AP COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS



Nina Sprouse
Mizzou Academy

LibreTexts™

Instructor Resources

Mizzou Academy

AP Comparative Government and Politics

Nina Sprouse

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.

- **About the Authors** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

This text is disseminated via the Open Education Resource (OER) LibreTexts Project (https://LibreTexts.org) and like the thousands of other texts available within this powerful platform, it is freely available for reading, printing, and "consuming."

The LibreTexts mission is to bring together students, faculty, and scholars in a collaborative effort to provide an accessible, and comprehensive platform that empowers our community to develop, curate, adapt, and adopt openly licensed resources and technologies; through these efforts we can reduce the financial burden born from traditional educational resource costs, ensuring education is more accessible for students and communities worldwide.

Most, but not all, pages in the library have licenses that may allow individuals to make changes, save, and print this book. Carefully consult the applicable license(s) before pursuing such effects. Instructors can adopt existing LibreTexts texts or Remix them to quickly build course-specific resources to meet the needs of their students. Unlike traditional textbooks, LibreTexts' web based origins allow powerful integration of advanced features and new technologies to support learning.



LibreTexts is the adaptable, user-friendly non-profit open education resource platform that educators trust for creating, customizing, and sharing accessible, interactive textbooks, adaptive homework, and ancillary materials. We collaborate with individuals and organizations to champion open education initiatives, support institutional publishing programs, drive curriculum development projects, and more.

The LibreTexts libraries are Powered by NICE CXone Expert and was supported by the Department of Education Open Textbook Pilot Project, the California Education Learning Lab, 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.

Have questions or comments? For information about adoptions or adaptions contact info@LibreTexts.org or visit our main website at https://LibreTexts.org.

This text was compiled on 04/16/2026

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Instructor Resources

About the Authors

Licensing

1: Why Study Comparative Politics?

- 1.1: What is Comparative Politics?
- 1.2: Ways Comparativists Look at the World
- 1.3: Things that Comparativists Study and Say
- 1.4: References
- 1.5: Student Resources

2: Using Comparative Methods

- 2.1: The Scientific Method and Comparative Politics
- 2.2: Four Approaches to Research
- 2.3: Case Selection (Or, How to Use Cases in Your Comparative Analysis)
- 2.4: References
- 2.5: Student Resources

3: States and Regimes

- 3.1: Introduction to States
- 3.2: The Modern State and Regime Types
- 3.3: Comparative Case Study - Botswana and Somalia
- 3.4: References
- 3.5: Student Resources

4: Democracies and Democratization

- 4.1: What is Democracy?
- 4.2: Institutions within Democracy
- 4.3: Systems of Democracy
- 4.4: Democratic Consolidation
- 4.5: Comparative Case Study – South Africa and Iraq
- 4.6: References
- 4.7: Student Resources

5: Non-Democracies and Democratic Backsliding

- 5.1: What are non-democracies?
- 5.2: Strategies for staying in power
- 5.3: Varieties of non-democracy
- 5.4: Democratic backsliding
- 5.5: Case Study - Russia's evolution over time
- 5.6: References
- 5.7: Student Resources

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

- 6.1: Introduction to Political Identity
- 6.2: Culture
- 6.3: Race and Ethnicity
- 6.4: Gender
- 6.5: Comparative Case Study - Gender Gaps in India and Japan
- 6.6: References
- 6.7: Student Resources

7: Political Identity - Nationalism, Religion, Class

- 7.1: What is Political Identity?
- 7.2: What is National Identity?
- 7.3: What is Religious Identity?
- 7.4: What is Class Identity?
- 7.5: Comparative Case Study - Israel and Iran - The Intersection of Politics and Identity
- 7.6: References
- 7.7: Student Resources

8: Political Economy

- 8.1: What is Political Economy?
- 8.2: Political Economic Systems
- 8.3: Comparative Case Study - Germany and China
- 8.4: References
- 8.5: Student Resources

9: Collective Action and Social Movements

- 9.1: What is collective action? What are social movements?
- 9.2: Frameworks for collective action
- 9.3: A framework for explaining social movements
- 9.4: Comparative Case Study - Workers' movements in Poland and China
- 9.5: References
- 9.6: Student Resources

10: Comparative Public Opinion

- 10.1: What is Comparative Public Opinion?
- 10.2: Political Socialization and Public Opinion
- 10.3: Measuring Public Opinion
- 10.4: Comparative Case Study - Barometers Around the World
- 10.5: References
- 10.6: Student Resources

11: Political Violence

- 11.1: What is Political Violence?
- 11.2: State-sponsored political violence
- 11.3: Non-state political violence
- 11.4: How Does Political Violence End? Post-Conflict Strategies
- 11.5: Comparative Case Study - Conflict Termination - Bangladesh and Turkey

- 11.6: References
- 11.7: Student Resources

12: Challenges and Questions in Comparative Politics

- 12.1: Challenges and Questions
- 12.2: Pressure From Above - Globalization
- 12.3: Pressure from Below - Fragmentation
- 12.4: Conclusion
- 12.5: References
- 12.6: Student Resources

Master Key Terms/Glossary

Index

Glossary

Detailed Licensing

Licensing

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

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

1: Why Study Comparative Politics?

1.1: What is Comparative Politics?

1.2: Ways Comparativists Look at the World

1.3: Things that Comparativists Study and Say

1.4: References

1.5: Student Resources

1: Why Study Comparative Politics? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

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 been asking a few of the many questions scholars within the field of comparative politics ask when practicing their craft. The realm of comparative politics is centered on a wide spectrum of social, political, cultural, and economic circumstances and outcomes. The field 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 you watch or read the news, or express any outward concern for global and current events, many of the problems and issues within comparative politics inevitably affect every single 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 will be further explored in this book.

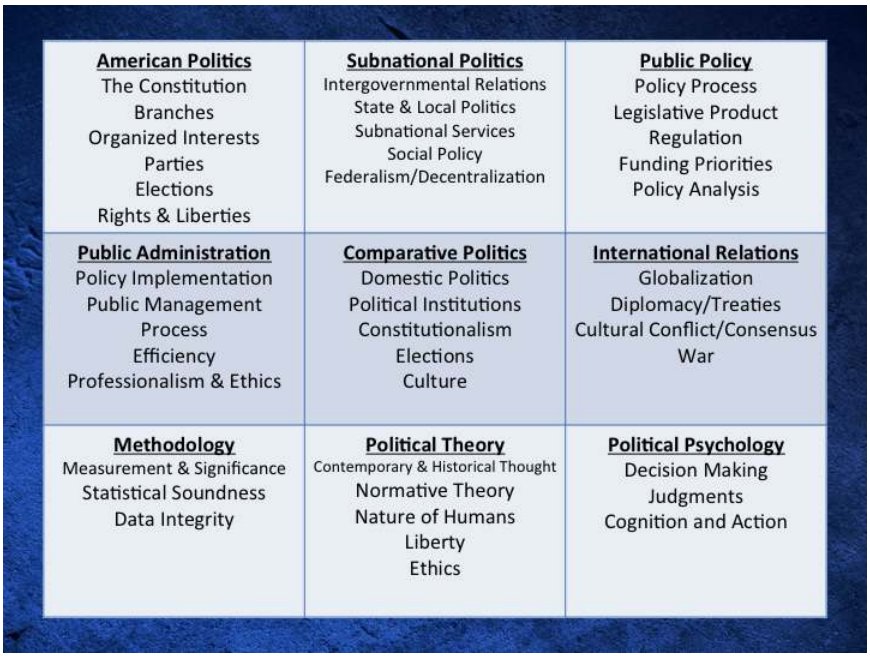
Overview

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 include:

- Comparative Politics
- American Politics
- International Relations (sometimes referred to as World Politics, International affairs, or International Studies)
- Political Philosophy
- Research Methods and Models
- Political Economy,
- Public Policy
- Political Psychology.

All of these subfields leverage findings and approaches from a diversity of disciplines, including sociology, history, philosophy, psychology, anthropology, economics, and law.



