.

Institutions

No matter the approach to comparative analysis, comparativists often study institutions. **Institutions** are the beliefs, norms, and organizations that structure social and political life. They encompass the rules, norms, and values of a society. As March and Olsen (2006, p. 3) define, institutions are "a relatively enduring collection of rules and organization practices, embedded in structures of meaning and resources that are relatively invariant in the face of turnover of individuals and relatively resistant to the idiosyncratic preferences and expectations of individuals and outside circumstances." Peters (2019, p. 23) adds that institutions "transcend individuals to involve groups of individuals in some sort of patterned interactions that are predictable."

Institutions are therefore prediictable, stable, and affect individual behavior, yet they come in many shapes and sizes. There are **formal institutions**, which are based on a clear set of rules that have been formalized, often with the authority to enforce the rules through punitive measures. Examples include universities, sports leagues, and corporations. Formal institutions often (though not always) have physical tangibility, such as through a building or a location (e.g., a university campus).

There are also **informal institutions**, which are based on an unwritten set of rules that have not necessarily been formalized. Informal institutions are based on conventions on how one should behave, and there is no authority that monitors the behavior. An example of an informal institution is the societal expectation for waiting in line. While expectations for waiting in line will vary by location (e.g., in a school cafeteria, the line order will be first-come, first-serve; in an emergency room, the line order will depend on the severity of medical need), people are generally expected to self-regulate.

Finally, there are political institutions, which can be formal or informal. **Political institutions** are "structures that lend the polity its integrity" (Orren & Skowronek, 1995, p. 298). These are the spaces in which the majority of politics and political decisions take place. Formal political institutions include written constitutions, legislatures, judiciaries, executives, militaries, and police forces. Informal political institutions, as one example, include expectations during negotiations. During the lawmaking process, lawmakers may logroll, or exchange reciprocal promises of voting support for legislation. Without logrolling, the number of laws passed would likely decrease substantially. Other examples of informal political institutions include norms surrounding levels of corruption, political ideology, and political culture.

The study of formal, informal, and political institutions occurs in each of the three broad approaches to comparative analysis: area studies, cross-national studies, and subnational studies.

Figure 1.2.1: Political institutions can be either formal or informal. A Trump supporter, pictured on the left, represents informal political institutions through political culture. The Supreme Court, pictured on the left, is a formal institution. (Sources (from left to right): Trump Supporter, by Johnny Silvercloud is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0; The Supreme Court, by Joe Ravi is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0, Trump Supporter)

Area Studies

The first approach to comparative analysis is through area studies, in which scholarship is organized geographically. The field of **area studies** has its roots in the age of empires when European powers expanded their borders beyond the continent of Europe. As imperial forces, such as the British and the French, occupied more territory, the 'enlightened' Europeans attempted to understand the 'exotic' peoples and the indigenous languages, cultures, and social norms of the regions they conquered. Eurocentrism was the norm, with invaders filling their home museums with items stolen or 'bought' from other civilizations.

World War II transformed area studies from a colonial enterprise into a geopolitical imperative. In the United States, military campaigns in Europe, Asia-Pacific, and North Africa required deep understanding of terrain from area specialists. The Cold War further solidified the need for area studies. The conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union included proxy wars across many continents, pushing the U.S. military to rely on the university system for expertise. Universities established various centers, programs, and initiatives, such as the Center for Latin American Studies at Stanford University, the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University, and the Asian Studies Initiative at Boston University. The 1958 National Defense Act, moreover, provided funding for training in critical languages, and entities such as the Ford Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the American Council of Learned Societies contributed to the area-specific efforts.

Despite the controversial origins of this approach to research, area studies are important interdisciplinary segments of contemporary university curricula. Area studies can include disciplines such as anthropology, economics, geography, history, linguistics, literature, political science, religious studies, and sociology. Within the broad approach of area studies, there are also numerous (and sometimes contentiously-defined) fields corresponding to geographical areas. Table 1.2.1 provides select examples.

Table 1.2.1: Select Examples of Geographically-Defined Fields within Area Studies

Africa	Asia	Europe	Latin America	Middle East
African Studies	Asian Studies	European Studies	Amazonia Studies	Gulf Studies
Africana Studies	Asian-Pacific Studies	East European Studies	Caribbean Studies	Levantine Studies
East African Studies	East Asian Studies	Mediterranean Studies	Central American Studies	Maghrib Studies
Southern African Studies	South Asian Studies	Post-Soviet Studies	Latin American Studies	Middle Eastern Studies
West African Studies	Southeast Asian Studies	Southeast European Studies	Southern Cone Studies	Near Eastern Studies

Cross-National Studies

A second approach to comparative analysis is through **cross-national studies**, a type of research transcending national boundaries that is "*explicitly* comparative, that is, studies that utilize systematically comparable data from two or more nations" (Kohn, 1987, p. 714). In this sense, area studies may also be cross-national studies (within a defined geographical region), yet we distinguish cross-national studies from area studies as approaches to comparative analysis. Cross-national studies place much emphasis on appropriately measuring variables across cases to increase external validity, the extent to which a researcher can generalize their findings.

A good example of cross-national research is Arend Lijphart's (1999) book, *Patterns of Democracy*. In this seminal study, Lijphart examines 36 diverse democracies, comparing institutions ranging from electoral systems to the role of central banks to internal policy-making techniques. Another example is the cross-national analysis of the 38 countries making up the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), an intergovernmental organization that facilitates dialogue on macroeconomic policies. OECD countries, which span multiple continents, have harmonized their economic indicators, allowing for easier comparisons. A final example of cross-national research is the Polity data series, which ranks countries from strongly democratic to strongly autocratic based on political regime characteristics. To summarize the commonalities among these examples, in comparative politics, cross-national studies often involve the comparisons of countries, or country institutions, across geographical regions and through quantitative analysis.

Due to the quantitative focus, one of the major critiques of cross-national studies relates to measurement. Can we properly measure variables and compare across large swaths of countries? Does consistent data exist across space and time? Do our measures have internal validity (that is, do they accurately reflect the concept we aim to measure)? Does our study have external validity (that is, is it generalizable)? These difficult questions have led some to reject cross-national research in comparative politics, but the attempt to systematize analyses across countries is important. Measurement is a problem that all social scientists face, and deliberations on how to appropriately measure concepts like democracy, capitalism, and election integrity are necessary to support shared understanding.

Subnational Studies

A third approach to comparative analysis is through **subnational studies**, research in which scholars compare subnational governments (any level of government lower than the national level). A researcher may compare subnational governments within one country (e.g., state, county, or city governments within the United States), or a researcher may compare subnational units across countries (e.g., provincial, regional, or municipal governments in multiple countries).

Across countries, subnational governments vary significantly in their level of sovereignty. **Sovereignty** is fundamental governmental power and authority in decision-making within a given territory. This fundamental power and authority means that a government has the power to coerce others to do things they may not want to do, such as paying taxes or not speeding on freeways. In some countries, sovereignty is shared between the national government and subnational governments. An example is the United States, in which power is shared between the national government in Washington, D.C. and the 50 state governments. Countries with this shared power structure have **federal governments**. Other countries do not share power in this manner. When the power is concentrated at the national level, a country has a **unitary government**. An example is France, where the majority of power lies in Paris in the hands of the president and parliament. When power is instead concentrated at a subnational level, a country has a **confederal government**. While few contemporary examples exist, Switzerland offers one; within Switzerland, there are 26 subnational governmental units called cantons, and each canton has its own constitution.

Subnational research traces its roots to the 1970s. At this time, there was a surge in the number of democracies worldwide and an increase in the empowerment of subnational governments through the process of decentralization (Snyder, 2001). This process is known as devolution. **Devolution** occurs when the central government in a country deliberately transfers power to a government at a lower level. Examples of devolution include the creation of parliaments in Scotland and Wales and the creation of the Catalan, Basque, and Galician autonomous regional governments in Spain.

To study questions of sovereignty and devolution, subnational research can take two approaches. The first approach is a within-nation comparison. In a **within-nation comparison**, a researcher studies the subnational governments or institutions within a single country. For example, a researcher within the subfield of American politics might analyze and compare all 50 states' policies toward COVID-19. The second approach is a **between-nation comparison**, in which a researcher compares subnational governments across different countries. As an example, a researcher studying postcolonial Africa may study contiguous subnational governments because tribal, ethnic, and religious group boundaries often overlap national borders.

Note for instructors: Page edited for clarity and consistency by Katherine Michel, Ph.D. on 2/23/2025.

1.3: Things that Comparativists Study and Say

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand the range of substantive areas for inquiry within comparative politics.
- Identify the relevance of substantive areas within comparative politics.
- Consider limitations to the field of comparative politics.

Approaching this Textbook

Although students could, in theory, read chapters in this textbook according to their order of interest, it is most helpful to read this book from a linear perspective to ensure understanding of foundational terminology. Chapter 2, in particular, provides necessary information to understand how the authors selected case studies in subsequent chapters. Chapter 2 introduces key terminology; reviews quantitative and qualitative research methods; addresses how the scientific method manifests in comparative politics; and provides an introduction to posing research questions, developing theories, and testing hypotheses.

Following the discussion of research methodology in Chapter 2, this textbook contains three major sections: institutions and institutional change, intersections and boundaries, and comparative political behavior.

- Institutions and institutional change: Part one delves into many of the basic terms and questions within comparative politics. What is the state? How do we identify important institutions for analysis, and how do comparativists understand how and why institutions change? What is a political regime? How do regime types vary, and how do transitions between them occur?
- Intersections and boundaries: Part two considers how important internal structures and components differ across countries, focusing on political identity and political economy. While the concept of political identity is incredibly large in scope, this textbook will consider the influence of race, ethnicity, gender, nationalism, religion, and class on collective political outcomes.
- Comparative political behavior: Part three examines several manifestations of political behavior, such as how social movements vary, how public opinion influences political outcomes, and how political violence occurs.

By reading this textbook in a linear manner, students will gain a progressively wider understanding of the scope of topics and issues within comparative politics. The following sub-sections provide additional details about the three major sections of the textbook.

Part One: Institutions and Institutional Change

Chapter 3 introduces a focal point of comparative politics by addressing how “the state” can vary so greatly from place to place. The chapter discusses the historical foundations of “the state,” and differentiates important terms like state, regime, nation, and government. Chapter 3 also delves into concepts such as the social contract, sovereignty, power, authority, and legitimacy. The chapter culminates with case study comparisons of two states: Botswana and Somalia. Botswana, sometimes considered one of Africa’s longest standing and most stable democracies (with some level of debate here), juxtaposes itself from Somalia, a place which some have argued operated with more stability under, paradigmatically, stateless conditions. This chapter will help acquaint students with a number of the basic terms used in comparative politics, while also raising questions about why and how states can be so different, even when they share similarities in location, heritage, regime type, and other factors.

Chapter 4 introduces a foundational discussion in contemporary studies of comparative politics: the characteristics and nature of democracy and democratization. More than one-half of all countries currently in existence identify as democracies, and yet many questions remain over the quality, stability, and different types of democratic governments that exist. Is democracy the best form of government? Are there certain predictable characteristics that arise from states experiencing regime transitions to democracy? This chapter culminates with a comparison of Iraq and South Africa, considering movements toward democracy through the process of democratization.

Chapter 5 considers non-democratic regimes and the potential for democracies to “backslide” into non-democratic regimes. While many democracies now exist globally, there have been ample occasions where previously democratic regimes, for various reasons and circumstances, engaged in political trajectories that took away the liberal aspects of their governance. There can be political, cultural, economic, and social factors that contribute to democratic backsliding. The chapter concludes with a case study of Russia, which has experienced multiple periods of non-democratic rule.

Part Two: Intersections and Boundaries

Chapter 6 introduces political socialization and the importance of political identity relating to key factors such as culture, race, ethnicity, and gender. Political identity can be of critical importance when attempting to understand political behavior and decisions being made within a state. To this end, this chapter compares the history of the caste systems in Japan and India in an attempt to understand how caste systems influenced, and continued to influence, the political systems within.

Chapter 7 continues the discussion of political identity by considering the concepts of nationalism, religion, and class on the political behavior and outcomes within various countries. Nationalism and class are newer phenomena in politics, whereas religion is not. There were many instances of people in minority religions rising to prominence in the courts of empires, or of religious differences leading to conflict. However, their use as an identity and how one's identity can shape one's politics is even newer. As countries have democratized, these identities have taken on more meaning. This chapter compares the examples of political identities within Israel and Iran, where religion and nationalism both play significant roles in their societies.

Chapter 8 discusses political economy, which can be understood as a type of inquiry that explores the intersection and relationships between market systems and individuals, groups, and political outcomes within a state. In some respects, considering the interconnected relationship between economic markets and politics can seem like a chicken and egg problem. Does politics affect the economy? Or does the economy affect politics? In many cases, politics and the economy are deeply synergistic and connected, and combinations of different political systems and economic systems create manifestly different political outcomes for various states. The end of this chapter compares the highly government controlled economy of China and the moderately controlled economy of Germany.

Part Three: Comparative Political Behavior

Chapter 9 discusses collective action and social movements. The chapter examines how collective action, any activity in which coordination by and across individuals has the potential to lead to achievement of a common objective, has been observed in various places and with differing outcomes. It additionally considers the rise of social movements, which are organized activities not derived through established political institutions. This chapter concludes by comparing the cases of labor movements within Poland and China.

Chapter 10 introduces the study of comparative public opinion, an analysis of how the public thinks and believes in particular policy and political issues across at least two different countries. Rather than focus on a single country, this chapter considers how public opinion is measured using different metrics, and how this can vary from place to place.

Chapter 11 addresses political violence. The concept of political violence can be difficult to define, but many scholars consider various types of violence that can occur within states, whether the violence is sponsored or propagated by the state itself, or whether the violence stems from other groups not sponsored by state authority. In considering how political violence can come to an end, this chapter compares Turkey and Bangladesh, describing how an end to violence does not inherently lend itself to a peaceful outcome.

While the scope of this textbook is somewhat extensive, there remain many unanswered questions about the future of comparative politics as a discipline. Are the current scientific methodologies used in comparative politics sound? Are there advances that can be made in the way comparativists approach the problems within their field? Chapter 12, the final chapter of this book, raises a number of the immediate issues in the subfield today.

Organization of this Textbook

This textbook is an Open Educational Resource (OER) that consists of the 12 chapters described above. A team of eight political scientists at seven different community colleges in California co-authored this Open Educational Resource.

Title and Author(s) for Each Chapter

Chapter	Chapter Title	Authors
1	Introduction	Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D & Julia Wendt, Ph.D.
2	How to Study Comparative Politics: Using Comparative Methods	Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D., Julia Wendt, Ph.D., & Masahiro Omae, Ph.D.
3	States and Regimes	Julia Wendt, Ph.D

Chapter	Chapter Title	Authors
4	Democracies and Democratization	Julia Wendt, Ph.D, Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D. & Stefan Veldhuis
5	Non-Democracies and Democratic Backsliding	Charlotte Lee, Ph.D.
6	Political Identity: Culture, Race, Ethnicity, and Gender	Julia Wendt, Ph.D
7	Political Identity: Nationalism, Religion, and Class	Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D & Jessica Scarffe, Ph.D.
8	Political Economy	Jessica Scarffe, Ph.D. & Julia Wendt, Ph.D
9	Collective Action and Social Movements	Charlotte Lee, Ph.D.
10	Public Opinion	Bryan Martin, Ph.D. & Josh Franco, Ph.D.
11	Political Violence	Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D & Masahiro Omae, Ph.D.
12	Conclusion: The Future of Comparative Politics	Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D & Julia Wendt, Ph.D.

The structure of each chapter is consistent, including the following seven elements: chapter outline, chapter sections, key terms, summary, review questions, critical thinking questions, and suggestions for further study.

- The chapter outline provides a list of the chapter's sections. A reader click on the name of the chapter section to move directly to that section. This outline is important because it quickly and concisely provides you an overview of the chapter and a clear sense of its contents.
- The chapter sections include the substantive content of the chapter. While each chapter author has endeavored to write chapter sections as stand-alone parts, there will naturally be a flow and integration of the chapters.
- The key terms, listed in alphabetical order, serve as a repository of definitions of key terms used throughout the chapter sections. In some instances, key terms are linked to external content for students and faculty to explore the term further. Additionally, key terms are linked within chapter sections, meaning you can click on the key term and be directed to the section on key terms.
- The summary of the chapter provides a one paragraph synopsis of each section of the chapter. The goal is to distill each chapter section into a bite-sized chunk that can be quickly referenced, but the summaries should not be viewed as replacements for reading chapter sections.
- The review questions include at least five questions that could serve as a pop quiz, clicker questions, student self-check, or as part of a question bank used for a summative assessment.
- The critical thinking questions include at least three questions that can serve as a short or long essay prompt for an in-class or at-home assessment.
- The suggestions for further study section includes links to websites, journal articles, and books related to the chapter topic. The goal is to build a robust repository of resources, both open access and not, that students and faculty can explore.

As noted in the first sub-section on this page, for most coherent use, the authors recommend that students read the chapters in the order presented. We do, however, recognize (and encourage) that some faculty may want to assign specific chapters to complement an existing textbook adoption.

Note for instructors: Page edited for clarity and consistency by Katherine Michel, Ph.D. on 2/23/2025.

1.4: References

Adcock, Robert. (2003). “The Emergence of Political Science as a Discipline: History and the Study of Politics in America, 1875–1919.” History of Political Thought 24, no. 3: 481–508.

_____. (2005). “The Emigration of the “Comparative Method”: Transatlantic Exchange and Comparative Inquiry in the American Study of Politics, 1876–1903.” Paper presented at the American Political Science Association (APSA) Annual Convention, Washington, DC, September 1–4.

Almond, Gabriel A. (1990). A Discipline Divided: Schools and Sects in Political Science. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

_____. (1996.) “Political Science: The History of the Discipline.” In The New Handbook of Political Science, eds. Robert Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, 50–96. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

_____. (1997). “A Voice from the Chicago School.” In Comparative European Politics: The Story of a Profession, ed. Hans Daalder, 54–67. New York: Pinter.

_____. (2002). Ventures in Political Science: Narratives and Reflections. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Almond, Gabriel A., and G. Bingham Powell, Jr. (1966). Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach. Boston: Little Brown.

Amadae, S. M., and Bruce Bueno de Mesquita. (1999). “The Rochester School: The Origins of Positive Political Economy.” Annual Review of Political Science 2: 269–95.

Bartels, Larry M. and Henry E. Brady. (1993). “The State of Quantitative Political Methodology.” In Political Science: The State of the Discipline II, ed. Ada W. Finifter, 121–59. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.

Blondel, Jean. (1999). “Then and Now: Comparative Politics.” Political Studies 47, no. 1: 152–60.

Clark, William Roberts, Matt Golder & Sona Nadenichek Golder. (2003) Principles of Comparative Politics (2nd ed.), London: Sage.

Collier, David. (1991). “The Comparative Method: Two Decades of Change.” In Comparative Political Dynamics: Global Research Perspectives, eds. Dankwart A. Rustow and Kenneth Paul Erickson, 7–31. New York: Harper Collins.

_____. (1993). “The Comparative Method.” In Political Science: The State of the Discipline II, ed. Ada W. Finifter, 105–19. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.

Daalder, Hans. (1993). “The Development of the Study of Comparative Politics.” In Comparative Politics: New Directions in Theory and Method, ed. Hans Keman, 11–30. Amsterdam: VU University Press.

_____, ed. (1997). Comparative European Politics: The Story of a Profession. New York: Pinter.

Dahl, Robert A. (1961). “The Behavioral Approach to Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest.” American Political Science Research 55, no. 4 (December): 763–72.

Doggan, Mattei. (1996). “Political Science and the Other Social Sciences.” In The New Handbook of Political Science, eds. Robert Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, 97–130. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Easton, David. (1965). A Framework for Political Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Easton, David, John G. Gunnell, and Michael B. Stein, eds. (1995). Regime and Discipline: Democracy and the Development of Political Science. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Eckstein, Harry. (1963). “A Perspective on Comparative Politics, Past and Present.” In Comparative Politics, eds. Harry Eckstein and David Apter, 3–32. New York: Free Press.

Franco, J., Lee, C., Vue, K., Bozonelos, D., Omae, M., and Cauchon S. (2020). Introduction to Political Science Research Methods. First Edition. http://ipsrm.com/. PDF Version ISBN: 978-1-7351980-0-2

Jackman, Robert W. (1985). “Cross-National Statistical Research and the Study of Comparative Politics.” American Journal of Political Science 29, no. 1: 161–82.

Katznelson, Ira, and Helen V. Milner, eds. (2002). Political Science: The State of the Discipline. New York and Washington, DC: W.W. Norton and American Political Science Association.

King, Gary. (1991). “On Political Methodology.” Political Analysis 2: 1–30.

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. (1994). Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Laitin, David D. (2002). “Comparative Politics: The State of the Subdiscipline.” In Political Science: The State of the Discipline, eds. Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, 630–59. New York and Washington, DC: W.W. Norton and American Political Science Association.

Landman, Todd. (2003). Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction . 2nd ed. London. Routledge, Print.

Lasswell, Harold Dwight. (1936). Politics: Who Gets What, When, How. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Lasswell, Harold Dwight, and Abraham Kaplan. (1950). Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Macridis, Roy, and Richard Cox. (1953). “Research in Comparative Politics. Seminar Report.” American Political Science Review 47, no. 3 (September): 641–57.

Mahoney, James, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. (2003). Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mair, Peter. (1996). “Comparative Politics: An Overview.” In The New Handbook of Political Science, eds. Robert Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, 309–35. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Merriam, Charles Edward. (1921). “The Present State of the Study of Politics.” American Political Science Research 15, no. 2 (May): 173–85.

Migdal, Joel. (1983). “Studying the Politics of Development and Change: The State of the Art.” In Political Science: The State of the Discipline, ed. Ada W. Finifter, 309– 38. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.

Mitchell, William C. (1969). “The Shape of Political Theory to Come: From Political Sociology to Political Economy.” In Politics and the Social Sciences, ed. Seymour M. Lipset, 101–36. New York: Oxford University Press.

Morton, Rebecca B. (1999). Methods and Models: A Guide to the Empirical Analysis of Formal Models in Political Science. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Przeworski, Adam, and Henry Teune. (1970). The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry. New York: Wiley.

Ricci, David. (1984). The Tragedy of Political Science: Politics, Scholarship, and Democracy. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Riker, William H. (1977). “The Future of a Science of Politics.” American Behavioral Scientist 21, no. 1: 11–38.

Rogowski, Ronald. (1993). “Comparative Politics.” In Political Science: The State of the Discipline II, ed. Ada W. Finifter, pp. 431–50. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.

Waldo, Dwight. (1975). “Political Science: Tradition, Discipline, Profession, Science, and Enterprise.” In Handbook of Political Science, Vol. I: Political Science: Scope and Theory, eds. Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby, 1–130. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Wiarda, Howard J., ed. (2002). New Directions in Comparative Politics, 3rd. ed. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

1.5: Student Resources

Key Terms

- **American politics** is a subfield of political science that focuses on political institutions and behaviors within the United States.
- **Area studies** is an approach to comparison in which scholarship is organized geographically.
- **Between-nation comparisons** are comparisons in which a researcher compares subnational governments across different countries.
- **Comparative politics** is a subfield of political science that seeks to advance understanding of political structures around the world in an organized, methodological, and clear way.
- **Confederal government** is a system of government in which sovereignty is held at subnational levels.
- **Cross-national studies** is an approach to comparison involving two or more countries. Unlike area studies, the countries are not necessarily confined to one region.
- **Devolution** occurs when a country's central government deliberately transfers power to a government at a lower level.
- **Federal government** is a national or centralized authority differentiated from state and local governments.
- **Formal institutions** are based on a clear set of rules that have been formalized, often with the authority to enforce the rules through punitive measures.
- **Informal institutions** are based on an unwritten set of rules that have not necessarily been formalized, but rather come from conventions on how one should behave.
- **Institutions** are the beliefs, norms, and organizations that structure social and political life.
- **International relations** is a subfield of political science that focuses on how countries and/or international organizations interact with each other.
- **Political economy** is a subfield of political science that considers various economic theories, practices, and outcomes either within a state, or among and between states in the global system.
- **Political institutions** are the spaces in which the majority of politics and political decisions take place.
- **Political philosophy** is a subfield of political science that reflects on the philosophical origins of politics, the state, government, fairness, equality, equity, authority, and legitimacy.
- **Political psychology** is a subfield of political science that weds together principles, themes, and research from political science and psychology to understand the psychological roots of political behavior.
- **Political science** is a field of social scientific inquiry that seeks to advance knowledge of political institutions, behavior, activities, and outcomes using systematic and logical research methods to test and refine theories about how the political world operates.
- **Public policy** is a subfield of political science that explores political policies and outcomes, focusing on the strength, legitimacy and effectiveness of political institutions.
- **Qualitative research** is a type of research that centers on exploring ideas and phenomena, potentially with the goal of consolidating information or developing evidence to form a theory or hypothesis to test. Qualitative research involves categorizing, summarizing, and analyzing cases thoroughly to gain greater understanding, often using a small sample.
- **Quantitative research** is a type of research that centers on testing a theory or hypothesis, usually through mathematical and statistical means, using data from a large sample.
- **Research methodology** is a subfield of political science that seeks to consider the best practices for analyzing themes within political science through discussion, testing, and critical analysis of how research is constructed and implemented.
- **Sovereignty** is fundamental governmental power and authority in decision-making within a given territory.
- **Subnational studies** is an approach to comparison in which researchers compare subnational governments.
- **Unitary government** is a type of government in which power is centralized at the national level.
- **Within-nation comparisons** are comparisons in which a researcher compares the subnational governments or institutions within a single country.

Summary

Section 1.1: What is Comparative Politics?

Comparative politics is a subfield of study within political science that seeks to advance understanding of political structures from around the world in an organized, methodological, and clear way. There is still ample scholarly debate over the definition and scope of comparative politics, with scholars occasionally disagreeing about the ideal methodological approaches and methods for case

selection. Comparativists (those who study comparative politics) use both qualitiative and quantitative research methods to advance the field. Beyond comparative politics, a number of other subfields exist within political science, including American politics, international relations, political philosophy, research methodology, political economy, public policy, and political psychology.

Section 1.2: Ways Comparativists Look at the World

Understanding the necessity to compare and contrast countries, comparativists approach comparison in three main ways: area studies, cross-national studies, and subnational studies. Area studies involve selecting countries from a similar geographic area, often in close proximity to each other, as a starting point for inquiry. Cross-national studies involve looking at at least two or more countries, but these countries may not be close in proximity or necessarily alike in basic ways. Subnational studies enable comparativists to look within a country, possibly over time and considering a number of themes, to draw out conclusions and test theories.

Section 1.3: Things that Comparativists Study and Say

Comparative politics is a diverse field that focuses on a number of different topical areas. One of the first areas of inquiry focuses on the origins of the state, considering the determinants of a strong versus a weak state in relation to political capacity. Another area of intense interest for comparativists is the study of institutions. The study of political institutions can lend greater understanding to different political outcomes among states, especially since the influence of strong and legitimate institutions within a state can contribute to the success or failure of prioritized public policy issues. The next topical area, extending from the discussion of the state and its institutions, is a state's political regime. Some states have democratic regimes, some states have authoritarian regimes, some states have a semi-democratic hybrid, and some states undergo regime transitions. Other topical areas of study for comparativists are political identity (relating to culture, race, ethnicity, gender, nationalism, religion, and class), collective action and social movements, and political opinion. Each of these areas can produce a robust and thorough picture of why and how states differ. A final topical area of study for comparativists is political violence, with aims to understand the types, causes, and outcomes of political violence.

Review Questions

1. Which of the following is not a subfield of political science?
   A. comparative politics
   B. comparative advantage
   C. American politics
   D. research methodology
2. Which approach to comparison focuses on state relations from similar geographic regions?
   A. area studies
   B. cross-national studies
   C. subnational studies
   D. none of the above
3. Who is considered the father of political science?
   A. Socrates
   B. Plato
   C. Aristotle
   D. Homer
4. A country's constitution is an example of which of the following types of institutions? Choose all that apply.
   A. formal institution
   B. informal institution
   C. political institution
   D. economic institution
5. Which of the following areas of inquiry falls outside the domain of comparative politics?
   A. voting behavior
   B. democracy and regime transitions
   C. political violence
   D. none of the above

Answers: 1.b; 2.a; 3.c; 4.a,c; 5.d

Critical Thinking Questions

1. What are some of the key differences in studying comparative politics versus international relations? What tends to be the research methodologies of choice in each of these fields?
2. Consider the approaches of area studies, cross-national studies, and subnational studies. What can be the benefits or drawbacks of using these approaches? Which approach do you think would be most appropriate if considering the spread of COVID-19 or other pandemics? Similarly, which approach would be best if looking at climate change or environmental problems?
3. Considering how political science and comparative politics are defined, are these fields scientific? In what ways are these fields scientific, and how do they approach questions of politics in other countries?
4. What is the difference between quantitative and qualitative research? How can each of these methods be applied within comparative politics?
5. Some scholars have called for integration or merging of the subfields of comparative politics and international relations. What would be the pros and cons of doing this? Given the pros and cons, what is the preferable future for the study of comparative politics?

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- CIA World Factbook
- Journal for Comparative Politics
- Our World in Data

Journal Articles

- Abadie, A., Diamond, A., & Hainmueller, J. (2015). Comparative Politics and the Synthetic Control Method. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(2), 495–510.
- Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *The American Political Science Review*, 65(3), 682–693.
- Munck, G. L. (2001). Game Theory and Comparative Politics: New Perspectives and Old Concerns. *World Politics*, 53(2), 173–204.

Books

- Almond, G. (1989). *A Discipline Divided: Schools and Sects in Political Science*. Sage Publishing.
- Boix, C., & Stokes, S. (Eds.). (2009). *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Kesselman, M., Krieger, J., & Joseph, W. (Eds.). (2018). *Introduction to Comparative Politics* (8th ed.). Cengage Learning.
- Kopstein, J., & Lichman, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order* (4th ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Lichbach, M. I., & Zuckerman, A. S. (2009). *Comparative politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.

Note for instructors: Page edited for clarity and consistency by Katherine Michel, Ph.D. on 2/23/2025.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

2: How to Study Comparative Politics - Using Comparative Methods

---

2.1: The Scientific Method and Comparative Politics

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Consider the factors which make political science, and thereby comparative politics, a science.
- Identify and be able to describe the steps and key terms used in the scientific method.

Introduction

When many people consider the field of science, they may think of laboratories filled with clinicians in white lab coats, chemical experiments with bubbling vials, or vast chalkboards of mathematical equations. Many times, the word 'science' will conjure images of what are called the hard sciences. **Hard sciences**, such as chemistry, mathematics, and physics, work to advance scientific understanding in the natural or physical sciences. In contrast, **soft sciences**, like psychology, sociology, anthropology and political science, work to advance scientific understanding of human behavior, institutions, society, government, decision making, and power. Based on their interests and scope of inquiry, the soft sciences are interested in the **social sciences**, which are the fields of inquiry that scientifically study human society and relationships. Both hard and soft sciences provide significant contributions to the world of scientific inquiry, though soft sciences are often misunderstood and underappreciated for their contributions, largely based on lack of understanding of how these sciences engage the scientific method. In considering the different challenges facing hard and soft sciences, Physicist Heinz Pagels called the social sciences the "sciences of complexity," and said further, "the nations and people who master the new sciences of complexity will become the economic, cultural, and political superpowers of the 21st century" (Pagels, 1988). To this end, the advancements made by the soft sciences, like political science, should not be undercut or diminished, but sought to be understood and further pursued. Indeed, as **science** is defined as the systematic and organized approach to any area of inquiry, and utilizes scientific methods to acquire and build a body of knowledge, political science, as well as comparative politics as a subfield of political science, embody the essence of the scientific method and possess deep foundations for the scientific tools and theory formation which align with their areas of inquiry.

Recall from Chapter One, "Comparative politics is a subfield of study within political science that seeks to advance understanding of political structures from around the world in an organized, methodological, and clear way". The scholars of comparative politics are interested in understanding how particular incentives, patterns and institutions may prompt people to behave in certain ways. This understanding takes place in countries that are both similar in their outlook, but also different as well (Later, in relation to case selection, we will broach Mill's approaches of Most Similar Systems Approach, and Most Different Systems Approach). In observing countries and their similarities and differences, we need to be able to distinguish between actions or decisions that are happening systematically from actions or decisions that may happen randomly. To this end, political scientists follow and rely on the rules of scientific inquiry to conduct their research. In the sections below, we introduce characteristics which affirm political science as a science, followed by the principles of scientific methods and the process of scientific inquiry as it is applicable to comparative politics.

Why is Political Science a Science?

The nature of human behavior within political relationships has been studied and considered for centuries, but has not always operated under a strictly scientific scope. Thucydides, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle all provided observations on their political worlds and ideas about why states and political actors may behave the way they do. The contributions of many famous philosophers and political thinkers over time has lent greatly to the field of politics, but the modern conception of Political Science is one that, like other social sciences, follows the scientific method and is based on a large depth of philosophy tradition regarding the nature of inquiry. Beginning in the late 1800s, scholars began attempting to treat political science, and indeed most of the social sciences, as a hard science that could utilize the scientific method. Through decades of debate, some level of consensus was met through scholastic political science communities as to defining the characteristics of research in political science and how research could best be conducted.

A seminal work in the field of Political Science that sought to describe the features of scientific research within the field came from Gary King, Robert Keohane and Sidney Verba, who wrote, *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research* in 1994. Although the book was discussing political science in relation to qualitative research methods, which will be discussed later in this chapter, they also spent a generous amount of time considering what scientific research in political science looks like.

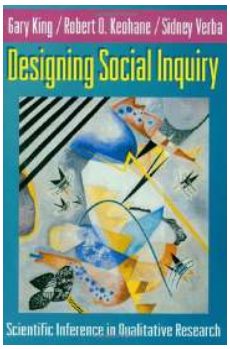


Figure 2.1.1: Book cover of Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research, by Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. (Source: King G., & Keohane, R.O., & Verba, S. (1994). Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research. Princeton University Press.)

According to King, Keohane, and Verba (1994), scientific research has four main characteristics. First, one of the primary purposes of scientific research is to make descriptive or causal inferences. An **inference** is a process of drawing a conclusion about an unobserved phenomenon, based on observed (empirical) information. It is important to note that accumulation of facts, by itself, does not make such an effort scientific. This is true no matter how systematically one is collecting the facts or the types of information being collected. In order for a study to be scientific, it requires the additional step of going beyond the immediately observable information in an effort to learn about something broader that is not directly observable. The process of making inferences can help us learn about the unobserved facts by describing it based on empirical information. For example, while we cannot directly observe democracy, political scientists have identified various tenets and characteristics of democratic nations, to the extent where we can describe such a concept. We can also learn the causal effects from the observed information. For example, political scientists have been studying and attempting to identify the cause of war and the process of a successful war termination.

Second, the procedures of scientific research must be public. Scientific research relies on 'explicit, codified, and public methods' so that the reliability of a study can be assessed effectively. It is critical that the process of gathering and analyzing information/data are reliable for the above described process of making inferences. As a condition for publication, it is often required for the authors of a published work to share data files or survey questionnaires to ensure that anyone could possibly replicate the work to assess its reliability as well as to evaluate the appropriateness of the method being used in such work.

Third, because of the fact that the process of making inferences is imperfect, the conclusions of scientific research are uncertain as well. Researchers must be aware of a reasonable estimate of uncertainty in their work to ensure that they can effectively interpret their conclusions. By definition, inferences without some level of uncertainty are not scientific. This idea relates to one of the most critical characteristics of a good theory, that is a theory must be falsifiable (discussed more in the sections below).

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the content of scientific research is the method. It means that whether one’s research is scientific or not is determined by the way it is conducted as opposed to the subject matter of what is being studied. Scientific research must adhere to a set of rules of inference because its validity is dependent on how closely one follows such rules and procedures. Simply put, one can virtually study anything in a scientific manner as long as the researcher follows the rules of inference and scientific methods.

The Scientific Method

If you have ever enrolled in a science course, you have likely encountered the scientific method. The **scientific method** is a process by which knowledge is acquired through a sequence of steps, which generally include the following components: question, observation, hypothesis, testing of the hypothesis, analysis of the outcomes, and reporting of the findings. Ideally, use of the scientific method will build a body of knowledge and culminate in the formation of inferences and potentially theories for why/how phenomena exist or occur. It is useful to briefly consider each of these components in deconstructing how political scientists approach their areas of interest.

Broadly speaking the scientific method within political science will involve the following steps (each of these steps will be explored in-depth in this section):

1. The research question: Develop a clear, focused and relevant research question. Although this sounds like a simple step, the following section will lay out, in detail, the complexity of forming a sound research question.

2. Literature review: Research the context and background information and previous research regarding this research question. This part becomes the political scientist's literature review. A **literature review** becomes a section of your research paper or research process which collects key sources and previous research on your research question and discusses the findings in synthesis with each other. From this work, you are able to have a full scope of understanding of all previous work performed on your topic, which will enhance knowledge in the field.
3. Theory and hypothesis development: Develop a theory that explains a potential answer to your research question. A **theory** is a statement that explains how the world works based on experience and observation. From the theory, you will construct hypotheses to test the theory. A hypothesis is a specific and testable prediction of what you think will happen; a **hypothesis**, or set of hypotheses, will describe, in very clear terms, what you expect will happen given the circumstances. Within the hypothesis, variables will be identified. A **variable** is a factor or object that can vary or change. As political scientists are concerned with cause-and-effect relationships, they will divide the variables into two categories: **independent variables** (explanatory variables) are the cause, and these variables are independent of other variables under consideration in a study. **Dependent variables** (outcome variables) are the assumed effect, their values will (presumably) depend on the changes in the independent variables.
4. Testing: A political scientist, at this stage, will test the hypothesis, or hypotheses, through observation of the relationship between the designated variables.
5. Analysis: When the testing is complete, political scientists will need to review their results and draw conclusions about the findings. Was the hypothesis correct? If so, they will be able to report the success of their findings. Was the hypothesis incorrect? That's okay! A famous quip in this field is, 'no finding is still a finding.' If the hypothesis was not proven true, or fully true, then it is back to the drawing board to rethink a new hypothesis and do the testing again.
6. Reporting of findings: Reporting results, whether the hypothesis is true, partially true, or outright false, is critical to the advancement of the overall field. Typically, researchers will attempt to publish their findings so the findings are public and transparent, and so others may continue research in that area.

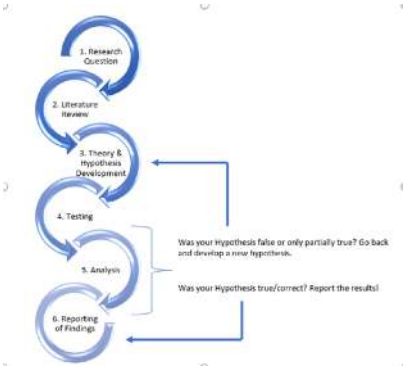


Figure 2.1.2: Following the steps of the scientific method helps standardize the process for all researchers in the field. Researchers will know exactly where to find, and consider, each step of research that has been completed. The steps are 1. Research Question; 2. Literature Review; 3. Theory and Hypothesis Development; 4. Testing; 5. Analysis; and 6. Reporting of Findings. After the Analysis step, was your hypothesis false or only partially true? If so, go back and develop a new hypothesis. Was your hypothesis true/correct? If so, report the results!

Step One: The Research Question

Most research, of any kind, begins with a question. Indeed, before a researcher can start thinking about describing or explaining a phenomenon, one must start with refining the question about one's phenomenon of interest. After all, political science research is about solving an unsolved puzzle, so we must identify a question to be answered through rigorous research. So how do you determine what characteristics define a good political research question?

First, a substantive and quality political science question needs to be relevant to the real political world. It does not mean that the research questions must only address current political affairs. In fact, many political scientists study historical events and past political behaviors. However, the results of political science research are often relevant to the current political environment and may come with policy implications. A political research question that is highly hypothetical may be interesting and important on its own. Second, as an academic discipline, political science research is a means through which the discipline grows in terms of its knowledge about the political realm. As such, good political science research needs to contribute to the field. Overall, a political science research question must be a question, and this is an important point. A question in this context must be something that the answer to such a statement has a chance of being wrong. In other words, a research question has to be falsifiable. **Falsifiability** is a

word coined by Karl Popper, a philosopher of science, and is defined as the ability for a statement to be logically contradicted through empirical testing. (**Empirical analysis** is defined as being based on experiment, experience or observation).

Importantly, some questions are inherently **non-falsifiable**, meaning the question cannot be proven true or false under present circumstances, particularly questions which are subjective (e.g. Are oranges better than lemons?) or technical limitations (Do angry ninja-robots live in Alpha Centauri?). Consider the subjective example in political science, a question like: Which one is better, North Dakota or South Dakota? This question is subjective and may ultimately, if not further described or delineated, result in nothing more than a matter of one's taste. If the question was more refined and not simply a case of some abstract definition of 'better than,' perhaps the researcher is actually trying to ask something that can be proven: Which state is more economically productive, North or South Dakota? From here, the researcher could lay out metrics for what constitutes economically productive, and try to build from there. Consider now a technical limitations problem in political science, for instance, what if someone tried to ask: Does investing in a country's education system always mean they will eventually become democratic? There's two problems with this question. First, making a blanket statement that investing in education always leads to democracy can lend itself to problems. Will you be able to test every situation and circumstance where education systems are invested in and democracy happens? Second, there's an issue with the word 'eventually.' A country that invests heavily in education could become democratic 700 years from now. If the time span ends up being 700 years, we cannot truly infer that it was the initial investment in education that was the cause of that county's democratic transition.

Step Two: The Literature Review

Once you've found the research question, it's important to consider how much you actually know about the topic, and to do a search about any relevant previous research that has ever been done on the topic. To this end, creating a literature review is vital to any research study. Recall, a literature review is a section of your research paper or research process which collects key sources and previous research on your research question and discusses the findings in synthesis with each other. The literature review can raise both previous research that has been done on a topic, as well as best practices regarding research methodologies given the question you've chosen. In most cases, the literature review itself will have its own introduction, body and conclusion. The introduction will explain the context of the research question and a thesis which will tie together the research you've collected. The body will summarize and synthesize all the research, ideally in either chronological, thematic, methodological or theoretical order.

For instance, maybe it makes the most sense to arrange the research you've looked at in chronological order, beginning with the early research and culminating in the most recent research on a topic. Or, maybe your research contains a number of interrelated themes, in which case, it may be ideal to introduce previous research as it is categorized based on its theme. Or, perhaps the most interesting part of your research will be the research methods previously employed to answer the research question. In this case, doing a survey of the previous research methods might be ideal. Finally, it's possible that the literature review may be best organized by considering previous theories that have existed in relation to your research question. In this case, introducing the existing theories in order would be most helpful to your reader and to your understanding of the research context. In general, it's important to consider the best way to showcase, summarize and synthesize previous research so it is clear to the readers and other scholars interested in the topic.

Step Three: Theory and Hypothesis Development

Given the research question and your exploration of previous research that has been organized in the literature review, it is now time to consider the theories and hypothesis that you will be using. Usually, the theory helps build your hypotheses for the study. Recall, a theory is a statement that explains how the world works based on experience as an observation.

A scientific theory consists of a set of assumptions, hypotheses, and independent (explanatory) and dependent (outcome) variables. First, **assumptions** are statements that are taken for granted. These statements are necessary for the researchers to proceed with their research so they are not usually challenged. For example, many international relations scholars assume that the world is anarchic, meaning that there is no meaningful central authority to enforce the rules of law. Also, scientific researchers are implicitly assuming that an objective truth exists. If we were to start a scientific inquiry by testing the assumption about the existence of an objective truth, we will never be able to proceed with the actual question of interest since such an assumption is not really testable. Again, we typically do not challenge a set of assumptions in scientific research.

Political science research involves both generating and testing hypotheses. Researchers may start with observing many cases that relate to a topic of inquiry. There are several methods. First, through **inductive reasoning**, scientists look at specific situations and attempt to form a hypothesis. Second, political scientists may also rely on **deductive reasoning**, which occurs when political scientists make an inference and then test its truth using evidence and observations. Recall, a hypothesis is a specific and testable

prediction of what you think will happen; a hypothesis, or set of hypotheses, will describe, in very clear terms, what you expect will happen given the circumstances. Within the hypothesis, variables will be identified. Remember, a variable is a factor or object that can vary or change. Again, as political scientists are concerned with cause-and-effect relationships, they will divide the variables into two categories: independent variables (explanatory variables) are the cause, and these variables are independent of other variables under consideration in a study. Dependent variables (outcome variables) are the assumed effect, their values will (presumably) depend on the changes in the independent variables.

Steps Four and Five: Testing and Analysis

The testing of a theory and set of hypotheses will depend on the research method you decide to employ. This will be discussed in Section 2.2: Four Approaches to Research. For our purposes, the basic research approaches of interest will be: the experimental method, the statistical method, case study methods, and the comparative method. Each one of these methods involves research questions, use of theories to inform our understanding of the research problem, hypothesis testing and/or hypothesis generation.

Similarly, analysis of outcomes can be reliant on the research methodologies employed. As such, analysis is also considered in Section 2.2. Overall, analysis of the findings are critical to the advancement of the field of political science. It is important to interpret findings as accurately and objectively as possible in order to lay the foundations for further research to occur.

Step Six: Reporting of Findings

A critical feature of the scientific method is to report your research findings. Granted, not all research will result in publication, though publication is often the goal of research that hopes to extend the political science field. Sometimes research, if not published, is shared through research conferences, books, articles or digital media. Overall, the sharing of information helps lend others to further research into your topic, or helps spawn new and interesting directions of research. Interestingly, one can compare a world where research is shared versus where it was not shared. During the flu pandemic of 1918, many of the countries of the world did not have freedom of the press, including the United States, which had implemented Sedition Acts in the midst of World War I. In the midst of a hindered press and the lack of freedom of speech, many doctors around the world were not able to communicate their ideas or treatment plans for handling the flu pandemic at that time. Inundated with swarms of patients, flummoxed by the nature of a flu that was killing young, healthy adults, but largely sparing older individuals, doctors were trying all sorts of treatment methods, but were unable to broadly share their results of what worked and didn't work well for treatment.

Contrast this with the COVID-19 pandemic, many doctors were working on treatment plans worldwide, and were able to share their ideas on how to best treat COVID. Initially, there was a heavy reliance on ventilators. In time, some doctors found that repositioning patients on their stomachs may be one way to avoid a ventilator and bide time for the patient to recover without having to resort to a ventilator right away. All told, the sharing of results is critical to learning about a research area or question. If scientists, as well as political scientists, are unable to share what they've learned, it can stall the advancement of knowledge altogether.

2.2: Four Approaches to Research

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify, and distinguish between, the four different approaches to research.
- Consider the advantages and disadvantages of each research approach.
- Compare and contrast the four approaches to research.
- Identify best practices for when and how to use case studies.

Introduction

In empirical research, there are four basic approaches: the experimental method, the statistical method, case study methods, and the comparative method. Each one of these methods involves research questions, use of theories to inform our understanding of the research problem, hypothesis testing and/or hypothesis generation. Each method is an attempt to understand the relationship between two or more variables, whether that relation is correlational or causal, both of which will be discussed below.

The Experimental Method

What is an Experiment? An **experiment** is defined by McDermott (2002) as "laboratory studies in which investigators retain control over the recruitment, assignment to random conditions, treatment, and measurement of subjects" (pg. 32). Experimental methods are then the aspects of experimental designs. These methodological aspects involve "standardization, randomization, between-subjects versus within-subject design, and experimental bias" (McDermott, 2002, pg, 33). The experimental method assists in reducing bias in research, and for some scholars holds great promise for research in political science (Druckman, et. al. 2011). Experimental methods in political science almost always involve statistical tools to discern causality, which will be discussed in the next paragraph.

An experiment is used whenever the researcher seeks to answer causal questions or is looking for causal inference. A **causal question** involves discerning cause and effect, also referred to as a causal relationship. This is when a change in one variable verifiably causes an effect or change in another variable. This differs from a correlation, or when only a relationship or association can be established between two or more variables. *Correlation does not equal causation!* This is an often repeated motto in political science. Just because two variables, measures, constructs, actions, etc. are related, does not mean that one caused the other. Indeed, in some cases, the correlation may be spurious, or a false relationship. This can often occur in analyses, especially if particular variables are omitted or constructed improperly.

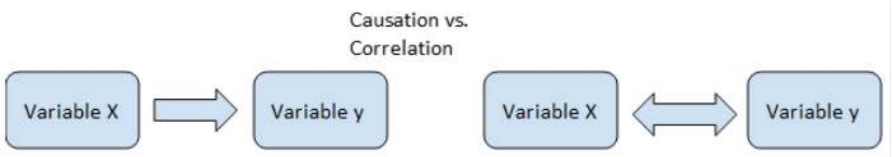


Figure 2.2.1: This image illustrates the difference between causation and correlation. On the left, we see that Variable X causes Variable Y, which is referred to as causation. On the right, we see that Variable X is related to Variable Y, which is referred to as correlation. It is best not to overthink about correlation. When X is present, so is Y. Conversely, when Y is present, so is X. The two variables go hand in hand.

A good example involves capitalism and democracy. Political scientists assert that capitalism and democracy are correlated. That when we see capitalism, we see democracy, and vice versa. Notice, that nothing is said about which variable causes the other. It may well be that capitalism *causes* democracy. Or, it could be that democracy *causes* capitalism. So X could cause Y or Y could cause X. In addition, X and Y could cause each other, that is capitalism and democracy cause each other. Similarly, there could be an additional variable Z that could cause both X and Y. For example, it may not be that capitalism causes democracy or that democracy causes capitalism, but instead something completely unrelated, such as the absence of war. The stability that comes from an absence of war could be what allows both capitalism and democracy to flourish. Finally, there could be a(n) intervening variable(s), between X and Z. It is not capitalism per se that leads to democracy, or vice-versa, but the accumulation of wealth, often referred to as the middle class hypothesis. In this case, it would be $X \rightarrow A \rightarrow Y$. Using our example, capitalism produces wealth, which then leads to democracy.

Real world examples of the discussion above exist. Most wealthy countries are democratic. Examples include the United States and most of western Europe. However, this is not the case for all. The oil producing countries in the Persian Gulf are considered wealthy, but not democratic. Indeed, the wealth produced in natural resource rich countries may reinforce the lack of democracy as it mostly benefits the ruling classes. Also, there are countries, such as India, which are strong democracies, but are considered developing, or poorer nations. Finally, some authoritarian countries adopted capitalism and eventually became democratic, which would seem to confirm that middle class hypothesis discussed above. Examples include South Korea and Chile. However, we see plenty of other countries, such as Singapore, that are considered quite capitalistic have developed a strong middle class, but have yet to fully adopt democracy.

These potential contradictions are why we are careful in political science with making causal statements. Causality is difficult to establish, especially when the unit of analysis involves countries, which is often the case in comparative politics. Causality is a bit easier to establish when experimentation involves individuals. The inclusion of a treatment variable, or the manipulation of just one variable across a number of cases, can suggest causality. The reiteration of an experiment multiple times can confirm this. A good example includes interviewer effects among respondents in surveys. Experiments consistently show that the race, gender, and/or age of the interviewer can affect how an interviewee responds to a question. This is especially true if the interviewer is a person of color and the interviewee is white and the question that is asked is about race or race relations. In this case, we can make a strong argument that interviewer effects are causal. That X causes some kind of effect in Y.

Given this, are there any causal statements made by comparativists? The answer is a qualified yes. Often, the desire for causality is why comparative political scientists study a small number of cases or countries. One case/country, or small number of cases/countries, analyses lend itself well to searching for a causal mechanism, which will be discussed in further detail in Section 2.4 below. Are there any causal statements in comparative politics that involve lots of cases/countries? The answer is again a qualified yes. Democratic peace theory is explained in Section 4.2 of this textbook:

> *"Democracies per se do not go to war with each other because they have too much in common - they have too many shared organizational, political and socio-economic values to be willing to fight each other - therefore, the more democratic nations there are the more peaceful the world will become and remain."*

This is as close as it comes to empirical law in comparative politics. Yet even in democratic peace theory there are 'exceptions'. Some cite the U.S. Civil War as a war between two democracies. However, an argument can be made that the Confederacy was a flawed or unconsolidated democracy and ultimately not a war between two real democracies. Others point to U.S. interventions in various countries during the Cold War. These countries, Iran, Guatemala, Indonesia, British Guyana, Brazil, Chile, and Nicaragua, were all democracies. Yet, even these interventions are not convincing to some scholars as they were covert missions in countries that were not quite democratic (Rosato, 2003).

Statistical Methods

What are Statistical Methods? Statistical methods are the use of mathematical techniques to analyze collected data, usually in numerical form, such as interval or ratio-scale. In political science, statistical analyses of datasets are the preferred method. This mostly developed from the behavioral wave in political science where scholars became more focused on how individuals make political decisions, such as voting in a given election, or how they may express themselves ideologically. This often involves the use of surveys to collect evidence regarding human behavior. Potential respondents are sampled through the use of a questionnaire constructed to elicit information regarding a particular subject. For example, we may develop a survey that asks Americans regarding their intention on taking one of the approved COVID-19 vaccines, if they intend to get a booster in the future, and their thoughts on pandemic-related restrictions. Respondent choices are then coded, usually using a scale of measurement, and the data is then analyzed often with the use of a statistical software program. Researchers may also rely on the existing data from various sources (e.g., government agencies, think tanks, and other researchers) to conduct their statistical analyses. Scholars probe for correlations among the constructed variables for evidence in support of their hypotheses on the topic (Omae & Bozonelos, 2020).

Statistical methods are great for discerning correlations, or relationships between variables. Advanced mathematical techniques have been developed that permit understanding of complex relationships. Given that causation is difficult to prove in political science, many researchers default to the use of statistical analyses to understand how well certain things relate. This is particularly true when it comes to applied research. **Applied research** is defined as "research that attempts to explain social phenomena with immediate public policy implications" (Knoke, et. al. 2002, pg. 7). Statistical methods are also the preferred approach when it

comes to the analysis of survey data. Survey research involves the examination of a sample derived from a larger population. If the sample is representative of the population, then the findings of the sample will allow for the formation of inferences about some aspect of the population (Babbie, 1998).

At this point, we should review the discussion regarding one of the major partitions in political science, as noted in Chapter One, quantitative methods involve a type of research approach which centers on testing a theory or hypothesis, usually through mathematical and statistical means, using data from a large sample size. Qualitative methods are a type of research approach which centers on exploring ideas and phenomena, potentially with the goal of consolidating information or developing evidence to form a theory or hypothesis to test. Quantitative researchers collect data on known behavior or actions, or close-ended research where we already know what to look for, and then make mathematical statements about them. Qualitative researchers collect data on unknown actions, or open-ended research where we do not already know what to look for, and then make verbal statements about them. This divide has subsided somewhat, with concerted efforts to develop mixed methods research designs, however, researchers often segregate themselves into one of these two camps.

When looking at the three basic approaches, the first two methods - experimental and statistical - fall squarely into the quantitative camp, whereas comparative politics is mostly considered as qualitative. Experimental and statistical methods have their roots in the behavioral revolution of the 1950s, which shifted the focus of the inquiry from institutions to the individual. For example, the fields of behavioral economics and social psychology are well suited for experiments. Both studies focus on the behavior of individual people. For example, behavioral economists are interested in human judgment when it comes to financial and economic decisions. Social psychologists have been traditionally more interested in learning behavior and information processing. As political science has shifted more towards the study of individual political behavior, experimentation and statistical analysis of collected data, through experiments, surveys and other methods.

For more on the history of this divide and how it has affected political science, see Franco and Bozonelos's (2020) chapter on the History and Development of the Empirical Study of Politics in *Introduction to Political Science Research Methods*.

The Comparative Method

What is the Comparative Method? The comparative method is often considered one of the oldest approaches in the study of politics. Ancient Greek philosophers, such as Plato, the author of *The Republic*, Aristotle, the author of *Politics*, and Thucydides, the author of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* wrote about politics in their times in a comparative manner. Indeed, as Laswell (1968) said, all science is 'unavoidably comparative'. Most scientific experiments or statistical analyses will have a control or reference group. The reason is so that we can compare the results of our current experiment and/or analysis to some baseline group. This is how knowledge develops; by grafting new insights through comparison.

Likewise, comparison is more than just description. We are not only analyzing the differences and/or similarities, we are conceptualizing. We cannot overstate the importance of concepts in political science. A concept is defined as "an abstract or generic idea generalized from particular instances" (Merriam-Webster). For political scientists, concepts are "generally seen as nonmathematical and deal with substantive issues" (Goertz, 2006). For example, if we want to compare democracies, we must first define what exactly constitutes a democracy.

Even in quantitative analyses, concepts are always understood in verbal terms. Given that there are quite a few ways to formulate quantitative measurements, conceptualization is key. Developing the right scales, indicators, or reliability measures is predicated on having one's concepts right. A good example is the simple, yet complicated concept of democracy. Again, what exactly constitutes a democracy? We are sure that it must include elections, but not all elections are the same. An election in the U.S. is not the same as an election in North Korea. Clearly, if we want to determine how democratic a country is, and develop good indicators from which to measure, then concepts matter.

Comparative methods occupy an interesting space in methodology. Comparative methods involve "the analysis of a small number of cases, entailing at least two observations". Yet it also involves "too few [cases] to permit the application of conventional statistical analysis" (Lijphart, 1971; Collier, 1993, pg 106). This means that the comparative method involves more than a case study, or single-N research (discussed in detail below), but less than a statistical analysis, or large-N study. It is for this reason that comparative politics is so closely intertwined with the comparative method. As we tend to compare countries in comparative politics, the numbers end up somewhere in between, anywhere from a few to sometimes over fifty. Cross-case analysis through the comparison of key characteristics, are the preferred methods in comparative politics scholarship.

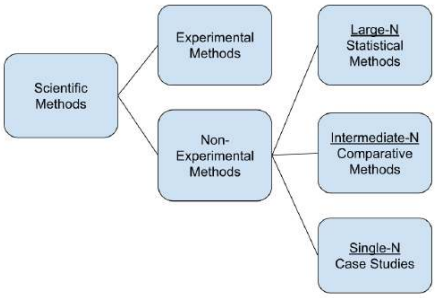


Figure 2.2.2: Comparing the three empirical research approaches (scientific methods). There are experimental methods. There are also non-experimental methods, including large-N (statistical) methods, intermediate-N (comparative), and single-N (case studies).

Case Studies

Why would we want to use a case study? Case studies are one of major techniques used by comparativists to study phenomena. Cases provide for the in-depth traditional research. Many times there is a gap in knowledge, or a research question that necessitates a certain level of detail. Naumes and Naumes (2015) write that the case studies involve storytelling, and that there is power in the story's message. Clearly, these are stories that are based in fact, rather than in fiction, but nevertheless, are important as they describe situations, characters, and the mechanisms for why things happen. For example, the exact cause of how the SARS-CoV-2 virus, more commonly referred to as COVID-19, will involve telling that story.

A **case** is defined as a "spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time, or over some period of time" (Gerring, 2007). Others define a case as "factual description of events that happened at some point in the past" (Naumes and Naumes, 2015). Therefore, a case can be broadly defined. A case could be a person, a family household, a group or community, or an institution, such as a hospital. The key question in any research study is to clarify the cases that belong and the cases that do not belong (Flick, 2009). If we are researching COVID-19, at what level should we research? This is referred to as case selection, which we discuss in detail in Section 2.4.

For many comparativists in political science, the unit (case) that is often observed is a country, or a nation-state. A **case study** then is an intensive look into that single case, often with the intent that this single case may help us better understand a particular variable of interest. For example, we could research a country that experienced lower levels of COVID-19 infections. This case study could consist of a single observation within the country, with each observation having several dimensions. For example, if we want to observe the country's successful COVID-19 response, that observation could include the country's level of health readiness, their government's response, and the buy-in from their citizens. Each of these could be considered a dimension of the single observation - the successful response.

This description listed above is considered the traditional understanding of case study research - the in-depth analysis of one case, in our example of that one country, to find out how a particular phenomenon took place, a successful COVID-19 response. Once we research and discover the internal processes that led to the successful response, we naturally want to compare it to other countries (cases). When this happens, shifting the analysis from just one country (case) to other countries (cases), we refer to this as a comparative case study. A **comparative case study** is defined as a study that is structured on the comparison of two or more cases. Again, for comparative political scientists, we often compare countries and/or their actions.

Finally, as mentioned in Chapter One, there can also exist **subnational case study research**. This is when subnational governments, such provincial governments, regional governments, and other local governments often referred to as municipalities, are the cases that are compared. This can happen entirely within a country (case), such as comparing COVID-19 response rates among states in Mexico. Or it can happen between countries, where subnational governments are compared. This often occurs in studies of European and/or European Union policy. There are quite a few subnational governments with significant amounts of political power. Examples include fully autonomous regions, such as Catalonia in Spain, partially autonomous regions, such as Flanders and Walloons in Belgium, and regions where power was devolved, such as Scotland within the UK.

Use of Case Studies in Comparative Politics

As mentioned above, case studies are an important part of comparative politics, but they are not exclusive to political science. Case studies are used extensively in business studies for example. Ellet (2018) notes that case studies are "an analogue of reality". They help readers understand particular business decision scenarios, or evaluation scenarios where some process, product, service, or

policy is being evaluated on their performance. Business case studies also feature problem diagnosis scenarios, where the authors research when a business is not successful, and try to understand the actions, processes, or activities that led to failure. Case studies are also relevant in medical studies as well. Clinical case studies investigate how a diagnosis was made. Solomon (2006) notes that many of the case studies published by physicians are anecdotal reports, where they notate their procedures for diagnosis. These case studies are vitally important for the field of medicine as they allow researchers to form hypotheses on particular medical disorders and diseases.

Case studies are vital to theory development in political science. They are the cornerstones of different discourses in the discipline. Blatter and Haverland (2012) note that a number of case studies have reached 'classic' status in political science. These include Robert Dahl's *Who Governs?* [1961], Graham T. Allison's *Essence of Decision* [1971], Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* [1979], and Arend Ljiphart's *The Politics of Accommodation* [1968]. Each of the classics is a seminal study into an important aspect in political science. Dahl's work popularized the concept of pluralism, where different actors hold power. Allison studied the decision-making processes during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, whose work was influential for public policy analysis. Skocpol's book laid out the conditions from which a revolution may take place. Skocpol's work coincided with the rise of neo-institutionalism in the 1970s, where political scientists began to refocus their attention on the role of institutions in explaining political phenomena. Finally, Ljiphart gave us the concepts of "politics of accommodation" and "consensus democracy". The terms are central to our understanding of comparative democracy.

As mentioned earlier, cases in comparative politics have historically focused on the nation-state. By this we mean that researchers compare countries. Comparisons often involve regime types, including both democratic and nondemocratic, political economies, political identities, social movements and political violence. All of these comparisons require scholars to look within countries and then compare. As stated in Chapter One, this "looking within" is what separates comparative politics from other fields of political science. Thus, as the nation-state is the most relevant and important political actor, this is where the emphasis tends to be.

Clearly, the nation-state is not the only actor in politics. Nor is the nation-state, the only level of analysis. Other actors exist in politics, from subnational actors, ranging from regional governments to labor unions, and all the way to insurgents and guerillas. There also exist transnational actors, such as nongovernmental organizations, multinational corporations, and also more sinister groups such as criminal and terrorist networks. In addition, we can analyze at different levels, including the international (systemic) level, the subnational level, and at the individual level. However, nation-states remain the primary unit and level of analysis in comparative politics.

2.3: Case Selection (Or, How to Use Cases in Your Comparative Analysis)

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Discuss the importance of case selection in case studies.
- Consider the implications of poor case selection.

Introduction

Case selection is an important part of any research design. Deciding how many cases, and which cases, to include, will clearly help determine the outcome of our results. If we decide to select a high number of cases, we often say that we are conducting large-N research. **Large-N research** is when the number of observations or cases is large enough where we would need mathematical, usually statistical, techniques to discover and interpret any correlations or causations. In order for a large-N analysis to yield any relevant findings, a number of conventions need to be observed. First, the sample needs to be representative of the studied population. Thus, if we wanted to understand the long-term effects of COVID, we would need to know the approximate details of those who contracted the virus. Once we know the parameters of the population, we can then determine a sample that represents the larger population. For example, women make up 55% of all long-term COVID survivors. Thus, any sample we generate needs to be at least 55% women.

Second, some kind of randomization technique needs to be involved in large-N research. So not only must your sample be representative, it must also randomly select people within that sample. In other words, we must have a large selection of people that fit within the population criteria, and then randomly select from those pools. Randomization would help to reduce bias in the study. Also, when cases (people with long-term COVID) are randomly chosen they tend to ensure a fairer representation of the studied population. Third, your sample needs to be large enough, hence the large-N designation for any conclusions to have any external validity. Generally speaking, the larger the number of observations/cases in the sample, the more validity we can have in the study. There is no magic number, but if using the above example, our sample of long-term COVID patients should be at least over 750 people, with an aim of around 1,200 to 1,500 people.

When it comes to comparative politics, we rarely ever reach the numbers typically used in large-N research. There are about 200 fully recognized countries, with about a dozen partially recognized countries, and even fewer areas or regions of study, such as Europe or Latin America. Given this, what is the strategy when one case, or a few cases, are being studied? What happens if we are only wanting to know the COVID-19 response in the United States, and not the rest of the world? How do we randomize this to ensure our results are not biased or are representative? These and other questions are legitimate issues that many comparativist scholars face when completing research. Does randomization work with case studies? Gerring suggests that it does not, as “any given sample may be widely representative” (pg. 87). Thus, random sampling is not a reliable approach when it comes to case studies. And even if the randomized sample is representative, there is no guarantee that the gathered evidence would be reliable.

One can make the argument that case selection may not be as important in large-N studies as they are in small-N studies. In large-N research, potential errors and/or biases may be ameliorated, especially if the sample is large enough. This is not always what happens, errors and biases most certainly can exist in large-N research. However, incorrect or biased inferences are less of a worry when we have 1,500 cases versus 15 cases. In small-N research, case selection simply matters much more.

This is why Blatter and Haverland (2012) write that, “case studies are ‘case-centered’, whereas large-N studies are ‘variable-centered’". In large-N studies we are more concerned with the conceptualization and operationalization of variables. Thus, we want to focus on which data to include in the analysis of long-term COVID patients. If we wanted to survey them, we would want to make sure we construct questions in appropriate ways. For almost all survey-based large-N research, the question responses themselves become the coded variables used in the statistical analysis.

Case selection can be driven by a number of factors in comparative politics, with the first two approaches being the more traditional. First, it can derive from the interests of the researcher(s). For example, if the researcher lives in Germany, they may want to research the spread of COVID-19 within the country, possibly using a subnational approach where the researcher may compare infection rates among German states. Second, case selection may be driven by area studies. This is still based on the interests of the researcher as generally speaking scholars pick areas of studies due to their personal interests. For example, the same researcher may research COVID-19 infection rates among European Union member-states. Finally, the selection of cases selected

may be driven by the type of case study that is utilized. In this approach, cases are selected as they allow researchers to compare their similarities or their differences. Or, a case might be selected that is typical of most cases, or in contrast, a case or cases that deviate from the norm. We discuss types of case studies and their impact on case selection below.

Types of Case Studies: Descriptive vs. Causal

There are a number of different ways to categorize case studies. One of the most recent ways is through John Gerring. He wrote two editions on case study research (2017) where he posits that the central question posed by the researcher will dictate the aim of the case study. Is the study meant to be descriptive? If so, what is the researcher looking to describe? How many cases (countries, incidents, events) are there? Or is the study meant to be causal, where the researcher is looking for a cause and effect? Given this, Gerring categorizes case studies into two types: descriptive and causal.

Descriptive case studies are "not organized around a central, overarching causal hypothesis or theory" (pg. 56). Most case studies are descriptive in nature, where the researchers simply seek to describe what they observe. They are useful for transmitting information regarding the studied political phenomenon. For a descriptive case study, a scholar might choose a case that is considered *typical* of the population. An example could involve researching the effects of the pandemic on medium-sized cities in the US. This city would have to exhibit the tendencies of medium-sized cities throughout the entire country. First, we would have to conceptualize what we mean by 'a medium-size city'. Second, we would then have to establish the characteristics of medium-sized US cities, so that our case selection is appropriate. Alternatively, cases could be chosen for their *diversity*. In keeping with our example, maybe we want to look at the effects of the pandemic on a range of US cities, from small, rural towns, to medium-sized suburban cities to large-sized urban areas.

Causal case studies are "organized around a central hypothesis about how X affects Y" (pg. 63). In causal case studies, the context around a specific political phenomenon or phenomena is important as it allows for researchers to identify the aspects that set up the conditions, the mechanisms, for that outcome to occur. Scholars refer to this as the **causal mechanism**, which is defined by Falleti & Lynch (2009) as "portable concepts that explain how and why a hypothesized cause, in a given context, contributes to a particular outcome". Remember, causality is when a change in one variable verifiably causes an effect or change in another variable. For causal case studies that employ causal mechanisms, Gerring divides them into exploratory case-selection, estimating case-selection, and diagnostic case-selection. The differences revolve around how the central hypothesis is utilized in the study.

Exploratory case studies are used to identify a potential causal hypothesis. Researchers will single out the independent variables that seem to affect the outcome, or dependent variable, the most. The goal is to build up to what the causal mechanism might be by providing the context. This is also referred to as hypothesis generating as opposed to hypothesis testing. Case selection can vary widely depending on the goal of the researcher. For example, if the scholar is looking to develop an 'ideal-type', they might seek out an *extreme* case. An ideal-type is defined as a "conception or a standard of something in its highest perfection" (New Webster Dictionary). Thus, if we want to understand the ideal-type capitalist system, we want to investigate a country that practices a pure or 'extreme' form of the economic system.

Estimating case studies start with a hypothesis already in place. The goal is to test the hypothesis through collected data/evidence. Researchers seek to estimate the 'causal effect'. This involves determining if the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is positive, negative, or ultimately if no relationship exists at all. Finally, diagnostic case studies are important as they help to "confirm, disconfirm, or refine a hypothesis" (Gerring 2017). Case selection can also vary in diagnostic case studies. For example, scholars can choose an *least-likely* case, or a case where the hypothesis is confirmed even though the context would suggest otherwise. A good example would be looking at Indian democracy, which has existed for over 70 years. India has a high level of ethnolinguistic diversity, is relatively underdeveloped economically, and a low level of modernization through large swaths of the country. All of these factors strongly suggest that India should not have democratized, or should have failed to stay a democracy in the long-term, or have disintegrated as a country.

Most Similar/Most Different Systems Approach

The discussion in the previous subsection tends to focus on case selection when it comes to a single case. Single case studies are valuable as they provide an opportunity for in-depth research on a topic that requires it. However, in comparative politics, our approach is to compare. Given this, we are required to select more than one case. This presents a different set of challenges. First, how many cases do we pick? This is a tricky question we addressed earlier. Second, how do we apply the previously mentioned case selection techniques, descriptive vs. causal? Do we pick two *extreme* cases if we used an exploratory approach, or two *least-likely* cases if choosing a diagnostic case approach?

Thankfully, an English scholar by the name of John Stuart Mill provided some insight on how we should proceed. He developed several approaches to comparison with the explicit goal of isolating a cause within a complex environment. Two of these methods, the 'method of agreement' and the 'method of difference' have influenced comparative politics. In the 'method of agreement' two or more cases are compared for their commonalities. The scholar looks to isolate the characteristic, or variable, they have in common, which is then established as the cause for their similarities. In the 'method of difference' two or more cases are compared for their differences. The scholar looks to isolate the characteristic, or variable, they do not have in common, which is then identified as the cause for their differences. From these two methods, comparativists have developed two approaches.

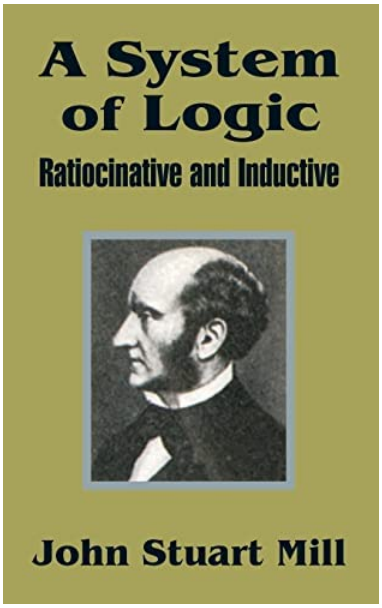


Figure 2.3.1: Book cover of A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive. John Stuart Mill developed several approaches to comparison: “method of agreement” and “method of difference”. (Source: Mill, J.S. (1843). A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive. University of Toronto Press.)

What Is the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD)?

This approach is derived from Mill’s ‘method of difference’. In a Most Similar Systems Design Design, the cases selected for comparison are similar to each other, but the outcomes differ in result. In this approach we are interested in keeping as many of the variables the same across the elected cases, which for comparative politics often involves countries. Remember, the independent variable is the factor that doesn’t depend on changes in other variables. It is potentially the ‘cause’ in the cause and effect model. The dependent variable is the variable that is affected by, or dependent on, the presence of the independent variable. It is the ‘effect’. In a most similar systems approach the variables of interest should remain the same.

A good example involves the lack of a national healthcare system in the US. Other countries, such as New Zealand, Australia, Ireland, UK and Canada, all have robust, publicly accessible national health systems. However, the US does not. These countries all have similar systems: English heritage and language use, liberal market economies, strong democratic institutions, and high levels of wealth and education. Yet, despite these similarities, the end results vary. The US does not look like its peer countries. In other words, why do we have similar systems producing different outcomes?

What Is the Most Different Systems Design (MDSD)?

This approach is derived from Mill’s ‘method of agreement’. In a Most Different System Design, the cases selected are different from each other, but result in the same outcome. In this approach, we are interested in selecting cases that are quite different from one another, yet arrive at the same outcome. Thus, the dependent variable is the same. Different independent variables exist between the cases, such as democratic v. authoritarian regime, liberal market economy v. non-liberal market economy. Or it could include other variables such as societal homogeneity (uniformity) vs. societal heterogeneity (diversity), where a country may find itself unified ethnically/religiously/racially, or fragmented along those same lines.

A good example involves the countries that are classified as economically liberal. The Heritage Foundation lists countries such as Singapore, Taiwan, Estonia, Australia, New Zealand, as well as Switzerland, Chile and Malaysia as either free or mostly free. These countries differ greatly from one another. Singapore and Malaysia are considered flawed or illiberal democracies (see

chapter 5 for more discussion), whereas Estonia is still classified as a developing country. Australia and New Zealand are wealthy, Malaysia is not. Chile and Taiwan became economically free countries under the authoritarian military regimes, which is not the case for Switzerland. In other words, why do we have different systems producing the same outcome?

2.4: References

Achen, Christopher H. (1983). “Towards Theories of Data: The State of Political Methodology.” In Political Science: The State of the Discipline, ed. Ada W. Finifter, 69–93. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.

Babbie, E. (1998) Survey Research Methods (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing.

Bartels, Larry M. and Henry E. Brady. (1993). “The State of Quantitative Political Methodology.” In Political Science: The State of the Discipline II, ed. Ada W. Finifter, 121–59. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association.

Blatter, J. and Haverland, M. (2012) Designing Case Studies: Explanatory Approaches in Small-N Research. Palgrave-Macmillan.

Brady, Henry E., and David Collier, eds. (2004). Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield and the Berkeley Public Policy Press.

Camerer, Colin F. and Rebecca Morton. (2002). “Formal Theory Meets Data.” In Political Science: The State of the Discipline, eds. Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, 784–804. New York and Washington, DC: W.W. Norton and American Political Science Association.

Collier, David. 1991. “The Comparative Method: Two Decades of Change.” In Comparative Political Dynamics: Global Research Perspectives, eds. Dankwart A. Rustow and Kenneth Paul Erickson, 7–31. New York: Harper Collins.

_____. (1993) “The Comparative Method”, in A. W. Finister (ed) Political Science: The State of the Discipline II. Washington, DC : American Political Science Association.

Coppedge, Michael. (2002)“Theory Building and Hypothesis Testing: Large- vs. Small-N Research on Democratization”, Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, April 25-27.

Druckman, J. N., Green, D. P., Kuklinski, J. H., & Lupia, A. (2011) Cambridge Handbook of Experimental Political Science. Cambridge University Press.

Ellet, W. (2018) The Case Study Handbook: A Student’s Guide (Revised ed.). Harvard Business Review Press

Falleti, T.G. & Lynch, J.F. “Context and Causal Mechanisms in Political Analysis,” Comparative Political Studies, 42(9): 1143-1166. https://doi:10.1177/0010414009331724

Flick, U. (2009) An Introduction to Qualitative Research (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. (2011). “Case Study”, in Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Linclon (eds.), The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research (4th ed.) California: Sage, pp. 301-316.

Frey, Frederick W. (1970). “Cross-cultural Survey Research in Political Science.” In The Methodology of Comparative Research, eds. Robert T. Holt and John E. Turner, 173–294. New York: Free Press.

Geddes, Barbara. (1991). “How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics.” In Political Analysis, Vol. 2 1990, ed. James A. Stimson, 131–49. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

George, Alexander L. (1979). “Case Studies and Theory Development: The Method of Structured, Focused Comparison.” In Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory and Policy, ed. Paul Gordon Lauren, 43–68. New York: Free Press.

George, Alexander L., and Andrew Bennett. (2005). Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gerring, J. (2007) Case Study Research: Principles and Practices (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press

---------- (2017) Case Study Research: Principles and Practices (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press

Goertz, G. (2006) Social Science Concepts: A User’s Guide. Princeton University Press.

Goggin, Malcolm L.(1986) “The “Too Few Cases/Too Many Variables” Problem in Implementation Research”, The Western Political Quarterly 39(2), Utah: University of Utah, Jun., pp. 328-347.

Jackman, Robert W. (1985). “Cross-National Statistical Research and the Study of Comparative Politics.” American Journal of Political Science 29, no. 1: 161–82.

_____. (2001). “Cross-country Quantitative Studies of Political Development.” Revista de Ciencia Política (Santiago, Chile) 21, no. 1: 60–76.

King, Gary. (1991). “On Political Methodology.” Political Analysis 2: 1–30.

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. (1994). Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Knoke, D., Bohrnstedt, G. W. & Mee, A. P. (2002) Statistics for Social Data Analysis (4th ed.). F. E. Peacock Publishers.

Lieberson, Stanley. (1991). “Small N’s and Big Conclusions: An Examination of the Reasoning in Comparative Studies Based on a Small Number of Cases.” Social Forces 70, no. 2: 307–20.

Ljiphart, A. (1971) “Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method”, The American Political Science Review, 65(3): 682-693. https://doi.org/10.2307/1955513

Macridis, Roy, and Richard Cox. (1953). “Research in Comparative Politics. Seminar Report.” American Political Science Review 47, no. 3 (September): 641–57.

Mahoney, James, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. (2003). Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McDermott, R. (2002) “Experimental Methods in Political Science”, Annual Review of Political Science, 5:31-61. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.5.091001.170657.

Morton, Rebecca B. (1999). Methods and Models: A Guide to the Empirical Analysis of Formal Models in Political Science. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Munck, Gerardo L. (2005). “Measuring Democratic Governance: Central Tasks and Basic Problems.” In Measuring Empowerment: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives, ed. Deepa Narayan, 427–59. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Munck, Gerardo L., and Jay Verkuilen. (2002). “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices.” Comparative Political Studies 35, no. 1: 5–34.

Naumes W. and Naumes, M.J. (2015) The Art & Craft of Case Writing (3rd ed.). Routledge Press.

Omae M., & Bozonelos, D. 2020. “Quantitative Research Methods and Means of Analysis,” in Franco, J., Lee, C., Vue, K., Bozonelos, D., Omae, M., & Cauchon, S. Eds. Introduction to Political Science Research Methods. First Edition. https://www.oercommons.org/courses/i...ource-textbook. CC-BY-NC.

Pagels, Heinz. (1988). *The Dreams of Reason.* Simon and Schuster, New York.

Rosato, S. (2003) “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory”, American Political Science Review, 97(4): 585-602.

Skocpol, Theda. (1979). States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China. New York: Cambridge University Press.

_____. (1985). “Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research.” In Bringing the State Back In, eds. Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, 3–37. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Skocpol, Theda, and Margaret Somers. (1980). “The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry.” Comparative Studies in Society and History 22, no. 2 (October): 174–97.

2.5: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Applied research** - defined as “research that attempts to explain social phenomena with immediate public policy implications."
- **Assumptions** - statements that are taken to be true, or statements that are accepted as true, without proof.
- **Case** - is defined as a “spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time, or over some period of time."
- **Case study** - an intensive look into that single case, often with the intent that this single case may help us better understand a particular variable of interest.
- **Causal case studies** - case studies “organized around a central hypothesis about how X affects Y”.
- **Causal mechanism** - defined as “portable concepts that explain how and why a hypothesized cause, in a given context, contributes to a particular outcome.”
- **Causal question** - involves discerning cause and effect, also referred to as a causal relationship.
- **Comparative case study** - defined as a study that is structured on the comparison of two or more cases.
- **Deductive reasoning** - occurs when political scientists make an inference and then test its truth using evidence and observations.
- **Dependent variables (outcome variables)** - the assumed effect, their values will (presumably) depend on the changes in the independent variables.
- **Descriptive case studies** - case studies “not organized around a central, overarching causal hypothesis or theory”.
- **Empirical Analysis** - is defined as being based on experiment, experience or observation.
- **Experiment** - defined as “laboratory studies in which investigators retain control over the recruitment, assignment to random conditions, treatment, and measurement of subjects.”
- **Falsifiability** - is a word coined by Karl Popper, a philosopher of science, and is defined as the ability for a statement to be logically contradicted through empirical testing.
- **Hard sciences** - such as chemistry, mathematics, and physics, work to advance scientific understanding in the natural or physical sciences.
- **Hypothesis** - a specific and testable prediction of what you think will happen.
- **Independent variables (explanatory variables)** - the cause, and these variables are independent of other variables under consideration in a study.
- **Inductive reasoning** - occurs when scientists look at specific situations and attempt to form a hypothesis.
- **Inference** - is a process of drawing a conclusion about an unobserved phenomenon, based on observed (empirical) information.
- **Large-N research** - when the number of observations or cases is large enough where we would need mathematical, usually statistical, techniques to discover and interpret any correlations or causations.
- **Literature review** - a section of your research paper or research process which collects key sources and previous research on your research question and discusses the findings in synthesis with each other.
- **Most Different Systems Design (MDSD)** - the cases selected for comparison are different from each other, but outcomes are similar in results.
- **Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD)** - the cases selected for comparison are similar to each other, but outcomes differ in results.
- **Non-falsifiable** - a question cannot be proven true or false under present circumstances, particularly when such questions are subjective.
- **Science** - is defined as the systematic and organized approach to any area of inquiry, and utilizes scientific methods to acquire and build a body of knowledge, political science, as well as comparative politics as a subfield of political science, embody the essence of the scientific method and possess deep foundations for the scientific tools and theory formation which align with their areas of inquiry.
- **Scientific method** - a process by which knowledge is acquired through a sequence of steps, which generally include the following components: question, observation, hypothesis, testing of the hypothesis, analysis of the outcomes, and reporting of the findings.
- **Social sciences** - which are the fields of inquiry that scientifically study human society and relationships.
- **Soft sciences** - like psychology, sociology, anthropology and political science, work to advance scientific understanding of human behavior, institutions, society, government, decision making, and power.