Source: Dr. Robert Yowell's GOVT 2304 course

Comparative Politics

This subfield seeks to advance the understanding of political structures from around the world in an organized, methodological, and clear way. Scholars can analyze countries, in part or in whole, in order to consider similarities and differences between and among countries. Comparative politics involves looking first within countries and then across designated countries. (This idea contrasts with International Relations, which is described below). Scholars may focus on “the state” or statehood, political institutions, democracy and democratization, or backsliding democracies, and so forth.

American Politics

This subfield focuses on political institutions and behaviors within the United States. For example: What is the role of elections in American democracy? How do interest groups affect legislation in the U.S.? What is the role of public opinion and the media in the U.S., and what are the implications for democracy? What is the future of the two-party system? Do political parties delay important political action? People specializing in American politics have a variety of career opportunities, spanning from teaching, and journalism to working for government think-tanks, and institutions, or even running for office.

International Relations

Sometimes called world politics, international affairs, international studies, or international relations focuses on how countries and/or international organizations or bodies interact with each other. International relations consider questions like: What causes war between states? How does international trade affect relationships between states? How do international bodies, like non-governmental organizations, work with various states? What is globalization and how does it affect peace and conflict? What is the best balance of power for the global system?

Political Philosophy

Also referred to as political theory, political philosophy reflects on the philosophical origins of politics, the state, government, fairness, equality, equity, authority, and legitimacy. Consideration can be on 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, as well as other societal phenomena. 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?

Research Methods and Models

Research methods and models can sometimes be considered a subfield of political science in itself. 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. An ongoing and heated debate often arises out of the proper or applicable usage of quantitative versus qualitative research designs.

Quantitative research centers on using mathematical and statistical means. Quantitative research can be beneficial in situations where a scholar or student is looking to test the validity of a theory, or general statement, while looking at a large diverse sample size of data. International Relations, American Politics, Public Policy, and Comparative Politics can find practical applications for quantitative research methods. Someone interested in International Relations may want to test the influence of global trade on conflict between states. In this scenerio, the sample size of the study may be 172 states engaged in international trade over a period of 10, 20, or even 50 years. Overall, some of the methods for quantitative research may involve conducting surveys, conducting bi- or multivariate regression analysis (time-series, cross-sectional), or carrying out observations to test a hypothesis.

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. This type of research involves categorizing, summarizing, and analyzing cases more thoroughly, and possibly individually, to gain greater understanding. Often, given the need for more description, qualitative research will have a small sample size, perhaps only comparing a couple of states at a time, or even a state individually based on the theme of interest. Some of the methods involve conducting interviews, constructing literature reviews, or preparing an ethnography.

Regardless of a quantitative or qualitative approach, Research Methods and Models focuses on advancing discussions of best practices in research design and methodology, understanding causal relationships between events or outcomes, identifying best practices in quantitative and qualitative research methods, consideration of how to measure social, economic, cultural and political trends (focusing on validity and reliability), and reducing errors or poor output due to selection bias, omitted variable bias, and other factors related to poor research design. In many ways, this subfield is critical to almost all others within political science.

Political Economy

Political science considers various economic theories (such as capitalism, socialism, communism, and fascism), as well as practices and outcomes either within a state, or among and between states in the global system. Theories brought forth by Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Karl Marx, and Max Weber help people understand economic systems and their outputs and affect on society. Political economy can be studied from the standpoints of a few other subfields in political science. For example, comparative politics may consider political economy when comparing and contrasting states. International relations scholars attempt to understand international economics in the context of different state systems. International Political Economy also examines global inequalities, relationships between poor and wealthy countries, as well as the role and effect of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or multinational corporations (MNCs) on international trade and finance.

Public Policy

This subfield explores political policies and outcomes, and focuses on the strength, legitimacy, and effectiveness of political institutions within a state or society. Relevant areas of inquiry in this field include: 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 public policy hurt or help democracy? Individuals interested in public policy can seek careers relating to almost any item of the political agenda (the healthcare system, social security, military affairs, welfare, education, etc.), go into teaching and research, or serve as public policy consultants for federal, state or local governmental organizations.

Political Psychology

A relatively new subfield, political psychology weds together principles, themes, and research from both political science and psychology, in order to understand the potential psychological roots for political behavior. Is there a psychological reason some 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 in states and societies?

All of the political science subfields can work together to develop greater understanding of political institutions and activities. See Figure **1.1.6**. Note that the fields are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For instance, public policy can be analyzed through the

lens of American Politics, but it can also be the key point of consideration for comparative politics or international relations. Similarly, political economy can refer simply to domestic affairs, or be applied across a few or many countries or states. Political psychology can be applied to a single state analysis or comparative or global studies. All the fields need research methods and models.

A Brief History and Expanded Definition of Comparative Politics

Comparative politics seems to be a field of study wherein scholars compare and contrast various political systems, institutions, characteristics, and outcomes for 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. Aristotle has sometimes been credited with being the "father" of political science, and was one of the first to use comparative methodologies for analyzing competing Greek city-states. Politics derives from the Greek word, *politikos*, meaning "of, or relating to". "Polis" is roughly 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 was contemplative science. In modern times, this idea refers closest to the studies of both physics and metaphysics, which he considered being concerned with truth, and the pursuit of truth and knowledge for intrinsic purposes.
- The second form was practical science, or what is ideal for individuals and society. According to Aristotle, this form involved the areas of philosophy, mathematics, and science.
- The final form 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. In fact, he identified political science as "the most authoritative science" when discussing what is best for society. In other words, 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.

In Aristotle's time, the units of analysis were the city-states in Greece. If stable, people lived productive and possibly happy lives. If unstable, society could not produce any positive externalities. So, it was critical to find ways to compare and contrast the various city-states, how they operated, and what their outcomes for the people were. To this end, Aristotle looked at the constitutions of various city-states, to understand which had the ideal configurations for both the people and political outputs.

A city-state could have one ruler, who is either a rightful king, or a tyrant running an authoritarian regime, depending on how the government works. Sometimes, a city-state may have a few rulers, which, at best, could be an aristocracy, or at worst, an oligarchy where only the elite are included in decision-making and rewards. Finally, a city-state could have multiple rulers, balanced by a "middle" class that attempts to rule on behalf of the people's interests. The "middle" group is not tremendously wealthy, nor woefully poor, but being in the "middle" they can understand the needs of society at large.

While Aristotle considered democracy to have the possibility of being "deviant," he also entertained the possibility that having more people involved in government may be a way to edge out corruption. Perhaps "cooler heads would prevail," or that there would be a "wisdom" of the majority which would limit corruption. In any/either case, Aristotle spent a lot of time comparing and contrasting the virtuous and deviant political regime types in order to determine what is best for society.

The work of Aristotle influenced a number of thinkers. If considering political science broadly, Aristotle influenced Niccolo Machiavelli (author of *The Prince*), Charles Montesquieu, (author of *The Spirit of the Laws*), Max Weber (sociologist and author of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 1905), to name a few.

Based on the work of Gerardo Munck, we are currently in a period following the Second Scientific Revolution of 1989-2005. As a result, comparative politics has a greater reliance on methodology rather than theory. This table **1.1.1** shows the variations in how significant scholars define comparative politics.

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

Notable Comparativists	Their Definition of Comparative Politics
(Lane, 1997, pg. 2) note his publications/contributions	"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."
(O'Neill, Fields and Share, 2021)	"Comparative Politics is the study and comparison of politics across countries.".
(O'Neill, 2004 - pg 3) note his publications/contributions	"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."
(Wiarda, 2000, pg. 7) note his publications/contributions	"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."

Debate on the definition of comparative politics can arise in a few ways. One way would be this: Zahariadis (1997) argued that comparative politics needs to be a study of foreign countries. If this is true, does that mean someone who lives in a country, cannot study their own country and still call it comparative politics? If this is true, then was Aristotle's study of city-states methodologically flawed since he occasionally lived in different city-states?

Another area where comparativists disagree is: what is the appropriate sample size for inquiry? Does the definition of comparative politics need to mandate a certain number of countries to be studied 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 take Zahariadis' definition, de Tocqueville did focus on a foreign country, but since it is only one country, does that mean it does not fall into the realm of comparative politics? What do you think?

1.1: What is Comparative Politics? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **1.1: What is Comparative Politics?** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

1.2: Ways Comparativists Look at the World

Learning Objectives

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

- 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

If comparative politics involves 'looking inside' and comparing countries, regions, institutions, or other entities, then what we are comparing matters. For example, can we just compare any two countries? Is it appropriate to compare two countries that are systematically different from one another? Is there a time when we would want to compare countries that are different? What are the 'rules' when it comes to being a comparativist? As we shall see in Chapter Two, case selection is an important process in comparative political science. Yet, over the years, a number of approaches have evolved when it comes to comparing.

Comparativists often study institutions. **Institutions** are the beliefs, norms, and organizations which structure social and political life. They encompass the rules, norms, and values of a society. March and Olsen (2011), define institutions as

> *a relatively enduring collection of rules and organized practices, embedded in structures of meaning and resources that are relatively invariant in the face of turnover of individuals and relatively resilient to the idiosyncratic preferences and expectations of individual and changing external circumstances.*

Institutions come in many shapes and sizes. **Formal institutions** are based on a clear set of rules that have been formalized, and often have the authority to enforce the rules, usually through punitive measures. Examples include universities, sports leagues, and corporations. They often have tangibility, identified through a building or a location, such as a university campus, or the headquarters for a sports team or a corporation. However, physicality is not a requirement. Universities have had an online presence for years. Meanwhile, sports teams and corporations now engage with their fans and clients virtually.

Informal institutions are based on an unwritten set of rules that have not necessarily been formalized. These rules are based on conventions on how one should behave. There is no authority that monitors behavior and people are expected to self-regulate. Examples could include societal expectations for waiting in line. Of course, expectations for waiting in line vary depending on the location. Waiting in line for lunch at school is different than waiting in line to check in at a hospital, which is really different from waiting in line at the airport. In the first example, it's more about who lined up first. In the second example, it is more about whose medical needs are more significant and not about when one checked in. The latter example is about the security of the facility. Since the September 11th terrorist attacks, airport conventions have become formalized, with the Transportation Security Agency monitoring and enforcing behavior in the United States. Thus, conventions can codify informal rules into formal ones over time.

According to Peters (2019), institutions "transcend individuals to involve groups of individuals in some sort of patterned interactions that are predictable". Given this, the author writes that there are three defining features of institutions: predictability, stability, and that it must affect individual behavior. In this theory, organizations can end up mattering more than the people. If institutions are self-enduring and long-lasting, then institutions can outlive the people that founded them. So, in political science, we can talk about the judiciary instead of judges, or about the presidency instead of presidents. The institution transcends the individual or individuals that occupy that role.

Political institutions are "structures that lend the polity its integrity" (Orren & Skowronek, 1995). They are the space where the majority of politics and political decisions take place. Formal political institutions include written constitutions, executives, such as the US President, legislatures, such as the US Congress, and judiciaries, such as the US Supreme Court. They can also include the military, police forces, and other enforcement agencies. Examples of informal political institutions involve expectations during negotiations. For example, lawmakers may logroll, or exchange promises of support when laws are written. This is the old saying, 'you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours'. In the U.S. democratic system, logrolling is an extremely important part of lawmaking.

Without this practice, it is unlikely many laws would get through. Other examples of informal political institutions include levels of corruption, political ideology, such as identifying as liberal or conservative, and political culture. Recent research suggests that political culture may strongly influence the formation and endurance of political institutions.

Area Studies

One of the more traditional ways of comparing is through the field of geographic studies. **Area studies** have their roots in the age of empires when European powers began expanding their borders beyond the continent of Europe. As imperial forces, such as the British and the French, began to occupy more territory, there was an attempt by 'enlightened' Europeans to understand the peoples and the indigenous languages, cultures, and social aspects of the regions they conquered. The people were seen as 'exotic' and Eurocentrism was the norm. Museums were filled with items from these civilizations that were often stolen or 'bought' by invading forces.

World War II transformed area studies from a colonial enterprise into a geopolitical imperative. Specialists were needed by the U.S. military for the war effort. Campaigns in Europe, Asia-Pacific, and North Africa required an understanding of the terrain they were fighting in. Afterward, during the Cold War, the U.S. and the Soviet Union fought proxy wars across all continents, which pushed the U.S. military to extensively rely on the university system for expertise. For example, the 1958 National Defense Education Act provided funding for training in critical language studies. Other non-defense organizations engaged in the interdisciplinary pursuit. Entities such as the Ford Foundation, the Social Science Research Council, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the American Council of Learned Societies all contributed to the effort. Universities established various centers, programs, and initiatives, such as the Center for Latin American Studies at Stanford, Harvard University's Center for Middle Eastern Studies, and the Asian Studies Initiative at Boston University.

Despite the complicated origins, area studies have become important segments of contemporary university curricula in many countries. By the definition, area studies are multidisciplinary including cross-sections of political science, history, economics, sociology, anthropology, geography, literature, linguistics, religious studies, and theology. They also include geographical areas that were once not considered, such as European Studies.

List Area of Studies

This list provides a nearly comprehensive list of area studies and their fields of study.

- Asia
  - Asian Studies
  - Asian-Pacific Studies
  - East Asian Studies
  - Critical Asian Studies
  - Southeast Asian Studies
  - Modern Asian Studies
  - South Asian Studies
- Latin America
  - Latin American Studies
  - Latino Studies
  - Central American Studies
  - Caribbean Studies
  - Southern Cone Studies
  - Amazonia Studies
  - Iberian Studies*
- Africa
  - African Studies
  - Africana Studies
  - East African Studies
  - Southern African Studies

- West African Studies

- Middle East
  - Middle East Studies
  - Near Eastern Studies
  - Oriental Studies
  - Levantine Studies
  - Maghrib Studies
  - Gulf Studies
  - Islamic Studies**

- Europe
  - European Studies
  - European Union/West European Studies
  - East European Studies
  - Eurasian Studies
  - Post-Soviet/Communist Studies
  - Mediterranean Studies
  - Southeast European/Balkan Studies

*Iberian Studies involves Spain and Portugal, the two countries in the Iberian peninsula. Even though these two countries are geographically in Europe, they are often grouped under Latin American studies due to the strong associations of Latin America with Iberia.

**Historically, Islamic Studies is often grouped in the same department as Middle Eastern Studies and/or Near Eastern Studies. Western societies often associate the Middle East with Islam, even though only 18% of the World's Muslims live outside the Middle East. (In this course, Southwest Asia will also be utilized, since it is a term more recognized by the global community.)

Cross-national Studies

Cross-national studies can be broadly defined as "studies that are *explicitly* comparative, that is students that utilize systematically comparable data from two or more nations" (pg. 714). In this sense, area studies could also be labeled as cross-national studies, as it involves comparing two or more countries in one defined geographical region.

Cross-national research has its roots in the behavioral revolution of the 1950s, when social scientists moved away from studying institutions, which often involved in-depth contextual analyses, and more towards using quantitative measures to understand relationships between variables. The goal was to have external validity, or confidence in one's conclusions across a larger number of observed cases. For example, in the 1999 book, *Patterns of Democracy*, author Arend Ljiphart examines thirty-six diverse democracies, comparing institutions ranging from their electoral systems to the role of their central banks to internal policy-making techniques.

In comparative politics, cross-national studies usually involve comparing countries across regions, and outside a specific geographical region. According to Franco, et al (2020), "behavioral political science, or behavioralism, is the study of political behavior and emphasizes the use of surveys and statistics". A good example is the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), an intergovernmental organization that facilitates dialogue on macroeconomic policies, which contains 38 member countries from Europe, North and South America, Asia and Australasia. OECD countries have harmonized their economic indicators, which allows for easier comparisons across countries.

Another example of cross-national research includes the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, where scholars meet to design common post-election surveys. There have been five modules since 1996, with a new module released every five years. Not all countries participate in the Study and participation may vary from module to module. The Polity data series is one of the more prominent datasets that ranks countries from strongly democratic to strongly autocratic based on political regime characteristics. Polity IV dataset has analyzed democratic backsliding, state failure, and current regime trends.

One of the major critiques of cross-national studies are the measurements themselves. Can we properly compare across large swaths of countries? Do our measurements have enough validity for generalizations to be made about certain political phenomena?