- **Subnational case study research** - when subnational governments, such provincial governments, regional governments, and other local governments often referred to as municipalities, are the cases that are compared.
- **Theory** - a statement that explains how the world works based on experiences and observation.
- **Variable** - is a factor or object that can vary or change.

Summary

Section #2.1: What Makes the Study of Comparative Politics a Science?

Comparative politics is a social science which follows the scientific method as a way to advance knowledge in the field. To this end, the scientific method is a process by which knowledge is acquired through a sequence of steps, which generally include the following components: question, observation, hypothesis, testing of the hypothesis, analysis of the outcomes, and reporting of the findings. Each of these steps is critical to exercising sound methodological practices to answer clear and substantive research questions.

Section #2.2: The Scientific Method and Comparative Politics

There are four basic approaches used in empirical research: the experimental method, the statistical method, case study methods, and the comparative method. Experimental methods are the result of experimental designs, and the methods involve standardization, randomization, between-subject versus within-subject design and experimental bias. Statistical methods are the use of mathematical techniques to analyze collected data, usually in numerical form, such as interval or ratio-scale. Statistical methods are great for discerning correlations, or relationships between variables. Advanced mathematical techniques have been developed that permit understanding of complex relationships. Comparative methods involve “the analysis of a small number of cases, entailing at least two observations”. As such, the comparative method involves more than a case study, or single-N research, but less than a statistical analysis, or large-N study. Case studies are one of major techniques used by comparativists to study phenomena, and cases provide for in-depth traditional research.

Section #2.3: What is a Case Study?

Case studies are one of major techniques used by comparativists to study various phenomena. A case study is an intensive look into a single case, often with the intent that this single case may help us better understand a particular variable of interest. The case study could consist of a single observation within the country, with each observation having several dimensions. There are also comparative case studies, when a scholar compares across an increasing number of cases, shifting the analysis from a single example to other cases in other countries. Finally, there are subnational case studies, where the area of interest involves subnational governments, such as provincial governments, regional governments or local governments. Overall, the option for using case studies as a means of research has been vital to theory development in the field of political science.

Section #2.4: Case Selection (Or, How to Use Cases in Your Comparative Analysis)

Case selection is a critical aspect of research design and relies on questions over how many cases, and which cases, to include in a study, to help determine the outcome of results. Some studies will have a large-N, where the number of observations or cases is large enough where we would need mathematical, usually statistical, techniques to discover and interpret any correlations or causations. For case selection, randomization is important to ensure bias is reduced. Case selection can be driven by a number of factors in comparative politics, including the interest of the researcher(s), as well as the type of case study being pursued. To this end, there are two types of case studies: descriptive and causal. Descriptive case studies are “not organized around a central, overarching causal hypothesis or theory” while causal case studies are “organized around a central hypothesis about how X affects Y.” A final method of considering which cases to select comes from John Stuart Mill’s approaches of Most Similar System Design (MSSD) and Most Different System Design (MDSD). In a Most Similar Systems Design Design, the cases selected for comparison are similar to each other, but the outcomes differ in result. Conversely, in a Most Different System Design, the cases selected are different from each other, but result in the same outcome.

Review Questions

1. The scientific method involves following certain steps. Which of these steps would come first?
    a. Conduct an experiment
    b. Form Hypotheses
    c. Ask a question
    d. Communicate findings

2. An inference is:
    a. A process to acquire knowledge through a sequence of steps
    b. An educated guess
    c. A process of drawing a conclusion about an unobserved phenomenon based on observed information
    d. The ability for a statement to be proven true or false
3. Who coined the term ‘falsifiable?’
    a. Plato
    b. Karl Popper
    c. John Locke
    d. Sidney Verba
4. “Is Chocolate ice cream better than Vanilla ice cream?” Why is this question not falsifiable?
    a. It’s not specific enough.
    b. It’s too technical.
    c. It’s subjective.
    d. It’s falsifiable.
5. Using a case study may be ideal if:
    a. Using a large sample size of data from a number of countries
    b. Comparing many countries at once
    c. Considering a small number of countries
    d. You want to make a sweeping statement about many countries

Answers: 1.c, 2.c, 3.b, 4.c., 5.c

Critical Thinking

1. Provide some examples of an inductive versus a deductive approach to hypothesis formation. Try to use examples conducive to political science and comparative politics specifically.
2. Construct a list of no less than five falsifiable questions you could use for political science research. What are the challenges in devising questions which are falsifiable?
3. Of the four approaches to research, which one do you find most appealing? What makes it most appealing? What challenges do you think you would face in your choice of research approach?

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- CIA World Factbook
- Our World in Data
- World Development Indicators

Journals

- Achen, Chris. (2005). “Let’s Put Garbage Can Regressions and Garbage Can Probits Where They Belong.” Conflict Management and Peace Science, 22(4), 327-339.
- Geddes, Barbara. (1990). “How the Cases you Choose Affect the Answers you Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics,” Political Analysis, 2, 131-50.
- Kalleberg, Arthur L., “The Logic of Comparison: A Methodological Note on the Comparative Study of Political Systems,” World Politics, 19 (October 1966), p. 72

Books

- Brady, Henry & Collier, David, eds. (2000). Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards. Berkeley, CA: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Franco, J., Lee, C., Vue, K., Bozonelos, D., Omae, M., and Cauchon S. (2020). Introduction to Political Science Research Methods. First Edition. PDF Version ISBN: 978-1-7351980-0-2
- King, Gary, Keohane, Robert, & Verba, Sidney. (1994). Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Contributors

2022 version: Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D., Masahiro Omae, Ph.D. and Julia Wendt, Ph.D.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

3: States and Regimes

3.1: Introduction to States

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define, and distinguish between, key terms including state, regime, and nation.
- Recall the development of the state from its origins.
- Identify common characteristics of modern states.
- Consider the implications of political capacity in various states.

Introduction

What is government? Is government necessary? Why do governments exist?

At some point in your life, you may have asked some of these questions. Many times, the fact that people live under a government or in a country that has rules and societal norms, can be difficult to grasp. At the present moment, there are almost 8 billion people on the planet and almost 200 identified countries worldwide. There are 193 member countries in the United Nations. The fact stands that of the nearly 8 billion people currently on the planet, most live under some kind of government or are affiliated with one of 200 countries on the planet. This means that most human beings on this planet have found themselves in the situation of being ruled over or governed, and while daily life is filled with a myriad of basic to-do lists and activities, many of the activities of humans on the planet are, in small and big ways, dictated by political powers. To this end, this chapter considers important aspects of political power within countries, the important terminology we use in the field of comparative politics to understand the world around us, and important problems and issues related to states and regimes.

The Social Contract and Social Order

Let's begin with some critical questions: Why does government exist? Is government necessary?

A society without government or central leadership is one that lives in anarchy. **Anarchy** is defined as a lack of societal structure and order where there is no established hierarchy of power. Many scholars and political scientists have considered, at great length, the phenomenon and applicability of anarchy, though anarchy has not been a norm within the communities of humans living over the past 15,000 years. Even prior to the establishment of formal governments and formalized institutions, human beings were organizing themselves for various reasons. One of the first things that compelled human beings to organize themselves was the pursuit of survival. Over the course of human history, humans began to understand that survival seemed more feasible when they cooperated with one another. While they didn't have established, written laws, early humans did begin to have informal rules and norms for how they handled themselves in society. In some cases, informal leaders also existed and helped guide how humans were supposed to act in order to survive.

Early humans often existed as small groups composed mostly of family members. For example, think of your own family. Are there certain rules your family followed while you were growing up? Who was in charge? Who told you what to do and when to do it? Consider this, and consider how the existence or non-existence of rules in your family contributed to how your family worked and lived. Did rules help your family? Did you think the leaders, parental guardians, in your family were legitimate? Did you follow their rules? In time, families banded together into tribes, which in turn, formed their own rules and norms for how their group should act, usually with the common goal of surviving. Also, in time, circumstances changed for humans, particularly in terms of how they were able to survive. Initially, there was a hunter-gatherer approach, where humans hunted for their food and gathered fruits, berries and other available plant life in order to survive.

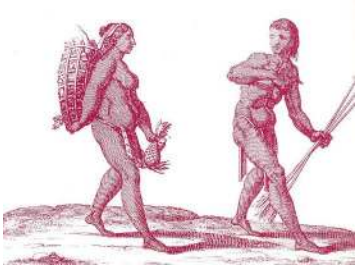


Figure 3.1.1: Painting of a Kali'na hunter with a woman gatherer. (Source: A Kali'na hunter with a woman gatherer by Pierre Barrère is licensed under Public Domain - US)

About twelve thousand years ago, society was able to shift its approach. Humans found a way to stay in one place for longer through the agricultural revolution. Humans were now able to till the land for crops and begin early irrigation methods to enable the watering of their crops. With the ability to stay in one place for longer, rather than moving around constantly to hunt and gather, human groups began to aggregate in common locations. The agricultural revolution also led to human population growth. This population growth, combined with more people living closer together, also led to the need for formal societal organization. Humans, now living closer to each other, were to forced to develop some sort of order to ensure survival. In looking back on this period of human history, the main takeaway is that humans chose not to live in anarchy instead of a living in a chaotic world without rules. Humans calculated that their status quo would be improved with a strong set of rules. In addition, both individual and societal goals could be accomplished through mutual cooperation in a rules-based society. Out of this, would come what Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Rousseau called the social contract.

A **social contract** is defined as either a formal or informal agreement between the rulers and those ruled in a society. Those who are ruled submit to the laws of the rulers in exchange for certain benefits. Sometimes, the benefits are as simple as military protection. In the United States, citizens are expected to obey the laws of the land, as expressed through the Constitution. This is in exchange for protection of their "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness." Social contracts can be voluntary or involuntary, and can be observed in almost every type of political system, democratic or otherwise. Sometimes, a social contract involves those who are ruled to pledge fealty, as well as their livelihoods and productivity, to the ruling class. There are two types of social contracts. The first is a voluntary social contract. This is where the people agree to submit to the ruling class. Keep in mind that even though this agreement is voluntary, it does not always mean that those who are ruled are entitled to certain privileges, such as freedom of speech. In this situation, the people may simply need protection from outside threats. An involuntary social contract is when the ruling class dominates in a given territory and demands obedience from the people. In this case, those being ruled are simply pushed into a social contract. In some instances, disagreement has led to banishment or death.

There are also implicit social contracts as well. For example, most US citizens are born into their social contract. This is why some Americans often take their social contract for granted. By being born into citizenship, Americans may never need to actualize, or act upon, their citizenship. They benefit from a system that protects their rights and liberties, even when they choose not to obey the law. In contrast, there are other US citizens that are born into this social contract, and instead go through a formal process to become US citizens. This process is referred to as naturalization. **Naturalization** is the process by which noncitizens formally become citizens of the country they reside in. Naturalization is a long process that requires multiple steps, including but not limited to background checks, oral examinations, paperwork, and finally pledging allegiance to your host country in a formal ceremony. The process of naturalization is a good example of a voluntary and formal social contract where a citizen pledges obedience and allegiance in exchange for the benefits of being a citizen.

Figure 3.1.2: Naturalization Ceremony at Harriet Tubman National Historical Park on August 8, 2019. (Source: Naturalization Ceremony at Harriet Tubman National Historical Park by Mary O'Neill is licensed under Public Domain - US)

Social contract theory is often credited to certain philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Hobbes was the earliest of these thinkers, living between 1588 and 1679. While Hobbes was known for many scholastic contributions to history, politics, math and physics, he contributed greatly to political science, most notably the concept of a social contract. Hobbes acknowledged that all people act within their own self-interest, and in acting in their own self-interest, will make calculations to ensure their survival. Hobbes inherently saw human beings as selfish. For him, the state of nature was unstable and dangerous. Hobbes wrote that life was, “nasty, brutish and short”.

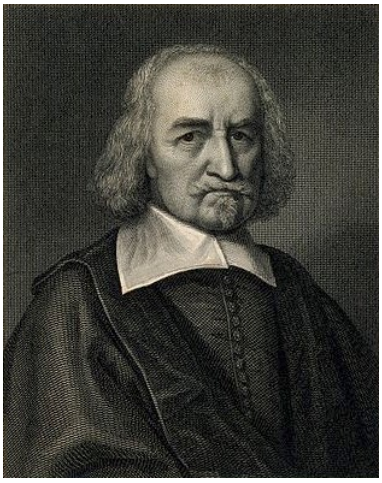


Figure 3.1.3: Portrait of Thomas Hobbes, mid-17th century. (Source: Thomas Hobbes, Line engraving by W. Humphrys is licensed under CC BY 4.0)

Locke lived between 1632 to 1704 in the UK and is considered one of the primary Enlightenment thinkers of his time. Locke contributed to social contract theory in his masterpiece, *Two Treatises of Government*. Locke set out the principles of natural rights, where he believed that all people were born with “certain, unalienable” rights. These rights should be recognized by states. Governments are expected to protect these natural rights through their political institutions and structures. In contrast to Hobbes, Locke thought positively about humankind. But like Hobbes, he believed in the power of the state, which did a better job of protecting its citizens. Again, Hobbes favored a more authoritarian government, believing that the state needed to control the masses, for their own good. Whereas, Locke believed humans were perfectly capable of living peacefully with each other, with no need for an authoritarian state. Even though Locke’s work did not gain widespread attention during his lifetime, it heavily influenced the US founding fathers. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson borrowed heavily from Locke, with certain phrases in the US Constitution taken directly from Locke’s writings.

Figure 3.1.4: Portrait of John Locke, 1697. (Source: John Locke, by Godfrey Kneller is licensed under CC01 - Universal Public Domain)

“Men are born free, yet everywhere are in chains,” remarked Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the opening lines of his 1762 work, Du Contrat social, or The Social Contract. In this publication, Rousseau continues the discourse on social contract theory and argues that society does not lend itself to equal and equitable treatment of those within society. Instead, society imprisons people with various “chains” and suppresses their natural born rights and liberties. To Rousseau, the only type of authority is only legitimate in society if it comes from the consent of all people. All people must agreed to a government in order to protect their interests, but in this contract, there must be a “unified will” which takes into consideration the interests of the people for the common good.

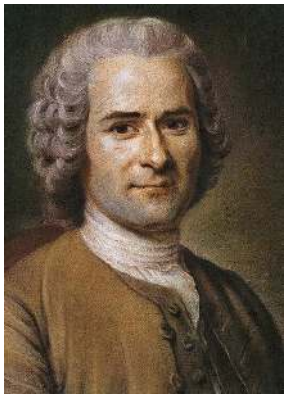


Figure 3.1.5: Portrait of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, late 18th century. (Source: Jean-Jacques Rousseau by Maurice Quentin de La Tour is licensed under CC01 - Universal Public Domain)

Taking this logic of the social contract back to the historical context, an early version of social contract can also be observed in ancient Greece, which is also credited with the first democratic state. In Ancient Greece, a system was established wherein elite men could participate in government and representatives could work on behalf of the people. Democracy comes from the Greek words, demo and kratos, meaning rule by the people. Broadly defined, democracy is a political system wherein government is dictated by the power of the people. A direct democracy is where every single citizen is able to be involved in the legal process and able to have some amount of power over the laws of society. A **representative democracy** is one where the people elect representatives to serve on their behalf to make the laws and rules of society. Ancient Greece did not have a perfect democracy as many members of the population were excluded from decision-making processes, like slaves (both male and female) and women were excluded from political processes. Nevertheless, the social contract here, in hindsight, was that the people of Ancient Greece submitted to the ruling class, through somewhat representative leadership, in order for protection from the political system.

Following the fall of the Roman Empire in 489 ACE, Western Europe fell into chaos. No longer were the citizens of these areas protected by the former social contract. Northern hordes came down and would attack territories, leaving most of the regions of the former Roman Empire in disarray. The circumstances were not ideal and most people during this time lived under constant duress with no protection of their person or property. Around 900 ACE, the system of feudalism arose. **Feudalism** was a system or social order that arose out of the middle ages, particularly in Europe, wherein peasants (sometimes called Serfs) were forced to provide members of the upper class with their crops, produce, goods as well as their services, fealty and loyalty. The upper class, usually Nobles, would provide some level of protection to the Serfs in exchange for their products and services. Consider feudalism in light

of the social contract. Though not necessarily ideal, the Serfs were able to exchange their goods, services and fealty in exchange for some level of protection of their lives and property.

Overall, the story of government comes from this historical reckoning of the social contract and the drive for social order. From this, we can talk more directly about the formation of states, which is a common theme throughout political science and the comparative politics field.

Defining Terms

One of the most frequently used words in the study of comparative politics is the word state. At first glance, many students will see or hear the word state and think of, perhaps, subnational governments, like states in the United States like Montana, Wisconsin, New York, and so forth. This is not the way the word is interpreted within the field of comparative politics. Instead, a **state** is defined as a national-level group, organization or body which administers its own legal and governmental policies within a designated region or territory. Outside of the comparative discipline, many people tend to use the terms state, country, government, regime, and nation interchangeably. Within comparative politics, each of these terms is distinct, and have different implications when attempting to observe the political landscapes around the world. Since States tend to be the major political actors in the global arena, it is vital to have a firm grounding in understanding what states are, how the term state relates to other concepts and terms within comparative politics field, and how comparativists set out to study states and their actions. Using the correct terms in the right context will empower you to be able to interpret comparativist literature and research, and perhaps add your own contributions to the field someday.

If a state is a national-level organization which administers its own legal and governmental policies within a designated region or territory, what are nations and countries and how are they different or similar? State tends to have a narrower meaning than both a nation and a country, and relates more specifically to how a designated territory operates politically. A **nation** can be broadly defined as a population of people joined by common culture, history, language, ancestry within a designated region of territory. A **country** is similar, but tends to encompass aspects of both the nation and the state. A country is a nation, which may have one or more states within it, or may change state-type over time. For instance, consider the country, Russia. Russian history tends to be credited with its onset in the 9th century with the Rus' people. The Rus' state was established in 862 ACE, and encompassed much of modern day Russia as well as parts of Scandinavia. The Kievan Rus' state followed the Rus' state, but eventually fell apart during the Mongol invasions between 1237 and 1240. While Moscow grew to be a significant hub for business, politics, and society, the Russian region at this time was largely stateless and operated under the system of feudalism.

As mentioned above, feudalism was a system or social order that arose out of the middle ages, particularly in Europe, wherein peasants (sometimes called Serfs) were forced to provide members of the upper class with their crops, produce, goods as well as their services, fealty and loyalty. The upper class, usually Nobles, would provide some level of protection to the Serfs in exchange for their products and services. Eventually, Rus' became a unified country Grand Duchy of Moscow, and became a major force within the region. (Briefly consider Tsardom, Imperial Russia…rise and fall of USSR…) Over time, the way Russia was ruled varied greatly, whether ruling came from a noble class, a royal bloodline, installment of a leader, or election of leadership. Let's say a country, being a nation with shared values and heritage, is the hardware needed for a state within the world, then the regime is the software which tells the country or nation how to operate. The hardware, in this case, tends to last longer and be bound by similar history and values whereas a country or nation's regime type can vary based on shifting values and challenges of the time period. Therefore, Russia has a common territory, history, language, ancestry, but has been led by different states over time.

One of the important characteristics of a state is its ability to independently organize its own policies and goals. As defined in Chapter One, sovereignty is fundamental governmental power, where the government has the power to coerce those to do things they may not want to do. Sovereignty also involves the ability to manage the country's affairs independently from outside powers and internal resistance. If a state does not have the ability to manage its own affairs and issues, it will not be able to maintain its power over what happens. **Power**, broadly defined, is the ability to get others to do what you want them to do. **Soft power** means being able to get others to do what you want them to do using the methods of persuasion or manipulation. **Hard power**, in contrast, is the ability to get others to do what you want using physical and potentially aggressive measures, for instance, like fighting, attacking or through war. Both types of power hold critical places in the world of politics. It is critical to be able to convince others of a course of action from the perspective of a state, sometimes this ability to convince will come from simple persuasion or discussion of the merits of a certain course of action. Other times, there may be heavy resistance to an idea or plan, and some have chosen to use physical violence to get their policy goals achieved. Physical power is important in cases where a state must still defend itself from outside powers. If a state is unable to defend itself physically, even the most benevolent policy goals and objectives would be rendered meaningless because the state could cease to exist if attacked.

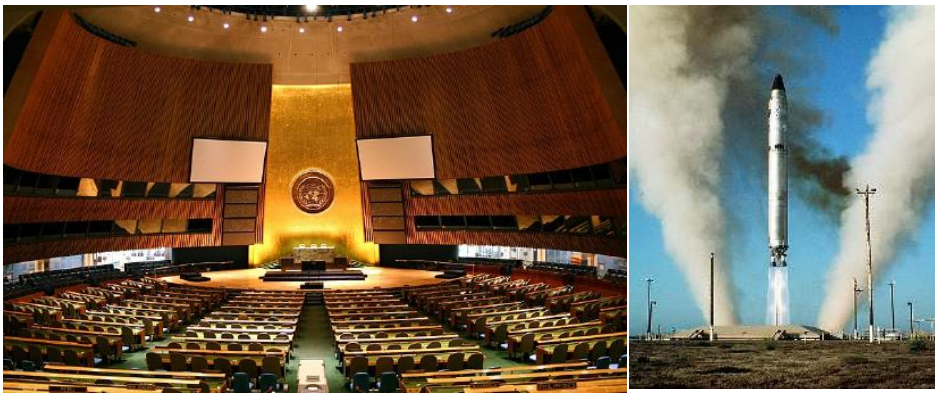


Figure 3.1.6: On the left, a photo of the United Nations General Assembly Hall. Negotiating for ideal political terms is an example of soft power. On the right, a photo of a Test launch of an LGM-25C Titan II Intercontinental Ballistic Missile at Vandenberg Air Force Base in the United States, 1975. Launching a missile would be an example of trying to exercise hard power. (Sources: From left to right, United Nations General Assembly Hall by Patrick Gruban is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0; An LGM-25C Titan II missile is launched at Vandenberg Air Force Base by the U.S. Air Force is licensed under Public Domain - US)

States must have both authority and legitimacy in order to operate effectively, or at the very least, to exist for some period of time. **Legitimacy** can be defined as the state's ability to establish itself as a valid power over its citizens. **Authority** is another important piece of a state's existence. Authority is defined as having the power to get things done. If we put these two terms together, a state is legitimate in its operations if it has the authority to make decisions and carry out its policy goals. **Traditional legitimacy** occurs when states have the authority to lead based on historical precedent. For instance, there are states in the political system where there is a legitimate authority to lead, but no defined or operationalized constitution, or set of rules and laws. A second type of legitimacy is called **charismatic legitimacy**, and it means that citizens follow the rules of a state based on the charisma and personality of the current leader. Legitimacy, in this scenario, also does not come from a written constitution accepted by the representatives or leaders of a country. This type of legitimacy can be flimsy as it is contingent on the charisma of a particular leader. When that leader dies or gets removed from office, will the state continue to stand, or will citizens no longer see legitimacy of authority from the government in the absence of that charismatic leader?

The last type of legitimacy is called **rational-legal legitimacy**, and it occurs when states derive their authority through firmly established, often written and adopted, laws, rules, regulations, procedures through a constitution. A **constitution** can be understood as a state's described laws of the land. Authority and legitimacy can be consolidated and, if accepted by the people, it becomes the operating manual and handbook for how society should run. Each of these forms of legitimacy, especially when taken together, can enhance a state's ability to function. If, for instance, there is a written and adopted constitution, and it has been transparently drafted and considered by representatives of a state, individuals will know what the rights and rules are of their given society. In time, as laws and norms are followed and accepted, there also becomes a historical precedent that individuals are more likely to accept (traditional legitimacy). Finally, if there does happen to be a charismatic leader, they may be able to garner further support from the people to deepen a state's legitimacy and potentially grow the political agenda to meet further needs of society.

With these important terms considered, we can now more formally consider the many types of state and regimes that exist today, as well as the ways in which regimes may shift in form and function over time to either serve the needs or the people or the desires of the ruling classes.

3.2: The Modern State and Regime Types

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the differences between strong and weak states
- Compare and contrast examples of political capacity in different countries
- Define and identify different regime types

Introduction

The rise of the so-called modern state is usually attributed to the end of the European Middle Ages, wherein states were critical to the organization and survival of certain societies. Being a member of state brought benefits to those included. Having a recognized state meant there was a recognized authority by which states could trade and do business with each other. Trade prompted economic development, which further solidified trading relationships. With economic development, states were also able to pursue technological innovations. The advent of trade enabled states to improve the way ordinary day-to-day activities were run, and it enabled states to build further military power. Advances in technology helped European states invent, or improve, the use of gunpowder, weapons, mapmaking, as well as mathematics and engineering. A final benefit for European states coming out of the Middle Ages was some semblance of political stability for its inhabitants. When protected by a recognized, and somewhat unified, state, ordinary people had greater chances for survival.

As described earlier in this chapter, not all social contracts and state authority are created equal; in fact, there is great variation in the way states manifest in different regions and under different ideological perspectives. To this end, this chapter asks how we can compare states and state power. What is the scope of variation in the types of states we have seen? What are the implications of various state types?

Foundations & Strong and Weak States

How do Comparativists compare and contrast state types? How does this contribute to advancing our understanding of how states form, operate, and interact with each other? In looking at modern states, what are the main factors to consider in comparing states?

As seen previously in this chapter, states are alike in that they began forming when societies were able to stay in one place (thanks to the agricultural revolution), and some form of the social contract is observed between a state authority and those under the state authority. Regardless of the type of regime, government, and culture of the society, states tend to grapple with how much power a state can have to impede on the lives of its citizens. The balance over how much freedom to grant, versus how much authority the state can wield, contributes to a variety of different political outcomes; this is where the foundations of the social contract begin to end. Some states are powerful, strong, effective, and stable. Other states are disorganized, chaotic, weak and unstable. How can we tell the difference between strong and weak states?

Strong states are those which are able to work their political agendas effectively, to make sure basic political tasks are completed. Strong states are able to defend their territory and interests, collect taxes from the people, enforce laws, manage their economies, and promote civil and political stability within their domain. Regardless of where authority is derived, the state has legitimacy to act because the citizens have accepted the terms of the social contract.

Weak states are those which are unable to perform basic political tasks, and unable to work the political agenda of the authority in charge. Weak states are typically unable to defend their territories and interests. They do not have enough legitimacy, or related logistics, to collect taxes, enforce their laws, and manage their economy effectively. Weak states also struggle with ensuring domestic stability, likely because they lack the legitimacy and authority to act on their constituents. Considering strong and weak states side-by-side, we can begin to discuss the concept of state capacity. **Political capacity** is defined as the ability of a state to use its power, as derived through authority and legitimacy, to get things done and promote its own interests. A state with low capacity is a weak state whereas a state with high capacity is a strong state. Capacity will be one of the factors comparativists consider when comparing states.

An important factor to consider for comparativists considering states is a states' regime type. A regime is the method by which the state has chosen to wield its power to enforce laws, rules and norms of political life. Regime type and the form of government are therefore synonymous.

Aside from political capacity and regime type, comparativists also consider many aspects of the political and cultural realities and institutions of a given state. Factors such as internal political stability and conflict, political conflict between competing states, culture and society within a state, geography, social demographics, political agendas and outcomes, and state economies and relationship to the global economy. Other chapters will focus on these latter factors, while this chapter is focused on the capacity of states and their regime types.

Regime Types - Dictatorships to Democracies

States can vary not only in their strength, legitimacy, and authority, but in the mechanisms they use to achieve political agendas. To this end, there are a number of different government types that states have chosen to achieve their political ends. Here, too, there can be much variation in how states choose to exercise their power. One way to look at regime types is to consider, broadly speaking, the range in types. Some of the main regime types and their characteristics are represented below in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Regime Types

Regime Type	Number of People in Charge	Examples
Anarchy	No one	
Monarchy	One (Usually royal or bloodline)	Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Medieval England
Dictatorship	One	Libya, North Korea, Cuba
Aristocracy	A few (Usually an elite, small, ruling class)	Ancient Sparta
Oligarchy	A few (Usually wealthy elites)	Renaissance Venice
Junta	A few Military Officers (Usually high-ranking officers)	Chad, Guinea
Democracy	Many or All	United States of America, Britain, Germany

In considering Table 3.1, we can first look at a type of regime called a monarchy. A monarchy is a form of government where a single person leads the country under the authority of royalty, bloodlines, or some other factor of symbolic significance. The word monarchy derives from ancient Greek word, *μονάρχης* (monárkhēs), where *μόνος* or mónos means “one” or “single” and *ἄρχων* or árkhōn means “ruler” or “chief.” Monarchies are thought to descend from more ancient forms of tribal leadership, where tribes appointed a special or sacred individual to lead their interests. Over time, modern monarchies evolved where leadership was generally vested with a King or Queen. Even within the regime type of monarchy, there is variation in how the leader may exercise their power. There are two primary types of Monarchy that have been identified throughout history. In an **absolute monarchy**, the monarch is wholly responsible for all decisions, and rules the state with absolute power over all political, economic and social matters. In a **constitutional monarchy**, a monarch must abide by a state-adopted constitution, which dictates the scope and depth of its power in all state-related activities.

A **dictatorship** is a form of government where one person, or sometimes a single group, has sole and absolute power over the state. While dictatorships can range in the extent to which the state intervenes in the private lives of citizens, most dictatorships do not permit free media, freedom of speech, or personal rights and freedoms. A common form of dictatorship in the 20th and 21st centuries have been **personalist dictatorships**, where power lies with a single, charismatic and all powerful person who drives all actions of the state. Current examples of these types of dictators could be Kim Jong-Un of North Korea and Xi Jinping of China. Kim Jong-Un is currently the Supreme Leader of North Korea, and has served since 2011 when his father, Kim Jong-il, who was Supreme Leader, passed away. Like his father, Kim Jong-Un has operated under a cult of personality. A **cult of personality** occurs when a state leverages all aspects of a leader’s real and exaggerated traits to solidify the leader’s power.

Figure 3.2.1: 2019 Image of Kim Jong-un, leader of North Korea. (Source: Kim Jong-un, by Alexei Nikolsky is licensed under CC-BY 4.0)

In the case of North Korea, the state uses its media to promote propaganda which endows its leaders with near or equal to God or Godly status. Xi Jinping of China also has been characterized as a dictator, as he controls all actions and activities of the state along with elites, whom he personally selects, who assist him in carrying out all state activities.

An **aristocracy** is a form of government where a group of social elites rule the state. Often, leaders of an aristocracy are nobles, wealthy, or somehow identified as superior to and/or above the class that is being ruled. Aristocracy tends to be associated with ancient Sparta because the form of government deliberately vested power with those who were seen as elite and capable of ruling. In modern terms, oligarchies seem to be a more present-day embodiment of aristocracy. **Oligarchy** is similarly defined as a form of government where elites rule, though there is not necessarily an assumption of nobility.

A **junta** is a regime type where there is a small, military group of elites who rule state activities. The term junta derives from its use during the Spanish resistance to Napoleon's attempted invasion of Spain in 1808, wherein military groups within Spain assembled and attempted to stop Napoleon's attack. Junta means "meeting" or "committee" in Spanish, though its current affiliations within political science characterize it as akin to a military oligarchy. Often, juntas tend to form as resistance or rebellion, and are used in coup d'etats. **Coup d'etats** are attempts by elites to overthrow the current government of a state through abrupt seizure of power and removal of the government's leadership.

Regime Transitions

One key area of concern in comparative politics is the phenomenon of regime transition. **Regime transitions** occur when a formal government changes to a different government leadership, structure or system. Sometimes, a regime will change from a dictatorship to a democracy through the mobilization of citizens demanding change from their state operations. Other times, a democracy may backslide into a dictatorship. While democracies have become the most common and generally accepted form of government, there have been dozens of examples of a democracy backsliding into a dictatorship.

Consider the example of the rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany during the 1920s. Following World War I, a weak democracy was installed in Germany. The Weimar Republic was Germany's democracy following World War I, but it suffered a number of problems which eventually suppressed the regime and caused it to form into an oppressive dictatorship. The terms of the Treaty of Versaille, which ended World War I, put Germany into social and economic dire straits. The terms of the agreement forced Germany to pay high reparations to the Allies, which left the German people impoverished. High unemployment, high inflation, and general discontent caused the Weimar Republic difficulty in enforcing its political agenda. In the midst of dire circumstances, Adolf Hitler was able to use a Cult of Personality to rally many Germans against the Weimar Republic. Through his use of manipulation and incendiary speech, Hitler was able to get appointed as the Chancellor of Germany. He abolished the Constitution, and year after year, eroded the rights and liberties of the German people till Germany was a fully authoritarian regime led by a single dictator. At the end of World War II, Germany again experienced a regime transition back towards democracy.

Overall, observing cases of regime transition can be important to learning the causes and consequences of changing regimes.

3.3: Comparative Case Study - Botswana and Somalia

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Compare and contrast Botswana and Somalia's historical context for political outcomes
- Apply understanding of political capacity in Botswana and Somalia

Introduction

Why compare and contrast Botswana and Somalia? Why select these two countries for consideration when discussing the main focal point of "the state?" The selection of Botswana and Somalia is interesting to consider when evaluating the relevance of the state, and in terms of methods for selecting case studies, this selection could be categorized as falling into Most Similar Systems Design. The Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD) asks comparativists to consider at least two cases where the cases are similar, but the outcomes from these cases are different. Botswana and Somalia have a number of geographic and historical circumstances in common, and yet the resulting political outcomes have been very different. The primary difference between these two countries are their forms of legitimate authority.

Botswana

Figure 3.3.1: Map of Botswana. (Source: Map of Botswana by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

- **Full Country Name:** Botswana, Republic of Botswana
- **Head(s) of State:** President
- **Government:** Parliamentary Republic
- **Official Languages:** Setswana, English
- **Economic System:** Market-Oriented Economy
- **Location:** Southern Africa
- **Capital:** Gaborone
- **Total land size:** 224,610 sq. miles
- **Population:** 2,254,069
- **GDP:** $18.726 billion
- **GDP per capita:** $7,817
- **Currency:** Pula

The Republic of Botswana is located in southern Africa, and is a landlocked country. Botswana is bordered by South Africa to the south, Namibia to the northwest, and Zimbabwe to the northeast. Botswana has a long history, and is credited with perhaps being the "birthplace" of all modern humans dating back over 200,000 years ago. Much of what is known about the ancient Botswana region is derived from archeological and anthropological research, which has traced evidence of human civilization through ancient tools, cave drawings and evidence of farming practices that existed through the region over time. Although there is robust evidence of the region's population adopting agricultural practices and having tribal norms and values that were followed, the first actual written records of life in Botswana were not noted until around the 1820s.

Botswana was one of many African countries affected by the **Scramble for Africa**, sometimes also called the conquest of Africa, wherein Western European powers attempted to control and colonize all parts of Africa. The Scramble for Africa occurred between

the years of 1880 to 1914, with countries like Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy invading and colonizing much of Africa. Botswana was dominated by Britain. Under British rule, the region of Botswana was called the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Part of the reason the region was called a protectorate was that Britain **annexed**, or took over, the region on the basis that they were "protecting" the main tribes from the Boers. The Boers were descendents of Dutch colonists in Southern Africa, and would frequently attempted to take over the territory of Botswana tribes.To protect their economic, military and moral interests in Botswana, Britain permitted the Bechuanaland Protectorate to operate under its own leadership and rules, but supplied resources to protect the region from the Boers. Beyond this, allowing for any encroachment of the Boers in the region may have compromised British interests in ensuring that German, Dutch and In some ways, some have emphasized the distinction that the Bechuanaland Protectorate was not a colony, but an area protected by the British government for various reasons. A **protectorate** is defined as an area or nation that is managed, possessed, controlled and protected by a different state. The area or nation is dependent in that it relies on the security provided by another state, but is still allowed, to some extent, to dictate its own local politics and activities.

At the beginning of the 20th century, more and more power had begun being shared with the various tribes and councils within Southern Africa. Various proclamations enabled tribal powers to have some level of power over how they conducted themselves. Nevertheless, it was not until 1964 that the United Kingdom allowed Botswana to declare its independence. Botswana was able to hold its first elections in 1966, following the creation of their own Constitution in 1965.

Today, Botswana is considered Africa's oldest and most stable democracies, though it is not without some number of issues (which will be discussed below). Botswana's constitution provides the supreme law of the law and basis for rule. There are components of Botswana's constitution that seek to protect the citizens of Botswana and, like the U.S. the Constitution, provides for certain civil liberties. **Civil liberties** are defined as individual rights that are protected by law to ensure the government does not unreasonably interfere with certain specific individual rights (e.g. like freedom of speech, religion, assembly, etc.) Botswana is a parliamentary republic, which is a system of government where the executive branch is given its powers by the legislative branch, in this case, the parliament. In Botswana's case, the president serves as both the head of state and head of government, and is elected by, and held accountable by, Botswana's Parliament.

Although Botswana's government has three branches of government with defined powers according to their constitution, and even though free elections do occur, there is some question as to how free Botswana actually is. The Freedom in the World Index categorizes Botswana's democracy as free, but a number of global indexes for democracy, including the Democracy Index, have categorized Botswana as having a flawed democracy. (Chapter Four will discuss the variation manifestations of democracy worldwide, but it is worth noting that not all democracies are categorized as fully democratic. Instead, there are characteristics which are considered, and democracy is measured on more of a spectrum, with some characteristics being cause for caution. For instance, ideally, a democracy has more than one political power that is able to vie for power.) One area of concern is Botswana's party system. Botswana has been dominated by single party rule since independence. In the case of Botswana, it tends to be a red flag of sorts that only one political party has held power time and time again. This could be an indication for a lack of fair competition. Another area of concern is Botswana's freedom of speech. Botswana is said to not have full freedom of speech, and freedom of the media is constantly under threat. Another cautionary issue is how Botswana's government treats migrants, refugees, and the LGBTQIA+ community; all of these groups face constant discrimination under the law.

Botswana's current situation is a mixed bag. On the one hand, Botswana does have the oldest and one of the most stable democracies in Africa. According to most indexes, Botswana is also one of the least corrupt democracies in Africa. All this being acknowledged, it bears noting that many of the countries in Africa have struggled with government authority, the basis of legitimacy of leadership, and the practice of democracy. Compared to other countries in Africa, Botswana does seem to be a leader. In comparing Botswana globally, its flawed democracy does rank it lower in terms of democracies worldwide.

An interesting question to pose, considering the current state of Botswana's democracy, is why has Botswana's government been reasonably successful in light of the many failed or failing governments in Africa? Indeed, Botswana is often called the "African Exception." One of the answers to this question is often attributed to culture, and to some extent, luck. At the time of Botswana's independence in the mid-1960s, life for Botswanans was fairly traditional and undisturbed. There was a clear changing of the seasons, which led to predictable crops and management of agriculture. As agriculture was the dominant economic activity of the time, life in Botswana was pretty stable. In addition, prior to the move to formal independence vis-a-vis a government and the creation and adoption of a Constitution, the protectorates and the loose agreements with the United Kingdom for the region to operate with its own leaders within tribes, seemed to have prepared the people of Botswana for a hierarchical power dynamic where tribal decisions were based on the consensus and agreement of the tribes. From this, there was already sort of an informal democracy in place. The combined hierarchy of power, combined with the tradition of gathering consent of the people, may have

made a difference for overall adoption of a democratic form of government. A saying in Setswana seems to capture this sentiment prior to the adoption of a Constitution: “Kgosi ke Kgosi ka batho”: A chief is a chief by the will of the people. (Lewis, Jr., 2020) Within this sentiment, the leadership that was in place at the time of independence was forward thinking. Many of the Chiefs that had been in place were open to modernization, and were open to progressive ideas and attitudes.

In some ways, one of the final issues that likely benefited Botswana’s political outcomes was the lack of British interests in their geographical resources. The United Kingdom had been interested in other locations within Africa, so many other countries in Africa became exploited. Interestingly, Botswana was largely left alone, and was not victims of exploitation on account of their geographical resources. Instead, many in Botswana actually felt abandoned by the government of the United Kingdom. It’s been said that a government official in Botswana quipped,”The British left us with nothing!” He then paused, thoughtfully, and added, “On the other hand, the British left us with nothing.” (Lewis, Jr. 2020) To this end, it may have been helpful that the British left Botswana alone instead of becoming heavily invested in trying to take from Botswana. In this way, Botswana was largely left to fend for itself, developing its own institutions and governmental practices, which were able to transition from previous practices with, relative to other countries, a level of ease.

Somalia

Figure 3.3.2: Map of Somalia. (Source: Map of Somalia by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

- **Full Country Name:** Somalia, Federal Republic of Somalia
- **Head(s) of State:** President, Prime Minister
- **Government:** Federal parliamentary republic
- **Official Languages:** Somali, Arabic
- **Economic System:** Informal
- **Location:** Eastern Africa
- **Capital:** Mogadishu
- **Total land size:** 246,201 sq miles
- **Population:** 15,893,219
- **GDP:** $5.218 billion
- **GDP per capita:** $348
- **Currency:** Somali Shilling

Somalia is a country located in Eastern Africa, the Horn of Africa, and bordered by Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti. Like Botswana, Somalia has a long history. In fact, Somalia is thought to be settled by the first human beings (homo sapiens) on the planet, who are thought to have emerged roughly 300,000 years ago. Archeological digs have unearthed pyramids, tombs, ancient cities as well as tools, burial grounds and homes and walls. Over time, the land that is now Somalia was affected by various civilizations and outside influences given its location for trade. Somalia was a stopping point that enabled profitable trade to occur between what is now the Middle East, connecting trading pathways with India and China. In the 9th century, Islam was introduced to the region of present-day Somalia. Muslims fleeing persecution came to Somalia and introduced the Islamic faith. Over time, Islam grew to be the main religion of Somalia.

Somalia, like Botswana, was a target within the Scramble for Africa, though the influence of colonial powers differed in Somalia. Botswana had been under British control, while Somalia was partially dominated by Britain, and partially dominated by Italy. The two colonial powers fought for control over Somali territory, to the detriment of the Somalians. In World War I, Italy, which had

turned fascist under the rule of Benito Mussolini, sought to annex Ethiopia. Italian troops, along with some Somali troops, were able to take back parts of Somalia formerly dominated by the British. Years later, during World War II, Britain was able to successfully take back its former Somali territory, as well as those parts that were held by Italian forces. The battle between Britain and Italy to dominate Somalia often put the Somalians in difficult positions where they had to side with one or the other.

After years of dispute in the international community, including between Britain and Italy, Somalia formed the Somali Republic in 1961. A referendum was put forth for the people to accept a constitution, which would set the foundations for their own government. Unfortunately, most Somalians were not allowed to participate in the adoption and formal voting in for the new constitution. A president and prime Minister were put into place, but their positions were not the product of voting. In 1969, the President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke was assassinated during a military coup d'etat. The leader of the military at that time, Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, initiated the coup, became the leader of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and controlled the country. The country fell to an authoritarian dictatorship, and the SRC dissolved the legislature and the judiciary, and suspended the constitution. For a time under this control, the SRC renamed Somalia, the Somali Democratic Republic, though there was no constitution nor any democratic institutions. In 1976, Mohamed Siad Barre disbanded the SRC and formed the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party. Barre's administration was a communist regime that attempted to wed the Islamic traditions of the region with socialist ideas of equality.

Regardless of the lofty goals of Major General Barre, decades of military rule left the Somalian people restless and disillusioned. In 1991, in the face of increasingly authoritarian rules, Barre's rule came to an end through the combined efforts of different clans who opposed Barre's rule. Together, the clans were able to oust Barre from rule. The northern part of the country, previously occupied by Britain, declared independence from the rest of Somalia, though it has never been recognized as independent from the global community to this day. The rest of Somalia became a power vacuum and a civil war began where the clans which had ousted Barre now fought for dominance. At this time, many political scientists began calling Somalia a 'failed state'. Somalia was seen as a failed state because there was no dominant authority able to reign supreme. Instead, the region was dominated by many groups vying for authority, but none of these powers were able to gain any long standing legitimacy or form any kind of durable government structures.

In 2000, the Transitional National Government (TNG) was established, and Abdiqasim Salad Hassan was selected to be the president. Ideally, this government was put in place to help Somalia transition to a formal and legitimate government authority, but this time period was not stable. For example, the prime minister's office turned over four times within the first three years of the TNG's establishment. Finally, in 2012, the Federal Government of Somalia was formed, which has been the most permanent central government authority in place since 1991. This government utilizes a federal parliamentary republic, though it is not a democracy and Freedom House categorizes Somalia as 'not free'. The civil war that began in 1991 has not ended, and internal disputes still wreak disastrous consequences on the Somalian people. The federal government lacks widespread support, there is constant political infighting, massive corruption as well as continuing drought conditions and the displacement of millions of Somalians. The government is also inefficient, unable to collect taxes, unable to stimulate economic productivity, and operates on an insufficient government budget.

Figure 3.3.3: Internally displaced persons (IDPS) in Somalia. These individuals are displaced largely because of the ongoing civil war, but also as a consequence of the drought. (Source: Somaliland Drought, by Oxfam East Africa is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

In the cases of Botswana and Somalia, it can be interesting to consider the similarities and differences that led to present-day outcomes. Although both countries were deeply affected by the Scramble for Africa, one of the key differences may have been the way in which the colonial governments left the respective regions. While the British largely left Botswana to its own devices, Somalia did not have the same luck. Instead, Somalia had been initially dominated partly by Italy and partly by Britain. In time,

Somalia was also affected by World War I and World War II in ways Botswana was not. The persistence disruptions and foreign interventions faced by Somalia left it fragile and more difficult to breakaway. Lacking the pre-existing conditions that Botswana benefited from, i.e. its relatively seamless transition to democratic institutions and the benefit of Britain leaving without further exploitation, and having suffering from a number of internal and external issues (e.g. turbulent history, frequently disputed territories, climatic shows disrupting agriculture, disease, and poverty), Somalia is still struggling. In many ways, the latter half of the twentieth century was disastrous for Somalia because the area was considered to be of geo-political importance, particularly during the World Wars and the resulting cold War. The future of Somalia is uncertain, as the region is currently suffering from intense drought conditions in the midst of the ongoing civil war which began in the 1980s.

3.4: References

Alesina, Alberto . 2002. “The Size of Countries: Does It Matter?” Harvard University. Unpublished manuscript.

Alesina, Alberto and Enrico Spolaore. 2003. The Size of Nations. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.

Alford,Robert “Paradigms of Relations Between State and Society,” in Leon Lindberg, et al., eds., Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism (Lexington, Ma., Heath, 1975), pp. 145-60.

Almond,Gabriel A. “The Return of the State,” and replies by Eric A. Nordlinger, Theodore J. Lowi and Sergio Fabbrini, American Political Science Review, vol. 82 (September 1988), pp. 875-901.

Anderson, Perry .1979. Lineages of the Absolutist State. London: Verso Editions.

Anderson, Lisa . 1986. The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya 1830-1980. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Barnes, Harry E. “Theories of the Origin of the State in Classical Political Philosophy” The Monist. Vol. 34, No. 1. Oxford University Press. January 1924.

Bean R. 1973. War and the birth of the nation state. J. Econ. Hist. 33,1:203–21

Block,Fred “The Ruling Class Does Not Rule: Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State,” Socialist Revolution/Review (May 1977).

Burke P. 1986. City-states. In States in History, ed. J Hall, pp. 137–53. New York: Blackwell

Carnoy,Martin Political Theory and the State (1984).

Ertman, Thomas . 1997. Birth of the Leviathan. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Evans, Peter B. et al., Bringing the State Back In (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 3-77.

Giddens A. 1987. The Nation-State and Violence. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press

Gilpin R. 1981. War and Change in World Politics. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press

Gold, David A. Charles Y.H. Lo, and Eric Olin Wright, “Recent Developments in Marxist Theories of the Capitalist State,” Monthly Review (Oct. 1975), pp. 29-43 and November 1975, pp. 36-51.

Goldsmith, Benjamin E., et al. (2021) “Regime Type and International Conflict: Towards a General Model.” Journal of Peace Research, vol. 45, no. 6, 2008, pp. 743–763.

Greer, Scott L. , and Elizabeth J. King, Elize Massard da Fonseca & Andre Peralta-Santos (2020) The comparative politics of COVID-19: The need to understand government responses, Global Public Health, 15:9, 1413-1416.

Herbst J. 2000. States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press

Herz J. 1976. The Nation-State and the Crisis of World Politics. New York: McKay

Hinsley FH. 1969. The concept of sovereignty and the relations between states. In In Defense of Sovereignty, ed. W Stankiewicz, pp. 275–88. New York: Oxford Univ. Press

Jackson R. 1987. Quasi states, dual regimes, and neo-classical theory: international jurisprudence and the Third World. Int. Organ. 41:519–49

Kautsky, John H. “Revolutionary and Managerial Elites in Modernizing Regimes,” Comparative Politics 1 (July 1969), pp. 441-67.

Krasner,Stephen D. “Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics,” Comparative Politics, 16 (January 1984), pp. 223-246.

Krasner S. 1993. Westphalia and all that. In Ideas and Foreign Policy, ed. J Goldstein, R Keohane, pp. 235–64. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press

Kratochwil F. 1986. Of systems, boundaries and territoriality: an inquiry into the formation of the state system. World Polit. 39:27–52

Lewis, Jr. Stephen R. “Explaining Botswana’s Success: The Importance of Culture”. Carleton. https://www.carleton.edu/president/l...swana-success/

Lindblom, Charles “The Market as Prison,” Journal of Politics, vol. 44, 1982, pp. 324-336.
March, James G. and Johan P. Olson, “The New Institutionalism: Organizational factors in Political Life,” American Political Science Review, vol. 78 (1984), pp. 734-749.
Nettl JP. 1968. The state as a conceptual variable. World Polit. 20:559–92
North, Douglas. 1981. Structure and Change in Economic History. New York: Norton. Chapter 3.
Olson, Mancur. (2000). Power and Prosperity. New York: Basic Books. Chapters 1-4.
Putnam, Robert. “Bureaucrats and Politicians: Contending Elites in the Policy Process,” in William B. Gwyn and George C. Edwards, eds., Perspectives on Policy-Making (New Orleans: Tulane University Press, 1975) pp. 179-202.
Putnam, Robert. 1993. Making Democracy Work. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
Rosenau J, Czempiel EO, eds. 1992. Governance Without Government: Order and Change in World Politics. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press
Sacks,Paul “State Structure and the Asymmetric Society: Approach to Public Policy in Britain,” Comparative Politics (April 1980), pp. 349-376.
Shefter, Martin. (1981). “Parties and Patronage: England, Germany and Italy,” Politics and Society.

Seligson, Mitchell A., and John A. Booth. “Political Culture and Regime Type: Evidence from Nicaragua and Costa Rica.” The Journal of Politics, vol. 55, no. 3, 1993, pp. 777–792.
Skowronek, Stephen . 1982. Building a New American State. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Spruyt, Hendrik . 1994. The Sovereign State and Its Competitors. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
_____. (2002) The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State, Annual Review of Political Science 2002 5:1, 127-149
Strayer J. 1965. Feudalism. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold
Tilly, Charles . 1990. Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990. Cambridge, Mass.: B. Blackwell. Chapters 1, 3, 5 and 6.
Trimberger, Kay Revolution from Above: Military Bureaucrats in Development in Japan, Turley, Egypt, and Peru (1978).
Weiss L. 1998. The Myth of the Powerless State. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press
Zacher M. 2001. The territorial integrity norm: international boundaries and the use of force. Int. Organ. 55:215–50
Zolberg A. 1980. Strategic interactions and the formation of modern states: France and England. Int. Soc. Sci. J. 32:687–716

3.5: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Anarchy** - defined as a lack of societal structure and order, where there is no established hierarchy of power.
- **Absolute monarchy** - when the monarch is wholly responsible for all decisions, and rules the state with absolute power over all political, economic and social matters.
- **Annex** - to take over a region.
- **Aristocracy** - a form of government where a group of social elites rule the state.
- **Authority** - defined as having the power to get things done. If we put these two terms together, a state is legitimate in its operations if it has the authority to make decisions and carry out its policy goals.
- **Charismatic legitimacy** - means that citizens follow the rules of a state based on the charisma and personality of the current leader.
- **Civil liberties** - defined as individual rights that are protected by law to ensure the government does not unreasonably interfere with certain specific individual rights (e.g. like freedom of speech, religion, assembly, etc.).
- **Constitution** - a state's described laws of the land.
- **Constitutional monarchy** - when a monarch must abide by a state-adopted Constitution, which dictates the scope and depth of its power in all state-related activities.
- **Country** - defined as a nation, which may have one or more states within it, or may change state-type over time.
- **Coup d'etat** - an attempt by elites to overthrow the current government of a state through abrupt seizure of power and removal of the government's leadership.
- **Cult of personality** - occurs when a state leverages all aspects of a leader's real and exaggerated traits to solidify the leader's power.
- **Democracy** - a political system wherein government is dictated by the power of the people.
- **Dictatorship** - a form of government where one person has sole and absolute power over the state.
- **Feudalism** - was a system or social order that arose out of the middle ages, particularly in Europe, wherein peasants (sometimes called Serfs) were forced to provide members of the upper class with their crops, produce, goods as well as their services, fealty and loyalty.
- **Hard power** - the ability to get others to do what you want using physical and potentially aggressive measures, for instance, like fighting, attacking or through war.
- **Junta** - a regime type where there is a small, military group of elites who rule state activities.
- **Legitimacy** - defined as the state's ability to establish itself as a valid power over its citizens.
- **Nation** - can be broadly defined as a population of people joined by common culture, history, language, ancestry within a designated region of territory.
- **Naturalization** - the process by which noncitizens formally become citizens of the country they reside in.
- **Oligarchy** - a form of government where elites rule, though there is not necessarily an assumption of nobility.
- **Personalist dictatorship** - where power lies with a single, charismatic and all powerful person who drives all actions of the state.
- **Political capacity** - the ability of a state to use its power, as derived through authority and legitimacy, to get things done and promote its own interests.
- **Power** - the ability to get others to do what you want them to do.
- **Protectorate** - an area or nation that is managed, possessed, controlled and protected by a different state.
- **Rational-legal legitimacy** - occurs when states derive their authority through firmly established, often written and adopted, laws, rules, regulations, procedures through a constitution.
- **Regime transitions** - occur when a formal government changes to a different government leadership, structure or system.
- **Representative democracy** - where the people elect representatives to serve on their behalf to make the laws and rules of society.
- **Scramble for Africa** - sometimes also called the Conquest of Africa, where Western European powers attempted to control and colonize all parts of Africa.
- **Social contract** - defined as either a formal or informal agreement between the rulers and those ruled in a society.
- **Soft power** - the ability to get others to do what you want them to do using the methods of persuasion or manipulation.

- **State** - defined as a national-level group, organization or body which administers its own legal and governmental policies within a designated region or territory.
- **Strong states** - are those which are able to work their political agendas effectively, to make sure basic political tasks are completed.
- **Traditional legitimacy** - occurs when states have the authority to lead based on historical precedent.
- **Weak states** - are those which are unable to perform basic political tasks, and unable to work the political agenda of the authority in charge. Weak states are typically unable to defend their territories and interests.

Summary

Section #3.1: Introduction to States

A state is defined as a national-level group, organization or body which administers its own legal and governmental policies within a designated region or territory. There has been ample research regarding the formation of states globally, and it is important to be able to distinguish between the terms ‘state,’ ‘country’ and ‘nation’ when discussing state regimes. Social Contract theory is a critical concept in considering state formation because it lays the foundations for why individuals might enter into a ‘social contract’ with government powers. Ideally, the social contract is the mechanism through which individuals surrender some of their individual rights for protections provided by the governmental powers.

Section #3.2: The Modern State and Regime Types

Social contracts and state authority are not the same everywhere. Modern states can fall into the categories of strong and weak states. Strong states are those which are able to work their political agendas effectively, to make sure basic political tasks are completed. Weak states are those which are unable to perform basic political tasks, and unable to work the political agenda of the authority in charge. The difference between strong and weak states can often be delineated through calculating a state’s political capacity. Political capacity is the ability of a state to use its power, as derived through authority and legitimacy, to get things done and promote its own interests.

Section #3.3: Comparative Case Study – States and the Stateless: Botswana and Somalia

using Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), which asks comparativists to consider at least two cases where the cases are similar, but the outcomes from these cases are different, Botswana and Somalia are considered. Overall, although Botswana and Somalia have a number of geographic and historical circumstances in common, the resulting political outcomes were very different. Botswana is considered to have one of the oldest and most stable democracies in Africa, while Somalia does not have a consolidated government authority that has widespread approval of the population. Botswana is recognized as a functional state, whereas Somalia has occasionally been considered stateless, a failed state, or a failing state. One of the features which may have been pivotal in the political outcomes of both Botswana and Somalia is the extent to which external powers interfered with their establishment of government authority. Botswana, though formally annexed by Britain, was able to establish its own government regime, whereas Somalia was considered to be of too much geopolitical importance to be supported in its pathway to eventual independence.

Review Questions

1. Which of the following influential thinkers was NOT a social contractarian?
    a. Thomas Hobbes
    b. John Locke
    c. King George
    d. Jean-Jacques Rousseau
2. Which influential thinker did the founding fathers rely heavily on when drafting the U.S. Constitution?
    a. Thomas Hobbes
    b. John Locke
    c. John Stewart Mill
    d. Jean-Jacques Rousseau
3. One way to gauge the difference between a strong and weak state is:
    a. military strength
    b. economic strength

c. political capacity
d. regime type

4. A regime only has a few military officers in charge is a
   a. democracy
   b. aristocracy
   c. anarchy
   d. junta
5. Events where a formal government changes to a different government leadership, structure or system is a:
   a. Weak state
   b. Strong state
   c. regime transition
   d. consolidated government

Answers: 1.c, 2.b, 3.c, 4.d., 5.c

Critical Thinking Questions

1. What is the "state" and what is its relationship to the social contract? Consider the various ways in which the social contract can manifest to contribute to varying "state" outcomes.
2. How is the strength of a "state" derived? Where does power and strength come from, and describe the difference between weak and strong states. Provide examples.
3. Are some societies better off without the state? Are there circumstances where the formation of a state would be detrimental to some societies? Describe these circumstances.

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Our World in Data
- The World Bank, World Development Indicators
- The World Factbook, CIA

Journal Articles

- Gabriel A. Almond. (September 1988) "The Return of the State," and replies by Eric A. Nordlinger, Theodore J. Lowi and Sergio Fabbrini, American Political Science Review, vol. 82, pp. 875-901.
- Stephen D. Krasner. (January 1984) "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," Comparative Politics, 16, pp. 223-246.

Books

- Martin Carnoy. (1984) Political Theory and the State.
- Mancur Olson. (2000). Power and Prosperity. New York: Basic Books.
- Robert Putnam. (1993). Making Democracy Work. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Hendrik Spruyt. (1994). The Sovereign State and Its Competitors. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

4: Democracies and Democratization

4.1: What is Democracy?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define democracy.
- Recognize the origins and characteristics of democracies.
- Distinguish between (the) types of democracy.

Introduction

> *"Many forms of Government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.…"*
> *— Winston Churchill, November 11th, 1947*

More than half of the governments currently in existence operate under some variation of democracy. The global trends towards democratization worldwide during the twentieth century prompted some to conclude that democracy is simply the best, or most ideal, form of government. Indeed, near the end of the twentieth century, political scientist Francis Fukuyama wrote a book entitled, *The End of History and the Last Man*, where he argued humanity had reached the end of history because many countries had adopted forms of liberal democracy. His book was a best-seller which energized many about the prospects of a world which embraces democracy and will not again suffer the likes of major World Wars and conflicts. Twenty years after this publication, however, and in light of events like the September 11th attacks on the United States, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the rise of China, the backsliding of Russia, the COVID-19 pandemic and the eventual fall of Afghanistan back to authoritarian rule, Fukuyama mostly retracted his conclusion that the world had accepted democracy as the standard. Instead, he now asserts that issues related to political identity now threaten the security of geo-political stability. The many challenges facing democracy, democratization, and democratic backsliding (discussed in Chapter 5), prompts us to take a hard look at democracy, its types, its institutions and models, and various manifestations throughout the world. Is democracy the best form of government? What are its advantages and disadvantages?

Francis Fukuyama is an American Political Scientist, economist, and author of books and journal articles. From left to right, his 1992 book, The End of History and the Last Man, prompted discussion over whether the world had reached the end of history because so many countries had been adopting liberal democracy as their form of government. One of his more recent books, Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment, came out in 2018, and his conclusions began veering away from the belief that the world had accepted liberal democracy. Instead, political identity and the weight of historical disputes potentially impede global geopolitical potential for long-term peace.

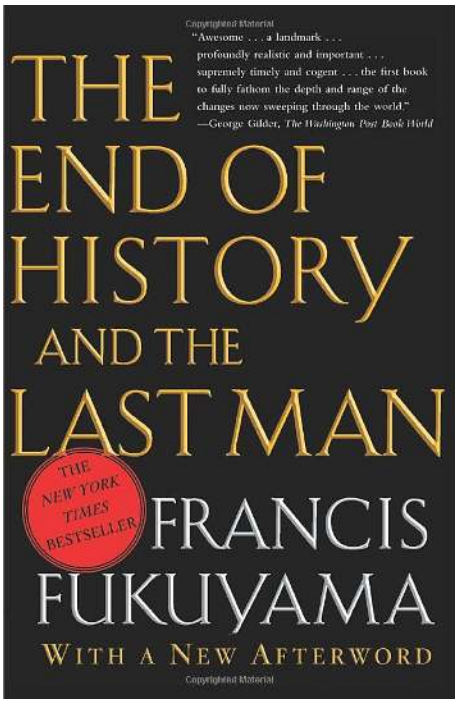


Figure 4.1.1:Fukuyama, F. (1992). The End of History and the Last Man. Free Press.

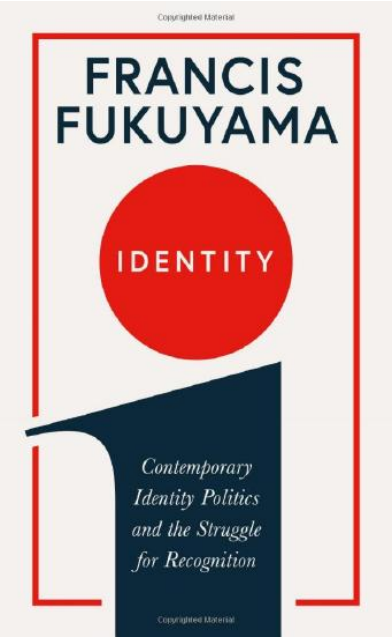


Figure 4.1.1:Fukuyama, F. (2018). Identity: The Demand for Dignity and the Politics of Resentment. Farrar, Straus and Giroux; 1st Edition.

Origins, Definitions and Characteristics of Democracy

Although there is evidence of what anthropologists have designated **primitive democracy**, wherein small communities have face-to-face discussions in order to make decisions, as far back as 2,500 years ago, the first formal application of democratic institutions and processes is generally attributed to ancient Greece. Athens, Greece is generally credited with being the birthplace of democracy. In its simplest terms, **democracy** is a government system in which the supreme power of government is vested in the people. Democracy comes from the Greek word, *dēmokratiā, where* "demos" means "people", and "kratos" meaning "power" or "rule." Prior to the formation of legal reforms, Athens had operated as an aristocracy.

An **aristocracy** is a form of government where power is held by nobility or those concerned to be of the highest classes within a society. Aristocracy proved troublesome for Athens, and the people eventually rallied under an Athenian leader named Solon (circa 640 - 560 B.C.E.). In trying to meet the demands of the people, Solon attempted to satisfy all classes of the Athenian population, rich and poor alike, to devise a form of government which satisfied all. To this end, in 594 B.C.E., Solon created legal reforms and a constitution, which provided the foundations for citizen participation in government affairs, and abolished slavery of Athenian citizens. Under this construct, adult males who had completed their military training were given the right to vote, and as much as 20% of the population was considered to be active in making laws. Eventually, democracy in Athens failed, due to both internal and external factors. Internally, there was heavy criticism that the aristocracy was still in force, and able to pervert and manipulate legal outcomes to their own benefit. Further, the works of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, all of whom were critical of the merits and feasibility of democracy, led to the erosion of trust in democracy in Athens. Generally, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, though they had their own unique critiques of democracy, tended to value political stability over the potential of “rule of the mob.” Externally, and tied to the prospect of political stability, Athens faced frequent challenges to its democracy from the outside. The Peloponnesian War, the changes in leadership from King Phillip II of Macedon and Alexander the Great, and finally, the rise of the Roman Empire, all are also attributed to the eventual decline of democracy in ancient Greece. After the fall of democracy in Greece, the prospect of democracy did not re-emerge as a feasible, or even desired, option until the early modern era in the 1600s.

Ancient concepts and manifestations of democracy differ greatly from modern conceptualization and application of democracy. One of the key differences is in the way power from the people is channeled; the difference becomes apparent in comparing a direct democracy versus an indirect democracy. A **direct democracy** enables citizens to vote directly, or participate directly, in the formation of laws, public policy and government decisions. In this system, citizens personally get involved in all aspects of politics, and are able to change constitutional laws, recommend referendums and make suggestions for laws, and mandate the activities and actions of government officials. To some extent, Athens exercised a direct democracy in that adult male citizens, who had completed their military training, could participate directly in the making of laws. It was not a 'perfect' democracy in that not all citizens, male and female, rich and poor, could participate, but it did have a mechanism for a certain class of citizen participating, i.e. males. In contrast, **indirect democracy** channels the power of the people through representation, where citizens elect representatives to make laws and government decisions on their behalf. In this scenario, citizens of the country are granted **suffrage**, which is the right to vote in political elections and propose referendums. In a healthy democracy, elections are both **free and fair**. **Free elections** are those where all citizens are able to vote for the candidate of their choice. The election is free if all citizens who meet the requirements to vote (e.g. are of lawful age and meet the citizenship requirements, if they exist), are not prevented from participating in the election process. **Fair elections** are those in which all votes carry equal weight, are counted accurately, and the election results are able to be accepted by parties. Ideally, the following standards are met to ensure elections are free and fair:

Before the Election

- Eligible citizens are able to register to vote;
- Voters are given access to reliable information about the ballot and the elections;
- Citizens are able to run for office.

During the Election

- All voters have access to a polling station or some method of casting their vote;
- Voters are able to vote free from intimidation;
- The voting process is free of fraud and tampering.

After the Election

- Ballots are accurately counted and the results are announced;
- The results of the election are accepted / respected / honored.

The integrity of the election is of paramount importance in democracies, for if the process is not found to be free or fair, it violates the core principles of what constitutes a democracy: by the people, for the people.

Indirect democracy is what most democratic countries today practice, partly because of logistics (In the U.S., how would every single adult citizen directly participate in the making of laws? Would requiring a vote for every decision be time efficient?), and to another extent, a question over whether voting is always the best option for determining just, equitable or ideal outcomes. In a representative democracy, citizens, to some extent, outsource the power of lawmaking to those who, ideally, either have expertise in making laws or who may be granted a greater depth of information in order to make decisions.In this sense, not every citizen

necessarily wants to be involved in every government decision, but would prefer selecting a representative to getting political work done. Further, although most democratic countries do practice indirect democracy, there are often some mechanisms that align with some characteristics of a direct democracy. For instance, the U.S. has a representative democracy, but voters in some states have the ability to put forth initiatives and referendums, also referred to as Ballot Propositions. Overall, democracy's definition, if practiced as indirect democracy, can be understood as: a government system in which the supreme power of the government is vested in the people, and exercised by the people through a system of representation which includes the continued practice of holding free and fair elections.

Figure 4.1.2: U.S. voter exercising their civic duty to vote on election day. (Source: Voters in Des Moines by Phil Roeder, via Flickr, is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

Importantly, democracy has a number of characteristics which can be central to understanding the variation in democracies that exist worldwide today. These differences also highlight the difference between concepts of ancient democracy versus contemporary democracy. Ancient democracy had no concept or foundations for widespread suffrage or the protection of civil liberties. Some of these modern accepted democratic themes include (but are not limited to): free, fair and regular elections (ideally, with the inclusion of more than one viable political party), respect for civil liberties (freedom of religion, speech, the press, peaceful assembly; freedom to criticize the government) as well as the protection of civil rights (freedom from discrimination based on various characteristics deemed important in society). Democracies which not only facilitate free and fair elections, but also ensure the protection of civil liberties are called **liberal democracies**. Although these are the general themes, there is still ample debate among scholars about the importance and weight of these characteristics. Larry Diamond, an American political sociologist and a scholar of democratic studies, put forth the following four characteristics which make a democracy, a democracy. A democracy must include:

1. A system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections;
2. Active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life;
3. The protection of human rights of all citizens;
4. A rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens. (Diamond 2004)

Karl Popper, an Austrian-British academic and philosopher (whom you may recognize from Chapter 2 for his work on the nature of inquiry and the recognition of falsification theory), had a more blunt definition for democracy, "I personally call the type of government which can be removed without violence 'democracy,' and the other, 'tyranny.' (Popper 2002). Instead of citing specific characteristics of democracy, which Popper was hesitant to do given the wide variation in democracies that exist, he simply contrasted it with outright tyranny. In general, Popper emphasized the importance not in how the people could exercise authority, but that they have access, availability and opportunity, through some means, to control their leaders without violence, retribution or revolution.

Other scholars have noted more rigid qualifications for democracy. In looking at the world of Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro and Jose Antonio Cheibub, all political scientists, they assert that every vote in a representative democracy must carry equal weight, and that the rights of citizens must be equally protected by a well-defined and clear "law of the land;" in most cases, the "law of the land," rests with a written constitution. The rights and liberties of citizens must be protected by the law of the land. (Dahl, Shapiro, Cheibub, 2003)

Overall, there are hundreds of critiques and frameworks for defining democracies and noting its characteristics, and scholars are generally not in full agreement on what constitutes a perfect democracy. Nevertheless, reaching some consensus on the characteristics is important if scholars want to advance the understanding of regime types like democracy. The difference in

perception of democracy can be seen in how some organizations choose to measure democracy across countries. At present, there are at least eight organizations which attempt to quantify the existence and health of democracies worldwide. These eight include: Freedom House, Economist Intelligence Unit, V-Dem, the Human Freedom Index, Polity IV, World Governance Indicators, Democracy Barometer, and Vanhanen's Polyarchy Index. In Table 4.1.1, a few of these are highlighted based on what they identify as main characteristics of democracy. This table shows the differences in components considered when trying to measure democracy. From left to right, Freedom House, Economist Intelligence Unit, and Varieties of Democracy; all are organizations which attempt to determine whether countries are democratic and assess the strength of their democratic institutions.

Table 4.1.1: Measuring Democracy

Index	Freedom House	Economist Intelligence Unit	Varieties of Democracy
Components/ Characteristics Measured	-Elections -Participation -Functioning of Government -Free Expression -Organizational Rights -Rule of Law -Individual Rights	-Elections -Participation -Functioning of Government -Political Culture -Civil Liberties	-Elections -Participation -Deliberation -Egalitarianism -Individual Rights

The different organizations, choosing different areas of emphasis and weight for characteristics of democracy, yield different outcomes in terms of identifying whether a country is a democracy, as well as judging the healthiness of a democracy. For instance, as of 2018, the Varieties of Democracies Project finds there are currently 99 democracies, and 80 autocracies. **Autocracies** are forms of government where countries are ruled either by a single person or group, who/which holds total power and control. For this same time-period, the Polity IV Index disagrees, finding 57 full democracies, 28 mixed-regime types, and 13 autocratic regimes. Importantly, the Polity IV Index does not take suffrage into consideration as a meaningful indicator of democracy. Freedom House also arrives at different outcomes for this same time-period, asserting that 86 countries are democracies, with 109 non-democracies. Finally, the Economist Intelligence Unit found 20 countries to be fully democratic, and 55 countries have "flawed democracies." Given that scholars and these organizations have acknowledged that different types of democracies exist, it is now useful to discuss these types, as well as the implications for these types on the institution of democracy.

The number of democracies has significantly grown worldwide since 1900. Political scientists have sometimes called jumps in the number of democracies 'waves.' In this way, there have been three major waves of democratization: World War I (First wave, 1828-1926), with subsequent "waves" of democratization coming following World War II (Second wave) and the democratic transitions in Portugal, Spain and Latin American in the 1970s (Third wave).

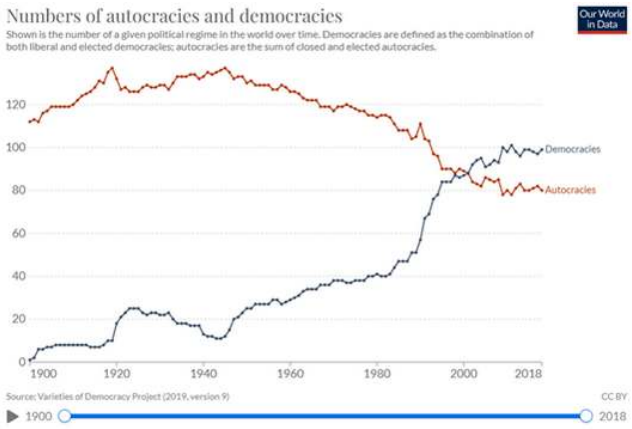


Figure 4.1.3: Number of autocracies and democracies in the world. (Source: Numbers of autocracies and democracies by Our World in Data, Varieties of Democracy Project, is licensed under CC BY)

Types of Democracy

The different organizations, choosing different areas of emphasis and weight for characteristics of democracy, yield different outcomes in terms of identifying whether a country is a democracy, as well as judging the healthiness of a democracy. For instance, as of 2018, the Varieties of Democracies Project finds there are currently 99 democracies, and 80 autocracies. Recall, autocracies are forms of government where countries are ruled either by a single person or group, who/which holds total power and control. For this same time-period, the Polity IV Index disagrees, finding 57 full democracies, 28 mixed-regime types, and 13 autocratic regimes. Importantly, the Polity IV Index does not take suffrage into consideration as a meaningful indicator of democracy. Freedom House also arrives at different outcomes for this same time-period, asserting that 86 countries are democracies, with 109 non-democracies. Finally, the Economist Intelligence Unit found 20 countries to be fully democratic, and 55 countries have "flawed democracies." Given that scholars and these organizations have acknowledged that different types of democracies exist, it is now useful to discuss these types, as well as the implications for these types on the institution of democracy.

4.2: Institutions within Democracy

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Distinguish the functions of legislative, executive and judicial branches.
- Define Electoral Systems and Political Parties.
- Determine the implications of political party composition and organization.

Introduction

Aside from considering the variety of ways democracy can manifest across different countries, we can also look at some of the institutions which tend to be common within democracies. In many ways, the institutions described in the first portion of this section (4.2.1) are akin to building blocks; each block has distinct functions, wielding distinct forms of power and operating within what political scientists would call a separation of powers with checks and balances. **Separation of powers** is a term that divides government functions into three areas: the legislature, tasked primarily with the making of laws; the executive, who carries out or enforces these laws; and the judiciary, tasked with interpreting the constitutionality of laws. These three institutions generally operate under a process of **checks and balances**, which is a system that attempts to ensure that no one branch can become too powerful.Traces of the historical underpinnings of separation of powers found in the writings of Harrington, Montesquieu among others. Other hallmark institutions of democracies are their electoral systems and the presence of political parties, which are both discussed in the second portion of this section (4.2.2). **Electoral systems**, simply put, are voting systems; an electoral system provides a set of rules that dictate how elections (and other voting initiatives) are conducted and how results are determined and communicated. **Political parties** are groups of people who are organized under shared values to get their candidates elected to office to exercise political authority. All of these institutions, taken together, contribute to the many unique democracies that exist today, and require, at the very least, a brief overview to consider their importance and implications to democracy today.

Executive, Legislative and Judicial

While some elements and characteristics of democracy vary, one constant commonality is the separation of powers among institutions within governments. As described above, this separation of powers promotes checks and balances because it provides for power to be spread throughout multiple branches of government with the intention of splitting up power between institutions so that no single branch has too much power but instead empowering all branches with their own institutionalized powers. The three branches of concern include: (1) the legislature; (2) the executive; and (3) the judiciary.

The l**egislative branch** is tasked with performing three main functions:(1) making and revising laws; (2) providing administrative oversight to ensure laws are being properly executed; (3) and providing representation of the constituents to the government. The primary, and most important, function of the legislature is to make laws. Members of the legislature, elected by the people, represent their interests and make laws on their behalf.There are three main types of legislatures worth noting. First, the **consultative legislature** is one where the legislature advises the leader, or group of leaders, on issues relating to laws and their application. In the consultative legislature, members could either be elected or appointed. Second, the **parliamentary legislature** is one where members are elected by the people, enacts laws on their behalf, and also serves as the executive branch of government. Finally, the **congressional legislature** is one where groups of legislators, elected by the people, make laws and share powers with other branches within the government. This latter case is the one utilized in the U.S. In the U.S., Congress' powers are substantial, especially relative to the other branches of government, when looking at its constitutional mandates. Congress can levy taxes, borrow money, spend money, regulate interstate commerce, establish a national currency, establish a post office, declare war, raise and support an army and navy; establish courts; and pass all laws "necessary and proper" to complete their work. Beyond this, Congress can propose amendments to the constitution and call for a constitutional convention. The Congress could also admit new states to the country. While legislatures can manifest in different ways, the U.S. Congress has two bodies, the House of Representatives, which contains 435 members (representation from states vary based on population size, determined every 10 years by the U.S. census), and the Senate, which contains 100 senators (two for each state). The two most popular types of legislatures are parliamentary and congressional. Interestingly, while most of the legislatures in North and South America are congressional legislatures (with the exception of Canada, which has a parliamentary legislature), European legislatures have tended to be parliamentary. The main difference between parliamentary and congressional systems is in how they structure their power. In the congressional system, power is divided for main functions, but shared for others. In the parliamentary system, the legislative body

serves as both the legislative and the executive branches. In this system, the head of government, chosen by whoever the majority political party is at that time, attempts to build a majority group in the legislature to get laws made. If the leader is unable to build coalitions to reach agreements on legislation, laws cannot get made.

Within Democracies, the **executive branch** is typically made up of a singular leader, a leader with an assistant (vice-president) or a small group of leaders who have institutional powers, and serves as both the head of government and the head of state. In their capacity as **head of government,** chief executives must run and manage the day-to-day business of the state. As the **head of state,** the chief executive must represent the country in the global arena, for formal gatherings to dictate policies as well as for ceremonial responsibilities.

The final "building block" of government to identify is the **judiciary**, in some manifestations called the Judicial Branch, which refers to the part of government where laws can be interpreted and enforced. In some countries, the judiciary is a third branch of government, like in the U.S. In other countries, the judiciary, or its responsibilities of interpreting the constitutionality of laws, is shared with other branches of government. In authoritarian regimes, the judiciary tends to be subservient to the executive and legislative branches. In democracies, the judiciary is one of the divisions which functions to uphold the separation of powers, so that no one branch can become too powerful. In the U.S., the judicial branch is composed of the Supreme Court, the only court mentioned in the U.S. Constitution, and has the sole power of **judicial review**, which is the ability to interpret the constitutionality of laws, and in doing so, the ability to overturn decisions made by lesser courts when doing so. Interestingly, Thomas Jefferson was against forming a third branch of government tasked with this responsibility, and instead, he wanted the ability to interpret the constitutionality of laws to be held by the legislature. Through the process of debate, Jefferson lost the argument, and a third branch of government was created for this purpose.

Electoral Systems & Political Parties

As described previously, electoral systems, simply put, are voting systems; an electoral system provides a set of rules that dictate how elections (and other voting initiatives) are conducted and how results are determined and communicated. **Elections** are the mechanism through which leaders get chosen around the world. Rules that are relevant to an electoral system can include those that lay out when elections occur, who is allowed to vote, who is allowed to run as a candidate, how ballots are collected and can be cast, how ballots are counted, and what constitutes a victory. Usually, voting rules are set forth by constitutions, election laws, or other legal mandates / establishments. There are a number of different types of electoral systems. First, the **plurality voting system** is one where the candidate who gets the most votes, wins. In this system, there is no requirement to attain a majority, so this system can sometimes be called the first-past-the-post system. This system is the system used in the U.S., and it is the second most common election type for presidential elections and elections for legislative members around the world. Second, the **majoritarian voting system** is one where, as the name suggests, candidates must win a majority in order to win the election. If they do not win a majority, there needs to be a runoff election. Third, the **proportional voting system** is one where voting options reflect geographical or political divisions in the population to enable a proportional leadership when elected. For instance, if 10% of the population are members of Political Party A, then the country's legislature will allow for 10% of its membership to reflect this. Finally, some countries employ mixed voting systems, which can combine use of any of the aforementioned election systems, using different systems for different types of elections, i.e. presidential versus legislative.

Political parties also play a very important role, not only in elections, but in how political agenda get accomplished in different countries. Recall, political parties are groups of people who are organized under shared values to get their candidates elected to office to exercise political authority. Political parties can exist as both a label and to indicate group leadership; as a label, individuals label themselves and their core values/priorities when voted and political parties can be used to indicate a group of leaders acting on behalf of the party. At this point, it is interesting to consider political parties in the context of U.S. democracy; American Founders didn't plan for parties; in fact, they warned against them as deleterious. Edmund Burke's *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* (1770): parties are good. They protect the people from an abusive monarch or factions (with) in the government. Madison in *Federalist 10*: definition of faction: "a number of citizens, whether amounting to a majority or minority of the whole, who are united and actuated by some common impulse of passion, or of interest, adverse to the rights of other citizens, or to the permanent and aggregate interests of the community." Political parties are not altogether helpful in democracies, but can be mitigated by means of an extended political sphere. In other words, if factions must exist, it is better to have too many than too few. That way, as President George Washington stated in his farewell address, myriad factions, and by extension multiple political parties, make it "less likely…that a majority of the whole will have a common motive to invade the rights of other citizens."

Political parties can lead to observably intense partisanship, measured quantitatively by the lack of compromise between, in the case of the United States, Republicans and Democrats. A prescient example of heavy partisanship now prevalent in US politics can be found in former President Ronald Reagan's proverbial "11th Commandment" which posited "Republicans should never {publicly} criticize fellow Republicans". Arguably, the impeachment of former president Bill Clinton and both impeachments of former president Donald Trump all ended with no political consequence. Specifically, while both Clinton and Trump were impeached in the House of Representatives along almost unanimous party lines, neither were convicted in the Senate in what were likewise near unanimous party-line votes. These examples illuminate both the extent to which the members of political parties are willing to pursue political consequences against the opposite party and the rarity of such consequences being applied on their own political party, regardless of the offense. One need to look no further than the aftermath of the January 6, 2021 attack on the Capitol building in Washington D.C. wherein the only 2 Republican members of the Congressional committee tasked with investigating 1/6/21, Liz Cheney and Adam Kitzinger were both officially censured by their own Republican Party.

There are three different ways in which Katz classifies political parties: number of parties competing; orientation - ideological/national vs. local/service; and internal unity. The number of parties depends upon the electoral formula and the number of deputies from each district. A large-district, proportional representation electoral system generally yields the greatest number of parties. The orientation depends upon the electoral formula. Generally, proportional representation systems yield parties with an ideological orientation. Internal unity also depends upon the given electoral formula. If there are intra-party preference votes (primaries), there is likely to be more internal disunity; particularly, there will be diffused leadership. If resources are so diffused that each candidate must build their own resources and following, then a fractionalized party is likely.