These questions have led some to reject cross-national research in comparative politics. Nevertheless, the attempt to systematize analyses across countries is important. Even if the variables are slightly off in their measurements, which is a problem that all social scientists face, the deliberations on how to measure democracy, capitalism, and election integrity open a much-needed discussion on what these concepts mean. The key, according to Przeworski and Teune (1966) is to "identify 'equivalent' phenomena and analyze[ing] the relationships between them in an 'equivalent' fashion" (pg. 553).

Subnational Studies

Subnational studies compare subnational governments wholly within one country, or across countries. In the United States, a subnational entity would consist of state governments, such as California, and even smaller governmental units, such as county and city governments. In other countries, it could include provincial governments, regional governments, and other local governments often referred to as municipalities.

Subnational governments vary in regard to their level of **sovereignty** or fundamental governmental power. Fundamental governments have the power to coerce people to do things they may not want to do, such as paying taxes, or not speeding on the California freeways.

- In countries, such as the United States, sovereignty is shared between the national government in Washington, DC, and the fifty states. This type of system is referred to as a **federal government**.
- In other countries, the power is concentrated at the national level. In France, most power is in Paris and lies with the President and Parliament. This scenario represents an **unitary government**.
- **Confederal governments** have the most sovereignty at the subnational levels, such as Switzerland and more recently Iraq.

Subnational research has its roots in the 1970s, with the third Wave of democratization. As the number of democracies surged, significant decentralization trends emerged, where subnational governments and domestic institutions were empowered. This **devolution** occurs when the central government in a country deliberately transfers power to a government at a lower level. Devolution is almost always associated with autonomy, where subnational governments have a certain level of power independent of the central government. Good examples include the creation of parliaments in Scotland and Wales, and in Spain, with the Catalan, Basque, and Galician regional governments.

Two different approaches have developed in subnational studies.

- A **within-nation comparison** examines the subnational governments or institutions within a single country. For example, analyzing all fifty states' policies towards COVID-19 in the United States.
- A **between-nation comparison** is conducted across different countries. It could include analyzing autonomous areas within countries or studying contiguous subnational governments. This type of approach is especially useful when looking at postcolonial Africa, where tribal, ethnic, or religious group boundaries overlap national borders.

1.2: Ways Comparativists Look at the World is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **1.2: Approaches to Comparative Politics** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

Organization of this Book

Introduction to Comparative Politics is an Open Education Resource (OER) and consists of the following 12 chapters. A team of eight political scientists at seven different community colleges in California co-authored this Open Education 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
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 & Gender	Julia Wendt, Ph.D
7	Political Identity: Nationalism, Religion, Class	Dino Bozonelos, Ph.D & Jessica Scarffe, Ph.D.
8	Political Economy	Jessica Scarffe, Ph.D. & Julia Wendt, Ph.D
9	Collective Action/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.

Part One: Institutions and Institutional Change

Chapter 3 introduces a critical focal point of comparative politics in addressing how “the state,” its formation and manifestation, can vary so greatly from place to place. It also delves into concepts such as the social contract, sovereignty, power (hard and soft), authority, and legitimacy. The chapter-ending case study examines two countries within Africa: Botswana and Somalia. Some political scientists consider Botswana to be one of Africa’s longest-standing and most stable democracies. Others suggest that Somalia has more stability under, paradigmatically, stateless conditions.

Chapter 4 examines the characteristics and nature of democracy and democratization. More than 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 its study of two countries moving towards some level of democratization: Iraq and South Africa.

Chapter 5 considers non-democratic regimes, as well as the potential for democracies to “backslide” into non-democratic regimes. There have been ample occasions where previously democratic regimes, for various reasons and circumstances, engaged in

political trajectories which took away the liberal aspects of governance. The chapter concludes with a case study of Russia, which since the 17th century, has experienced multiple periods of non-democratic rule.

Part Two: Intersections and Boundaries

Chapter 6 will introduce 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 will consider the history of the caste systems in Japan and India and it's relation to political systems.

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. As countries have democratized, these identities have taken on more meaning. The chapter's case study examines the political identities within Israel and Iran, where religion and nationalism both play a significant role in society.

Chapter 8 discusses political economy, a type of inquiry that explores the intersection and relationships between market systems and individuals, groups, and political outcomes within a state. 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 case study will consider the highly government-controlled economy of China versus the moderately controlled economy of Germany.

Part Three: Comparative Political Behavior

Chapter 9 kicks off a discussion of collective action and social movements. Labor movements within Poland and China are utilized to closely consider the phenomenon of collective action.

Chapter 10 introduced the study of comparative public opinion. In other words, how does the public think and believe 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.

The book concludes with the phenomenon of political violence. 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. Turkey and Bangladesh are examined in the case study.

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?

1.3: Things that Comparativists Study and Say is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **1.3: Outline of the Textbook** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

1.4: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **1.4: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

1.5: Student Resources

Key Terms/Glossary

- **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.
- **Devolution** - occurs when the central government in a country deliberately transfers power to a government at a lower level.
- **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 that structure social and political life.
- **International relations** - (sometimes called World Politics, International Affairs or International Studies), a subfield of political science that 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 that 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 involves 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.

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. Scholars occasionally disagree about the ideal methodological approaches and methods for case selection. Beyond comparative politics, a number of other subfields exist within political science, including American Politics, International Relations, Political Philosophy, Research Methods and Models, Political Economy, Public Policy, and Political Philosophy. Depending on the theme and the level of analysis, comparativists may use qualitative or quantitative research methods to advance the field.

Section #1.2: Ways Comparativists Look at the World

Comparativists compare polticis 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 examining at least two or more countries, but does not require that these countries be close in proximity or necessarily alike in basic ways. Finally, 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 can draw its focus to a number of different critical areas.

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 Methods and Models.
2. Which level-of-analysis focuses on state relations from similar geographic regions?
   A. Area studies
   B. Cross-national studies
   C. Subnational studies
   D. None of these is correct.
3. Who is considered the father of political science?
   A. Socrates
   B. Plato
   C. Aristotle
   D. Homer
4. According to Gerardo L. Munck, what is the most recent noted period in the evolution of the study of comparative politics?
   A. The Second Scientific Revolution
   B. The Behavioral Revolution
   C. The Constitution of Political Science as a Discipline
   D. The Post-Behavioral Revolution
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. Large sample size / Global trends

Answers: 1.b, 2.a, 3.c, 4.a, 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 the 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. (1990) A Discipline Divided: Schools and Sects in Political Science, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Boix, C., & Stokes, S. [editors]. The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Kesselman, M., Krieger, J., & Joseph, W. [editors]. Introduction to Comparative Politics. Boston, MA: Cengage.
- Kopstein, J., & Lichman, M. [editors]. Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lichbach, M. I., & Zuckerman, A. S. (2009). Comparative politics : rationality, culture, and structure (Second edition.). Cambridge University Press.

1.5: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **1.5: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

2: Using Comparative Methods

2.1: The Scientific Method and Comparative Politics

2.2: Four Approaches to Research

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

2.4: References

2.5: Student Resources

2: Using Comparative Methods is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

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. Science can actually be divided into small components.

- **Hard sciences**, such as chemistry, mathematics, and physics, work to advance scientific understanding in the natural or physical sciences.
- **Soft sciences** work to advance scientific understanding of human behavior, institutions, society, government, decision making, and power. A subfield is the **social sciences,** which scientifically study human society and relationships, such as history, psychology, politics, etc.

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). 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 embodies the essence of the scientific method and possesses deep foundations for scientific tools and theory formation.

“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”. 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.

Why is Political Science a Science?

Thucydides, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle provided observations on their political worlds and ideas about why states and political actors may behave the way they do. The modern conception of Political Science is one that, like other social sciences, follows the scientific method and is based on a philosophic tradition regarding the nature of inquiry. Beginning in the late 1800s, scholars began attempting to treat political science as a hard science that could utilize the scientific method.

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, they also spent a generous amount of time considering what scientific research in political science looks like.

According to King, Keohane, and Verba (1994), scientific research has four main characteristics.