4.3: Systems of Democracy

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the defining characteristics of Presidential, Parliamentary and Semi-Presidential Systems.
- Evaluate the advantages and disadvantages to each of these systems.

Introduction

Within democracy, there are three types of systems which may be present, including: the presidential, the parliamentary and the semi-presidential systems. Each of these systems were designed to fit the context and cultures of their democratic systems, and each has their share of advantages and disadvantages, discussed below.

The **presidential system** of government, sometimes called a single executive system, is one where the head of government is a president who leads the executive branch of government. The executive branch of government, in this system, is separate and distinct from the legislative branch, to ensure a separation of powers.In countries with presidential systems, the president is the chief executive and is elected into their role. The president, in this system, is not dependent upon the legislature for attaining its position. Presidential Systems like the United States can encounter the problem of the "personalization of power" where vendibility, cronyism and even deinstitutionalization can occur. Parliamentary systems, on the other hand, typically have heads of government and heads of state that are not elected directly. Indeed, parliamentary systems - systems of government wherein the ministers of the executive branch are drawn from the legislature and are accountable to that body - are not so often held captive by personality-driven heads of state as are presidential systems. Thus, certain political personalities such as former president Trump are necessarily more reliant on the personalization of power per se.

In contrast to the presidential system, the **parliamentary system**, sometimes called parliamentary democracy, is one where the chief executive, usually a Prime Minister, attains their role through election by the legislature. Therefore, in this scenario, Prime Ministers must have the support of the legislature in order to take their office, and they can be pulled at any time by the legislature, should the legislature choose to change leadership. The legislature can vote "no confidence" in the Prime Minister. This model is dynamic and flexible and can respond quickly to lack of consensus. Parliamentary systems commonly have minimum winning coalitions, minimum sized cabinets, oversized minority coalitions that are fragmented requiring constant negotiation within their multiparty system in which there is typically a runoff election between the top two candidates.

Finally, the **semi-presidential system**, sometimes called the dual executive system, is one where a country has both a president and a prime minister and cabinet. The president, in this scenario, comprises the executive branch and needs to be elected by the population, whereas the Prime Minister is elected through the legislature and, with their cabinets, help perform the functions of the legislative branch.

Table 4.3.1: Advantages & Disadvantages of Presidential, Parliamentary and Semi-Presidential Systems

	Presidential System	Parliamentary System	Semi-Presidential System
Advantages	1. Fixed term 2. Popularly elected 3. Unipersonal leadership	1. Head of government is dependent on legislative approval 2. Easier to remove the head of government by legislative will 3. Collective leadership is present (with)in cabinet	1. For its parliamentary functions, Parliament has the ability to remove an unpopular prime minister, especially if the prime minister and the president are not working cooperatively 2. Division of work between prime minister and the president decreases the amount of bureaucracy.

	Presidential System	Parliamentary System	Semi-Presidential System
Disadvantages	1. Deadlock within executive branch of government 2. Temporal rigidity, fixed term, can't get them out easily (has never happened in US history) 3. Winner-take-all is an exclusive form of representative government, thus "third parties" are left with very little chance at victory	1. Instability in Head of Government 2. Head of Government is not elected directly by the people 3. No separation of powers per se between Head of government and Legislative body	1. Tends to favor the president, not the prime minister 2. Confusion over who is responsible for what 3. Potentially inefficient or ineffective legislative process

Each of these systems have potential pros and cons. The presidential system may be considered ideal in some circumstances because the chief executive has fixed terms of office. Fixed terms can produce stability and enable voters to understand the timelines of leadership. At the same time, the fixed term may be a disadvantage if there is an unpopular president, but no reasonable way to pull the president from their role. To remove a president from office, for instance, in the U.S., the legislature would have to follow the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, which describes and lays out the process for removing a president from power. This process is far more cumbersome than parliamentary systems which can remove a prime minister from power at any time, and for any reason, by getting majority consensus among the legislators. The nature of the prime minister role within a parliamentary system could also simultaneously be considered both a pro and a con. It can be to the advantage of the legislative branch to remove a prime minister if they are unpopular and/or not completing their political agenda. At the same time, changes in leadership can cause instability and uncertainty, which could be seen as a disadvantage. Finally, the semi-presidential system has some unique advantages and disadvantages. It could be seen as an advantage to have a president, in charge of head of government activities, and a prime minister, in charge of head of state activities. Here, there is a division of labor which can decrease the level of bureaucracy in both the executive and legislative branches. At the same time, semi-presidential systems can be non-ideal in that roles can be confused, and the president tends to have the advantage over a prime minister because the former has fixed terms while the latter can be pulled from office at any time. Overall, the system of government chosen is designed to fit the culture and context of the country's democracy, and the characteristics of each of these systems can be seen as advantages or disadvantages depending on the unique circumstances.

4.4: Democratic Consolidation

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define democratic consolidation.
- Identify characteristics of democratic consolidation.
- Recognize modern theories of democratic consolidation.

Introduction

Democratization, also referred to as **democratic consolidation**, is a type of regime transition whereby new democracies evolve from fledgling regimes to established democracies, making them less at risk to fall back into authoritarian regimes.When a democracy becomes consolidated, scholars expect that it will endure. Transitions of regimes from non-democratic, to democratic, to consolidated democracies are of major interest for scholars. A **regime** itself can be defined as a system in which a particular administration, system, or prevailing social system or pattern retains power and domestic (but not necessarily international) legitimacy. Regime transitions are not the same as government changes, but are instead broader political conversions, which mean that governmental changes can occur within a given regime without creating a true regime transition.

As defined in Chapter Three, a regime transition occurs when a formal government changes to a different government leadership, structure or system. According to comparative scholar Stephanie Lawson, it is a substantial change in the form of governance of countries, involving shifts from one type of regime to another, such as a shift from a socialist to a democratic form of rule (Lawson, 1993). Ronald Francisco (2000) argues that regime change is, at its core, a political event, meaning that the changes which occur center around political issues. The most important result of regime transitions for comparativists include the new constellation of rules, institutions, and authority that are established or develop(ed) over time. While there is certainly not unanimous consensus among scholars on how to pinpoint precisely when a regime transition has concluded, most agree that the establishment and legitimization of a national constitution is often indicative of such a change. Regime transitions have been studied at length, with attention paid to the quality of democracy that is established, and whether democratic institutions become stronger over time.

Many scholars assert that democratic consolidation occurs when the regime transition to democracy has ended, and further, that the qualities that led to the regime transition may not be the same qualities required to make a democracy endure.

Many scholars assert that democratic consolidation occurs when the regime transition to democracy has ended, and further, that the qualities that led to the regime transition may not be the same qualities required to make a democracy endure. At this point it is critical to ask, what are the indicators of a consolidated democracy? In other words, how do we know when a democracy is consolidated or not?

Two potential indicators of consolidation that have been put forth include the two-election test and the longevity test. On the former point, the two-election test, also known as the transfer of power test, is what it sounds like: democracy is consolidated when a government which had been freely and fairly elected is defeated in a subsequent election and the election outcome is accepted by both sides. The peaceful transition of power is critical in any democracy, so in a way, this test makes sense. At the same time, this test is not without its flaws. What if a country has a dominant party system wherein the same political party seems to be elected to power over and over again? Does that mean democracy is not consolidated? If that's true, then a number of democracies in existence would be excluded from being considered consolidated. The second test to consider would be the longevity test. In this test, if a country has been able to hold free and fair elections for an extended period of time, perhaps over two decades, then perhaps the democracy is consolidated. Here too, there are problems. Maybe elections can be held over time, but the continued elections simply benefit one party. This is to say, the longevity of a regime may not translate into the quality of a democracy. Beyond this, longevity gives no indication, in and of itself, that democracy, if it exists, will continue to be high quality. We will have difficulty gauging whether democracy is in danger of backsliding into authoritarianism.

Since it can be difficult to solidify exact indicators for what constitutes a consolidated democracy, it may also be helpful to consider some theories of democratic consolidation. Below are a few of the theories that have been proposed regarding the likelihood of a democracy of becoming consolidated.Importantly, the below list of theories is not a complete one, there are dozens of theories about what circumstances or conditions best lend to a consolidated democracy.

Theory 1

The regime type that existed prior to the democracy will affect whether a country can experience a consolidated democracy.

While there have not been any extensive studies demarcating the types of preceding regimes that may lend towards democratic consolidation, this theory tends to be considered from time to time. The idea of this theory is that there will be some types of regimes that, prior to becoming democracies, may be better suited to eventually become consolidated democracies. In this vein, if the previous regime had any democratic characteristics, whether these were partially free or fair elections. If there were any institutions that were representative of the people, perhaps these regimes will eventually have a higher likelihood of consolidating. On another point, if there is a deeply embedded military dictatorship preceding a democracy, perhaps it will have more difficulty eventually becoming a democracy. Perhaps the people will be fearful of the regime backsliding into a military dictatorship. Perhaps this will limit the opportunities to fully democratize over time. Some authors have argued that it does not necessarily matter what the regime was prior to the transition, what is important is that there was an established state which had some form of legitimacy. To this end, Benthem wrote: “A 'state' which is incapable of enforcing any effective legal or administrative order across its territory is one in which the ideas of democratic citizenship and popular accountability can have little meaning.” (Beethem, 1994 pg. 163)

This theory is difficult to test, though not impossible. Case Studies, combined with the medium to large N, could add to the field. The main challenge in a quantitative study would be finding ways to quantify the various aspects of previous regimes.

Theory 2

The type of transition that occurs will affect whether a country can experience a consolidated democracy.

Does the circumstances under which the regime transitioned to democracy matter? Are there certain types of transition to democracy which may later inhibit its ability to consolidate? There has been a lot of consideration of this theory. Huntington and Linz put forward options for the circumstances that are most conductive and least conducive to democratic consolidation. For instance, if the transition to democracy was imposed by external forces, this may not be a positive indicator for eventual consolidation. There’s also the possibility of an authoritarian regime initiating a change to democracy, which may or may not lead to long term democratic processes. Finally, there’s the option of the regime transition being initiated by groups within the society. Some have argued that democracies have a better chance of success if it is the people who demand the change, and the change is not imposed from external or authoritarian forces.

Theory 3

The chances of democratic consolidation improve with economic development.

Some have argued that states need a free market system in order to experience democratic consolidation, and further, that economic growth is a catalyst for consolidation. This dovetails with modernization theory, which says a country will improve its processes towards modernizing because there could be economic and/or political benefits in doing so. Beethem described the general thoughts behind this theory when he wrote:

> *… a market economy disperses decisional and other forms of power from the state. This serves the cause of democracy in a number of ways: it facilitates the development of an autonomous sphere of 'civil society' which is not beholden to the state for resources, information or organisational capacities; it restricts the power and scope of a bureaucratic apparatus; it reduces what is at stake in the electoral process by separating the competition for economic and political power into different spheres. (Beethem, 1994 pg. 164-165)*

Overall, if a state is willing/able to promote a free market with fair competition, it loosens its grasp on an institution which it may have the power to control, but chooses not to. In choosing not to control all market outcomes, the state is more likely to experience economic growth. There also tends to be a general argument that the more the economy improves, the more citizens within a state can experience prosperity and begin to engage in political life.

Theory 4

Some religions will deter or not support democratic consolidation.

This theory has been a controversial one, and has not aged well. Historically, there have been a number of political science articles which argued along the lines that sociologist Max Weber did, namely, arguing that countries which were primarily Protestant had better opportunity to democratize than, for instance, Catholic states. The reasoning here was that Protestants, according to Weber, were more accepting of individual responsibility, were focused on productive work, and were non-conformists. Later, this theory can sometimes be used to make it sound like certain religions are simply incapable of democratization, and this theory does not have solid grounding or support. While this theory has been largely revoked, it is still important to consider this theory as many authors, like Samuel Huntington, made arguments to this end.

Overall, new theories of democratic consolidation have emerged over the last few decades, and there is not yet consensus among scholars about what conditions and theories tend to have the greatest credence. That being said, regime transitions to democracy and the process of democratization likely rest on a variety of factors which need to be considered: historical context, political culture, identity politics, class structures, economic structures, institutions, types of government structure and constitution types.

4.5: Comparative Case Study – South Africa and Iraq

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Compare and contrast South Africa and Iraq's regime transitions.
- Identify internal and external factors which contributed to regime transition in South Africa and Iraq

Introduction

Samuel P. Huntington, a political scientist at Harvard University, popularized the concept of waves of democracy. **Waves of democracy** are moments in history when multiple countries transition to democracy during the same time period. Often, waves in democracy are attributed to the combination of internal and external factors facing countries. Internal factors can include societal rejection of authoritarian regimes resulting in decreased legitimacy, economic growth, which may help countries modernize and improve institutions which support education and the working class, and changes in how religion and religious traditions factor into political institutions. External factors can include regional and global pressures. Regional pressures, for instance, may occur if/when citizens observe other societies transitioning towards democracy and want the same governmental changes for their own countries. Global pressures could manifest because of globalization, as there is more global news and information available to citizens in different countries. With more information and exposure to new ideas, citizens may begin to question the legitimacy and basis for their own country's government. Although the concept of waves of democracy helped political scientists to group and compare trends in democratization abroad, much remains to be understood about how and why countries decide to transition to democracy, as well as how successful these transitions are.

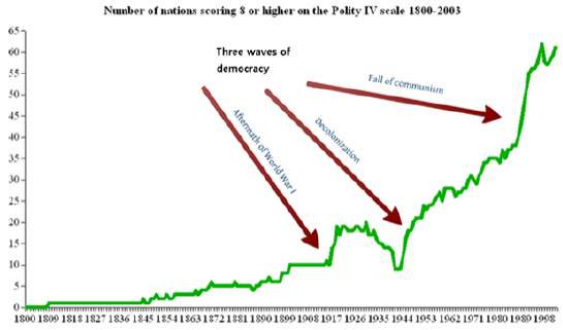


Figure 4.5.1:

Number of nations scoring 8 or higher on the Policy IV scale, 1800-2003. (Source: Waves of Democracy, by Priotrus, Wikicommons, is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

The movement from authoritarian regimes to democratic regimes between the 1970s and 1990s, referred to as the Third Wave, initially garnered great hope worldwide. This hope was reflected in Fukuyama's book arguing that humanity had reached the 'end of history' by beginning to universally accept democratic regimes, institutions, and ideas. Forty years later, however, a number of the countries which initially moved towards democratization have experienced disparate outcomes. It has been argued that most countries which attempted to democratize during and following the third wave simply became semi-authoritarian regimes or flawed democracies. It is in this context of global patterns of democratization that we look at the cases of South Africa and Iraq. Through the lens of Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), this case considers the similarities in South Africa and Iraq's moves to democratize while also considering how their political outcomes have differed.

South Africa

Figure 4.5.2: Map of South Africa. (Source: Map of South Africa by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

Full Country Name: Republic of South Africa
Head(s) of State: President
Government: Parliamentary Republic (Unitary dominant-party / executive presidency)
Official Languages: 11 Official languages
(English, Zulu, Swazi, Afrikaans, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Xitsonga, Xhosa, Tshivenda, isiNdebele)
Economic System: Mixed economy
Location: Southern Africa, at the southern tip of the continent of Africa
Capital: Pretoria
Total land size: 1,219,090 sq km
Population: 56.9 million
GDP: $680.04 billion note
GDP per capita: $11,500
Currency: Rand

Like Botswana and Somalia in Chapter 3, South Africa's history is marked by frequent interventions and occupations by foreign powers through colonialism and imperialism. British and Dutch powers, attempting to expand their empires and grow their influence, colonized parts of South Africa at various points between the 1600s and 1800s. By the early 1900s, there was growing internal demand for South Africa to be independent from Britain. Multiple wars leading up to the 1900s, including the Boers Wars, contributed to deep racial divides between black and white citizens. White South Africans demanded independence from Britain, which eventually culminated in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Union of South Africa modeled its government structure after the British system, but had a British leader installed as a ceremonial head of state. Full independence was achieved in 1931, giving South Africa's government the ability to act outside of, and without permission from, the UK.

Although South Africa's government had hallmarks of democratic government, like three branches of government operating with checks and balances, its legacy of colonialism and racial divide made democratization difficult. Under British rule, a number of laws promoted segregation and the disenfranchisement of nonwhite citizens. Following World War II, a political party called the National Party stoked fears within the country that significant growth in the nonwhite population of South Africa was a threat. The National Party won the majority votes in the 1948 election and implemented a system of apartheid. **Apartheid** is defined as a system of governance wherein racial oppression is institutionalized. In the case of South Africa, this meant laws were implemented to ensure that South Africa's minority white population could dominate all political, social and economic factors within the country for their own benefit. Apartheid in South Africa resulted in, among other things, the segregation and displacement of nonwhites into segregated neighborhoods and the prohibition of interracial marriage and relationships.

Despite fierce criticism from the United Nations and global community, South Africa's system of apartheid until 1991. In the 1970s and 1980s, South Africa experienced intense internal strife as clashes between those who supported the National Party, and those who opposed apartheid, deadly violence. The main opposition to the National Party, the African National Congress (ANC), worked to bring down South Africa's system of apartheid. The ANC, having been forced into exile for many years, used a variety of tactics to force pressure upon the National Party, including using guerilla warfare and acts of sabotage. Eventually, the National Party and

the ANC began meeting to negotiate a way forward. The outcomes of these negotiations was the abolishment of apartheid and, in the coming years, the election of the first democratically elected President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela.

Nelson Mandela was a member of the ANC who had been imprisoned for 27 years prior to his release in 1990. Under his leadership as President of South Africa, he oversaw the drafting of a new constitution which, in tandem with solidifying various democratic principles, heavily emphasized racial equality and the protection of human rights. Mandela saw it as his personal mission to heal the racial divides within the country, and formed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was tasked with investigated crimes committed both by the government led by the National Party under apartheid, as well as the crimes committed by the ANC. Though it can be difficult to quantify, the commission was widely held as an important factor towards moving the country forward and focusing on improving the present challenges.

Mandela stepped down as the President of the ANC in 1998, and retired from politics in 1999. Although Mandela made strides in improving domestic conditions, including investing in education, welfare programs, and the protection of workers and prominent industries, a number of challenges remained that still challenge South Africa today. South Africa continues to struggle with racial tensions, as well as persistent xenophobia due to large influxes of legal and illegal migrants. One of the major criticisms of Mandela's term in office is his failure to fully address the HIV/AIDS pandemic. For many years, the HIV/AIDS pandemic was so severe in South Africa that the average life expectancy was only 52 years. Failure to provide a strategic approach to combat the pandemic led to decades of poor health outcomes within South Africa.

For many years, South Africa's transition to democracy was heralded as a victorious example of democratization. Nevertheless, current challenges to South Africa's democracy include corruption, enduring racism, and increased rates of femicide and gender-based violence. Each of these realities has contributed to the Economist Intelligence Unit labeling South Africa as a flawed democracy. Recall, flawed democracies are those where elections are free and fair, and basic civil liberties are protected, but issues exist which may hamper the democratic process. It is worth briefly considering South Africa's current challenges regarding corruption, racism and gender-based violence below.

Corruption is, at best, damaging to democracy and, at worst, fatal to democracy. Corruption can erode the public's trust in the government and its institutions, exacerbate inequality and poverty, and hinder economic development. In 2021, high-ranking political officials in South Africa faced allegations of corruption for misusing billions of dollars of foreign aid targeted towards COVID-19 relief. The government officials charged with corruption are undergoing investigations for their misuse of funds, particularly in allowing various private companies to exorbitantly price gouge the government. There are additional allegations of government corruption, particularly in the favoring of some private companies over others. Corruption within a country can also yield skepticism and condemnation from the global community, as trading partners may lose trust in conducting business with corrupt regimes.

Racism, too, can present threats to democracy. Failure to protect civil liberties and civil rights within a country can create illiberal or flawed democracies. Ongoing structural racism can exacerbate societal tensions and perpetuate violence. Unfortunately, racism is still an ever present force in South Africa. The last two decades have seen ongoing allegations of police and military forces engaging in racist activities. During COVID-19, a number of Black South Africans were killed by police officers violently enforcing lockdowns. Frequent instances of violence against Black citizens has prompted recurrent conversations over the implementation of hate crime legislation as well as appropriate rules for conduct regarding the use of force on citizens.

Finally, data has shown continued increases in femicide and gender-based violence. Here again, democracies that are unable to protect civil liberties and civil rights of their citizens risk backsliding or inability to ever fully consolidate. To this end, equal protection of women under South Africa law is questionable. As of 2019, it was reported that 51% of women in South Africa experienced some kind of physical violence as a result of their gender. Violence towards women, which was already elevated prior to the pandemic, continued to increase during the COVID-19 lockdowns.

Iraq

Figure 4.5.3: Map of Iraq. (Source: Map of Iraq by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

Full Country Name: Republic of Iraq
Head(s) of State: Prime Minister
Government: Federal Parliamentary Republic
Official Languages: Arabic & Kurdish
Economic System: Mixed economy
Location: Middle East, bordering the Persian Gulf, between Iran and Kuwait
Capital: Baghdad
Total land size: 169,235 sq mi
Population: 40 million
GDP: $250.070 billion
GDP per capita: $4,474
Currency: Iraqi Dinar

Iraq formed in the wake of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire. The Arab people of the regions of Mosul, Baghdad and Basra fought with the British to gain their independence. However, this did not quite happen. While Iraq was nominally independent, the country had signed an agreement with the British that gave them power over major segments of the country. British imperial authorities controlled the newly formed kingdom's military and foreign affairs and had major influence over its domestic political and economic affairs. In 1921, Britain established King Faysal Il as ruler of Mesopotamia and officially changed the name to Iraq, which means "well-rooted country" in Arabic. Many Arabs in the region saw Iraq as an artificially created country, established by British authorities to maintain power in the region. As a result, many people saw the country, and its newly installed royalty as illegitimate.

The British remained in Iraq for the next three decades, with military bases, transit rights for troops and eventually British control over the growing oil industry. Still, the question of illegitimacy never left. King Faysal and his family were able to stay in power until 1958, when the grandson, Faysal II was overthrown in a coup. The coup was led by a general that belonged to the Ba'athist Party. The **Ba'athist Party** was a transnational Arab political party that espouses pan-Arab nationalism and socialist economic policies. The party came to power in Iraq and Syria, but also exerted some power in Jordan, Lebanon, and Libya. After some turmoil between the Ba'athist party and the Iraqi military, the country eventually came under the command of Saddam Hussein. Hussein, who ruled until he was overthrown and executed during the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, was from a mostly Sunni tribe in Tikrit, a city north of Baghdad. His reliance on members of his tribe and the city, which were a minority group in the country, contributed to the eventual violence that would follow the 1991 Gulf War.

After fighting Iran for 8 years to a stalemate in the Iran-Iraq War, the country found itself in debt to its neighbors, particularly Kuwait, located to the South. Kuwait itself had been a thriving autonomous trading community for centuries. Similar to Iraq, the British curried favor with the ruling as-Sabah family and eventually took control of their military and foreign affairs. Iraq historically claimed Kuwait as its 19th province, believing that the British had unfairly kept it from them. The debt burden and the geopolitical advantage of Kuwait's geography led Hussein to invade and annex the country in 1990. The US and a coalition of allies invaded Kuwait and Southern Iraq the next year. Coalition forces routed Iraq forces and heavily bombed Iraq. In 1992, the US set up two 'no-fly zones' in the country to protect the Kurds in the north and the Shi'a in the south, who had rebelled against Hussein's rule. A **no-fly zone** is when a foreign power intervenes to prevent that country or another country from gaining air

superiority. The intervening power must be willing to use their military to prevent certain aircraft from flying over an established area.

The no-fly zones and ensuing UN embargo on Iraq greatly weakened the Hussein regime. However, the incoming US Bush administration strongly believed that Iraq was in the process of developing or acquiring weapons of mass destruction (WMD). After the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks, the Bush administration pushed to invade Iraq a second time. The US invaded in 2003, without much world support. Coalition forces captured Hussein later that year. He was put on trial, found guilty of crimes against humanity and was executed in 2006. During this time, a fact-finding mission found that there was no identifiable WMD program. They were, in the words of the official Presidential Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, “dead wrong.”

The US invasion and Hussein’s fall had a dramatic effect on Iraq. Chaos ensued. The US was not ready to govern the country. Millions were displaced within Iraq and millions more fled the country as violence spiked. Long-simmering sectarian and ethnic disputes erupted in a full-fledged civil war and insurgency. Shi’a militias were unhappy about American military rule. Sunni tribes were fearful of reprisals. The Kurdish minority in the northern part of the country sought independence. Remnants of the Ba’athist party loyal to Hussein mostly folded into al-Qaeda in Iraq, which bitterly fought US forces in several major battles, including Fallujah. American soldiers were caught in the middle of a conflict where peace was elusive. Eventually, a surge of US troops in 2007 provided enough security to allow the country to stabilize and US forces finally withdrew from Iraq in 2011.

In 2014, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), a successor terrorist group to al-Qaeda, rapidly grew into a massive presence in the region. Starting in Syria, ISIS took advantage of the security vacuum and moved into Iraq. ISIS surprisingly captured Mosul, considered the second largest city in the country. The terrorist organization used the revenues from the nearby oil fields to finance their violent activities. ISIS quickly expanded to other countries and committed a series of terrorist attacks in Europe. However, by the end of 2017, ISIS had lost 95% of its territory. A combination of Russian-led Syrian forces and US-led Kurdish forces, who sometimes worked together, defeated ISIS on the battlefield.

The majority Shi’a had always chafed under Hussein’s rule. His departure meant that the Shi’a would gain political power for the first time in centuries. A transitional Iraqi Governing Council led to democratic elections in 2005, where a religious Shi’a party won the plurality of seats under Nouri al-Maliki. al-Maliki remained as prime minister until 2014, where he governed a tenuous coalition and had been accused of protecting Shi’a militias. al-Maliki also forged closer ties with neighboring Iran, much to the chagrin of the American authorities. In addition, Iraq Kurdistan declared independence in 2017. The referendum results were rejected by the Iraqi parliament, and Turkey vehemently opposed the move. Kurdistan is still part of Iraq, though the region effectively functions as an independent country.

Today, Iraq is a tenuous confederation of three major groups, Sunni Arabs in the west, Kurds in the north and Shi’a Arabs in the central and southern parts of the country. The current prime minister is supported by the majority political bloc led by Moqtada al-Sadr. He comes from a powerful political family in Shi’a politics and is a major power broker in the country. Iraq also has a president, who is elected by the Iraqi parliament and has a largely ceremonial role. Mostly the country is run through a sectarian apportionment system, *muhasasa taiifia* in Arabic, where the country is structured amongst the three major sectarian identities. Initially, the US supported this sectarian approach to the country. US forces have had a close relationship with the Kurds since the early 1990s and Iraqi Kurdistan has become a relatively peaceful and prosperous region. However, sectarianism is what also led Iraqi Shi’a to look to Iran for leadership and what led Sunni Arab tribes to become receptive to first al-Qaeda and the ISIS overtures. How long will it take for Iraq to consolidate as a democracy? That question remains unanswered for now.

4.6: References

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. (2006). Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Almond, G., Verba, S. (1989): The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations; Sage.

Alvarez, M., Cheibub, J.A., Limongi, F.Przeworski, A. (1996), 'Classifying Political Regimes', Studies in Comparative International Development, 31(2): 3–36.

Barro, R.J. (1999), 'Determinants of Democracy', Journal of Political Economy, 107(6): 158–183.

Boix, Carles. (2009) Development and Democratization. Institut Barcelona D'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI).

Bollen, K.A. (1979), 'Political Democracy and the Timing of Development', American Sociological Review, 44(4): 572–587.

Bollen, K.A. (1980), 'Issues in the Comparative Measurement of Political Democracy', American Sociological Review, 45(3): 370–390.

Bush, George W. "Bush Refuses to Deal with Radical Hamas Group" January 25, 2006 http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/11027180/
Chandrasekaran, Rajiv. Washington Post. "Ties to GOP Trumped Know-How Among Staff Sent to Rebuild Iraq" on Sunday, September 17, 2006)
Cheibub, José Antonio (2007) Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cheibub, J.A., Gandhi, J.Vreeland, J.R. (2010), 'Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited', Public Choice, 143(1–2): 67–101.

Collier, D.Adcock, R. (1999), 'Democracy and Dichotomies: A Pragmatic Approach to Choices about Concepts', Annual Review of Political Science, 2: 537–565.

Collier, D. , & Levitsky, S. (1997). Democracy `with adjectives': Finding conceptual order in recent comparative literature. World Politics, 49(3), 430-451.

Dahl, R. A. (1971). Polyarchy: Participation and opposition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dahl, R. A. (1998) On Democracy. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Dahl, R., Shapiro, I., Cheibub (2003). The Democracy Sourcebook, MIT Press.

Diamond, L. & Platter, M. (1996). The Global Resurgence of Democracy. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Diamond, L. (1999), Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation (Baltimore, MD, and London: Johns Hopkins University Press).

Diamond, L. (2004): What is Democracy? http://www.standard.
edu/~/diamond/Iraq/whalsDemocracy 012004.htm

Dobbins, James. FRONTLINE Interviews - James Dobbins | The Lost Year In Iraq | FRONTLINE | PBS June 27, 2006
Francisco, Ronald (2000) The Politics of Regime Transitions. Routledge: Taylor & Francis | Group.
Freedom House (2010a), 'Freedom in the World 2010', www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2010.

Freedom House (2010b), 'Checklist Questions and Guidelines', www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2010/checklist-questions-and-guidelines.

Frontiers in Political Science: Peace and Democracy. https://www.frontiersin.org/journals...-and-democracy
Gordon, Philip and Shapiro, Jeremy. (2004) Allies at War “Toward Crisis.” (Chapter 4) New York: McGraw-Hill.
Hadenius, A. (1991). Democracy and development. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Huntington, S.P. (1991), The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century (Norman, OK, and London: University of Oklahoma Press).
International Forum for Democratic Studies: http://www.ned.org/research
International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA): http://www.idea.int
Journal of Democracy: International Forum for Democratic Studies, John Hopkins University Press: https://journalofdemocracy.org/about/
Karl, Terry Lynn. “Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America.” Comparative Politics 23 (1990): 1-11.
Laakso, M. , & Taagepera, R. (1979). “Effective number of parties: A measure with application to Western Europe.” Comparative Political Studies, 12(1), 3-27.
Lawson, Stephanie “Conceptual Issues in the Comparative Study of Regime Change and Democratization,” Comparative Politics, Vol. 25, No. 2 (January 1993), pp. 183-205.
Lijphart, A. (1999) Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. (1959). “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy.” American Political Science Review 53, no. 1 (March): 69–105.

_____. (1960). Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics. New York: Doubleday/Anchor Books.

_____. (1963). The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective. New York: Basic Books.

_____, ed. (1969). Politics and the Social Sciences. New York: Oxford University Press.

Mainwaring, S. (1993). “Presidentialism, multipartism, and democracy: The difficult equation”. Comparative Political Studies, 26(2), 198-228.

Moore, Jr., Barrington. (1966). Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World. Boston: Beacon Press.

Munck, G.L.Verkuilen, J. (2002), ‘Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices’, Comparative Politics Studies, 35(1): 5–34.

Neubauer, D.E. (1967), ‘Some Conditions of Democracy’, American Political Science Review, 61(4): 1002–1009.

O"Donnell,Guillermo “Democracy, Law, and Comparative Politics” in Studies in Comparative International Development 36:1 (2001): 7-36.

O'Donnell, G. , & Schmitter, P. C. (1986). Transitions from authoritarian rule: Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Polity IV (2009), ‘Polity IV Project: Dataset Users’ Manual’, www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/p4manualv2009.pdf.

Polity IV (2011), ‘Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800–2010’, www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm.

Popper, Karl Raimund (2002). “Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge”, Psychology Press.

Powell, G. B. (1982). Contemporary democracies. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M., Cheibub, J.A.Limongi, F. (1996), 'What Makes Democracies Endure?', Journal of Democracy, 7(1): 39–55.

Przeworski, A.Alvarez, M.Cheibub, J.A.Limongi, F. (2000), Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-being in the World, 1950–1990 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Putnam, Robert D., Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Remmer, K. L. (1995). "New theoretical perspectives on democratization." Comparative Politics, 28(1), 103-122.

Remmer, K. L. (1996). "The sustainability of political democracy: Lessons from South America". Comparative Political Studies, 29(6), 611-634.

Rustow, D. A. (1970). "Transitions to democracy: Toward a dynamic model." Comparative Politics, 2(3), 337-363.

Sartori, G. (1987), The Theory of Democracy Revisited. Part 1: The Contemporary Debate (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House).

Saward, M. (1994), 'Democratic Theory and Indices of Democratization', in D. Beetham (ed.), Defining and Measuring Democracy (London, Thousand Oaks, CA, and New Delhi: Sage): 6–24.

Schmitter, P. (1995). "Transitology: The science or art of democratization." In J. Tulchin & B. Romero (Eds.), The consolidation of democracy in Latin America. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Snyder, Jack (2000) From Voting to Violence: democratization and Nationalist Conflict. Norton.

Shugart, Matthew Soberg & John M. Carey, Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Stepan, A. , & Skach, C. (1993). "Constitutional frameworks and democratic consolidation: Parliamentarianism versus presidentialism." World Politics, 46(1), 1-22.

Tsebelis, G. (1995). "Decision making in political systems: Veto players in presidentialism, parliamentarism, multicameralism, and multipartyism." British Journal of Political Science, 25(3), 289-325.

Tulchin, J. , & Romero, B. (Eds.). (1995). The consolidation of democracy in Latin America. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Valenzuela, J. S. (1992). "Democratic consolidation in post-transitional settings: Notion, process, and facilitating conditions." In S. Mainwaring , G. O'Donnell , & J. S. Valenzuela (Eds.), Issues in democratic consolidation: The new South American democracies in comparative perspective. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Vanhanen, T. (1990). The process of democratization: A comparative study of 147 states, 1980-1988. New York: Crane Russak

Whitehead, L. (1986). "International aspects of democratization." In G. A. O'Donnell , P. C. Schmitter , & L. Whitehead (Eds.), Transitions from authoritarian rule: Comparative perspectives. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Wiarda, H. (1992). "Introduction: Social change, political development, and the Latin American tradition." In H. Wiarda (Ed.), Politics and social change in Latin America (3rd ed). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Zakaria, F. (2003) The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad. New York, London: Norton W. W. & Company

4.7: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Apartheid** - defined as a system of governance wherein racial oppression is institutionalized.
- **Aristocracy** - a form of government where power is held by nobility or those concerned to be of the highest classes within a society.
- **Autocracies** - forms of government where countries are ruled either by a single person or group, who/which holds total power and control.
- **Ba'athist Party** - a former transnational Arab political party that espouses pan-Arab nationalism and socialist economic policies.
- **Checks and balances** - a system that attempts to ensure that no one branch can become too powerful.
- **Congressional legislature** - one where groups of legislators, elected by the people, make laws and share powers with other branches within the government.
- **Consultative legislature** - where the legislature advises the leader, or group of leaders, on issues relating to laws and their application.
- **Democracy** - a government system in which the supreme power of government is vested in the people.
- **Democratic consolidation** - a type of regime transition whereby new democracies evolve from fledgling regimes to established democracies, making them less at risk to fall back into authoritarian regimes.
- **Direct democracy** - a government system that enables citizens to vote directly, or participate directly, in the formation of laws, public policy and government decisions.
- **Elections** - the mechanism through which leaders get chosen around the world.
- **Electoral** - an adjective which means relating to elections or electors.
- **Electoral democracy** - a form of representative democracy where political leaders are elected through an election (electoral) process to exercise political power and manage the basic tasks of government operations.
- **Electoral systems** - also known as a country's system of voting; an electoral system provides a set of rules that dictate how elections (and other voting initiatives) are conducted and how results are determined and communicated.
- **Executive branch** - typically made up of a singular leader, a leader with an assistant (vice-president) or a small group of leaders who have institutional powers.
- **Fair elections** - those in which all votes carry equal weight, are counted accurately, and the election results are able to be accepted by parties. Ideally, the following standards are met to ensure elections are free and fair.
- **Free elections** - those where all citizens are able to vote for the candidate of their choice. The election is free if all citizens who meet the requirements to vote (e.g. are of lawful age and meet the citizenship requirements, if they exist), are not prevented from participating in the election process.
- **Flawed democracies** - those where elections are free and fair, and basic civil liberties are protected, but issues exist which may hamper the democratic process.
- **Head of government** - refers to the chief executives who must run and manage the day-to-day business of the state.
- **Head of state** - refers to when the chief executive must represent the country in formal gatherings as well as for ceremonial responsibilities.
- **Hybrid regimes** - those where democracy is touted to exist, but elections may not be free or fair, and government functioning is poor.
- **Illiberal democracies** - those regimes where elections occur, but civil liberties are not protected.
- **Indirect democracy** - channels the power of the people through representation, where citizens elect representatives to make laws and government decisions on their behalf.
- **Judicial review** - is the ability to interpret the constitutionality of laws, and in doing so, the ability to overturn decisions made by lesser courts when doing so.
- **Judiciary** - refers to the part of government where laws can be interpreted and enforced.
- **Legislative branch** - tasked with performing three main functions: (1) making and revising laws; (2) providing administrative oversight to ensure laws are being properly executed; (3) and providing representation of the constituents to the government.
- **Majoritarian voting system** - an electoral system where candidates must win a majority in order to win the election. If they do not win a majority, there needs to be a runoff election.
- **No-fly zone** - when a foreign power intervenes to prevent that country or another country from gaining air superiority.

- **Parliamentary legislature** - where members are elected by the people, enacts laws on their behalf, and also serves as the executive branch of government.
- **Parliamentary system** - sometimes called parliamentary democracy, a system of government where the chief executive, usually a Prime Minister, attains their role through election by the legislature.
- **Plurality voting system** - an electoral system where the candidate who gets the most votes, wins. In this system, there is no requirement to attain a majority, so this system can sometimes be called the first-past-the-post system.
- **Political parties** - groups of people who are organized under shared values to get their candidates elected to office to exercise political authority.
- **Presidential system** - a system of government, sometimes called a single executive system, where the head of government is a president who leads the executive branch of government.
- **Primitive democracy** - small communities have face-to-face discussions in order to make decisions.
- **Proportional voting system** - an electoral system where voting options reflect geographical or political divisions in the population to enable a proportional leadership when elected.
- **Semi-presidential system** - sometimes called the dual executive system, a system of government where a country has both a president and a prime minister and cabinet.
- **Separation of powers** - a term that divides government functions into three areas: the legislature, tasked primarily with the making of laws; the executive, who carries out or enforces these laws; and the judiciary, tasked with interpreting the constitutionality of laws.
- **Suffrage** - the right to vote in political elections and propose referendums.
- **Waves of democracy** - moments in history when multiple countries transition to democracy during the same time period.

Summary

Section #4.1: What is Democracy?

Democracy is a government system in which the supreme power of government is vested in the people. Democracy has a number of characteristics which can be central to understanding the variation in democracies that exist worldwide today. These differences also highlight the difference between concepts of ancient democracy versus contemporary democracy. Ancient democracy had no concept or foundations for widespread suffrage or the protection of civil liberties. Some of these modern accepted democratic themes include (but are not limited to): free, fair and regular elections (ideally, with the inclusion of more than one viable political party), respect for civil liberties (freedom of religion, speech, the press, peaceful assembly; freedom to criticize the government) as well as the protection of civil rights (freedom from discrimination based on various characteristics deemed important in society). Democracies which not only facilitate free and fair elections, but also ensure the protection of civil liberties are called Liberal Democracies. Some of the different types of democracy include: Liberal Democracy, Electoral Democracy, Semi-Democratic Regimes, Flawed Democracies, Hybrid Regimes, and Illiberal Democracy.

Section #4.2: Institutions within Democracy

While some elements and characteristics of democracy vary, one constant commonality is the separation of powers among institutions within governments. This separation of powers promotes checks and balances because it provides for power to be spread throughout multiple branches of government with the intention of splitting up power between institutions so that no single branch has too much power but instead empowering all branches with their own institutionalized powers. The three branches of concern include: (1) the legislature; (2) the executive; and (3) the judiciary. Other hallmark institutions of democracies are their electoral systems and the presence of political parties.Electoral systems are voting systems; an electoral system provides a set of rules that dictate how elections (and other voting initiatives) are conducted and how results are determined and communicated. Political Parties are groups of people who are organized under shared values to get their candidates elected to office to exercise political authority. All of these institutions, taken together, contribute to the many unique democracies that exist today, and require, at the very least, a brief overview to consider their importance and implications to democracy today.

Section #4.3: Systems of Democracy

Within democracy, there are three types of systems which may be present, including: the presidential, the parliamentary and the semi-presidential systems. Each of these systems were designed to fit the context and cultures of their democratic systems, and each has their share of advantages and disadvantages. The Presidential System of government, sometimes called a single executive system, is one where the head of government is a president who leads the executive branch of government. the Parliamentary System, sometimes called parliamentary democracy, is one where the chief executive, usually a Prime Minister, attains their role

through election by the legislature. Semi-Presidential System, sometimes called the dual executive system, is one where a country has both a president and a prime minister and cabinet.

Section #4.4: Democratic Consolidation

Democratization, also referred to as democratic consolidation, is a type of regime transition whereby new democracies evolve from fledgling regimes to established democracies, making them less at risk to fall back into authoritarian regimes.When a democracy becomes consolidated, scholars expect that it will endure. Two possible conditions of democratic consolidation have been considered, including the two-term test and the longevity test, though both of these lack substantial evidence. In the absence of confirmed conditions, a number of theories exist as to why some democracies are able to consolidate, and some are not.

Section #4.5: Comparative Case Study – Pathways to Democratization: South Africa & Iraq

Both South Africa and Iraq experienced journeys toward the destination of democracy, but with differing success in means and ends. While the countries of Iraq and South Africa differ in a multiplicity of ways, there remain viable similarities in the past and present of the two states which allow for a candid academic assessment of the reasons for and nature of the regime transitions.

Review Questions

1. In its most basic form, liberal democracy involves
    a. Economic advantage
    b. Social mobility
    c. Free and fair elections & the protection of civil liberties
    d. None of these
2. Which part of an election is important to look at when determining if an election is both free and fair?
    a. Before the election
    b. During the election
    c. After the election
    d. All of the above are correct
3. When a democracy becomes undemocratic, it is called:
    a. A flawed democracy
    b. A hybrid regime
    c. Democratic backsliding
    d. Autocracy
4. Groups of people who are organized under shared values to get their candidates elected to power are
    a. Juntas
    b. Electorates
    c. Selectorates
    d. Political Parties
5. The three branches of government are:
    a. The electorate, the legislative and the judicial
    b. The judicial, the executive and the political parties
    c. The electoral system, separation of powers, and the legislative
    d. Legislative, Executive and Judiciary

Answers: 1.c, 2.d, 3.c, 4.d., 5.d

Critical Thinking Questions

1. What are common characteristics of Democracy? What variations of democracy emerge out of these characteristics?
2. What are the differences between democracies, semi-democracies and authoritarian regimes? How can you recognize the difference between these regimes?
3. What is the relationship between voting and democracy? Is the characteristic of suffrage a critical component? (Consider, for instance, that the Polity IV measurement of democracy does not include a measurement for suffrage. What are the implications for democracy if suffrage is not included in its characteristics?)

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- International Forum for Democratic Studies
- Freedom House
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)
- Centre for Voting and Democracy

Journals

- Democratization, Routledge
- Frontiers in Political Science: Peace and Democracy
- Journal of Democracy, International Forum for Democratic Studies, John Hopkins University Press

Books

- Dahl, R. A. (1998) On Democracy. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- Diamond, L. (1999) Developing Democracy. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Francisco, Ronald (2000) The Politics of Regime Transitions. Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

5: Non-Democracies and Democratic Backsliding

5.1: What are non-democracies?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Recognize this subset of regimes in the world
- Understand differences between non-democracy and democracy

Introduction

There exists a rich vocabulary for referring to non-democracies, past and present. Scholars have employed terms such as dictatorship, tyranny, monarchy, oligarchy, and totalitarian regime, among others, to describe this kind of political system. All of these, and many more, fall under a broad umbrella of regimes that can be described as non-democratic. At its broadest, **non-democracy** refers to all forms of government which deny citizens meaningful institutional channels for making choices about their collective well-being. This can range from limited to no ability for public input in the selection of political leaders and limited to no decision-making power over the allocation of public resources.

Non-democracies are quite diverse, even more so than democracies, and this variety extends across time and space. While there are 'varieties of democracy' ranging from liberal to social democratic, with different institutional configurations such as presidential and parliamentary, across democracies there exist common principles such as divided government and accountability to the people. All democracies have electoral systems, an executive, legislature, and judiciary. Non-democracies, in contrast, do not have any common organizational features; instead, they run the gamut from rule by a single person with minimal institutionalization to complex bureaucratic systems under collective leadership. In this sense, non-democracies are a much broader and confounding collection of countries to study.

Empirically, non-democracies are also distinct from democracies in important ways. Non-democratic regimes are much more variable in their economic performance (Gandhi 2008). Many have swung from extreme levels of nationwide poverty to becoming economic dynamos, presenting sustained economic growth rates unseen in recorded human history. This would be the example set by China from 1978 to 2020. In a reversal of this pattern, the kingdom of Chad and post-independence state of Chad (1960-present) made the dramatic turn from a major trading empire during the ninth through nineteenth centuries to becoming one of the poorest sub-Saharan countries in Africa today. Non-democracies appear to experience deeper economic troughs and higher economic highs than their democratic counterparts.

While there exist many varieties of non-democracy, a subject taken up later in this chapter, all non-democracies share several overriding characteristics. These relate to accountability, competition, and freedom. Let’s take up each of these in turn.

Accountability

Political accountability has many dimensions. Most critically in democracies, it exists between public officials and the public via the institution of free and fair elections. Accountability exists via other channels, such as through the free flow of information about political decisions and developments in a society. A free and independent media can ensure this flow of information, along with monitors within government. Accountability also exists when different branches of government can check each other, for example through vetoes, court rulings, and divided authority.

In a non-democracy, some or all of these forms of accountability are compromised: elections are rigged or don’t exist; the media is muzzled or state-owned; government exists to carry out the will of an unchecked political elite. All non-democracies restrict channels for accountability of political authority(ies) to the governed. Take the example of Saudi Arabia. This kingdom is one of the few remaining absolutist monarchies in existence today, and all political authority lays with the Al Saud royal family. The Saudi king is the leader of this family, and he is also head of state and head of government of Saudi Arabia. There is no legislature to pass laws in Saudi Arabia, and Saudi citizens do not elect representatives or otherwise have institutional channels for providing input in the national policy-making process. In this polity, the ruling Al Saud family is not accountable to the Saudi people.

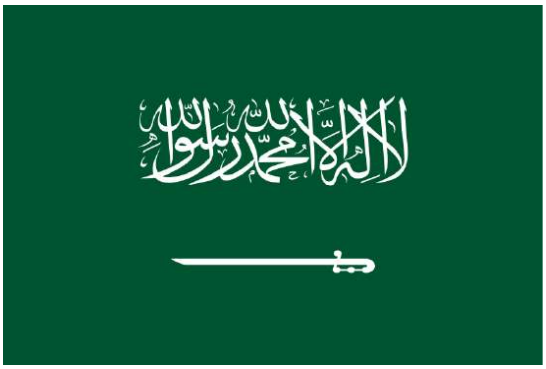


Figure 5.1.1:The Royal Standard of Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is an absolutist monarchy led by a king who is head of the royal family, Al Saud, and also head of government and head of state. The state is guided by Islamic law, and all Saudi citizens must be Muslims. (Source: Flag of Saudi Arabia by Saudi Arabia Royal Decree No. M/3, via Wikipedia, is licensed under Public Domain)

Competition

Separate but related, non-democracies have limited to no competition for political office. This may mean the absence of political parties, as in the case of Saudi Arabia. Some non-democracies allow limited competition for public office, which was the case in Mexico under PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional). PRI controlled Mexican political life for 71 years and was famously described by novelist Mario Vargas Llosa as “the perfect dictatorship” because it managed to remain the ruling party of Mexico for decades despite the existence of opposition parties. These opposition parties began to win elections in the 1980s and, in 2000, PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) presidential candidate Vicente Fox won national elections and overturned decades of single-party rule in modern Mexico. Political parties are one way to observe the degree of competition in a political system, and they are a proxy for a deeper and more meaningful competition of policy ideas. This competition of ideas is a critical marker of the debate, dissent, and diversity that characterizes a democratic system.

Figure 5.1.2:Protests against election manipulation in Mexico, 2012. Protests erupted in Mexico after presidential elections won by PRI candidate Enrique Peña Nieto. Protesters claimed widespread election fraud. In 2000, many decades of single-party rule by PRI ended, but PRI reclaimed the presidency in 2012. (Source: Protesting against PRI by Gabriel Saldaña via flickr creative commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0)

Freedom

Non-democracies lack a commitment to individual freedom, which is a hallmark of modern democracy. While democracies have many institutional channels for individual voice -- elections and independent media are key examples -- these are often manipulated or censored in a non-democracy. To justify the abrogation of individual freedoms, non-democracies may promote alternate values such as the importance of order and hierarchy over individual will or the need to subsume the individual to larger collective will (as mediated by those in power).

To capture these many aspects of non-democracy, across countries and within a country over time, there exist different measures. One measure can be found in the Polity Project (now in its fifth iteration), which examines aspects of a political system such as whether there is competition for executive positions and unconstrained participation in the political system. Polity scores for many countries around the world have been tracked from 1800 to the present; this data is publicly available and can be downloaded for analysis. Another popular measure of regime type is provided by Freedom House, a non-profit organization based in Washington, DC, that has tracked levels of political freedom and civil liberties in countries around the world since 1972. Freedom House scores, world maps, and reports are publicly available for download.

Educational Resources Initiative (OERI)) .

5.2: Strategies for staying in power

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Evaluate various institutional strategies by which non-democratic regimes remain in power
- Analyze cultural and ideological explanations for the persistence of non-democratic regimes

Introduction

All regimes possess a variety of means for staying in power. One common heuristic for thinking about these tools is through a simple "carrots versus sticks" breakdown of regime strategies. Carrots take the form of inducements or benefits that are doled out to gain the loyalty of constituents. Sticks are focused on meting out punishments as negative reinforcement of the rules.

One additional tool to add to the mix of carrots and sticks is propaganda. Governments may also expend resources to shore up their legitimacy in the minds of citizens, for example through sophisticated propaganda bureaucracies or control of information flows to the people. Here the term **propaganda** is used to refer to biased information communicated to convince audiences of a particular political view. Deploying propaganda is neither a carrot nor stick – or perhaps it is a bit of both – but rather a powerful means to control people's perceptions and thoughts. Propaganda, as an ideational strategy, is in a category of its own, and especially powerful when it can draw on existing cultural foundations in a society.

Figure 5.2.1:Regimes may control media such as television, radio, and the internet, to transmit pro-regime messaging. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; banlon1964 via flickr creative commons)

All regimes utilize a mix of carrots, sticks, and ideas to stay in power. Many of the strategies reviewed in this section will have versions in democracies and non-democracies. For example, internal investigative bureaucracies, such as the Ministry of State Security in China, have counterparts in democracies, such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in the United States. Similarly, virtually all countries in the world, regardless of regime type, have police for maintaining domestic order. It is not the case that non-democracies are repressive while democracies are not. But compared to democracies, non-democracies are relatively unconstrained in their ability to use force or manipulate information in order to ensure compliance with their rule. The lack of robust accountability mechanisms in non-democracies is a crucial difference in how public institutions are managed and the scope of their authority.

Institutional channels

Regimes are most likely to endure when they build and maintain institutions. Institutions here refers to shared practices, norms, and organizations which exist beyond any single individual. One shorthand way for thinking about institutions is that they are the "rules of the game" for all social life. Institutions structure the way we do things and organize our interactions with others. They are the source of a great deal of social and political power. This is in part because resources follow from beliefs. Take the institution of the state. The state is one of the most powerful institutions in the modern world today. The beliefs and norms surrounding states, which are shared globally, confer great power on states. States manage nuclear arsenals, squeeze taxes from billions of citizens, and manage the global flow of trade and finance.

Because of the power of institutions, regimes have an interest in institutionalizing their rule. This highlights another feature of institutions. Institutions relate to each other in many ways: they can reinforce each other, be nested in one another, and one institution can beget another. Regimes are institutions unto themselves. Supporting regimes, in turn, are many additional

institutions. Regimes invest in institutions that enable them to stay in power, which means that these institutions both absorb and disperse resources.

Let's start with institutional carrots. Nondemocracies have in place a variety of institutions that provide positive inducements for supporting the regime. We will define and examine three of these: institutions for co-opting opposition, patronage networks, and clientelism. Each of these is distinct but can overlap with the others.

Institutions for co-opting opposition

All non-democracies face the problem of an opposition which might oust them from power. To blunt the force of an opposition, or even vocal critics with a following, a regime might invest in institutions which have the appearance of democratic representation. These include rigged elections, legislatures, courts, and the like. These institutions are actually "window dressing" or façades for a tightly controlled political system. Judiciaries in these systems are not independent, nor do they provide a meaningful check on the authority of rulers. Many nondemocratic regimes have in place legislatures, but these legislatures lack authority to veto measures passed by those in power. Examples abound in the highly authoritarian Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), or North Korea. North Korea has been ruled since the 1950s by a single Supreme Leader, yet formally it has a unicameral legislature. This Supreme People's Assembly comprises nearly 700 deputies and in theory confers authority on the Supreme Leader. However, DPRK's Supreme Leader makes all governance decisions for the country and does not face any threat of veto by this unicameral legislature.

Figure 5.2.2:North Korea's legislature meets at Mansudae Assembly Hall, which is located in the North Korean capital city Pyongyang. (Source: Mansudae Assembling Hall in Pyongyang, Parliament of North Korea by Nicor via Wikimedia Commons in licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0)

Opposition parties or critics of the regime might agree to sit on such bodies as a means to have access to and possibly influence political leaders. They may also benefit materially from legislative or judicial seats, for example drawing a salary or receiving other perks of office such as a chauffeured car or swanky office. Note that co-opting opposition through such institutions can serve the ruling regime in multiple ways. They can boost the legitimacy of the rulers in the eyes of the public. They also allow rulers to more closely monitor the positions and ideas of opposition, which might then be countered or even adopted as appropriate.

Patronage networks

All politics hinge on relationships and the flow of resources. **Patronage networks** are relationships within political systems in which one party with access to resources distributes those resources to those within their network. Within a patronage network are reciprocal bonds that unite members of the network. A leader might take a portion of oil revenues and distribute those monies to their deputies scattered throughout the provinces; those deputies make sure that the leader's posters are prominently displayed in every local government office.

Patronage networks may be organized via many different kinds of organizations or social groups. Political parties are one way to distribute public resources in exchange for political obedience. Other major state organizations, such as the military or state-owned businesses are also sites for building patronage networks. Non-state organizations may be part of patronage networks, such as businesses or business associations. Identity groups, including those bound by ethnicity or tribe, may be the basis of patronage networks. The latter is evident in Syria, where major institutions of the state are controlled by the Alawite minority, a Shia Muslim group that is less than one-fifth of Sunni Muslim-dominated Syria. Alawite networks support the ruling al-Assad family.

Broad-based clientelism

Related to but separate from patronage networks are institutions that promote clientelism on a broad scale. Clients are those who rely on a patron for resources; **clientelism** is a strategy whereby rulers seek to buy off the loyalties of broad swaths of the population. To do so, rulers may invest in social programs in which they mark clearly their sponsorship of these programs to the masses. Such broad-based distribution of resources has the effect of turning significant parts of a country's population into clients, or dependents, of the regime.

One place where we see this kind of broad-based clientelism was in Mexico under the rule of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (or Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI) during much of the twentieth century. PRI was in power in Mexico from 1929 to 2000. Under the PRI presidency of Carlos Salinas de Gortari (1988-1994), social programs were consolidated under a new government organization called Pronasol. Pronasol distributed government funds to poor communities to build public works such as schools, health clinics, water treatment facilities, and electric grids. This organization reflected the national ambitions and reach of PRI: at its height, there were nearly 250,000 Pronasol committees at the grassroots level to carry out community projects in collaboration with community leaders. The results are impressive: renovations of 130,000 schools, creation of 1,000 rural medical units, and plumbing access for 16 million Mexican residents (Merrill and Miró eds. 1996). Looking back on this ambitious program, it represented a broad-based means to build support for PRI rule throughout the country and especially in the countryside.

Figure 5.2.3:A rural school in Mexico. Schools such as this were sponsored by the ruling PRI in Mexico as a means to build loyalty among rural citizens. (Source: Rural School in Mexico by Heather Paul via flickr creative commons is licensed under CC BY-ND 2.0)

Next, let's turn to institutional sticks, or strategies of repression. There are a variety of repressive means by which nondemocratic regimes extract obedience from the population. These include the creation of domestic security bureaucracies and paramilitary groups.

Domestic security apparatuses

Nondemocracies are the creators of the modern secret police, beginning with the creation of the Cheka under Lenin, which became the NKVD – internal secret police – under Stalin. It is now the KGB in today's Russia. The Cheka was the model for many other secret police that were created in Italy and Germany, to name some familiar examples. These institutions can serve critical purposes, from collecting intelligence on potential dissent within a country to terrorizing citizens.

One nondemocracy which has developed sophisticated means for surveilling its population is China. Since 2010, the ruling Chinese Communist Party has spent more on domestic security than external defense. A vast network of surveillance programs exist throughout the country, including "Sharp Eyes" (xueliang) a project announced in 2015 that mandated video surveillance of all public spaces in the country by 2020. Sharp Eyes included nonstop video feed of public squares, intersections of major roads, public areas in residential neighborhoods, and transit stations, to name a few. It also included monitoring of buildings such as the entry points of radio, TV, and newspaper offices. This video capability is combined with additional technologies such as facial recognition.

Figure 5.2.4:Pedestrians in a public square in Beijing are surveilled as part of a national system to video all public spaces. (Source: Tiananmen Gate with surveillance cameras by hmchang via wikimedia is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0)

Paramilitaries

Another powerful instrument of repression are paramilitaries. These refer to groups with access to military-grade weapons and training, yet they are not part of the national military. They are "irregular armed organizations that carry out acts of violence against

civilians on behalf of a state," (Üngör 2020). Paramilities have been deployed by governments around the world, and they are an additional institutional layer of terror over citizens. Death squads are one kind of paramilitary employed by governments to carry out extrajudicial murders, usually of political enemies of the state. One tragic example of mass killing carried out by death squads can be found in Indonesia. During the height of the Cold War in the mid-1960s, Indonesian death squads were responsible for the murder of hundreds of thousands of Indonesians believed to have leftist sympathies.

Taken together, nondemocratic leaders possess a variety of means, both persuasive and coercive, to enforce their rule. These include positive inducements that can be narrow or broad in scope. Coercive institutions, such as secret police and paramilitaries, offer an institutionalized means for nondemocratic leaders to maintain their monopoly on the use of violence over their societies.

Cultural and ideological controls

Another powerful way to maintain authority is to convince people to believe in the legitimacy of nondemocratic rule. This is in some ways the most efficient way to stay in power because it preempts resistance. Nondemocratic leaders thus invest in creating strong ideational foundations for their rule. These ideas may derive selectively from deeper cultural traditions in a society – including those linked to faith traditions – or from the dissemination of nondemocratic ideologies to the masses.

Undemocratic concepts such as hierarchy and unaccountable authority are embedded in many cultural traditions. Monarchies of Europe and empires of the Americas were supported by ideas focused on the divine right of rulers. Virtually all major religions of the world promote authoritarian and undemocratic systems of governance and social order, from the rigid patriarchy of the Roman Catholic church to the castes of Hinduism. Several East Asian societies – in China, Korea, and Japan, to name a few – have strong Confucian influences. Confucius, a scholar of antiquity, argued that the hierarchical relationship between ruler and ruled was one of several hierarchical relationships that constitute an orderly society. This supplemented the idea that Chinese emperors possessed the mandate to rule "all under heaven" (tian xia). To this day, Chinese leaders draw from Confucius' writings to argue for a "harmonious society" in which dissent is culturally frowned upon.

Figure 5.2.5:Confucius (551-479 BCE) argued that several hierarchical relationships such as between ruler and ruled, formed the foundation for an orderly society. Some have suggested that the influence of Confucius' undemocratic ideas supported persistent authoritarianism in East Asia. (Source: The teaching Confucius. Portrait by Wu Daoz via Wikipedia is licensed under CC01 - Universal Public Domain)

One ongoing debate is whether "persistent authoritarianism" is an inevitable consequence of certain cultural traditions. The evidence on this count is that undemocratic cultural elements are not necessarily barriers to eventual democratization. Arguments were proffered for the incompatibility of democracy and Islam, or democracy and Confucianism, for example. Yet there are many examples of modern democracies that have emerged out of these anti-democratic cultural traditions. Turkey and Indonesia are examples of Muslim-majority democracies, while Korea and Japan demonstrate that societies with Confucian influences can become robust democracies.

Beyond cultural traditions, certain powerful political ideologies support nondemocratic rule. Two of these are communism and fascism. Countries organized according to these ideologies have been uniformly undemocratic and lack mechanisms of accountability between ruler and ruled in addition to basic freedoms for citizens. Communist countries have been led by a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the process of dismantling capitalism and building the socialist society that is meant to precede transition to communism. Fascist countries are characterized by extreme social hierarchies and control of all aspects of society by the ruling party.

A more narrow tool employed by nondemocratic leaders to remain in power is the creation of a cult of personality. Remember from Chapter Three, a cult of personality occurs when a state leverages all aspects of a leader's real and exaggerated traits to solidify the

leader's power. Drawing upon institutions such as propaganda bureaus and state control of media channels, a cult of personality creates the illusion of mass support for – even adulation of – the ruler. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was famous for creating such a cult around his personal rule, and this was taken to new heights by other twentieth century rulers such as China's Mao Zedong and Romania's Nicolae Ceaușescu. Fanning a cult of personality is a powerful way to create emotional links between citizens and ruler. A cult of personality also creates the appearance of invincibility on the part of the ruler, which can serve to stave off challenges to their rule.

5.3: Varieties of non-democracy

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify different kinds of non-democratic regimes
- Recognize examples of different non-democracies in the world, past and present

Introduction

Given the diversity of regimes that are commonly labeled 'non-democracy', one first cut at analytical clarity is devising a typology to categorize different non-democracies by their essential characteristics. Typologies offer a powerful means for thinking analytically about a group, by dividing it into subgroups based on certain criteria. This section will explore a few of the major types of non-democracies that exist in the world, past and present.

A typology of non-democracies

Creating a **typology** is an important descriptive exercise. It helps to establish the "lay of the land" and distinguish key characteristics of items within a category. Typologies can be a helpful first step for further analysis. After dividing non-democracies into types A, B, C, and D, for example, a researcher can then ask deeper questions such as: Which type of non-democracy lasts longer, on average? Which type tends to fall into conflict or remain at peace for longer stretches of time? Which enjoys more economic stability? Do types tend to cluster in certain regions of the world?

Typologies of non-democracies are an example of a nominal measure of regime type. That is, the items in this typology are not ranked, or ordinal, in relationship to one another. Rather, this typology presents a nominal measure, where non-democracies are divided into sub-groups based on certain characteristics. These sub-groups are sorted based on the two characteristics identified below but there isn't a hierarchy between groups.

Typologies present challenges. Since most things in the social world are dynamic, a typology may work for a certain period of time but then fail to capture changes such as the emergence of a new type or expiration of old types. The rise of modern fascist and communist regimes in the twentieth century prompted some scholars to argue that a new type of non-democracy, **totalitarianism**, had arisen. To this day scholars debate whether totalitarianism is a useful term.

A second challenge is one of fit. Some observations may not slot neatly into the types offered by a given typology but rather combine characteristics of two or even more types. This kind of combination is observable in the real world of non-democracies. It highlights how types within our typology of non-democracies are not mutually exclusive: one country may fit several types or change types over time.

In short, typologies are grounded in certain underlying characteristics that divide a group into subgroups. Typologies are dynamic and can shift with changes in those underlying characteristics of the category being observed. New types of non-democracies are identified over time, scholars argue that they have identified something distinct, and a new type may eventually become widely accepted by specialists and more casual observers. Illiberal or hybrid regimes, which will be discussed below, is one example of this phenomenon.

There exist many typologies for dividing up the diverse countries classified as non-democracies in the world. The typology presented here provides analytical leverage for thinking about variation within this regime type. Our typology of non-democracies depends on two qualitative factors, namely, leadership characteristics and sources of legitimacy. Leadership focuses on questions such as whether the core leadership comprises one or several people. Beyond how many people are in power, there are further questions about leadership characteristics: Are civilians or the military in power? Do the leaders all come from a certain institution, such as a political party or religious group? A second major consideration focuses on the foundations of regime authority: What are the animating ideas that lend legitimacy to the regime? Is the regime guided by a religion or a particular ideology?

When considering these two sets of factors, leadership characteristics and bases for regime legitimacy, we can focus on five major types of non-democracy in the world today. These are theocracies, personalist regimes or monarchies, single-party regimes or oligarchies, military regimes, and hybrid or illiberal regimes. Table 5.3.1 summarizes these types.

Table 5.3.1: Types of non-democracies based on leadership characteristics and sources of legitimacy

Type of non-democracy	Leadership characteristics	Sources of legitimacy
Theocracy	Single leader or collective rule	Religious texts
Personalist or monarchy	Single leader	Variable: Religion, charisma, tradition
Single-party rule or oligarchy	Collective rule	Variable: Religion, political ideology such as communism, fascism
Military rule	Variable: Single leader or collective rule, all military	Variable: Religion, political ideology, beliefs about military competence
Illiberal regime	Variable	Variable, but all have a veneer of liberal democracy

Theocracy

Theocracies are as old as organized religion. Many **theocracies** are non-democracies in which the authority of political leaders is grounded in a sacred text. These texts provide divine legitimacy to political leaders, who are not accountable to the public. Within theocracies, political institutions are organized in accordance with prescriptions in a sacred text, notably executive office, the legal code, legal system, and schools. Some current non-democratic theocracies are those organized around Islam, such as Saudi Arabia and Iran. The Vatican, another non-democratic theocracy, is organized around Roman Catholicism.

Figure 5.3.1:The Holy See, or Vatican City, is a contemporary example of a theocracy. It is governed by Roman Catholic texts and led by a pope. Consecrated in 1626, St. Peter's Basilica (pictured here) is the largest Christian church in the world. (Source: Facade of St. Peter's Basilica in Vatican City by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

Personalist rule and monarchy

Non-democracies characterized by **personalist rule** are led by a single leader. That leader may derive their legitimacy from a variety of sources. These include the personal charisma of that leader or their ability to serve as a convincing interpreter of a political ideology for all of society. An example of the former is Idi Amin of Uganda (r. 1971-1979), and an example of the latter is Fidel Castro of Cuba (r. 1959-2008). Some personalist leaders come to power through family dynasties, such as the al-Assad family in Syria. In all of these cases, personalist leaders are not subject to formal mechanisms of accountability.

Personalist rule is often combined with other types of non-democracy, for example a charismatic leader may rely upon the organizational heft of a ruling party or the military to remain in power. Idi Amin was a commander in the Ugandan army; Fidel Castro commanded the formidable organizational apparatus of the Communist Party of Cuba and Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Figure 5.3.2:Fidel Castro was a charismatic leader of Cuba. He is pictured here (right) next to fellow revolutionary Che Guevara. (Source: Che Guevara & Fidel Castro by Alberto Korda Wikipedia is licensed under Public Domain)

Personalist rule tends to be unstable due to problems of succession. A personalist ruler might be hesitant to designate a successor because that successor then has incentives to depose them from power. But if a successor is not designated, then instability is likely to set in upon the ruler's death.

A **monarchy** is similar to personalist rule in that there is a single leader, but the bases of legitimacy tend to be grounded in tradition or sacred texts. The Vatican City, introduced previously as a theocracy, is also self-described as an "absolute monarchy" because it is led by a pope. The Kingdom of Bahrain is an example of a constitutional monarchy and has been led by the Al-Khalifa family since 1783.

Figure 5.3.3:High-rises and shopping malls surround a mosque in the capital city of the Kingdom of Bahrain, Manama. (Source: Mosque east of Bab-al-Bahrain via CIA World Factbook is Public Domain)

Single-party rule and oligarchy

In contrast to personalist rule, single-party rule and oligarchies are shaped by collective leadership. **Oligarchies** are an older form of nondemocratic collective rule. In these systems, elites control political office and national resources and are not accountable to the public for their actions. The Roman Republic was a kind of oligarchy in that only the very wealthy could hold high political office. Political scientist Jeffrey Winters has theorized that there are two key dimensions to oligarchies. First, the wealth of oligarchs is difficult to seize and disperse. Second, their power extends systemically, across the entire regime (Winters 2011). In the contemporary world, some have pointed to Russia as subject to a great deal of political influence by oligarchs, though it is not formally an oligarchy.

The overriding characteristic of **single-party rule** is leadership by members of a political party. Prominent examples include the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1917-1991) and the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) of Mexico (1929-2000). The latter is especially interesting because PRI rule took place in an environment of multi-party competition, but the competition was so skewed in favor of the PRI that Mexico was subject to single-party rule for decades. A ruling party may have a clear guiding ideology, such as communist parties of the twentieth century, or instead be similar to the political parties that we see in the United States: organizations for selecting political talent and unifying political elites.

Single-party regimes can be quite stable. For this reason, single-party regimes have been on the rise worldwide since the 1970s (Figure 5.1). Over the period 1972 to 2005, non-democracies led by a ruling party increased from 60 percent of all non-democracies to 85 percent.

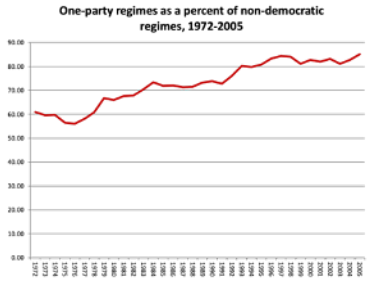


Figure 5.3.4:Single-party regimes as a percent of non-democratic regimes over the period 1972-2005 (Data source: Hadenius and Teorell, 2007) (Source: One-Party regimes as a percent of non-democratic regimes, 1972-2005, by Charlotte Lee is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0

Today one of the most powerful countries in the world, the People's Republic of China, is an example of single-party rule. Political leadership over the billion-plus people of China resides in the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, a body comprising around twenty individuals. Within the Politburo is the Politburo Standing Committee, a body typically comprising between seven and one dozen high officials; from this inner group emanate all major decisions guiding contemporary China.

Military rule

Military rule is characterized by military elites, rather than civilians, running the government. There are various reasons why militaries rise to political power in a society. One is that they possess the material means – the weapons and organizational capacity – to seize control over a society. On the demand side, a population might support military rule because of popular perceptions of the competence of the military, especially if there are charismatic or well-known generals leading the military. In some cases, the military might appear to be a particularly stable and orderly institution during a time of political turmoil. This in turn may appeal to certain segments of society (such as economic elites, who especially value stability) or entire war-weary societies.

There exists a continuum for thinking about the role of militaries within a polity. On one end of this continuum, developed democracies are grounded in civilian control of the military. In the example of Canada, the commander-in-chief of the Canadian military is the Canadian monarch.The reverse, total military control over the civilian population, falls on the opposite end of this continuum, and in these nondemocratic situations the military is not accountable to the public, even for gross human rights violations. Burma is a prominent example of a country which has been subject to repressive military rule for significant chunks of its post-colonial independence since 1948. The Burmese military, known as the Tatmadaw, appeared to allow some liberalization and turn toward civilian leadership during the 2010s, but in the 2020s it has again asserted control over the country and its political apparatus.

Figure 5.3.5:Burmese Defense Services personnel (Air Force) meeting a Thai delegation.(Source: Burmese Defence Services personnel (Air Force) by Thai government via Wikipedia is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

Military rule rose and fell in frequency during the twentieth century. In the post-World War II period, military regimes peaked at 40 percent of all nondemocracies in the world, then fell to approximately 15 percent of nondemocracies worldwide by the turn of the twenty-first century (Gandhi 2008).

Illiberal and hybrid regimes

The idea of an **illiberal regime** – that is, one that mixes characteristics of liberal democracies but is decidedly illiberal in other respects – emerged in the twentieth century when it became clear that many aspiring democracies born immediately after the end of

the Cold War (1989-1991), from Romania to Kazakhstan, were sliding into nondemocratic habits. Even more, this seemed to be a trend affecting many young democracies that had emerged even earlier in the twentieth century.

An illiberal regime might have multiple political parties, a partially free media, and partially free and fair elections. Institutions that are central to a liberal democracy are, in an illiberal context, weak and subject to manipulation by those with economic power and political influence. In an article exploring the rise of this form of government Fareed Zakaria observed that, “Far from being a temporary or transitional stage, it appears that many countries are settling into a form of government that mixes a substantial degree of democracy with a substantial degree of illiberalism,” (Zakaria, 1997, p. 24). In short, illiberal democracies exist in an in-between zone where there are nondemocratic institutions or practices in place, yet also some of the markers of democracy. One open-ended question is whether illiberal democracy will remain a distinct status for many countries for long stretches of time or whether they will trend more decisively toward either non-democracy or democracy.

Hybrid regimes are separate but related to illiberal regimes. The category of “hybrid regime” is an acknowledgement that many of the types of nondemocracies described previously are “ideal” types and many nondemocracies combine features of more than one type. North Korea is an example of a “triple hybrid” – a combination of a single-party system led by a personalist leader (from the Kim dynasty) with a politically powerful military. China under President Xi Jinping may be moving toward a hybrid of personalist rule and single-party rule.

Table 5.3.2 offers a summary of the different types of nondemocracies explored in this section, dominant characteristics, and some examples.

Table 5.3.2: Types of nondemocracies, distinguishing characteristics, and examples

Type of Nondemocracy	Dominant Characteristics	Examples
Theocracy	Rule by religious elite in accordance with sacred texts	Iran, 1979-present
Personalist rule and monarchy	Rule by a single individual; in the case of a monarchy, the monarch derives legitimacy from tradition	Idi Amin of Uganda, 1971-79 Kingdom of Bahrain, 1971-present
Single-party rule and oligarchy	Collective rule by a group of elites, in the case of single-party rule via the ruling party	Soviet Union under the CPSU, 1917/22-1991 Mexico under PRI, 1929-2000 China under the CCP, 1949-present
Military rule	Rule by military elites	Burma, 1962-2011 Venezuela, 1899-1945, 1948-1958
Illiberal regime	Veneer of liberal democratic institutions that are subverted by political elites	Russia, 1991-present
Hybrid regime	Some combination of the above types	North Korea, 1948-present

5.4: Democratic backsliding

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Evaluate indicators of democratic backsliding

Introduction

The twenty-first century has been marked by a weakening of democratic institutions in many once-robust democracies. This is not a new trend. The history of modern democracy is littered with examples of countries which adopted representative democracy or liberal republicanism, only to return to a non-democratic form of government. **Democratic backsliding** is when a country becomes more illiberal and undemocratic over time. This can take the form of weakening electoral systems and attenuation of the rule of law, repression or infringement of civil and political liberties, and corrupt governance that enjoys weakening accountability. Importantly, democratic backsliding is often gradual and protracted, which makes it difficult to identify. This also presents challenges for those who might wish to stop the backsliding because there are sometimes only smaller or subtle shifts that might not be cause for alarm by a critical mass of democrats within a society. While regime change from democracy to nondemocracy can happen via spectacular and sudden events such as a coup or revolution, democratic backsliding is more insidious and stymies those who might want to organize to combat it.

There are many reasons for democratic backsliding, and in this section we will explore three major explanations: institutional, cultural, and international factors.

Institutional Explanations

Certain institutions render a country more vulnerable to nondemocratic rule. Presidential systems are famously unstable (Linz, 1990). They tend to centralize power in a single individual, and there are fewer mechanisms in place to check that individual from abuse of office. Compared to a parliamentary system, where executives are appointed by the legislature and subject to no confidence votes, presidents are relatively difficult to dismiss before they complete their term of office. During this time, they may opt to abuse their power or degrade the democracy in significant ways.

Countries which lack strong institutions of accountability, such as independent judiciaries and independent anti-corruption bureaus, are also more susceptible to democratic backsliding. When courts do not check those in power, and there is only weak rule of law, then serious and flagrant abuse of public office is more likely. Significant and pervasive **corruption** – defined as misuse of public resources for private gain – can also degrade a democracy, both in practice and in the legitimacy of that regime. Well-resourced, robust anti-corruption bureaus or inspectors general are an important bulwark against this kind of internal decay.

Another major institution which can threaten a democracy is a politically motivated military. When a military is subject to weak or inadequate civilian oversight, it can become a politicized actor and even seize control, culminating in nondemocratic military rule. Building a professional military which is focused on its security responsibilities and ability to prevail in complex military operations, rather than be tempted by political power, is a deep ongoing challenge for many governments.

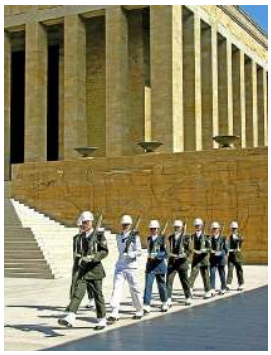


Figure 5.4.1:Turkish soldiers guarding the mausoleum of Turkish president Kemal Atatürk (in office 1923-38), who was a proponent of a secular Turkey shaped by a powerful military. A professional military subject to civilian oversight is a bulwark against democratic backsliding by a too-powerful military. (Source: Turkey-1658 by Dennis Jarvis via Wikipedia is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0)

Cultural Explanations

Popular and elite beliefs in the appropriateness of democratic rule can shape political outcomes. When there are strong democratic norms in place, this takes on a self-perpetuating quality in which a society supports and reinforces democratic practices and institutions. Yet democratic "habits of the heart" can take long periods of time to mature and gain a taken-for-granted status in a society. Civic education can play a role in this endeavor, especially education that addresses liberal values such as liberty, fairness, representativeness, and accountability. When people in a society think critically about where authority and power should rest in their society, and believe that they are empowered to challenge nondemocratic rule, this can offer a deep societal buffer against democratic backsliding.

Charismatic, autocratic leaders can gain a national following and move a democracy toward non-democracy. Such leaders may call upon a variety of tactics to gain a mass following. Many of these strategies might appeal to cultural faultlines or vulnerabilities within a society. An aspiring autocrat might make populist appeals to in-group grievances and label an out-group as the culprit. They might appeal to nationalist ambitions or exploit ethnic divisions. They might present themselves as messengers with a holy message. They might offer promises of a return to a golden past or golden future. Such autocratic leaders take a variety of forms, but one common goal is a degrading of democratic institutions in order to consolidate power in non-democratic forms of governance.

One chilling example of this interplay between culture and political leadership can be found in the breakup of Yugoslavia during the 1990s. In the early years of the republics that formed after the collapse of communist Yugoslavia, one fiery Serb nationalist named Slobodan Milošević argued that a newly independent Serbia should reclaim territories once occupied by the Serb nation. His calls fell on fertile nationalist ground, which intersected with religious and ethnic faultlines in these Slavic territories. Milošević, who was elected president of Serbia during the 1990s, was a major political leader and instigator during a brutal civil war that ensued between former republics of Yugoslavia. He was eventually indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Bosnia Herzegovina.

Figure 5.4.2:Map of states which emerged from the breakup of Yugoslavia (Source: Map of former Yugoslavia including Kosovo independence by ljanderson977 via Wikipedia is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0)

International Factors

A country may be susceptible to democratic backsliding as a result of international factors. These can include "neighborhood effects": if a country resides in a region where countries are trending non-democratic, or if there is a high regional concentration of non-democratic regimes, it is more likely to become a non-democracy. Conversely, a neighborhood which is pro-democracy, such as the European Union, can pull countries in the direction of embracing democracy.

International pressures for a democracy to backslide can be carried out via technological means. New information and communication technologies encourage countries to defy geographical constraints and reach into target countries to wage influence campaigns. These influence campaigns serve to undermine democratic governments around the world through the dissemination of misinformation via social media platforms and the internet. This kind of **sharp power** tactic is a means to destabilize democracies by sowing division within populations and undermining democratic institutions such as the free flow of information and electoral integrity.

5.5: Case Study - Russia's evolution over time

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Compare aspects of non-democratic rule in Russia and the Soviet Union
- Understand features of monarchy, communist party rule, and illiberal regimes in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

Introduction

Russia has undergone many transitions over the past many centuries of its existence, from czarist rule to center of a communist party-led federation known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR). At the end of the twentieth century, this federation collapsed and Russia emerged as an illiberal democracy with stubbornly authoritarian tendencies but also a vibrant and sophisticated civil society.

Figure 5.5.1:Map of Russia. (Source: Map of Russia by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

- **Full Country Name:** Russia, Russian Federation
- **Head(s) of State:** President, Prime Minister
- **Government:** Semi-presidential federation
- **Official Languages:** Russian
- **Economic System:** Mixed Economy
- **Location:** Eastern Europe and Northern Asia
- **Capital:** Moscow
- **Total land size:** 6,601,670 sq miles
- **Population:** 145,478,097
- **GDP:** $1.710 trillion
- **GDP per capita:** $11,654
- **Currency:** Russian Ruble

Monarchical Rule, 1613-1917

For centuries, Russia was a key node in the trade routes that wound throughout Afro-Eurasia. Russian explorers traded furs and other animal products for the goods available along these ancient routes: gold, people, and spices. Political consolidation gained momentum during the sixteenth century under Ivan the Terrible, who claimed the title of czar and ruled from 1547 to 1584. He joined with the powerful House of Romanov by marriage and this began a three-century period of czarist rule that would last until revolution in the twentieth century.

During this czarist period, Russia was organized as a feudal state in which power was consolidated in the czar but local power also existed in noble houses. Ivan the Terrible consolidated the czar's power in Moscow through the creation of standing armies and noble councils. The Orthodox Church provided the religious foundation for political power and state legitimacy. Ivan expanded the territorial reach of Russian rule after defeating khanates in what is now modern-day Russia, along the northwestern shores of the Caspian Sea at the mouth of the Volga River. Subsequent czars, such as Peter the Great (r. 1682-1725) initiated reforms to

modernize Russia with military upgrades and the building of a navy, construction of public buildings in European architectural styles, and support for industrialization.

Figure 5.5.2:Portrait of Peter the Great on his deathbed, by Ivan Nikitich Nikitin. (Source: Peter I on his deathbed, 1725 by Ivan Nikitich Nikitin via Wikipedia is licensed under Public Domain)

Throughout these centuries of czarist rule, Russia struggled with forging its own path on a vast continent. To the west, new ideas were bubbling up during the Enlightenment, and industrialization and modernization were taking off. To the east, empires of Asia were economically dynamic and some, such as Japan, were also rapidly modernizing. In comparison to European counterparts, Russia was slow to industrialize.

Yet Russian society was not immune to modern ideas, and the abolishment of serfdom in 1861 presented a break with the past. This was not enough to contain growing mass discontent with a brittle political system of czars and noble houses, and revolution broke out in the early years of the twentieth century.

As with much of the world, the twentieth century was a decisive time of change for Russia. In 1905, mass protests broke out in the cities and resulted in Czar Nicholas II creating a legislature. Unrest continued, and this period presented a moment for republican revolution and unprecedented transformation in Russia. The moment passed, however, with the revolution of 1917. This revolution was led by Vladimir Lenin and political parties that adhered to socialism and communism as the path forward for Russia. A vicious civil war ensued, with the Bolsheviks emerging triumphant. Lenin took the mantle as Russia's paramount political leader and forged a federation under single-party rule.

Single Party Rule, 1922-1991

Organized as a multi-ethnic and multi-national federation, the USSR became the largest sovereign country on the planet, stretching from the Baltics to the eastern shores of Siberia. The USSR's first leader, Vladimir Lenin, carried out radical wholescale reorganization of the state and society. State-led modernization and industrialization became the watchwords of this time; the countryside was squeezed for the products that would feed urban industrial centers.

In this single-party system, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the state was pervasive in all aspects of life. Economically, free markets were abolished and replaced by centralized economic planning: production would proceed according to five-year plans set by a vast planning bureaucracy. The countryside was organized into communes, with production quotas and set prices. The state owned all "commanding heights" of industry, from energy production to steel foundries. Again, production and prices were set, and workers were assigned to workplaces. In this world, there was no inflation and no unemployment – but there existed scarcity and supply-side distortions.

Figure 5.5.3:Production quotas were set by the state in the USSR. This included the cotton harvest in Armenia, which was part of the USSR. This photo was taken in the 1930s and sought to demonstrate the abundance of the Soviet system. (Source: Cotton picker from Armenian SSR via Wikipedia is licensed under Public Domain)

Socially and culturally, the CPSU controlled all aspects of life. The media was entirely state-run, across all communication technologies such as radio, print, and television. The party organized youth groups, women's federations, and provided for leisure spaces. While the party was officially atheist, it permitted state-sanctioned places of worship. There was no independent organized social life for Soviet citizens.

Politically, the party maintained control through a competitive selection process for party membership; the most desirable offices in the party and state bureaucracies were open only to party members. Appointments were carefully controlled through party personnel bureaucracies, which maintained classified files on all citizens. To enforce party rule through force, Lenin created a secret police known as the Cheka, which was the forerunner to the KGB. While there existed paramount leaders within the CPSU, beginning with Lenin and then the disastrous totalitarianism of Stalin, leadership was also collective in some ways. Major party decisions were made through bodies such as the Politburo and disseminated throughout the party and state apparatus.

Communist party rule lasted for seven decades. Internal weaknesses festered, from ethnic resentments to economic distortions to political stagnation. By the 1980s, reform-minded leaders such as Mikhail Gorbachev attempted small steps toward loosening economic and social controls. By then, it was too late. The 1980s were a restive time throughout the USSR, in the Baltics and the Caucasus, Ukraine and Moldova. In 1989, a string of revolutions in client states of the USSR led to the overthrow of communist parties in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Romania, among others. In 1990, there was an attempted coup in Moscow. Through a cascade of shocking events in 1991, the Soviet Union dissolved: one after another, republics seceded from the federation and declared themselves independent. On December 25, 1991, the Soviet flag was lowered from the Kremlin and the Russian flag replaced it.

Illiberal Regime, 1991-Present

In the decades since the collapse of the Soviet Union, institutions created by the CPSU were dismantled. Central planning, state-owned industry, and communes went into the dustbin of history. Russia and many of the fourteen other post-Soviet republics adopted liberal market economies, to varying degrees, and multi-party political systems. The transition was rocky in every case.

The Russia that emerged from the ashes of the Soviet Union had many assets. It possessed great energy reserves and mineral wealth and a highly educated population base, along with thousands of nuclear weapons and a sophisticated military-industrial complex. All of this was leveraged to maintain Russia's status as a regional power. Today Russia is a major energy provider to the European Union, and it has maintained client states in Eurasia such as Belarus and Syria.

Figure 5.5.4:Gas pipelines connecting Russia to Europe. Russia has the largest natural gas reserves in the world. (Source: Map of the major existing and proposed Russian natural gas transportation pipelines in Europe by Samuel Bailey via Wikipedia is licensed under CC BY 3.0)

While there was hope that Russia would join the liberal European fold in the early 1990s, those hopes have since been dashed. Since the breakup of single party rule under the CPSU, Russia has maintained an illiberal regime. Elections are neither free nor fair according to election observers. Non-state organizations are allowed to exist, but they are subject to harassment by state security agencies if they promote rights considered taboo by conservative Russian leaders and the Orthodox Church. While there are some media freedoms in the country, it remains a dangerous, and even deadly, place for investigative reporters. The courts are not independent, nor does it appear that presidents such as Vladimir Putin are subject to the rule of law.

There appears to be an expansionary imperative to this illiberal Russian state. In 2014 and 2022, Russian military assets were used to annex Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula and invade Ukraine in its entirety, respectively. One powerful rationale was to consolidate the Russian nation -- despite popular Ukrainian assertions of a distinct Ukrainian identity -- and Russia's future as a disruptive, undemocratic force remains problematic for the region and beyond.

In summary, Russia has experienced centuries of non-democratic rule, and “varieties of non-democracy” are evident in tracing the history. There were moments when it appeared that republicanism might prevail, such as early in the twentieth century and at the end of that same century, but those moments were fleeting. Each non-democratic regime established institutions to maintain social order and economic and political control; each succeeded for varying lengths of time. Feudal rule under czars persisted for centuries, and Russia’s modernization lagged as a result. Single-party rule by the CPSU created a totalitarian system of large-scale economic tragedies and political repression. Today, there are comparatively more spaces for freedom in illiberal Russia, but they remain highly circumscribed.

5.6: References

Gandhi, Jennifer. (2008). Political Institutions Under Dictatorship. Cambridge University Press.

Hadenius, Axel and Teorell, Jan. (2007). "Pathways from Authoritarianism." Journal of Democracy 18(1): 143-156.

Levitsky, Steven and Ziblatt, Daniel. (2018). How Democracies Die. New York: Broadway Books.

Linz, J.J.J. (1990). The Perils of Presidentialism. Journal of Democracy 1(1), 51-69. https://www.muse.jhu.edu/article/225694.

Merrill, Tim L. and Miró, Ramón, eds. (1996). “Social Spending.” In Mexico: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress. Available online at http://countrystudies.us/mexico/

Winters, J. (2011). Oligarchy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511793806

Üngör, Ugur Ümit. (2020). Paramilitarism: Mass Violence in the Shadow of the State. Oxford University Press.

Zakaria, F. (1997). The Rise of Illiberal Democracy. Foreign Affairs, 76(6), 22–43.

5.7: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Clientelism** - system of exchange in which political elites obtain the political loyalty of clients by distributing resources to clients.
- **Corruption** - misuse of public resources for private gain.
- **Democratic backsliding** - when a democracy degrades and becomes more illiberal, authoritarian or autocratic.
- **Hybrid regime** - non-democratic form of governance that exhibits characteristics of different types of non-democracies.
- **Illiberal regime** - non-democratic form of governance that presents a façade of liberal institutions.
- **Military rule** - non-democratic rule by a country's military elites.
- **Monarchy** - non-democratic rule by a single individual, with legitimacy typically based in tradition and/or divine right.
- **Non-democracy** - regimes which deny citizens meaningful institutional channels for making choices about their collective well-being.
- **Oligarchy** - non-democratic rule by a political elite with control over national wealth and resources.
- **Paramilitary** - refers to state-affiliated groups with access to military tools and training, usually employed to carry out violence on behalf of the state.
- **Patronage networks** - refers to social relations that involve the exchange of resources in exchange for loyalty.
- **Personalist rule** - non-democratic rule by a single individual, with legitimacy typically based in charisma and/or other political authority such as a ruling ideology or tradition.
- **Political accountability** - institutional channels for holding political leaders responsible for their decisions and actions.
- **Political competition** - presence of multiple options in political life, for example more than one political party, candidate for office, or policy position.
- **Propaganda** - biased information meant to convince an audience of a particular perspective or narrative.
- **Sharp power** - efforts by one country to use information war and diplomatic tactics to undermine the institutions of a target country, often a democracy.
- **Single-party rule** - non-democratic rule by a political party.
- **Theocracy** - non-democratic rule by elites who are legitimated by sacred texts.
- **Totalitarian regime** - non-democratic rule that seeks total control over society by a ruler or political elites.
- **Typology** - descriptive means to divide a category into sub-categories based on underlying characteristics of items in the category.

Summary

Section 5.1: What are non-democracies?

Non-democracies comprise a diverse array of countries. Commonalities across these countries include limited to no accountability for political elites and limited to no competition for public office. All non-democracies also limit the freedoms of citizens in significant ways.

Section 5.2: Strategies for staying in power

Non-democratic leaders draw from a variety of strategies to remain in power. "Carrots" include the creation of institutions to co-opt opposition and distribute resources via patronage networks or broad-based clientelism. "Sticks" involve surveilling and terrorizing populations through domestic security bureaucracies and paramilitaries. Powerful propaganda bureaus control ideas and discourse. Promotion of non-democratic cultural traditions or ideological controls also serve to legitimize the regime and delineate permissible activity in society.

Section 5.3: Varieties of non-democracy

Non-democracies are a diverse category of regimes. Many scholars have sought to identify patterns across non-democracies by devising qualitative typologies that capture common characteristics across specific cases. New types of non-democracy have been identified over time. Some common types of non-democracy include theocracy, personalist rule and monarchy, single-party rule and oligarchy, military rule, illiberal regime, and hybrid regime.

Section 5.4: Democratic backsliding

Democratic backsliding is the process of a democracy becoming more illiberal and autocratic. This phenomenon has been observed among modern democracies from the nineteenth century through the present. There are many factors which can contribute to democratic backsliding. These may be institutional, cultural, and international in nature.

Section 5.5: Comparative case study - From Czarist Russia to the Soviet Union and after

Russia from the seventeenth century to the present has experienced several types of non-democratic rule. Monarchical, or czarist rule existed until the twentieth century, when revolution led to single-party rule under the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, only to usher in a period of illiberal rule.

Review Questions

Please select the most appropriate answer for each of the following questions.

1. Which of the following are characteristics of non-democracies?
    a. Public officials are subject to limited or no accountability for their actions
    b. Limited to no competition for public office
    c. Limited to non-existent freedoms for citizens
    d. All of the above
2. Which of the following type of non-democracy is characterized by political leadership that all belongs to the same political party?
    a. Military rule
    b. Single party rule
    c. Theocracy
    d. Personalist rule
3. Non-democracies may have which of the following institutions?
    a. Free and fair elections
    b. Full civil and political liberties for citizens
    c. A cult of personality
    d. Independent judiciaries and highest leaders subject to the rule of law
4. True or false: A hybrid non-democracy may exhibit characteristics of more than one type of non-democracy, for example a combination of personalist and single-party rule.
    a. True
    b. False
5. Which of the following is NOT a kind of non-democracy observed in Russia?
    a. Single-party rule
    b. Monarchical rule
    c. Theocracy
    d. Illiberal regime

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Consider a nondemocratic country. What are some of the institutions used by leaders to stay in power – what are some of the carrots, sticks, and ideas employed by rulers?
2. Considering the nondemocracy that you chose for the previous question, What type of nondemocracy is it, and is it a single type of combination of types? Has this nondemocracy changed types over time?
3. Is there evidence of democratic backsliding in any democracies in the world today? Provide evidence to support your response.

Suggestions for Further Study

Books

- Greitens, Sheena. (2016). Dictators and their Secret Police: Coercive Institutions and State Violence (Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, Steven and Way, Lucan A. (2010). Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Tucker, A. (2015). The Legacies of Totalitarianism: A Theoretical Framework. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9781316393055

Articles

- Gandhi, Jennifer and Lust-Okar, Ellen. (2009). Elections Under Authoritarianism. Annual Review of Political Science 12: 403-422.
- Wahman, Michael, Teorell, Jan and Hadenius, Axel. (2013). "Authoritarian Regime Types Revisited: Updated Data in Comparative Perspective." Contemporary Politics 19(1): 19-34.
- Walker, C. (2018). What Is “Sharp Power”?. Journal of Democracy, 29(3), 9-23.

Datasets and websites

- Authoritarian Regimes Dataset. Comprehensive dataset on authoritarian regimes in the world from 1972 to 2014.
- Freedom House. Reports and maps on levels of political and civil rights in countries of the world.
- Polity Project. Multi-factor measure of regime types for countries of the world from 1946 to the present.

Films

- Sørensen, Signe Byrge, Köhncke, Anne, and Uwemedimo, Michael (Producers), & Oppenheimer, Joshua, Cynn, Christine, and Anonymous (Directors). (2012). The Act of Killing. Indonesia: Det Danske Filminstitut and Dogwoof Pictures.
- Wiedemann, Max and Berg, Quirin (Producers), & Henckel Von Donnersmarck, Florian (Director). (2006). The Lives of Others (Das Leben der Anderen). Germany: Buena Vista International.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

6: Political Identity - Culture, Race and Ethnicity and Gender

---

6.1: Introduction to Political Identity

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define political identity and related terms such as political socialization and political mobilization of identity.
- Identify the ways in which individuals undergo political socialization towards the formation of political identity.
- Consider the connections between political identity and political mobilization.

Political Identity and Related Terms

Identity, broadly considered, answers the question, 'Who am I?' as well as 'How do I want to be seen by others? and 'How do I want to be seen in the future?' A person's identity is developed from a combination of factors, including a person's experiences, relationships, perception of the world, calculation of risk and threat in the world, as well as their observations and experience of societal mores, morals and values. Many times, identity can take firm hold over characteristics for which people have no actual control, like a person's race, height, eye color, socio-economic class, and so forth. In all cases, identity forms through a process of socialization, where the individual discovers themselves and where they think they fit within the social order. Identity, and the calculation of one's identity, can have sweeping implications in society. Since identity, once formed or identified, can section people into groups of 'sameness' and 'differentness,' conflict usually follows. As a consequence, the development and outcomes of identity, in it of itself, shapes the world around us and the conflicts that arise. It can also help us understand history and past conflicts when considered through the lens of an identity focused narrative.

Not surprisingly, the term political identity shares almost all of the same traits as the term identity itself. Political identity also answers the questions of 'Who am I?' and 'How do I want to be seen by others,' but from a political orientation. **Political identity** is defined as how a person or group of persons think of themselves in relation to the politics and government of a country. It refers to the labels and characteristics an individual chooses to associate with based on a multitude of factors including but not limited to, their perception of political ideologies, platforms and parties, as well as how they see themselves from national, racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and gender perspectives.

There are many political identities that political scientists have considered over the last two decades, with some identities being rooted in biology and genetics (race, biological gender, etc.) with a great deal being rooted in symbolic, religious, and patriotic origins. (For instance, It's the difference between being born a certain race and identifying with that race versus deciding to belong to a religious group on one's own volition). One of the main reasons political scientists have begun focusing on political identity is because human attachment to these identities has been mobilized for/with political consequences. **Political mobilization** is defined as organized activities intended to motivate groups of participants to take political action on a particular issue. There have been many examples of political identity resulting in political mobilization.

Consider the 2010 **Arab Spring**, which was a series of protests against oppressive government regions in the Middle East. Protests occurred in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen, and sometimes resulted in violence. The protesters tended to be from two main identity groups. One group was each country's youth, that is, young people who were dissatisfied with authoritative regimes and wanted democratic governments. Another group were from those belonging to Unions, which were under constant threat in these countries. In this circumstance, the identity of the younger population, as well as the identity of those belonging to Unions and wanting the recognition of their identity as well as the ability to be represented politically, both were mobilizing to demand change. Though there is still conflict in all of these countries, the Arab Spring is said to have ended in 2012, and one of the key findings was that countries which did not have oil and/or oil wealth were much more likely to undergo regime transition as a result of these protests than those countries that were oil rich.

Another more recent example is the **January 6th 2021 United States Capitol Attack**, which was an event in the United States where approximately 2,000- 2,500 supporters of then President Donald Trump attacked the Capitol Building in Washington D.C. with the intent of overturning the 2020 election results where Joseph Biden won the presidency. These protests were planned and instigated by a number of Trump supporters who identified with a faction within the Republican Party which believed there was widespread election fraud and corruption in the 2020 Presidential Election. Organizing through social media, and attending Trump's speech the morning of January 6th, the protestors mobilized their collective political identity to attack the Capitol. Some have alleged that Trump's speech was intended to incite violence, though proving speech invokes action can be difficult to do. An excerpt of Trump's speech was:

> *All of us here today do not want to see our election victory stolen by emboldened radical-left Democrats, which is what they're doing. And stolen by the fake news media. That's what they've done and what they're doing. We will never give up, we will never concede. It doesn't happen. You don't concede when there's theft involved. Our country has had enough. We will not take it anymore and that's what this is all about. And to use a favorite term that all of you people really came up with: We will stop the steal. [Speech by Donald Trump during the January 6th 2021 United States Capitol Attack] (Naylor, 2021)*

Following Trump's speech, protestors marched to the Capitol, attacked and infiltrated the building, assaulted law enforcement officers, vandalized property, and stayed on the premises for hours. All told, the attack on the Capitol resulted in the five deaths, and the injuries of over 130 police officers who were trying to protect the Capitol. The attachment to an identity, in this case, Republicans who believed the election was fraudulent, clearly resulted in the ultimate attack on the Capitol.

Prior to considering the various identities that have been instrumental in political mobilization globally, it is useful to consider the way in which political identities are formed and become solidified. For this, we will look at the process of political socialization in the next section.

The Process of Political Socialization

Political identity, representing the essence, needs and desires of individuals, has major implications in the realm of political science. Political identity is often a key factor to consider for the formation of states, as well as to consider in the context of causes for conflict. If a state's population is fairly homogeneous, or similar in identity, it may be easier, at times, to have laws and policies that align with the political identity of the people. If a population is heterogeneous, or different in identities, there may be more conflict and less ability to unite people under similar laws and norms. This does not mean that a diverse society cannot be a peaceful or efficient one, but when identities are different enough in terms of values and concerns, conflict is more likely to arise. If one looks at the case of India, state formation was a challenge in part due to the variety of political identities that existed, and political identities translated into communities with potentially different religions, ethnicities, values and beliefs. One could contrast the example of India's diverse situation with another state's homogenous situation, like China or Japan. In both examples. Though very different, political identity is an important factor involved in both the formation and maintenance of a state's regime.

How is political identity formed? Where does one's political identity come from? Individuals form their political identity through the process of political socialization, which stems from living in a society. **Society**, broadly defined, refers to a population which has organized itself based on shared ideas for how the world acts and should act through both formal and informal institutions. In living in a society, individuals become politically socialized. **Political socialization** is the process in which our political beliefs are formed over time. It is how individuals perceive the political world around them, come to understand how society is organized, and how they see their own role in society based on these perceptions. Some aspects of identity tend to be fixed, and these can stem from factors such as race and biological sex (which will be discussed in the following chapters). Biological factors tend to be stationary factors out of an individual's control.

Other aspects of identity are formed based on symbolic meaning, ideology, gender, religion and culture. Regardless whether the aspects of identity are fixed or dynamic, the process of socialization, which enables individuals to attach and relate with an identity, can be influenced and formed through the influence of a number of different actors/institutions in a person's life. One of the first places an individual begins their political socialization is with their families. The process can start out simply and implicitly. If mom, dad, or a parental guardian or mentor, have shared their beliefs and perceptions about society, a child may begin to adopt similar perceptions. In some ways, whether a child adopts the same views as their parents, guardians or mentors may depend, at least partly, on whether the child truly recognizes these actors as legitimate with authority. If the child recognizes these actors as legitimate sources of authority, they may be inclined to adopt similar perspectives If a child does not see their parents, guardians or mentors as legitimate, they may adopt opposing stances based, in some part, on their perception that these actors do not have valid stances because their positions of authority were also not valid or secured in the child's mind.

Figure 6.1.1: Families are one of the first places individuals begin to form their sense of identity. (Source: American Family, by Wazzle via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under Public Domain).

A second place where political socialization occurs for many is in school. Schools, in many countries, are institutions which provide students with information about the world around them. Teachers and those involved with the curricular, co-curricular and extra-curricular activities of their students can have influence on how students perceive the societal organization around them. In a number of countries worldwide, schools provide structured and standardized education to address core subjects which society deems as important to broach. In the United States, we see subjects like mathematics, science, English, reading, writing and electives like art, home economics, shop class, drama, automotive, and so forth. These subjects, in and of themselves, are showing students what society values or, at the very least, considers important for their education. Within this, teachers can have a huge impact on what a student walks away thinking from a certain subject or course. In some ways, what a student thinks of what a teacher says can be similar to what a child thinks of their parent, guardian or mentor. The individual will ask themselves: Do I trust this person? Do I think this person knows what they are talking about? If students do trust the person and believe the teacher knows what they are talking about, a student may adopt similar views and beliefs as this person. Conversely, if the student does not trust or believe in the teacher, they may adopt opposing views. Many times, those in primary grades will be more likely to trust those who are teaching, but as adolescence arrives, they will begin to ask these questions more critically.

Figure 6.1.2: During a student's High School years, they may be influenced by the attitudes, beliefs and values of their peer groups or teachers. (Source: Hibbing High School, Hibbing, Minnesota, USA by McGhiever via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0)

A third place where political socialization can occur for individuals is through their friends and peers. As children age into adolescence, they are potentially more influenced by their friends and peers in ways they had not been as influenced as young children. There are ample studies considering the role of adolescence in the formation of political identity which draw some interesting conclusions. One of the main takeaways from all this research is the finding that adolescents are heavily influenced by their peers to extents which can be both extreme and not representative or predictive of the political identity they will form later on in life. Adolescent youths, in an attempt to fit in or please their friends, will be influenced by their thoughts, ideas, attitudes and beliefs.

A fourth way in which individuals become politically socialized is through media and more recently, social media. Over the last 40 years, the media's influence has grown substantially both in the United States and around the world. In the early 1980s and before, news in the United States largely took place at one time of day, 6 pm, with local news at 10 pm. Today, news is broadcast every hour of every day in what is called a 24-hour news cycle. CNN was the first news outlet to have a 24-hour news channel in the early 1980s, and other news outlets slowly followed suit. Over the last few decades, there has also been a proliferation of different news outlets which can offer political judgements based on political ideological leanings, speaking more from the perspective of an

ideology rather than a position of complete objectivity. Now, more so than ever, there is a spectrum of news outlets, ranging from left to right wing and offering analysis from the perspective of these ideological backgrounds.

In addition to a 24-hour news cycle where state, national and global news can be viewed at will, there has also been the rise of social media accounts through applications like Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and so forth. These platforms have given individuals the ability to have near real-time knowledge of what is going around in the world around them as well as the ability to project out their own thoughts, beliefs and judgements about what is going on in the world. Opinions are readily available through social media, and opinions are not edited, managed, corrected, deemed accurate by any overarching source to manage public perceptions. This can be both a good and bad thing for political socialization as well as democracy as a whole. Most people living in a democracy, particularly the United States, will cite their freedom of speech to voice and write their opinions on various platforms. Freedom of speech needs to be protected as it is one of the cornerstones of democracy. On the other hand, the elevation of opinions to broadcasting status can amplify judgments that are not based in facts or scholastic review. This lack of accountability has translated into a dangerous situation where opinions can be viewed as fact with very little evidence to support or validate the opinion. (Give a few examples) All of these factors do, for better or worse, shape a person's political identity.

A fifth area to consider in the political socialization of individuals is the influence of religion. Religion can be a powerful force in the lives of many people from around the world. At the present time, more than 80% of US citizens, according to large sample survey data, say they believe in a "higher power." While one may derive from this finding the belief that US citizens are similar in religion and religious values, this would be a mistake. In 2020, 65% of US citizens said they were Christian (a number that has been in steep decline for the last five decades), and only 40% of Americans said religion was important in their lives. Even within the 65% of Christians in the US, there are major divisions, particularly between the majority Protestant population and the minority Catholic population. Aside from the Christian population, other religions represented in the US include Mormonism, Buddhism, Muslim, Hinduism, Agnostic, and Atheist. For those who do attend church or participate in religious activities or events, individuals can begin to view political factors from religious, spiritual or moralistic lenses.

A final area to consider for political socialization is what the government itself says or does and how individuals perceive their actions and values in the context of their greater society. For the following sections, we will consider the importance and influence of key identity groups as they relate to political mobilization. To this end, we will be considering culture, race, ethnicity and gender.

6.2: Culture

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define culture and norms.
- Consider the implications of cultures which have strict or loose norms.
- Distinguish between different political culture systems.

Introduction

Culture, broadly defined, is the combination of customs, social institutions, arts, media, and social, economic, political achievements of a social group. In many ways, culture can be seen as a "catch-all" for so many factors of social behavior, habits and traditions found in a society. This also includes **norms**, which are standard practices, rules, patterns and behaviors that are considered acceptable in a society. In some situations, the inability or unwillingness to abide by norms in a culture can result in punishments and violence. Some scholars have argued that norms can have significant influence on political behaviors. Michele Gelfand, a psychology professor at the University of Maryland, wrote a book entitled, *Rule Makers, Rule Breakers: How Tight and Loose Cultures Wire the World*. In her book, she argues that cultures which enforce strict adherence to norms tend to have greater control over their own populations, and often less crime, and the promotion of self-control among individuals. In contrast, countries that do not promote strict adherence to norms may be more disorganized and have potentially higher crime, but are more open to other ideas, cultures, and ways of life. Also, interestingly, Gelford argues that cultures that do not have strict adherence to norms tend to perform better in the open market, and experience strong economic outcomes. In explaining how cultures tend to adopt strict or loose adherence to norms, Gelford wrote:

> *There's a hidden logic for why these differences evolve: groups that have experienced a lot of threat tend to be tighter. The threat can come from a variety of sources, such as a high level of natural disasters and famine, a scarcity of resources, the potential of invasions, a high population density, economic uncertainty, etc. It makes sense: Groups under threat need rules to coordinate to survive. Cultures that have less threat can afford to be more permissive. There are exceptions, but I've found that this general principle helps to explain tight-loose differences across nations, states, social classes, organisations and in pre-industrial societies. (Gelford, 2019)*

According to Gelford (2019), cultures will develop as a result of various contexts. In light of historical origins, present-day strains and stresses, and ambitions to acquire or attain certain goals, cultural norms will evolve to adapt to their environment. In evaluating data on political, social and economic measures within 30 different countries, the authors found that cultures had either too-strict or too-loose adherence to cultural norms also had lower levels of happiness and higher rates of suicide. Conversely, cultures which had more moderate adherence to norms were among the happiest and most economically successful countries.

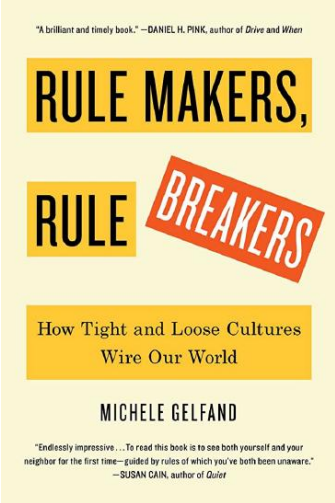


Figure 6.2.1: Gelfand's book argues that difference adherence to cultural norms affects political and economic outcomes within a country, as well as levels of happiness and prosperity. (Source: Gelfand, M. (2018). Rule Makers, Rule Breakers: How Tight and Loose Cultures Wire our World, Scribner.)

Drilling down further, there is the concept of political culture to consider. **Political culture** is defined as a shared set of ideological views and beliefs held by a population as it relates to the political system in which they live. A number of factors are related to how political culture manifests in different cultures. **Trust**, the extent to which citizens believe in the reliability, validity, or truth of their government and their fellow citizens, plays a significant role in political outcomes. For instance, if citizens do not trust the election process, how likely will their representative political parties be willing to accept election results? As discussed in previous chapters, being able to accept election results, even when your party has lost, is an important and foundational feature of any democracy. If trust does not exist here, what are the chances that institutions can perform their functions? The odds for political conflict and violence increases as the level of trust decreases. Another factor relating to how political culture manifests in a given country is **postmaterialism**, which is the extent to which a political culture focuses or cares about issues which are not of immediate physical and material concern, like human rights and environmental concerns. Both of these factors, along with many others that could be considered, help us understand the political cultures of countries around the world.

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, both major contributors to the study of comparative politics, have also studied the importance and influence of political culture worldwide. Their contribution in the book, *The Civic Culture*, recognizes three types of political culture as it relates to political participation and interaction with their political systems. According to Almond and Verba, the first type of political culture is called **parochialism**, which is a system where citizens are not involved, engaged, or remotely aware of the political operations in their country. In a **parochial system**, citizens are not interested, and do not care to become interested, in the politics of their countries. In a **subject system**, citizens are somewhat aware and responsive of their governmental systems, and at the same time, heavily controlled and legislated by their governments. In this system, there is no room for opposition or dissent, they are merely subjects to the government and must abide by the laws or rules or face punishment or violence. This system tends to be aligned with authoritarian regimes. Lastly, the Participant system is one where citizens are aware of government actions, are able to influence and participate in governmental decisions, and at the same time, they must abide by the laws and rules of the government. This system tends to be aligned with democratic regimes.

6.3: Race and Ethnicity

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define, and distinguish between, the terms Race and Ethnicity
- Consider how race and ethnicity influence political mobilization

Introduction

Race and ethnicity have often been used, mistakenly, as though they are interchangeable terms. The terms are often widely misunderstood, so it is important to ensure the two terms are clearly defined. According to Merriam-Webster, **race** is "a category of humankind that shares certain distinctive physical traits." To this end, race is a narrow term which is associated with biological characteristics such as skin color and hair texture. On the U.S. Census, which is conducted every ten years in the United States, the following six options appear for individuals to share their race: White, Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, or Other Race (for those who do not associate with any of the previous categories). **Ethnicity** is a broader term than race and is used to categorize groups of people according to their own relation to culture. Racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic and cultural origin are all factors which can be used to describe a person's ethnicity. Ethnicity can be confusing for many people, especially given the context in which they may be asked about their ethnicity.

In the US Census, there are limited options listed, in fact, only two options: you can either choose that you are of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish descent, or not. Both race and ethnicity can be categorizations that raise problems, especially as the options available to those having to answer to their race and ethnicity, may not be comprehensive or representative of their actual identities. Two of the most obvious problems are this: First, sometimes people do not want to be categorized according to their race or ethnicity, or, second, they feel the current labels do not capture their identities. On the first point, some people do not want to share their race or ethnicity for fear of any consequences that may come from being identified in a certain way. On the latter point, the limited options sometimes presented just do not seem appropriate for those needing to select an option.

Race and ethnicity play a major role in politics around the world. Factors of race and ethnicity can be explored as both an influence on political outcomes, as well as an effect of political outcomes.Within the U.S.,one could study the **Civil Rights Movement** of the 1950s and 1960s, which was a movement that attempted to ensure equal treatment under the law for Black and African American citizens. The momentum for the movement came from civil rights activists and protestors who sought to end racial oppression, end segregation, and end Black voter suppression and discriminatory employment and housing practices. The Civil Rights Movement occurred between 1954 and 1968, and resulted in a number of important changes within the U.S., particularly in relation to ending literacy tests (like the 1964 Louisiana State Literacy Test, which was intended to suppress Black voters), and instituting policies like Affirmative Action.

Figure 6.3.1: The 1963 March on Washington participants and leaders marching from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial. (Source: Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C. by U.S. Information Agency Press and Publications Service via the National Archives and Records Administration is licensed under Public Domain).

Race and ethnicity have been studied in relation to quality of democracy, the role of public opinion, individual attitudes, public policy, the quality and scope of institutions within a regime, the evaluating of how different groups work together (or don't), as well as inequality in wealth and economic outcomes. Overall, the scope of race and ethnicity in politics is sweeping. As an example, much research has been completed in relation to political attitudes in the U.S. and how race and ethnicity can affect trends in political attitudes, as well as how much political parties can diverge on their perspectives on progress for racial equality. In the U.S., political parties have different perspectives on progress for racial equality. Members of the Republican Party are far more likely to say great advances have been made in terms of racial equality in the U.S., while members of the Democratic Party affirm that much more needs to be done.

While the political parties disagree, and political party affiliation tends to be the main queue for how Americans vote, the majority of Black Americans, according to the Pew Research Center, believe most of the institutions in the U.S. are biased and need to be "completely rebuilt." Matters of race and ethnicity as they relate to politics continue to be significant areas of research around the world. Almost every country on the planet has unique historical contexts and political circumstances that in some way are affected, or affect, different racial or ethnic groups.

6.4: Gender

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define, and distinguish between gender and sex.
- Consider how factors such as gender identity and biological sex influence political, social and economic outcomes.

Introduction

Gender has been an area of increasing consideration in the world of political science over the last two decades. Similar to previous sections in this chapter, how a term is defined has implications for how it is discussed, so it is important that terms and definitions are clear. **Gender** can be broadly defined as a spectrum of characteristics ranging from feminine to masculine, and gender tends to have more to do with how a person wants to identify. The difference between **biological sex** versus gender identity is critical to understand. According to the World Health Organization, biological sex refers to "the different biological and physiological characteristics of males and females, such as reproductive organs, chromosomes, hormones, etc." whereas Gender refers to:

> *the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed. The concept of gender includes five important elements: relational, hierarchical, historical, contextual and institutional. While most people are born either male or female, they are taught appropriate norms and behaviours – including how they should interact with others of the same or opposite sex within households, communities and work places. When individuals or groups do not "fit" established gender norms they often face stigma, discriminatory practices or social exclusion – all of which adversely affect health.*

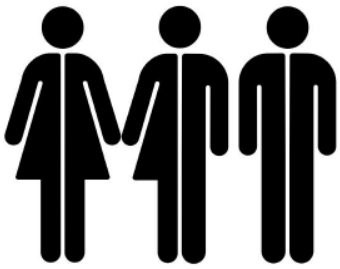


Figure 6.4.1: Three icons for people with different gender identities, adapted from an image by Dan Brunsdon for The Noun Project (Source: by Arkirkland via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC0 1.0 Public Domain)

People frequently confuse the terms 'gender' and 'sex,' as though they mean the same thing. Instead, gender identity has much more to do with how a person chooses to identify, rather than on their biological sex, which is usually assigned at birth but can be changed in the course of life. Relating to biological sex, the divide between male and female has often influenced politics. Most frequently, women in most societies have been historically underrepresented and discriminated against. Looking globally at **women's suffrage**, which is the right of women to vote in elections, over 180 countries now allow women to vote in some capacity. Nevertheless, most of the world's movement towards allowing women to vote in elections came in the 20th century, including in the United States, where women were only granted the right to vote as of 1920. Beyond the right to vote, women's rights globally are still not necessarily fully institutionalized, upheld or prioritized.

In most countries, women do not earn the same as men in similar positions, even when their credentials and experience meet or exceed their male counterparts. An interesting case study of the unequal treatment for women's rights can be seen with the COVID-19 pandemic, which, in most countries, tended to push women out of the workplace. In the United States alone, female workforce

participation dropped to 57%, the lowest levels since 1988. Of the 1.1 million people who were pushed from the workforce, 80% were women. Economic projections calculate it will take women twice as long as men to recover from their economic circumstances as a result of the pandemic. The pandemic, which forced many children into lockdown and quarantine, disproportionately affected women greater than men. Consider this:

> *One of the main drivers of this disparity is the increased burden of unpaid care—shopping, cooking, cleaning, taking care of kids and parents in the household—which is disproportionately carried by women. Pre-COVID-19, women on average already did almost twice as much unpaid care compared to men. The COVID-19 crisis has added a very uneven addition onto an already unequal baseline (Ellingrud & Hilton, 2021).*

Outcomes around the world were also poor for women. Globally, it has been calculated that women's jobs are twice as much at risk than male jobs. Women account for 39% of all jobs worldwide, but their participation in the workforce dropped by 54% worldwide with the pandemic. These findings have led a number of scholars to note that the pandemic has had a regressive effect on gender equality worldwide. This has led many scholars and organizations to consider ways to best reintroduce women into the workplace, and try to support the re-entry of women into the workplace. If women are not able to re-enter the workforce to the levels from pre-pandemic, it is likely that many economies will suffer greatly. Some calculations say the loss of women in the workforce will result in the loss of trillions of dollars of economic output.

Another factor of concern in this area is acceptance of gender identity in different political systems. More attention has been given in recent years to more diversity of options in relation to gender identity and sexual orientation. **Sexual orientation** is defined as the sustained pattern of romantic and/or sexual attraction to people of opposite sex or gender, same sex or gender, or to both. The top five countries in the world for being accepting of different gender identities and sexual orientations are Iceland, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden and Canada.

Some of the countries accused of mistreating citizens of different gender identities and sexual orientations include: Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Malawi and Oman. Countries that are less accepting of different gender identities tend to have laws or legal codes against transgender and LGBTQIA+ communities. Also, there tends to be state propaganda and morality laws. In some cases, a person's identity can be tantamount to a crime. Punishments can include long prison sentences and state-sanctioned violence, such as flogging. Some countries even go as far as to outlaw speaking about issues of gender identity and sexual orientation. At present, the US is ranked 20th for its treatment of the LGBTQIA+ community, primarily because not all US states offer protection against gender-based discrimination. In addition, other US states prohibit discussion of homsexuality and LGBTQIA+ issues. Interestingly, a report published by UCLA's School of Law, the "Social Acceptance of LGBTQIA+ People in 175 Countries and Locations, 1981-2020," found that 56 out of 175 countries have experienced improvements of acceptance since 1981. In contrast, 57 countries have experienced decreases in acceptance, whereas 62 countries have experienced no change in the acceptance of the LGBTQIA+ community (Flores, 2021).

6.5: Comparative Case Study - Gender Gaps in India and Japan

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Compare aspects of two different societies which had caste system

Introduction

In the 21st century, conversations of political identity frequently center upon how individuals choose to identify themselves and categorize themselves into groups. The burden here tends to rest on individuals locating and assigning themselves an identity that matches their preferences and motivations. There are many examples of this from around the world, relating to racial, ethnic, cultural and gender preferences. Consider racial identity in Brazil: In Brazil in April 2021, over 40,000 political candidates were able to categorize their own racial identities differently than in previous elections. According to political scientist Andrew Janusz from the University of Florida, political candidates in Brazil "have some latitude to fluctuate on how they present themselves" in order to attract the voters they want to turn out at the polls.

Consider gender identity around the world. As of late 2021, there are sixteen countries which allow citizens to choose between male, female, non-binary or third genders on their passports. These countries include Argentina, Austria, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Malta, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, India, Nepal and, most recently, the United States. In looking at democracies in Western Europe and the United States, the Pew Research Center has found that views on political and cultural identities have “become less restrictive and more inclusive in recent years.” Factors which have been historically important towards justifying one’s political identity, such as birthplace, religion, sharing a country’s customs and beliefs, and the ability to speak the dominant language in a country, have seen collectively decreased importance in terms of how political identity is interpreted today in Western Europe and the United States.

Considering these examples among many, some could argue the 21st century has brought more opportunities for societies to design and assign their own identities in alignment with their preferences and ambitions. Drawing this conclusion, however, downplays the reality that there are still many countries in the world where political identity, as well as other forms of identity, tend to be imposed, rather than chosen for oneself. Furthermore, debate over political identities is still heated around the world, even in places where it seems values of inclusion are being given greater weight.

Although Japan and India are both democracies, and both have constitutions which ensure equal treatment of citizens under the law as well as freedom from discrimination based on race, religion, gender and so forth, both countries have struggled greatly with improving gender equality in various segments of society. Generally, gender gaps are measured in regards to women in the economy (their participation and earning relative to men), women’s access to health, and women’s representation in politics. In all three areas, India and Japan have struggled and the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic have worsened already large gender gaps in both countries. Using the method of Most Similar Systems Design, this case study will compare two countries which, while both democracies of similar duration and emphasis on civil rights and liberties mentioned in their constitutions, have had difficulty with their policy approaches to decreasing gender gaps. Both countries struggle with historical and cultural remnants of gender roles which continue to pervade all aspects of women’s lives today. Although both countries are now democracies, with legal protections in place to ensure equal rights and prevent discrimination based on gender, these two countries have taken different action to treat current gender gaps.

Japan’s Gender Gaps

Figure 6.5.1: Contemporary map of Japan. (Source: Map of Japan by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

Full Country Name: Japan
Head(s) of State: Emperor and Prime Minister
Government: Unitary parliamentary constitutional monarchy
Official Languages: Japanese
Economic System: Mixed Economy
Location: Island in East Asia
Capital: Tokyo
Total land size: 145,937 sq mi
Population: 125 million
GDP: $5.378 trillion
GDP per capita: $42,928
Currency: Japanese Yen

Japan is an island in East Asia off the coast of China and Taiwan. Today, Japan has one of the oldest democracies in East Asia, and is the 11th most populous country in the world. Japan's government system is a parliamentary constitutional monarchy where the Emperor is the Head of State, the Prime Minister is the Head of Government, and the Cabinet directs the executive branch. Legislative power is vested with the National Diet, which is a Congress that includes both a House of Representatives and a House of Councillors. Judicial power is vested in the country's Supreme Court and some lower courts. The supreme law of the land is derived by the 1947 Constitution, which was created under the American occupation of Japan following World War II. Overall, Japan's democracy is considered consolidated and stable, as the country has upheld free and fair elections, the rule of law, and freedom of the press. Nevertheless, an area of continuing concern in Japanese society is gender equality. Japan ranks 110 out of 149 countries worldwide according to the World Economic Forums' 2018 Gender Gap Index.

Following the creation of the 1947 Constitution in Japan, which ended the reign of Emperor Meiji and the Meiji Period, Japanese powers were encouraged to initiate their own democracy and enforce democratic reforms. Nevertheless, the 1947 Constitution was mostly drafted by Americans, and reviewed and modified by Japanese scholars. Interestingly, the 1947 Constitution was written to institute democracy, but also written to not contradict the previous Meiji Constitution. In doing so, it was hoped that the people of Japan would more readily accept the new constitution.

Some of the main additions within this Constitution were those given to individual rights, including but not limited to: Equality before the law (freedom from discrimination), democratic elections, the prohibition of slavery, separation of church and state, freedom of assembly, speech association, press, right to property and right to due process. Women were granted the right to vote prior to the Constitution being formally adopted (women's suffrage granted in 1945), and combined with the individual rights emphasized in the Constitution, it was hoped that women would enjoy equal rights and treatment as men. For a variety of factors, women in Japan have faced great challenges over the decades since World War II in terms of being treated equally under the law and within society. The delay and slow progress in women achieving equal outcomes may be due, in part, to historical context and culture.

Within the Meiji Era, women did not have legal rights of any kind, and they were expected to perform only household duties as directed by the male head of the household. From a historical and cultural standpoint, expectations of women have been strict. Women are expected to be modest, tidy, courteous, obedient and self-reliant. Women were to look well-kept and to be silent and

compliant with male expectations and needs. In this vein, both male and female children were to be completely obedient to their parents. Women who expressed themselves or communicated their needs were considered troublesome or overly needy, which were not desirable characteristics. Female children were directed to perform duties to help around the house, while male children were given opportunities for schooling and eventual employment in various vocations. Although the 1947 Constitution did introduce sweeping changes that should have affected the status of women, many of the cultural norms from the Meiji period still stand today, with women being socially expected to be submissive and modest.

The treatment of gender roles does not seem to match the reality of life in Japan. Although there is a preference for women to maintain the Meiji existence, the vast majority of adult Japanese women work (almost 70% of all adult Japanese women are employed). At the same time, Japan has one of the worst documented gender gaps in terms of equal pay for women based on similar credentials and occupational levels as men. Indeed, the OECD noted that Japan has the second worst gender wage gap in the world.

Following other trends around the world with the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, employment prospects and data worsened for Japanese women. Indeed, Japan's women experienced larger reductions in their work hours, had a higher tendency to be furloughed, and were generally pushed from the workforce at a far greater rate than men were in the midst of the pandemic; so much so, the exodus of women in the workplace in Japan has been called the 'she-cession'. Although some recent gains in employment for women have occurred, economic recovery in regards to women in the world place has been slow, and raises questions about the overall ability for women to re-enter the workforce again over the coming years. The effect of the pandemic was particularly difficult for Japan's women because of their traditional values on gender roles. In this vein, many believed, in the face of the lockdown and quarantines, women should be at home helping their children and tending to household responsibilities. Many women bore the brunt of all family-related obligations during the pandemic, and sluggish economic growth does not improve opportunities for women to return to work.

Inequality in the workplace is not the only area of concern for women in Japan today. Two other areas of concern is the lack of female representation within the political structures and the prevalence of sexism and gender discrimination overall. On the first point, although political parties in Japan have prioritized increasing the representation of women in their organizations, growth has been slow. Interestingly, survey results within Japan indicate that voters are not necessarily biased against candidates for their gender, but rather not many Japanese women run for political office. In line with the belief that women need to be submissive, modest and unambitious, running for office creates problems for each of these characteristics. Although 70% of adult Japanese women are in the workforce, the perception that women should be home with their children and handling household tasks is still firmly embedded in society.

Some research has indicated that Japanese women would be more likely to run for office if political parties made efforts to lend greater support and funding to support their candidacies. Some scholars have also argued that the current structure of Japan's welfare system is not conducive for women running for office or holding high-level jobs in the workplace. This is because there is a perception that men need to be the main "breadwinners" of the household, and if a woman is not employed, the family is eligible for more government support for women to handle the raising of the children. If women are working in tandem with their husbands working, they will not be eligible for this extra government assistance, which could hurt their families. Data also indicates that women face stark gender-based discrimination and harassment in Japan, whether in the workplace, in schooling, or in society in general. According to a 2021 survey, almost 60% of Japanese women working in government experienced sexual harassment on the job, by both voters and other politicians.

India's Gender Gaps

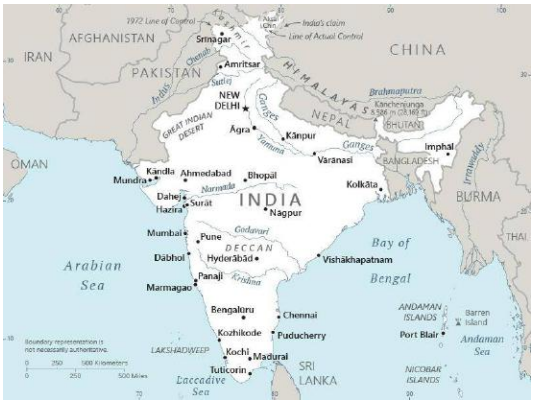


Figure 6.5.2: Contemporary map of India. (Source: Map of India by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

Full Country Name: Republic of India
Head(s) of State: President
Government: Federal parliamentary constitutional republic
Official Languages: Hindi, English (Plus over 430 native languages)
Economic System: Middle Income Developing Market Economy
Location: South Asia
Capital: New Delhi
Total land size: 1,269,219 sq mi
Population: 1.3 trillion people
GDP: $3.050 trillion
GDP per capita: $2,191
Currency: Indian Rupee

India is a country in South Asia, bordered by Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar. India gained its independence from Britain in 1947, and redrafted its Constitution to install a democracy as a federal parliamentary republic. Under its new Constitution, India's government has all three components of the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The executive branch contains a president with largely ceremonial duties, and a prime minister, whose role is the head of government and is tasked with wielding the executive powers. The prime minister role is appointed by the president with the support of the majority party in parliament at the time. As in the U.S. democracy, the executive branch's powers are secondary to legislative powers. The legislative branch, which contains parliament, is tasked with making laws and performing all legislative functions. Finally, India's judiciary is a three-tiered system which includes a supreme court and a number of high and lower courts.

India's constitution is substantially longer than Japan's, though similar to Japan's, fundamental rights are within the first few sections of the entire document. Articles 14 and 15 of the Constitution ensure equality before the law as well as the prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. All this being acknowledged, India is a democracy which also is labeled as having severe problems with gender equality and treatment. While Japan ranks 110 for gender gaps, India ranks 140 (slipping 28 spaces in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic). Like Japan, India has had a long history of abiding by strict gender roles. In Indian society, men are the "breadwinners" and the ones tasked with earning for their families, where women are responsible for reproduction of heirs and handling home duties (submissive to the head of the household).

Historically, women in India never held roles equal to men. Women were seen only as wives and mothers, and their positions were always subordinate to men. In this society, men drive all social, political and economic choices. Beyond this, the role of the women was to ensure, oftentimes, a male child. Male children hold significant roles in the family and, eventually, are tasked with performing last rites for the elders in the family, as well as ensuring the continuation of the family line. Under this system, women were expected to be highly moral and faithful, while men were encouraged to ensure male progeny, even if it meant being unfaithful. Over time, women's rights in India did not improve, but steadily declined. The birth of daughters was not welcome news. Often, it may be more profitable to sell a daughter or woman as a commodity, rather than keep one in the family.

Although India's constitution does recognize equal rights for men and women, and that individuals in India would be free from discrimination based on religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, many conceptions of the role of women in society seem to persist today. The historical and cultural foundations of women in society are difficult to overcome. One of the reasons for India's gender gap ranking is starkly different than Japan's, which appears to be most manifest in gender wage gaps and treatment of women in

the workplace, is because of India's practice of sex selective abortion. **Sex-selective abortion** is a practice of terminating a pregnancy once the sex of the infant is known. In most cases, this means that if a child is known to be female, there may be motivation to end the pregnancy.

While abortion is legal with certain restrictions in India, the practice of sex selective abortion is not. Nevertheless, it is believed that sex selective abortions do take place at a high rate given the grossly uneven ratio of males to females in Indian society. According to the United Nations, both India and China account for more than 90% of all sex selective abortions worldwide, with an estimated 1.5 million missing female births recorded each year globally. Various non-profits and human rights organizations have been working in India to decrease the practice of sex selective abortions, though it can be difficult to monitor these practices since they are not legal and these abortions may be practiced under unsafe or non-ideal circumstances.

Other reasons for India's low ranking in terms of gender equality include the lack of women's representation in politics, the lack of women in technical and leadership roles, unequal access to health care, major gaps between male to female literacy levels, expanding gender wage gaps, and an overall decrease of women in the workplace. Generally, the role of women in society is ranked according to women's economic participation, opportunity and access to education and health care, and their representation in politics.

Case Analysis

Following the end of World War II, Japan's 1947 Constitution was well-received by the public, and enabled Japan to maintain its historical and cultural origins while adopting democratic values. Their constitution had all the basic ingredients for building a liberal democracy where civil liberties and civil rights were respected. India's situation was, in some ways, very similar to Japan's, for instance, there was a priority from the beginning with the new Constitution to ensure equal protection under the law as well as ensuring individuals would not be discriminated on based on characteristics of note like religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Both India and Japan are democracies that continue to struggle with gender gaps, and yet, they do differ in their overall trajectory of progress on these issues. Although prior to the pandemic, India had made major leaps in terms of narrowing gender gaps, the COVID-19 pandemic has wreaked terrible outcomes for the treatment of women in India. One of the main areas India will need to focus on is the health of women in society, ensuring women have access to affordable and quality healthcare to protect their interests and prospects at survival. Although Japan's women also bore difficult outcomes from the COVID pandemic, the Japanese government has established a new direction for many of its policies and initiatives relating to decreasing the gender gaps. One of its plans, the Fifth Basic Plan for Gender Equity, calls for major changes to support women in the workplace and to increase their representation in political parties and politics in general.

6.6: References

Adams, Gerald R. 1998. “The Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status: A Reference Manual.” Available at: http://www.uoguelph.ca/~gadams/OMEIS_manual.pdf.

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. The Civic Culture, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, passim, but especially chapters 1, 5-6, 13 (1, 6, 7, 15 in hardback edition).

Archer, Sally L. 1991. “Gender Differences in Identity Development.” In Encyclopedia of Adolescence, eds. Richard M Lerner, Anne C Peterson, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. New York: Garland Publishing Inc, p. 522–524.

Bennett, W. L. (2012). The Personalization of Politics: Political Identity, Social Media, and Changing Patterns of Participation. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 644, 20–39. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23316140

Bernstein, M. (2005). Identity Politics. Annual Review of Sociology, 31, 47–74. http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737711

Beck, Paul Allen. 1977. “Role of Agents in Political Socialization.” In Handbook of Political Socialization: Theory and Research, ed. Stanley Renshon. New York: Free Press.

Berzonsky, Michael D., and Linda S. Kuk. 2000. “Identity Status, Identity Processing Style, and the Transition to University.” Journal of Adolescent Research 15(1): 81–98.

Blasi, Augusto, and Kimberly Glodis. 1995. “The Development of Identity. A Critical Analysis from the Perspective of the Self as Subject.” Developmental Review 15(4): 404–433.

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Scholozman, and Sidney Verba. 2001. The Private Roots of Public Action : Gender, Equality, and Political Participation. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Cole, Elizabeth R., and Stewart, Abigail J. 1996. “Meanings of Political Participation Among Black and White Women: Political Identity and Social Responsibility.” Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 71(1): 130–140.

Côte, James E, and Anton L Allahar. 1996. Generation on Hold: Coming of Age in the Late Twentieth Century. New York: NYU Press.

Elkins, David J. and Richard E.B. Simeon, “A Cause in Search of Its Effect, or What Does

Ellingrud, K. & Segel. L.H. (February 13th, 2021) COVID-19 has driven millions of women out of the workforce. Here’s how to help them come back Fortune. Available at https://fortune.com/2021/02/13/covid-19-women-workforce-unemployment-gender-gap-recovery/

Political Culture Explain?” Comparative Politics, 11 (January 1979): 127-146.

Flores, A. (2021). Social Acceptance of LGBTI People in 175 Countries and Locations, 1981-2020. *Williams Institute: UCLA School of Law*. Available at https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/publications/global-acceptance-index-lgbt/

Fung, F. (October 2021) Which Countries Recognize Third Gender Option on Passports? *Newsweek*. Available at https://www.newsweek.com/which-countries-recognize-third-gender-option-passports-1643167

Erikson, Erik. 1994. Identity: Youth and Crisis. New York: W. W. Norton & company.

Gelford, M. (January 29th, 2019). Culture as the menacing force behind today’s crazy politics. *The Economist*. Available at https://www.economist.com/open-future/2019/01/28/culture-as-the-menacing-force-behind-todays-crazy-politics

Gentry, Bobbi. 2010. “Young Voters, Political Identity and Voting: Developing Measures in Quantitative and Qualitative Data.” In Chicago, Illinois.

Greenstein, Fred. 1970. “Research Notes: A Note on the Ambiguity of "Political Socialization": Definitions, Criticisms and Strategies of Inquiry.” Journal of Politics 32(4): 969–978.

Grotevant, Harold D. 1987. “Toward a Process Model of Identity Formation.” Journal of Adolescent Research 2(3): 203–222.

Highton, Benjamin, and Raymond E. Wolfinger. 2001. “The First Seven Years of the Political Life Cycle.” American Journal of Political Science 45(1): 202–209.

Hoegh, Dana G., and Martin J. Bourgeois. 2002. “Prelude and Postlude to the Self: Correlates of Achieve Identity.” Youth and Society 33(4): 573–594.

Hoover, Kenneth, James E Marcia, and Kristen Parris. 1997. The Power of Identity: Politics in a New Key. Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, Inc.

Huddy, L. (2001). From Social to Political Identity: A Critical Examination of Social Identity Theory. Political Psychology, 22(1), 127–156. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3791909
Josselson, Ruthellen. 1980. “Ego Development in Adolescence.” In Handbook of Adolescent Psychology, ed. Joseph Adelson. New York: Wiley Publications, p. 188–210.
Kroger, Jane. 1995. “Differentiating "Firm" and "Developmental" Foreclosure Identity Statuses: A Longitudinal Study.” Journal of Adolescent Research 10(3): 317–336.
Lane, Robert. 1967. Political Ideology. New York: Simon & Schuster. Available at: http://search.barnesandnoble.com/Pol.../9780029177907
Marcia. 1991. “Identity and Self Development.” In Encyclopedia of Adolescence, eds. Richard M Lerner, Anne C Peterson, and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn. New York: Garland Publication.
Marcia, James E. 1964. “Determination and Construct Validity of Ego Identity Status.”.
Marcia, James E. 1966. “Development and Validation of Ego Identity Status.” Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 3(5): 551–558.
Marcia, James E. 2002. “Identity and Psychosocial Development in Adulthood.” Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research 2(1): 7–28.
Marcia, James E et al., eds. 1993. Ego Identity: A Handbook for Psychosocial Research. New York: Springer.
Marcus, George E, and Michael B MacKuen. 1993. “Anxiety, Enthusiasm, and the Vote: The Emotional Underpinnings of Learning and Involvement During Presidential Campaigns.” American Political Science Review 87(3): 672–685.
Matteson, D.R. 1993. “Differences Within and Between Genders: A Challenge to the Theory.” In Ego Identity: A Handbook for Psychosocial Research, eds. James E Marcia et al. New York: Springer.
Monroe, Kristen Renwick, and Connie Epperson. 1994. “"But What Else Could I do?" Choices, Identity and a Cognitive-Perceptual Theory of Ethical Political Behavior.” Political Psychology 15(2): 201–226.
Naylor, B. (February 10th, 2021). Read Trump's January 6 Speech, A Key Part Of Impeachment Trial. *National Public Radio*. Available at https://www.npr.org/2021/02/10/966396848/read-trumps-jan-6-speech-a-key-part-of-impeachment-trial
Plutzer, Eric. 2002. “Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood.” American Political Science Review 96(1): 41–56.
Putnam, Robert D. 1993. Making Democracy Work. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
Przeworski, Adam. Susan C. Stokes and Bernard Manin, eds. 1999. Democracy, Accountability, and Representation. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pages 1-16, 29-54, 98-130.
(B)
Quintana, Stephen M. et al. 2006. “Race, Ethnicity, and Culture in Child Development: Contemporary Research and Future Directions.” Child Development 77(5): 1129–1141.
Romano, L. (April 2021). Why did thousands of Brazilian politicians change their race? *CNN*. Available at https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/09/americas/brazil-race-politics-change-intl-latam/index.html
Sears, David O., and Sheri Levy. 2003. “Childhood and Adult Political Development.” In Oxford Handbook of Political Psychology, eds. David Sears, Leonie Huddy, and Robert Jervis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 60–109.
Silver, L., Fagan, M., Connaughton, A. & Modecai, M. (May 2021). Views About National Identity Becoming More Inclusive in U.S., UK, Western Europe. *Pew Research Center*. Available at https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2021/05/05/views-about-national-identity-becoming-more-inclusive-in-us-western-europe/
Waterman, Alan. 1993. “Developmental Perspectives on Identity Formation: From Adolescence to Adulthood.” In Ego Identity: A Handbook for Psychosocial Research, eds. James E Marcia et al. New York: Springer, p. 40–65.
Waterman, Alan. 1982. “Identity Development From Adolescence to Adulthood: An Extension of Theory and a Review of Research.” Developmental Psychology 18(3): 341–358.
Yamaguchi, Kazuo. 2011. “Decomposition of Inequality among Groups through Counterfactual Modeling: An Analysis of the Gender Wage Gap in Japan.” Sociological Methodology 43:223-55.

———. 2016. “Determinants of the Gender Gap in the Proportion of Managers among White-Collar Regular Workers in Japan.” Japan Labor Review 51:7-31.

6.7: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Arab Spring** - a series of protests against oppressive government regions in the Middle East that sometimes resulted in violence.
- **Biological sex** - refers to "the different biological and physiological characteristics of males and females, such as reproductive organs, chromosomes, hormones, etc.
- **Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s** - a movement that attempted to ensure equal treatment under the law for Black and African American citizens in the United States.
- **Culture** - broadly defined, is the combination of customs, social institutions, arts, media, and social, economic, political achievements of a social group.
- **Ethnicity** - a broader term than race. Used to categorize groups of people according to their own relation to culture.
- **Gender** - broadly defined as a spectrum of characteristics ranging from feminine to masculine, and gender tends to have more to do with how a person wants to identify.
- **January 6th 2021 United States Capitol Attack** - an event in the United States where approximately 2,000- 2,500 supporters of then President Donald Trump attacked the Capitol Building in Washington D.C. with the intent of overturning the 2020 election results where Joseph Biden won the presidency.
- **Norms** - defined as standard practices, rules, patterns and behaviors that are considered acceptable in a society.
- **Parochialism** - a system where citizens are not involved, engaged, or remotely aware of the political operations in their country.
- **Participant system** - a system where citizens are aware of government actions, are able to influence and participate in governmental decisions, and at the same time, they must abide by the laws and rules of the government.
- **Political identity** - how a person or group of persons think of themselves in relation to the politics and government of a country.
- **Political mobilization** - defined as organized activities intended to motivate groups of participants to take political action on a particular issue.
- **Political socialization** - the process in which our political beliefs are formed over time.
- **Postmaterialism** - the extent to which a political culture focuses or cares about issues which are not of immediate physical and material concern, like human rights and environmental concerns.
- **Race** - defined "a category of humankind that shares certain distinctive physical traits."
- **Sex-selective abortion** - a practice of terminating a pregnancy once the sex of the infant is known.
- **Sexual orientation** - defined as the sustained pattern of romantic and/or sexual attraction to people of opposite sex or gender, same sex or gender, or to both.
- **Society** - broadly defined, refers to a population which has organized itself based on shared ideas for how the world acts and should act through both formal and informal institutions.
- **Subject system** - a system where citizens are somewhat aware and responsive of their governmental systems, and at the same time, heavily controlled and legislated by their governments.
- **Trust** - the extent to which citizens believe in the reliability, validity, or truth of their government and their fellow citizens, plays a significant role in political outcomes.
- **Women's suffrage** - the right of women to vote in elections, over 180 countries now allow women to vote in some capacity.

Summary

Subsection #6.1: Introduction to Political Identity

Political identity refers to the labels and characteristics an individual chooses to associate with based on a multitude of factors including but not limited to, their perception of political ideologies, platforms and parties, as well as how they see themselves from national, racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and gender perspectives. ne of the main reasons political scientists have begun focusing on political identity is because human attachment to these identities has been mobilized for/with political consequences. Political mobilization is defined as organized activities intended to motivate groups of participants to take political action on a particular issue. There have been many examples of political identity resulting in political mobilization. Political socialization is the process by which individuals perceive the political world around them, come to understand how society is organized, and how they see their own role in society based on these perceptions. Political socialization occurs within families, schooling, church communities and any engagement individuals have with the outside world.

Subsection #6.2: Political Culture

Culture is the combination of customs, social institutions, arts, media, and social, economic, political achievements of a social group. In many ways, culture can be seen as a "catch-all" for so many factors of social behavior, habits and traditions found in a society. This also includes norms, which are standard practices, rules, patterns and behaviors that are considered acceptable in a society. Cultures which enforce strict adherence to norms tend to have greater control over their own populations, and often less crime, and the promotion of self-control among individuals. In contrast, countries that do not promote strict adherence to norms may be more disorganized and have potentially higher crime, but are more open to other ideas, cultures, and ways of life.

Subsection #6.3: Race and Ethnicity

Race is "a category of humankind that shares certain distinctive physical traits." Ethnicity is a broader term than race and is used to categorize groups of people according to their own relation to culture. Racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic and cultural origin are all factors which can be used to describe a person's ethnicity. Race and ethnicity play a major role in politics around the world. Factors of race and ethnicity can be explored as both an influence on political outcomes, as well as an effect of political outcomes.Matters of race and ethnicity as they relate to politics continue to be significant areas of research around the world. Almost every country on the planet has unique historical contexts and political circumstances that in some way are affected, or affect, different racial or ethnic groups.

Subsection #6.4: Gender

Gender can be broadly defined as a spectrum of characteristics ranging from feminine to masculine, and gender tends to have more to do with how a person wants to identify. The difference between biological sex versus gender identity is critical to understand. According to the World Health Organization, biological sex refers to "the different biological and physiological characteristics of males and females, such as reproductive organs, chromosomes, hormones, etc." Relating to biological sex, the divide between male and female has often influenced politics. Most frequently, women in most societies have been historically underrepresented and discriminated against. Another factor of concern in this area is acceptance of gender identity in different political systems.

Subsection #6.5: Comparative Case Study:

Japan and India are both democracies with new constitutions formed in the post World War II period. Within both countries' constiutions, there is emphasis on both equal treatment under the law for all citizens, as well as freedom from discrimation based on race, religion, sex, and other factors of importance in both societies. Nevertheless, both countries have struggled with large gender gaps in relation to women in the workplace, women's earnings with equal credentials and positions as men, access to healthcare, and representation in politics. Women in both countries struggled significantly during the COVID-19 pandemic, and gender gaps further widened. Japan has instituted new policies to try to close the wide gender gaps, while India has been struggling to devise new policies to improve gender gaps across all segments of society.

Review Questions

1. Organized activities intended to motivate groups of participants to take political action on a particular issue are:
    a. Political activities
    b. Political Identity
    c. Political Mobilization
    d. Arab Spring
2. The process by which individuals perceive the political world around them, come to understand how society is organized, and how they see their own role in society based on these perceptions is:
    a. Society
    b. Political Mobilization
    c. Political Socialization
    d. Political Identity
3. One way an individual becomes socialized is:
    a. Through their families
    b. Through their schooling
    c. Through their church or religious community
    d. All of the above are correct

4. The combination of customs, social institutions, arts, media, and social, economic, political achievements of a social group is:
    a. Culture
    b. Norms
    c. Political Identity
    d. Political Mobilization
5. Countries that have loose norms tend to:
    a. Be more open to other cultures
    b. Experience better economic outcomes
    c. Experience better political outcomes
    d. All of the above are correct

Answers: 1.c, 2.c, 3.d, 4.c, 5.d

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Consider your national, state and local political context. How is political activity, engagement and behavior shaped by cultural influences and broader social norms, codes, and values?
2. In what ways do cultural and political identities such as race, ethnicity, and gender become politicized in the U.S. and around the world?
3. How can politics and identity inform, or broaden, our understanding of social movements, the economy, regime formation and transition, and overall political participation?

Suggestions for Further Study

On Political Identity and Culture

Books

- Amitav Ghosh, (1988) Shadow Lines, Ravi Dayal Publishers
- Samuel Huntington, (1996) The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order, Simon and Schuster.
- Anna Tsing, (2004) Friction, An Ethnography of Global Connection, Princeton University Press

On Race and Ethnicity

Books

- Michael Dawson, Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics
- Melissa Harris-Lacewell, Barbershops, Bibles and BET (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- Doug McAdam, Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency
- C. Van Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow
- Donald Kinder and Lynn Sanders, Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals (1997)
- Paula McClain and Stewart, Can We All Get Along? Racial & Ethnic Minorities in Amer. Politics (2005)
- Abigail and Stephan Thernstorm, ed. Beyond the Color Line (2002)
- Wolbrecht, Tillery, and Hero, ed. The Politics of Democratic Inclusion (2005)
- Wilkins, David E. 2002. American Indian Politics and the American Political System, 2d. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Reimers, David M. 1992. Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America, 2d. New York: Columbia University Press. Selections from the CQ Researcher. 2005. Issues in Race, Ethnicity, and Gender, 3d. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

On Gender

Books

• Gender and Elections: Shaping the Future of American Politics, 3rd Edition edited by Susan Carroll and Richard Fox. 2010.
• Women and Politics by Julie Dolan, Melissa Deckman, and Michele Swers. 2011.
• When Does Gender Matter? Women Candidates and Gender Ste

Resources Initiative (OERI)) .

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

7: Political Identity - Nationalism, Religion, Class

7.1: What is Political Identity?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define Political Identity
- Describe how Identity Politics is Different from Political Identity
- Explain how Political Identity is important in the study of comparative politics

Introduction

What does it mean to think of yourself as 'American' or 'Peruvian'? What makes someone identify as 'conservative' or 'progressive'? How does one's gender, ethnic, religious, or class identity influence their political identity? How does politics influence our sense of our gender, ethnic, religious and class identity? These questions are complex, intertwined and important. Our sense of self [our identity] influences our politics and politics influences our sense of self [our identity].

What Are the Components of Political Identity?

As defined in Chapter Six, political identity is how a person or group of persons think of themselves in relation to the politics and government of a country. Everything that makes up our sense of self are components of our political identity. This includes our ethnicity, religion, gender, class, ideology, nationality and even our age and generation.

Why Is Political Identity Important in Studying Comparative Politics?

Understanding how individuals and groups see their own identity as it relates to politics and the state [government] is critical to the analysis of the political culture and political system of any country. In the United States, for example, there is a tendency to think of White evangelicals as likely to affiliate with the Republican Party and for Persons of Color to be more likely to affiliate with the Democratic Party. People with different political identities might also have different ideas of what it means to be 'patriotic' or even 'American'. Identity can be the driving force behind a social or political movement. Identity also can be the goal of a social or political movement in terms of gaining acceptance or redefining traditional identities (Bernstein, 2005).

What Is Identity Politics?

What Is "Identity Politics" and How Is That Different from "Political Identity"?

The term **identity politics** refers to the "tendency for people of a particular religion, race, social background, etc., to form exclusive political alliances, moving away from traditional broad-based party politics" (Lexico, n.d.). While identity politics can provide a sense of belonging and purpose for a group of people, it also can lead to division and a sense of 'us' versus 'them'. If the sense of belonging and membership in one group outweighs the sense of belonging and membership in a broader group, it can become more difficult for a society to address issues facing all people in the country.

One way to look at this is to think of the difference between pluralism and hyperpluralism. A **pluralist society** is a society with many identity groups, with different backgrounds, religions and traditions, but where an overarching identity exists that can include everyone living within the country. A society that is **hyperpluralist** has not just many groups, but groups whose priorities are so divergent as to make finding compromise and agreement on shared values with others in society unachievable. Identity politics is complicated because people often identify with more than one group. One example is with the case study country in this chapter, Israel. The creation of the state of Israel was done specifically to provide a homeland for the Jewish people after WWII. As such, to identify as Israeli for most people is to identify also as Jewish.Therefore, those who live in Israel but are not Jewish fall into a different group with a different set of allegiances. This division creates a sense of exclusion and separation, making political unity and agreement more difficult.

One of the ways to understand identity politics is to contrast it with earlier efforts to see 'colorblind' policies or as John Rawls described in his book *A Theory of Justice*, a '**veil of ignorance**'. In this hypothetical system, people are asked to make policy decisions without knowing who would be affected. The argument is that people would create fair policies, without respect to class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. Identity politics, however, focuses the lens on specific identities and their differences. As Cressida Heyes (2020) explains in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, members of specific constituencies "assert or reclaim ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant characterizations, with the goal of greater self-determination".

7.2: What is National Identity?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define National Identity and related terms including Nationalism and Citizenship
- Describe how Citizenship is different from National Identity and Political Identity
- Describe how National Identity and Nationalism impact rules about Citizenship
- Explain how Nationalism fuels separatist movements
- Explain how National Identity is important in the study of comparative politics

Introduction

Is "Political Identity" the Same as "National Identity"?

These two concepts are not the same, but are interrelated. Political identity is how we see ourselves in a political sense: our political interests, affiliations and priorities. **National identity** is how we see ourselves as members of a nation of people. This can range from a relatively narrow ethnic identity to a broader civic identity that encompasses many ethnic and religious groups. In Canada, for example, there is the concept of a 'cultural mosaic' of many different types of people, including immigrants, who make up the nation of Canada. This is a broad and inclusive definition. On the other end of the spectrum, some South Asian nations are viewed as practicing an exclusionary form of national identity. (Chakraborty, 2014).

Our national identity is not our only identity and it is common for all of us to have multiple identities. An American may have a racial and/or ethnic identity, such as African American in the US or identification with an indigenous group in Mexico, such as the Nahuatl. There are also gender identities, which over time have shifted from a binary understanding to a more nuanced approach. Also included are age, sexual orientation, and occupation. Identities are ever evolving and identity formation takes place even now. In the pandemic, we saw the formation of identities revolving around one's vaccination status, with people proud to say they either were vaccinated or chose not to vaccinate. Whether or not these new identities will remain depends on how the pandemic ends. More than likely, they will not.

Researchers often study the impact of these identities on politics separately, with various subfields in political science reflecting this development. Examples include Gender and Politics, or Race, Ethnicity and Politics, or Religion and Politics. Political scientists are keen on understanding the experiences of these groups, who have traditionally been left out of mainstream political science discourse. Over time, the discipline has come to understand that identities can interact with each other in ways that affect politics differently. This is referred to as **intersectionality**, where the interconnectedness of various identities and categories can lead to the marginalization or to the privilege of particular people and/or groups.

More About "National Identity"

Yet even though all the above listed identities are important for politics and can help predict political behavior, comparative political scientists are quite interested in how national identity affects politics. National identity, like other aspects of identity, creates a feeling of belonging. Symbols are commonly used to reflect the values and priorities of a nation's identity. Think about the meaning of the colors and design of a national flag, or the choice of a national bird, and the words of a national anthem. People identify with those symbols, colors and words. They can inspire and bind people together. When new nation-states form and after losing a war it is common for countries to choose new symbols. However, this is not always the case, at least not entirely. For example, a number of southern states in the US still have imagery reminiscent of the Confederate Battle flag. Germany, on the other hand, changed its flag away from the Nazi flag [back to one used previously] after World War 2. In the United States, the Pledge of Allegiance was adopted and popularized after the Civil War as a means to unite the country "one nation indivisible" with references to the "flag".

National identity clearly impacts contemporary politics. It has become a key aspect of one's core identity and the sense of attachment one has for their nation or country can help us better understand certain behaviors. A good example includes the September 11th terrorist attacks. On that day, Americans from every part of the country felt something terrible. Even though a person may have lived 3,000 miles away in California, and did not physically experience the trauma of this event, the shock, dread, and then anger that person felt was still palpable. Logically, one can say why should events that did not personally happen to me matter. However, this is how powerful national identity can be, where we can internalize what others have experienced and have us

affect us in our political behavior. National identity implies a "principle of identity based on impersonal ties, remote ties, vicarious ties", that are arbitrated through common symbols and forms of communication (Hass, 1986).

What is Nationalism?

Nationalism is defined as an ideology where devotion and loyalty to one's state proves more important than other interests. It is the natural development of having a national identity. The stronger the national identity, the stronger the sense of nationalism. Hass (1986) says that nationalism is "the convergence of territorial and political loyalty irrespective of competing foci of affiliation". By this Hass means that a national identity may matter more than one's other identities.

Another analysis comes from Hechter who distinguishes between 'nation' and 'nationalism'. Hechter (2001) defines a nation as "highly solitary, territorially concentrated, culturally distinctive groups". He defines nationalism as "collective action designed to render the boundaries of the nation congruent with those of its governance unit." In other words, when a nation of people has a strong sense of nationalism they work to ensure the boundaries of the state [governance unit] match the geographic boundaries of the nation. Hechter identifies five types of nationalism: state-building nationalism, peripheral nationalism, irredentist nationalism, unification nationalism, and patriotism.

While there are differing theories and views on nationalism, one thing is clear: nationalism can mean different things. **Liberal nationalism**, for example, is the idea that every group of people with a clear national identity should have their own state; their own country to call their own. This sort of nationalism can lead to independence movements [or even develop during and after independence movements motivated by other factors]. However, nationalism can also imply a sense of superiority or exceptionalism. This is referred to as **exclusionary nationalism** and can lead to violence. O'Neil and Fields (2020) note that nationalism can be a powerful substitute for democracy. Because it is hierarchical and inclusive, authoritarian states can weaponize nationalism.

Nationalism, as mentioned above, can be a force for the creation of a new and independent state. Examples of nationalism being the inspiration for separatist movements can be seen across the globe. **Separatist movements** are defined as attempts by members of a group of people who seek to establish their own government, separate from the country they reside in. In Canada, there have been calls for secession by Quebec, also thought of as the "French Canada". Supporters of this effort are represented by a political party called Bloc Quebecois. According to the New York Times, about 30% of Quebec citizens support secession. Far more, however, are focused on maintaining the values, language and identity of French Canada.

Another example of a separatist movement fueled by nationalism is Catalonia, a wealthy area of Spain that has a history of special autonomy. Violence and prison terms for separatist politicians have reinvigorated the debate. Similar to Quebec:

> *Catalonia has its own language and distinctive traditions, and a population nearly as big as Switzerland's (7.5 million). It is one of Spain's wealthiest regions, making up 16% of the national population and accounting for almost 19% of Spanish GDP. (BBC)*

While separatist movements can be centralizing forces (forces that bring people together), they also can be decentralizing and damaging. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit, as quoted by the BBC, "Spain risked being downgraded from a 'full democracy' to a 'flawed' one over its handling of the situation." In this case, it was not the separatist movement itself as much as the Spanish government's reaction to it.

Is Nationalism the Same as Patriotism?

Patriotism is best described as pride in one's state. Often when one thinks of patriotism, thoughts turn to flags, marches, national anthems and other types of displays. Yet these displays could be better understood as expressions of nationalism. In a country like the US, Americans tend not to separate between their nation and state. Indeed, we often refer to countries such as the U.S. as a nation-state. A **nation-state** is a state where all or most of the people in that state belong to a single nation. Other examples of nation-states include the central European countries of Poland and Hungary. A **multinational-state** will be where a state contains multiple nations. Examples of multinational states include Russia and India.

Given these definitions, can one have pride in their nation, but not in their state? The answer is yes. Catalonia, discussed above, is a great example. Catalonians have pride in their nation, but generally not in their state, which is Spain. Being a citizen of a country does not automatically make that person patriotic. Ethnic, racial, and/or religious minorities that have been oppressed or have not been incorporated into a country's political system will often struggle with outward expressions of patriotism. Often, they will

develop their own sense of nationalism. Countries such as Spain have several nations. This includes the aforementioned Catalonia, but also Galicia and the Basque country.

Figure 7.2.1: Holding hands for Catalan Independence. (Source: Catalan independence protest in Times Square, NYC by Liz Castro via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0)

One form of nationalism described by Hechter is irredentist nationalism. **Irredentism** is when one state wants a territory that previously belonged to it to rejoin. This is interesting in light of recent events in Ukraine. Russia's president, Vladimir Putin, sees Ukraine not as a sovereign state, but rather as a piece of the former Soviet Union that should be returned to the fold.

What is Citizenship?

Citizenship is different from national or political identity because it implies a legal status rather than a feeling of belonging. A person can feel a sense of belonging to a nation without being a citizen of that country. Roughly thirty countries grant citizenship at birth (Serhan and Friedman, 2018). Almost all countries have a process whereby a person can become a citizen even if they are not born a citizen. Being able to -- as well as choosing to -- become a citizen are influenced by not just the laws and procedures within a country, but also the 'human capital' and 'social capital' of the immigrants (Huddleston, 2020). In other words, not all immigrants have the same ability or interest in becoming naturalized citizens. This is true across different immigrant groups and different destination countries. Citizenship typically brings certain legal rights and privileges such as voting and holding elected office, as well as the right to be issued a passport.

Some countries make it quite difficult to become a citizen or a legal resident. The process in the United States, for example, is quite lengthy with very specific requirements - at least for most people. The United States provides an alternative path for those with money, known as the EB-5 or 'investor visa'. Switzerland also makes it difficult with a 10-year residency requirement to be eligible to apply for citizenship. On the other end of the spectrum, the Dominican Republic allows legal permanent residency if you can demonstrate a monthly income of $2,000 (or just $1,500 if you are retired). Yet, becoming a citizen of the Dominican Republic is very expensive. Ireland also makes it quite easy - especially if you can show Irish ancestry.

How Is Patriotism Related to Citizenship?

Citizenship is closely tied to patriotism, which is described above. This is because even though being a citizen confers certain rights and privileges, it also involves special duties. For example, many countries have an enrollment program that requires young men, and in a few cases young women, to compulsory enlist in their militaries through a draft referred to as **conscription**. This is not the case in most Western countries, such as the US or in most European Union countries. But this is the case in countries such as Israel, Turkey and Russia. There are over 100 nationalities in the Russian Federation. Regardless if they are ethnic Tartar, the Yupik of Siberia or other smaller minorities, all male citizens between the ages of 18-27 are required to serve 12 months.

Figure 7.2.2: Russian guards in uniform. (Source: Russian Guard by Unknown Author via pxhere.com is licensed under CC0)

Interestingly, one does not need to have legal citizenship to have a sense of patriotism. Any person can see the country that they live in as their homeland, and develop a strong sense of affection. There are quite a few examples of people having moved to another country, and either chose not to become a citizen or were not given the chance to, and still strongly supported the state they resided in. Patriotism entails a sense of obligation to care for the country of residence. While citizenship is directly correlated with patriotism, it is not causal.

7.3: What is Religious Identity?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define Religious Identity and related terms including Primordialism and Constructivism
- Define Religiosity and understand the 4 B's - believing, belonging, behaving, and bonding
- Explain how Religious Identity is important in the study of comparative politics

Introduction

As mentioned earlier, individuals can have multiple identities. A national identity is closely tied to one's sense of nationality and/or the nation they reside in. Similarly, one's religious identity is also connected to their level of religiosity and/or the religion they often associate with, either through their family or more likely, through their community. Given this, **religious identity** is defined as how a person or group of persons think of themselves as belonging to and representing the values of a particular religion and/or religious sect. This strong association with community is also what makes religious identity more difficult to study. Nationalism is naturally tied to the development of the modern nation-state. Without the development of a 'nation' in the 18th and 19th centuries, it is unlikely that there would be nationalism. The concept of a nation for some scholars is considered a priori, or deductively reasoned. In other words, the nation must be formed or conceived beforehand, before a national identity can exist. In this approach, the existence of a nation is a necessary feature of nationalism. It may however, not be sufficient for a national identity to develop, meaning that a nation can exist without a sense of nationalism or with little nationalism, but it is clear that in this view a person needs to belong to a nation in order to have a national identity: nation → identity.

However, when looking at religious identity, the a priori argument is less clear cut. One can draw an analogy with national identity - that in order to have a religious identity, or a sense of religiosity, a religion must exist beforehand. However, unlike the nation, religion as a concept is far older. Nationalism developed in part due to the printing press, which itself was introduced in Europe in the 1400s. Anderson (2006) writes that as more and more people became literate, they began to read newspapers. This ritual of buying and reading newspapers allowed people to feel connected. They no longer saw themselves as detached populations, but as one imagined community. Anderson refers to this as print capitalism, and suggests it is the causal mechanism that led to the development of nations around three hundred years ago.

How Does Religious Identity Differ from National Identity?

An argument can be made that religious identity may actually come before the development of a religion. Durkheim writes that religion is an eminently social thing. Rather than focusing on deities and/or the supernatural elements, the formation of a religion centers on the collective consciousness and community. The rituals and practices that people collectively participate in lead to a sense of unity. This development of an identity is what then leads to organized religion. (Wetherell and Mohanty, 2010) When understood in this approach, the arrows are reversed: identity → religion.

Durkheim wrote about pre-modern societies, which were mostly clan or tribe-based. However, if religious identity is indeed ascribed, or collectivity-based, then it can also be free from geographical constraints. As the clan or tribe shifts from one territory to the next, the religious identity should continue as long as the community remains cohesive. This is different from national identity, where lines drawn on a map strongly influence who develops a national identity. If a religious identity can be detached from the land it originated, then an argument can be made that religious identity could have more impact. Evidence for this could include the historical growth of universal religions, such as Christianity and Islam through proselytizing, and the persistence of religious minority groups across the centuries.

Religious Identity: Primordialism v. Constructivism

How then does religious identity affect politics? The discussion above of religious identity formation can help us in this. If religious identity is considered to precede religion itself, for many people they may consider it their **primordial identity**. Originally coined to discuss ethnic identities, primordialism can also help us understand the salience of religious identities in politics. Primordialism means that individuals will have only one single religious identity and that this identity is fixed in the present and the future. Some contend that one's religious identity is biologically determined, that you are born into it. Others suggest it is acquired through childhood, through socialization and education. Regardless, primordialists believe that once an

identity is acquired it becomes immutable (Chandra, 2001). Regardless of its origin, religious identity is fixed in the long term and matters when one tries to understand the world around them. Mass literacy also plays a role in the hardening of an identity. Van Evera (2001) writes that "written identities also have a resilient quality that makes them almost impossible to stamp out" (pg. 20).