- First, make descriptive or causal inferences. An **inference** is a process of drawing a conclusion about an unobserved phenomenon, based on observed (empirical) information. Note-- the accumulation of facts, by itself, does not make such an effort scientific. In order for a study to be scientific, it requires the additional step of going beyond the immediately observable information. The process of making inferences help us learn about the unobserved fact by describing it based on empirical information. For example, we cannot directly observe democracy. Yet, political scientists have identified various tenets and characteristics of democratic nations, to the extent that we can describe such a concept. We can also learn the causal effects from the observed information, such as studying the cause and effects of a war.
- 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. The process of gathering and analyzing information/data must be reliable in order to make inferences. For example, as a condition for publication, authors must 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, the process of making inferences is imperfect, and the conclusions of scientific research are uncertain. 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.
- Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the content of scientific research is the method. 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. Validity is dependent on how closely one follows 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**, 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, the use of the scientific method will build a body of knowledge and culminate in the formation of inferences and potential theories for why/how phenomena exist or occur.

Broadly speaking, the scientific method within political science will involve the following steps:

1. Research question: Develop a clear, focused, and relevant research question.
2. Literature review: Research the context, background information, and previous research regarding the research question. The **literature review** is a section of your research paper or research process, where key sources and previous research are discussed. From this work, you are able to have a full scope of understanding of all previous work performed on your topic, which will enhance your 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**, 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. Political scientists are concerned with cause-and-effect relationships, and divide the variables into two categories:
    1. **independent variables** (explanatory variables) are the cause, and independent of other variables under consideration in a study.
    2. **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 will test the hypothesis, or hypotheses, through observation of the relationship between the designated variables.
5. Analysis: When the testing is complete, political scientists review their results and draw conclusions about the findings.
    1. Was the hypothesis correct? If so, report the success of the findings.
    2. 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 publish their findings so the findings are public and transparent,



and others may continue research in that area. Image: California State University--Northridge

Step One: The Research Question

Before a researcher can start thinking about describing or explaining a phenomenon, they must start with a question about the phenomenon of interest. 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 need to 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. 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.

Overall, a political science research question must be an important point. Indeed, the answer to such a statement has a chance of being wrong. In other words, a research question has to be falsifiable. **Falsifiability,** coined by philosopher of science, Karl Popper, is defined as the ability for a statement to be logically contradicted through empirical testing. (With **empirical analysis** being defined as the basis of an experiment, experience, or observation).

Some questions are inherently **non-falsifiable**, meaning the question cannot be proven true or false under present circumstances. This stance is particularly true in subjective questions (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: Which one is better, North Dakota or South Dakota?

This question is subjective. If the question was more refined and not simply a case of some abstract definition of ‘better than,’ perhaps the researcher could find something that could be proven:

> Which state is more economically productive, North or South Dakota?

Now, the researcher could lay out metrics for what constitutes economically productive, and try to build from there.

Technical limitations are a problem in political science. Let's consider the question: Does investing in a country’s education system always mean it will eventually become democratic? There are two problems with this question. First, making a blanket statement that investing in education always leads to democracy is difficult to measure. 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, consider how much you actually know about the topic, and do some research about previous studies on the topic. In most cases, the literature review will have its own introduction, body, and conclusion. The introduction will explain the context of the research question. The body will summarize and synthesize all the research, ideally in either chronological, thematic, methodological, or theoretical order.

For chronological order, begin with the early research and end in the most recent research on a topic. If the research contains a number of interrelated themes, categorize the research based on its theme. Finally, you can organize the review by previous theories. 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

After the literature review, it is time to consider the theories and hypotheses that you will be using. Usually, the theory helps build your hypotheses for the study.

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. 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. 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 by observing many cases that relate to a topic of inquiry. There are several methods

- **inductive reasoning**--scientists look at specific situations and attempt to form a hypothesis
- **deductive reasoning**--occurs when political scientists make an inference and then test its truth using evidence and observations

(To learn more about these types of reasoning, including examples, visit Live Science's Deductive reasoning vs. Inductive reasoning)

A hypothesis is a specific and testable prediction of what you think will happen. 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. For our purposes, the basic research approaches of interest will be the experimental method, the statistical method, case study method, and the comparative method. Each one of these methods involves research questions, the use of theories to inform our understanding of the research problem, hypothesis testing, and/or hypothesis generation.

Similarly, an analysis of outcomes can be reliant on the research methodologies employed and is 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. Not all research will result in publication. 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 countries did not have freedom of the press, including the United States, which had implemented the Sedition Acts in the midst of World War I. Thus, many doctors around the world were not able to effectively communicate. Inundated with swarms of patients, flummoxed by the nature of the 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 scenario 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 the disease. Initially, there was a heavy reliance on ventilators. In time, some doctors found

that repositioning patients on their stomachs could 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.

2.1: The Scientific Method and Comparative Politics is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Masahiro Omae, & Masahiro Omae.

- **2.1: The Scientific Method and Comparative Politics** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Masahiro Omae is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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, the case study method, and the comparative method. Each involves research questions, the use of theories to inform our understanding of the research problem, hypothesis testing, and/or hypothesis generation. Further, each method attempts to understand the relationship between two or more variables, whether that relation is correlational or causal.

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). Thus, experimental designs involve "standardization, randomization, between-subjects versus within-subject design, and experimental bias" (McDermott, 2002, pg, 33). This methodology assists in reducing bias in research, and for some scholars holds great promise for research in political science (Druckman, et. al. 2011). Political science experimentation almost always involves statistical tools to discern causality.

An experiment is used whenever the researcher seeks to answer causal questions (cause and effect) or is looking for causal inference. In other words, a change in one variable verifiably causes an effect or change in another variable. Correlation is different since it only occurs when a relationship or association can be established between two or more variables. *Correlation does not equal causation!* 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 scenario can often occur in analyses, especially if particular variables are omitted or constructed improperly.

A good example involves capitalism and democracy. Political scientists assert that capitalism and democracy are correlated. 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 exist. Most wealthy countries are democratic, such as the United States. 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 the middle-class hypothesis, including South Korea and Chile. However, plenty of other countries, such as Singapore, are considered quite capitalistic with a developed strong middle class, but have yet to fully adopt democracy.

These potential contradictions are why political scientists are careful with making causal statements. Causality is difficult to establish, especially when the unit of analysis involves countries. 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. The reiteration of an experiment multiple times can confirm this idea. 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, especially 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.

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 a small number of cases/countries, analyses lend well to searching for a causal mechanism. 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 later in 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."*

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

Statistical methods are the use of mathematical techniques to analyze collected data, usually in numerical forms, such as interval or ratio-scale. In political science, statistical analyses of datasets are the preferred method, especially when focusing on how individuals make political decisions, such as voting in a given election, or how they may express themselves ideologically.

Surveys are one way 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, a survey may ask U.S. residents about 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. Next, the data is 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 search 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. 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 idea 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. 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).

To quickly review of information is analyzed:

- Quantitative method centers on testing a theory or hypothesis through mathematical and statistical means, using data from a large sample size. Scientists may collect data, known behavior actions, or close-ended research.
- Qualitative method centers on exploring ideas and phenomena, potentially with the goal of consolidating information or developing evidence to form a theory or hypothesis to test. Here, scientists 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.

Experimental and statistics fall squarely into the quantitative camp, whereas comparative politics is mostly considered as qualitative. The fields of behavioral economics and social psychology are well-suited for experiments. Both studies focus on the behavior of individual people. 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 are utilized.

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? 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. This way, the results of a current experiment and/or analysis can be compared to some baseline group. 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. 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 involve "the analysis of a small number of cases, entailing at least two observations". In other words, 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 is the preferred method.

Case Studies

Why would we want to use a case study? One of the major techniques, they provide for in-depth traditional research. Many times there is a gap in knowledge, or a research question that necessitates a certain level of detail. According to Naumes and Naumes (2015), case studies involve storytelling, and power exists in the story's message. Fact-based stories 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, grow into a pandemic will involve telling a story.

A **case** can be simply defined as a "factual description of events that happened at some point in the past" (Naumes and Naumes, 2015). 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 action is referred to as case selection.

For many comparativists in political science, the unit (case) is often observed as a country or a nation-state. A **case study** can provide an intensive look into that single case, often with the intent to better understand a particular variable of interest. For example, we could research a country's successful COVID-19 response. This case study could consist of a single observation within the country, and include the country's level of health readiness, the government's response, and the buy-in from their citizens.