For many, this collective identity approach may describe the pre-modern world, but falls short in the modern context. For many in modern societies, individuals choose to join a community. Particularly in secular societies, religious identity is often a matter of choice. It is not determined by the clan, tribe, or even nation one is born into. This is the constructivist approach and it is the antithesis of primordialism. **Constructivist identity** posits that people have multiple identities and that as people change, so can either the importance of a particular identity, or the adoption of a new identity altogether. And, given the transitory nature of people today through mass migration, there is a greater likelihood that one could acquire multiple religious identities in their lifetime. We see this with Protestant Christians in the United States, who go 'church shopping'. This means they visit different congregations before settling down on one church that fits their needs.

Religious Identity and Politics

This discussion on primordialism v. constructivism can help us understand how religious identity plays a role in modern politics. When groups see their identity as primordial, as immutable, then they are less willing to compromise politically on issues that they believe violate their belief systems. For these individuals, compromise may be seen as anathema, or something that is vehemently disliked by the community. This reasoning has been used to explain why conflict may erupt between two or more religious groups. Mostly referring to ethnic identities, others argue that identity is treated as an exogenous variable, a variable that exists on its own and is not related to other variables. That identity can serve as a catalyst for violence, particularly if the group in question believes that their community cannot credibly defend itself against an external threat. However, this comparison of religious identity to ethnic identity is not a perfect one. Religious identity is more complex than ethnic identity. Ethnic identity because of primordialism, often assumes a binary sense. Either you are an American or not. Of course, constructivists would strongly disagree. Constructivists would contend that people can have multiple ethnic identities, particularly in a transnational setting, which is more common in a globalized world.

Measuring Religious Identity

When measuring religious identity, we can rely on what has been referred to as the **four B's - believing, belonging, behaving, and bonding**. These four dimensions of religion are important for understanding religion and politics as they influence how people may vote, view certain policies and support certain political parties. **Believing** is religious belief or believing in certain religious propositions. It involves the way people conceptualize their relationship with supernatural forces. Most religions are theistic, which involve belief in a god (monotheism) or gods (polytheism or henotheism), or some omnipresent force. Even among nontheistic traditions, such as Buddhism, adherents often profess a belief in a version of external transcendence, and that "there is some sort of spirit or life force" (Saroglou, 2011). **Belonging** is religious affiliation, or belonging to a religious faith, a religious tradition, or a denomination/sect within a particular religion. Denomination is a term associated with Christianity and often refers to a "religious community or (transhistorical) group with a common history and future" (Hoogendoorn, et. al., 2016). A denomination would include groups such as Catholics, Southern Baptists and Latter-Day Saints (Mormons). It does not include non-denominational Christians, which through their label indicates that they do not adhere to any denomination.

Behaving is religious commitment, or behaving according to values privileged by religion. It involves norms and defining what is right and what is wrong. People with high levels of religiosity often act on their religious convictions. It can also provide an individual with a sense of purpose. Religious values also shape the legal and judicial system of a country. This is true even in largely secular societies, as many of these countries were once religious. **Bonding** is religious ritual, or bonding by means of spiritual practices and rituals. These are the experiences that people go through, either individually, but more likely together as a community. It can include prayer, meditation, worship, religious ceremonies, and pilgrimages. The four dimensions of belonging, believing, bonding, and behaving represent what Hoogendorn and Saroglu refer to as "the social, cognitive, emotional, and moral elements of religion, respectively" (Saroglou, 2011; Hoogendoorn, et. al., 2016)

Given this complexity, scholars in religion and politics prefer to use the term **religiosity** instead of religious identity. Macaluso and Wanat (1979) define religiosity as "the strength of a person's attachment to organized religion". The authors then attempt to try and measure religiosity, " as the frequency of attendance at the place of worship. Individuals who go to church or synagogue every week are high in religiosity, those who rarely go are low in religiosity" (pg. 160). Leege and Kellstedt (1993) contend that using church/ synagogue/mosque attendance as the only measure of religiosity is too simple and may not accurately reflect the other 'B's explained above. Some religions and/or denominations emphasize individual devotion or noncollective traditions. This is more

relevant as a higher number of Americans now identify as non-religious, but still spiritual. A recent Pew Research Center survey indicated that roughly three-in-ten Americans are religiously unaffiliated. Per the survey, these folks are referred to as religious 'nones', they are "people who describe themselves as atheists, agnostics or 'nothing in particular' when asked about their religious identity" (Smith, 2021).

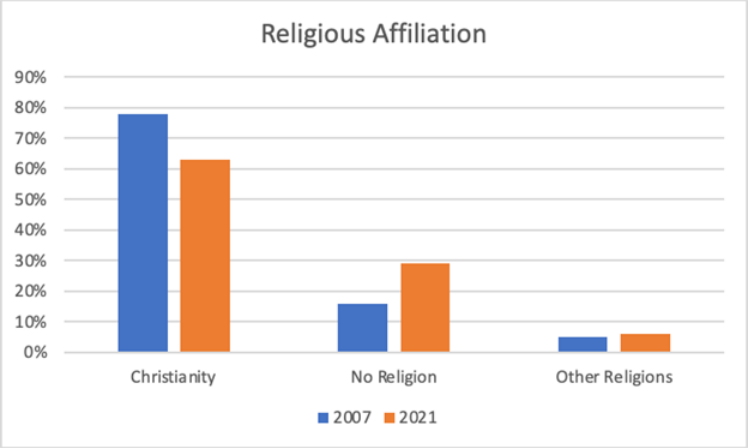


Figure 7.3.1: Religious affiliation in the U.S. over time. (Author's creation. Statistics based on the 2021 Pew Research Center Report).

The authors also point to the interactions between the different dimensions in producing a stronger effect. Their discussion of how to measure these different dimensions (methods) has been important for the study of religion and politics. Using this framework then, religiosity can best be defined as 'strength of person's commitment to religion".

7.4: What is Class Identity?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define Class Identity and related terms including Economic Class and Social Class
- Describe how Class Identity affects our quality of life
- Explain how Economic Class is about power
- Explain the connection between Class Identity and politics
- Explain how Class Identity is important in the study of comparative politics

Introduction

Class identity can relate both to economic and social class. **Class identity** is defined as how a person or group of persons think of themselves in relation to others in society based on their economic and social position. While defining and measuring economic status is quite similar across cultures, the same cannot be said for social status. Different societies have different social values and, therefore, assign social class positions in different ways. Class identity is important and often has significant impacts on people's daily lives. Class identity can impact our happiness, our sense of security, our daily interactions and even our experience with the justice system. While the factors surrounding incarceration are complicated, there is evidence that people from lower economic classes are arrested, charged and imprisoned at higher rates. According to O'Neil Hayes (2020), "Adults in poverty are three times more likely to be arrested than those who aren't, and people earning less than 150 percent of the federal poverty level are 15 times more likely to be charged with a felony." Hayes' research also indicates that "The likelihood that a boy from a family in the bottom 10 percent of the income distribution will end up in prison in his thirties is 20 times greater than that of a boy from a family in the top 10 percent."

Economic class also is about power.

> *Classes can be divided according to how much relative power and control members of a class have over their lives. On this basis, we might distinguish between the owning class (or bourgeoisie), the middle class, and the traditional working class. The owning class not only have power and control over their own lives, their economic position gives them power and control over others' lives as well.*

https://openpress.usask.ca/soc112/ch...nd-disability/

Class identity, and its connection to power, also manifests itself in politics. One of the theories of power is called the Elite Theory, a theory put forward in a book called The Power Elite by sociologist C. Wright Mills in 1956 which asserts that political power is held by the Elites. **Elites** are the upper socio-economic class, or the "ruling class, among those business, government, and military leaders whose decisions and actions have significant consequences" (Mills, 1956). **Elite theory** says that elites not only have power, but that they use that power for their own self-interests - for the interests of elites. One of the components of being elite is to have social capital. Having **social capital** means that elites are not just economically comfortable, they also have contacts, a network to call upon for help finding a new job, new clients, new customers - for themselves and their family. At its conception, Mill's book, *The Elite Theory* was focused on the nexus of power in the United States. Today, however, it is discussed in international terms. It also has expanded to include not just elite individuals, but elite organizations, such as major oil companies, global military contractors, (Horowitz, 1981).

Class Identity: Economic Class v. Social Class

As mentioned above, it is fairly straightforward to define and describe economic classes in a society. Economic class is based on measurable characteristics: money and material resources.

Figure 7.4.1: Wealth in South Florida. (Source: Miami Millionaire Row, by Thank You via flickr is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

The photo above shows a sleek yacht. This is one indicator of wealth because of the high cost of the yacht. Therefore, we presume that the owner of the yacht is from the upper economic class. Homes, cars and jewelry are other commonly observed indicators of economic class. The ability to measure economic class can be seen with tools such as NPR's income calculator, where you can find out if you are 'middle class'.

There are other markers of economic class, however, that are not always as easy to interpret. Fashion and grooming styles are examples. In the past, perhaps, these were more fixed. In contemporary society they are more fluid. Consider this 1794 image of the wife of a wealthy Spanish diplomat.

Figure 7.4.2: (Source: Matilda Stoughton de Jaudenes by Metropolitan Museum of Art via Metropolitan Museum of Art is licensed under CC0 1.0)

It is quite easy to know that this is an image of a wealthy person with high status. Yet, such markers of wealth are not always visible today. This picture, of Elon Musk, offers no clues that he is one of the wealthiest persons on Earth.

Figure 7.4.3: (Source: Elon Musk at the 2016 Tesla Annual Shareholder's Meeting, by Steve Jurvetson via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

When we combine both economic [income, wealth] factors with social factors, such as level of education and occupation, we have what is called **socioeconomic class**. This intersection occurs because a person's social factors often influence one's economic class. However, as noted by the Searle Center for Advancing Learning and Teaching, "An individual's socioeconomic status does not

always align with their social class identification. In the U.S., for example, those who identify as middle class vary on every indicator of socioeconomic status (e.g., level of education)". Components of social class vary significantly across cultures. In some societies, for example, it is considered more prestigious to be a religious leader than a medical doctor. One profession that is measured is that of a teacher. Different countries place different levels of respect for teachers. According to a 2018 Varkey Foundation report, "In Malaysia and China, teachers are compared to doctors – seen as the highest status profession in our sample, but [in most countries] it is most common for teachers to be compared with social workers having a mid-range status".

Class Identity and Politics

Class identity, both economic and social class identity, is a major component of politics. Class identity often influences political affiliations and attitudes. Politicians appeal to class identity as a means of gaining support for their policies. Class identity often drives political and social movements.

One example of the relationship between class identity and political movements is Marxism. **Marxism**, which is discussed more in Chapter 8, is an approach to political economy that is based on the idea of class conflict - between the owner and worker classes. Marxism focuses on the exploitation of workers by owners and seeks to mobilize the working class to demand that the power dynamic change. Marxists seek to change the economic class structure and, as a consequence, the political structure. Marx saw such class struggle as inevitable due to exploitation and that revolution would also be inevitable. By overthrowing the capitalist class, this revolution would usher in a socialist system (Sociology Boundless, n.d.). But, before such an uprising could happen, the working class had to *see itself as working class* and recognize that - as a class - they are being exploited by the capitalist class. Marx viewed class in objective terms, whereby "a person's social class is determined by his or her position within the system of property relations that constitutes a given economic society" (Little, n.d.). Therefore, it is not just about being in a certain class that has political significance, it is also one's identity as belonging to a particular class that is politically important.

Class identity is not only at the core of certain social/political movements, it is often a key focus of political campaigns seeking to win votes or support - for specific candidates and political parties. A recent example of this in the United States is the intense interest in the working class during the presidential election campaign of 2015-16. The **working class** is defined as those engaged in manual-labor occupations or industrial work. Often, members of the working class are without a four-year college degree. Unionized working class Americans had been fairly solidly united behind the Democratic Party since the era of FDR in the 1930s. Over the course of the past 30 years, however, the Democratic Party has lost support from working class voters. Donald Trump did not win so much over working class voters as working class voters were disappointed by the Democratic Party candidate and many stayed home rather than vote. Working class voters are incredibly important to American politics. Although Donald Trump's policies did not particularly benefit them, he did speak to their issues and gave voice to their frustrations (Zweig, 2017).

Members of the working class tend to be more religious, more outwardly patriotic and more culturally conservative than college graduates" (Leonhardt, 2021). This mix of different identity characteristics - including class - helps us understand the relationship to politics. A September, 2021 survey found widely differing views across class lines. In particular, a clear majority of working class respondents voiced serious concern about foreign influence in America. The more educated [and presumably wealthier] respondents had the opposite view (Public Religion Research Institute, 2021).

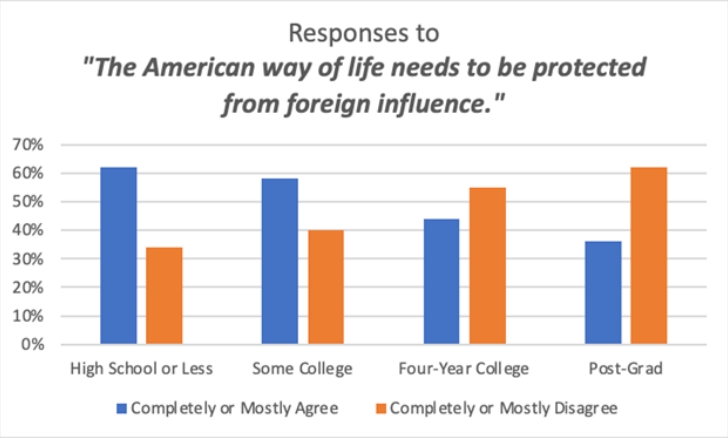


Figure 7.4.4: Responses to the American Way of Life. (Author's creation. Statistics based on the 2021 Public Religion Research Institute).

In this graph, we can see a correlation between class and political views. This relationship is fluid and can be influenced by various factors, including national and global events, economic conditions, the media, and opinion leaders. In the case described above, many working class Americans feel threatened by global trade and have seen their economic security reduced. Whereas, wealthier Americans tend to see globalism in either a neutral or positive light. Politicians both foment and react to these class-linked views. As a recent journal article reminds us "Bernie Sanders characterized his run for the Presidency" as one focused on the working class and such class-based appeals "also figure prominently in debates concerning the success of right-wing populist politicians such as Marine Le Pen in France, Luigi Di Maio in Italy, and Donald Trump in the US" (Robertson, n.d.).

Turning our attention to the role of class in Israeli identity politics, we see something a bit different. Rather than identity politics being a way to bring attention to groups who feel "left behind" in some way, in Israel there is a class-based identity politics movement evident in the more economically and secure middle class. As Kaplan explains:

> *Whereas theories of identity politics tend to focus on the socially disenfranchised, we look at how the higher-ranked may use others' essentialisation of culture and identities for their own advantages. We explain the secular middle class's turn to Judaism as an attempt to reestablish or reclaim the social power they feel entitled to, under changing cultural, social and material conditions. [Kaplan, et al, 2017]*

Kaplan's analysis also highlights the intersection of class, culture and politics:

> *Inasmuch as Israel is an advanced-capitalist and a Jewish state, our middle-class participants have re-adjusted to the changing terms of belonging to the Israeli collectivity. In doing so, they may very well advance the 'Judaisation' of Israeli culture, yet not merely as an explicit political process, but also as a class distinction practice. [Kaplan, et al, 2017]*

This example from Israel reminds us that even groups who generally are seen as having well-established economic, social and political power can feel their identity is threatened and, in this case, seek to redefine important aspects of that culture to help maintain their place in the hierarchy.

7.5: Comparative Case Study - Israel and Iran - The Intersection of Politics and Identity

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe the Most Different Systems approach in comparative methodology
- Identify the dependent variable: political outcomes that favor religion
- Describe some examples of how religion relates to identity in Israel and Iran

Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter Two, we use the most different systems approach in comparative methodology. This method looks at cases that are quite different from one another, yet have the same outcome. Different variables exist between the cases, such as democratic v. authoritarian regime, liberal market economy v. non-liberal market economy. Or it could include variables such as societal homogeneity vs. societal heterogeneity, where a country may find itself unified ethnically/religiously/racially, or fragmented along those same lines. In other words, why do we have different systems producing the same outcome?

In a most different systems approach the dependent variable is the same across cases. The dependent variable is the variable that is affected by ("dependent on") the presence of the independent variable. It is the 'effect'. For our comparative case study the dependent variable is political outcomes that favor religion. For Iran, it is Shia Islam, whereas for Israel, it is Judaism. How are they dominant In each country? First, the legal codes favor each group (Stern, 2017; Pargoo, 2021). We also see a judicial system that has a role of religious courts. Second, social science evidence also suggests that each group has economic access and favorable treatment in the economy. We also observe favoritism and preferences for religious students and for religious education. Finally, we see this through the political representation of each group, and in the role of religious parties or factions in each country's political system.

There are additional factors that could affect the dependent variable. In the most different systems approach, these variables will vary, usually significantly. As mentioned above this includes regime type, where Israel is classified as being a democracy, whereas Iran is considered an authoritarian regime (Marshall & Elzinger-Marshall, 2017) For political economy type Israel is a liberal market economy. Iran is a non-market economy, often understood as an emerging market, where market forces are either largely absent, or are in the early development phase. In most emerging markets patrimonialism is the key feature, where a patron-client relationship exists. In these markets, usually a key figure (the boss or patron) grants privileges to people below them (clients). They in turn become their own patrons and create their own clients. This process is repeated until most if not all of the economy is dominated by this system (Bozonelos, 2015).

Other variables that differ include socioeconomic indicators. Israel is considered a technologically advanced society. It ranks high when it comes to GDP per capita, human development and literacy, ranking 19th in the United Nations Development Programme's 2020 Human Development Report. Iran ranks much lower, around 70th. (United Nations Development Programme, 2020).

Another variable that differs is the level of secularization. Secularization is defined as, "the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols" (Fowler, 2014). This process is often thought of as being linear; as traditional agrarian societies governed by arbitrary authority become sophisticated urban societies governed by the rule of law, the country should become more secular. Interestingly, this is not how Israel or Iran have developed. Each country has a mix of secular and religious authority, with Israel having a more secular orientation. Iran was decidedly secular when the shah reigned. This forced secularization backfired and contributed to the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Iran is now defined as an Islamic state and is governed through Islamic institutions. However, there is a growing sense of secularism in the country, though not necessarily in the way that the term is defined in Western scholarship (Pargoo, 2021). Israel could be considered a secular state and many authors would define the country as such. Indeed, the Labour party, which is left of center, has traditionally enjoyed support by the more secular segment of Israeli society. However, a recent law passed in 2018 defines Israel as the nation-state for the Jewish people. This law reflects the growing assertiveness of the more religious part of Israeli society.

Figure 7.5.1: Women in Jerusalem near the Western Wall. (Source: Women of the Wall celebrating with the flag of Israel by Yochi Rappeport via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

The last major variable includes international cooperation with Western countries. Internationally, Israel enjoys close relationships with the West, particularly the United States, where direct military and economic support is legislated yearly. This contrasts with Iran, where their relationships with Western countries are much more distant, especially with the United States. Post-Islamic Revolution, the U.S. has consistently placed some level of sanctions on Iran, with a respite under the Obama administration.

State of Israel

Figure 7.5.2: Map of Israel. (Source: Map of Israel by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

- **Full Country Name:** State of Israel
- **Head(s) of State:** President, Prime Minister
- **Government:** Unitary Parliamentary Republic
- **Official Languages:** Hebrew
- **Economic System:** Mixed Economy
- **Location:** Western Asia
- **Capital:** Jerusalem
- **Total land size:** 8,522 sq miles
- **Population:** 9,508,220
- **GDP:** $478.01 billion
- **GDP per capita:** $50,200
- **Currency:** New shekel

Religion and nationalism play a central role in the identity of most Israelis. Most Israelis identify as Jewish. Strongly related to this is the concept of Zionism. Zionism is the ideological drive for an independent Jewish state. This political movement has its roots in the late 1800s, when Jewish minorities faced severe oppression in Europe, particularly in the Russian Empire. This pressure, combined with a British takeover of the former Ottoman region of Palestine, led to a series of aliyahs, or migrations. As the situation of Jewish minorities worsened in Europe, these migrations took on more urgency. Ultimately, conflict erupted between the migrated groups and the Arab population that had existed there for centuries. Unable to maintain military power, the British vacated Palestine, with Jewish groups uniting to declare independence in 1948.

The independence of the state of Israel cemented the importance of a Jewish identity. Israel is a state explicitly created as a homeland for the Jewish people. Jewish identity in Israel has taken on two forms, a cultural Jewish identity and a religious Jewish identity. Quite a few Israeli citizens, and to a larger extent Jewish people in other countries, identify as culturally Jewish. For these folks, being Jewish is a matter of ancestry and culture, and not necessarily religious practice, which can vary from a complete lack of participation to observation of major holidays. The folks belong, but may not necessarily believe or behave. Religious Jews are much more likely to incorporate religious belief and practice into their daily life. These folks believe, behave and belong, which can explain their strong bonding.

Israeli political identity is also informed by a focus on maintaining a Westphalian vision of sovereignty. This can be traced to the creation in 1947, by the United Nations, of a partition plan where the Jewish and Arab groups would be divided into two states. [Heaphy] This decision to give the Jewish people a homeland was largely a reaction to the genocide of Jews in the Holocaust during World War II. As mentioned above, the creation of the state of Israel led almost immediately to war.The initial war in the aftermath of the creation of Israel, as well as subsequent conflicts, have led to significant expansion of territory claimed by Israel that Palestinians [and other Arabs] consider to be theirs. Maintaining control over territory granted by the UN and gained in war, therefore, is a key driver of political identity for Israeli Jews.

Religion also plays a central role for those who feel left out in Israeli politics. Ultra-Orthodox Jews “reject Jewish nationalism as they perceive Jews as a religious group that should not be politically sovereign” until the end of times for humankind. Arab Israelis “oppose the exclusive Jewish elements” promoted by the state. These differing identities help explain differing responses to government action during the Coronavirus pandemic in 2020. Many Ultra-Orthodox Jews and Arab Israelis “reside in crowded towns, and as they are more religious compared to the rest of the population, they congregate often for prayer and other communal events.” In fact, there was a higher proportion of Coronavirus cases among the Ultra-Orthodox population than among other groups in Israel. [Eiran]

The importance of religion in Israeli identity is seen in the religious imagery on the Israeli passport and flag.

Figure 7.5.3: An Israeli diplomatic passport. (Source: Israeli Passport by Nitzan Arny via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

Figure 7.5.4: The flag of the State of Israel. (Source: Israeli Flag by Paul Brennan via PublicDomainPictures.net is licensed under CC0 1.0)

Islamic Republic of Iran

Figure 7.5.5: Map of Iran. (Source: Map of Iran by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

- **Full Country Name:** Islamic Republic of Iran
- **Head(s) of State:** Supreme Leader
- **Government:** Unitary Khomeneinist theocratic presidential Islamic republic
- **Official Languages:** Persian
- **Economic System:** Mixed Economy
- **Location:** Western Asia
- **Capital:** Tehran
- **Total land size:** 8,522 sq miles
- **Population:** 83,1832,741
- **GDP:** $1.573 trillion
- **GDP per capita:** $20,261
- **Currency:** Iranian rial

Religion and religious identity also play a major role in Iran. While Iran is located geographically in the Middle East, mainly surrounded by Arab states, Iran is not an Arab country. Arab countries are those where the Arabic language is the dominant language. Most Arabs are Muslim, but in terms of population, most Muslims are not Arabs. Iran is not Arab, the dominant language is Farsi, but Iran is mostly Muslim.

The majority of Muslims in Iran, around 90%, identify as Shi'a. Shi'ism is a branch of Islam, encompassing anywhere from 13% to 15% of the total global Muslim population. The majority of Muslims, anywhere from 80% to 85%, are Sunni Muslims. Shi'ites believe that leadership of the umma, or religious community, should have passed to Ali ibn Ali Talib, the Prophet Muhammad's cousin & son-in-law upon his death in 632CE. Instead, Abu Bakr was selected to be the first caliph, or successor to Muhammad. Ali eventually became caliph twenty years later and was assassinated about five years later. His son, Husayn, the Prophet's grandson, took up his father's cause. Husayn was killed at the battle of Karbala in 680CE, and his martyrdom is viewed as a major event for Shi'a and his death is commemorated yearly (Ashura).

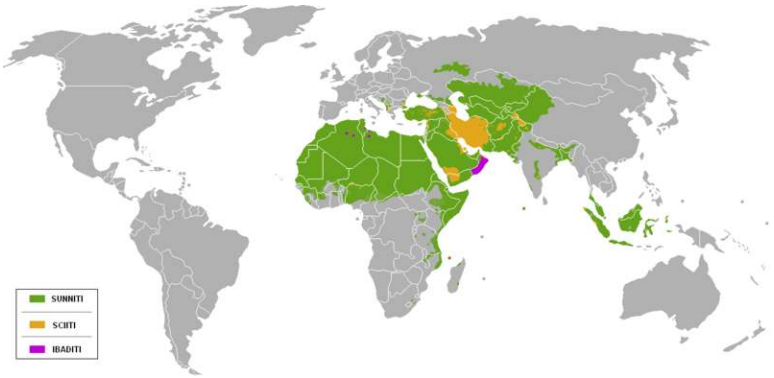


Figure 7.5.6: World map of the branches in Islam. Sunni Muslim majority countries are in Green. Shi'a Muslim majority countries are in orange. Ibadi Muslim majority countries are in purple. (Source: The distribution of the predominant Islamic sectarian afficilations followed in majority-Muslim countries and regions by Keltorrics via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0)

Understanding how the Shi'a came to be provides a foundation for understanding Iranian politics today. While Sunni Muslims bask in the glory of the previous empires, Shi'a Muslims instead see a history of oppression & mistreatment. Many Shi'a see this oppression as a test from God and Husayn's martyrdom thus became a rallying cry for Shi'a during years of subjugation at the hands of Sunni Muslim rulers. The 1979 Iranian Revolution, which brought religious Shi'a to power is seen as a culmination of this struggle in Iran.

The 1979 Iranian Revolution is a watershed moment in history. The Iranian Revolution was driven by a series of factors. First, the Shah, or King of Iran, promoted a strongly secular state, where Shi'a clergy were persecuted and Islamic holidays were minimized. The Shah promoted an Iranian identity uncoupled from religion through his desire to modernize the country, including the emancipation of women and reforms that aggravated the landed wealthy. He often reached back to history, most notably the 2,500 years of celebration of an ancient Persian empire in the 1970s. This approach backfired as most Iranians had high levels of religiosity. They believed, belonged, and behaved. Thus, the efforts to modernize and reclaim ancient Persian heritage was an affront to their sensibilities. This strong sense of religious identity created strong bonding among religious Iranians, which allowed the clerics to become the main political opposition.

Second, the modernist efforts in Iran were supported by Western Powers, particularly the United States. As the presence of US business interests, primarily related to oil, and the subsequent presence of the US military both grew, resentment among Iranians grew. [Schweitzer]. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini was an outspoken critic, who lived in exile. His message of an Iran based on the "laws of God" and the abolishment of monarchical rule appealed to the mass public. When the Shah left Iran in 1979 for ostensibly medical treatment, Khomeini took advantage of his absence and returned to the country. His return was greeted by millions and he immediately went to work transforming the country into the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Figure 7.5.7: Ayatollah Khomenei, a senior religious figure in Iran, returning after exile. (Source: Ayatollah Khomeini returns to Iran after 14 years of exile in 1979, by en:User:Sa.vakilian via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

Official census reports from Iran show over 99% identify as Muslim. However, independent surveys show that it could be as low as 40%. The remarkably high official number probably reflects the lack of perceived religious freedom in Iran. The lower number could be due to how strictly people define being Muslim. [Arab & Maleki]

Identity in Iran is not only about a place of birth, a culture, and a language, it is also about how Iranians see the United States and the opinions of Iranians revolving around the positions and actions that the Iranian government should take. Given the nature of this facet of Iranian identity, we can better understand the tension between the United States and Iran to this day. It is also worth noting that the linkage between a revolution rooted in anti-Western [anti-U.S.] sentiment and Iranian identity presents a challenge to Iranian Americans in defining their own identity. [Hassan]

As with most countries, identity in Iran is multi-faceted. As discussed earlier in the chapter, multiple identities can coexist successfully within one country. However, when those different identities claim to be the "true" identity, conflict [peaceful or violent] tends to ensue. To be Iranian can include several things. It can mean being Persian. It can mean being Muslim. It can focus on the Islamic Revolution of 1979 or Iranian culture before the revolution, including the importance of the monarchy and the Constitutional Revolution of 1906. [Saleh]

Another complication relating to identity in Iran revolves around the Kurdish population. The Kurds are an indigenous ethnic group with a shared language who historically live in parts of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. The Kurdish language is similar to Persian, the dominant language of Iran. The Kurds do not have their own state. However there is an identifiable area of land often called

"Kurdistan". [Britannica] Although the Kurds have lived in the area that is now Iran for centuries, they do not identify as Iranian. They feel "excluded from the political system...and do not exhibit any emotional connection with Iranian identity." The Kurds have been seeking independence since at least the middle of the 20th Century and armed conflicts have been common in and near Kurdish areas of Iran [as well as Turkey, Iraq and Syria]. Since the Iranian government sees this as "an affront to the official rhetoric of ethnic unity" it has reacted with military force, what is sometimes known as a "security response". [Akbarzaheh, et al] In 2017, when the Kurds announced a referendum on independence, the Iranian government threatened to "close all border crossings" and hinted at the possibility of "more forceful and frequent military action". [Nadimi]

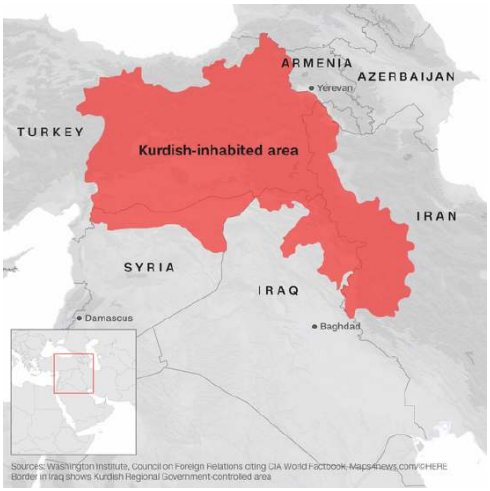


Figure 7.5.8: Geographical map of Kurdish inhabited areas of Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey. (Source: Map of Kurdistan by CIA via CIA World Factbook is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

Similar to Israel, religion features prominently in the Iranian flag.

Figure 7.5.9: The flag of the Islamic Republic of Iran. (Source: Iran's Flag by Mehregaan via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

The green stripe at the top represents the Islamic faith, while the white stands for peace and the red for courage. After the 1979 revolution the inscription of "Allahu akbar" [translated as "God is great"] was added above and below the center symbol. The phrase is repeated on the flag 22 times, a reference to the date of the revolution. According to Britannica, the phrase "Allahu Akbar" is used "to call faithful Muslims to prayer five times a day" and is also heard as "an Islamic battle cry." The Iranian banknotes also feature religious imagery.

Figure 7.5.10: Currency of the Islamic Republic of Iran. (Source: Bank notes from Iran, by Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery via flickr is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0)

7.6: References

Anderson, B. (2006) Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Revised Edition. London: Verson.

Arab, P. & Maleki, A. (2020) Iran's secular shift: new survey reveals huge changes in religious beliefs. The Conversation. https://theconversation.com/irans-se...beliefs-145253

BBC. October 18, 2019. Catalonia's Bid for Independence from Spain Explained https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29478415

Bernstein, M. (2005). Identity Politics. Annual Review of Sociology, 31, 47–74. http://www.jstor.org/stable/29737711

Bilefsky, D. (2019). The Reawakening of Quebec's Nationalism. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/01/w...tionalism.html

Bozonelos, D. (2015). "Iranian Diaspora as a Conduit for Western Technology, Capital and Know-How to Revitalize Iranian Economy," in Reintegrating Iran with the West: Challenges and Opportunities. International Business & Management, 31: 75-89. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1108/S1876-066X20150000031010

Chandra, K. (2001) "Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics" in apsa-cp: Newsletter of the Organized Section in the Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association, 12(1), 7-9.

Dann, M. (2019) Israeli elections and identity politics. The Jerusalem Post. https://www.jpost.com/israel-electio...olitics-602906

Encyclopaedia Britannica (n.d.) C. Wright Mills. In Encyclopaedia Britannica. Retrieved January 14, 2022, from https://www.britannica.com/topic/Kurd.

Encyclopaedia Britannica (n.d.) Kurd. In Encyclopaedia Britannica. Retrieved January 14, 2022, from https://www.britannica.com/biography/C-Wright-Mills.

Eiran, Ehud. (2020) Israel: Politics and Identity in Coronavirus times. Project on Middle East Political Science. Elliott School of International Affairs. https://pomeps.org/israel-politics-a...onavirus-times

Fowler, R. B., Hertzke, A. D., Olson, L. R. and den Dulk, K. R. (2014) Religion and Politics in America: Faith Culture, and Strategic Choices, 5th Edition. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Hassan, Gabriella (2016) Iranian Revolution: Effects on Identity. Thesis. University of Michigan. https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitst...nal_thesis.pdf

Heaphy, M. (2021) Complex Identity Politics in Israel/Palestine. The Organization for World Peace. https://theowp.org/reports/complex-i...ael-palestine/

Hechter, M. (2001). Containing Nationalism. : Oxford University Press. Retrieved 9 Apr. 2022, from https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view

Heyes, Cressida, "Identity Politics", The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2020 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/...tity-politics/

Hoogendoorn, B., Rietveld, C. A., van Stel, A. (2016) "Belonging, Believing, Bonding, and Behaving: The Relationship Between Religion and Business Ownership at the Country Level" Journal of Evolutionary Economics, 26: 519-550. DOI 10.1007/s00191-016-0447-7

Horowitz, I. L. (1981). C. Wright Mills's Power Elite: A Twenty-Five-Year Retrospective. The Antioch Review, 39(3), 373–382. https://doi.org/10.2307/4638471

Huddleston, T. (202). Naturalisation in context: how nationality laws and procedures shape immigrants' interest and ability to acquire nationality in six European countries. CMS 8, 18. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-020-00176-3

Kaplan, D., & Werczberger, R. (2017). Jewish New Age and the Middle Class: Jewish Identity Politics in Israel under Neoliberalism. Sociology, 51(3), 575–591. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26940369

Leege, D, C. & Kellstedt, L. A. (1993). Rediscovering the Religious Factor in American Politics. Oxfordshire, Routledge.

Leonhardt, D. (Nov. 4, 2021). What's the Matter with Scarsdale? The New York Times

Lexico. (n.d.). Identity Politics. Lexico.com. Retrieved May 4, 2002, from https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/identity_politics.

Little, D. (n.d.). Undated. Marx and Class Consciousness. University of Michigan, Dearborn.

Macaluso, T. F. & Wanat, J. (1979), "Voter Turnout & Religiosity", Polity, 12(1): 158-169.

Maleki, A., and Pooyan T. A. (2020). Iranians' attitudes toward religion: A 2020 survey report. Netherlands: Available at https://gamaan.org

Marshall, M., and Elzinga-Marshall, G. (2017). Global Report 2017: Conflict, Governance, and State Fragility. Vienna, VA: Center for Systemic Peace.

Mills, C.W. (1956). *The Power Elite*. Oxford University Press.

Nadimi, F. (2017) Iran's Military Options Against Kurdish Independence. The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/...h-independence

O'Neil, P. and Fields, K. [2020] Are We in an Authoritarian Moment. W.W. Norton [online workshop] https://wwnorton.com/covid19-worksho...e-oneil-fields

O'Neill Hayes, Tara and Barnhorst, Margaret (2020) Incarceration and Poverty in the United States. American Action Forum. https://www.americanactionforum.org/...united-states/

Robertson, S. (n.d.) Module 7: Social Identities: Class, Status and Power. Retrieved January 14, 2022, from https://openpress.usask.ca/soc112/ch...nd-disability/.

Pargoo. M. (2021) Secularization of Islam in Post-Revolutionary Iran. New York: Routledge.

Passport Index. (n.d.) Israel Passport Dashboard. Retrieved January 14, 2022, from https://www.passportindex.org/passport/israel/.

Pixabay. (n.d.) Flag of Iran. Retrieved January 14, 2022, from https://pixabay.com/illustrations/ir...ation-4610902/

Rawls, J. (1999). A Theory of Justice 2e. Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press; 2nd edition

Robison, J., Stubager, R., Thau, M., & Tilley, J. (2021). Does Class-Based Campaigning Work? How Working Class Appeals Attract and Polarize Voters. Comparative Political Studies, 54(5), 723–752. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414020957684

Saleh A. (2013). "Iran's National Identity Problem". In Ethnic Identity and the State in Iran. Palgrave Macmillan, New York. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137310873_4

Saroglou, V. (2011) "Believing, Bonding, Behaving, and Belonging: The Big Four Religious Dimensions and Cultural Variation" Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 42(8), 1320-1340.

Schweitzer, Ryan. [2019] Nationalism through Insecurity: Why 1979 Iranian Revolution Started. Armstrong Undergraduate Journal of History. Vol. 9: Issue 1, Article 6.
https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthe...0&context=aujh

Searle Center for Advancing Learning and Teaching. https://www.northwestern.edu/searle/...identification.

Serhan, Y. & Friedman, U. [2018] American Isn't the 'Only Country' With Birthright Citizenship. The Atlantic https://www.theatlantic.com/internat...-trump/574453/

Shahram Akbarzadeh, Costas Laoutides, William Gourlay, Zahid Shahab Ahmed. (2020) The Iranian Kurds' transnational links: impacts on mobilization and political ambitions. Ethnic and Racial Studies 43:12, pages 2275-2294. https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/...7.2019.1592671

Smith, G. (2021), "About Three-in-Ten U.S. Adults Are Now Religiously Unaffiliated". Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.

Sociology Boundless. (n.d.). Class Conflict and Marx. In LibreTexts. Retrieved January 14, 2022, from https://socialsci.libretexts.org/@go/page/7895

Stern, Yedidia [2016] Religion, State, and the Jewish Identity Crisis in Israel

Tamir, Yael. [2021] Identity Politics in Israel and the US. "Democracy in Israel: Past, Present, and Future" Series. UCLA International Institute. https://international.ucla.edu/insti...article/242840

United Nations Development Programme. (2020). Human Development Report 2020: The next frontier - Human development and the Anthropocene. UN: New York.

Wetherell, M. and Mohanty, C. T. (2010) The SAGE Handbook of Identities. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Van Evera, S. (2001) “Primordialism Lives!” in apsa-cp: Newsletter of the Organized Section in the Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association, 12(1), 20-22.

Zweig, M. (2017). White Working-Class Voters and the Future of Progressive Politics. New Labor Forum, 26(2), 28–36. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26420066

7.7: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Behaving** - religious commitment, or behaving according to values privileged by religion.
- **Believing** - religious belief or believing in certain religious propositions.
- **Belonging** - religious affiliation, or belonging to a religious faith, a religious tradition, or a denomination/sect within a particular religion.
- **Bonding** - religious ritual, or bonding by means of spiritual practices and rituals. These are the experiences that people go through, either individually, but more likely together as a community.
- **Citizenship** - implies a legal status rather than a feeling of belonging. Different from national or political identity.
- **Class Identity** - how a person or group of persons think of themselves based on economic and/or social status.
- **Conscription** - an enrollment program that requires young men, and in a few cases young women, to compulsory enlist in their militaries through a draft.
- **Constructivist identity** - the idea that people have multiple identities and that as people change, so can either the importance of a particular identity, or the adoption of a new identity altogether.
- **Elites** - the upper socio-economic class with consequential political power and social capital.
- **Elite theory** - the idea that the elite not only have power, but that they intentionally use it for their own benefit.
- **Exclusionary nationalism** - a form of nationalism that includes certain people and either implicitly or explicitly excludes others.
- **Four B's of religious identity** - believing, belonging, behaving, and bonding.
- **Hyperpluralist society** - a society with many groups, but groups whose priorities are so divergent as to make finding compromise and agreement on shared values with others in society unachievable.
- **Identity politics** - refers to the "tendency for people of a particular religion, race, social background, etc., to form exclusive political alliances, moving away from traditional broad-based party politics."
- **Intersectionality** - a situation where the interconnectedness of various identities and categories can lead to the marginalization or to the privilege of particular people and/or groups.
- **Irredentism** - when one state wants a territory that previously belonged to it to rejoin it.
- **Liberal nationalism** - the idea that every group of people with a clear national identity should have their own state.
- **Marxism** - an approach to political economy that is based on the idea of class conflict - between the owner and worker classes.
- **Multinational state** - a state that contains multiple nations.
- **National identity** - how a person or group of persons think of themselves as belonging to and representing the values and traits of a nation.
- **Nationalism** - defined as an ideology where devotion and loyalty to one's state proves more important than other interests.
- **Nation-state** - a state where all or most of the people in that state belong to a single nation.
- **Patriotism** - described as pride in one's state.
- **Pluralist society** - a society with many identity groups, with different backgrounds, religions and traditions, but where an overarching identity exists that can include everyone living within the country.
- **Primordial identity** - the idea that one's identity is fixed at birth. A religious identity that claims to predate the religion itself.
- **Religious identity** - how a person or group of persons think of themselves as belonging to and representing the values of a particular religion and/or religious sect.
- **Religiosity** - the strength of a person's commitment to religion.
- **Separatist movements** - defined as attempts by members of a group of people who seek to establish their own government, separate from the country they reside in.
- **Social capital** - defined as having connections and access to networks of other elites so as to increase one's influence beyond just economic resources.
- **Socioeconomic class** - defined as the combination of social factors, such as level of education and occupation.
- **Veil of ignorance** - a hypothetical system where people are asked to make policy decisions without knowing who would be affected. The argument is that people would create fair policies, without respect to class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc.
- **Working class** - defined as those engaged in manual-labor occupations or industrial work. Often, members of the working class are without a four-year college degree.

Summary

Section #7.1: What is Political Identity?

Political identity consists of the traits and beliefs that make us who we are, from gender to religion to ethnicity to political affiliation. Understanding different political identities is critical to any analysis of political systems. Imagine trying to comprehend politics in the United States without some sense of who identifies as “conservative” and who identifies as “progressive”. Political identity is as complex and as nuanced as it is essential to the study of comparative politics.

Section #7.2: What is National Identity?

National identity is how we see ourselves as members of a nation of people. This can range from a relatively narrow ethnic identity to a broader civic identity that encompasses many ethnic and religious groups. It can be inclusive or exclusive and not all people will define it the same way, even within the same country. National identity also informs nationalist separatist movements as well as policies about citizenship.

Section #7.3: What is Religious Identity?

Religious identity, rooted in family and community, is how one thinks of themselves as belonging to a religious group. Religious identity is measured using the “four B’s”: Believing, Belonging, Behaving and Bonding. Like national identity, religious identity can be a centralizing force leading to unity or a decentralizing force leading to exclusionary behavior or conflict. There is some debate about whether religious identity can come before the formation of a specific religion. Religious identity is not bound by geography, yet the intensity of religious identity - and its influence on politics - does vary across different countries.

Section #7.4: What is Class Identity?

Class identity has two main components: economic and social. Economic class is about a person’s relative income and/or wealth in society. It is easier to measure and define than social class, though it is not always easy to see. Economic class is about power. Social class can be tied to or independent of economic class. Typically, those of high economic class also have high social status. Yet, social class, because it is about how highly a person is respected and how well connected they are in their society. The subjective nature of social class means it varies across cultures and countries.

Section #7.5: Comparative case study - Israel and Iran: The Intersection of Politics and Identity

Using the Most Different Systems approach, we can see that the independent variable in Israel and Iran are political outcomes that favor religion (though the dominant religion is different in each case). The dependent variable, then, is the power of one religion on the politics of each country. Some control variables include: type of government, economic policy, secularization, cooperation with the West, and socioeconomic indicators.

Review Questions

1. What are the components of political identity?
    a. Ethnicity and religion
    b. Gender and class
    c. Ideology and nationality
    d. All of these
    e. How does understanding political identity relate to the study of comparative politics?
    f. Political identity helps us understand and analyze political movements and systems
    g. Political identity helps us understand why all wealthy people are conservatives
    h. Political identity is a constant, rather than a variable, in studying comparative politics
2. What are the 4 “B’s of religious identity?
    a. Believing, Belonging, Behaving and Bonding
    b. Believing, Beholding, Behaving, Bonding
    c. Bonding, Behaving, Belonging, Bending
    d. Behaving, Binding, Believing, Beholding
3. What political outcomes help demonstrate the dominance of Judaism in Israel and Shia Islam in Iran?
    a. Legal codes that favor each group
    b. Judicial system that includes religious courts

c. Favoritism and preferences for religious students and religious education
d. The role of religious parties and factions in each country's political system
e. All of these answers are correct

4. What is an example of political identity in Iran?
   a. The importance of the Iranian Revolution
   b. The inclusion of Kurds in Iranian politics
   c. The exclusion of religion as part of Iranian identity

Answers: 1.d, 2.a, 3.a, 4.e, 5.a

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Predict how national identity, including national symbols, might change in Iran if it became more secular.
2. Choose one of the focus countries from this chapter and explain whether you think religious identity there is seen as primordial or constructivist.
3. Describe how class traits differ between generations. In other words, think of what the class markers were for your parents' generation compared to your own.
4. How does your class identity inform your political views?
5. Explain how having a nation is necessary, but not sufficient, to have national identity.
6. Describe the difference between primordialism and constructivism as they relate to religious identity
7. Which one of the four 'B's most applies to you? Do you maybe believe, but not belong? Or do you behave, but not necessarily believe?
8. Israel and Iran are starkly different countries? Why study two states that are so different?

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Identity Politics: Friend or Foe?
- Pew Research Center-National Identity
- Pew Research Center-Religion

Journal Articles

- Wacquant, L. (2010). "Class, Race & Hyperincarceration in Revanchist America". Daedalus, 139(3), 74–90.
- Weiner, S., & Tatum, D. S. (2021). "Rethinking Identity in Political Science". Political Studies Review, 19(3) 464-481.
- Gest, J. (2020). "Demographic change and backlash: Identity politics in historical perspective". British Journal of Politics & International Relations, 22(4), 679-691.
- Ostovar, A. (2016). "Sectarian Dilemmas in Iranian Foreign Policy: When Strategy and Identity Politics Collide". Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Books

- Bieber, F. [2020] Debating Nationalism: The Global Spread of Nations. Bloomsbury.
- Rowe, P. S. [2012] Religion and Global Politics. Oxford University Press.
- Hourcade, B. [2017] Nationalism and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Routledge.
- Kashani-Sabet, Firoozeh. [2019] "Colorblind or Blinded by Color?". Sites of Pluralism: Community Politics in the Middle East. Oxford Scholarship Online.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

8: Political Economy

8.1: What is Political Economy?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Describe political economy as a field of study.
- Define key terms associated with political economy.

Introduction

Political economy, as defined in Chapter One, is a subfield of political science that considers various economic theories (like capitalism, socialism, communism, fascism), practices and outcomes either within a state, or among and between states in the global system. In its simplest form, political economy is the study of the relationship between the market and powerful actors, such as a country's government. The **market** is defined as the exchange of goods and services within a given territory. This almost always involves the forces of supply and demand and the allocation of resources through private economic decision-making. The interaction between the state and the market through political, economic, and societal institutions can frame deliverable outcomes, such as public goods. This can occur not only within a country, but between them as well. **Public goods** are defined as goods and services provided by the state that are available for everyone in society. They are nonexcludable and nonrival in nature. Examples include public roads, public hospitals and libraries. Clearly, political economy will involve the mixing of political and economic policy goals. Finally, political economy also studies how individuals interact with the market and society (Britannica, n.d.)

Political economy is a subfield of political science that often overlaps with other fields and subfields in the social sciences, most notably economics. Political economists are tasked with understanding how the state affects the market. A good example is the concept of wealth distribution within a country. **Wealth distribution** is defined as how a country's goods, investments, properties, and resources, or *wealth*, are divided amongst its population. In some countries, wealth is distributed quite evenly, whereas in other countries, wealth is distributed unevenly. Countries with uneven wealth distribution are more susceptible to political tension as some groups often feel they have been denied their 'fair share of the pie'. Similarly, political economists look at how the market affects the state and its society. For example, market forces can force elected politicians to change their perspectives. A downturn in the market is correlated with the election chances of sitting politicians. Just ask US President George H.W. Bush, who won a decisive victory in the 1991 Gulf War, but the economic downturn a year later overshadowed his accomplishments. It led Clinton's campaign manager to coin his now famous phrase, "it's the economy, stupid!"

Given its definition and scope, areas of research within the political economy discipline can be quite diverse. Generally, though, the three main ways political economy are engaged today include:

1. Studying how the economy (and/or economic systems) affects politics. (Given the expansive scope of this field, our chapter will focus on economic systems.)
2. How political forces affect the economy. (i.e. How do institutions, voters, interest groups affect economic outcomes? How does this influence public policy?)
3. How economic foundations and tools can be applied to study politics.

To gain a fuller understanding of how political economy is studied by comparativists, it's important to consider its history as a subdiscipline as well as a number of key terms used in the practice of the field.

Political Economy: Foundation and Key Terms

Scholars have been thinking about the interaction between society and the economy for centuries. Ancient Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, wrote about the *oikos*, which is the ancient Greek word for house. Aristotle saw the oikos as the basic unit within the *polis*, or city. From oikos is derived the English word *econ*-omy, or the study of household accounts, which over time has translated into the study of a country's wealth and assets. Formal study of political economy began in the mid-1700s. Adam Smith's 1776 work, the *Wealth of Nations*, is often considered the starting point. His work was followed by David Ricardo, who wrote about comparative advantage, which will be discussed further below. His work complemented Smith's thoughts about the free market. A few decades later came the writings of Karl Marx, whose reactions to the free market and capitalism still provide much of the basis for contemporary criticism. Over time, the field garnered more widespread attention. Political economy's growth as a specific discipline in universities was noted by Dunbar as early as 1891, in an article in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*

published by Oxford University Press. The article attributes public interest in the subject as a significant cause in its expanded role in academia:

> *It is the perception of the scope and importance of the questions with which political economy deals that turns the popular current so strongly towards it today. It is keenly felt that on the right answer of these questions must depend not only the future progress of society, but also the preservation of much that has been gained by mankind in the past. (Dunbar, 1891)*

Political economists also consider various concepts including private goods, property, and property rights. In contrast to public goods, **private goods** are defined as an economic resource which are acquired or owned exclusively by a person or group. Public and private goods can vary greatly between countries, for instance, healthcare is sometimes a public private good in some countries whereas it is a public good in most countries. A defining feature of private goods is their potential scarcity, and the competition that arises from this scarcity. **Property** is defined as a resource or commodity that a person or group legally owns. Property can include tangible items, like cars and houses, to intangible items, like patents, copyrights or trademarks.

Property rights are defined as the legal authority to dictate how property, whether tangible or intangible, is used or managed. These concepts help form the foundation for the vast majority of political economy studies.

States can affect the market through a variety of measures. First, they can simply pass laws that regulate the market. **Regulation** is defined as rules imposed by a government on society. Various types of regulation exist, from rules on protecting public interests, such as the environment to social cohesion. Regulation that affects the marker is often referred to as regulatory policy, economic regulation, or fiscal regulation. For example, an effective form of regulation is through the policy of taxation. **Taxation** is defined as the process of a government collecting money from its citizens, corporations, and other entities. Taxes can be imposed on income, capital gains and on estates. Taxes are an important part of a functioning society as governments use tax revenue to pay for public goods. Taxes can be used to regulate economic activity. A country can impose higher taxes on a product, driving up the price, to dissuade people from using it. A good example is the taxes imposed on cigarettes. Referred to as **sin taxes**, these are taxes levied on a product or activity that are deemed harmful to society. Sin taxes exist on tobacco, alcohol, and gambling in almost every state. Taxation, spending, and regulation are referred to as **fiscal policy**.

In addition to fiscal policy, governments can exercise monetary policy. **Monetary policy** is defined as the actions taken by a state's central bank to affect the money supply. **Money** is simply a medium of exchange. It is a way to store value and is used as a unit of account in economic transactions. Printed money has no intrinsic value. Its value is determined by the government that prints it. A five-dollar bill is worth five dollars because that is what the US government says it is. Of course, the people of a country need to also believe that the printed money is worth what the government says it is. If the public does not, then the money can be worthless. A good example is the former currencies of countries that adopted the Euro. The German mark, the French franc and the Greek drachma no longer have any value.

A central bank can either expand the money supply, to grow the economy and maximize employment. **Economic growth** is the process by which a country's wealth increases over time. Or it can contract the money supply, to slow the economy and moderate inflation. An economic slowdown can be the result, which often occurs in the form of a recession. A **recession** is defined as two consecutive quarters (three months) of declining economic activity. In each instance, a central bank will manipulate the money supply through interest rates. Let's examine each scenario. A central bank will reduce interest rates to stimulate economic growth. This makes it easier for businesses to borrow money to expand production, increase hiring, or invest in research & development. Similarly, consumers can borrow at lower interest rates to buy homes or consumer goods.

If, however, economic demand is growing too fast, a central bank raises interest rates to cool off the economy. Some may ask what is wrong with a hot economy? Is that not a good thing? Not necessarily, as a major consequence of higher spending is inflation. **Inflation** is defined as a general increase in prices, usually within a given time. If the public has access to excess cash or credit and decides to spend, it becomes a simple matter of supply and demand. More demand for products and services leads to higher prices. Prices can also rise for other reasons, including higher labor costs, or an increased cost of inputs, such as fuel for transportation. Regardless of the reason, inflation simply means your dollar will not go as far tomorrow as it did today.

Finally, a country's economy can be affected externally as well through international trade. **International trade** is defined as the exchange of goods, services, and activities between countries. States, however, never trade equally. In every trading relationship, one country benefits more than the other. Sometimes, the trade surplus or trade deficit is small and not so consequential. Other

times, the surplus or deficit can be large and have important consequences. If a country is experiencing large trade deficits, then that country is importing more than it is exporting. A positive effect of a large deficit is that it is likely that the goods, services, and activities being imported are less expensive, which can help lower costs for consumers in that country. A negative effect of a large is that hard money leaves the country. This can affect the money supply of the country. Conversely, a large surplus usually means that prices of goods, services and activities are generally higher in that country. However, the country is bringing in quite a bit of money, which can be used by a government to fund numerous development projects.

A foundational principle in international trade is that of comparative advantage. **Comparative advantage** refers to the goods, services or activities that one state can produce or provide more cheaply or easily than other states. Developed by David Ricardo in the early 1800s, comparative advantage entails states that can mutually benefit from cooperation and voluntary trade. This is because no nation is entirely self-sufficient and therefore must trade. Even when states can produce the same goods and services, they often have to trade with other states to overcome their different allocation of resources. This is especially true for states with certain natural resources such as oil or minerals. Thus, because nations have different allocations of resources, such as land, labor, or capital, each enjoys a comparative advantage in producing those goods that use its abundant resources. Over time, the ability of one business or entity to engage in production at a lower opportunity cost than another business or entity will lead to specialization. In this scenario, goods will be less expensive, and production will be more efficient for states that engage in trade.

Political Economy as a Modern Discipline

Per Bozonelos (2022), “in the early twentieth century, economics began to separate itself formally from politics by focusing on theories of economic behavior as they related to human behavior”. The graph below details how interest in economics has skyrocketed, whereas interest in political economy has remained relatively constant. One way to distinguish the two disciplines is to think of economics as focused on analysis of the economy, both at the national, or macro level, and at the firm, or micro, level. Principles of economics include calculating market equilibrium given supply and demand, the projection of various outcomes based on finite resources, and observations regarding the distribution of wealth. Instead, think of political economy as an extension of economics, but with a focus on how politics and public policy affects economics.

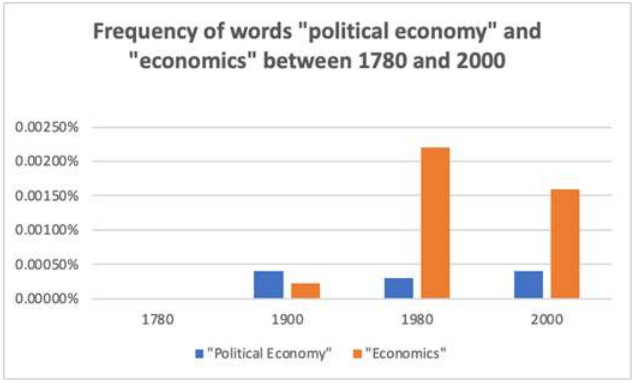


Figure 8.1.1: The frequency of usage of the words: economics and political economics, over the centuries. (Source: Author’s Creation based on data from the Institute for Research on Public Policy.)

While political economy is less well known than economics, “the assumed separation of politics and economics is very much a 20th-century phenomenon” (Robbins, 2017). In our 21st century, economists have increasingly accepted and have in most analyses, incorporated politics and policy decisions. A good example includes housing affordability, where the economics of owning a house are highly political. The market does not always mean fairness and “many issues of political economy are bread-and-butter issues that are important to scholars as well as the public at large.” (Robbins, 2017). Economic decisions are not made in a vacuum by “rational” actors always maximizing their economic self-interest. If that were the case, we would not spend more money on a pair of sneakers just because of the brand or color.

The field of political economy can be extended into two more specific subgroups: comparative political economy and international political economy. The subgroups parallel the subdisciplines of political science discussed in Chapter One: comparative politics and international politics. **Comparative political economy (CPE)** is defined as the comparison across and between countries of the ways in which politics and economics interact. Often, this comparison lends to observations of similar economic policies resulting in different political outcomes, or vice versa, similar political policies resulting in different economic outcomes. Comparative political economy has generally focused on the politics of economic development, the analysis of different economic systems, the effects and implications of globalization, as well as general economic and social policies. **International political**

economy (IPE) is defined as the study of political economy from a global perspective or through international institutions. Conversations over the distribution of wealth take place at a higher level than individual or cross-national studies. IPE focuses on international trade, economic development, international monetary bodies, as well as the influence of multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations.

8.2: Political Economic Systems

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Define, and discuss significance of, Political Economic Systems.
- Identify the four political economic systems.
- Compare and contrast the four political economic systems.

Introduction

Political economies also vary in how they are implemented, with a major variable being the role of the state in its economy. This role can include a number of attributes. One major attribute is level of involvement or intervention. In some political economy systems, the state is much less involved, sometimes mostly absent, referred to as laissez-faire, which translates from French as 'let it be'. **Laissez-faire** is defined as a type of political system where the government chooses not to interfere or intervene in its national economy. At other times, the state acts simply as a referee, only getting involved when there are disputes or when there are major threats to the economy. At the other end of the spectrum are states that have complete control of an economy. **Command and control** is defined as a type of political economy where the government owns most, if not all, means of production in a society. In this system, there is no market and all economic decisions are made by the state or some agent representing the state, such as a political party.

Almost all contemporary political economy systems fall somewhere in between, usually clustering along the continuum. Countries that have inherited their political economic systems from England, such as Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States, trend more towards less government involvement. Whereas other states, including countries in Latin America and Europe, trend more towards the other end, with more government involvement, including higher taxes and more regulation. Sometimes, state involvement really means state coordination. In countries such as Singapore, China, and Vietnam, the state leads the economy including when and where investment takes place. This is often referred to as **statism**, which is defined as a political economic system where the government often takes on an enterprising role, usually through a state. Statism is also referred to as state capitalism, where the invisible hand is replaced the visible hand in the market (Bremmer, 2012)

Mercantilism (Economic Nationalism)

The oldest political economic system is mercantilism. **Mercantilism** is defined as a political economic system which seeks to maximize a country's wealth through increasing exports and limiting imports. Use of the mercantilist system was most prevalent between the 16th and 18th centuries, and heavily practiced by the British Empire. Hallmarks of the mercantilist system at this time included the complete control of production and trade by state led companies, high inflation and taxes. Mercantilism also allowed for the expansion of the slave trade, as slaves were seen as necessary to an empire's economic well-being and power.

A good example of mercantilism is the British Empire. To achieve imperial economic growth, the empire strongly discouraged its colonies from importing competitive foreign products, encouraging only the importation of British products. This was often accomplished through taxation, as imperial authorities imposed tariffs on sugar and molasses imported from other countries in order to promote its own monopoly on sugar from the West Indies. The British also put forth trade policies that promoted a favorable balance of trade for themselves, again in an effort to maximize its power through wealth creation. Inevitably, this system led to open military conflict as other empires did the same. The Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese empires would try to promote their own economic interests and would try to protect their own colonial markets from British encroachment.

In theory, mercantilism created a strong relationship between the British empire and its colonies. The empire protected the colonies from the threat of foreign nations, and money from the colonies fueled the imperial engine. In practice however, mercantilism created conflict for the colonies, especially in the Americas, where the cost of imported goods from Britain were substantially higher than imports from other regions. Add to this, the increase in expenses and growing market control, and mercantilism is cited as one of the precipitating factors contributing to the Revolutionary War.

Although mercantilism is the oldest of the various types of political economic systems, it is by no means a relic of the past. It is very much a present day reality, and is now referred to as economic nationalism. **Economic nationalism** is defined as attempts by a state to protect or bolster its economy for nationalist goals. Economic nationalism has seen a surge both in the United States and in

Western Europe. Economic nationalists tend to favor protectionism. **Protectionism** is defined as policies protecting a country's domestic industry through subsidies, favorable tax treatment, or imposing tariffs on foreign competitors. The focus is on savings and exports. Economic nationalists do not want the country to be dependent on other countries for key resources. They prefer policies that lead to diversification of domestic production. This is understandable in key sectors like agriculture. It is more controversial in sectors such as consumer products purchased with disposable income. For economic nationalists, some degree of free trade is fine if it furthers the goal of strengthening the power of the state on the international stage. The focus here is on the state. The common feature of political platforms espousing economic nationalism is the combination of "conservative economic proposals with nationalist stances on international trade and cooperation, as well as on immigration." (Colantone & Stanig, 2019)

Figure 8.2.1: Former President Trump at a political rally encouraging Americans to "buy American." (Source: Speeches of Year One by Trump White House Archive, flickr is licensed under Public Domain.)

While the desire to 'buy American' and 'hire American' is understandable, it may have unintended consequences. Economic nationalism focuses on the role of growing exports to strengthen the economic position of the state. Nevertheless, if this approach is taken to its logical end, where all countries shun international imports, then there will be a dramatic decline in the ability of exporting companies in the US(and, of course, in other countries) to succeed (and therefore to hire Americans).

Free Market Capitalism (Economic Liberalism)

A competing approach to mercantilism is capitalism. **Capitalism**, also referred to as free market capitalism, is a political-economic system where individuals and private entities are able to own land and capital needed to produce goods and services. The forces of supply and demand are determined freely by the market, ideally with little to no interference from the state. In its purest form, capitalism is laissez-faire, which we discussed above. Capitalism centers on self-interest, competition, private property, and the limited role of government control in the market. In economics, **self-interest** is the means through which individuals can act on their own behalf to make choices that benefit themselves. Within capitalism, the self-interest of uncoordinated individuals is thought to contribute to better outcomes for society at large. **Competition** occurs when industries, economic firms and individuals vie to obtain goods, products and services at the lowest prices. By allowing competition and self-interest of consumers, market outcomes are thought to be improved for all involved.

One concern about capitalism is at the international level, particularly when it comes to trade in goods, services, and activities. As mentioned above, trade imbalances may led to the exploitation of poorer countries by richer countries. Rather than a comparative advantage, the country might be at a disadvantage. Think of a poor country that wants to build up its tourism industry. If it follows a wholly capitalist model and allows for trade and foreign investment, it runs the risk of its domestic tourism industry becoming taken over by large corporate hotel chains.

Still, even with the existence of major trade imbalances, economists have demonstrated that international trade is not a complete 'zero-sum' game. A **zero-sum game** is a situation where one person, or entity, gains at the equal cost of another. Each win must be accompanied by a loss. As Wolla and Esenther explain, the idea of trade being a zero-sum game

is nothing new; it dominated economic and political thought from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Known then as mercantilism, it led to government policies that *encouraged* exports and *discouraged* imports. One of Adam Smith's purposes in writing The Wealth of Nations…was to dispel the zero-sum game myth behind mercantilism. (Wolla and Esenther, 2017)

Modern international trade is not a zero-sum game, as there are gains to be made, even small ones. Still, there are other 'winners' and 'losers' in trade. Winners include consumers who have more choice at competitive prices. Businesses also are winners, as they can sell products to consumers. Specialization through comparative advantage can lead to what is referred to as **economies of scale**, or the ability to "produce goods at a lower average cost" (Wolla and Esenther, 2017). Also, countries benefit with an

improved standard of living. Two examples are China and India. Both “have experienced growth and development that might not have happened without access to markets.” (Wolla and Esenther, 2017)

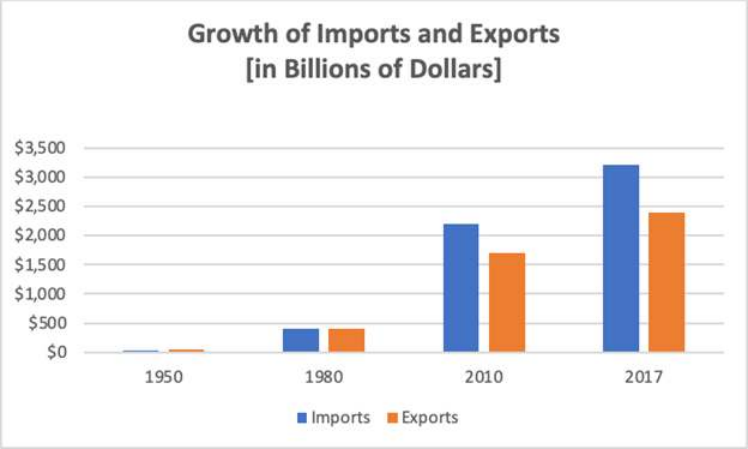


Figure 8.2.2: The growth of imports and exports since World War II. (Source: Author’s Creation using data from the Federal Reserve Economic Data (FRED) website.)

The benefits of international trade and free-trade agreements (FTAs) can be seen through data from the US Department of Commerce as described by the US Chamber of Commerce. US FTAs that include 20 countries “represent approximately 6% of the world’s population outside the United States, and yet these markets purchase nearly half of all US exports.” (US Chamber of Commerce.)

Capitalism is most commonly referred to today as economic liberalism. **Economic liberalism** is defined as a political economic ideology that promotes free market capitalism through deregulation, privatization and the loosening of government controls. Deregulation involves the removal of government power in a particular industry or economic area. An example includes the US president Reagan’s decision to deregulate the phone industry, which AT&T had monopolistic control, in an effort to create competition, provide more choices and lower prices for consumers. Privatization is the selling of government owned assets. A good example includes the sale of a state-owned airport or harbor to a private company. Greece, a country in the European Union, was forced to do so under a deal to save its economy in 2012. Finally, the loosening of government controls, or liberalization, involves the reduction of rules related to trade, including the reduction of trade regulations, taxes, etc. Countries that embrace economic liberalism are said to become more capitalist.

Marxism (Economic Structuralism)

As free market capitalism was a critical response to mercantilism, Marxism became a critical response to free market capitalism. Developed by Karl Marx, who the philosophy is named after, this critique argues that capitalism is destructive, corrupt and unable to survive as an economic system. According to Marx, capitalist systems inevitably lead to conflict between the working class (proletariat) and business owners (bourgeoisie), wherein the workers would eventually rise up against those who own the means of production. In considering more specifically its economic applications, **Marxism** is defined as a political economic system wherein the means of production are collectively owned by workers, not privately owned by individuals. This system lends itself politically to socialism or communism, both discussed below. In Marx’s mind, eventually social classes, and the subsequent violence that results from class struggle, would no longer exist.

Communism is where the state, usually dominated by one party, is in complete control of the political economic system, including all property. Communist theory suggested that over time, the state itself would wither away and politics would become a relic of the past. A utopia where everyone has achieved true equality would exist without the need of a government. Marx suggested that the communist struggle would begin in industrialized societies that practice capitalism. Yet the first country to embrace communism was Russia, an imperial power that was largely agrarian and still used a serf political economy. In the Russian revolution, communist forces loyal to Vladimir Lenin seized control, imposing communist rule through the state party apparatus, and renamed the country the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Joseph Stalin, the successor to Lenin, forcibly industrialized the country and led it through World War II. Still, the utopia that Marx had predicted never occurred. The USSR eventually collapsed in 1991 and in this wake, most of the country’s allies abandoned communism altogether.

Despite the death of communism, Marxist thought still plays a prominent role in today's economic discourse. A good example includes economic structuralism, which is considered by most scholars as a modern extension of Marxism. **Economic structuralism** is defined as a political economic system wherein the working class must be protected from exploitation of the capital owning class, but on an international scale. Economic Structuralism has played a significant role in policy making in the developing world, particularly in Africa and Latin America. The focus here is on workers and owners. It is also on economic structures such as inequality, uneven development, property rights and ownership, specialization, and trade.

Economic structuralist theory has been a significant force in Latin America and, in this context, is often credited to Raul Prebish, an Argentine economist who wrote about this theory in 1949. Love (2005) describes that underdevelopment was seen as an "uneasy mix of traditional and modern economies". In other words, early structuralists focused on industrialization "as the single most important objective in a development program" (Love, 2005). By way of further explanation:

Structuralist scholars become conceptually known and recognized by their diagnosis in which 'structural deficiencies', 'bottlenecks' or 'inner dysfunctions' are the factors responsible for the developmental divergences in Latin America. (Missio, et al, 2015)

The deficiencies and dysfunctions are both from outside (foreign) and within (domestic). Examples of foreign dysfunctions include the vulnerabilities developing countries experience in participating in global trade, such as less favorable terms of trade and access to necessary technologies. (UIA) Examples of domestic dysfunction include "accelerated population growth, premature urbanization…as well as the underdevelopment of agricultural production" among others. (Missio, et al, 2015)

So, having identified these structural challenges and imbalances, the question becomes how should policymakers respond? Common policy responses include import-substitution industrialization strategies. **Import-substitution industrialization (ISI)** refers to a country's attempt to reduce its dependence on foreign companies through increased domestic production. Grabowski (1994) describes ISI strategies as "utilizing a variety of policy instruments (tariffs, quotas, and subsidies) to protect the domestic market for many types of manufactured goods". Since industrial development was a major focus of economic structuralism, economists and policy-makers were "generally very optimistic concerning the positive role that trade, in particular export expansion, could play in overall development" (Grabowski, 1994).

Protectionism is also a major component of ISI strategies. As mentioned above protectionism is designed to protect domestic industries and markets from foreign competition. One category of protectionist policy is the use of direct barriers. The classic - and one of the oldest tools of protectionism - is the use of tariffs. **Tariffs** are taxes imposed on imported foreign products with the purpose of making those products more expensive and, thus, making the domestically produced products more competitive. However, tariffs can misfire if a domestic company relies on imported components that are more expensive due to the tariff. This added cost is usually passed through to consumers. We saw this happen with the 2018 steel and aluminum tariffs, which resulted in the loss of 75,000 manufacturing jobs. (PBS) Another direct barrier involves the use of **quotas** or limits on the number of foreign goods coming into a country. The idea is to ensure that domestic companies have a guaranteed share of the market for certain products. This could be televisions, cars or textiles (clothing).

Other forms of protectionism are sometimes referred to as **non tariff regulatory barriers**, or restrictions on trade not involving a tariff or a quota. These are not as direct or focused but can still have a significant impact on trade. There are three broad categories: financial, physical, and technical. Non tariff financial barriers include government subsidies and tax breaks for specific domestic industries. Thus, instead of taxing imports, the government makes domestic products more competitive (less expensive) by giving businesses cash, forgivable loans, below market loans, or tax breaks to businesses in the sectors the government wants to protect. This financial assistance is a cost borne by all the taxpayers rather than consumers of specific goods. Subsidies are common in agriculture because the ability of a country to provide food for its people generally is considered a matter of national importance and security. Physical barriers can be both natural and human-made. Steep, treacherous mountain passes or dangerous water crossings can make trade more expensive. Similarly, countries can intentionally make border crossings more difficult with structures such as walls and gates. Finally, there are technical barriers. Typically, these come in the form of rules or standards imposed by the destination country on the exporting country. One example comes from trade between the US and Mexico. The US imposed a requirement that all tractor-trailers coming into the US must comply with certain safety standards. (Aguilar, 2011) This requirement meant that, until Mexico could upgrade its fleet of tractor-trailers, Mexican trucking companies had to bring their goods to the border, off load the cargo into a US-compliant truck, and then continue to their destination. This added time, and therefore costs, to the goods coming from Mexico.

The **informal sector**, also known as the informal economy, is that part of the economy consisting of people producing goods and providing services outside of regular employment. This includes people selling home-made food products, providing auto repair services and child care. The concern for economists is that productivity in the informal sector is low, meaning that these small

enterprises are not very efficient and therefore do not contribute to increased standards of living. According to the International Monetary Fund, “today, the informal sector still accounts for about a third of low- and middle-income countries’ economic activity —15 percent in advanced economies.

Socialism (Social Democracy)

A final political economic system to consider is socialism. **Socialism**, broadly speaking, is both a political and economic system in which property, as well as the means of production, are collectively owned. In most cases, production is owned and controlled by the state. Socialist theory does allow for individual ownership of property, such as one’s house. The emphasis of a socialist system is to secure more equal outcomes and distribution of wealth through the collective ownership of resources and the means of production by the state. Few socialist countries exist today. The closest example we have is Venezuela. Venezuelan leadership, first under Hugo Chavez and then Nicolas Maduro, have nationalized or

Just like Marxism, modern variants of socialism exist today. The most prominent and relevant is **social democracy**, which is defined as a political and economic system that favors heavy market regulation to achieve a more equal society. This approach argues that capitalism can lead to disproportionate distribution of wealth, which is viewed as inconsistent with democratic principles. The argument goes, how can one have true freedom, if they lack the means to survive? Freedom of speech, of the press or to assemble do not mean much if one goes hungry. Another term for this is **democratic socialism,** an ideology that seeks democracy not just in the political sphere but in the economic sphere as well.

In social democracies, governments levy high taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals and redistribute the collected funds to poorer members of society through social welfare programs. While social democracies have a capitalist system as their base, it is overlaid with a heavy system of regulation to protect society from the potential harm that a free market capitalist system could yield. At times, some social democratic countries will take over the means of production in a particular industry. A good example is Norway where the oil company is state-owned and the revenues from the sale of oil go to pay for social expenditures, such as education and health.

Social democracy became popular in Europe, where such policies were initially put in place to blunt the ability of communist movements to rally workers to their cause. These policies proved to be quite popular, and have become an important feature in social democracies. Sweden is a great example. The country has developed a political economy where its citizens enjoy quite a few benefits, including access to free health care, free education and generous pensions. These benefits are paid for through higher taxes and societal expectations of corporate behavior. A country, such as Sweden, that has this type of a mixed economy is also often referred to as a social market economy**.** A **social market economy** is defined as a socioeconomic system that combines principles of capitalism with domestic social welfare considerations. Over time, the European Union has adopted a number of directives that have aligned with social democracy concepts. These include reducing wage inequality, improving incentives to work and working to sustain domestic demand.

8.3: Comparative Case Study - Germany and China

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify and categorize the different economic systems in Germany and China.
- Compare and contrast the various economic outcomes in relation to the political regimes in Germany and China.
- Analyze the implications for public policy in each of these countries in relation to their economic systems.

Introduction

From a political perspective, China and Germany have little in common. China is a socialist republic led by a single, communist political party and communist elites, while Germany is democratic, federal parliamentary republic where two main political parties vie for dominance. China's political system is authoritarian where national political leaders are selected without nomination or election by the people, most political opposition is suppressed, and media, news and information for the public is mostly controlled by the state. Germany's political system enables participation of its citizens in politics, representation of opposing views, a free media, and the protection of civil liberties. China and Germany also operate under very different economic models. China's economy is a market-oriented, mixed economy where the majority of economic ventures are state-owned and dominated by the political interests of the single communist political party. Although not the direct opposite or anthesis of China's controlled market economy, Germany's economy is different from China's in a number of respects. It has a social market economy that brings in aspects of capitalism, particularly the prospect of free market competition, but also protects its economy from unbridled competition at the expense of its citizens. The main difference between China and Germany's economic system is the extent to which the government validates its role in the control and/or management of the global market system. In short, the Chinese government dominates the market, mostly through state-owned enterprises, whereas the German government prefers to influence the market, mostly through regulation.

Although China and Germany are different in terms of their political and economic systems, they do share some fascinating similarities in terms of their global trading approaches. Both China and Germany are political centers for regional trading blocs, and both maintain mutual dependency on their regional partnerships. Further, both China and Germany depend heavily on their exports, with Germany's exports accounting for over 50% of their total GDP and China's exports accounting for almost 25% of its total GDP. (For reference purposes, the US only exports what amounts to less than 15% of its GDP). Although their economic systems differ, it is interesting to point out that both China and Germany face similar economic challenges and vulnerabilities based on their over reliance on upholding export economies. Both systems, relying on their export economies, have created circumstances where their domestic production surpasses their own domestic capacity to use/consume/acquire goods. If German exports were to unexpectedly decrease or decline, domestic consumption would need to increase to levels not feasible with Germany's current population. China would also face severe economic outcomes should exports decline, but the domestic challenges would be different for China. China has a large population which lacks the purchasing power to buy the goods produced by China, so sharp declines in exports would also be detrimental to China. Therefore, two very different market systems find themselves with a similar problem of managing their export economies carefully in order to ensure domestic economic and political stability.

Using the method of Most Different Systems Design, this case study will compare two countries, China and Germany, considering their different economic structures but similar economic challenges in the coming decades.

Germany's Social Market Economy

Figure 8.3.1: Map of Germany. (Source: Map of Germany by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

- **Full Country Name:** Federal Republic of Germany
- **Head(s) of State:** President & Chancellor
- **Government:** Federal Parliamentary Republic
- **Official Languages:** German
- **Economic System:** Social Market Economy
- **Location:** Central Europe
- **Capital:** Berlin
- **Total land size:** 137,847 sq. miles
- **Population:** 80 million (July 2021 est.)
- **GDP:** $4,743 trillion
- **GDP per capita:** $53,919
- **Currency:** Euro

Germany currently has the 5th largest economy in the world according to its GDP and is one of the largest global exporters in the world. Germany is considered to have a highly developed economic system utilizing a social market economy. The concept of a social market economy originated in 1949 under the leadership of Chancellor Konrad Adnauer. As discussed above a social market economy is a socioeconomic system that combines principles of capitalism with domestic social welfare considerations. It borrows the capitalist principles of fair competition and competitive advantage. **Fair competition** in capitalism affirms that industries will work to maximize their output and minimize costs to compete with similar industries, forcing the market to provide competitive options to consumers. Fair competition lends to the economic concept of comparative advantage, which again refers to the goods, services or activities that one state can produce or provide more cheaply or easily than other states. While Germany's economy hinges on fair competition and competitive advantage, it does so with an eye towards the effects and potential hazards of enforcing pure capitalism on social welfare. A social market economy will try not to force competition at the cost of its country's social welfare. It is useful to look at the Roots of Germany's social market economy to understand the current status of Germany's economy today.

Germany's Economic History

Germany's social market economy was the product of dire economic conditions coming out of World War II. Coming out of World War II, the lessons of the prior 45 years weighed heavy on the minds of German politicians and economists. Following World War I, Germany was thrown into a weak democracy under the Weimar Republic. Germany suffered greatly under the terms of the **Versailles Treaty**, which ended the first World War. In addition to the social and economic turbulence caused by the end of the war, Germany was forced to drastically reduce its military. Under the Treaty of Versailles, it was also to take full responsibility for World War I and pay exorbitant reparations to the Allies, and ultimately relinquish some of its territory. Germany signed the Weimar Constitution on August 11st, 1919, and weak political parties attempted to shift power away from the German military. Two of the main political parties at that time included the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USDP). German's leadership faced dire economic challenges in the years following World War I.

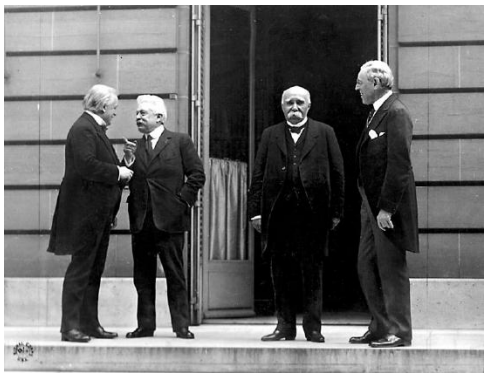


Figure 8.3.2: Political Leaders from the “Big Four” Allies, negotiating the end of World War 1 at the Paris Peace Conference on May 27th, 1919. (Source: Council of Four at the WWI Paris peace conference, May 27, 1919 (candid photo) (L - R) Prime Minister David Lloyd George (Great Britain), Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando (Italy), Premier Georges Clemenceau (France), President Woodrow Wilson (USA) by Edward N. Jackson, US Army Signal Corps, via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under Public Domain).

The main challenge facing the Weimar Republic was hyperinflation. **Hyperinflation** is defined as a much more severe form of inflation that can have deleterious effects on all aspects of a country’s social, political and economic situation. Hyperinflation occurs when inflation exceeds 50%. When the Weimar Republic was forced to pay high reparations and war debts to the Allies following World War I, the German government tried to print more money. At the end of the war, German debt to the Allies totaled 132 billion gold *papiermarks*, the equivalent of $33 billion U.S. dollars at that time. (The German currency at this time was called the papiermark.) Germany abolished its use of the gold standard to produce more printed money, and in doing so, it induced a state of hyperinflation where inflation rates soared beyond 20,000%, with prices doubling every 3.7 days. For reference, at the end of World War I, the exchange rate of papiermarks to the U.S. dollar was 4.2 papiermarks to the U.S. dollar; by the end of 1923, the rate was 1 million papiermarks to the U.S. dollar. Hyperinflation meant citizens could not buy basic goods, and many Germans went hungry. It also led to Germany to become delinquent on their reparation payments, leading French and Belgium to justify occupying the Ruhr Valley in Germany as payment. The German economy folded, and the Weimar Republic was forced to adopt a new currency, called the *Reichsmark* in 1924. The new currency stabilized the economy but did not take away all of Germany’s economic woes. Instead, economic troubles continued and planted the seeds for further societal distress.

At the height of the economic woes of 1923, Adolf Hilter gained notoriety as he advocated for the politically right-wing party, the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (NSDP), also known as the Nazi party. In November 1924, Adolf Hitler led an attempt to overthrow the Weimar Republic in what later became called the Beer Hall Putsch in Munich. Over two thousand Nazi party members worked to aid Hitler in overthrowing the government, but the coup d’etat was squashed by the local police. Sixteen Nazi party members were killed in the attempt, and their deaths were used as further motivation to attempt to overthrow the democratic government in Germany. Much of what drew members to the Nazi party at that time was the devastating economic conditions of hyperinflation, unemployment and poor working conditions. The economic troubles, combined with the weight of defeat for World War I, helped raise the ire and unrest of the German people. Although Hitler was sent to prison following the Beer Hall Putsch, he used that time to draft his autobiography, *Mein Kampf* (meaning, *My Struggle*).