This description represents the traditional understanding of case study research - the in-depth analysis of one case. Once we research and discover the internal processes that led to the successful response, we naturally want to compare it to other countries (cases). This shifting the analysis from just one country (case) to other countries (cases) is called a **comparative case study**.

Finally, as mentioned in Chapter One, there can also exist **subnational case study research**. This type of research 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, such as within Europe. There are quite a few subnational governments with significant amounts of autonomous power, such as Catalonia in Spain. Flanders and Walloons in Belgium are considered partially autonomous regions. Meanwhile, Scotland within the UK is a region that has experienced devolved power.

Use of Case Studies in Comparative Politics

Case studies can be used in other areas, such as business. 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. 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 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, which serve as 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, including 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].

- 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 under 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.
- Ljiphart provided the concepts of "politics of accommodation" and "consensus democracy". The terms are central to our understanding of comparative democracy.

Historically, comparative politics have focused on the nation-state. By this, researchers compare countries often involving regime types (both democratic and nondemocratic), political economies, political identities, social movements, and political violence. This "looking within" is what separates comparative politics from other fields of political science. Thus, the nation-state is the most relevant and important political actor.

Clearly, the nation-state is not the only actor in politics. Nor is it 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 are also transnational actors, such as nongovernmental organizations, and multinational corporations, as well as more sinister groups such as criminal and terrorist networks. In addition, we can analyze at an international (systemic) level, subnational level, and individual level. However, nation-states remain the primary unit and level of analysis in comparative politics.

2.2: Four Approaches to Research is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **2.2: Four Approaches to Research** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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, clearly help determine the outcome of our results. **Large-N research** is when the number of observations or cases is large enough that 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 the parameters of the population are known, 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 other words, there must be randomly selected people within the sample. Randomization would help to reduce bias in the study. Also, when cases (people with long-term COVID) are randomly chosen they need to ensure a fairer representation of the studied population.
- The 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 in the study. There is no magic number. However, the 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 approximately 195 fully recognized countries, 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, is 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 to ensure the results are not biased? These 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.

In large-N research, potential errors and/or biases may be ameliorated (make better or more tolerable), especially if the sample is large enough. 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.

According to Blatter and Haverland (2012), “case studies are ‘case-centered’, whereas large-N studies are ‘variable-centered’". In large-N studies, the concern is with conceptualization and operationalization of variables. So which data should be included in the analysis of long-term COVID patients? A survey might be an option, with appropriately constructed questions. Why? For almost all survey-based large-N research, the question responses become the coded variables used in the statistical analysis.

Case selection can be driven by a number of factors in comparative politics.

- 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 comparing infection rates among German states.
- Second, case selection may be driven by area studies. Researchers may pick areas of study due to their personal interests. For example, an European researcher may study 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.

- Compare their similarities or their differences.
- Compare the typical or atypical (deviate from the norm).

Types of Case Studies: Descriptive vs. Causal

John Gerring (2017) suggests that the central question posed by the researcher dictates 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). 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, such as 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). The context around a specific political phenomenon allows for researchers to identify the aspects that set up the conditions, and the mechanisms for that outcome to occur. Scholars refer to this as the **causal mechanism**. Remember, causality is when a change in one variable verifiably causes an effect or change in another variable. Thus, Gerring divides the mechanisms into three categories. 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. Context is more about 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. Thus, if we want to understand the ideal-type capitalist system, we would 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'. In other words, is the relationship between the independent and dependent variables positive, negative, or none existent.
- Diagnostic case studies help to "confirm, disconfirm, or refine a hypothesis" (Gerring 2017). Case selection can vary. For example, scholars can choose a *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 has a low level of modernization through large swaths of the country. All of these factors strongly suggest that India should not have democratized, should have failed to stay a democracy in the long-term, or have disintegrated as a country.

Most Similar/Most Different Systems Approach

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. Challenges quickly emerge. First, how many cases do we pick? Second, how do we apply the case selection techniques, descriptive vs. causal? Do we pick two *extreme* cases if using an exploratory approach, or two *least-likely* cases if choosing a diagnostic case approach?

English scholar John Stuart Mill 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 common characteristic, or variable, 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, that the cases do not have in common.

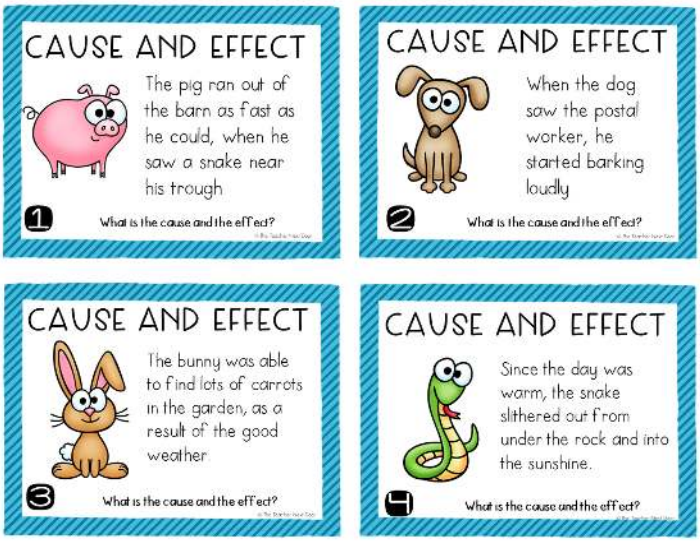
From these two methods, comparativists have developed two approaches.

What Is the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD)?

Derived from Mill's 'method of difference', the Most Similar Systems Design Design (MSSD) compares cases but the outcomes differ in result. In this approach, an attempt is made to keep as many of the variables the same across the selected cases. Remember, the independent variable (cause) is the factor that doesn't depend on changes in other variables. The dependent variable (effect) is affected by, or dependent on, the independent variable. In a most similar systems approach, the variables of interest should remain the same.

There is no national healthcare system in the United States. Meanwhile, New Zealand, Australia, Ireland, UK, and Canada have robust, publicly accessible national health systems. All these countries 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.

Just for fun! Try your hand at some cause-and-effect scenarios:



Source: Upperelementary Snapshots

What Is the Most Different Systems Design (MDSD)?

In a Most Different System Design, the cases selected are different from each other, but result in 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.

An example would be countries that are classified as economically liberal. The Heritage Foundation lists countries Singapore, Taiwan, Estonia, Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland, Chile, and Malaysia as either free or mostly free. Yet, 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 authoritarian military regimes, which is not the case for Switzerland. In other words, why do we have different systems producing the same outcome?

2.3: Case Selection (Or, How to Use Cases in Your Comparative Analysis) is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **2.3: Case Selection** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

2.4: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **2.4: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

https://socialsci.libretexts.org/@go/page/150428

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.

2.5: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **2.5: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

3: States and Regimes

3.1: Introduction to States

3.2: The Modern State and Regime Types

3.3: Comparative Case Study - Botswana and Somalia

3.4: References

3.5: Student Resources

3: States and Regimes is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

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. 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.) Most human beings on this planet are being ruled over or governed. In addition, a myriad of basic to-do lists and activities of humans are, in small and big ways, dictated by political powers. This chapter considers important aspects of political power within countries, the important terminology used 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 not the norm. Even prior to the establishment of formal governments and formalized institutions, human beings were organizing themselves for various reasons. One of the first reasons was the pursuit of survival, which seemed more feasible when humans 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 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, and 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. 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.

About 12,000 years ago, society was able to shift its approach. Humans found a way to stay in one place for longer through the agricultural revolution. Tiling the land for crops and early irrigation methods enabled the watering of 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. Combined with more people living closer together, this growth led to the need for formal societal organization. Humans were forced to develop some sort of order to ensure survival. The main takeaway is that humans chose not to live in anarchy. Rather, they 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 17th/18th Century writers Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Rousseau called the social contract.

A **social contract** is 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 obedience is in exchange for the 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 requires a pledge of fealty, livelihoods, and productivity to the ruling class. There are two types of social contracts.

- Voluntary social contract--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.
- Involuntary social contract--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.

An implicit social contract can also exist. For example, most US citizens are born into their social contract. 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 others that go through a formal process to become US citizens, referred to as **Naturalization**. There are many steps involved in this process, including but not limited to background checks, oral examinations, paperwork, and finally pledging allegiance to your host country in a formal ceremony. 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.