Over the coming decade, Hitler was able to rally the German people by lambasting the Treaty of Versailles, calling it a disgrace to the German nation. He promoted German pride and ultranationalism, promising to unite all the German people in and outside of Germany. He scapegoated many of Germany’s problems on minority groups, particularly Germany’s Jewish population, and on the communists, denouncing their beliefs. In 1933, the Nazis emerged as the larget party in the Reichstage or German parliament. The President of Germany at that time, Paul von Hindenburg, was compelled to appoint Hitler as Chancellor of Germany. Hitler leveraged a manufactured hatred for the Jewish population, communism, and the architects of the Versailles Treaty, to transform Germany into a one-party dictatorship with a state-controlled economy.

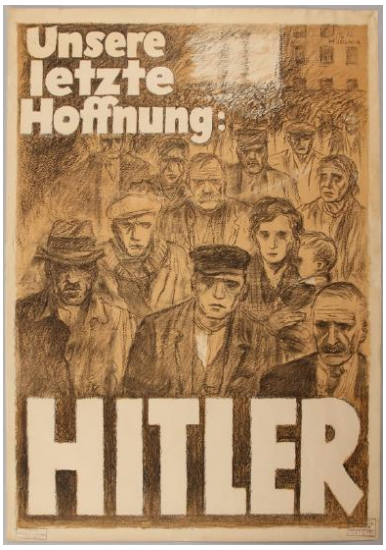


Figure 8.3.3: Adolf Hitler's campaign poster while running against President Paul von Hindenburg in 1932. (Source: Unsere Letzte Hoffnung: Hitler, 1932 from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Collection is licensed under Public Domain).

Life under Nazi rule initially yielded strong economic outcomes. Hitler's leadership and command of a state-controlled economy enabled Germany to experience six years of rapid economic growth. This mercantilist approach allowed Germany to pursue its military objectives. After World War II, Germany was in ruins and most of the most physical capital that had been accumulated had been destroyed in the war. This led German leaders to declare *Stunde Null*, or zero hour, where the country was going to need to rebuild itself in order to survive. Post-war German economists advocated for radical change. The Nazi regime had overseen a state controlled economy with emphasis on corporate control. Going away from a completely statist approach, German economists advocated greater free-market capitalist principles. At the same time, The German government also wanted to ensure that the people's welfare, particularly those of the workers, were protected. Transitioning to a fully capitalist model was too risky, and it was believed that not all workers or citizens in general would be able to compete effectively. This led to the adoption of a social democratic political economy.

Germany's Economy, Present Day Circumstances and Challenges

Germany is Europe's largest economy, the fifth largest economy in the world according to GDP, and the largest exporter of goods in Europe. Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic shutdowns which began in March 2020, Germany had experienced consistent growth for the past 10 years. When the pandemic struck, Germany's economy contracted by 5% led by a decline in exports. Still, relative to how other European economies performed, Germany fared better than many of its EU partners. For reference purposes, the Chinese economy contracted by almost 7%, and the U.S. economy contracted by over 19% in the first three months of the pandemic. The economic challenges of the pandemic facing Germany are not unique, as the country grapples with intermittent shutdowns to curb the spread of COVID-19, unemployment, initial disruption of imports and exports, and the social fallout experienced by frequent shutdowns and isolations.

China's Market-Oriented, Mixed Economy

Figure 8.3.4: Map of China. (Source: Map of China by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

Full Country Name: People's Republic of China

Head(s) of State: President

Government: Communist party-led state

Official Languages: Standard Chinese

Economic System: Market-oriented, mixed economy

Location: Asia

Capital: Beijing

Total land size: 5,963,274.47 sq. miles

Population: 1.3 billion (July 2021 est.)

GDP: 19.91 trillion

GDP per capita: $14,096

Currency: Renminbi

China has the second largest economy in the world according to GDP, and is the world's largest exporter and trading nation. However, if measuring economies based on Purchasing Parity Power, then China has the world's largest economy. **Purchasing Parity Power (PPP)** is a metric used to compare the prices of goods and services to gauge the absolute purchasing power of a currency. China pursues **state capitalism**, where a high level of state intervention exists in a market economy, usually through state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Part of the reason for the high state intervention stems from China's political system, which is authoritarian under the sole leadership of a single political party, the Chinese Communist Party. As one may suspect, over 60% of China's industries and enterprises are state-owned. It is useful to look at the roots of China's market-oriented, mixed economy to understand the current status of China's economy today.

China's Economic History

China's Communist Party came to power in 1949 after they defeated the nationalists in a brutal civil war. The leadership intended to modernize China as fast as possible, with a desire to become more powerful. From 1949-1952, the Chinese government prioritized projects to repair transportation, communications, and power grids. Military installations and equipment, as well as basic transportation, communications and power systems had been destroyed during the war and were badly in need of repair or rebuilding. Under government direction, the banking system was centralized under the People's Bank of China. Moving towards a state-controlled economy, the state began to acquire more and more control over various industries. By the end of 1952, only 17% of industries were not state-owned.

After having stabilized the economy, China prioritized industrialization. Chinese government officials looked to the Soviet model to attempt to industrialize in a logical and linear way. Soviet officials were even welcomed in the country to help devise the best way to industrialize. By the end of 1956, all firms were state-owned. During this time, the agricultural industry was largely revamped and, to some extent, considered to be secondary. Agriculture was not invested in, though agricultural output increased during this time period due to more organization and cooperation of those working in the industry.

In 1958, Mao Zedong determined that the Soviet model was not working for China. Instead, Zedong introduced what was called the **Great Leap Forward**, which was a plan which asked the Chinese people to spontaneously increase production in all sectors of the economy at the same time. For this initiative, communes were created to make Chinese farmers and workers work together cooperatively to increase output. These communes often had 20 to 40,000 members at a time, all tasked with combining their resources to produce more agricultural output. While the agricultural sector was working to increase output, the same expectations were also put on the industrial sector. The economic results of the Great Leap Forward were disastrous for China. The first year yielded strong outcomes for both the agricultural and industrial sectors, but the subsequent years were poor. Due to bad weather conditions, poor allocation of resources, and poorly constructed equipment, agricultural output plummeted from 1959 to 1961. Poor water management helped contribute to widespread famine, which resulted in approximately 15 million people dying of starvation and a significant drop in birth rates.In the meantime, industries were expected to keep increasing output, but the strain on the workers was too great, and industrial output also declined.

Between 1961 and 1965, China again tried to reconstruct its economy, working to entirely replace the concept of the Great Leap Forward. China reformed all of its agricultural practices, including lowering taxes and providing more equipment. The government

attempted to decentralize control of various industries to local governments for them to manage resources based on their unique needs. By 1965, economic conditions were again stable, and the focus from the Chinese government was to seek balanced growth across both agricultural and industrial sectors.

In 1966, Mao announced the **Cultural Revolution**, which was a socio-political and economic movement that sought to expel capitalists and promote the Communist ideology. Attacking capitalism, Mao alleged that the bourgeoisie attempted to infiltrate China with the goal to overthrow the communist government. **Bourgeoisie** is a term that refers to the upper middle classes, who often own most of a society's wealth and means of production. Mao attempted to incite young people to violence against those who he accused of perpetuating capitalist practices. Mao's sayings and wisdom were compiled into the *Little Red Book*, which became both a required reading of China's militant communist youth movements, named the Red Guards. In general, the Cultural Revolution had devastating effects on China's economy. The distraction and disruption of political fighting did not improve agricultural or industrial output. Instead, the disruptions to economic output put a strain on resources, labor and equipment, which many researchers said led to the death of millions.

Figure 8.3.5: Mao's Cultural Revolution did more to distract from the economy than to grow it. Economic output fell in all sectors as political turmoil grew. (Source: Shenzhen Museum by Woo King Tam gwiam, Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

Between 1961 and 1965, China again tried to reconstruct its economy, working to entirely replace the concept of the Great Leap Forward. China reformed all of its agricultural practices, including lowering taxes and providing more equipment. The government attempted to decentralize control of various industries to local governments for them to manage resources based on their unique needs. By 1965, economic conditions were again stable, and the focus from the Chinese government was to seek balanced growth across both agricultural and industrial sectors.

In 1966, Mao announced the Cultural Revolution, which was a socio-political and economic movement that sought to expel capitalists and promote the Communist ideology. Attacking capitalism, Mao alleged that the bourgeois (a term which means social class, and refers to the upper middle class.) had infiltrated China, and were seeking to own all means of production to perpetuate their own economic superiority. Mao attempted to incite young people to violence against those who perpetuated capitalist ideology. A book of Mao's sayings and wisdom was compiled into the Little Red Book, which became both a required book of all Red Guards (rebels groups) within the country. In general, the Cultural Revolution had ill effects on China's economy. The distraction and disruption of political fighting did not improve agricultural or industrial output. Instead, the disruptions to economic output put a strain on resources, labor and equipment.

Mao died in 1976, and in 1978, the Communist Party under Deng Xiaopeng moved the country in a new direction. China reduced government controls, enabled market mechanisms, and generally attempted to reform the economy. This was not a sudden move away from communism, but a gradual move towards a mixed economy, designed to stimulate growth. These reforms slowly opened China to global trade, which improved economic outcomes. The success of these incentivized China to keep pursuing this strategy, and to also invest heavily in the education and training of government officials and future business leaders. China became a member of the World Trade Organization in 2001, cementing its transition from a command and control economy, to a largely state capitalist society. China was able to survive the Global Financial Crisis of 2008, referred to as the Great Recession in the US. China has consistently been the fastest growing economy over the past forty years.

China's Economy, Present Day Circumstances and Challenges

The COVID-19 pandemic was the first time China's economy contracted since adopting capitalist reforms, shrinking 6% in 2020. Even though China was the first country affected by the pandemic, it has also been the first to bounce back from its economic

effects. The economy recovered with a growth rate of 8.5% in 2021. Nevertheless, the pandemic has impacted the Chinese economy, possibly for the long-term. China is still export-heavy, but some industries are experiencing a decline. Industries in decline in China include telecommunications, fabric/clothing, coal, and logging. These declines are a symptom of changing supply and demand following the COVID-19 pandemic. Similar to trends in other countries, the pandemic hit women in the workforce disproportionately hard, with many women being made to decide whether to continue working or to support their families during the crisis. Also, employment opportunities for almost all sectors decreased, which put a strain on new graduates.

Importantly, China's continued growth and low inflation rates has raised questions in the international community. Under a largely authoritarian regime, there have been questions over how accurate China's reporting on economic growth and output is. Some have contended that the level and extent of continued economic growth is not feasible, and sometimes the data reported does not appear legitimate. In tandem with this, the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) has repeatedly ranked China as having problems with corruption on every level. For instance, the reality that China reported little to no economic contraction during the 2008 recession, and its ability to bounce back so quickly from the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, raises concern over how transparent China is about their economic performance.

Export-Based Economic Problems

In reviewing the cases of China and Germany, it becomes apparent they share a similar problem: how to handle economies which are largely export-based. Both China and Germany's political leaders need to constantly and carefully balance the domestic concerns of their economies alongside their global 'customers' who depend on their exports. If the global customer base fails, or switches trade partnerships, China and Germany's economies may be unable to thrive. Beyond this, relying on exports leaves states vulnerable to the economic conditions of those they trade with - if a state is no longer able to afford the product or buy the goods, the exporter will struggle. This can cause dangerous political conditions in China and Germany. Increasing unemployment due to economic slowdown caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent global recession, may lead its citizens to question their government's legitimacy. We see this with the rise of the far right in Germany and with the increase of public discontent in China. Will the fallout from the pandemic lead to political changes as well? Only time will tell.

8.4: References

Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James (2006). Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aguilar, Julian. (Jan. 22, 2011). US-Mexico Trucker Dispute Takes a Step Forward. The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/23/u...ttruckers.html

Alt, James and Crystal, Alec (1983). Political Economics, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Besley, T. (2007). The New Political Economy. The Economic Journal, 117(524), F570–F587.

Blyth, M. M. (1997). “Any More Bright Ideas?” The Ideational Turn of Comparative Political Economy [Review of Ideas and Foreign Policy: Beliefs, Institutions and Political Change; Ideas and Institutions: Developmentalism in Argentina and Brazil, by J. Goldstein, R. Keohane, & K. Sikkink]. Comparative Politics, 29(2), 229–250.

Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/political-economy

Bracking, S. (2018). Corruption & State Capture: What Can Citizens Do? Daedalus, 147(3), 169–183. https://www.jstor.org/stable/48563088

Colantone, I., & Stanig, P. (2019). The Surge of Economic Nationalism in Western Europe. The Journal of Economic Perspectives, 33(4), 128–151.

CSS World. Mercantilism. YouTube. May 29, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMfdfj7XqOQ&t=68s

CSS World. Economic Liberalism. YouTube. May 30, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zI4WzeCB7i4

Delechat, Corinne and Medina, Leandro. (2020). What is the Informal Economy? International Monetary Fund. https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft...omy-basics.htm

Dickins, A. (2006). The Evolution of International Political Economy. International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), 82(3), 479–492.

Dunbar, C. [1891] The Academic Study of Political Economy. The Quarterly Journal of Economics, July 1891, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 397-416. Oxford University Press.

Frieden, J. [2020] The Political Economy of Economic Policy. Finance & Development. June 2020, Vol. 57, No. 2. https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft...ff-frieden.htm

Gilpin, Robert. (2001) Global political economy: understanding the international economic order (Princeton: Princeton University Press)

Gnangnon, S. K. (2018). Multilateral Trade Liberalization and Economic Growth. Journal of Economic Integration, 33(2), 1261–1301. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26431808

Grabowski, R. (1994). Import Substitution, Export Promotion, and the State in Economic Development. The Journal of Developing Areas, 28(4), 535–554.

Greenwald, Bruce C. and Stiglitz, Joseph E. (1986). “Externalities in markets with imperfect information and incomplete markets” Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol. 101(2), pp. 229-64.

Heider, C. [2016] Why does Political Economy Analysis Matter? Independent Evaluation Group. World Bank. https://ieg.worldbankgroup.org/blog/...nalysis-matter

Love, J. L. (2005). The Rise and Decline of Economic Structuralism in Latin America: New Dimensions. Latin American Research Review, 40(3), 100–125.

Missio, F. et al (2015). The structuralist tradition in economics: methodological and macroeconomics aspects. Brazilian Journal of Political Economy.

Milner, Helen (2005) 'Globalization, development, and international institutions: normative and positive perspectives', Perspectives on Politics 3: s, pp. 833-54

PBS. [Feb 7, 2020]. Steel Tariffs Hurt Manufacturers Downstream, Data Shows. https://www.pbs.org/newshour/economy...eam-data-shows

Persson, Torsten and Tabellini, Guido (2000). Political Economics: Explaining Economic Policy, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Persson, Torsten and Tabellini, Guido (2003). The Economic Effects of Constitutions, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Phillips, Nicola. (2004) 'International political economy, comparative political economy and the study of contemporary development', IPEG Papers in Global Political Economy 8.

Robbins, M. [2017] *Why we need political economy*. Policy Options Politiques. Institute for Research on Public Policy. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/january-2017/why-we-need-political-economy/

Roseberry, W. (1988). Political Economy. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *17*, 161–185.

Soederberg, Susane, Georg Menz and Philip Cerny, eds, (2005) *Internalizing globalization: the rise of neoliberalism and the decline of national varieties of capitalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan)

Strange, Strange (1970) 'International economics and international relations: a case of mutual neglect', *International Affairs* 46: 2,, pp. 304-15

UIA. The Encyclopedia of World Problems and Human Potential. http://encyclopedia.uia.org/en

US Chamber of Commerce. (2021). The Benefits of International Trade. https://www.uschamber.com/internatio...national-trade

Wolla, Scott A. and Esenther, Anna, "Does International Trade Create Winners and Losers?," Page One Economics®, November 2017 https://research.stlouisfed.org/publ...rs-and-losers/

8.5: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Bourgeoisie** - a term that refers to the upper middle classes, who often own most of a society's wealth and means of production.
- **Capitalism** - also referred to as free market capitalism, is a political-economic system where individuals and private entities are able to own land and capital needed to produce goods and services.
- **Command and control** - defined as a type of political economy where the government owns most, if not all, means of production in a society.
- **Communism** - where the state, usually dominated by one party, is in complete control of the political economic system, including all property.
- **Comparative advantage** - refers to the goods, services or activities that one state can produce or provide more cheaply or easily than other states.
- **Comparative political economy (CPE)** - defined as the comparison across and between countries of the ways in which politics and economics interact.
- **Competition** - occurs when industries, economic firms and individuals vie to obtain goods, products and services at the lowest prices.
- **Cultural Revolution** - a socio-political and economic movement that sought to expel capitalists and promote the Communist ideology.
- **Democratic socialism** - seeks democracy not just in the political sphere but in the economic sphere as well.
- **Economic growth** - the process by which a country's wealth increases over time.
- **Economic liberalism** - defined as a political economic ideology that promotes free market capitalism through deregulation, privatization and the loosening of government controls.
- **Economic nationalism** - defined as attempts by a state to protect or bolster its economy for nationalist goals.
- **Economic structuralism** - defined as a political economic system wherein the working class must be protected from exploitation of the capital owning class, but on an international scale.
- **Economies of scale** - the ability to "produce goods at a lower average cost"
- **Fair competition** - in capitalism affirms that industries will work to maximize their output and minimize costs to compete with similar industries, forcing the market to provide competitive options to consumers.
- **Fiscal policy** - collectively refers to a country's systems of taxation, spending, and regulation.
- **Great Leap Forward** - a plan which asked the Chinese people to spontaneously increase production in all sectors of the economy at the same time.
- **Import-substitution industrialization (ISI)** - refers to a country's attempt to reduce its dependence on foreign companies through increased domestic production.
- **Inflation** - defined as a general increase in prices, usually within a given time.
- **Informal sector** - also known as the informal economy, is that part of the economy consisting of people producing goods and providing services outside of regular employment.
- **International political economy (IPE)** - defined as the study of political economy from a global perspective or through international institutions.
- **International trade** - defined as the exchange of goods, services, and activities between countries.
- **Laissez-faire** - defined as a type of political system where the government chooses not to interfere or intervene in its national economy.
- **Market** - defined as the exchange of goods and services within a given territory.
- **Marxism** - defined as a political economic system wherein the means of production are collectively owned by workers, not privately owned by individuals.
- **Mercantilism** - defined as a political economic system which seeks to maximize a country's wealth through increasing exports and limiting imports.
- **Monetary policy** - defined as the actions taken by a state's central bank to affect the money supply.
- **Non tariff regulatory barriers** - restrictions on trade not involving a tariff or a quota.
- **Private goods** - defined as an economic resource which are acquired or owned exclusively by a person or group.
- **Property** - defined as a resource or commodity that a person or group legally owns.
- **Property rights** - defined as the legal authority to dictate how property, whether tangible or intangible, is used or managed.

- **Protectionism** - defined as policies protecting a country's domestic industry through subsidies, favorable tax treatment, or imposing tariffs on foreign competitors.
- **Public goods** - defined as goods and services provided by the state that are available for everyone in society; are nonexcludable and nonrival in nature.
- **Purchasing Parity Power (PPP)** - a metric used to compare the prices of goods and services to gauge the absolute purchasing power of a currency.
- **Quotas** - limits on the number of foreign goods coming into a country.
- **Recession** - defined as two consecutive quarters (three months) of declining economic activity.
- **Regulation** - defined as rules imposed by a government on society.
- **Self-interest** - the means through which individuals can act on their own behalf to make choices that benefit themselves.
- **Sin taxes** - taxes levied on a product or activity that are deemed harmful to society.
- **Social democracy** - defined as a political and economic system that favors heavy market regulation to achieve a more equal society.
- **Social market economy** - is a socioeconomic system that combines principles of capitalism with domestic social welfare considerations.
- **State capitalism** - where a high level of state intervention exists in a market economy, usually through state-owned enterprises (SOEs).
- **Statism** - defined as a political economic system where the government often takes on an enterprising role, usually through a state.
- **Tariffs** - taxes imposed on imported foreign products with the purpose of making those products more expensive
- **Taxation** - defined as the process of a government collecting money from its citizens, corporations, and other entities.
- **Versailles Treaty** - treaty which ended the first World War.
- **Wealth distribution** - defined as how a country's goods, investments, properties, and resources, or *wealth*, are divided amongst its population.
- **Zero-sum game** - a situation where one person, or entity, gains at the equal cost of another.

Summary

Section #8.1: What is Political Economy?

Political economy is a social science which considers and analyzes the various economic theories (like Mercantilism, Free Market Capitalism / Liberalism, Marxism / Economic Structuralism), practices and outcomes either within a state, or among and between states in the global system. Consideration of political economy can be traced back to the work of Plato and Aristotle, though the most modern initiation of the discussion can be attributed to the work of Adam Smith in his Wealth of Nations. Overall, comparative politics would be lacking if it neglected conversations and scholarship relating to political economy, as many political outputs and outcomes are inherently tied to economic structures and ideologies.

Section #8.2: Political Economic Systems

Political economies also vary in how they are implemented, with a major variable being the role of the state in its economy. In some political economy systems, the state is much less involved, sometimes mostly absent, referred to as laissez-faire, which translates from French as 'let it be'. At the other end of the spectrum are states that have complete control of an economy. There are four main political economic systems, including: Mercantilism (Economic Nationalism), Free Market Capitalism (Economic LIberalism, Marxism (Economic Structuralism), and Socialism (Social Democracy). These political economic systems can result in different outcomes which affect both citizens and the state at large in significant ways.

Section #8.3: **Comparative Case Study - Germany and China**

Germany and China have different economic systems, but both play prominent roles in the global community as major exporters. When countries are large exporters, they can experience similar problems despite their very different economic systems. Both China and Germany's political leaders need to constantly and carefully balance the domestic concerns of their economies alongside their global "customers" who depend on their exports. If the global "customer" base fails, or switches trade partnerships, China and Germany's economies will be unable to thrive. Beyond this, relying on exports leaves states vulnerable to the economic conditions of those they trade with; if a state is no longer able to afford the product or buy the good, the exporter will struggle.

Review Questions

At least 5 multiple choice questions which will be converted to Canvas question banks and quizzes

1. The field of political economy is concerned with:
    a. International organizations like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund
    b. The relationship between political and economic policies.
    c. International monetary policies and domestic fiscal policies.
    d. Comparative advance and the balance of trade.
2. Which theory in this chapter credits capitalism, globalization and international trade with contributing to poverty in developing countries?
    a. Economic Liberalism
    b. Economic Realism
    c. Economic Nationalism
    d. Economic Structuralism
3. Which option below best describes the concept of comparative advantage?
    a. Countries compete by trying to produce all items and products within their own country, working to decrease reliance on imports.
    b. Countries compete by trying to outsource all production, working to increase reliance on imports.
    c. Countries cooperate economically, encouraging countries to produce what they are most efficiently and cheaply able to produce relative to other countries.
    d. None of these is correct.
4. Which theory described in this chapter argues that once economic inequalities are apparent, they have a tendency to become self-perpetuating?
    a. Feminism
    b. Economic Liberalism
    c. Mercantilism
    d. Economic Structuralism
5. What is Autarky?
    a. A situation where countries trade freely with each other.
    b. A situation where a country does not trade with other countries.
    c. A situation where a country is only able to trade with a few countries.
    d. A situation where countries work to destabilize other economies.

Answers: 1.b, 2.d, 3.c, 4.d, 5.b

Critical Thinking Questions

1. What contributed to the rise of political economy as a field of academic study? Describe the factors involved and discuss implications for future research and study.
2. What lessons can we learn from the responses to the COVID-19 pandemic about the importance of political economy?
3. There are a number of different belief systems about the appropriate role of government in economic affairs. How do these beliefs manifest in practical terms? Consider the application of these different belief systems in the context of energy and environment policies.
4. The effects of changes in climate and the environment can impact countries in uneven and, arguably, unfair/inequitable ways. To what extent do various economic systems respond or react to these inequalities/inequities? Are some economic systems more able to handle environmental and climate shifts? If so, how?

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- Gini Index, World Bank
- Global Economic Indicators
- Our World in Data

- The World Bank, World Development Indicators

Journal Articles

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James Robinson/ [2001] “The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation” American Economic Review, 91, 1369-1401.
- Rodrik, Dani. [1997] “Sense and Nonsense in the Globalization Debate.” Foreign Policy 107: 19-37.
- Valenzuela, J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela. [1978] “Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment.” Comparative Politics 10:4 (July), pp. 535-557.
- Books
- Piketty, T. [2017] Capital in the Twenty-First Century. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Spero, J. E. [1990] The Politics of International Economic Relations. St. Martin’s Press, Inc.
- Stilwell, F. [2011] Political Economy, the Contest of Economic Ideas. Oxford University Press; 3rd Edition.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

9: Collective Action and Social Movements

9.1: What is collective action? What are social movements?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Differentiate collective action from social movements
- Understand links between collective action and a social movement

Introduction

Public education, elections, and lobbying: all of these are connected to collective action. Collective action pervades social and political life, and it is observable across all societies. **Collective action** is any activity in which coordination by and across individuals has the potential to lead to achievement of a common objective. At its broadest, collective action can lead to the provision of a public good. A society often decides that the common defense is a necessary public good and pool resources toward that goal. Beyond common defense, collective action is key for the provision of a variety of public goods – such as public education, healthcare, childcare, pensions, infrastructure, and so forth – in which individuals contribute tax revenues or labor, in a coordinated way, to support common goals. Yet collective action can also lead to the achievement of narrower objectives, such as when a focused interest group lobbies for tax breaks that benefit a smaller segment of society. Collective action can result in benefits for all or for the few. That it encompasses such a broad range of actors, actions, goals, and outcomes explains the enduring interest that political scientists have in this concept.

Societies flourish when there is the robust provision of public goods; public goods are the result of collective action. Once provided, a public good has certain characteristics. As defined in Chapter Eight, public goods are defined as goods and services provided by the state that are available for everyone in society. They are nonexcludable and nonrival in nature. Individuals cannot be excluded from enjoying them, and one person's enjoyment of that good does not impinge upon others' enjoyment of that good. These characteristics of a public good have the unfortunate effect of impeding the organizing of collective action to provide that good, a problem we will take up later in this chapter. So-called collective action problems are observable throughout societies, but societies also manage to solve them in various ways.

Figure 9.1.1: The lighthouse at Portland Head, Maine. A lighthouse is a classic example of a public good: no ship's captain can be excluded from benefiting from the light and each captain's enjoyment of the light does not impinge upon the ability of others to do likewise. (Source: Portland Head, Maine Lighthouse by quatro.sinko via flickr creative commons is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

Collective action may also lead to narrower objectives than public goods, for example the provision of **common pool resources**. These resources are nonexcludable but rivalrous in consumption. A good example of a common pool resource is a river: everyone can enjoy the river, but when I divert water from the river to irrigate my fields, that means others cannot enjoy that diverted water. Collective action also pervades the private sector, and we see this when industry advocacy groups procure favorable government policies such as tax breaks for all the firms in an industry or looser regulatory oversight.

Collective action is fundamental to the functioning of modern societies. A prominent example in our society are elections. Voting is a form of collective action, especially in a democracy where individuals' decision to vote and cast ballots for a certain candidate or policy can determine a society's values and allocation of resources. When the electorate in a country is very large, as in the United States, collective action problems become evident. Each individual in a large electorate has disincentives to vote because they may believe their vote -- out of hundreds of millions of eligible voters -- will not matter, hence they may opt to stay home on election day (or not mail in their ballot) and save their time and energy for other purposes. Such individual-level breakdowns in collective action have the potential to lead to the collapse of any given collective action endeavor, in this case the representativeness of a republic.

Yet history abounds with examples of collective action prevailing. It has lead to social change and even revolution. While the example of voting demonstrates how collective action can work in tandem with established political institutions, collective action can also occur outside of existing political institutions. Because of this, collective action has the potential to destabilize societies and challenge existing structures. One illustration of this is when groups unite to demand the franchise (as with the women's suffrage movement) or workers' strikes bring industry to a standstill.

Figure 9.1.2: In one example of collective action for political rights, women march for the right to vote in New York City in 1917. They are carrying placards with over one million signatures in support of this right. The right for women to vote in the US was established nationally in 1920. (Source: Suffragists by Unknown Author via New York Times photo archive via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under Public Domain).

Social movements are a subset of collective action. All social movements rely on collective action, but not all collective action is a social movement. Social movements are coordinated and goal-oriented, but they are characterized by political activity outside of established institutions (extra-institutional). Notable examples of social movements in the twentieth century United States include the civil rights movement, which sought equal rights for racial minorities and an end to institutional racism at all levels of government, and various labor rights movements such as those organized by farmworkers (also majority-minority) and industrial workers earlier in the century. All of these can be explored in an international comparative context, as social movements for civil rights and labor rights have spanned the globe. The comparative cases at the conclusion of this chapter will explore comparative labor movements in the socialist and post-socialist world.

9.2: Frameworks for collective action

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Evaluate the “logic of collective action” and challenges to cooperation
- Analyze the different factors that can facilitate collective action

The Logic of Collective Action

As Luis Medina has noted, “A group can create power through coordination,” (2007, p. 4). Collective action hinges on coordination and cooperation, and political scientists have employed many frameworks and utilized the tools of game theory to explore the conditions under which collective action occurs as well as when that action is likely to be successful.

One of the most influential frameworks for understanding collective action is given in Mancur Olson’s The Logic of Collective Action (1965). Olson argues that collective action failures are to be expected given rational and self-interested individuals. Such individuals are disinclined to organize and contribute to the production of a public or collective good because each individual has incentives to stand by and let others do the hard work of achieving the goal, then enjoy the fruits of that collective good once provided. This is known as the **free rider problem**. Through this logic, Olson establishes the challenges to successful collective action.

Consider the example of climate change. Collective action in the form of everyone reducing their carbon footprint would yield an abatement of this problem. Yet a single country or an individual has weak incentives to reduce their carbon footprint for several reasons. A country’s leaders might reason, “If we reduce our carbon emissions through a carbon tax, that might dampen economic growth. Our constituents won’t like that, and that might hurt our global competitiveness.” Or an individual might think, “Let everyone else reduce their consumption, I’ll keep buying lots of stuff, driving cars and taking planes and eating excessive amounts of animal protein. After all, What difference do my actions make? And if enough of everyone else changes their lifestyles, I can enjoy a healthier planet then, without sacrificing any of my comforts!” The logic here is to freeride on the efforts of others, knowing that the benefits of others' work will apply to everyone regardless of their contributions. This behavior and thinking creates a free rider problem, where individuals are incentivized to refrain from contributing toward the provision of a collective good because they know they can eventually enjoy the benefits of that good if others work toward providing it. This problem raises issues of fairness but even worse, a collective good may not be produced if enough people adopt a free rider mentality.

Beyond the free rider problem, there are challenges to collective action because it hinges on cooperation. The challenges to cooperation are well-illustrated through a simple and eponymous game, the so-called Prisoner’s Dilemma, which illustrates the urge to free ride or “defect” in a situation where cooperation by all would yield better outcomes for all. Yet defection yields better than worst-case individual-level outcomes, so it ends up being the outcome, albeit a sub-optimal one. The set-up for this kind of **cooperation game** is simple but a powerful illustration of challenges to cooperative endeavors. Imagine two children, Person Y and Person Z, who have taken cookies from the cookie jar at home -- without asking and while no one was looking -- but were then asked about the missing cookies by a parent. There is enough evidence (the missing cookies) to punish the children for their transgression but not enough proof of a more serious crime (such as repeated taking of cookies from the cookie jar, over the course of months of distracted parenting) to extend their punishment. The interrogating parent pressures each child to offer damning evidence of the other’s guilt. What should each do?

As with all games, each player has a set of choices. To keep things simple, they can either stay silent (cooperate) or betray their partner in the cookie-sneaking business. The combination of possible outcomes to this game are the following: both stay silent; one stays silent while the other betrays; or both betray. In this game set-up, there are potential punishments for each outcome. If both stay silent, they receive the lightest of possible punishments, a week without video games. If one stays silent but the other talks, then the betrayer gets zero punishment while the betrayed receives a long punishment of three weeks without video games. In this scenario, one player enjoys the best individual outcome but the other player suffers the worst individual outcome. If both decide to betray the other, then both go aren’t allowed video games for two weeks. A summary of these outcomes is given in the payoff matrix below.

A summary of the payoffs to a standard cooperation game. In each box, the first number indicates the punishment for Person Y and the second number indicates the punishment for Person Z (in weeks without video games).

Payoff: Person Y, Person Z	Z stays silent	Z betrays
Y stays silent	-1, -1	-3, 0
Y betrays	0, -3	-2, -2

This framework illustrates the interdependent nature of the game and weak incentives for cooperation. Each individual, in considering these payoffs, sees the immediate personal gain to betrayal. They know that staying silent would be the best for all, but they still have strong incentives to betray because staying silent means putting themselves at risk for the worst possible punishment. The expected outcome is both choosing to betray the other, and both suffering worse outcomes than if they had cooperated with one another. This result is suboptimal for all. Note that there is a cost to pay for cooperating, too. This is the case for engaging in collective action: to participate is to donate some resource such as one's time or other resources.

To apply this game to a collective action scenario, imagine playing this game across more than two individuals, for example with one hundred or even millions of players, and the problems of coordination and cooperation become evident. And while this game may seem artificial and overly simplistic, we see the dynamics of this cooperation game playing out in the real world. To take up the example of climate change again, we can replace the children's choices with the following: staying silent (cooperating) is equivalent to making lifestyle changes to lighten one's carbon footprint, while betrayal is equivalent to keeping a heavy carbon footprint. Viewed in this way, individuals' choices and individual-level outcomes make sense as well as the overall outcome for society. Such cooperation challenges are also evident beyond the individual level. For countries, staying silent is equivalent to a government adopting major climate change mitigation policies, while betrayal is equivalent to doing nothing to address climate change.

While this simple cooperation game can highlight some of the costs and dynamics underlying strategic interactions that inform collective action, it is an imperfect means for capturing all the complexity of the social world. Cooperation may be challenging and costly in some ways, but it happens all the time. People participate in collective action because they are true believers in a cause (not captured in this game) or because they have meaningful relationships and social ties with others. Persons Y and Z may have a deep friendship and bonds of trust, something not reflected by the payoff structure given in the game, and this might affect their willingness to cooperate.

Factors promoting collective action

Cooperation can be costly. The Logic of Collective Action highlights important barriers to coordinated action. Yet Olson's argument and the logic of the cooperation game discussed above should not be taken to mean that collective action is impossible. On the contrary, we observe it frequently in the social world.

The free rider problem, and the barrier it poses to collective action, can be resolved when a group is sufficiently organized. This is usually more likely for smaller groups, for example coordination and cooperation across all the firms in a given industry or united action by all the activists in a given geographical region. Economist Elinor Ostrom, who dedicated her Nobel Prize-winning career to understanding the dynamics of collective action, observed the power of smaller groups with unifying interests: "Mobs, gangs, and cartels are forms of collective action as well as neighborhood associations, charities, and voting," (2009b). Olson's framework suggests that collective action is most likely to take place by groups with concentrated interests, where the effort expended is more likely to yield significant gains for each participant. This is what we observe with interest group lobbying in many wealthy democracies today.

Figure 9.2.1: The logic of collective action holds that collective action is most likely to be organized by special interest groups. In 2013, environmental groups in Vancouver, Canada, pitted themselves against corporate agricultural interests on whether to permit genetically modified organisms (GMOs) in the food supply. (Source: March Against Monsanto Vancouver by Rosalee Yagihara via wikimedia is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

Collective action is also more likely when each individual participant anticipates some potential gain from exerting the effort to participate. Additional organizational factors can encourage collective action, such as the existence of competent leaders or a federated structure where smaller units contribute to a larger whole. It also matters when participants know each other, which raises the level of accountability for any proposed action.

Others, such as Thomas Schelling, have noted that the barriers to collective action are not quite as high as proposed by Olson. Collective action is possible when rational and self-interested individuals have reasonable expectations that others will join the movement. This can happen when there is something around which individuals can signal to each other that they are willing to join the movement. It can be wearing a certain color or seeing a certain number of people subscribed to an organizing website. Hence collective action can often be observed in seemingly sudden moments of rapid change, when everyone is joining the movement because they feel like many others around them are also in the movement.

This framework has its limits because it does not explain who or what is the spark that starts the collective action. One of the most elegant and intuitive frameworks for understanding the process of collective action is given by Timur Kuran in the article “Now Out of Never.” In this framework, individuals are moved to act when they reach their individual threshold for tolerance on an issue and are moved to act. In a collective action situation, there are thus “first movers” who have the strongest preferences for change. These initial movers then create the initial momentum whereby the actions of one or a few cascade socially and others join. For example, individuals in a society have different tolerances for the effects of climate change. Some individuals want to see change immediately -- and are publicly agitating for those changes or making more quiet personal adjustments -- while others are quite tolerant of the real and projected consequences of climate change and see no need to act. Kuran’s framework is powerful for connecting the individual-level psychology of collective action with what we observe in the streets.

Circling back to the simple cooperation game described above, scholars have also considered the implications of different variations on the game. What might happen if the game is repeated, which is the case for many scenarios in the world, where we see the same people again and again? This holds true for roommate situations and workplaces, all the way to negotiations between diplomats on high stakes policy issues. Kreps et al. have argued convincingly that when a cooperation game such as the Prisoner’s Dilemma is repeated, players will eventually settle on a strategy of cooperation rather than the non-cooperation we observe when the game is played once.

Elinor Ostrom observed cooperative communities around the world to explore the conditions under which communities are able, over centuries in some cases, to preserve and sustain common pool resources such as irrigation canals, forests, and fisheries. Across her observations, she found that certain organizing principles may create an institutional framework which encourages sustainable collective management of resources. Organizing principles for sustainable collective action include collective decision-making, active monitoring of the shared resource, widely understood and enforced punishments for violations, and effective conflict resolution procedures. Bonds of trust between community members are integral for supporting these long-term arrangements.

Figure 9.2.2: Collective action can lead to the sustainable management of forests such as these near Manaslu, Nepal. (Source: Nepal by ydylg via flickr creative commons is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

In short, there exist many logics of collective action. While there exist barriers to collective action, such as group size, the temptation to free ride, and incentives for non-cooperation, there are also conditions under which collective action takes place. Instances of successful collective action can produce desired outcomes such as public goods and sustained stewardship of natural resources. Understanding the conditions under which collective action is possible continues to be critical for organizing the people and resources to address global and community-level challenges which still plague us.

9.3: A framework for explaining social movements

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Evaluate a framework of several factors that explain the emergence and success of a social movement
- Recognize the impact of additional factors such as international influences and nonviolent tactics

Introduction

Social movements often embody big ambitions that cannot be realized without collective action. The twenty-first century has seen the rise of myriad social movements, from the Sunrise Movement to stop climate change to the #metoo movement for women's rights and Black Lives Matter for racial justice. Conservative social movements have included the New Christian Right and worldwide New Right movement. While the causes and participants vary greatly, scholars have sought to identify common factors across social movements and explain the conditions under which a social movement may realize its objectives.

The study of social movements is an interdisciplinary enterprise. Social scientists have brought the tools of their disciplines to bear in understanding the complex emergence of collective mobilization. Psychologists bring their focus on the individual level of analysis, while sociologists and political scientists focus on group dynamics and institutional factors that enable or cauterize a social movement. One framework for understanding social movements focuses on three major factors: opportunity, organization, and framing.

Political opportunity

French novelist and poet Victor Hugo is credited with the observation, "Nothing is as powerful as an idea whose time has come." When applying this hopeful insight to a social movement advocating for a cause, context matters. A moment of ideational awakening may lead to concrete change only when certain stars align. Scholars have found that a social movement is more likely to emerge and prevail when the broader political context is receptive to the ideas promoted by that social movement. Climate change advocacy gained momentum on the streets of wealthy democracies when there was discourse about this problem by political elites; the US gay rights movement gained the most momentum when elected officials signaled that they were willing to change policies on longstanding laws against sexual minorities.

Political opportunity is thus a structural factor that affects whether a social movement forms and might prevail in its goals. **Structure** here refers to larger social forces at play during a given moment: the institutions and norms, or widely shared beliefs and practices, which constrain individual action. Structure can include whether political institutions and elites are receptive to specific changes, whether society is accepting of the message and tactics promoted by a social movement. As David Meyer has suggested, there must be a "space of toleration [in] a polity" (2004, p. 128) for activists to mobilize. And that society must not repress activists so much that they lack either the vocabulary or means to lodge their complaints. Structure is the context within which a social movement might form and press for change. Within this structure, activists may choose from a range of tactics regarding how to organize, mobilize, and frame their goals (See Figure below).

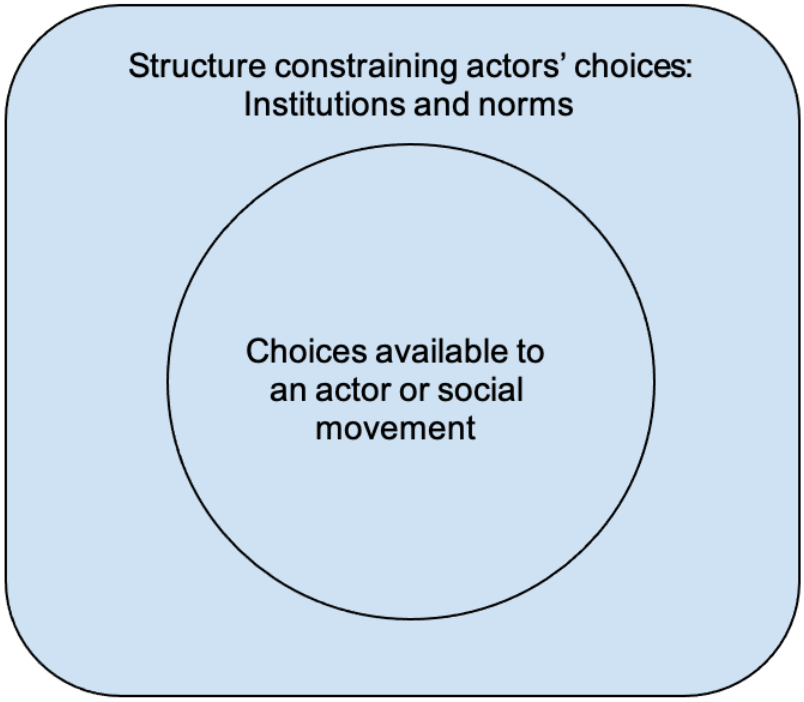


Figure 9.3.1: Structure is the broader context within which individuals or groups may act. (Source: Institutions and Norms *by Charlotte Lee is licensed under* CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

In the case of the US Civil Rights Movement that unfolded during the mid-twentieth century, markers of political opportunity can be identified in hindsight. These include the landmark 1954 Brown v. Board of Education ruling by the US Supreme Court, which declared unconstitutional the segregation of schools by race. Political leaders also signaled an opening, evident in public addresses such as President John F. Kennedy's 1963 Report to the People on American Civil Rights, in which he declared, "It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color." Such events signaled that powerful formal institutions were willing to change, and the time was ripe for a social movement to activate and accelerate that change.

Organization and mobilization

While the emergence of a political opening is key, a social moment cannot be sustained without strong organizational structures in place. As Lenin observed, a revolution will succeed when carried out by a vanguard party that offers an "organizational weapon" by which revolutionaries may strike down existing institutions. Successful communist party movements, such as those in Russia, China, and Cuba, relied on disciplined, hierarchical party organizations that reached down to cells of activists at the grassroots level.

More contemporary social movements need not have such extreme organization, but organizational strength is a direct correlate of mobilizational power and momentum. Douglas McAdam has studied several key organizations that facilitated the successes of the US Civil Rights Movement of the mid-twentieth century. These backbone organizations included Black churches, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Black churches contained multigenerational communities united by bonds of faith and trust; HBCUs offered spaces for student organizing; the NAACP provided organizational and political resources to advance civil rights through mass protests, coordinated activities, and legal action. All of these organizations had proven capacity for carrying out complex community actions under adverse circumstances; they were also spaces for pooling resources and communicating initiatives to a relatively large audience of proven and potential activists (McAdam 1999).

Figure 9.3.2: U.S. Senator Kamala Harris, alumna of HBCU Howard University, meets with current students of HBCUs in 2019. HBCUs are an example of institutions that can support the organization of a social movement. (Source: Kamala Harris speaks with HBCU students in Washington, D.C. by Office of Kamala Harris via Wikimedia Commons is Public Domain)

Organizational forms may be more decentralized and less hierarchical by design. The “leaderless” Black Lives Matter movement in the US is an example of this: there is no singular set of charismatic leading figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton or Bobby Seale to set the tone and agenda. Local actions are organized and executed without direction from an organizational headquarters. One strength of this evolution in the organization of a social movement is more cellular organization, with new protest repertoires and messages emerging to suit local conditions and audiences. A disadvantage is the potential for the movement to lose momentum without clearly articulated and unifying goals.

New **information and communication technologies (ICT)** have changed the ways a social movement might organize and mobilize. By the dawn of the twenty-first century, there was optimism regarding the possibilities for uniting activists via social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter (Diamond and Plattner 2012). So-called “liberation technologies” were heralded as a means to organize a social movement in defiance of geographical constraints and even repressive governments. However, this initial optimism has been followed by critiques of these new technologies as leading to “armchair activism” by individuals unwilling to invest real resources into a social movement. Social media platforms have also proven unruly spaces for organizing due to the challenges of misinformation, government interference, and weak bonds of trust between participants. The impact of ICT on the emergence and success of a social movement has thus yielded mixed results.

Figure 9.3.3: Organized protests that eventually became a revolution in Egypt tapped into the mobilizational power of social media platforms such as Facebook. January 25, 2011, marked the beginning of this movement to overthrow the government of President Hosni Mubarak.(Source: A man during the 2011 Egyptian protests carrying a card saying "Facebook, #jan25, The Egyptian Social Network". by Essam Sharaf via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0)

Framing

Political opportunity, organization, and mobilizational capacity are complemented by the framing of an issue. **Framing** refers to the ways in which a social problem is defined by, presented to and resonates with members of a social movement and society more broadly. Framing is a key strategic move because the chosen frames must be culturally appropriate and meaningful.

The concept of frames explicitly brings a psychological and emotional element into our understanding of social movements: individuals join because of an affinity for the cause rather than merely out of rational self-interest (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001). They must actively engage in “sense making” and determine for themselves, as well as fellow activists, their purpose and goals. Framing can incite emotions such as anger over a perceived injustice but also psychological safety in the belief that one is part of a larger community with shared beliefs.

Framing takes place at the inception of a social movement. It can sustain the movement and attract additional adherents from society. Framing is critical when we consider how the modern environmental movement in the US was galvanized by publications such as Rachel Carson’s 1962 book Silent Spring, which offered an evocative and powerful vision (a lifeless natural landscape) for understanding ecological disaster through the concrete example of overuse of chemical pesticides. This book helped to frame the problem and invoke the shock, anger, and anxieties that are part of the modern environmental justice movement.

International influences

Many of the causes embraced by social movements span countries, regions and the globe. Given the advent of globalization since the end of the Cold War in 1991, seemingly faraway events may resonate with global audiences: deforestation in Indonesia sparks protests in European cities over unsustainable practices in the supply chains of furniture companies that source wood from Borneo. Environmental activists in Indonesia thus find common cause with counterparts in the Netherlands. Social movements may diffuse across borders, with activists sharing tactics, resources, and providing moral support to one another in their common cause. **Diffusion** is defined as the spread of an idea, movement, tactics, strategies, and other resources across international borders. One prominent example of international diffusion is the spread of liberal democracy around the globe in the decades spanning the 1990s to the 2000s.

International "democracy promotion" efforts are one driver of this worldwide increase in democracy since the 1990s, whereby international resources are directed toward pro-democracy domestic social movements. These have been led by wealthy democracies (such as those of North America, the Antipodes, the EU, and Japan) to strengthen younger democracies worldwide. Democracy promotion can include a wide range of activities such as government-supported grants to pro-democracy activists in other countries, nonprofit exchanges of information and expertise, and more horizontal exchanges of knowledge and resources between democracy activists worldwide. Pro-democracy movements in countries as varied as Ukraine and Nicaragua receive support from international donors and advisors.

Figure 9.3.4: Map of countries that are members of the International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance), which promotes democracy worldwide. Founding members are indicated in green, members in blue, and observing members in red. (Source: International IDEA members by Goemon via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under Public Domain)

The role of nonviolence

There are consequences to the tactics chosen by social movement leaders and participants. The range of tactics that a social movement may employ is vast, and social movements are constantly innovating and creating new repertoires based on changing contexts, cultural symbols, and new technologies. New strategies emerge with each social movement. Pro-democracy Hong Kong protesters, as part of their movement to secure democratic rights and autonomy within the People's Republic of China's "One Country, Two Systems" framework, created new forms of protest in 2019. One notable tactic was occupying terminals of Hong Kong International Airport. This served to disrupt the business of a global city reliant on the flow of businesspeople and tourists by air and draw global attention to their plight.

These protestors and others opted for nonviolent strategies of protest, a tradition which has deep roots in various faith traditions dating back millennia. More recently, social movement leaders ranging from Mohandas K. Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., have made significant philosophical contributions and practical applications of nonviolence to movements for social change.

Figure 9.3.5: In 1930, Gandhi (center) and what became millions of Indian followers engaged in nonviolent civil disobedience on the 240-mile-long Salt March against British colonizers. (Source: Gandhi leading the famous 1930 Salt March, a notable example of satyagraha by Yann via Wikipedia Commons is licensed under Public Domain)

Empirical research comparing nonviolent and violent resistance campaigns has found that nonviolent campaigns are twice as successful as their violent counterparts (53 percent compared with 26 percent) (Stephan and Chenoweth 2008). Note that campaigns are defined by Stephan and Chenoweth as "major nonstate rebellions … [which include] a series of repetitive, durable, organized, and observable events directed at a certain target to achieve a goal," (2008, p. 8).

The success of nonviolent social movements is attributed to various factors. It is due to higher public perceptions of the legitimacy of nonviolent movements as well as greater public sympathy for movements committed to principles of nonviolence. Nonviolent movements also constrain government responses, as suppressing a nonviolent movement with force can drive public support -- domestic and international -- even more toward the aims of the social movement.

9.4: Comparative Case Study - Workers' movements in Poland and China

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Compare aspects of two different worker-based social movements
- Apply components of social movement theory to these cases

Introduction

The twentieth century was a century of labor movements. These movements were supported by ideologies such as those stemming from the theories of Karl Marx (1818-1883), which framed society as divided between capitalists and workers. The relationship between these two groups, or classes, is one of exploitation, whereby capitalists squeeze as much labor out of workers for the lowest wages. This is so capitalists might pocket the most profits possible and invest in global expansion; Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924) famously observed the imperialism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and declared it a time of high capitalism. Marx predicted that workers, in realizing the injustices of their situation, would eventually unite and revolt. They would then organize to create a socialist system characterized by economic redistribution. The socialist state would evolve to become a stateless communist society of liberated labor.

Ironically, workers of countries led by communist parties have continued to organize and press for more rights and better working conditions in the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. In communist party-led states, labor unions are typically controlled by the communist party. But in communist Poland, workers organized an underground free union movement known as Solidarność (hereafter referred to as Solidarity) that eventually toppled the ruling communist party. In China, blazing economic reforms beginning in the 1970s and the advent of a market economy and private enterprise have spurred workers to organize for stronger protections in the workplace and a more secure social safety net. While some policy concessions have been made toward workers in China, the ruling Chinese Communist Party remains firmly in control.

This comparative case study will apply the components of the social movement framework described in Section 9.3 to explore labor movements in Poland and China. The labor movements in each country have yielded very different outcomes: while Poland's Solidarity movement was the spark for opposition to eventually overturn communist party rule, in China workers' protests have remained on the fringes. In each case, we will examine the political opportunity structure, organization and mobilization, framing of the movement, and international factors to explore differences that might account for divergent outcomes.

Solidarity in Poland

From 1952 to 1989, Poland was under communist party rule. A mid-sized country located in central Europe, Poland today neighbors Russia and many republics of the former Soviet Union (USSR). During the time of the Soviet Union (1922-1991), Poland was part of the Eastern Bloc of countries which were led by communist parties internally and shaped by the USSR externally. Poland's capital then and now is centrally located Warsaw, and it borders the Baltic Sea in the north.

Figure 9.4.1: Map of Poland. (Source: Map of Poland by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

- **Full Country Name:** Republic of Poland
- **Head(s) of State:** President, Prime Minister

- **Government:** Unitary Parliamentary Republic
- **Official Languages:** Polish
- **Economic System:** Mixed Economy
- **Location:** Central Europe
- **Capital:** Warsaw
- **Total land size:** 120,733 sq miles
- **Population:** 38,179,800
- **GDP:** $720 billion
- **GDP per capita:** $19,056
- **Currency:** Zloty

Beginning in 1970, workers began to organize protests in Poland. One decade later, this movement culminated in a major strike in the port city of Gdańsk in 1980. The triggering event was the dismissal of a model shipyard worker from the Gdańsk shipyards, which are located in northern Poland on the Baltic Sea. The worker, Anna Walentynowicz, was a welder and crane driver who earned medals for her exemplary work, but she was dismissed for engaging in free union organizing in the shipyards (Kemp-Welch 2008, Chapter 10). Under communist rule, all unions were managed by the ruling party and free unions were forbidden. In response to Walentynowicz's dismissal, more workers organized and their resulting protests included calls for higher wages to offset the rising cost of basic foodstuffs in the state-controlled markets. Eventually workers also demanded the right to form free trade unions with the right to strike.

These protests came at a time of political opportunity. Poland's economic situation was deteriorating, which placed communist party officials in a difficult situation. More and more workers joined the protests out of frustration with their material conditions. The protests spread nationally, which required a national-level response from the Polish communist party. Workers also found allies in Catholic Church officials and some media outlets. The movement gained momentum and for the first time in communist Poland's history, protesters were allowed to negotiate directly with communist officials in the Gdańsk shipyards. The workers' leader, an electrician named Lech Wałęsa, met with communist party negotiators, and the subsequent agreement led to recognition of the Solidarity trade union by the government.

Figure 9.4.2: Lech Wałęsa during the strike at Lenin Shipyard in August 1980. (Source: Lech Wałęsa by Giedymin Jabłoński via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0

Solidarity went on to attract millions of worker-members in the 1980s. Together with other opposition groups, Solidarity organized protests throughout the country for better working conditions and, eventually, political liberalization. At its height, 80 percent of state employees joined Solidarity. The popularity of this movement led Polish officials to declare martial law in 1981, and hundreds of Solidarity members were arrested. Within years, amnesty was declared and political prisoners released.

During this time, and until the end of communist rule in Poland in 1989, Solidarity led a non-violent movement that was robust in its organization and mobilizational capacity. Members and sympathizers could draw on a rich repertoire of non-violent tactics of civil resistance, including "protests; leaflets; flags; vigils; symbolic funerals; catholic masses; protest painting; parades; marches; slow-downs; strikes; hunger strikes; 'Polish strikes' in the mine shafts; underground socio-cultural institutions: radio, music, films, satire, humor; over 400 underground magazines with millions of copies distributed, including literature on how to scheme, strike, and protest; alternative education and libraries; a dense network of alternative teaching in social science and humanities; commemorations of forbidden anniversaries; and internationalization of Solidarity struggle," (Bartkowski 2009).

The social movement anchored by Solidarity was framed in terms of human rights, with an emphasis on dignity for those groups traditionally championed by communist ideology: workers, peasants, and the downtrodden. This resonated with international supporters such as the Catholic Church's Pope John Paul II, who was Polish and brought moral authority to the movement's call for

human rights and freedom of conscience. The geopolitics of the Cold War were also operative during this time, with the United States supporting the Polish opposition out of an interest in creating fissures in the Soviet Bloc.

From February to April 1989, the Polish political opposition, including Solidarity leaders such as Lech Wałęsa, sat down opposite communist party leaders for a series of negotiations. These resulted in the institution of democratic elections in Poland and other major economic and political reforms. In 1989, communist rule was overturned in Poland with the election of Wałęsa to the Polish presidency in free and fair elections.

Fragmented labor in China

China has been under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. The country's capital is Beijing, located in the northeast. China's center of economic gravity is in the wealthy urban centers of its eastern coastal region, which includes cities such as Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Guangzhou. China's western flank includes the Himalayan highlands of Tibet and western deserts of Xinjiang, both gateways to the larger Eurasian landmass. Today the CCP rules over a vast and complex country of over 1 billion, of which hundreds of millions constitute its national workforce.

Whereas the Soviet Union and many other communist party-led states collapsed during the turbulent years spanning 1989 to 1991, the CCP has remained firmly in control of the Chinese state. The CCP did not emerge from this period unscathed, however. Major protests erupted nationwide in 1989, and these were accompanied by popular calls for liberalization of the political system. At the heart of this national movement was a student-led nonviolent protest that lasted from April to June 4, 1989, in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. The Tiananmen protests and the nationwide movement were violently suppressed in June 1989 when CCP leaders ordered the party's army, the People's Liberation Army (PLA), to clear demonstrators from public spaces.

Figure 9.4.3: Map of China. (Source: Map of China by CIA World Factbook is licensed under Public Domain)

Similar to other communist party systems, free unions in China are not allowed, and workers are instead represented through trade unions that fall under the CCP's United Front. These bargaining units are subsumed within the state structure, which implies that workers do not have an independent means to organize for their rights outside of official channels.

Beginning in 1978, China embarked on a massive "reform and opening" program which entailed liberalizing the economy -- i.e., moving away from a command economy based on economic planning -- and opening up to global trade. These reforms have generated tremendous national economic growth, on the order of over nine percent annually during the period 1978 to 2020. This reform period has also seen significant changes in the employment landscape for workers. Prior to 1978, the dominant employment model for urban workers was the danwei, or work unit, where workers could enjoy firm-based benefits and fixed wages.

Since 1978, there has been significant privatization of the Chinese economy, and the danwei system no longer provides workers with the security and material benefits that workers once enjoyed. One estimate is that employment by private firms in China's cities has grown from 150,000 in 1978 to 253 million in 2011 (Lardy 2016, p. 40). Related to the rise of the private sector are efforts to increase the productivity and profitability of state-owned enterprises; laying off workers is one tactic. When combined with the more volatile and unstable employment conditions in the private sector, this has spurred labor unrest in China.

Figure 9.4.4: The Beijing headquarters of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, a state-organized labor organization in China. (Source: ACFTU Building by N509FZ via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0)

Throughout the reform period (1978-present), workers have organized protests in China. Workers were particularly restive during the 2008 to 2012 period. In one example of organized protest activity during this time, workers decided to strike at the Honda car factory in Guangdong province, which led to wage increases for workers. This and other protests may be due in part to shifts in the political opportunity structure (Elfstrom and Kuruvilla 2014). A labor shortage, new labor laws such as the Labor Contract Law of 2008, and greater media openness provided an opening for organized labor to press for gains. The Labor Contract Law, which remains the most significant labor-related legislation in China, provides a legal basis to support workplace rights such as a 40-hour week, payment of wages, and paid leave. Enforcement remains a perennial challenge, which provides the basis for worker protests.

Workers have been strategic in their framing of grievances. In response to the repressive capacity of the Chinese state, protesters have framed resistance in terms of rights accorded them by the law. Such “rightful resistance,” which has roots in rural China, draws on notions of justice that citizens should be entitled to in a society governed by laws (O’Brien and Li 2006). This legalistic appeal has deep roots in China, where the philosophical tradition of legalism (fajia) dates to the first millennium BCE.

In terms of organization and mobilization, there are key differences between the Chinese and Polish cases. At present, there do not exist free labor unions in China, nor are workers organized under the banner of a non-state organization with national reach. There is no Chinese equivalent to Solidarity. Internationally, there is limited support for workers’ rights in China due in part to laws which restrict the operation of foreign nongovernmental organizations within China. Because of these various factors, the labor movement within China remains fragmented and decentralized, with protests breaking out in localities but no overarching national labor movement.

Comparative analysis

These case studies of labor movements across two communist party-led countries illustrate the power of two key factors, political opportunity and broader organizational networks. Both labor movements framed their endeavors in terms of justice and dignity for the working class, which resonates with the dominant communist ideology in both countries. Yet the political opportunity structure varied significantly across Poland and China. In Poland, there was an opening for government leadership to compromise with labor leaders in Poland, especially as the economy weakened. By comparison in China, robust economic growth has supported the position of the CCP, which is to remain adamant in its state-organized union structure. In terms of organizational capacity, there are also stark differences. Chinese labor organizers have not had anything equivalent to the momentum enjoyed by Poland’s Solidarity in the 1980s, which could mobilize over three-quarters of workers in the country in a variety of non-violent actions.

9.5: References

Bartkowski, Maciej. (2009). Poland's Solidarity Movement (1980-1989). International Center on Nonviolent Conflict. Available online at https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/...ent-1980-1989/

Diamond, L. and Plattner, M. eds. (2012). Liberation Technology: Social Media and the Struggle for Democracy. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Elfstrom, Manfred and Kuruvilla, Sarosh. (2014). The Changing Nature of Labor Unrest in China. Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 67(2): 453-480.

Goodwin, J., Jasper J., and Polletta, F. (2001). Passionate Politics: Emotion and Social Movements. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kemp-Welch, Anthony. (2008). Poland Under Communism: A Cold War History. Cambridge University Press.

Kreps., D., Milgrom, P., Roberts, J. and Wilson, R. (1982). Rational Cooperation in Finitely Repeated Prisoners' Dilemma. Quarterly Journal of Economics, 103, 179-200.

Kuran, Timur. (1991). Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989. World Politics, 44(1), 7-48. doi:10.2307/2010422

Lardy, Nicholas. (2016). The Changing Role of the Private Sector in China. In Iris Day and John Simon (eds.), Structural Change in China: Implications for Australia and the World. Reserve Bank of Australia, pp. 37-50.

McAdam, Douglas. (1999). Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Medina, L. (2007). A Unified Theory of Collective Action and Social Change. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. doi:10.3998/mpub.168625

Meyer, David. (2004). Protest and Political Opportunities. Annual Review of Sociology, 30, 125-45.

O'Brien, Kevin and Li Lianjiang. (2006). Rightful Resistance in Rural China. Cambridge University Press.

Olson, Mancur. (1971). The Logic of Collective Action. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Ostrom, Elinor. (2009a). "A General Framework for Analyzing Sustainability of Social-Ecological Systems". Science, 325(5939), 419–422.

Ostrom, Elinor. (2009b). "Analyzing Collective Action." Paper presented at the 2009 Conference of the International Association of Agricultural Economists.

Stephan, Maria J. and Chenoweth, Erica. (2008). Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict. International Security, 33(1), 7-44.

9.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Collective action** - Any activity in which coordination by and across individuals has the potential to lead to achievement of a common objective.
- **Common pool resource** - Something provided to some or all in a society; it is nonexcludable but rivalrous in consumption.
- **Cooperation game** - A strategic scenario illustrating how players have incentives to work together or not work together to realize common goals.
- **Diffusion** - The spread of an idea, movement, tactics, strategies, and other resources across international borders.
- **Framing** - The deliberate representation of a concept or problem to resonate with intended audiences.
- **Free rider problem** - Occurs when an individual who seeks to benefit from the gains achieved by others but does not contribute to the achievement of those gains.
- **Information and communication technologies (ICT)** - Platforms which provide the means for members of a social movement to communicate with one another and intended audiences. ICTs can include radio, television, social media platforms, and so forth.
- **Social movement** - A subset of collective action in which a group of people outside of established political institutions organize to achieve an objective.
- **Structure** - Social forces which constrain the choices available to an individual or group at a given time; the broader social context within which action takes place.

Summary

Section 9.1: What is collective action? What are social movements?

Collective action is any activity in which coordination by and across individuals has the potential to lead to achievement of a common objective. Collective action can lead to the provision of public goods, collective goods such as common pool resources, or private goods. Social movements are a subset of collective action and comprise political activity outside of established institutions.

Section 9.2: Frameworks for collective action

Collective action is challenged by the free rider problem as well as problems associated with coordination and cooperation. A simple cooperation game can illustrate the incentives for noncooperation. There is a “logic” to collective action whereby small groups united by an overarching goal are more likely to organize collectively. Yet mass collective action is possible and has occurred repeatedly. Factors that promote collective action include trust between participants, the possibility of repeated interactions, and long time horizons.

Section 9.3: A framework for explaining social movements

One framework for understanding social movements focuses on three major factors: opportunity, organization, and framing. Social movements are more likely to prevail when there is a “political process” or opportunity structure that supports the realization of the movement’s goals. While the emergence of a political opening is key, a social moment cannot be sustained without strong organizational structures in place, and these can draw from organizations which pre-date the social movement. Social movements must frame the goals of their movement to mobilize people at an individual and societal level. International influences can also support or thwart a social movement. Finally, tactics matter. Empirical research comparing nonviolent and violent resistance campaigns has found that nonviolent campaigns are nearly twice as successful as their violent counterparts.

Section 9.4: Comparative Case Study - Workers’ movements in Poland and China

Two communist party-led states, Poland and China, experienced significant labor movements. The Solidarity labor union in Poland led a decade of resistance activity (1980-1989) which culminated in the turnover of state power from communist party rule to liberal democracy. In reforming China (1978-present), the labor movement remains fragmented and decentralized, with the Chinese Communist Party firmly in control of labor organizations. Applying concepts from social movement theory, it appears that political opportunity and organizational and mobilizational capacity differed significantly across these cases.

Review Questions

Please select the most appropriate answer for each of the following questions.

1. Which of the following are NOT characteristics of a public good?
    a. It is nonexcludable, meaning you cannot exclude anyone from enjoying it
    b. It is nonrival, meaning my enjoyment of that good does not affect your enjoyment of it
    c. It is common pool, meaning common to all
    d. Some public goods are provided as a result of collective action
2. Which of the following is an example of free rider behavior?
    a. In a group living situation, I wait for others to clean up the shared living area
    b. In a workplace situation, I let someone else clean up the work sink area
    c. In a study group, I wait for everyone else to post their study notes to the shared study space and don't post any
    d. All of the above
3. Which of the following are factors that can help explain the emergence and success of a social movement?
    a. Framing
    b. Political opportunity
    c. Organization and mobilization
    d. All of the above
4. True or false: Research has found that social movements which rely on nonviolent tactics are twice as successful as social movements which employ violence.
    a. True
    b. False
5. Which of the following are factors that can help explain the success of Poland's Solidarity movement compared to China's labor movement? (Select all that apply.)
    a. Framing
    b. Political opportunity
    c. Organization and mobilization
    d. International support

Answers: 1.c, 2.d, 3.d, 4.a, 5.b and c

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Consider a simple cooperation game in which two players can choose between cooperating and betraying the other player. Apply the dynamics of this game to a real world situation and map the choices of "cooperate" and "betray" onto the choices facing actors in this situation. Do we observe cooperation in your chosen real world situation? If so, why? If not, why not?
2. Research a social movement of interest to you. What were the objectives of that social movement? Were they met? If so, was this due to the social movement occurring during a time of political opportunity?
3. Present an example of a powerful frame employed by a social movement. Why is this frame powerful? Who is the audience (or audiences) and why might this framing of the problem resonate with them?

Suggestions for Further Study

Books

- Ash, Timothy Garton. (1983). The Polish Revolution: Solidarity. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Chenoweth, Erica and Stephan, Maria. (2011). Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gallagher, Mary Elizabeth. (2007). Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China. Princeton University Press.
- Han, Hahrie, McKenna, Elizabeth, and Oyakawa, Michelle. (2021). *Prisms of the People: Power & Organizing in Twenty-First-Century America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, Doug, Tarrow, Sydney, and Tilly, Charles. (2001). Dynamics of Contention. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Ostrom, Elinor. (1990). Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney. (1994). Power in Movement: Collective Action and Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Articles

- McAdam, Doug. (2017). Social Movement Theory and the Prospects for Climate Change Activism in the United States. Annual Review of Political Science. Vol. 20: 189-208.
- Walder, Andrew. (2009). Political Sociology and Social Movements. Annual Review of Sociology. Vol. 35: 393-412.

Datasets and websites

- China Labour Bulletin. Interactive maps of protests in China.
- Mapping American Social Movements Project. University of Washington.
- Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (NAVCO) Data Project.

Podcast

- How Narrative Drives Movements. Activist Marshall Ganz describes the essential role of storytelling in leadership and organizing. Harvard Kennedy School PolicyCast.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

10: Comparative Public Opinion

10.1: What is Comparative Public Opinion?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Remember the definition of comparative public opinion
- Understand how public opinion is studied in a comparative context
- Apply principles of public opinion across countries
- Analyze how comparative public opinion differs from American public opinion
- Evaluate research in comparative public opinion

Introduction

Comparative public opinion is the research and analysis of public opinion across two or more countries. In addition to the various regional and continental public opinion surveys, known generally as barometers and are discussed later, scholars of public opinion have been organized at the global level since the 1950s.

For example, the World Association for Public Opinion Research, WAPOR, has "promoted the highest professional standards, ethics and techniques for polling around the world. Their international membership represents the industry's most respected names in the survey and public opinion research field. Through publications, seminars, meetings and educational initiatives, WAPOR engages in a rich ongoing conversation about how best to collect data and maintain data quality not just in advanced democracies, but also in emerging democracies."

In September 2020, WAPOR hosted a webinar on Advances in Comparative Survey Methods and discussed the continuing development of Multinational, Multiregional, and Multicultural (3MC) survey research methodology. Their goal is to expand worldwide as a field of inquiry and students from around the world are invited to learn more and participate in the development of this emerging field of study and practice.

How is public opinion studied in a comparative context?

Public opinion is studied in the comparative context at three levels: conceptual, operational, and measurement. In addition to these abstract levels, public opinion is also studied at the geographic level. This means public opinion between countries, regions of countries, and continents.

How are principles of public opinion applied across countries?

Public opinion is the scientific use of survey questions and instruments to gauge the explicit and implicit opinions individuals have about political issues and policy topics. Principles of public opinion are applied across countries by researchers and practitioners who are trained in survey methodology.

In addition to survey methodologists, there are also interpreters of public opinion survey data. Interpreters of this data can be elected and appointed officials, the media, interest groups and non-profit organizations, community leaders, and individual members of the general public. Interpretation of public opinion survey data can haphazardly occur, especially by individuals who are not trained in analyzing such data.

How does comparative public opinion differ from American public opinion?

Comparative public opinion differs from American public opinion in three ways. First, comparative public opinion is interested in how the public thinks and believes in particular policy and political issues across at least two different countries. When we look at American public opinion, we are typically interested in what the national sentiment is around particular policy and political issues, or we are interested in the opinions of individuals within particular regions of the countries or specific states. By only surveying people in the United States, this means it is not comparative.

Second, American public opinion has a longer history than comparative public opinion, largely because surveys and polling have been used by the media, pollsters, and political scientists since the 1950s. Most comparative public opinion surveys, or non-American surveys, were consistently developed after 2000. Third, comparative public opinion typically encompasses multiple countries, such as the Afrobarometer which is led by social and political scientists who live and work on the continent. For

example, of the 54 countries that make up the African continent, people in 37 countries were recently surveyed in Round 6 of the Afrobarometer. In contrast, American public opinion, again, is only focused on the opinion of people in the United States.

How can we evaluate research in comparative public opinion?

Evaluating research in comparative public opinion is both exciting and challenging. It is exciting because we can see how individuals across different countries think about similar concepts and their operationalization. For example, we may be interested in how people view housing availability across two different countries and realize that the notion of housing is conceptualized differently by people across these two countries. In some countries we find that public housing is largely available to individuals, while in other countries the government plays no role or little role in the process of providing housing. What this means is that if you ask the survey question “what role should the government play in providing housing to individuals in need?” you may find that people don't even associate their government with providing this type of good because it's not a part of the political institutions, culture, and expectations of people within a country.

Evaluating research in public opinion is also challenging because it involves grappling with the conceptual, the operational, and the measurement level of ideas, things, and people that may not directly translate between countries. Moreover, you find this because different languages are spoken in different parts of the world that unless you're fluent in the languages, and also in their culture, of other countries you may find it difficult to see the comparison between two countries given their stark political, social, linguistic, and cultural uniqueness.

10.2: Political Socialization and Public Opinion

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Remember the definition of political socialization
- Understand how political socialization and public opinion interact
- Analyze how political socialization is discussed in contemporary comparative public opinion research

Public Opinion

When we say **public opinion** we are collectively referring to the views and opinions of the public at large. In the context of political science, we focus on inherent political questions about views regarding elected officials or public figures, political institutions, policy preferences, or the nature of democracy itself. Some examples include, but of course are not limited to, 'whether or not you approve of the U.S. President's job approval', 'support for nationwide mask or vaccine mandates', 'support for a border wall', or 'beliefs in the legitimacy of one home country's elections'. But the public can have mass opinions on different sorts of subjects, and it does not have to be restricted to politics, such as sports. But over the past few years, even with something like sports, we have seen the politicization of things that used to not be political.

Knowing the public's opinion, however, is valuable knowledge and something elected officials need and should take into account when determining what issues to focus on, and how to go about solving problems. In addition, if public officials seeking re-election continually ignore his or her constituents', then there is the possibility for a negative backlash or electoral defeat in their next election. So, public officials need to know what their constituency thinks of them and the issues themselves if they want to serve their constituencies' wills and have a better shot at winning re-election (Herrick, 2013). But, also knowing the public's view is valuable knowledge for political scientists or other types of academic scholars. There are entire fields within political science that primarily use public opinion as a data source, and study the impact(s) public opinion has on the polity. Finally, knowing the public's opinion allows the media to inform us regarding the views of others and gives us the ability to self-evaluate our own views relative to our own community.

Where do our opinions come from?

Where do our opinions come from? Most people derive their opinions (and in this case political opinions) from their beliefs and attitudes, which form in early childhood (Key, 1966). Beliefs are our core views and values that guide us in how we make decisions or interpret the world. For example, one may believe in a higher power or God. Having that belief in God will inform them on what they observe in the world and how to interpret it. Someone may have a strong belief in equality. Having that belief in equality will help them interpret if specific policy is having its desired outcome. Or perhaps we may collectively have a belief that American football is the greatest sport ever invented, especially if we grew up watching Big 12 or SEC football.

Attitudes also impact our opinions. Attitudes are made up of our personal beliefs and our life experiences. For example, someone who has never had a good experience at the DMV, may develop a bad attitude regarding government employees or civil servants. Or, someone who has had negative experiences with the police may have a suspicious attitude regarding law enforcement. Conversely, someone who has had good experience with the police may have a positive attitude or trust law enforcement. As our beliefs and attitudes take shape during childhood development, we are also being socialized, that is, learning how to respond to the world around us, either in thought or action.

Political Socialization

We are socialized into believing all sorts of things and having a variety of different views, and many if not most of these views stay with us throughout our lives (Zaller 1992). Some things we are taught, and other things we learn from our experiences and those around us. As defined in Chapter Six, political socialization is the process in which our political beliefs are formed over time. For example, my favorite college athletic team growing up was (and still is) the University of Mississippi. But I was living in a city approximately an hour east of Los Angeles, CA. So why would a Southern Californian kid pull for a college program 2000 miles away when there are multiple local colleges with prestigious (at least according to their fan basis') athletic programs to pull for?

It's because my father raised me to pull for Ole Miss. So, one could say I was taught to be an Ole Miss fan by my father. Yet, all my favorite professional teams are from Southern California. So, in terms of professional sports preferences it appears the community

outside my family had a greater influence. Perhaps through my experiences as a resident sport fan (going to games, etc.) gravitated me towards pulling for the hometown teams in this instance. So, the same can be said about the nature of our political beliefs. Some beliefs we are taught, and some are based on our life experiences.

There are **different agents to socialization**, that is, different factors that have helped mold who we are today, and our political views. Since our socialization begins in early childhood, for most individuals, family will be the dominant influence (Davies 1965). Parents and siblings are our largest sources of information throughout early childhood and are still quite dominant well into our early adulthood. For example, children who grow up in households where voting is expected would likely take a greater interest in voting themselves. If one's parents are politically active in a particular political party that child would also be exposed to the same information sources in which his or her parents base their views; and if one looks upon their parents or siblings as a trusted authority figure, they will likely share, at least at an early age, and hold many of the same beliefs their family has.

Outside the family, another impactful agent is education (Mayer 2011). This can begin at pre-school and evolve well into college. Education is an impactful agent because of both what was learned in an academic environment (i.e., the classroom), but also the exposure to other classmates, friends, and fellow students. If someone grows up in a predominately Evangelical Christian community, they may not meet someone who is Muslim or of a different faith until they go to school. Or, if someone lives in a community that is overwhelmingly white, they may not encounter racial or ethnic diversity until they go to school. These new experiences with others, and the education they receive, can help inform someone's politics.

Someone's faith or religion is another impactful agent (Lockerbie 2013). This may not necessarily be the faith someone was baptized in, however, but rather their religiosity, or how often they attend church. After all, if someone is lapsed in their faith or left their faith due to the doctrine, they may not be impacted as nearly as much by that religion. With this said, the faith I was baptized in when I was eight years old (although I haven't attended in over two decades) was a big part of my upbringing, and I find myself still adhering to some of the principles of that faith, but not nearly to the extent I would if I still attended service regularly. If someone attends church regularly, they are more likely to agree with what's said from the bully pulpit or that church's doctrine, and that faith will more actively inform their political points of view.

There are other, and in some cases less impactful, agents of socialization that could also help shape our views. One's race, gender, or age will no doubt play a role in someone's political socialization. Anyone who lived through the terrorist attacks on 9/11 still remembers how watching those events influenced their views (Hall and Ross 2015); so, monumental historical events can shape someone's world outlook. Someone's career choice, whether or not they served in the military, as well as where someone currently lives or grew up can also play a role. Finally, the media and opinion makers also play a distinct role in shaping our political opinions. By choosing to focus on certain issues, the media can help us define what's important (Cook et al., 1983), in addition to other forms of media bias giving us a certain perspective of the world. Also, if there are opinion makers' who people listen to or watch regularly, and trust their analysis, they may hold off on forming an opinion about a political issue until they have heard that commentators take on the subject.

10.3: Measuring Public Opinion

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Remember how public opinion is measured
- Understand how individual measures of public opinion affect aggregate measures of public opinion
- Apply principles of measurement to a public opinion survey

Public Opinion Polls

Researchers and consultants use a variety of techniques when trying to gauge public opinion, but the most common tool used are public opinion polls. A **public opinion poll** is a random sample of subjects from a broader pool of citizens who are interviewed and whose answers are used to make inferences on that larger body. In other words, by interviewing a smaller sub-sample of a population we can make reasonable guesses on what the larger population believes.

Imagine making a large pot of spaghetti sauce. But you want to test the sauce before you serve it to others. So, by tasting a sample you can make a reasonable guess what the entire batch of sauce tastes like. In order for this to work, the small spoon you use to test the sauce must contain all the ingredients and seasoning at the same proportions of the larger pot of sauce. It's the same dynamic in polling (NBC News Learn 2020). If we want to gauge what the public believes on a set of issues, then our sample must include all the different combinations of demographics and regional influences in that larger body.

How does a smaller sample truly represent the larger public? The sample must be representative, or have all the same features and elements at the same proportions of the larger body. To achieve this, researchers and political scientists use randomization when choosing respondents. **Randomization** in this case is when everyone in the larger population has an equal chance of being chosen for the smaller representative sample.

Imagine, if you had a perfectly weighted six-sided die. If you rolled it six times, odds are you will not get one of each number. If you rolled the dice sixty times, it's highly unlikely you will get 10 of each number (an equal distribution of each side of the die), but you'll probably get at least a couple of rolls with each number. If you rolled the dice six-hundred times you'll probably not get 100 of each number, but you'll get closer to 100 for each number than you would get 10 for each number if you rolled it only 60 times. And if you rolled the dice six-thousand times you would get even closer to that equal distribution than if you rolled it six-hundred or just sixty times. In other words, the more times you roll the die, the more likely you are to have an equal distribution of each number.

Even when following the laws of randomization, all public polls have a **margin of error**, that is a statistical estimation of the accuracy of your sample. Getting back to the sauce analogy, if you use a larger spoon to sample your spaghetti sauce, you'll likely get more of all the active ingredients than if you use a smaller spoon. So, in this case the larger spoon will have a lower margin of error than the smaller spoon. In other words, statistically, the larger random sample is more likely to be accurate than the smaller one.

When reading polls, this number is represented by using a "+/-" classification. So, if the poll claims that 45% of the public enjoys a particular beverage, and the margin of error is "+/- 5%", that means the polling is really claiming that somewhere between 40-50% enjoy that particular drink (we simply added and subtracted 5% from 45%). How do you know if the actual number is 40% and not 42%, or 45%? The short answer is we do not. If we get a larger sample we may be able to reduce our margin of error and get a more precise snapshot, but that's about the only alternative. Public opinion polling is a tool designed to estimate the public's view. As long as one knows the limitations of this tool then polls can be a valuable technique to gauge opinion.

Another way to measure public opinion is by using **focus groups** (Morgan 1996). Whereas polls give us a good idea of what the broader public feels or thinks, it does not really reveal the real life dynamic of how opinions are shaped or shared. Have you ever been engaged in a conversation where the person talking to you changes your mind? Or where, you simply just agree with those around you because you really do not care about the issue? Or perhaps, you felt strongly about an issue and then were exposed to more information (like in a news article, podcast, or television advertisement) then changed your mind?

Focus groups are a small subset of individuals that are exposed to a treatment of some kind and then are asked about their impressions of that treatment. When, though, asking their impressions others are allowed to inject their opinions as well, and more

real-life interaction can organically follow. Focus groups are a wonderful tool to see how opinions can be formed or how dominant personalities can influence those around them, but can not be generalized to the public at large. Nevertheless, they are a good tool to try to understand how an individual would react to a set of stimuli.

Modes of Contact and Types of Polls

The best scientific polls are usually done over the phone by Random Digit Dial (RDD). Random digit dial polls are good for a variety of reasons. You can use computers to make a lot of contacts within a short period of time, and as a result, have more accurate findings. If it takes too long to complete the poll, those who responded early on may have changed their mind by the time the poll finished. This also can become problematic if the poll is taken during an election with numerous candidates and one decides to drop out. In addition, researchers and pollsters can use the computer to randomly dial numbers which is one of the better ways to try to achieve a random sample. The biggest knock is that the poll biases against individuals who do not have phones, primarily only using cell phones. RDD polls can also be expensive (think of the hours it would take to call the thousands of respondents to complete five-hundred to thousand interviews), but is still more affordable than hiring people to go door to door. Although random digit dial is not perfect, it is better than some of the cheaper alternatives in a variety of ways.

On-line polls have been used with greater frequency as technology has evolved, and it is becoming easier through on-line websites such as Survey Monkey for anyone to create a poll and do an email blast. Potential problems, though, will quickly manifest. Many people are skeptical of doing anything on-line if they do not know the source. And technology has allowed us to screen out anonymous calls and emails (i.e. caller ID's and SPAM folders). The lower the response rate in any poll (the percentage of contacts who complete the survey) means any assumptions you make about your targeted population becomes less accurate, because we cannot say with certainty that the population who answers the poll is different than those who do.