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. He 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, writing that life was, "nasty, brutish and short".
- Locke lived between 1632 to 1704, and is considered one of the primary Enlightenment thinkers of his time. In his masterpiece, *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke set out the principles of natural rights. In other words, all people were born with "certain, unalienable" rights that should be recognized and protected by states. In contrast to Hobbes, Locke thought positively about humankind.
    - Hobbes favored a more authoritarian government, believing that the state needed to control the masses, for its own good. Whereas, Locke believed humans were perfectly capable of living peacefully with each other, with no need for an authoritarian state. Today, we can see Locke's influence in certain phrases in the US Constitution.
- "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 argues that society imprisons people with various "chains" and suppresses their natural born rights and liberties. To Rousseau, the only type of legitimate authority in society comes from the consent of all people. All people must agree 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.

An early version of social contract can also be observed in ancient Greece, where 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. Indeed, many members of the population were excluded from decision-making processes, like slaves (both male and female) and women. Nevertheless, in hindsight, the people of Ancient Greece submitted to the

ruling class, through somewhat representative leadership, for protection from the political system. Thus, a social contract existed to some degree.

Following the fall of the Roman Empire in 489 ACE, Western Europe fell into chaos. Northern hordes came down and would attack territories, leaving most of the regions of the former Roman Empire in disarray. During this time, most people lived under constant duress with no protection of their person or property. Around 900 ACE, the system of **feudalism** arose, particularly in Europe, wherein peasants (sometimes called serfs) were forced to provide members of the upper class with their crops, produce, and 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. Though not necessarily ideal, the serfs and nobles engaged in a social contract.

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

State is one of the most frequently used words in the study of comparative politics. At first glance, many students think of subnational governments, like states in the United States. However, 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 has 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, 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?

- A 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, or ancestry within a designated region of territory.
- A **country** 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. The Rus' state was established in 862 CE, 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 was largely stateless and operated under the system of feudalism. Eventually, Rus' became a unified country Grand Duchy of Moscow Over time, the way Russia was ruled varied greatly, whether ruling came from a noble class, a royal bloodline, an installment of a leader, or an election of leadership. Today, Russia has a common territory, history, language, and ancestry, but has been led by different states over time.

One characteristic 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** 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 methods of persuasion or manipulation.
- **Hard power** is the ability to get others to do what you want using physical and potentially aggressive measures, such as fighting, attacking, or through war.

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** is the state's ability to establish itself as a valid power over its citizens.
- **Authority** is having the power to get things done.

Put 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 where there is a legitimate authority to lead, but no defined or operational constitution, or set of rules and laws.
- **Charismatic legitimacy** means that citizens follow the rules of a state based on the charisma and personality of the current leader. Legitimacy does not come from a written constitution accepted by the representatives or leaders of a country. When that leader dies or gets removed from office, will the state continue to stand, or will citizens no longer see the legitimacy of authority from the government in the absence of that charismatic leader?
- **Rational-legal legitimacy** 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 accepted by the people as the operating manual and handbook for how society should run. Each of form 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.

3.1: Introduction to States is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **3.1: Introduction to States** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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, when states were critical to the organization and survival of certain societies. Being a member of a state brought benefits to those included. Having a recognized state meant trade and business could be discussed with other states. Economic development solidified trading relationships, and states were able to pursue technological innovations. Advances in technology helped European states invent, or improve, the use of gunpowder, weapons, and 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, 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

States began forming when societies were able to stay in one place (thanks to the agricultural revolution), and some form of social contract developed 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 able to work their political agendas effectively, to make sure basic political tasks are completed. They 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 the legitimacy to act because the citizens have accepted the terms of the social contract.

Weak states are unable to perform basic political tasks, and unable to work the political agenda of the authority in charge. Typically, they are 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 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 is one of the factors comparativists consider when comparing states.

An important factor is a state's 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 somewhat synonymous.

Aside from political capacity and regime type, comparativists 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 relationships to the global economy are all important.

Regime Types - Dictatorships to Democracies

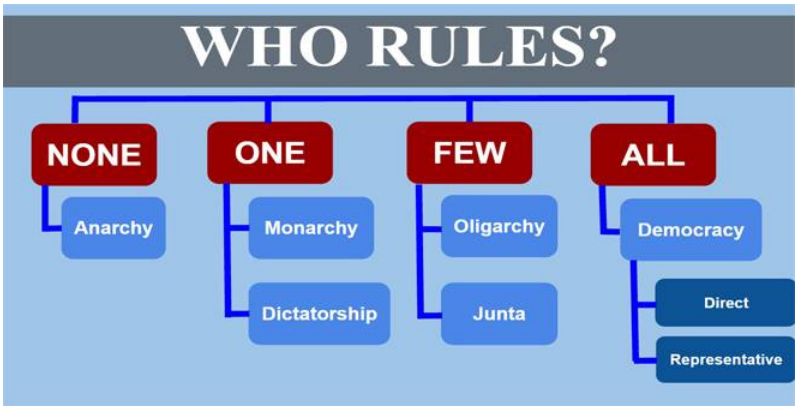
States can vary not only in their strength, legitimacy, and authority, but in the mechanisms they use to achieve political agendas. To this end, there are a number of different government types that states have chosen to achieve their political ends. Here, too, there can be many variations in how states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

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 the ancient Greek word, *μονάρχης* (monárkhēs), where *μόνος* or mónos means "one" or "single" and *ἄρχων* or árkhōn means "ruler" or "chief." Historians think the concept of a monarchy descends 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, these are generally classified as an **absolute monarchy or constitutional monarchy**.

A **dictatorship** is a form of government where one person, or sometimes a single group, has sole and absolute power over the state. The extent to which the state intervenes in the private lives of citizens varies. However, most dictatorships do not permit free media, freedom of speech, or personal rights and freedoms. The 20th and 21st centuries witnessed the emergence of **personalist dictatorships**. Current examples could be Kim Jong-Un of North Korea and Xi Jinping of China. Like his father, Kim Jong-Un has operated under a **cult of personality**, where a state leverages all aspects of a leader's real and exaggerated traits to solidify the leader's power. The state uses its media to promote propaganda that endows its leaders with near or equal to God or Godly status.

An **aristocracy** is a form of government where a group of social elites rules the state. Often, these leaders 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. A more present-day embodiment would be **oligarchies**, 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 derives from 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 an abrupt seizure of power and removal of the government's leadership.)



Source: politics-dz.com

Regime Transitions

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, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles (1919) put Germany into social and economic dire straits. Forcing Germany to pay high reparations to the Allies left the German people impoverished. High unemployment, high inflation, and general discontent caused the democratic-based 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. Capitalizing on manipulation and incendiary speech, he was appointed as the Chancellor of Germany, abolished the Constitution, and 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 experienced a regime transition back towards democracy.

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

3.2: The Modern State and Regime Types is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **3.2: The Modern State and Regime Types** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 the 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?" 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 is their forms of legitimate authority.

Botswana

- **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 a landlocked country located in southern Africa. It is bordered by South Africa to the south, Namibia to the northwest, and Zimbabwe to the northeast. The country is credited with perhaps being the "birthplace" of all modern humans dating back over 200,000 years ago. Archeologists and anthropologists have analyzed trace evidence of human civilization through ancient tools, cave drawings, and evidence of farming practices that existed in the region over time. Although there is robust evidence of the region's population adopting agricultural practices and following tribal norms and values, 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** (1880 to 1914), sometimes also called the conquest of Africa, where Western European powers (Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, and Italy) attempted to control and colonize all parts of Africa. Botswana was dominated by Britain and called the Bechuanaland Protectorate. (A **protectorate** is defined as an area or nation that is managed, possessed, controlled, and protected by a different state. The area or nation relies on the security provided by another state, but is still allowed, to some extent, to dictate its own local politics and activities.)

The region was called a protectorate because Britain **annexed**, or took over, the region on the basis that they were “protecting” the main tribes from the Boers. As descendants of Dutch colonists in Southern Africa, the Boars 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 when it came to German and Dutch interactions.