On-line polls can be quite useful in collecting information in very specific circumstances, however. For example, if a business uses an internal on-line poll to gauge attitudes within that company, but in these cases the respondents already know the poll is coming before they complete it. Some pollsters may offer financial incentives (like a gift card or a lottery drawing) to improve their response rate, but doing something like that will, again, create more bias because we can assume those who are likely to complete the poll because of that incentive are more likely to need it.

There are a variety of polls, some that use either RDD's or on-line, and others who may use a combination. Tracking Polls is a common tool used by researchers and companies. It's often used to measure approval ratings among public officials. Tracking polls collect a sample over the period of a few days (typically 3-7), and use a rolling sample. Contacts are made every day, and the new contacts are continually added to the sample while the older contacts are taken out. So, for a tracking poll, it's more of a useful tool to look at the trajectory of attitudes than any single snapshot.

Exit Polls are conducted on election day. As individuals who voted exit from the polling location, poll workers interview respondents after they have voted. This data is good because we are asking individuals who have actually voted who they voted for, opposed to asking someone who they plan to vote for. The short-coming is that these polls are conducted earlier in the day (which may bias who is being interviewed) and uses a tactic called systematic randomization (randomly choosing a single respondent and interviewing every third, fourth, or some other fixed number after). This tactic is much harder to consistently follow than if one was conducting a cold call.

Push Polls are those designed to provide information under the guise of measuring someone's opinion. Campaigns frequently use these to try to build false enthusiasm. Embedded in the poll is information the respondent may not know about the candidate. For example, imagine a series of questions like this: Question 1: Were you aware that candidate A once saved the life of a child from a burning building? Question 2: Were you aware that candidate B is under investigation for failing to pay child support? Question 3: If the election were tomorrow, would you vote for candidate A or B? As you can see, the question ordering is designed to push the respondent to answer a certain way.

Straw Polls are often used at events or conventions to gauge the preferences of those who attended. The problem with these polls is that attendees are normally attracted to these events to see a candidate, so unless they hear something at the event that changes their mind, they will choose who attracted them there. Imagine doing a poll at a Los Angeles Laker game asking those who attended who their favorite basketball player is. The results you get at that game will be completely different than if you asked the same question among basketball fans nationwide.

Finally, one needs to be cautious about using data from a non-scientific poll. The classic example of the erroneous results of a non-scientific poll manifested in the false 'Dewey Defeats Truman' headline based on the unscientific Readers Digest Poll during the 1946 presidential election. We often see these polls on partisan or news websites. These polls are not random, and those who

complete the polls want to complete the poll. As a result, you can see results that are cartoonishly skewed. For example, let's say a conservative news network conducts a poll asking their viewers who won a debate. And the results show 90% of the respondents say the Republican candidate won. The problem is those who visit the website are much more likely to be Republican voters than not. So of course, they'll choose the Republican candidate.

Problems with Polls

No matter how much a researcher or pollster effectively achieves randomization of their sample, they all have to be concerned with potential pitfalls in how their poll is presented. One has to be conscious of priming effects. **Priming** effects are having a respondent to think about a certain subject matter they would not normally be thinking about or thinking about at that time. Recent studies have confirmed priming effects do occur (Lenz 2019). If I contact a respondent and ask them if they prefer their hamburgers from Whataburger or In-and-Out. Then after they give you the response, you ask them what they plan to eat for dinner this evening. And shockingly, they respond, "hamburger". They of course could be telling you the truth, but would they have planned to eat a burger for dinner, if you didn't first get them thinking about hamburgers by asking them the Whataburger/In-and-Out question first?

Another type of effect that can skew results is framing (Nelson and Oxley 1999). **Framing effects** are those that influence a respondent by how a question is presented. There are equally acceptable ways to ask questions, but the word usage one uses could present the issue in a different light. For example, imagine reading a newspaper article on the struggles of undocumented immigrants. Then imagine reading an identical article, but instead of it using the term "undocumented", it uses "illegal". The tone of the entire article completely changes.

When asking respondents about policy preferences, how language is articulated could influence their responses. For example, one could use humanizing language to refer to groups or a policy outcome, or conversely, one could use technical jargon or dehumanizing language when describing groups or policy outcomes. Trying to minimize priming and framing effects are some of the larger challenges researchers may face. So, when using data from polls, it is important to read through the polling instrument or questionnaire with a critical eye. Critical analysis is essential in choosing data if the goal is to make generalizable inferences.

In addition, one has to be cautious of social desirability effects (which is commonly referred to as the 'Bradley Effect' when being discussed by the media) and band-wagon effects. Ask yourself: Are there responses to questions that society deems to be 'good' or 'right'? And if your answer is 'yes', then could questions about these topics yield improper results because the respondent either did not want to be embarrassed by answering 'incorrectly' or perhaps judged by the interviewer?

The assumption behind any poll is that the respondents are telling you the truth, and we know people do not always tell the truth. For example, if you are contacted by a college student at a call center, could your opinion on a political topic like "student loan debt forgiveness" change because you are talking to someone who is in college? What if you found the caller charming? Even if the answer is 'no', not a lot of people have to be impacted by social desirability effects (Streb et al. 2008) to dramatically skew perception of reality, especially in a society that is evenly polarized.

Band-wagon effects are similar. In this case, it's not necessarily about going against society, but being influenced by the enthusiasm of those around you (Marsh 1985). Growing up as a Los Angeles Angels baseball fan, I intuitively already knew about the band-wagon effects before I even took my first graduate level seminar. Up until their world series victory, the Angels were the laughing stock of baseball. They also had a reputation for being choke artists (always failing to finish strong). They would be the type of organization where a fan may occasionally put a paper bag over their head. And then one miraculous year, they won the World Series. As the season progressed, there was quite the cornucopia of Angeles' jerseys and halo hats that flowered throughout Southern California. Will these fans be back when the team starts struggling again the next year or year after? Likely not.

Sometimes there is so much excitement (or anger) towards a candidate, it can spread infectiously. Afterall, have you ever liked or disliked someone and you didn't know why? You just knew everyone around you (and perhaps people you trust dearly) felt a certain way and you somewhat adopted the same belief even though you may have not had enough time to research the candidate or subject yourself? You can't really avoid these effects in questionnaire wording, but be conscious of these effects when studying the short and long term results of public opinion. Sometimes (but not all), public opinion can shift just as dramatically in one direction as the other as it can with band-wagon effects.

When studying data from other countries and doing comparative analysis, political scientists have studied rally around the flag effects phenomenon (Baum 2002). These effects can be seen in a dramatic spike (which is often temporary) in public approval ratings nation leaders have during war time, or at-least the beginning of an armed conflict. The suddenness of the spikes could also mean the opinions are less stable. For example, President George H. Bush's public approval was in the low nineties after Operation Desert Storm, yet he lost a presidential election less than two years later.

President George W. Bush's approval was in the low nineties after 9/11, but he only won his re-election by a little over two percent (popular vote). A sense of one's identity as a citizen of a nation is activated, and you temporarily re-range your priorities as a response to an external threat (Hetherington and Nelson 2003). The same type of phenomenon can be activated around anyone one group identifies you may share. For example, have you ever been annoyed hearing someone bash your age group even though you were not the target of the criticism?

The short-comings of public opinion polls should not dismay someone from using them as a research tool. There are many good researchers who have been trained in excellent techniques in minimizing potential problems. Polling and consulting firms are used by many schools and companies for data collection and marketing purposes. Companies and news outlets would not pay for results if there was not a strong track record in polling success. But, as polling has become more frequently used, many more companies and firms have been getting into the industry. Some businesses do not apply the same traditional standards and safeguards in their polls as academics do. So, it is always a good idea to look at the accuracy of past polls the company has produced when looking for reputable places to get data.

10.4: Comparative Case Study - Barometers Around the World

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Remember the definition of a barometer
- Analyze at least two different barometers
- Evaluate the similarities and differences between two or more barometers

Introduction

Recall from the beginning of the chapter that comparative public opinion is the research and analysis of public opinion across two or more countries.The case study for this chapter is a comparison of global or regional public opinion surveys, also called barometers. Also remember from Chapter Two, that cases in comparative politics are mostly countries. Here is a comparative case study where the cases are not countries, but instead barometers.

What is a barometer?

A barometer is typically defined as "an instrument for determining the pressure of the atmosphere and hence for assisting in forecasting weather and for determining altitude." However, when political scientists use the term barometer, we are referring to a survey of questions that are asked of individuals in a particular country or region of the world, to gauge their opinions on political ideas, institutions, and actors.

Barometers Around the World

Eight well known barometers include: Afrobarometer, Arab Barometer, Asian Barometer, Eurasia Barometer, Latino Barometer, Comparative National Elections Project, AmericasBarometer, and World Values Survey. Below is a table that summarizes the year, geographic coverage, and website for each of these barometers.

Table of Barometers Around the World

Name	Year Established	Geographic Coverage	Website
Afrobarometer	1999	African continent, 30 countries	Afrobarometer
Arab Barometer	2006	15 countries in Middle East and North Africa	Arab Barometer
Asian Barometer	2001	Asian continent	Asian Barometer
Eurasia Barometer	1989	25 countries in Eastern Europe	Eurasia Barometer
Latino Barometer	1995	18 countries	Latinobarometro
Comparative National Elections Project	Late 1980s	5 continents, countries vary	Comparative National Elections Project
AmericasBarometers	2005	34 countries	LAPOP
World Values Survey	1981	Countries vary	WVS

According to its website, the Afrobarometer "is a non-partisan, pan-African research institution conducting public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, the economy and society in 30+ countries repeated on a regular cycle. They are the world's leading source of high-quality data on what Africans are thinking. Additionally, they are the world's leading research project on issues that

affect ordinary African men and women. Afrobarometer collects and publishes high-quality, reliable statistical data on Africa which is freely available to the public."

The Afrobarometer conducts rounds of questionnaires in specific countries across the African continent. Since 2000, there have been 8 rounds with a total of 171 questionnaires. In the latest round, 34 surveys were asked in 34 different countries. Each country's question was in one of four languages: Arabic, English, French, or Portuguese.

One example was the questionnaire for the country of Botswana, located in the southern part of the African continent. The survey was conducted in 2019, written in English, and included over 100 questions ranging from personal demographics, views of the economy, politics and recent elections, the media, taxes, corruption, and how the government was handling different matters. To explore the results of the survey, please visit Summary of results: Afrobarometer Round 8 survey in Botswana in 2019.

Arab Barometer

Arab Barometer, according to its website, "is a nonpartisan research network that provides insight into the social, political, and economic attitudes and values of ordinary citizens across the Arab world. They have been conducting high quality and reliable public opinion surveys in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) since 2006. Arab Barometer is the longest-standing and the largest repository of publicly available data on the views of men and women in the MENA region. Their findings give a voice to the needs and concerns of Arab publics."

From July 2020 to April 2021, the Arab Barometer conducted its sixth wave of surveying across the Middle East North African region, and specifically the countries of Algeria, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Iraq. This wave consisted of 3 parts from July-October 2020, October 2020, and March-April 2021. The Part 1 questionnaire featured 8 sections of questions: Core Demographics; Lebanon: Beirut Port Explosion; COVID-19; State of the Economy; Trust and Government Performance; Media, Religion, and Culture; International Relations; and Demographics. There are approximately 58 questions across these 8 sections. To explore the results of this wave for the country of Lebanon, read the Lebanon Country Report.

Asian Barometer

The Asian Barometer describes itself as "an applied research program that aims to gauge public opinion across Asia on issues such as political values, democracy, and governance. The ABS covers virtually all major political systems in the region, including regimes that have followed different trajectories and are at different stages of political transition, offering valuable comparative data for researchers and practitioners."

There have been four completed waves of the core questionnaire of the Asian Barometer, with a fifth wave underway from 2018 to 2021. The fourth wave occurred from 2014 to 2016 and was in 14 countries: Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Mongolia, Mainland China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Myanmar. The core questionnaire consisted of over 170 questions across 24 sections. Some of these sections range from Economic Evaluations, Trust in Institutions, and Social Capital to Citizenship, International Relations, and Socio-economic Background.

Unlike the prior barometers described, the survey results do not appear to be readily available for public consumption.

Eurasia Barometer

Eurasia Barometer writes that it is a "non-commercial non-governmental international social survey organization headquartered at the Institute for Comparative Survey Research "Eurasia Barometer" in Vienna, Austria. Its main aim is to monitor political, social and economic transformations in the countries of post-communist Europe and post-Soviet Eurasia in the opinion of their populations. The target geographical coverage of Eurasia Barometer includes countries of Eastern Europe (Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Bulgaria), the Balkans, Russian Federation, Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia), Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan). Eurasia Barometer is a network of research organizations and individual researchers operating in more than 25 countries and including over 50 social and political scientists and social survey researchers."

While it appears that the Eurasia Barometer has been inactive since 2018, this barometer included at least six different projects: New Democracies Barometer; Social and Political Trends in the CISl Interplay of European, National, and Regional Identities; Living Conditions, Lifestyles and Health; Models of Migration in New European Border Regions; and Health in Times of Transition.

For example, the New Democracies Barometer is described as "The cross-national and longitudinal survey "New Democracies Barometer (NDB)" has been conducted in 1991 (NDB I), 1992 (NDB II), 1994 (NDB III), 1996 (NDB IV) and 1998 (NDB V) by

the Austrian Paul Lazarsfeld Society for Social Research and is covering the following 11 countries: Belarus, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Poland, Romania, Ukraine and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia."

The survey instrument appears to have consisted of 43 questions on topics ranging from employment status, how their system of government works, and views of the European Union. No survey results or summaries appear to be readily available.

Latino Barometer

Latinobarómetro, according to its webpage, is a "public opinion study that annually applies around 20,000 interviews in 18 Latin American countries representing more than 600 million inhabitants. Corporación Latinobarómetro is a non-profit NGO based in Santiago de Chile, solely responsible for the production and publication of the data. Corporación Latinobarómetro investigates the development of democracy, the economy and society as a whole, using public opinion indicators that measure attitudes, values and behaviors. The results are used by the region's socio-political actors, international, governmental and media actors."

Since 1995, this barometer has conducted 22 surveys. The surveys, also called questionnaires, are available in both Spanish and English. The English version of the questionnaire consists of over 100 questions. For example, the first question of the 2020 survey asked "Generally speaking, would you say you are satisfied with your life?" Additionally, questions range from views on the government's role in society, integration across Latin American countries, views on immigration, and who has more power in a country.

The survey results are organized by country. For example, the 2020 questionnaire was fielded in 18 countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

For example, the 2020 survey conducted in the country of Ecuador had a total of 1,200 respondents, 587 who identified as a man and 613 who identified as a woman. 283 were individuals aged 15-25, 415 respondents were aged 26-40, 350 individuals were aged 41-60, and 155 respondents were aged 61 or more. To see aggregate responses to specific questions for specific countries in the region, visit Latinobarometro.

Comparative National Elections Project)

The Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP), hosted by The Ohio State University, describes itself as "a partnership among scholars who have conducted election surveys on five continents. Founded in the late 1980s, it now includes over 50 surveys from 1990 to 2021 in 30 different countries, with multiple election surveys in 16 countries. The geographical scope and theoretical concerns of the CNEP have substantially evolved over the past three decades, with essential items from earlier research foci retained in the common core questionnaire and merged dataset, creating time-series that for some countries stretch back over more than three decades."

CNEP has over 50 publicly available surveys from countries around the world. For example, one of its first reports is from the 1990 German elections and one of its more recent reports is from the 2016 Taiwanese elections.

The CNEP has developed, and maintained, a common core of questionnaire items that are asked in country-specific surveys. The most recent common core includes what appears to be over 100 questions across 14 themes. Some of these themes include short-term campaign issues, communication channels in which individuals receive election information, socio-political values, and sub-national political identities and preferences for state structure.

One interesting aspect of CNEP's publicly available surveys is that they are available by country and in the aggregate. The aggregate version includes all 53 available surveys' common core items merged together in a single file that can be used by survey researchers and data analysts. The technical report of this merged dataset describes the county and year, timing of interviews, the survey organization who conducted the poll, the sponsor of the survey, sampling method, mode of survey (face-to-face, online, telephone, etc.), and population covered.

Unlike other surveys, such as the Afrobarometer and Latino Barometer, it does not appear that the survey results are prepared for general public consumption in the form of public-facing reports. Instead, the data is available in a specialized file format that requires knowledge and ability in using specialized data analysis software.

AmericasBarometer

The AmericasBarometer considers itself "the premier academic institution carrying out surveys of public opinion in the Americas, with over thirty years of experience. As a center for excellence in survey research, AmericasBarometer uses "gold standard"

approaches and innovative methods to carry out targeted national surveys; conduct impact evaluation studies; and produce reports on individual attitudes, evaluations, and experiences. The AmericasBarometer survey is the only scientifically rigorous comparative survey that covers 34 nations including all of North, Central, and South America, as well as a significant number of countries in the Caribbean. Each year it publishes dozens of high quality academic studies and policy-relevant papers."

The AmericasBarometer maintains a repository of country questionnaires and sample designs. Like other barometers, it has a core questionnaire that has been administered 9 times since 2004. The questionnaire is available in both Spanish and English. The most current survey, from 2021, includes two unique elements.

The first unique aspect of the AmericasBarometer is that it used a split-sample design. This means that half (50%) of respondents received a Core A set of questions, while the other half of respondents received a Core B set of questions. Additionally, there is a set of questions that all survey respondents were asked.

For example, a question that was asked of all respondents was "In your opinion, what is the most serious problem faced by the country?". On the other hand, only individuals in the Core A split-sample were asked "To what extent do you respect the political institutions of [your country]?". While individuals in Core B split-sample were only asked "Water is a limited, expensive to provide, and necessary resource. Which one of the following statements do you most agree with?"

Second, there are experimental modules within the survey. An experimental module means that the questions within this module are randomly assigned to survey respondents. For example, in the 2021 survey, there is an experimental module that includes 4 different treatments, or sets of questions. Each time the survey is administered, the person being interviewed has a 1 in 4 (25%) chance of being assigned a particular treatment. Experimental modules are increasingly common in surveys, as it allows the survey researcher to see how individuals respond to different "treatments" of questions.

Below is a visualization of split-sample design with common questions across 4 treatments. Split-sample design consists of two core sets of questions, labeled A and B. Given that respondents in sample A or B could be randomly assigned to 1 of 4 experimental modules, the circle of each sample is divided into four equal parts. Additionally, the inner green circle represents the common core questions that were asked regardless of split.

World Values Survey

Finally, the World Values Survey (WVS) writes that its "an international research program devoted to the scientific and academic study of social, political, economic, religious and cultural values of people in the world. The project's goal is to assess which impact values stability or change over time has on the social, political and economic development of countries and societies."

Unlike the prior barometers, the WVS is global in nature since it transcends regions and continents. The WVS has conducted seven waves of surveys since 1981. The latest, 7th wave, was conducted from 2017 to 2020 across 51 countries and territories. For this, and prior waves, there is a Master Survey Questionnaire that consists of a Core Questionnaire, Observations by the Interviewer, and Regional and Thematic Modules.

Within the core questionnaire, there are 290 questions asked across a wide range of topics, including happiness and well-being, science and technology, and ethical values and norms. For example, question #49 asks "All things considered, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?" While question #158 asks a respondent to answer on a 10-point scale from completely disagree to completely agree with the following statement: "Science and technology are making our lives healthier, easier, and more comfortable." And finally, question #195 asks whether the death penalty is never justifiable (point scale 1) to always justifiable (point scale 10).

In addition to these waves, the WVS has developed the Inglehart-Welzel Cultural Map. According to their website: "The map presents empirical evidence of massive cultural change and the persistence of distinctive cultural traditions. Main thesis holds that socioeconomic development is linked with a broad syndrome of distinctive value orientations. Analysis of WVS data made by political scientists Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel asserts that there are two major dimensions of cross-cultural variation in the world."

The following is drawn from the WVS Database Findings and Insights page:

- Traditional values emphasize the importance of religion, parent-child ties, deference to authority and traditional family values. People who embrace these values also reject divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide. These societies have high levels of national pride and a nationalistic outlook.

- Secular-rational values have the opposite preferences to the traditional values. These societies place less emphasis on religion, traditional family values and authority. Divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide are seen as relatively acceptable. (Suicide is not necessarily more common.)
- Survival values place emphasis on economic and physical security. It is linked with a relatively ethnocentric outlook and low levels of trust and tolerance.
- Self-expression values give high priority to environmental protection, growing tolerance of foreigners, gays and lesbians and gender equality, and rising demands for participation in decision-making in economic and political life.

This cultural map brings together many different, and sometimes complementary, and other times competing, ideas and values onto a two-dimension scale. For a thorough introduction to this cultural map, please visit the Findings and Insights page of the WVS Database.

Contributor(s)

2022 version: Byran Martin, Ph.D. and Josh Franco, Ph.D.

10.5: References

“Afrobarometer.” n.d. Accessed February 12, 2022. https://afrobarometer.org/.

“AmericasBarometer.” n.d. LAPOP. Accessed February 12, 2022. https://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/.

“Arab Barometer.” n.d. Accessed February 12, 2022. https://www.arabbarometer.org/.

“Asian Barometer.” n.d. 台大胡佛東亞民主研究中心 Asian Barometer. Accessed February 12, 2022. http://www.asianbarometer.org/.

“Eurasia Barometer.” n.d. Accessed February 12, 2022. http://office.eurasiabarometer.org/.

“Latinobarometro.” n.d. Accessed February 12, 2022. https://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp.

“World Values Survey Association.” n.d. Accessed February 12, 2022. https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp.

Baum, M. A. (2002). The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon. International Studies Quarterly, 46(2), 263–298

Cook, F. L., Tyler, T. R., Goetz, E. G., Gordon, M. T., Protess, D., Leff, D. R., & Molotch, H. L. (1983). Media and Agenda Setting: Effects on the Public, Interest Group Leaders, Policy Makers, and Policy. The Public Opinion Quarterly, 47(1), 16–35.

Davies, J. C. (1965). The Family’s Role in Political Socialization. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 361, 10–19.

Gunther, Richard. n.d. “Comparative National Elections Project.” Accessed February 12, 2022. https://u.osu.edu/cnep/.

Hall, Todd H., and Andrew A. G. Ross. 2015. “Affective Politics after 9/11.” International Organization 69 (4): 847–79.

Herrick, R. (2013). Listening and Representation. State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 13(1), 88–106.

Hetherington, M. J., & Nelson, M. (2003). Anatomy of a Rally Effect: George W. Bush and the War on Terrorism. PS: Political Science and Politics, 36(1), 37–42

Key, Valdimer Orlando, and Milton C. Cummings. 1966. The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. https://play.google.com/store/books/...d=0EmsAAAAIAAJ.

Lenz, G. S. (2009). Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Priming Hypothesis. American Journal of Political Science, 53(4), 821–837.

Lockerbie, B. (2013). Race and Religion: Voting Behavior and Political Attitudes. Social Science Quarterly, 94(4), 1145–1158.

Marsh, C. (1985). Back on the Bandwagon: The Effect of Opinion Polls on Public Opinion. British Journal of Political Science, 15(1), 51–74.

Mayer, A. K. (2011). Does Education Increase Political Participation? The Journal of Politics, 73(3), 633–645.

Morgan, D. L. (1996). Focus Groups. Annual Review of Sociology, 22, 129–152.

Nelson, T. E., & Oxley, Z. M. (1999). Issue Framing Effects on Belief Importance and Opinion. The Journal of Politics, 61(4), 1040–1067.

NBC News Learn. 2020 May 5th. Science Behind the News: Opinion Polls & Random Sampling. [Video] YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TdgOgAHss-E

Streb, M. J., Burrell, B., Frederick, B., & Genovese, M. A. (2008). Social Desirability Effects and Support for a Female American President. The Public Opinion Quarterly, 72(1), 76–89.

Zaller, John R., and John R. Zaller. 1992. The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion. Cambridge University Press.

10.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Afrobarometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in countries across the African continent.
- **Agents of socialization** - different factors that have helped mold who we are today, and our political views.
- **AmericasBarometer (LAPOP)** - a public opinion organization focused on surveying people in countries across North, Central, South American and Caribbean regions.
- **Arab Barometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in countries across the Middle East and North Africa.
- **Asian Barometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in countries across the Asian continent.
- **Barometer** - another, more general term, for a survey.
- **Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP)** - a partnership of scholars who conduct election surveys on five continents.
- **Comparative public opinion** - the research and analysis of public opinion across two more countries.
- **Eurasia Barometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in countries across eastern Europe and Central Asia.
- **Focus group** - a small subset of individuals that are exposed to a treatment of some kind and then are asked about their impressions of that treatment.
- **Framing effects** - an effect that could influence a respondent's answer by how the question is presented.
- **Latino Barometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in Latin American countries.
- **Margin of error** - a statistical estimation of the accuracy of one's sample.
- **Priming effects** - questions that have a respondent thinking about a certain subject matter they may have not been normally thinking about or thinking about at that time.
- **Public opinion poll** - a random sample of subjects from a broader pool of citizens who are interviewed and whose answers are used to make inferences on that larger body.
- **Public opinion** - the views and opinions of the public at large.
- **Representative sample** - a sample that has all the same features and elements at the same proportions of the larger body.
- **Survey** - a set of questions that asks individuals, known as respondents, to share their beliefs, attitudes, and views on policy and political issues or individuals.
- **Survey questions** - included in surveys and consist of questions with multiple choice, true/false, and open-ended response options.
- **World Values Survey (WVS)** - an international research program devoted to the scientific and academic study of social, political, economic, religious and cultural values of people in the world.

Summary

Section #10.1: What is Comparative Public Opinion?

Public opinion is the views and opinions of the public at large, while comparative public opinion is the research and analysis of public opinion across two more countries or global regions. Public opinion is of interest to scholars and the general public because it helps inform our understanding of the beliefs, attitudes, and views of individuals across countries or regions.

Section #10.2: Public Opinion and Political Socialization

Political scientists use public opinion data to study a variety of different research questions. The foundations of public opinion can be seen in how we are socialized. There are different factors, or agents, that impact our views and begin in early childhood. Family, education, and religion are some of the more dominant factors, but other agents can also influence us extensively. Once our views are established, they still can continue to change, but out of these views we derive our political ideology and our belief in the appropriate role and purpose government plays in our lives.

Section #10.3: Measuring Public Opinion

The most common way to measure public opinion is through public opinion polls. If the goal of the poll is to make generalizations of a larger population of people, the sample must be representative of that larger body, and subjects chosen to be interviewed must be selected randomly. There are different types of polling techniques, which allow researchers to measure public opinion in a variety of ways. All polling has potential problems, many of which can be mitigated to some extent, but researchers need to always be conscious of these problems' potential influence. Nevertheless, when done correctly, public opinion polls are a valuable tool for researchers and marketers.

Section #10.4: Comparative Case Study - Barometers Around the World

There are at least 8 barometers, or surveys, conducted throughout the world: Afrobarometer, Arab Barometer, Asian Barometer, Eurasia Barometer, Latino Barometer, Comparative National Elections Project, AmericasBarometer, and World Values Survey. Most barometers have questionnaires with a common, or core, set of questions that are asked in each fielding of the survey. All barometers are developed and administered by social scientists located throughout the world.

Review Questions

1. What is comparative public opinion?
    a. is the research and analysis of public opinion across two or more countries.
    b. is the research and analysis of public opinion across two or more continents.
    c. is the research and analysis of elite opinion across two or more countries.
    d. is the research and analysis of elite opinion across two or more continents.
2. Which of the following best describes political socialization?
    a. Where someone chooses to get their political information.
    b. How someone is raised and views the world from an ideological point of view.
    c. Why does someone choose whether or not to vote?
    d. What political organization someone chooses to work or volunteer with.
3. Which of the following is NOT a challenge of measuring public opinion?
    a. Bandwagon effects
    b. Framing
    c. Priming
    d. Education
4. What is the mission of the World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR)?
    a. promotes the highest professional standards, ethics and techniques for polling around the world.
    b. international membership represents the industry's most respected names in the survey and public opinion research field.
    c. Through publications, seminars, meetings and educational initiatives we engage in a rich ongoing conversation about how best to collect data and maintain data quality not just in advanced democracies, but also in emerging democracies.
    d. All of the above.
5. Which of the following is not a public opinion barometer?
    a. Afrobarometer
    b. Arab Barometer
    c. Meximeter
    d. Latino Barometer

Answers: 1.a, 2.b, 3.d, 4.d, 5.c

Critical Thinking Questions

1. In September 2020, WAPOR hosted a webinar on Advances in Comparative Survey Methods and discussed the continuing development of Multinational, Multiregional, and Multicultural (3MC) survey research methodology. Watch the webinar and write in 5 or more sentences what you found most interesting and/or most perplexing?
2. Given the problems with polling, should we just stop polling individuals and trying to measure public opinion? Why or why not?
3. Select a barometer you are most interested in, and if available, review its questionnaire. Within the questionnaire, identify at least two questions and compare and contrast them for similarities and differences.

Suggestions for Further Study

Databases

- Data | Afrobarometer
- Data Downloads – Arab Barometer
- WVS Database (worldvaluessurvey.org)

Websites

- International Political Science Association's Comparative Public Opinion section
- Global Barometer Surveys
- Afro Barometer
- Arab Barometer
- Asian Barometer
- Eurasia Barometer
- Latino Barometer
- CNEP
- LAPOP
- World Values Survey Association
- American Political Science Association > MEMBERSHIP > Organized Sections > Comparative Politics (Section 20)
- American Political Science Association > MEMBERSHIP > Organized Sections > Elections ,Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior (Section 32)

Journal Articles

- Oversight or Representation? Public Opinion and Impeachment Resolutions in Argentina and Brazil
- Cyber Terrorism and Public Support for Retaliation – A Multi-Country Survey Experiment
- Costly Signals: Voter Responses to Parliamentary Dissent in Austria, Britain, and Germany

Books or Book Chapters

- Aalberg, Toril. 2003. Achieving Justice: Comparative Public Opinions on Income Distribution. BRILL.
- Dalton, Russell J. 2018. Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies. CQ Press.
- Norris, Pippa. The Globalization of Comparative Public Opinion Research. The Sage Handbook of Comparative Politics. Ed. Neil Robinson and Todd Landman. Sage, 2009, 522-540.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

11: Political Violence

11.1: What is Political Violence?

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify what is political violence
- Explain how political violence differs from criminal violence
- Understand the differences between different forms of political violence
- Differentiate between the two categories of political violence

Introduction

Political violence is a difficult term to define. The main question that arises is "when is violence considered political?" Before we can answer that, we first must define the concept of **violence**. Kalyvas (2006) states that "[a]t the basic level, violence is the deliberate infliction of harm on people". Although some scholars have rightly considered non-physical aspects, such as social or economic oppression, as a form of oppression (i.e., "structural" violence), we will primarily focus on the physical variety in this chapter. So while harm can come in many types, political violence exclusively focuses on physical violence. **Physical violence** includes the use of physical force to exert power. Examples include the use of weapons by criminal gangs to mark their territory, kidnappings, mass shootings, and torture. And while many of these examples can also be considered as political violence, the simple act of violence itself does not make it political. There is another step that makes violence become political.

Political violence occurs when the use of physical harm is motivated by political intentions. For example, when violence is used to destroy a social order, but also to preserve a social order, we can consider this political violence. Thus, political violence can be used by those seeking to challenge the socio-political status quo. And it could involve those who want to defend that same status quo.

Differentiating when an act of violence is simply criminal, or should be considered political violence can be tricky. For example, many scholars contend that the actions taken by the drug cartels in the Gulf of Mexico should be described as political violence. The cartels often target law enforcement, kidnap the loved ones of government officials and threaten the government itself. Thus, by targeting the official capacity of the government, some say that the Mexican drug trafficking groups are politically violent. However, we have to ask what are the intentions of these narco groups? Their primary interests are financial; the continued flow of narcotics from Central and South America to the U.S. border. They are overwhelmingly not interested in challenging the socio-political order. They have little interest in regime change, or in elections. The drug cartels tend to get involved only when their interests are threatened. As long as the Mexican government stays out of their way, they will respond in kind.

What are some forms of political violence? Are interstate wars, or wars between two or more countries, considered political violence? The answer generally is no. Even though our definition above does not necessarily preclude international wars, the vast majority of political violence transpires within a state. **Intrastate political violence** is defined as political violence that wholly or largely occurs within a state or country. While individuals are being subjugated to political violence in the context of an international war, such a war still is a contestation between two or more sovereign entities where individuals are "participating" as a member of a sovereign state (see the definition and more details on state in chapter XX). So we need to think about who is using violence against who when we are trying to classify different forms of political violence. Generally speaking, at least one of the parties involved in a case of political violence is a non-state actor. A **non-state actor** is any political actor that is not associated with a government. It is further defined as "an individual or organization that has significant political influence but is not allied to any particular country or state" (Lexico, n.d.).

Non-state actors include a wide range of organizations and individuals. Many non-state actors are charities, or have peaceful intentions. This includes non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, and trade unions. They can also include individual political actors as well (a deeper discussion of non-state actors occurs in Chapter 12). Non-state actors that engage in political violence traditionally involve insurgents, guerilla groups and terrorists. Each one of the groups will be discussed at length in this chapter. Finally, political violence can include a wide range of activities: terrorism, assassinations, coups, battles, riots, explosions, and protests.

A more difficult differentiation occurs when non-state actors have a transnational presence. **Transnationalism** is defined as "events, activities, ideas, trends, processes and phenomena that appear across national boundaries and cultural regions"

(Juergensmeyer, 2013). Thus, **transnational political violence** is defined as political violence that occurs across different countries or crosses state borders. By their nature, insurgents and guerilla groups tend not to be transnational, as their focus is on overthrowing a government within a specific country, or succeeding in the secession of a region or province. **Secession** is defined as the act of formal withdrawal or separation from a political entity, usually a state. The goals of secessionist movements are often the creation of a new state, or leaving to join another state.

This is not the case with terrorism, however. Since the 1990s, terrorism has become transnational, with the rise of groups such as al-Qaeda and their affiliates and offsprings. Transnational actors blur the line between comparative politics and international relations. As countries have allied to combat transnational terrorist activity, their responses could be understood through international relations theory. In addition, international governmental organizations, such as the United Nations have also worked with individual member-states on counterterrorism strategies. Still, terrorism is often researched by comparative scholars as the targets of their political violence are civilians. Given that these attacks happen within a country, comparative methodology can help in analyzing and/or assessing terrorist acts and their responses.

Given the above discussion, we can present several categories of political violence. The first category involves state-sponsored political violence. This form of political violence occurs when a government uses violence, either against its own citizens, referred to as **internal sponsored political violence**; or against foreign citizens, usually in neighboring countries, referred to as **external sponsored political violence**. The second category involves non-state sponsored political violence. Forms of non-state sponsored political violence involves insurgencies, civil wars, revolutions, and terrorism. Each one of these categories, both state-sponsored and non-state sponsored forms will be discussed at length below.

11.2: State-sponsored political violence

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Differentiate between internal and external state-sponsored political violence
- Understand different repressives policies (domestic terrorism)
- Evaluate different models of state-sponsored terrorism

Introduction

A major characteristic of a state is their '**monopoly on the use of violence**'. By this we mean that only the state and its institutions, such as the police or the military, have the authority to use violence, *when necessary*. The last part has been italicized for a reason. If the government of a country enjoys this monopoly, then the leaders, elected or not, are also responsible for when violence is used. Rules and regulations must exist for states when violence is employed by authorities. For example, all police authorities worldwide are expected to undergo formal training, background checks. In addition, most law enforcement officers are expected to be actively licensed, with periodic reviews of their performance. Unfortunately, those with the ability to wield such power, often through small arms and/or other weaponry, have too often abused this authority. We see many instances of protestors on global TV stations being beaten in the streets, or images of villages being looted or burned. When this occurs, it often leads the people of that country to believe that their government has transgressed their responsibility. At this stage, we can say that this state has engaged in state-sponsored political violence.

State-sponsored political violence can be characterized as "official government support for policies of violence, repression, and intimidation" (Martin, 2020, pg. 66). Officially, a government can sanction violence against people or organizations that are deemed to be a threat to the state. Who exactly gets to decide who is a threat, and in turn define them as an enemy is left to debate. Many times, state-sponsored political violence is often referred to as government terrorism, or state-sponsored terrorism. The word terrorism itself is often used to describe many different violent actions. Political leaders often use the word to describe actions taken by their political opposition. Similarly, people also apply the word terrorism to unpopular decisions made by leaders that have had harmful repercussions.

However, in political science terrorism has a specific meaning. **Terrorism** is defined as a violent act that generally targets noncombatants for political purposes. Some go even further and define terrorism as violence carried out by *nonstate* actors that targets noncombatants for political reasons. We tend to disagree and believe that such actions carried out by governments can rightfully also be labeled as terrorism. This is because terrorism is better understood as a tactic. The goal in terrorism is to use violence to disruption and fear among the general population as away to put pressure on government leaders. Terrorists hope that this pressure will lead to changes in government policy that they fond favorable. Let's look at how different governments approach the use of political violence.

In democratic regimes, these decisions are often left up to the executive branches of a government. For example, in parliamentary systems, the Prime Minister's cabinet will often make that call, often in consultation with the country's intelligence agencies. In presidential systems, this decision often falls to the President, who usually consults with a national defense council. These councils often include the country's defense minister, national security advisor and other relevant officials, such as the foreign minister. Either way, the decisions to determine who is a threat are eventually scrutinized by opposing politicians, or directly by the public. A good example is when opposition parties call for a vote of no confidence in parliamentary systems for example. Through voting mechanisms, the public can concur with their elected leaders and re-elect them, or dissent and choose to vote for opposing candidates and/or parties.

In authoritarian regimes, a similar process plays out, but with some important differences. The decision on who is an enemy is still made at the executive level. However, whether it is a Prime Minister or a President, or a Premier making that call is irrelevant. In authoritarian systems there is also little to no recourse for those who may disagree. Often, the opposition party, if one exists, is ignored, and the public often lacks the formal voting mechanisms to remove a leader they disagree with. This can explain why the propensity for political violence may be greater in authoritarian regimes. As there are less checks on those who have a monopoly on the use of power, abuse of that authority is more likely.

Internal State-Sponsored Political Violence (Government Terrorism)

When a government finally determines who is a threat and designates someone, some group, or some organization as an enemy, the next step is figuring out where this threat/enemy is located. If it is determined to be within the borders of the country, then the threat is considered to be an **internal threat**. If it is determined to be outside the borders of the country, then the threat is considered an **external threat**. This distinction clearly matters as the state will have more autonomy to use violence against internal threats vis-a-vis external threats. The concept of sovereignty applies. Remember from Chapter One, sovereignty is fundamental governmental power, where the government has the power to coerce those to do things they may not want to do. Also remember from Chapter Three, sovereignty also involves the ability to manage the country's affairs independently from outside powers and internal resistance. If a country enjoys widespread sovereignty, then the government will have more room from which to address internal threats. States have little to no sovereignty beyond their borders, though can project power in the defense of their interests.

When violence is officially sanctioned against a perceived internal threat or enemy, it can come in many forms. In democratic countries, this often involves use of force to arrest or detain those who act against the state. It may also involve the use of lethal means, particularly if the democratically elected government believes the threat could be an **existential threat**, or a threat to the existence of the state itself. An example could include a group that espouses an apocalyptic ideology, and may lack any political goals, other than seeing the destruction of their home government. Still, in a democratic society, the public will tend not to tolerate large scale measures. It is one thing to punish an extremist group, it's another thing for wider security measures that could affect society writ large.

Still, the use of violence in a democratic society can occur without formal sponsorship by its government. Political violence can be used by vigilante groups, paramilitaries, and other armed groups. In many countries, these groups may not have the explicit support of the state, but implicit support instead. Often, they are administratively separate from official government structures. Such groups will wage unofficial campaigns of violence and suppression against perceived internal enemies. They may or may not work with a state's security apparatus when targeting others. In addition, as these organizations are not part of a government's official institutions, governments may claim that they exert no control or influence over the group's actions.

In authoritarian countries, repression through violence may be official state policy. This is often referred to as **overt repression as policy**. Countries such as the Soviet Union under Stalin, or Nazi Germany, or in more recent times, Cambodia when ruled by the Khmer Rouge and Afghanistan in the 1990s before the U.S. invasion toppled them, all had adopted explicit repressive policies of violence towards people and segments of their population. Hundreds of thousands of people were exiled to work camps in Siberia during Stalin's reign. Millions of people were killed in Nazi death camps, simply for being born in the wrogn group. The Khmer Rouge is responsible for one of the worst mass killings of the late 20th century. Up to two million Cambodians were massacred in their attempt to transform the country into an agrarian utopian society. Finally, Taliban rule of Afghanistan in the 1990s was cruel and vicious, often targeting minority groups, such as the Hazaras.

In addition to overt repression, where violence is the official state policy, there is also **covert repression as policy**. Often actions undertaken by secret police services, or domestic intelligence agencies are considered covert. Use of violence against individuals or groups is often done secretively with society unaware that these violent actions are taking place. There are plenty of examples of authoritarian regimes using their domestic law enforcement services to quell opposition or stifle any dissent. Intelligence agencies such as in Syria or Iraq, referred to as the *Mukhabarat* in Arabic, are often integrated parts of a country's military structure. By surveilling the population, they can alert the military or law enforcement of any potential threats to the authoritarian regime's rule. Covert repression can also include nonviolent means as well. The former country of East Germany had the *Stasi*, or the State Security Service is a good example. The *Stasi* became infamous for their network of informants they developed in East German society. They used this network to terrify the population and use that fear to target those who might oppose the regime.

Keep in mind that such violence is much less tolerated today than it was in the past. Before the end of the Cold War, the concept of sovereignty was paramount when it came to the internal affairs of a state. However, since the 1990s, there has been a significant shift in the view of sovereignty. Following numerous humanitarian crises, scholars, policymakers and IGO officials have advocated for a new approach: **responsibility to protect (R2P)**. If a state refuses to protect its own citizens, then other states are expected to intervene in the state where abuses are occuring. R2P goes as far as to suggest using military force to protect another country's citizens from persecution, especially if authorized by the UN Security Council.

External State-Sponsored Political Violence (State-Sponsored Terrorism)

When a country decides that the threat is external, the state can also take action. This action can be in the form of **state-sponsored terrorism**, which is defined as government support for terrorist actions in other states. However, these actions are going to be much more constrained than internal actions. Martin (2007) differentiates between two models of state-sponsored terrorism. The first is the **patronage model of state-sponsored terrorism**, which is when a state *actively* participates and encourages terrorist actions in other countries. The second is the **assistance model of state-sponsored terrorism**, which is when a state *tacitly* supports and encourages terrorist actions in other countries.

A good example of the patronage model of state-sponsored terrorism is Iranian support for Hezbollah in the Lebanon. Hezbollah is both a militant organization and a political party in Lebanon. Hezbollah directly translates as 'party of God' and politically represents Shi'a Muslim interests in Lebanon's parliament. Founded during the devastating Lebanese Civil War (1975-1990), the organization is active. They engage in combating other militias in Lebanon, have directly confronted Israel, both through fighting Israelis in southern Lebanon before Israeli forces pulled out in 2000 and with their rocket attacks on the country, and in supporting the Bashir al-Asad regime during the Syrian civil war. Hezbollah is designated as a terrorist organization by the US and other Western countries and Iran has been accused of supporting Hezbollah with weaponry, training and funding (Robinson, 2021).

For the assistance model of state-sponsored terrorism, a great example includes Pakistan's tacit support for Lashkar-e-Taiba. Lashkar-e-Taiba roughly translates as 'army of the righteous/pure'. They are a Pakistani-based terrorist organzation that is most famous for a 2008 terrorist attack in Mumbai, India, where operatives targeted the country's financial district, a famous hotel landmark, and a Jewish cultural center. Pakistan has since banned Lashkar-e-Taiba, and prosecuted former members, however, the government tacitly supported the organization in the 1990s and still operates within Pakistan through a number of offshoot groups (Macander, 2021).

11.3: Non-state political violence

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Identify the different types of non-state political violence
- Understand the differences between civil wars, insurgencies, and guerilla warfare
- Apply explanations of terrorism
- Evaluate what is a revolution

Introduction

As we stated earlier, a non-state actor is a political actor not associated with a government. Non State actors come in many different types, from transnational corporations to nongovernmental organizations, such as Greenpeace, to international drug trafficking rings. Yet there are quite a few non-state actors who engage in political violence, from guerillas to insurgents to terrorists. Generally speaking, non-state political violence is by the type of action, rather than the type of actor. This is because the non-state actors can all engage in different types of political violence. For example, terrorists can participate in insurgencies and/or civil wars, whereas guerillas can engage in terrorist actions.

Insurgencies/Civil Wars

In the simplest term, a civil war (simple) is an armed conflict between two or more groups where one of the combatants is the government. Does this mean then that an armed engagement between a street gang and a police unit constitutes a civil war? The answer would be no. Even though the media may use terms such as war or civil war to describe such violence, political scientists would not refer to it as either war or a civil war. Remember, political violence is defined as the use of physical harm is motivated by political intentions. Given this, political violence scholars have narrowed the definition of the term.

According to Sambanis (2004), to meet the definition of civil war (political science), a conflict must be between a rebel group and the government who are politically and militarily organized with stated political objectives that take place in the territory of a state that is a member of the international system with a population of at least 500,000. In addition to these general requirements, there are additional critical characteristics in distinguishing civil wars from the rest of armed engagement. The violence cannot be one-sided (see the section below on terrorism), and there needs to be sustained violence.

What then distinguishes civil war from other types of violence (e.g., riots, terrorism, and coup d'etat)? First, civil wars are notated for the level of destruction. Wars within a country are often devastating. The US civil war killed over 600,000 people. Its scars are still felt in the US till this day. Given this, most scholars have adopted a numerical threshold of 1,000 deaths when defining political violence as the Correlates of War project as the one of the main deciding factors in determining whether an armed conflict should be classified as a war. While the use of numerical threshold can be useful in determining whether a violent episode is a civil war or not, strict application of that threshold can exclude cases that otherwise meet the definition of civil war.

Given the power dynamics involved in civil wars, the weaker-side (typically the rebels) often rely on certain techniques when challenging the government. This reliance on insurgency tactics is what characterizes a civil war. An insurgency is an act of uprising or revolt against a government and/or the state. It is closely related to the concept of a rebellion, which we will define below. Insurgents claim that they represent the will of the people against a government that no longer represents them. For many insurgents then, their ultimate goal is the overthrow of the government, which in that case makes them revolutionaries (discussed more below). For other insurgents, their state goal may be secession, or if secession is not an attainable goal, then some level of political autonomy.

Insurgents use particular tactics because of the power imbalance that they face against the state. Even in a situation where the state is facing extinction as a functioning political entity, the state still often has the overwhelming firepower. This follows what we discussed earlier, where part of the definition of a state is that it monopolizes the legitimate use of violence. As such, the challenging side needs to be creative and innovative when challenging the government since the insurgent's probability of success is much lower, especially in head to head combat.

Guerilla warfare is similar to insurgency, and often the phrases are interchangeable. Like terrorism and insurgency, guerilla warfare is also better understood as a tactic, where small, lightly armed bands engage in guerrilla warfare from a rural base that targets the

state. Guerilla warfare differs from insurgency in that these fighters usually do not engage in mass mobilization practices. Insurgents claim to represent the will of people. Guerillas do not. They tend to represent the interests of certain groups, and not necessarily the entire population. Of course, these definitions overlap and using the terms interchangeably happens in all settings.

What causes civil wars? Earlier literature on the onset of civil wars focused on grievances. The grievance explanation says that political violence along communal lines is jointly a product of deep-seated grievances about the status of the group and the situationally motivated political interests that various political actors desire to pursue (Gurr, 1993). Grievances often revolve around economic, social, and political rights, as well as demand for political autonomy. These grievances contribute to the likelihood of communal mobilization, which can lead to political violence.

This is especially more likely when a group historically has some level of political autonomy and then loses it. Resentment about the restriction on one's political access appears to drive rebellion amongst various communal groups. Rebellion is an act of violently challenging the government or existing ruler in order to bring attention to the status quo with which the challengers are dissatisfied. In this context, the sentiments of grievance can help leaders of the disadvantaged communal group. They can point to this instance as a basis in legitimizing their cause and propelling the movement. Given this, as the level of grievances increases within a group, the easier it becomes for leaders to recruit potential rebels. In turn, this can lead to rebellion and civil war.

The grievance explanation has been challenged by a number of scholars. Collier and Hoeffler (2004) prefer to look at opportunity factors for rebellion instead of motivational factors. They see rebellion as an industry that generates profit from exercising control over resources. They argue that “the incidents of rebellion are not explained by motive, but by the atypical circumstances that generate profitable opportunity” (Collier and Hoeffler 2004, 564). More specifically, factors associated with the cost of and the availability of financing the rebellion, relative military advantage of the potential rebel group, and the patter of demographic dispersion are all considered robust indicators of whether rebellion is an attractive option for opportunistic actors. In addition, Collier and Hoeffler (2004) show that rebellion is most likely when participants have low incomes. In their model, they incorporate measures of per capita income, the rate of male secondary school enrollment, and the economic growth rate. The basic idea is that if joining the rebel movement appears to be more profitable for the individuals, then it incentivizes the desire to participate, which in turn determines if a rebellion remains viable.

Finally, Fearon and Laitin (2003) argue that civil war is understood through favorable environments. They disagree with theories that place emphasis on the necessity of strong, widespread popular support based on factors associated with grievances. Instead, they argue that an insurgency can be viable and sustained under certain conditions: mountainous terrain, contiguous crossborder sanctuaries, and an easily recruited population. These conditions favor insurgents given the asymmetric distribution of power between the rebels and government forces.

Non-State Terrorism

Again, terrorism is defined as a violent act that generally targets noncombatants for political purposes. Many non-scientific analyses of various terrorism cases often cite religion, ethno-racial factors, extreme political ideology as the primary motivation for extreme groups to resort to violence. Many make a causal link between these factors and the outcome of a terrorist act by political extreme groups. However, it is evident that mere membership in a particular religious or ethnic group is not always causing one to commit these violent acts. So when and why do political extreme groups commit violence?

In the literature on the origins of terrorism, there are two dominant schools of theoretical explanation: psychological and rational choice explanations. The psychological explanation of terrorism relies on the idea that the violence itself is the desired outcome as opposed to being the means to the end. Post (1990) claims that “individuals become terrorists in order to join terrorist groups and commit acts of terrorism.” While Post recognizes that this is a rather extreme claim, the psychological explanation posits that an act of violence is rationalized by the core ideology of a terrorist group where the participants are psychologically compelled to commit acts of violence.

Conversely, scholars like Crenshaw (1990) rely on the rational choice explanation of terrorism where the use of terrorism is believed to be the result of a willful strategy based on a careful political calculation. In this framework, terrorism is understood as an expression of political strategy where the act of violence is amongst many alternatives from which an extreme group may choose. Simply put, when the expected benefit of a terrorist act outweighs the const of such behavior and produces the highest expected utility, then such an act becomes the most strategically sound option for a group. This analytical approach follows the conventional explanations for terrorism that a relatively weak group relies on a policy choice to make it hard for the state to ignore their claims.

For example, if the US armed forces were to go head to head with an existing terrorist groups, it is clear that the U.S. would easily defeat them. As a result, it makes no sense for a terrorist group to fight the US conventionally. Instead, it is preferable to strike the US where it is most vulnerable - targeting noncombatant targets, such as civilians. When looking back at the September 11th, 2001 (9/11) terrorist attacks, we see that al-Qaeda's main target was the World Trade Center, the financial nerve center of the country. Military targets, such as the Pentagon, were also hit, but the goal of the attacks were to punish the American people, and put pressure on the US government to change their foreign policy and international behavior. If we were to use the rational choice explanation of terrorism, then the 9/11 attacks were not committed by an irrational group of extremists, but as a group engaged in a willful strategy to accomplish a political outcome. Indeed, it would be counterproductive to label them as "irrational" as that could lead to an underestimation of another attack.

The evidence is mixed in terms regarding the effectiveness of non-state terrorism. Terrorist action can lead to a specific change in government policy, but there have been few notable overall shifts in foreign policy. For example, al-Qaeda bombed several train stations in Madrid in 2004 as a reaction to the Spanish government involvement in the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. The attacks took place right before national elections and they influenced how Spanish citizens voted. Once the new government came in, they withdrew Spanish forces from coalition fighting in Iraq. However, the attacks in Madrid did not change the overall Iraq War. Other countries refused to change course.

Figure 11.3.1: (Source: Remains of one of the trains bombed in the 2004 Madrid train bombings by Ramon Peco via Wikimedia Commons is licensed under CC BY 2.0)

Terrorist action can also lead to changes in government policy that were not intended by the group. For example, the 9/11 attackers did not intentionally desire to change airport policies in the US. However, as anyone who has traveled in the past twenty years knows, the attacks had a dramatic impact. Now, all travelers in the US have to endure more intrusive safety protocols, including x-rays, taking off one's shoes, opening up carry-on bags, prohibition of liquids, etc. Prior to these attacks, most anyone could enter an airport, without as much intrusion. For example, people were able to go through security without a ticket and walk their loved ones to the gate. Similarly, they could wait at the gate when welcoming back their loved ones. These privileges no longer exist.

On other hand, sometimes the state purposes of a terrorist organization fail completely. A good example includes the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) call for the creation of a caliphate. A caliphate is essentially a state run by Islamic political authorities. A caliphate has not existed for quite a few centuries. ISIS leaders, who claimed to represent the interests of all Muslims worldwide, desired to build a caliphate in the areas of Syria and Iraq that they had conquered. A caliph is believes to be the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad, which is an important concept in the history of Islam. Yet despite the best efforts of ISIS, the caliphate did not last. Syrian, Russian, Kurdish and American forces largely defeated ISIS in 2019. Even though ISIS committed atrocious violence and killed many non-combatants, they ultimately failed to achieve their primary political goal.

So how do we protect ourselves from a potential terrorist attack? Most countries develop counterterrorism policies, especially those that have been targeted in the past or are actively targeted today. Counterterrorism policies are defined as government or military efforts to prevent or thwart terrorism. Examples of counterterrorism policies include the U.S. government's efforts to cut off terrorist financing. This is accomplished by monitoring incoming and outgoing financial transactions, such as wire transfers and bank deposits. Other examples include extensive background checks for international student visas and retinal and fingerprint scans at border checkpoints. Another good example involves the EU's efforts to deradicalize convicted terrorists. They have developed a Radicalization Awareness Network (RAN). According to the European Commission, "The RAN is a network of frontline practitioners who work daily with both those vulnerable to radicalization and those who have already been radicalised." (European Commission, n.d.)

Revolution

The term revolution has been used in a variety of contexts. For example journalists will label news where a group of citizens politically (and often violently) protest and challenge the government in power as a revolution. An example includes current pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong. Certain media outlets have labeled these protests as a revolution. Even the participants of the protest have used the word revolution in their slogan, "Liberate Hong Kong, the Revolution of Our Times." While journalists can use the word revolution, generally speaking describing the struggle as a revolution may not be appropriate. As mentioned in Chapter 2, political scientists need to clearly define the terms prior to making descriptive or causal inferences about the event of their interest. Otherwise, any potential politically violence action can be called a revolution.

According to Skocpol (1979), a **revolution** is defined as a public seizure of the state in order to overturn the existing government and regime. This definition has three important parts. First, there has to be public participation in the movement. This means that the public must play a critical role. This characteristic of a revolution differentiates it from other types of political violence such as a coup d'etat. Recall from Chapter Three, that a coup d'etat is an attempt by elites to overthrow the current government of a state through abrupt seizure of power and removal of the government's leadership. While many political challenges and violence are initiated by political elites, a revolution must be supported by the general public.

Second, the main purpose of a revolution is the public seizure of the state. Other types of political violence may not require the seizure of the state. Some politically violent actors can achieve their goals with concessions from the state. For example, some insurgents may settle for an expansion of voting rights or meaningful protection of civil rights. Or, some terrorists may settle for a change in policy. A revolution in contrast will end with the rebel group in control of the state apparatus, taking full control over the function of the government.

Third, once the state is captured by the rebels, there will be a shift in the regime. This characteristic is critical when attempting to differentiate a revolution from all other types of political violence against the state. Without regime change, such actions are classified under other types of political violence (e.g., civil war). It is very important to be able to clearly identify whether a particular event constitutes a revolution or not when studying the onset, nature, and possible solution to political violence. While violent episodes may initially appear to be the same in terms of the cause, researchers are most likely to observe differences in the duration or the nature of violence between revolution and non-revolutions.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is a great example of a revolution as described by Skocpol. It marked the end of centuries of imperial Russian rule, with the assassination of the Romanov family in 1918. The ensuing civil war saw the communists, or Bolsheviks, fight under Vladimir Lenin. Their red army fought against the white army, a loose association of loyalists, capitalists and other elements. The success of the communists in 1923 led to a dramatic reordering of Russian society. A largely agrarian society was collectively industrialized in the ensuing decades. New social norms were introduced. It was truly a revolution in every sense of the word.

The above discussion generally discusses a revolution accomplished through violent means. However, in some cases revolutions may occur without violence. Quite a few nonviolence movements have succeeded in achieving regime change. Nonviolence movements are defined as movements that engage in nonviolent practices to accomplish political goals. Tactics can include protests, boycotts, sit-ins, and civil disobedience. They are also referred to as nonviolent resistance or nonviolent protests. All three elements identified by Skocpol need to exist: public participation, public seizure of a state, and a shift in regimes. Where nonviolent revolutions differ is that the movement's leaders convince the state's military, or some portion thereof, that the state is better off under a new regime. It is not a coup per se, as a coup is led by military elites. In nonviolent revolutions, the military either refuses to intervene, and/or abandons the regime in power entirely. When that happens, the reigning military authority will work with the new regime to maintain peace and security.

A great example of a nonviolent revolution is the fall communist regimes in 1989. The Soviet Union installed loyal regimes in Eastern European countries in the aftermath of World War II. As part of the Warsaw Pact, countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and East Germany were satellite states, dependent on the Soviet Union for their legitimacy and survival. When popular uprisings would occur, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, Soviet forces rolled in, quelling any hopes of democracy. When popular uprisings occurred again in 1989, Soviet forces withdrew this time, allowing the puppet communist regimes to collapse. Eastern Europe quickly adopted democratic capitalist models. Little violence occurred, with the exception of the execution of Nicolae Ceaușescu in Romania.

11.4: How Does Political Violence End? Post-Conflict Strategies

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand how political violence can end
- Analyze what are negotiated settlements
- Evaluate the difference between peacekeeping and peacemaking

Introduction

How does political violence end? Various arguments have made that the way in which political violence ends will determine if it happens again. Let's use civil wars as an example. In general, civil wars that end in a negotiated settlement have a higher chance of experiencing a renewed war in relation to the wars that end in a decisive victory (Wagner 1993; Licklider 1995). This is due to the fact that a negotiated settlement leaves the organizational capacity of both sides intact, making a future resumption of a war possible (Wagner 1993). On the contrary, a decisive victory of one side implies that the losing side no longer has its capacity to harm while the victor retains the capacity to repress any future mobilization. Consequently, a renewed violence becomes unrealistic for the losing side, keeping the probability of war recurrence at low.

A good example involves the defeat of the Tamil Tigers in the country of Sri Lanka. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was a Tamil militant organization that was based in northeastern Sri Lanka. Its aim was to secure an independent state of Tamil Eelam in the north and east in response to the state policies of successive Sri Lankan governments towards Tamils. The LTTE carried out its first major attack on July 23rd, 1983, which led to what is referred to as Black July, the common name used to refer to the anti-Tamil pogrom and riots in Sri Lanka. Black July is generally seen as the start of the Sri Lankan Civil War between the Tamil militants and the government of Sri Lanka.
For over 25 years, the war caused significant hardships for the population, environment and the economy of the country, with an initial estimated 80,000–100,000 people killed during its course. Sri Lanka is a nondemocracy, with a history of significant discrimination against non-Buddhist minority groups. Its authoritarian government was able to carry out quite repressive policies to defeat the separatist movement.

In late 2005 and the conflict began to escalate until the government launched a number of major military offensives against the LTTE beginning in July 2006, driving the LTTE out of the entire Eastern province of the island. In 2007, the government shifted its offensive to the north of the country, the government took control of the entire area previously controlled by the Tamil Tigers, including their de facto capital Kilinochchi, main military base Mullaitivu and the entire A9 highway, leading the LTTE to finally admit defeat on 17 May 2009. Following the LTTE's defeat, pro-LTTE Tamil National Alliance dropped its demand for a separate state, in favor of a federal solution

The Sri Lankan government was accused of massive war crimes violations against its own citizens.

Toft (2009) argues that civil wars that end in rebel victory are likely to produce enduring peace, but not in the way one expects. Rebel victories often end in political transformation, with the new regime often embracing democracy, though not always. Still, even if the rebel group adopts a democratic regime, it does not mean that they will abstain from repression. Remember, if a rebel group wins, then this means that their capacity to wage violence is still intact. While rebels often reward the citizens who supported them and their successful challenge, they may also subdue groups within the country that opposed them. As a result, this new government, even if democratic, is likely to pursue repressive policies following the end of the civil war. Ironically, it is these same repressive policies that may have motivated the original conflict in the first place. However, after a civil war ends, repression leads to peace

Another way that civil wars can end and lead to peace are through negotiated settlements. Negotiated settlements are defined as successful discussions between combatants where an agreement is reached to end political violence. Hartzell (1999) argues that the key to the enduring peace settlement requires the institutionalization of certain power-sharing mechanisms. When rebels, insurgents, guerillas or terrorists disarm, they worry not just about their own safety, but also regarding the needs of the groups they were fighting for. A negotiated settlement often involves the recentralization of power in certain areas. This is where a government reasserts its authority, such as policing or education. Former rebels are concerned that without their inclusion in the decision-making process, there will be a lack of proper political representation. This could also lead to less access to economic

opportunities. For these folks to lay down their weapons, at minimum safeguards must be in place to protect their interests, at best they need to be part of the solution.

Walter (1999, 2002) argues that power-sharing through a negotiated settlement may not be enough. Just because two or more sides agreed to do something, does not mean that they will follow through with it. There has to be a way to make sure that these negotiated settlements can be enforced. The simplest way to do this is through a third-party guarantor. A third-party guarantor is defined as an external force that can enforce the provisions of a negotiated settlement. Walter shows that the implementation of power-sharing agreement in itself is not sufficient in producing an enduring peace. This is due to the fact that a durable negotiated settlement requires not only short-term security concerns, but also long-term political problems that the post-war environment may produce.

Peacekeeping forces are the best example of a third-party guarantor. Peacekeeping forces refer "to the deployment of national or, more commonly, multinational forces for the purpose of helping to control and resolve an actual or potential armed conflict between or within states" (Encyclopedia Princetoniensis, n.d.). Peacekeepers generally contribute to the durability of peace established through negotiated settlements. In a post-conflict environment peacekeepers facilitate an environment where self-sustaining peace is possible. This is true even after the peacekeepers have departed. Peacekeepers can help prevent violence from re-occuring through monitoring the behavior of the former belligerents, and in some cases enforcement of the agreed upon provisions. They also help prevent mistakes and miscommunications that could lead to resumption of violence. Increased communication can dampen the effect of spoilers, or disaffected individuals who may disagree with a negotiated settlement and prefer political violence to peace. Finally, peacekeepers can also prevent potential abuse of former rebels.

Peacekeeping has been relatively successful since it began back in the 1940s. A conservative estimate suggests that peacekeepers reduced the risk of war recurring by over half! Likewise, it does not seem to make a difference whether the peacekeepers have been invited or imposed (Fortna, 2008). Consent-based (traditional) peacekeepers are peacekeepers that have been invited by the belligerents. Peace enforcement missions occur when consent is not required or peacekeeping forces were not invited by the belligerents. This happens when an outside organization, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) imposes a security force in an area. This happened in Bosnia and in Kosovo during the Yugoslavia Wars of the 1990s. Finally, peacekeepers are important even when there are strong financial incentives to still fight, such as when lootable resources are involved. Lootable resources are defined as accessible natural resources, such as oil, minerals and precious metals that can confer wealth on those who own, mine or transport them.

Peacebuilding is also an important aspect of a post-conflict strategy. Peacebuilding is defined as the implementation of structures to promote sustainable peace. Peacebuilding efforts are relatively successful because it aims to restructure the political, economic as well as social institutions in a country. This often includes building stronger institutions, encouraging mass political participation, and promoting respect for societal diversity. Doyle and Sambanis (2000) also suggest that a successful peacebuilding strategy needs to address several items. These include addressing local sources of hostility, understanding the local capacity for change, and determining the level of commitment from the international community. Finally, peacebuilding does not necessarily require the use of peacekeepers or a peace enforcement mission. However, the likelihood of success increases greatly when UN peacekeepers are present.

11.5: Comparative Case Study - Conflict Termination - Bangladesh and Turkey

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand how low-intensity conflict can contribute to a resumption of fulls-cale conflict
- Distinguish the differences between indiscriminate and selective violence
- Explain how changes in counterinsurgency strategy affects the outcome of a conflict

Introduction

Given the potential brutality and destructiveness of political violence, there is an assumption that all involved parties would have an incentive to maintain peace. This assumption is even more understood after an especially violent episode, such as a civil war. However, evidence shows that political violence reoccurs and that civil wars have an ever higher than expected reoccurrence rate. As with any conflict, there is usually some low-level violence that will persist for a while. However, the presence of low-intensity violence does not necessarily mean that political violence will happen again. A Low-intensity conflict (LIC) is defined as a level of hostilities or use of military power that falls short of a full-scale conventional or general war (encyclopedia.com). Given this, understanding when political violence reoccurs is important. More specifically, let's look at what factors transform a low-intensity conflict into full-scale conflict, such as civil war.

One way of understanding when political violence reoccurs is through the post-conflict dynamics. Specifically, how the government treats the former rebels matters. Government actions can either incentivize or disincentivize an insurgency. When ordinary individuals believe they are unable to remain neutral, or government action threatens their personal security, there is a greater likelihood of a renewed war. For the insurgents, inaction could be more detrimental to their personal or community's well-being. To better understand this dynamic, we will compare two cases. The first case involves the relationship between the Jummas (Hills people) and the Bangladeshi government. The second case examines the relationship between the Kurdish minority and the Turkish government during their long-running civil war.

We relied on Mill's Method of Difference (most similar systems) approach given the similarity between the two cases. This includes the compared past history and the wartime dynamics. The dependent variable is a recurrence of political violence. The independent variable is the post-conflict dynamics, also understood as the causal mechanism. These dynamics varied greatly. While the Turkish government heavily employed indiscriminate violence, the Bangladeshi government was more selective when using violence to counter insurgents. Indiscriminate violence is defined as the use of violence that is random in nature. It is this difference that makes these two conflicts an ideal pair for comparative case analysis.

As mentioned, these conflicts were quite similar in their characteristics. Their similarity stems from a conflict between the government and a minority ethnic group. Both minority groups originally sought secession as a solution for discriminatory treatment, such as the denial of their distinct identity within their respective societies. Each government mistreated their respective ethnic minority, as part of their nation-building process. Each country sought to forcibly assimilate their minorities and ignore cultural differences. Even without active opposition, the Kurds in Turkey and the Jummas in Bangladesh suffered from severe political, social and economic exclusionary policies and practices. During periods of unrest, both the Bangladeshi and Turkish governments relied on the use of indiscriminate violence against civilians, usually claiming that they were countering an insurgency.

The PKK Case: Turkey and the Kurdish Insurgency

- **Full Country Name:** Republic of Türkiye
- **Head(s) of State:** President
- **Government:** Unitary Presidential Constitutional Republic
- **Official Languages:** Turkish
- **Economic System:** Free Market Economy
- **Location:** Eastern Europe
- **Capital:** Ankara
- **Total land size:** 302,455 sq. miles
- **Population:** 84 million (July 2021 est.)

- **GDP:** $692 billion
- **GDP per capita:** $8,080
- **Currency:** Turkish Lira

In the Turkish case, we explore the continuing conflict between the government forces and the Kurds. The Kurds are an ethnic group, speaking a Indo-Iranian language, native to the mountainous region of Kurdistan. Kurdistan is not an independent state. Instead, the population is dispersed among four countries: Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran. Kurdish groups have gained a level of self-government in Iraq and Syria, both after following devastating civil wars. The Kurds in Iraq rule what's called Iraqi Kurdistan, which is de jure, or formally recognized by the Iraqi government. The Kurds in Syria rule in Rojava Kurdistan, or simply Rojava. Their autonomy is de facto, or unrecognized by the Syrian government.

For Kurds in Turkey, their interests have historically been represented by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). The PKK is the name of the Kurdish insurgency movement in Southwestern Turkey. This conflict illustrates how the continued use of indiscriminate violence, such as torture, kidnappings, disappearance and summary executions, provided a strong incentive for Kurds to support the PKK. A milestone in the war came with the capture of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan in 1999. Many thought that his arrest, and the statement he made after his arrest, served as symbolic that the war had ended. Öcalan publicly announced that a reliance on violence in resolving the Kurdish struggle was a mistake. He also endorsed that the PKK seek a non-violent political solution. He ordered high-ranking PKK officers to surrender as well, of which 16 individuals associated with the PKK turned themselves in. The capture of Öcalan coincided with a growing sense of war fatigue among ordinary Kurds. Kuridh public opinion supported Öcalan's endorsement of a nonviolent approach. Combined, these two factors saw PKK violence decline dramatically. In turn, Turkish government reprisals also declined. For the first time in many decades, the Kurdish region of Turkey experienced a period of relative calm.

The decrease in violence did not mean that tension faded. Public demonstrations still took place, especially over mistreatment. This sometimes led to violent clashes between the two sides, which led to a resumption of political violence just a decade later. This time around, rather than just focusing on Kurdish actors, the Turkish government also targeted noncombatant villagers, mostly women and children (Yildiz, 2005; Yildiz & Breau, 2010). This is a means of deterrence and has unfortunately become common practice in southeastern Turkey. The government has essentially reverted back to its reprisals before the capture of Öcalan.

The persistence of indiscriminate violence against the Kurdish minority, and Kurish noncombatants has shaped the narrative of the overall conflict. For many, the capture of Öcalan meant the end of the insurgency. However, the postwar period saw continued physical threats. Kurds were targeted even when someone desired to remain neutral. Many Kurds still rely on the PKK to help them absorb the brunt of government violence. In sum, the post-conflict environment, where Turkish government reprisals have continued, have motivated Kurds to support the rebel cause, eventually leading to a resumption of political violence.

The Chittagong Hills Tract Case: Bangladesh and Jummas (Hill people)

- **Full Country Name:** People's Republic of Bangladesh
- **Head(s) of State:** President
- **Government:** Unitary Dominant-Party parliamentary republic
- **Official Languages:** Bengali
- **Economic System:** Developing market economy
- **Location:** South Asia
- **Capital:** Dhaka
- **Total land size:** 57,320 sq. miles
- **Population:** 161,376,708
- **GDP:** $1.11 trillion
- **GDP per capita:** $6,633
- **Currency:** Taka

In the Bangladesh case, many of the conditions that exist in the Turkey case are mirrored. For example, there was an armed rebellion between the Bangladesh government and the Jummas. The Jummas, or hill people, are a group of ethnically distinct tribes living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area. This area is in the northeast of the country, bordering India and Myanmar. Jumma is a collective name, which is derived from a particular farming method these groups employ - Jum, which is cultivation of crops through a slash and burn method. Just like Turkey, Bangladesh attempted to forcefully and violently assimilate all minority groups. This prompted armed challenges from members who faced oppression.

Yet unlike Turkey, the conflict in Bangladesh ended differently. Originally, the government of Bangladesh also relied on the use of intimidation and coercion regarding the Jummas. The noncombatant population was also gravely affected through indiscriminate violence. It was a change in attitude and government policy towards the Jumma that made peace possible. In 1983, the government of Bangladesh offered general amnesty to all of the Shanti Bahini insurgents, one of the main Jumma groups fighting the government. About 3,000 rebels accepted this deal and surrendered. It took more than ten years to fully achieve a peaceful resolution.

The change in the government's counterinsurgency strategy clearly produced a different outcome than in Turkey. Counterinsurgency is defined as a government's efforts to reduce and/or mitigate political violence instigated by insurgents. Counterinsurgency tactics can include use of indiscriminate violence, which is what happened in Turkey, or can be nonviolent. In Bangladesh, the government used selective violence, which is when a government only targets active participants in the war and/or those who commit political violence. As such, ordinary Hill people could stay neutral. They did not feel compelled to fight back as they were no longer threatened with indiscriminate violence.

The Bangladesh case portrays how the commitment of the government of Bangladesh and the tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in finding a political solution to the civil war produced a successful negotiated settlement that is still in effect to this date despite some lingering issues. The counterinsurgency strategy focused on the process of deliberation and transparency, coupled with a tremendous reduction in the use of force. This allowed for a relative period of peace to emerge and set the state for a series of peace negotiations that ultimately culminated in the Chittagong Hill Tract Peace Accord of 1997.

11.6: References

Collier, P. & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers*, *56*(4), 563–595.

Crenshaw, M. (1990). The Logic of Terrorism: Terrorist Behavior as a Product of Strategic Choice. In W. Reich (Ed.), *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind (pp.* 7-24). Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Doyle, M. & Sambanis, N. (2000). International Peacebuilding: A Theoretical and Quantitative Analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, *94*(4), 779–801.

European Commission (n.d.) "About RAN". Accessed March 5th, 2022. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/networks/radicalisation-awareness-network-ran/about-ran_en

Fearon, J. & Laitin, D. D. (2003). Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War. *The American Political Science Review*, *97*(1), 75–90.

Fortna, V. P. (2008). *Does Peacekeeping Work?: Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil War.* Princeton University Press.

Gurr, T. R. (1993). Minorities at Risk: A Global view of Ethnopolitical Conflicts. In *US Inst Peace, 1993. xii+427 pp* (p. xii+427–xii+427).

Hartzell, C. A. (1999). Explaining the Stability of Negotiated Settlements to Intrastate Wars. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *43*(1), 3–22.

Juergensmeyer, M. (2013). What is Global Studies? *Globalizations*, 10(6): 765-769.

Kalyvas. (2006). *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press.

Martin, G. (2007) *Understanding Terrorism Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. Second Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Martin, G. (2020) *Understanding Terrorism Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. Seventh Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Licklider, R. (1995). The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945–1993. *The American Political Science Review*, *89*(3), 681–690.

Post, J. M. (1990). Terrorist Psycho-logic: Terrorist Behavior as A Product of Psychological Forces. In W. Reich (Ed.), *Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind (pp.* 25 - 40). Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

Sambanis, N. (2004). What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *48*(6), 814–858.

Skocpol, T. (1979). *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*. Cambridge University Press.

Toft, M. D. (2010). *Securing the Peace: The Durable Settlement of Civil Wars.* Princeton University Press.

Wagner, R. H. (1993). The Causes of Peace.In Licklider, R. (ed.). *Stopping the Killing: How Civil Wars End* (pp. 235-268). New York University Press.

Walter, B. F. (1999). Designing Transitions from Civil War: Demobilization, Democratization, and Commitments to Peace. *International Security*, *24*(1), 127–155.

Walter, B. F. (2002). *Committing to Peace: The Successful Settlement of Civil Wars.* Princeton University Press.

Yildiz, K. (2005) *The Kurds in Turkey: EU Accession and Human Rights*. London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press in association with Kurdish Human Rights Project.

Yildiz, K. & Breau, S.C. (2010) *The Kurdish Conflict: International Humanitarian Law and Post-conflict Mechanisms*. New York: Routledge.

11.7: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Assistance model of state-sponsored terrorism** - when a state tacitly supports and encourages terrorist actions in other countries.
- **Caliphate** - a political arrangement where the government is ruled based on the idea of Islamic rules.
- **Civil war (political science definition)** - a conflict between a rebel group and the government who are politically and militarily organized with stated political objectives that take place in the territory of a state that is a member of the international system with a population of at least 500,000.
- **Civil war (simple definition)** - an armed conflict between two or more groups where one of the combatants is the government.
- **Consent-based (traditional) peacekeepers** - peacekeepers that have been invited by the belligerents.
- **Counterinsurgency** - defined as a government's efforts to reduce and/or mitigate political violence instigated by insurgents.
- **Counterterrorism policies** - government's efforts to prevent terrorism from occurring.
- **Covert repression as policy** - actions undertaken by secret police services, or domestic intelligence agencies to enforce repressive policy.
- **Existential threat** - a threat to the existence of the state itself.
- **External sponsored political violence** - when a government uses violence against foreign citizens, usually in neighboring countries.
- **External threat** - a threat determined to be outside the borders of a country.
- **Grievance explanation** - says that political violence along communal lines is jointly a product of deep-seated grievances about the status of the group and the situationally motivated political interests that various political actors desire to pursue.
- **Guerilla warfare** - a type of military conflict where small, lightly armed bands engage in guerrilla warfare from a rural base that targets the state.
- **Indiscriminate violence** - defined as the use of violence that is random in nature.
- **Insurgency** - an act of uprising or revolt against a government and/or the state.
- **Internal sponsored political violence** - when a government uses violence against its own citizens.
- **Internal threat** - a threat determined to be within the borders of a country.
- **Intrastate political violence** - political violence that wholly or largely occurs within a state or country.
- **Jummas (hill people)** - a group of ethnically distinct tribes living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area, so named due to their particular crop cultivation method of slash and burn.
- **Kurds** - an ethnic group, speaking a Indo-Iranian language, native to the mountainous region of Kurdistan.
- **Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)** - the name of the Kurdish insurgency movement in Southwestern Turkey.
- **Lootable resources** - defined as accessible natural resources, such as oil, minerals and precious metals that can confer wealth on those who own, mine or transport them.
- **Low-intensity conflict (LIC)** - is defined as a level of hostilities or use of military power that falls short of a full-scale conventional or general war.
- **Monopoly on the use of violence** - only the state and its institutions, such as the police or the military, have the authority to use violence, when necessary.
- **Negotiated settlements** - defined as successful discussions between combatants where an agreement is reached to end political violence.
- **Non-state actors** - political actors not associated with a government.
- **Nonviolence movements** - defined as movements that engage in nonviolent practices to accomplish political goals. Tactics can include protests, boycotts, sit-ins, and civil disobedience.
- **Overt repression as policy** - state repression through official state policy.
- **Patronage model of state-sponsored terrorism** - when a state actively participates and encourages terrorist actions in other countries.
- **Peacebuilding** - defined as the implementation of structures to promote sustainable peace.
- **Peace enforcement missions** - occur when consent is not required or peacekeeping forces were not invited by the belligerents.
- **Peacekeeping forces** - refer "to the deployment of national or, more commonly, multinational forces for the purpose of helping to control and resolve an actual or potential armed conflict between or within states".
- **Physical violence** - the use of physical force to exert power.

- **Political violence** - the use of physical harm is motivated by political intentions.
- **Psychological explanation of terrorism** - the idea that the violence itself is the desired outcome as opposed to being the means to the end.
- **Rational choice explanation of terrorism** - the idea that the use of terrorism is a result of a willful strategy based on a careful political calculation.
- **Rebellion** - an act of violently challenging the government or existing ruler in order to bring attention to the status quo with which the challengers are dissatisfied.
- **Responsibility to Protect (R2P)** - if a state refuses to protect its own citizens, then other states are expected to intervene in the state where abuses are occurring.
- **Revolution** - is a public seizure of the state in order to overturn the existing government and regime.
- **Secession** - defined as the act of formal withdrawal or separation from a political entity, usually a state.
- **Selective violence** - when a government only targets active participants in the war and/or those who commit political violence.
- **Spoilers** - disaffected individuals who may disagree with a negotiated settlement and prefer political violence to peace.
- **State-sponsored political violence** - characterized as “official government support for policies of violence, repression, and intimidation”.
- **State-sponsored terrorism** - government support for terrorist actions in other states.
- **Terrorism** - defined as a violent act that generally targets noncombatants for political purposes.
- **Third-party guarantor** - defined as an external force that can enforce the provisions of a negotiated settlement.
- **Transnational** - defined as “events, activities, ideas, trends, processes and phenomena that appear across national boundaries and cultural regions”.
- **Transnational political violence** - defined as political violence that occurs across different countries or crosses state borders.
- **Violence** - the deliberate infliction of harm on people.

Summary

Section #11.1: What is Political Violence?

Political violence is a form of violence. Political violence occurs when the use of physical harm is motivated by political intentions. It is differentiated from criminal violence, which generally is not motivated by politics. Several types of political violence exist. Intrastate violence occurs within a country, whereas transnational violence occurs across countries. Political violence can also be divided into two categorie. The first is internal sponsored political violence, or when a government uses violence against its own citizens. The second is external sponsored political violence, or when a government uses violence against foreign citizens.

Section #11.2: State-Sponsored Political Violence

States have a monopoly on the use of violence, which means only states have the authority to use violence, when necessary. State-sponsored political violence can be divided into two categories: internal and external. Internal state-sponsored political violence is also called government terrorism and occurs when a government officially sanctions violence against an internal threat or enemy. External state-sponsored political violence has also been called state-sponsored terrorism. Different models of state-sponsored political violence exist, either through active or tacit support.

Section #11.3: Non-state Political Violence

Non-state actors also participate in political violence. Insurgents can participate in rebellions and civil wars. These non-state actors are also referred to as guerillas and sometimes terrorists, given the tactics that they use. Insurgents and/or guerillas are often motivated by grievances, where political violence along communal lines is jointly a product of deep-seated grievances about the status of the group. Terrorist action can be explained through psychological or rational approaches. Finally, revolutions are when the public seizes the state in order to overturn the existing government. Revolutions are often violent as the existing regime opposes such action. Nonviolent revolutions can also occur, usually when a nonviolent movement succeeds in its goals.

Section #11.4: How Does Political Violence End? Post-Conflict Strategies

There are various arguments on how political violence ends. In general, civil wars that end in a negotiated settlement have a higher chance of experiencing a renewed war in relation to the wars that end in a decisive victory. Negotiated settlements are defined as successful discussions between combatants where an agreement is reached to end political violence. Sometimes, a third-party guarantor is needed to enforce the negotiated settlement. Peacekeeping forces are a good example of a third-party guarantor, which

can be either through consent or without consent. Sometimes, peacebuilding is used instead, especially when institutions need to be rebuilt.

Section #11.5: Comparative Case Study - Conflict Termination: Bangladesh and Turkey

The presence of a low-intensity conflict (LIC) can lead to a resumption of a full scale conflict. When a government uses indiscriminate violence, or random violence, against insurgents, it leads those who prefer peace to instead support the insurgents. This is what happened in Turkey, with their Kurdish minority, where even though the leader of the PKK was captured, the group still remains popular. Alternatively, if a government uses selective violence in their counterinsurgency strategy, only targeting those who actively participate in political violence, then a negotiated settlement is possible. This is what occurred in Bangladesh, when the government did not target ordinary Jumma people, who did not feel compelled to to fight back.

Review Questions

1. What is political violence?
    a. Political violence is the deliberate infliction of harm on people.
    b. The use of physical force to exert power.
    c. Occurs when the use of physical harm is motivated by political intentions.
    d. Violence that wholly or largely occurs within a state or country.
2. State-sponsored political violence has also been referred to as:
    a. Government terrorism (when it is within a state or internal)
    b. State-sponsored terrorism (when it is outside or external)
    c. Both responses are correct
    d. Neither response is correct.
3. Which answer below is not an example of non-state political violence?
    a. Civil war
    b. Insurgency
    c. Guerilla warfare
    d. Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
4. Negotiated settlements
    a. are defined as an external force that can enforce the provisions of a negotiated settlement.
    b. are defined as successful discussions between combatants where an agreement is reached to end political violence.
    c. are defined as an external force that can enforce the provisions of a negotiated settlement.
    d. are defined as accessible natural resources, such as oil, minerals and precious metals that can confer wealth on those who own, mine or transport them.
5. Which response below is NOT correct?
    a. Indiscriminate violence by a government's forces can lead to a resumption of conflict with insurgents.
    b. Indiscriminate violence by a government's forces can also be referred to as selective violence.
    c. Indiscriminate violence by a government's forces can be part of a country's counterinsurgency strategy
    d. Countries can use indiscriminate violence to punish the supporters of an insurgent group.

Answers: 1.c, 2.c, 3.d, 4.b, 5.b

Critical Thinking Questions

1. How does political violence differ from other types of violence? Can a criminal act ever be considered political violence?
2. Describe the difference between state-sponsered and non-state terrorism. Which one do you think you would fear more?
3. How do civil wars and revolutions differ? First, clearly explain each term and compare these types of violence.
4. What is the difference between peacekeeping and peacebuilding? Which approach do you think would be more effective if political violence happened in your society?
5. How can a low intensity conflict (LIC) lead to a resumption of full-scale conflict? Can you think of a situation when it would not?

Suggestions for Further Study

Books

- Reiter, D. (2009). *How wars end*. Princeton University Press.
- Weinstein, J. (2007). *Inside rebellion : the politics of insurgent violence / Jeremy M. Weinstein*. Cambridge University Press.

Journal Articles

- Fearon, J. (2004). Why Do Some Civil Wars Last so Much Longer than Others? *Journal of Peace Research*, *41*(3), 275–301.
- Kalyvas, S. N. (2004). The Paradox of Terrorism in Civil War. *The Journal of Ethics*, *8*(1), 97–138.
- Quinn, J., Mason, T. D., & Gurses, M. (2007). Sustaining the Peace: Determinants of Civil War Recurrence. *International Interactions*, *33*(2), 167–193.

Datasets and Websites

- Uppsala Conflict Data Program: Uppsala University Department of Peace and Conflict Research.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

12: Challenges and Questions in Comparative Politics

12.1: Challenges and Questions

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Understand why comparative politics still matters
- Consider why states remain important

Introduction

The central theme of this textbook has been the exploration of comparative politics. Comparative politics is a subfield within political science where the focus is understanding the similarities and differences between cases. For comparative politics, these cases mostly consist of states, or countries as we refer to them in political science. However, as previous chapters have shown, states are no longer the only actor on the international stage. Non-state actors, such as terrorist and criminal organizations have been much more active. International and supranational organizations, such as the United Nations and the European Union have taken on more state responsibilities, such as medical provision. Finally, there has been a rising call for greater autonomy within states. Through subnational governments, minority groups have been pressing for more say in their affairs, with some groups seeking outright secession.

Given this increasing complexity, is there still a value of studying comparatively? Are we better off focusing at the global level of analysis? Should we analyze global trends and processes that impact our lives? No one doubts the importance of a global economy in our lives. The global pandemic disrupted global supply chains, causing shortages in products throughout countries. Alternatively, are we possibly better served shifting our attention to within country analysis, where we focus on trends and processes within a country without trying to compare. We see countries fragmenting along ethnic, racial, or religious lines, such as Ethiopia or India. We also see countries struggling with intense politics in the wake of the pandemic, such as the United States and Brazil. By insisting on a comparative framework are we missing out on important context? For example, while the U.S. and Brazil may both be hyperpolarized at this moment, they are clearly two different countries, with two vastly different historical trajectories and outcomes. Given these challenges, is there a value of studying comparatively?

Our direct answer is yes. We think that pressures from above and pressures from below make it even more important for comparative politics to exist and grow as a subfield and area of research. Our main reasoning is that even though more performers have come onto the political stage, the state remains the central actor in this production. When global trends and processes impact us, we often try to understand from our national point of view. We see this with the COVID-19 pandemic, where the responses to the virus have overwhelmingly been managed by individual governments. Even within the European Union, where member-states have given up sovereignty for peace and prosperity, European countries struggled to coordinate their COVID-19 policies. It took quite a bit of time for the European Commission to provide a coherent policy (Goniewicz, et. al. 2020). We also see this when responses to COVID-19 are compared, which is almost always done cross-nationally. Research suggests a bivariate relationship between a country's Global Health Security Index Score and their death rates. The analysis was completed in June 2020, before the two major waves of 2021 and 2022. Yet even then, the research shows how the state is still considered the main unit of study in comparative work.

This is also true of pressures from below. While COVID-19 has been a global phenomenon, subnational governments, such as U.S. states or Canadian provinces, looked to their national government for policy coordination, funding and political leadership. In federal countries, where power or sovereignty is shared among the national government and subnational governments, the pandemic laid bare the disparities within a country. A good example is India, a federal state with 28 states and 8 union territories. The COVID-19 wave that washed over the country in April and May 2021 shocked the country. Individual states such as Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra were caught off guard for the swift rise in cases. Per the Lancet (2021), the states were "quickly running out of medical oxygen, hospital space, and overwhelming the capacity of cremation sites". In contrast, other states such as Kerala and Odisha, were better disposed. The Lancet (2021) also notes that the states "have been able to produce enough medical oxygen in this second wave to export it to other states".

This phenomenon of pressure from above and pressure from below seems at first contradictory. Can the world really be globalizing and fragmenting at the same time? The answer we believe is yes, and that this has been occurring for a while. In the early 1990s, right after the Cold War ended, Barber (1992) alluded to this in his work, *Jihad vs. McWorld*. He argued that two principles, tribalism and globalism were happening at the same time, and sometimes in the same place. He labeled globalism, McWorld, where

a market imperative drives integration and a certain homogeneity. In contrast, he uses the term Jihad for tribalism, using the Arabic word for struggle. In this tendency, Jihad represents the fracturing of societies. Small scale wars instigated by subnational groups seek to redraw boundaries, both internally and externally. Many of these groups seek a state of their own, with the promise of self-determination. Barber notes that neither force is democratic. McWorld requires “order and tranquility” and not necessarily freedom. Whereas Jihad is “grounded in exclusion”. It is parochial by its definition and achieves solidarity through warfare.

These paradoxical forces of globalization and fragmentation have been a recurring discussion in fields such as international relations, international political economy and in international business. However, these forces are less central in the study of comparative politics. The focus on the state as the unit of analysis is most likely the reason. Most comparativists research aspects of the state, such as their regime type, or political economy, or episodes of political violence, including terrorist attacks, and then compare across states. We believe that globalization and fragmentation are integral components of comparative politics. In order to better understand these two forces and their fit in the subfield, we need to define both globalization and fragmentation.

12.2: Pressure From Above - Globalization (Economic, Political, and Cultural)

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:
Define globalization

- Discuss the differences between economic, political and cultural globalization.
- Distinguish between globalization and glocalization.
- Reflect on how globalization affects individuals and influences government policy.

Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union permitted long-developing global trends and processes to finally become the leading voices. Democracy defeated authoritarianism. Capitalism defeated communism. The West, led by the US and her NATO allies, had triumphed. Liberalism, defined as a society where personal autonomy and freedoms are preferred in political, economic and social decisions, would be adopted everywhere. Human rights, market activity, religious freedom, and people power were now the goals. Some authors, such as Fukuyama (1989) wrote that the end of the Cold War meant that there would be no serious competition left. Free-market, capitalist liberal democracies were the endgame. We were witnessing the end of history.

These global political, economic and social trends are collectively referred to as **globalization**. The term became popular in the 1990s. In his bestseller, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Friedman (1999) described it as an "overarching international system shaping the domestic politics and foreign relations of virtually every country". He claimed that the driving force behind globalization was free-market capitalism, where economic deregulation, market competition and privatization were the global norms. Globalization meant the spread of capitalism to all corners of the earth. Over time, these trends and processes would have a homogenizing effect, where the economies of the world would come together, pushing for a new global society based on capitalism, democracy and liberalism.

In response, Steger (2020) felt that Friedman's discussion of globalization was somewhat simplistic. Globalization is more than just the advent of economic capitalism, or of Western values replacing local traditions. Globalization is best understood as the "thickening of the global-local nexus", or what Steger refers to as **glocalization**. Steger contends that globalization is overused, that the term is employed to describe both the *process* and the *condition*. In other words, how do we get to a globalized world, and how will it look once we are there? The author separates the two, using globalization to refer to the processes and *globalism* to describe the condition, or the end-state. This then allows Steger to provide a short definition, "globalization refers to expansion and intensification of social relations and consciousness across world-time and world-space". He then further simplifies the definition:

> *Globalization is about growing worldwide interconnectivity*

Globalization has a number of ramifications for comparative politics. Worldwide interconnectivity is thickening the relationships between peoples, companies and countries. This has led to a muddying of the boundaries between comparative politics and international relations, to the point where it has become hard to separate what happens within a country to what happens outside of it. At some level, these interconnections have always existed. Some argue that globalization is not a new phenomenon, with roots in the ancient trade routes on land and sea. Others contend that the first age of globalization was in the heyday of European empire making, where Britain, France, the Netherlands and other countries colonized large swaths of the world. Finally, some suggest that the end of World War II and the development of international economic institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund is when globalization took shape (Ritzer & Dean, 2015). Regardless of when we think globalization began, there is no doubt that globalization, as a process, has had an impact on how we consume, act, think, and even pray.

Given the complexity of globalization, study of related phenomena is often divided by discipline. There are ecological concerns of global production and global supply chains; philosophical considerations of the homogenization of globalization; effects of globalization on religious practices, such as pilgrimages; the leisure industry and worries about overtourism, and fast spreading technological advancements, including the importance that global social media platforms have in our lives. In comparative politics, the most relevant disciplines are economic globalization, political globalization, and cultural globalization. We will discuss each in detail below.

Economic Globalization

Discussion on globalization usually begins with economics. As we discussed above, free-market capitalism has been identified as the driving force in contemporary globalization, even if that may no longer be the case after the COVID-19 pandemic. Scholars use the term neoliberalism when describing this importance of free-market capitalism. **Neoliberalism** is a newer form of the (classical) liberalism, described above, where individual freedom and autonomy in political, economic and social decisions is preferred. Neoliberalism though is much more focused on economic freedoms. It takes the classical liberal arguments of private property, legal enforcement of contracts and the 'invisible hand' of the market, principles of free market capitalism within a country, and takes them global. Through identified policy proposals, including "deregulation (of the economy), liberalization (of trade and industry) and privatization (of state-owned enterprises)", this D-L-P Formula was promoted worldwide by leading international economic institutions (Steger, 2021).

Neoliberalism has also been referred to as the **Bretton Woods System**, named after a conference held in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in 1944 to arrange and manage international economic relations after World War II. The US had a strong role in creating both the **World Bank**, an international institution that provides loans and financial assistance to developing countries, primarily by funding industrial projects, and the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, which manages the global monetary system and provides loans to countries that experience a currency crisis. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which later became the World Trade Organization, was also initiated at Bretton Woods. The **World Trade Organization (WTO)** supervises the trade agreements between countries, with the aim of promoting free trade.

The collective efforts of the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO in promoting neoliberalism is labeled the **Washington Consensus**, so named because the World Bank and the IMF are headquartered in Washington, DC. Scholars, policymakers and politicians argued that D-L-P would lead to free trade between countries and foreign direct investment. **Free trade** is defined as unregulated trade of goods and services between countries, usually through the reduction of import and export controls. **Foreign direct investment (FDI)** is domestic investment by a foreign company, where the investment can be in the form of exports, the building of a production plant in the host country, an acquisition of a domestic company, or a joint venture.

FDI would spur the creation of jobs within a country, leading to increased employment, and the advent of more wealth in that country. Workers, who were barely surviving while working in agriculture, would benefit the most. Higher paying jobs would lead to more consumer spending, which would then encourage entrepreneurship. The importation of cheaper goods and services would help lower the cost of living as well. These changes would help create the conditions for the development of a middle class, which for some political scientists and economists, is the foundational stone for a functioning democracy. If all countries adopted a neoliberal approach, then the triumph of free-market, capitalist liberal democracies would be complete.

Steger (2020) refers to this discourse as **market globalism**, where a "self-regulating market…serves as the framework for a future global order." For market globalists, capitalism is the end-game. They see a future where integrated markets create a global society where everyone benefits. The saying is that a 'rising tide lifts all boats'. This is an optimistic view of globalization where people are allowed to participate in a global marketplace of ideas, goods, products, and services. The thicker the connections, the faster and more pronounced the changes. Capital will flow to poorer countries with higher margins of profit, with multinational corporations taking advantage of underdeveloped markets, rife with opportunities.

For many, this future has materialized. Research has shown that the while economic globalization has led to dramatic global economic growth, accompanied with a reduction in poverty and the creation of a sizable middle class, particularly in East Asian countries. However, growth in wealth has been uneven.

Political Globalization

Political globalization has called into question the future role of the state. The rise in importance of international institutions in the post-Cold War era has led to the erosion of state sovereignty and declining authority. **International institutions** are bodies of authority above the state that codify, maintain and sometimes enforce, sets of rules that govern state behavior. The United Nations (UN), the World Bank, the IMF and the World Bank are all examples of international institutions. Some initially believed that national governments would wither away and that some version of a world government would develop. Few, if any, believe this to be the case. More important is the concept of **global governance**, which is defined as the collective efforts of the world's countries to find lasting solutions to global problems through the constellation of international institutions.

Global governance has been called into question during the pandemic, with many countries having sought to address the spread and containment of the virus on their own. The US, UK, EU, Russia, and China all developed their own vaccines. Some countries, such

as the US under the previous Trump administration, eschewed cooperation with international institutions, such as the World Health Organization (WHO). The Trump administration accused the WHO of being insufficiently critical of China, where the COVID-19 virus originated and went as far to rescind the US's annual contribution for WHO expenses. While the election of Biden in 2020 reversed this stance, **multilateralism**, or the formal cooperation between three or more states on a particular issue.

Additional actors have crowded the notion of state supremacy. In addition to international institutions are non-state actors. Non-state actors are defined in Chapter Eleven as political actors not associated with a government. It is further defined as "an individual or organization that has significant political influence but is not allied to any particular country or state" (Lexico, n.d). These include individuals who can exert significant political influence. They can include twitter users, documentary filmmakers, activists, consumer advocates, celebrities, ordinary citizens. Good examples include Elon Musk, the CEO of Tesla Motors and Greta Thunburg, a young Swedish environmentalist. Other non-state actors include multinational corporations (MNCs), such as McDonalds or Starbucks, transnational criminal organizations, transnational terrorist organizations, paramilitaries, and armed resistance groups. In some cases, it can involve decentralized networks, such as reddit communities, where like-minded individuals come together online to affect politics, or impact the market through their collective action.

The most prolific non-state actors are nongovernmental organizations. **Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)** are private, voluntary organizations that unite, usually for action on specific issues. NGOs lie outside the traditional structure of international politics, but many have a significant impact on world affairs. NGOs derive their power from a variety of sources, most notably that of moral authority, where members believe that the cause they are fighting for is righteous. This includes many environmental NGOS, such as Greenpeace, that use the media and the strength of their individual activists to promote their cause.

Finally, the discourse of political globalization has focused on the process of democratization, as discussed as economies converged on a neoliberal model of economic governance, the belief was that the politics would also converge as well. The diffusion of capitalist beliefs would be accompanied with the spread of democratic norms. Growing wealth would lead to an increase in the size of a country's middle class, which would then lead citizens to demand greater representation in their government. For quite a few, globalization not only meant greater cooperation between countries to address global problems, such as climate change or terrorism, but also that this cooperation would happened between increasingly democratic states.

This has not occurred and indeed bureaucratic authoritarianism may develop as a viable alternative to democratic governance. **Bureaucratic authoritarianism** is the management of a country through a strong bureaucratic organization that excludes the popular will of the people, and where decisions are made by technocrats, or subject matter experts. Both Russia and China have veered towards this model and its effectiveness is being studied by other political leaders. Indeed, the general lockdown of many countries' economics, the closing of borders and the granting of emergency powers during the pandemic suggest the shift towards authoritarianism may accelerate.

Cultural Globalization

Cultural globalization can be understood in a number of ways. First, is through the flow of people that have occurred in the last three decades. Second, is through the ever growing flow of information brought on newer technologies. Ideally, scholars thought that the peoples of the world would eventually coalesce into a one global civil society, or what Steger (2020) calls the global imaginary. The **global imaginary** refers to people's growing consciousness of global connectivity, where people think of themselves as global citizens first. Yet, globalization has affected the ways in which cultural forms move and change. These moves are re-used to fashion new identities in diverse contexts. Changes affect how we view ourselves and others impacts our daily lives and those around us. For example, migration can have a nativist effect on the receiving country. Too much migration often leads to a rise in anti-immigrant sentiment among the public, which is sometimes accompanied by xenophobia and discriminatory action.

The end of the Cold War has seen a growth in the number of people moving from one place to another, referred to as **migrants**. These movements, usually between countries, have been both intentionally and unintentionally. **Intentional migration** is when a person chooses to move from one place to another. This can include immigrants and sojourners. **Immigrants** are migrants who willingly and legally left their home countries to work and live in another country. Immigrants often have needed skill sets or investment capital. **Sojourners** are migrants who temporarily live in a place & return to their home country. This included international & study abroad students and also temporary labor.

Unintentional migration is when a person does not choose to move from one place to another. There are several types of unintentional or irregular migrants. The most well known are refugees. A **refugee** is a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence who has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group. A **temporary asyle**e is someone who intends to stay in a new place for a brief time, but is

subsequently unable to return home. Temporary asylees are not refugees, as they do not possess equal status & are often treated differently by the general population. **Internally displaced people (IDPs)** are unintentional migrants who have not crossed a border to find safety. Unlike refugees, they are on the run at home. At the end of 2017, some 40 million people were internally displaced due to armed conflict, generalized violence or human rights violations. IDPs often move to areas where it is difficult for aid agencies to deliver humanitarian assistance and as a result, these people are among the most vulnerable in the world.

There are also flows of information as well. The Internet and the rise in social media are two of the key changes in how we receive our information. The **Internet**, or interconnected global computer network that allows for communication and information sharing, rose to prominence in the 1990s. The development of HyperText Transfer Protocol (HTTP, HyperText Markup Language (HTML), and the first Web browser, combined with Uniform Resource Locators (URLs) helped to create the World Wide Web. Through access to websites, document repositories, blogs, discussion communities and instant access to news Internet-based resources vastly expand individuals' abilities to access greater social information. We live in a digital world where the Internet and access to the Internet is ubiquitous. Millennials and members of Generation Z are **digital natives**, or people who were raised with technology. In contrast, Generation X and the Baby Boomers are considered **digital immigrants**, or people who did not grow up with today's technology. An analog world, of vinyl records, turntables, printed books, live music, political rallies, and physical interactions, will never entirely disappear. However, our relationship with the Internet has fundamentally shifted our understanding of the world, going from a post-industrial society to an informational society.

The Internet has created sociopolitical venues for information to leave countries that are cracking down on dissidents and attempting to severely restrict access to information. Anyone can blog, which democratizes access to information and allows for all to act as public intellectuals. Knowledge exchange has become not a privilege, but an expectation, almost even a right. States have a difficult time regulating the Internet. Even when a government attempts to crackdown on users, users and activists find ways around. A good example is the use of the Internet and social media during the Arab Spring. Before the protests began, youth movements had already been organizing through Internet web pages and social media. Facebook and Twitter were instrumental in the lead up to the "Day of Revolt" in Cairo's central Tahrir Square. al-Jazeera reported that "the week before Hosni Mubarak's resignation, the total rate of tweets about Egypt surged from 2,300 a day to 230,000 around the world".

The Mubarak regime blocked Internet use during the protests of early 2011. Protesters began using proxy computers to get around censors. They connected to users in Sweden, using dial-up modems. Once they were no longer subject to Egyptian authorities, protesters published an "Egypt Wiki page – a "how-to" list for activists to get online and stay connecte, started using text messages to organize their marches" (al Jazeera, 2016). Protesters also went analog. They created handheld signs when demonstrating. Per al Jazeera, "If you could not look down at your phone for updates, you could look up and find signs that explained where and when to gather next". One could argue that cutting internet access led to unintended consequences. It may have led to more citizens taking to the streets, further fueling the revolution.

12.3: Pressure from Below - Fragmentation

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Compare and contrast globalization and fragmentation.
- Identify fragmentation as well as related terms such as devolution, economic nationalism and geopolitics.
- Distinguish between economic, political and social fragmentation.

Introduction

Ironically, while the forces of globalization are strengthening worldwide connections, the forces of fragmentation threaten to tear apart existing global structures. **Fragmentation** is understood as the fracturing of established orders, be they political, economic, or cultural. It is the opposite of globalization's endgame. Globalization scholars in the 1990s predicted that a convergence would occur, where the gaps between vastly different economies would shrink and/or eventually disappear.

Fracturing can take place at several levels, at the individual level, the domestic level, and at the global level. Individually, people are becoming less trustworthy of the world around them. Steger and James (2019) have referred to this as the **Great Unsettling**, where earlier ways of acting and knowing have been upended through globalization, causing uneasiness among people. The post-Cold War era has seen rapid changes in the way they work, communicate, buy, learn, and in some cases, physically survive. This has led to an unsettling of relations. By this, the authors mean relations between "people, machines, regimes, objects, [and] nature" that have defined our lives. A good example has been the ubiquity of technology and our reliance on it, especially during the pandemic. We now use technology to order food, attend classes, and even date. The authors contend that for many people, the way they understand life has become disembedded from what they used to know. There is a desire by many to 'return' to the past, when life was simpler.

Domestically, fragmentation is happening in two ways. First, existing political systems in democratic countries are fraying. Historically, developed or consolidated democracies are dominated by center-right and center-left parties. For many European democracies, this would be the Christian Democrats on the right and the Social Democrat on the left. These two parties would often compete for the right to form governing alliances. Since the Global Financial Crisis voters have less faith in established parties. Second, we have seen devolution. As discussed in Chapter One, devolution is where the central government in a country deliberately transfers power to a government at a lower level. Devolution was designed to bring democracy closer to the people through the empowering of local and regional governments. The goal was to better respond to the voters' needs, especially in countries with significant ethnic or religious minorities.

Globally, fragmentation is developing in two significant paths. First, has been the development of economic nationalism. Economic nationalism was defined in Chapter Eight as attempts by a state to protect or bolster its economy for nationalist goals. This usually involves actions taken by a country to protect its economy from outside competition & influences such as tariffs, import quotas and subsidies. Second, and much more importantly, has been the growing geopolitical tension between major powers. **Geopolitics** is defined as the study of the geographical aspects of political phenomena (Kristof 1994: 508). China and Russia see themselves as global powers in their own right and are pushing back against US hegemony. China is asserting itself in Asia-Pacific region, taking a more nationalistic tone towards the island of Taiwan. Russia has made it clear that the former Soviet Union is its sphere of influence, and has declared the potential NATO membership of neighboring Ukraine a red line.

Economic Fragmentation

Economic fragmentation is intimately linked to globalization. There has been significant backlash against globalization as for many, globalization has not benefited them economically. Milanovic's (2016) analysis of global growth over the past four decades shows that globalization has shown a curvilinear relationship between income growth and income group by percentile. The bottom 50% saw a total increase in wealth, which is evidence that globalization has worked for a number of developing countries. Yet, a smaller global capitalist elite has gained the most from globalization. The top 1% has seen their wealth grow by 27%, and now control over 40% of the world's total wealth.

Milanovic's (2016) study shows that globalization has left many behind. Middle and working-class populations in developed economies have seen little to no benefit. This trend started in the 1990s and accelerated with the Global Financial Crisis in 2008.

For example, in the US, the wages of less skilled workers—those without a college education—have stagnated or declined for decades. For example, America's median household income remains below its peak in 1999. Previously comfortable middle-class towns and neighborhoods struggle with joblessness and drug abuse. The pandemic has only made these issues more acute.

Cumbers (2017) suggests that workers in neoliberal economies are 'economically marginalized'. Workers in countries such as the U.S., UK, Singapore and other similar countries suffer from lower levels of social protection, employment rights and democratic participation in their economic decision-making. Neoliberal economics are deregulated and concentrated in their capital. This produces an environment where workers experience economic marginalization and feel like they have no control over their economics, and to a lesser extent, their lives.

Political Fragmentation

The acceleration of job losses in manufacturing and other labor positions has had a direct effect on domestic politics in democracies. The rise of populism, especially national-populism is directly correlated to the growing economic misfortunes of their citizens. **Populism** is built on an appeal to the people. It is a denunciation of the elite and the idea that politics should be an expression of the general will. Populism can occur on both the left and the right ideologically. **Leftist-populism** is characterized by a combination of populism with some form of socialism. In leftist-populism, the 'worker' needs protection from globalization. The desire is to prioritize class allegiance over national attachment. Leftist populists see capitalists as greedy. They see immigration as a weapon used by global capitalists to pit working class people against each other. Leftist populism had political success in Latin America in the 2000s and is often an alternative.

National-populism occurs when right-wing populists combine it with nationalism. In national-populism, the 'nation' needs protection from globalization. Steger & James (2019) argue that the new wave of right-wing populism is intricately connected to the shifting perceptions of the role of globalization in the world. For national-populists, the "nation" itself needs protecting from globalization. The real enemy are globalists who care nothing about the countries they fleece. They tend to use nationalistic slogans such as "take our country back!" or "make America great again!" In the aggregate, national populists oppose or reject liberal globalization, mass immigration and the consensus politics of recent times. They promise instead to give voice to those who feel that they have been neglected, if not held in contempt, by increasingly distant elites. It can best be understood as "hard-working people" vs "globalist elites" (Steger & James, 2019).

National-Populism centers on three "threats":

- Threats to one's employment (economic threat hypothesis)
- Threats to one's cultural or national identity (cultural threat hypothesis)
- Threats to one's personal security of physical safety (security threat hypothesis)

The common thread among all right-wing national-populists is the rejection or containment of immigration. The anxiety towards immigration often translates into populist attitudes. National-Populists have built winning strategies centered on anti-globalization, immigration and security from foreign threats. They have become a major force in democratic societies, with far right parties winning seats in parliaments, fueling Brexit, and the election wins of Donald Trump in the US and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil.

Societal Fragmentation

The Global Financial Crisis exposed serious cracks in the global civil society. Belief in the future of globalization was muted. The recession caused unemployment levels to spike in the developed world and worsen difficult situations in the developing world. The difficulties stemming from the Global Financial Crisis contributed to the Arab Spring, particularly in Egypt, where the crisis affected wages. Similarly, protest movements developed in Greece fueled by the debt crises, and in the US where the Tea Party movement took to the streets. There have been anti-government protests in India, Iraq, Hong Kong, Lebanon and most of Latin America, particularly in Chile, where the protests led to a complete rewrite of the country's constitution. There were so many demonstrations in 2019 that it became known as the "Year of Protests". Below is an image of how diverse the protests were even before the pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic has led to an explosion of protests. Even though most countries shut down during the early phases of the pandemic, protests continued. According to the The Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), protests actually *increased* 7% in 2020. At first, the protests were against the lockdowns of societies, however as vaccine mandates became law, citizens also protested these as well. The pandemic protests are a good example of populism described in the previous section. Most protesters framed closures and mandates as government overreach and argued they were fighting for their freedoms. Will protests continue when the pandemic enters the endemic stage? A lot will depend if certain measures stay in place.

Brexit is a great example of societal fragmentation. **Brexit** is the term used to describe the UK's decision to leave the European Union (EU). The EU is a **supranational** organization, where member-states agree to give up or share sovereignty on particular issue areas. The UK joined in the 1970s, with the intent of benefiting from closer economic ties. However, as the EU progressively became more of a political union, successive UK governments balked. The UK opted to not enter into three major EU projects: the Schengen Agreement, where citizens of the EU can move freely without a passport; the monetary union, where countries adopted the Euro; and the Charter of Fundamental Rights.

The UK has traditionally been a global leader in the promotion of neoliberalism. UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher worked closely with US President Ronald Reagan in the Washington Consensus. The UK had been a member of the EU since the 1970s, and was instrumental in neoliberal reforms in EU policy. The Global Financial Crisis deeply affected the UK. The Conservative Party adopted a policy of austerity, where the government preferred not to run large budget deficits to strengthen the economy. General discontent led voters to seek alternative parties. The surge of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) worried the Conservative Party. This forced then PM David Cameron to call for a Brexit vote so he would not lose MPs to UKIP. UKIP campaigned on an explicit anti-immigrant and anti-Islam message that proved effective. Was UKIP responsible for Brexit? No. But UKIP provided ammunition for some who supported Brexit.

On 23 June 2016, the United Kingdom held a referendum to gauge public support for continued British membership in the European Union, with a majority voting for Leave.
This outcome represented a radical departure from over 40 years of British involvement in European integration, a vote of no confidence in the European project itself. As such, understanding the causes of Britain's momentous decision, as well as its potential ramifications for the UK, the EU and their future relationship to one another, is of central importance. 'Sovereignty' and 'immigration' were the two most frequently cited concerns among those who voted Leave. Thus, it was the interaction between Britons' strong sense of national identity and the enlarged EU's movement towards political union that arguably took the UK out!

Brexit has led to serious economic and political consequences at home. The image above clearly shows that Scotland voted to Remain. Scottish nationalists are pushing for a second independence referendum, claiming that Brexit goes against the will of the Scottish people. In addition, Brexit has led to a unique situation in Northern Ireland, which is the UK's only land border with the EU as Ireland is an EU member-state. There are no obvious methods whereby the UK could halt free movement of European citizens into Britain without erecting border controls with the Republic of Ireland or between Northern Ireland and Great Britain. Finally, Brexit has implications for the future of the EU. Could other countries follow? If so, this will make it much more difficult for Europe to coordinate on meaningful policies.

12.4: Conclusion

Learning Objectives

By the end of this section, you will be able to:

- Summarize the current state and relevance of comparative politics.
- Reflect on the field of comparative for future areas of inquiry.

Concluding Thoughts

The above discussion, combined with the full content of this book, highlights the continuing importance of comparative politics. Comparative politics as a field of study has a wide scope, capable of addressing issues of democracy and authoritarianism, state-controlled market systems versus free-market systems, economic and political inequalities, environmentalism and climate change, the origins and causes of political conflict, as well as the complex and fragile nature of political identities. Globalization has made the world a smaller place, where political, social and economic forces can affect everyone and everything on the planet. At the same time, the effects of globalization are experienced at ground level, where people work, go to school, and raise their families. They are felt where people live, which is in states. Likewise, fragmentation is fracturing the world we live in. The effects of fragmentation are also experienced at the global level, as it impacts the global order and the efficacy of international institutions.

The world feeling "smaller" is not inherently a bad thing. In some ways, the world became smaller because the advent of shared scientific practices in a number of critical fields has advanced knowledge and understanding across, within and between states. Cultivating understanding of why social, political and economic outcomes occur is a precondition for approaching solutions to complex global problems. Conversely, we also need to understand when social, political and economic outcomes do not go as planned. It is important to learn why certain processes have failed, and what these failures mean. The effects of failures, be it from globalization or from fragmentation, are understood through the lens of one's states.

Comparative politics is unique in that it is the job of comparativists to make systematic and intentional comparisons on political phenomena, especially those issues that are critical to global and regional security and stability. The ability to drill-down to gather deep meaning in political phenomena is a strength of the comparative field, and one that provides fertile ground for new scholars and researchers to continue the traditions of the field with new and powerful areas of inquiry.

12.5: References

Barber, B. R. (1992) “Jihad vs. McWorld,” Atlantic, 269(3), 53–65.

Cumbers, A. (2017) “New Index of Economic Marginalisation Helps Explain Trump, Brexit and alt.right,” The Conversation. Accessed February, 23rd, 2022. Available at: https://theconversation.com/new-inde...

Friedman, T. L. (1999) The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Fukuyama, F. (1989) “The End of History?”, The National Interest, 16: 3-18.

Goniewicz K., Khorram-Manesh A., Hertelendy A. J., Goniewicz, M. Naylor, K., & Burkle Jr., F. M. (2020) "Current Response and Management Decisions of the European Union to the COVID-19 Outbreak: A Review" Sustainability 12(3838): 1-12. doi:10.3390/su12093838

Kristof, L. K.D. (1994). Geopolitics. Encyclopedia Americana. International ed., 12: 508.

Lancet. (2021 8-14 May). "India's COVID-19 Emergency", The Lancet, 397(10286): 1683. Published online 2021 May 6. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01052-7

Lexico, (n.d.) “NON-STATE ACTOR”, Oxford Dictionary. Accessed February, 25th, 2022. Available at https://www.lexico.com/definition/non-state_actor

Milanovic, B. (2016) Global Inequality: A New Approach for the Age of Globalization. Cambridge, MS: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press.

Ritzer, G. & Dean, P. (2015) Globalization: A Basic Text. Second Edition. West Sussex UK: Wiley Blackwell

Steger, M. B. (2020) Globalization: A Very Short Introduction. Fifth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Steger, M.B. (2021) Neoliberalism: A Very Short Introduction. Second Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Steger, M.B. & James, P. (2019). “Making Sense of the Populist Challenge to Globalizaton.” In Globalization Matters: Engaging the Global in Unsettled Times. Cambridge University Press, 187-208.

12.6: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **Bretton Woods System** - a conference held in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in 1044 to arrange and manage international economic relations after World War II.
- **Brexit** - the term used to describe the UK's decision to leave the European Union.
- **Bureaucratic authoritarianism** - the management of a country through a strong bureaucratic organization that excludes the popular will of the people, and where decisions are made by technocrats, or subject matter experts.
- **Digital immigrants** - people who did not grow up with today's technology.
- **Digital natives** - people who were raised with technology.
- **Economic marginalization** - an environment where workers feel like they have no control over their economics, and to a lesser extent, their lives.
- **Free trade** - the unregulated trade of goods and services between countries, usually through the reduction of import and export controls.
- **Foreign direct investment (FDI)** - the domestic investment by a foreign company, where the investment can be in the form of exports, the building of a production plant in the host country, an acquisition of a domestic company, or a joint venture.
- **Fragmentation** - understood as the fracturing of established orders, be they political, economic, or cultural.
- **Geopolitics** - defined as the study of the geographical aspects of political phenomena.
- **Global governance** - the collective efforts of the world's countries to find lasting solutions to global problems through the constellation of international institutions.
- **Global imaginary** - refers to people's growing consciousness of global connectivity, where people think of themselves as global citizens first.
- **Globalization** - an overarching international system shaping the domestic politics and foreign relations of virtually every country. Defined by Steger as growing worldwide interconnectivity.
- **Glocalization** - defined by Steger as the "thickening of the global-local nexus".
- **Great Unsettling** - earlier ways of acting and knowing that have been upended through globalization, causing uneasiness among people.
- **Immigrants** - migrants who willingly and legally left their home countries to work and live in another country.
- **Intentional migration** - migrants who choose to move from one place to another.
- **Internally displaced people (IDPs)** - unintentional migrants who have not crossed a border to find safety.
- **International institutions** - bodies of authority above the state that codify, maintain and sometimes enforce, sets of rules that govern state behavior.
- **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** - an international institution that manages the global monetary system and provides loans to countries that experience a currency crisis.
- **Internet** - an interconnected global computer network that allows for communication and information sharing that rose to prominence in the 1990s.
- **Leftist-populism** - characterized by a combination of populism with some form of socialism. In leftist-populism, the 'worker' needs protection from globalization.
- **Market globalism** - Steger defines it as a discourse where a "self-regulating market…serves as the framework for a future global order."
- **Migrants** - people who move from one place to another, usually between countries.
- **Multilateralism** - the formal cooperation between three or more states on a particular issue.
- **National-populism** - characterized by a combination of right-wing populism with nationalism. In national-populism, the 'nation' needs protection from globalization.
- **Neoliberalism** - the driving ideology in contemporary globalization. It promotes free-market capitalist principles worldwide.
- **Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)** - private, voluntary organizations that unite, usually for action on specific issues.
- **Populism** - denunciation of the elites in a country and the idea that politics should be an expression of the general will.
- **Refugee** - a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence who has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group.
- **Sojourners** - migrants who temporarily live in a place & return to their home country. This included international & study abroad students and also temporary labor.

- **Supranational** - where member-states agree to give up or share sovereignty on particular issue areas. The European Union (EU) is an example.
- **Temporary asylee** - a person who intends to stay in a new place for a brief time, but is subsequently unable to return home.
- **Unintentional migration** - migrants who do not choose to move from one place to another.
- **Washington Consensus** - the collective efforts of the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO to promote neoliberalism. So named because the World Bank and the IMF are headquartered in Washington, DC.
- **World Bank** - an international institution that provides loans and financial assistance to developing countries, primarily by funding industrial projects.
- **World Trade Organization (WTO)** - an international institution that supervises the trade agreements between countries, with the aim of promoting free trade.

Summary

Section #12.1: Challenges and Questions

States are no longer the only actors on the international stage. Given this, does it make sense to still study comparatively? We answer yes as the state is still the most important unit of analysis. This is evident in the recent pandemic, where management of controlling infection, vaccine development, and deployment has overwhelmingly been at the state level. Even so, the state is not immune to outside pressures. Pressure from above comes in the form of globalization. Pressure from below is through fragmentation. Paradoxically, these pressures have been present for decades and have been a recurring dimension.

Section #12.2: Pressure From Above: Globalization

Globalization is an overarching international system shaping the domestic politics and foreign relations of virtually every country. There are three disciplines from which we study the effect of globalization on comparative politics. The first is economic globalization, where the ideology of neoliberalism has been the driving force in the global economy. The second is political globalization where international institutions work with member-states and each other to promote good global governance. The third is cultural globalization, where the flow of people and the flow of information through newer technologies has changed societies and our role in them.

Section #12.3: Pressure from Below: Fragmentation

Fragmentation is understood as the fracturing of established orders, be they political, economic, or cultural. Fragmentation can take place at several levels. First, individually where people lose faith in the world around them. Second, domestically, where existing political systems are fraying. Third, at the global level, where nationalism and geopolitics are becoming more prominent. Fragmentation can also be understood through three disciplines. Economic fragmentation can be seen through the marginalization of those who have not benefited from globalization. Political fragmentation is evident through the rise of populism, particularly national-populism, which has rocked democracies, such as the US, the UK and Brazil. Finally, a wave of protests have swept over the world, originally stemming from the Global Financial Crisis, and most recently with the COVID-19 pandemic. Brexit is a good example of social fragmentation and the consequences that come from it.

Section #12.4: Conclusion

Comparative politics offers a wide scope of research topics, including but not limited to: studies of democracy, authoritarianism, different economic systems, the origins and outcomes of political conflict, issues relating to political identity, economic inequalities, environmentalism and climate change, and so much more. The impact of globalization will continue to be a dominant theme as various social, political, and economic forces affect individuals within, between and across states. In the midst of many critical research questions and lacunae in the literature, the field of comparative politics offers researchers and scholars the opportunity to delve deeper into political phenomena in deliberate and systematic ways; processes that can be underappreciated in the face of other methods which rely upon Large-N studies alone.

Review Questions

1. Which two pressures do contemporary states face?
    a. COVID-19 and Populism
    b. Globalization and Fragmentation
    c. Politics and Economics
    d. Migration and Technology

2. What is Globalization?
    a. The driving ideology in contemporary globalization. It promotes free-market capitalist principles worldwide
    b. The formal cooperation between three or more states on a particular issue
    c. Understood as the fracturing of established orders, be they political, economic, or cultural
    d. An overarching international system shaping the domestic politics and foreign relations of virtually every country.
3. What is Fragmentation?
    a. The collective efforts of the world's countries to find lasting solutions to global problems through the constellation of international institutions.
    b. It refers to people's growing consciousness of global connectivity, where people think of themselves as global citizens first.
    c. Earlier ways of acting and knowing that have been upended through globalization, causing uneasiness among people.
    d. Understood as the fracturing of established orders, be they political, economic, or cultural.
4. What is Brexit? How does it represent societal fragmentation?
    a. It is the term used to describe the UK's decision to leave the European Union.
    b. Brexit has led to serious economic and political consequences at home.
    c. Both responses are correct.
    d. Neither responses are correct.
5. Why are states still considered the most relevant unit of analysis?
    a. The state remains the central actor in international politics, as seen in the recent COVID-19 pandemic.
    b. The impact of globalization is best understood at the state level.
    c. It is where the negative effects of fragmentation are fully realized.
    d. All of these responses are correct.

Answers: 1.b, 2.d, 3.d, 4.c, 5.d

Critical Thinking Questions

1. How have the forces of globalization impacted the country you live in? Do you think this impact has been positive or negative? Which one of the three aspects of globalization - economic, political, and cultural - do you think has been the most relevant for your society?
2. Have the forces of fragmentation affected your country? If so, how? Has it been economic nationalism, economic marginalization, national-populism or something else? If not, why do you think that is the case?
3. Of the two pressures - globalization and fragmentation, which one do you think will have the greater effect in a post-pandemic world? Will we see a return to neoliberalism and global governance? Or will we see a further fragmentation of economies, polities and societies?

Suggestions for Further Study

Websites

- World Policy Institute
- Yale Global Online
- UNESCO

Articles

- Birdsall, N. (2012). "Global Citizens and the Global Economy." Center for Global Development.
- Guo, C. (2021). "Globalization and De-globalization." In M. K. Sheikh & I. Svensson (Eds.), Religion, Conflict and Global Society: A Festschrift Celebrating Mark
- Juergensmeyer (pp. 175–182). Danish Institute for International Studies.
- Stepputat, F., & Larsen, J. (2015). "Global political ethnography: A methodological approach to studying global policy regimes." Danish Institute for International Studies.

Books

- Stiglitz, Joseph. (2002) Globalization and its Discontents. W. W. Norton & Company
- Wolf, Martin. (2004) Why Globalization Works. Yale University Press; First Edition
- Baldwin, Richard. (2019) The Great Convergence. Belknap Press: An Imprint of Harvard University Press; Reprint edition

Master Key Terms/Glossary

Chapter One

- **American politics** - a subfield of political science which focuses on political institutions and behaviors within the United States.
- **Area studies** - a traditional method for comparing where scholarship is organized geographically.
- **Between-nation comparisons** - where subnational governments are compared across different countries.
- **Comparative politics** - a subfield of study within political science that seeks to advance understanding of political structures from around the world in an organized, methodological, and clear way.
- **Confederal government** - a system of government where sovereignty is held at subnational levels. (Example: Switzerland, Iraq).
- **Cross-national studies** - a method for comparison similar to area studies but often considered unique as comparison occurs involving two or more countries, not necessarily confined to a single similar region.
- **Federal government** - national or centralized authority differentiated from state and local governments. Federalism is a system where governmental power is shared between the federal, state and local governments. (Example: United States, Canada)
- **Formal institutions** - institutions are based on a clear set of rules that have been formalized. Formal institutions often have the authority to enforce the rules, usually through punitive measures
- **Informal institutions** - institutions are based on an unwritten set of rules that have not necessarily been formalized. Informal institutions are based on conventions on how one should behave.
- **Institutions** - the beliefs, norms and organizations which structure social and political life.
- **International relations** - (sometimes called World Politics, International Affairs or International Studies), a subfield of political science which focuses on how countries **and/or international organizations or bodies interact with each other.**
- **Political economy** - a subfield of political science that considers various economic theories (like capitalism, socialism, communism, fascism), practices and outcomes either within a state, or among and between states in the global system.
- **Political institutions** - they are the space where the majority of politics and political decisions take place.
- **Political philosophy** - (sometimes called political theory), a subfield of political science which reflects on the philosophical origins of politics, the state, government, fairness, equality, equity, authority and legitimacy.
- **Political psychology** - a subfield within political science, which weds together principles, themes and research from both political science and psychology, in order to understand the potential psychological roots for political behavior.
- **Political science** - a field of social and scientific inquiry which seeks to advance knowledge of political institutions, behavior, activities, and outcomes using systematic and logical research methods in order to test and refine theories about how the political world operates.
- **Public policy** - a subfield of political science that explores political policies and outcomes, and focuses on the strength, legitimacy and effectiveness of political institutions within a state or society.
- **Qualitative research** - type of research approach which centers on exploring ideas and phenomena, potentially with the goal of consolidating information or developing evidence to form a theory or hypothesis to test.
- **Qualitative research** - type of research approach categorizing, summarizing and analyzing cases more thoroughly, and possibly individually, to gain greater understanding.
- **Quantitative research** - type of research approach which centers on testing a theory or hypothesis, usually through mathematical and statistical means, using data from a large sample size.

- **Research methods and models** - a subfield of political science in itself, as it seeks to consider the best practices for analyzing themes within political science through discussion, testing and critical analysis of how research is constructed and implemented.
- **Sovereignty** - fundamental governmental power, where the government has the power to coerce those to do things they may not want to do.
- **Subnational studies** - a method for comparison where subnational governments are compared.
- **Unitary government** - a type of government where power is centralized at a national level, sometimes with a President/Prime Minister and a national Parliament. (Example: France, Britain).
- **Within-nation comparisons** - is studying the subnational governments or institutions within a single country.

Chapter Two

- **Applied research** - defined as “research that attempts to explain social phenomena with immediate public policy implications."
- **Assumptions** - statements that are taken to be true, or statements that are accepted as true, without proof.
- **Case** - is defined as a “spatially delimited phenomenon (a unit) observed at a single point in time, or over some period of time."
- **Case study** - an intensive look into that single case, often with the intent that this single case may help us better understand a particular variable of interest.
- **Causal case studies** - case studies “organized around a central hypothesis about how X affects Y”.
- **Causal mechanism** - defined as “portable concepts that explain how and why a hypothesized cause, in a given context, contributes to a particular outcome”.
- **Causal question** - involves discerning cause and effect, also referred to as a causal relationship.
- **Comparative case study** - defined as a study that is structured on the comparison of two or more cases.
- **Deductive reasoning** - occurs when political scientists make an inference and then test its truth using evidence and observations.
- **Dependent variables (outcome variables)** - the assumed effect, their values will (presumably) depend on the changes in the independent variables.
- **Descriptive case studies** - case studies “not organized around a central, overarching causal hypothesis or theory”.
- **Empirical Analysis** - is defined as being based on experiment, experience or observation.
- **Experiment** - defined as “laboratory studies in which investigators retain control over the recruitment, assignment to random conditions, treatment, and measurement of subjects.”
- **Falsifiability** - is a word coined by Karl Popper, a philosopher of science, and is defined as the ability for a statement to be logically contradicted through empirical testing.
- **Hard sciences** - such as chemistry, mathematics, and physics, work to advance scientific understanding in the natural or physical sciences.
- **Hypothesis** - a specific and testable prediction of what you think will happen
- **Independent variables (explanatory variables)** - the cause, and these variables are independent of other variables under consideration in a study.
- **Inductive reasoning** - occurs when scientists look at specific situations and attempt to form a hypothesis.
- **Inference** - is a process of drawing a conclusion about an unobserved phenomenon, based on observed (empirical) information.
- **Literature review** - a section of your research paper or research process which collects key sources and previous research on your research question and discusses the findings in synthesis with each other.

- **Most Different Systems Design (MDSD)** - the cases selected for comparison are different from each other, but outcomes are similar in results.
- **Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD)** - the cases selected for comparison are similar to each other, but outcomes differ in results.
- **Non-falsifiable** - a question cannot be proven true or false under present circumstances, particularly when such questions are subjective.
- **Science** - is defined as the systematic and organized approach to any area of inquiry, and utilizes scientific methods to acquire and build a body of knowledge, political science, as well as comparative politics as a subfield of political science, embody the essence of the scientific method and possess deep foundations for the scientific tools and theory formation which align with their areas of inquiry.
- **Scientific method** - a process by which knowledge is acquired through a sequence of steps, which generally include the following components: question, observation, hypothesis, testing of the hypothesis, analysis of the outcomes, and reporting of the findings.
- **Social sciences** - which are the fields of inquiry that scientifically study human society and relationships.
- **Soft sciences** - like psychology, sociology, anthropology and political science, work to advance scientific understanding of human behavior, institutions, society, government, decision making, and power.
- **Subnational case study research** - when subnational governments, such provincial governments, regional governments, and other local governments often referred to as municipalities, are the cases that are compared.
- **Theory** - a statement that explains how the world works based on experiences and observation.
- **Variable** - is a factor or object that can vary or change.

Chapter Three

- **Anarchy** - defined as a lack of societal structure and order, where there is no established hierarchy of power.
- **Absolute monarchy** - when the monarch is wholly responsible for all decisions, and rules the state with absolute power over all political, economic and social matters.
- **Annex** - to take over a region.
- **Aristocracy** - a form of government where a group of social elites rule the state.
- **Authority** - defined as having the power to get things done. If we put these two terms together, a state is legitimate in its operations if it has the authority to make decisions and carry out its policy goals.
- **Charismatic legitimacy** - means that citizens follow the rules of a state based on the charisma and personality of the current leader.
- **Civil liberties** - defined as individual rights that are protected by law to ensure the government does not unreasonably interfere with certain specific individual rights (e.g. like freedom of speech, religion, assembly, etc.).
- **Constitution(s)** - a state's described laws of the land.
- **Constitutional monarchy** - when a monarch must abide by a state-adopted Constitution, which dictates the scope and depth of its power in all state-related activities.
- **Country** - defined as a nation, which may have one or more states within it, or may change state-type over time.
- **Coup d'etat** - an attempt by elites to overthrow the current government of a state through abrupt seizure of power and removal of the government's leadership.
- **Cult of personality** - occurs when a state leverages all aspects of a leader's real and exaggerated traits to solidify the leader's power.
- **Dictatorship** - a form of government where one person has sole and absolute power over the state.

- **Feudalism** - was a system or social order that arose out of the middle ages, particularly in Europe, wherein peasants (sometimes called Serfs) were forced to provide members of the upper class with their crops, produce, goods as well as their services, fealty and loyalty.
- **Hard power** - the ability to get others to do what you want using physical and potentially aggressive measures, for instance, like fighting, attacking or through war.
- **Junta** - a regime type where there is a small, military group of elites who rule state activities.
- **Legitimacy** - defined as the state's ability to establish itself as a valid power over its citizens.
- **Nation** - can be broadly defined as a population of people joined by common culture, history, language, ancestry within a designated region of territory.
- **Naturalization** - the process by which noncitizens formally become citizens of the country they reside in.
- **Oligarchy** - a form of government where elites rule, though there is not necessarily an assumption of nobility.
- **Personalist dictatorships** - where power lies with a single, charismatic and all powerful person who drives all actions of the state.
- **Political capacity** - the ability of a state to use its power, as derived through authority and legitimacy, to get things done and promote its own interests.
- **Power** - the ability to get others to do what you want them to do.
- **Protectorate** - an area or nation that is managed, possessed, controlled and protected by a different state.
- **Rational-legal legitimacy** - occurs when states derive their authority through firmly established, often written and adopted, laws, rules, regulations, procedures through a constitution.
- **Regime transitions** - occur when a formal government changes to a different government leadership, structure or system.
- **Representative democracy** - where the people elect representatives to serve on their behalf to make the laws and rules of society.
- **Scramble for Africa** - sometimes also called the Conquest of Africa, where Western European powers attempted to control and colonize all parts of Africa.
- **Social contract** - defined as either a formal or informal agreement between the rulers and those ruled in a society.
- **Soft power** - the ability to get others to do what you want them to do using the methods of persuasion or manipulation.
- **State** - defined as a national-level group, organization or body which administers its own legal and governmental policies within a designated region or territory.
- **Strong states** - are those which are able to work their political agendas effectively, to make sure basic political tasks are completed.
- **Traditional legitimacy** - occurs when states have the authority to lead based on historical precedent.
- **Weak states** - are those which are unable to perform basic political tasks, and unable to work the political agenda of the authority in charge. Weak states are typically unable to defend their territories and interests.

Chapter Four

- **Apartheid** - defined as a system of governance wherein racial oppression is institutionalized.
- **Aristocracy** - a form of government where power is held by nobility or those concerned to be of the highest classes within a society.
- **Autocracies** - forms of government where countries are ruled either by a single person or group, who/which holds total power and control.
- **Ba'athist Party** - a former transnational Arab political party that espouses pan-Arab nationalism and socialist economic policies.
- **Checks and balances** - a system that attempts to ensure that no one branch can become too powerful.

- **Congressional legislature** - one where groups of legislators, elected by the people, make laws and share powers with other branches within the government.
- **Consultative legislature** - where the legislature advises the leader, or group of leaders, on issues relating to laws and their application.
- **Democracy** - a government system in which the supreme power of government is vested in the people.
- **Democratic consolidation** - a type of regime transition whereby new democracies evolve from fledgling regimes to established democracies, making them less at risk to fall back into authoritarian regimes.
- **Direct democracy** - a government system that enables citizens to vote directly, or participate directly, in the formation of laws, public policy and government decisions.
- **Elections** - the mechanism through which leaders get chosen around the world.
- **Electoral** - an adjective which means relating to elections or electors.
- **Electoral democracy** - a form of representative democracy where political leaders are elected through an election (electoral) process to exercise political power and manage the basic tasks of government operations.
- **Electoral systems** - also known as a country's system of voting; an electoral system provides a set of rules that dictate how elections (and other voting initiatives) are conducted and how results are determined and communicated.
- **Executive branch** - typically made up of a singular leader, a leader with an assistant (vice-president) or a small group of leaders who have institutional powers.
- **Fair elections** - those in which all votes carry equal weight, are counted accurately, and the election results are able to be accepted by parties. Ideally, the following standards are met to ensure elections are free and fair.
- **Free elections** - those where all citizens are able to vote for the candidate of their choice. The election is free if all citizens who meet the requirements to vote (e.g. are of lawful age and meet the citizenship requirements, if they exist), are not prevented from participating in the election process.
- **Flawed democracies** - those where elections are free and fair, and basic civil liberties are protected, but issues exist which may hamper the democratic process.
- **Head of government** - refers to the chief executives who must run and manage the day-to-day business of the state.
- **Head of state** - refers to when the chief executive must represent the country in formal gatherings as well as for ceremonial responsibilities.
- **Illiberal democracies** - those regimes where elections occur, but civil liberties are not protected.
- **Indirect democracy** - channels the power of the people through representation, where citizens elect representatives to make laws and government decisions on their behalf.
- **Judicial review** - is the ability to interpret the constitutionality of laws, and in doing so, the ability to overturn decisions made by lesser courts when doing so.
- **Judiciary** - refers to the part of government where laws can be interpreted and enforced.
- **Legislative branch** - tasked with performing three main functions: (1) making and revising laws; (2) providing administrative oversight to ensure laws are being properly executed; (3) and providing representation of the constituents to the government.
- **No-fly zone** - when a foreign power intervenes to prevent that country or another country from gaining air superiority.
- **Majoritarian voting system** - an electoral system where candidates must win a majority in order to win the election. If they do not win a majority, there needs to be a runoff election.
- **Parliamentary legislature** - where members are elected by the people, enacts laws on their behalf, and also serves as the executive branch of government.
- **Parliamentary system** - sometimes called parliamentary democracy, a system of government where the chief executive, usually a Prime Minister, attains their role through election by the legislature.

- **Plurality voting system** - an electoral system where the candidate who gets the most votes, wins. In this system, there is no requirement to attain a majority, so this system can sometimes be called the first-past-the-post system.
- **Political parties** - groups of people who are organized under shared values to get their candidates elected to office to exercise political authority.
- **Presidential system** - a system of government, sometimes called a single executive system, where the head of government is a president who leads the executive branch of government.
- **Primitive democracy** - small communities have face-to-face discussions in order to make decisions.
- **Proportional voting system** - an electoral system where voting options reflect geographical or political divisions in the population to enable a proportional leadership when elected.
- **Semi-presidential system** - sometimes called the dual executive system, a system of government where a country has both a president and a prime minister and cabinet.
- **Separation of powers** - a term that divides government functions into three areas: the legislature, tasked primarily with the making of laws; the executive, who carries out or enforces these laws; and the judiciary, tasked with interpreting the constitutionality of laws.
- **Suffrage** - the right to vote in political elections and propose referendums.
- **Waves of democracy** - moments in history when multiple countries transition to democracy during the same time period.

Chapter Five

- **Clientelism** - system of exchange in which political elites obtain the political loyalty of clients by distributing resources to clients.
- **Corruption** - misuse of public resources for private gain.
- **Democratic backsliding** - when a democracy degrades and becomes more illiberal, authoritarian or autocratic.
- **Hybrid regime** - non-democratic form of governance that exhibits characteristics of different types of non-democracies.
- **Illiberal regime** - non-democratic form of governance that presents a façade of liberal institutions.
- **Military rule** - non-democratic rule by a country's military elites.
- **Monarchy** - non-democratic rule by a single individual, with legitimacy typically based in tradition and/or divine right.
- **Non-democracy** - regimes which deny citizens meaningful institutional channels for making choices about their collective well-being.
- **Oligarchy** - non-democratic rule by a political elite with control over national wealth and resources.
- **Paramilitary** - refers to state-affiliated groups with access to military tools and training, usually employed to carry out violence on behalf of the state.
- **Patronage networks** - refers to social relations that involve the exchange of resources in exchange for loyalty.
- **Personalist rule** - non-democratic rule by a single individual, with legitimacy typically based in charisma and/or other political authority such as a ruling ideology or tradition.
- **Political accountability** - institutional channels for holding political leaders responsible for their decisions and actions.
- **Political competition** - presence of multiple options in political life, for example more than one political party, candidate for office, or policy position.
- **Propaganda** - biased information meant to convince an audience of a particular perspective or narrative.
- **Sharp power** - efforts by one country to use information war and diplomatic tactics to undermine the institutions of a target country, often a democracy.
- **Single-party rule** - non-democratic rule by a political party.
- **Theocracy** - non-democratic rule by elites who are legitimated by sacred texts.

- **Totalitarian regime** - non-democratic rule that seeks total control over society by a ruler or political elites.
- **Typology** - descriptive means to divide a category into sub-categories based on underlying characteristics of items in the category.

Chapter Six

- **Arab Spring** - a series of protests against oppressive government regions in the Middle East that sometimes resulted in violence.
- **Biological sex** - refers to "the different biological and physiological characteristics of males and females, such as reproductive organs, chromosomes, hormones, etc.
- **Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s** - a movement that attempted to ensure equal treatment under the law for Black and African American citizens in the United States.
- **Culture** - broadly defined, is the combination of customs, social institutions, arts, media, and social, economic, political achievements of a social group.
- **Ethnicity** - a broader term than race. Used to categorize groups of people according to their own relation to culture.
- **Gender** - broadly defined as a spectrum of characteristics ranging from feminine to masculine, and gender tends to have more to do with how a person wants to identify.
- **January 6th 2021 United States Capitol Attack** - an event in the United States where approximately 2,000- 2,500 supporters of then President Donald Trump attacked the Capitol Building in Washington D.C. with the intent of overturning the 2020 election results where Joseph Biden won the presidency.
- **Norms** - defined as standard practices, rules, patterns and behaviors that are considered acceptable in a society.
- **Parochialism** - a system where citizens are not involved, engaged, or remotely aware of the political operations in their country.
- **Participant system** - a system where citizens are aware of government actions, are able to influence and participate in governmental decisions, and at the same time, they must abide by the laws and rules of the government.
- **Political identity** - how a person or group of persons think of themselves in relation to the politics and government of a country.
- **Political mobilization** - defined as organized activities intended to motivate groups of participants to take political action on a particular issue.
- **Political socialization** - the process in which our political beliefs are formed over time.
- **Postmaterialism** - the extent to which a political culture focuses or cares about issues which are not of immediate physical and material concern, like human rights and environmental concerns.
- **Race** - defined "a category of humankind that shares certain distinctive physical traits."
- **Sex-selective abortion** - a practice of terminating a pregnancy once the sex of the infant is known.
- **Sexual orientation** - defined as the sustained pattern of romantic and/or sexual attraction to people of opposite sex or gender, same sex or gender, or to both.
- **Society** - broadly defined, refers to a population which has organized itself based on shared ideas for how the world acts and should act through both formal and informal institutions.
- **Subject system** - a system where citizens are somewhat aware and responsive of their governmental systems, and at the same time, heavily controlled and legislated by their governments.
- **Trust** - the extent to which citizens believe in the reliability, validity, or truth of their government and their fellow citizens, plays a significant role in political outcomes.
- **Women's suffrage** - the right of women to vote in elections, over 180 countries now allow women to vote in some capacity.

- **Behaving** - religious commitment, or behaving according to values privileged by religion.
- **Believing** - religious belief or believing in certain religious propositions.
- **Belonging** - religious affiliation, or belonging to a religious faith, a religious tradition, or a denomination/sect within a particular religion.
- **Bonding** - religious ritual, or bonding by means of spiritual practices and rituals. These are the experiences that people go through, either individually, but more likely together as a community.
- **Citizenship** - implies a legal status rather than a feeling of belonging. Different from national or political identity.
- **Class Identity** - how a person or group of persons think of themselves based on economic and/or social status.
- **Conscription** - an enrollment program that requires young men, and in a few cases young women, to compulsory enlist in their militaries through a draft.
- **Constructivist identity** - the idea that people have multiple identities and that as people change, so can either the importance of a particular identity, or the adoption of a new identity altogether.
- **Elites** - the upper socio-economic class with consequential political power and social capital.
- **Elite theory** - the idea that the elite not only have power, but that they intentionally use it for their own benefit.
- **Exclusionary nationalism** - a form of nationalism that includes certain people and either implicitly or explicitly excludes others.
- **Four B's of religious identity** - believing, belonging, behaving, and bonding.
- **Hyperpluralist society** - a society with many groups, but groups whose priorities are so divergent as to make finding compromise and agreement on shared values with others in society unachievable.
- **Identity politics** - refers to the "tendency for people of a particular religion, race, social background, etc., to form exclusive political alliances, moving away from traditional broad-based party politics."
- **Intersectionality** - a situation where the interconnectedness of various identities and categories can lead to the marginalization or to the privilege of particular people and/or groups.
- **Irredentism** - when one state wants a territory that previously belonged to it to rejoin it.
- **Liberal nationalism** - the idea that every group of people with a clear national identity should have their own state.
- **Marxism** - an approach to political economy that is based on the idea of class conflict - between the owner and worker classes.
- **Multinational state** - a state that contains multiple nations.
- **National identity** - how a person or group of persons think of themselves as belonging to and representing the values and traits of a nation.
- **Nationalism** - defined as an ideology where devotion and loyalty to one's state proves more important than other interests.
- **Nation-state** - a state where all or most of the people in that state belong to a single nation.
- **Patriotism** - described as pride in one's state.
- **Pluralist society** - a society with many identity groups, with different backgrounds, religions and traditions, but where an overarching identity exists that can include everyone living within the country.
- **Primordial identity** - the idea that one's identity is fixed at birth. A religious identity that claims to predate the religion itself.
- **Religious identity** - how a person or group of persons think of themselves as belonging to and representing the values of a particular religion and/or religious sect.
- **Religiosity** - the strength of a person's commitment to religion.

- **Separatist movements** - defined as attempts by members of a group of people who seek to establish their own government, separate from the country they reside in.
- **Social capital** - defined as having connections and access to networks of other elites so as to increase one's influence beyond just economic resources.
- **Socioeconomic class** - defined as the combination of social factors, such as level of education and occupation.
- **Veil of ignorance** - a hypothetical system where people are asked to make policy decisions without knowing who would be affected. The argument is that people would create fair policies, without respect to class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc.
- **Working class** - defined as those engaged in manual-labor occupations or industrial work. Often, members of the working class are without a four-year college degree.

Chapter Eight

- **Bourgeoisie** - a term that refers to the upper middle classes, who often own most of a society's wealth and means of production.
- **Capitalism** - also referred to as free market capitalism, is a political-economic system where individuals and private entities are able to own land and capital needed to produce goods and services.
- **Command and control** - defined as a type of political economy where the government owns most, if not all, means of production in a society.
- **Communism** - where the state, usually dominated by one party, is in complete control of the political economic system, including all property.
- **Comparative advantage** - refers to the goods, services or activities that one state can produce or provide more cheaply or easily than other states.
- **Comparative political economy (CPE)** - defined as the comparison across and between countries of the ways in which politics and economics interact.
- **Competition** - occurs when industries, economic firms and individuals vie to obtain goods, products and services at the lowest prices.
- **Cultural Revolution** - a socio-political and economic movement that sought to expel capitalists and promote the Communist ideology.
- **Democratic socialism** - seeks democracy not just in the political sphere but in the economic sphere as well.
- **Economic growth** - the process by which a country's wealth increases over time.
- **Economic liberalism** - defined as a political economic ideology that promotes free market capitalism through deregulation, privatization and the loosening of government controls.
- **Economic nationalism** - defined as attempts by a state to protect or bolster its economy for nationalist goals.
- **Economic structuralism** - defined as a political economic system wherein the working class must be protected from exploitation of the capital owning class, but on an international scale.
- **Economies of scale** - the ability to "produce goods at a lower average cost"
- **Fair competition** - in capitalism affirms that industries will work to maximize their output and minimize costs to compete with similar industries, forcing the market to provide competitive options to consumers.
- **Fiscal policy** - collectively refers to a country's systems of taxation, spending, and regulation.n
- **Great Leap Forward** - a plan which asked the Chinese people to spontaneously increase production in all sectors of the economy at the same time.
- **Import-substitution industrialization (ISI)** - refers to a country's attempt to reduce its dependence on foreign companies through increased domestic production.
- **Inflation** - defined as a general increase in prices, usually within a given time.

- **Informal sector** - also known as the informal economy, is that part of the economy consisting of people producing goods and providing services outside of regular employment.
- **International political economy (IPE)** - defined as the study of political economy from a global perspective or through international institutions.
- **International trade** - defined as the exchange of goods, services, and activities between countries.
- **Laissez-faire** - defined as a type of political system where the government chooses not to interfere or intervene in its national economy.
- **Market** - defined as the exchange of goods and services within a given territory.
- **Marxism** - defined as a political economic system wherein the means of production are collectively owned by workers, not privately owned by individuals.
- **Mercantilism** - defined as a political economic system which seeks to maximize a country's wealth through increasing exports and limiting imports.
- **Monetary policy** - defined as the actions taken by a state's central bank to affect the money supply.
- **Non tariff regulatory barriers** - restrictions on trade not involving a tariff or a quota.
- **Private goods** - defined as an economic resource which are acquired or owned exclusively by a person or group.
- **Property** - defined as a resource or commodity that a person or group legally owns.
- **Property rights** - defined as the legal authority to dictate how property, whether tangible or intangible, is used or managed.
- **Protectionism** - defined as policies protecting a country's domestic industry through subsidies, favorable tax treatment, or imposing tariffs on foreign competitors.
- **Public goods** - defined as goods and services provided by the state that are available for everyone in society; are nonexcludable and nonrival in nature.
- **Purchasing Parity Power (PPP)** - a metric used to compare the prices of goods and services to gauge the absolute purchasing power of a currency.
- **Quotas** - limits on the number of foreign goods coming into a country.
- **Recession** - defined as two consecutive quarters (three months) of declining economic activity.
- **Regulation** - defined as rules imposed by a government on society.
- **Self-interest** - the means through which individuals can act on their own behalf to make choices that benefit themselves.
- **Sin taxes** - taxes levied on a product or activity that are deemed harmful to society.
- **Social democracy** - defined as a political and economic system that favors heavy market regulation to achieve a more equal society.
- **Social market economy** - is a socioeconomic system that combines principles of capitalism with domestic social welfare considerations.
- **State capitalism** - where a high level of state intervention exists in a market economy, usually through state-owned enterprises (SOEs).
- **Statism** - defined as a political economic system where the government often takes on an enterprising role, usually through a state.
- **Tariffs** - taxes imposed on imported foreign products with the purpose of making those products more expensive
- **Taxation** - defined as the process of a government collecting money from its citizens, corporations, and other entities.
- **Versailles Treaty** - treaty which ended the first World War.
- **Wealth distribution** - defined as how a country's goods, investments, properties, and resources, or *wealth*, are divided amongst its population.
- **Zero-sum game** - a situation where one person, or entity, gains at the equal cost of another.

Chapter Nine

- **Collective action** - Any activity in which coordination by and across individuals has the potential to lead to achievement of a common objective.
- **Common pool resource** - Something provided to some or all in a society; it is nonexcludable but rivalrous in consumption.
- **Cooperation game** - A strategic scenario illustrating how players have incentives to work together or not work together to realize common goals.
- **Diffusion** - The spread of an idea, movement, tactics, strategies, and other resources across international borders.
- **Framing** - The deliberate representation of a concept or problem to resonate with intended audiences.
- **Free rider problem**- Occurs when an individual who seeks to benefit from the gains achieved by others but does not contribute to the achievement of those gains.
- **Information and communication technologies (ICT)** - Platforms which provide the means for members of a social movement to communicate with one another and intended audiences. ICTs can include radio, television, social media platforms, and so forth.
- **Social movement** - A subset of collective action in which a group of people outside of established political institutions organize to achieve an objective.
- **Structure** - Social forces which constrain the choices available to an individual or group at a given time; the broader social context within which action takes place.

Chapter Ten

- **Afrobarometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in countries across the African continent.
- **Agents of socialization** - different factors that have helped mold who we are today, and our political views.
- **AmericasBarometer (LAPOP)** - a public opinion organization focused on surveying people in countries across North, Central, South American and Caribbean regions.
- **Arab Barometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in countries across the Middle East and North Africa.
- **Asian Barometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in countries across the Asian continent.
- **Barometer** - another, more general term, for a survey.
- **Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP)** - a partnership of scholars who conduct election surveys on five continents.
- **Comparative public opinion** - the research and analysis of public opinion across two more countries.
- **Eurasia Barometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in countries across eastern Europe and Central Asia.
- **Focus group** - a small subset of individuals that are exposed to a treatment of some kind and then are asked about their impressions of that treatment.
- **Framing effects** - an effect that could influence a respondent's answer by how the question is presented.
- **Latino Barometer** - a public opinion survey focused on surveying people in Latin American countries.
- **Margin of error** - a statistical estimation of the accuracy of one's sample.
- **Priming effects** - questions that have a respondent thinking about a certain subject matter they may have not been normally thinking about or thinking about at that time.
- **Public opinion poll** - a random sample of subjects from a broader pool of citizens who are interviewed and whose answers are used to make inferences on that larger body.
- **Public opinion** - the views and opinions of the public at large.

- **Representative sample** - a sample that has all the same features and elements at the same proportions of the larger body.
- **Survey** - a set of questions that asks individuals, known as respondents, to share their beliefs, attitudes, and views on policy and political issues or individuals.
- **Survey questions** - included in surveys and consist of questions with multiple choice, true/false, and open-ended response options.
- **World Values Survey (WVS)** - an international research program devoted to the scientific and academic study of social, political, economic, religious and cultural values of people in the world.

Chapter Eleven

- **Assistance model of state-sponsored terrorism** - when a state tacitly supports and encourages terrorist actions in other countries.
- **Caliphate** - a political arrangement where the government is ruled based on the idea of Islamic rules.
- **Civil war (political science definition)** - a conflict between a rebel group and the government who are politically and militarily organized with stated political objectives that take place in the territory of a state that is a member of the international system with a population of at least 500,000.
- **Civil war (simple definition)** - an armed conflict between two or more groups where one of the combatants is the government.
- **Consent-based (traditional) peacekeepers** - peacekeepers that have been invited by the belligerents.
- **Counterinsurgency** - defined as a government's efforts to reduce and/or mitigate political violence instigated by insurgents.
- **Counterterrorism policies** - government's efforts to prevent terrorism from occurring.
- **Covert repression as policy** - actions undertaken by secret police services, or domestic intelligence agencies to enforce repressive policy.
- **Existential threat** - a threat to the existence of the state itself.
- **External sponsored political violence** - when a government uses violence against foreign citizens, usually in neighboring countries.
- **External threat** - a threat determined to be outside the borders of a country.
- **Grievance explanation** - says that political violence along communal lines is jointly a product of deep-seated grievances about the status of the group and the situationally motivated political interests that various political actors desire to pursue.
- **Guerilla warfare** - a type of military conflict where small, lightly armed bands engage in guerrilla warfare from a rural base that targets the state.
- **Indiscriminate violence** - defined as the use of violence that is random in nature.
- **Insurgency** - an act of uprising or revolt against a government and/or the state.
- **Internal sponsored political violence** - when a government uses violence against its own citizens.
- **Internal threat** - a threat determined to be within the borders of a country.
- **Intrastate political violence** - political violence that wholly or largely occurs within a state or country.
- **Jummas (hill people)** - a group of ethnically distinct tribes living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area, so named due to their particular crop cultivation method of slash and burn.
- **Kurds** - an ethnic group, speaking a Indo-Iranian language, native to the mountainous region of Kurdistan.
- **Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)** - the name of the Kurdish insurgency movement in Southwestern Turkey.
- **Lootable resources** - defined as accessible natural resources, such as oil, minerals and precious metals that can confer wealth on those who own, mine or transport them.

- **Low-intensity conflict (LIC)** - is defined as a level of hostilities or use of military power that falls short of a full-scale conventional or general war.
- **Monopoly on the use of violence** - only the state and its institutions, such as the police or the military, have the authority to use violence, when necessary.
- **Negotiated settlements** - defined as successful discussions between combatants where an agreement is reached to end political violence.
- **Non-state actors** - political actors not associated with a government.
- **Nonviolence movements** - defined as movements that engage in nonviolent practices to accomplish political goals. Tactics can include protests, boycotts, sit-ins, and civil disobedience.
- **Overt repression as policy** - state repression through official state policy.
- **Patronage model of state-sponsored terrorism** - when a state actively participates and encourages terrorist actions in other countries.
- **Peacebuilding** - defined as the implementation of structures to promote sustainable peace.
- **Peace enforcement missions** - occur when consent is not required or peacekeeping forces were not invited by the belligerents.
- **Peacekeeping forces** - refer "to the deployment of national or, more commonly, multinational forces for the purpose of helping to control and resolve an actual or potential armed conflict between or within states".
- **Physical violence** - the use of physical force to exert power.
- **Political violence** - the use of physical harm is motivated by political intentions.
- **Psychological explanation of terrorism** - the idea that the violence itself is the desired outcome as opposed to being the means to the end.
- **Rational choice explanation of terrorism** - the idea that the use of terrorism is a result of a willful strategy based on a careful political calculation.
- **Rebellion** - an act of violently challenging the government or existing ruler in order to bring attention to the status quo with which the challengers are dissatisfied.
- **Responsibility to Protect (R2P)** - if a state refuses to protect its own citizens, then other states are expected to intervene in the state where abuses are occurring.
- **Revolution** - is a public seizure of the state in order to overturn the existing government and regime.
- **Secession** - defined as the act of formal withdrawal or separation from a political entity, usually a state.
- **Selective violence** - when a government only targets active participants in the war and/or those who commit political violence.
- **Spoilers** - disaffected individuals who may disagree with a negotiated settlement and prefer political violence to peace.
- **State-sponsored political violence** - characterized as "official government support for policies of violence, repression, and intimidation".
- **State-sponsored terrorism** - government support for terrorist actions in other states.
- **Terrorism** - defined as a violent act that generally targets noncombatants for political purposes.
- **Third-party guarantor** - defined as an external force that can enforce the provisions of a negotiated settlement.
- **Transnational** - defined as "events, activities, ideas, trends, processes and phenomena that appear across national boundaries and cultural regions".
- **Transnational political violence** - defined as political violence that occurs across different countries or crosses state borders.
- **Violence** - the deliberate infliction of harm on people.

- **Bretton Woods System** - a conference held in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire in 1044 to arrange and manage international economic relations after World War II.
- **Brexit** - the term used to describe the UK's decision to leave the European Union.
- **Bureaucratic authoritarianism** - the management of a country through a strong bureaucratic organization that excludes the popular will of the people, and where decisions are made by technocrats, or subject matter experts.
- **Digital immigrants** - people who did not grow up with today's technology.
- **Digital natives** - people who were raised with technology.
- **Economic marginalization** - an environment where workers feel like they have no control over their economics, and to a lesser extent, their lives.
- **Free trade** - the unregulated trade of goods and services between countries, usually through the reduction of import and export controls.
- **Foreign direct investment (FDI)** - the domestic investment by a foreign company, where the investment can be in the form of exports, the building of a production plant in the host country, an acquisition of a domestic company, or a joint venture.
- **Fragmentation** - understood as the fracturing of established orders, be they political, economic, or cultural.
- **Geopolitics** - defined as the study of the geographical aspects of political phenomena.
- **Global governance** - the collective efforts of the world's countries to find lasting solutions to global problems through the constellation of international institutions.
- **Global imaginary** - refers to people's growing consciousness of global connectivity, where people think of themselves as global citizens first.
- **Globalization** - an overarching international system shaping the domestic politics and foreign relations of virtually every country. Defined by Steger as growing worldwide interconnectivity.
- **Glocalization** - defined by Steger as the "thickening of the global-local nexus".
- **Great Unsettling** - earlier ways of acting and knowing that have been upended through globalization, causing uneasiness among people.
- **Immigrants** - migrants who willingly and legally left their home countries to work and live in another country.
- **Intentional migration** - migrants who choose to move from one place to another.
- **Internally displaced people (IDPs)** - unintentional migrants who have not crossed a border to find safety.
- **International institutions** - bodies of authority above the state that codify, maintain and sometimes enforce, sets of rules that govern state behavior.
- **International Monetary Fund (IMF)** - an international institution that manages the global monetary system and provides loans to countries that experience a currency crisis.
- **Internet** - an interconnected global computer network that allows for communication and information sharing that rose to prominence in the 1990s.
- **Leftist-populism** - characterized by a combination of populism with some form of socialism. In leftist-populism, the 'worker' needs protection from globalization.
- **Market globalism** - Steger defines it as a discourse where a "self-regulating market…serves as the framework for a future global order."
- **Migrants** - people who move from one place to another, usually between countries.
- **Multilateralism** - the formal cooperation between three or more states on a particular issue.
- **National-populism** - characterized by a combination of right-wing populism with nationalism. In national-populism, the 'nation' needs protection from globalization.

- **Neoliberalism** - the driving ideology in contemporary globalization. It promotes free-market capitalist principles worldwide.
- **Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)** - private, voluntary organizations that unite, usually for action on specific issues.
- **Populism** - denunciation of the elites in a country and the idea that politics should be an expression of the general will.
- **Refugee** - a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence who has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group.
- **Sojourners** - migrants who temporarily live in a place & return to their home country. This included international & study abroad students and also temporary labor.
- **Supranational** - where member-states agree to give up or share sovereignty on particular issue areas. The European Union (EU) is an example.
- **Temporary asylee** - a person who intends to stay in a new place for a brief time, but is subsequently unable to return home.
- **Unintentional migration** - migrants who do not choose to move from one place to another.
- **Washington Consensus** - the collective efforts of the World Bank, the IMF, the WTO to promote neoliberalism. So named because the World Bank and the IMF are headquartered in Washington, DC.

- **World Bank** - an international institution that provides loans and financial assistance to developing countries, primarily by funding industrial projects.

- **World Trade Organization (WTO)** - an international institution that supervises the trade agreements between countries, with the aim of promoting free trade.

Appendices

Index

direct democracy
economic growth
economic liberalism
economic marginalization
economic nationalism
economic structuralism
economies of scale
elections
electoral
electoral democracy
electoral systems
elite theory
elites
empirical Analysis
ethnicity
Eurasia Barometer
exclusionary nationalism
executive branch
existential threat
experiment
external sponsored political violence
external threat
fair competition
fair elections
falsifiability
federal government
feudalism
fiscal policy
flawed democracies
focus group
foreign direct investment (FDI)
formal institutions
four B's of religious identity
fragmentation
framing
framing effects
free elections
free rider problem
free trade
gender
geopolitics
global governance
global imaginary
globalization
glocalization
great Leap Forward
Great Unsettling
grievance explanation
guerilla warfare
hard power
hard sciences
head of government
head of state
hybrid regime
hyperpluralist society
hypothesis
identity politics
iiberal nationalism
illiberal democracies
illiberal regime
immigrants
import-substitution industrialization (ISI)
independent variables (explanatory variables)
indirect democracy
indiscriminate violence
inductive reasoning
inference
inflation
informal institutions
informal sector
information and communication technologies (ICT)
institutions
insurgency
intentional migration
internal sponsored political violence
internal threat
internally displaced people (IDPs)
international institutions
International Monetary Fund (IMF)
international political economy (IPE)
international relations
international trade
Internet
intersectionality
intrastate political violence
irredentism
January 6th 2021 United States Capitol Attack
judicial review
judiciary
Jummas (hill people)

junta

Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)

Kurds

laissez-faire

Latino Barometer

leftist-populism

legislative branch

legitimacy

literature review

lootable resources

low-intensity conflict (LIC)

majoritarian voting system

margin of error

market

market globalism

marxism

marxism

mercantilism

migrants

military rule

monarchy

monetary policy

monopoly on the use of violence

Most Different Systems Design (MDSD)

Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD)

multilateralism

multinational state

nation

national identity

nationalism

national-populism

nation-state

naturalization

negotiated settlements

neoliberalism

no-fly zone

non tariff regulatory barriers

non-democracy

non-falsifiable

nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)

non-state actors

nonviolence movements

norms

oligarchy

oligarchy

overt repression as policy

paramilitary

parliamentary legislature

parliamentary system

parochialism

participant system

patriotism

patronage model of state-sponsored terrorism

patronage networks

peace enforcement missions

peacebuilding

peacekeeping forces

personalist dictatorships

personalist rule

physical violence

pluralist society

plurality voting system

political accountability

political capacity

political competition

political economy

political identity

political institutions

political mobilization

political parties

political philosophy

political psychology

political science

political socialization

political violence

populism

postmaterialism

power

presidential system

priming effects

primitive democracy

primordial identity

private goods

propaganda

property

property rights

proportional voting system

protectionism

protectorate

psychological explanation of terrorism

public goods

public opinion

public opinion poll

public policy
quotas
purchasing Parity Power (PPP)
qualitative research
quantitative research
race
rational choice explanation of terrorism
rational-legal legitimacy
rebellion
recession
refugee
regime transitions
regulation
religiosity
religious identity
Representative democracy
representative sample
research methods and models
Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
revolution
science
scientific method
scramble for Africa
secession
selective violence
self-interest
semi-presidential system
separation of powers
separatist movements
sex-selective abortion
sexual orientation
sharp power
sin taxes
single-party rule
social capital
social contract
social democracy
social market economy
social movement
social sciences
society
socioeconomic class
soft power
soft sciences
sojourners
sovereignty
spoilers
state
state capitalism
state-sponsored political violence
state-sponsored terrorism
statism
strong states
structure
subject system
subnational case study research
subnational studies
suffrage
supranational
survey
survey questions
tariffs
taxation
temporary asylee
terrorism
theocracy
theory
third-party guarantor
totalitarian regime
traditional legitimacy
transnational
transnational political violence
trust
typology
unintentional migration
unitary government
variable
veil of ignorance
versailles Treaty
violence
Washington Consensus
waves of democracy
weak states
wealth distribution
within-nation comparisons
women’s suffrage
working class
World Bank
World Trade Organization (WTO)
World Values Survey (WVS)
zero-sum game

Detailed Licensing

Overview

Title: Introduction to Comparative Government and Politics (Bozonelos et al.)

Webpages: 100

Applicable Restrictions: Noncommercial

All licenses found:

- CC BY-NC 4.0: 93% (93 pages)
- Undeclared: 7% (7 pages)

By Page