At the beginning of the 20th century, more power was shared with the various tribes and councils within Southern Africa. In 1964, the United Kingdom allowed Botswana to declare its independence. The country held its first elections in 1966, following the creation of its Constitution in 1965.

Today, Botswana is considered Africa’s oldest and most stable democracy, though it is not without some number of issues. The country's constitution provides the supreme law of the law and basis for rule, as well as seeks to protect the citizens of Botswana and provide for certain civil liberties. (**Civil liberties** are individual rights protected by law to ensure the government does not unreasonably interfere with certain specific individual rights (e.g. freedom of speech, religion, assembly, etc.)) Botswana is a parliamentary republic, which the executive branch is given its powers by the legislative branch, a.k.a. parliament. 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 its 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 various manifestations of democracy worldwide, but it is worth noting that not all democracies are categorized as fully democratic.)

Botswana has been dominated by single-party rule since independence. It tends to be a red flag of sorts when only one political party has held power time and time again. This action could be an indication that a lack of fair competition exists. Another area of concern: Botswana does not have full freedom of speech, and freedom of the media is constantly under threat. In addition, migrants, refugees, and the LGBTQIA+ community face constant discrimination under the law.

Botswana’s current situation is a mixed bag. On the one hand, Botswana does have the oldest, the most stable, and the least corrupt democracies in Africa. All this being acknowledged, it bears noting that many African countries 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. However, when comparing the country globally, its flawed democracy does rank it lower in terms of democracies worldwide.

Why has Botswana’s government been reasonably successful in light of the many failed or failing governments in Africa? The answers could be attributed to culture, and to some extent, luck. In the mid-1960s, at the time of Botswana’s independence, life was fairly traditional and undisturbed. A clear change of the seasons led to predictable crops and the management of agriculture. Agriculture was the dominant economic activity and life was pretty stable. In addition, prior to the move to formal independence, the protectorates and lose agreements with the United Kingdom allowed the region to operate with its own leaders within tribes, preparing the people of Botswana for a hierarchical power dynamic where tribal decisions were based on consensus and agreement. In other words, there was already sort of an informal democracy in place. A saying in Setswana seems to capture this sentiment: “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, open to modernization, and to progressive ideas and attitudes.

The lack of British interest in geographical resources also benefited Botswana's political outcomes. Unlike other regions, Botswana was largely left alone, and was not a victim of exploitation. 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) Botswana was largely left to fend for itself, developing its own institutions and governmental practices, which enabled a transition from previous practices with, relative to other countries, a level of ease.

Somalia

- **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. The region is thought to have been settled by the first human beings (homo sapiens) on the planet, who emerged roughly 300,000 years ago. Archeological digs have unearthed pyramids, tombs, and 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 as a trade pathway with India and China through Southwest Asia (Middle East). In the 9th century, Islam was introduced to the region and grew to become the predominant religion of present-day Somalia.

Much like Botswana, Somalia was a target within the Scramble for Africa. However, Britain and Italy 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 other parts held by Italian forces. Often Somalians were put in difficult positions where they had to side with one or the other.

After years of dispute in the international community, Somalia formed the Somali Republic in 1961. A referendum was put forth for the people to accept a constitution. Unfortunately, most Somalians were not allowed to participate in the adoption and formal voting in for the new constitution. Although a president and prime Minister were put into place, their positions were not the product of voting. In 1969, President Abdirashid Ali Shermarke was assassinated during a military coup d'etat led by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, who then became the leader of the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC) and controlled the country. The country fell to an authoritarian dictatorship, with the SRC dissolving the legislature and the judiciary, and suspending the constitution. In addition, 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. 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. 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. Many political scientists began calling Somalia 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 structure.

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, the 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 had been the most permanent central government authority in place since 1991. Although a federal parliamentary republic is utilized, the country is not a democracy, and Freedom House categorizes Somalia as 'not free'.

The civil war that began in 1991 has not ended. 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.

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, the colonial governments left the respective regions in different ways. 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 persistent disruptions and foreign interventions faced by Somalia left it fragile and more difficult to break away. 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 suffered 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.

3.3: Comparative Case Study - Botswana and Somalia is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **3.3: Comparative Case Study - Botswana and Somalia** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

3.4: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **3.4: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

3.5: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **3.5: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

4: Democracies and Democratization

4.1: What is Democracy?
4.2: Institutions within Democracy
4.3: Systems of Democracy
4.4: Democratic Consolidation
4.5: Comparative Case Study – South Africa and Iraq
4.6: References
4.7: Student Resources

4: Democracies and Democratization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

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*

Currently, more than half of the governments in existence operate under some variation of democracy. This global trend has prompted some to conclude that democracy is simply the best, or most ideal, form of government. Twenty years later after writing *The End of History and the Last Man*, 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, political scientist Francis Fukuyama has concluded that the world had not accepted democracy as the standard. Instead, he asserts that issues related to political identity threaten the security of geo-political stability. Is democracy the best form of government? What are its advantages and disadvantages?

Origins, Definitions, and Characteristics of Democracy

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. However, the first formal application of democratic institutions and processes is generally attributed to ancient Greece. 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" means "power" or "rule."

Prior to the formation of legal reforms, Athens had operated as an **aristocracy**, 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 devise a form of government that satisfied all. To this end, in 594 B.C.E., he created legal reforms and a constitution, which provided the foundations for citizen participation in government affairs, and abolished slavery of Athenian citizens. 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 were critical of the merits and feasibility of democracy, and tended to value political stability over the potential of "rule of the mob." Tied to the prospect of political stability, Athens faced frequent challenges to its democracy from the outside (external). 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 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.

- 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 citizens participating, i.e. males.
- An **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. If the process is not free or fair, it violates the core principles of what constitutes a democracy: by the people, for the people.

Today, most democratic countries practice indirect democracy, partly because of logistics and whether voting is always the best option for determining just, equitable or ideal outcomes. (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?). 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 do the political work. Further, there are often some mechanisms that align with the characteristics of 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. To summarize, indirect democracy is when the supreme power of the government is vested in the people, and exercised by the people through a system of representation that includes the continued practice of holding free and fair elections.

Importantly, democracy has a number of characteristics that can be central to understanding the variation in democracies that exist worldwide today. Ancient democracy had no concept or foundations for widespread suffrage or the protection of civil liberties. However, 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 that facilitate free and fair elections, as well as ensure the protection of civil liberties, are called **liberal democracies**.

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 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). In general, Popper emphasized the importance of people having 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. Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro, and Jose Antonio Cheibub 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. (Dahl, Shapiro, Cheibub, 2003)

Overall, there are hundreds of critiques and frameworks for defining democracies. Indeed, 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. The perceptions of democracy can be seen in how some organizations choose to measure democracy across countries. At present, there are at least eight organizations that attempt to quantify the existence and health of democracies worldwide. In Table 4.1, a few of these groups are highlighted based on what they identify as the main characteristics of 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

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 its healthiness. For instance, in 2018, the Varieties of Democracies Project found there were 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 attested to 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. Meanwhile, Freedom House asserted 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."

4.1: What is Democracy? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **4.1: What is Democracy?** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

Some institutions tend to be common within democracies. Each building 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** divides government functions into three areas:

- the legislature, tasked primarily with the making of laws
- the executive, who carries out or enforces these laws
- 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. Other hallmark institutions of democracies are their electoral systems and the presence of political parties, which are discussed later in this section.

Electoral systems are voting systems that provide 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.

Executive, Legislative and Judicial

While some elements and characteristics of democracy vary, one constant commonality is the separation of powers among institutions within governments. Separation of powers and checks and balances provides for power to be spread throughout multiple branches of government so that no single branch has too much power. Instead, all branches are empowered with their own institutionalized powers.

The **legislative 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. There are three main types of legislatures worth noting.

- **Consultative legislature** is one where the legislature advises the leader, or group of leaders, on issues relating to laws and their application. Members could either be elected or appointed.
- **Parliamentary legislature** is one where members are elected by the people, enact laws on their behalf, and also serve as the executive branch of government.
- **Congressional legislature** is one where groups of legislators, elected by the people, make laws and share powers with other branches within the government. An example would be the United States.

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 the two systems is in how they structure their power. In the congressional system, power is divided for main functions, but shared with others. In the parliamentary system, the legislative body serves as both the legislative and the executive branches. 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.

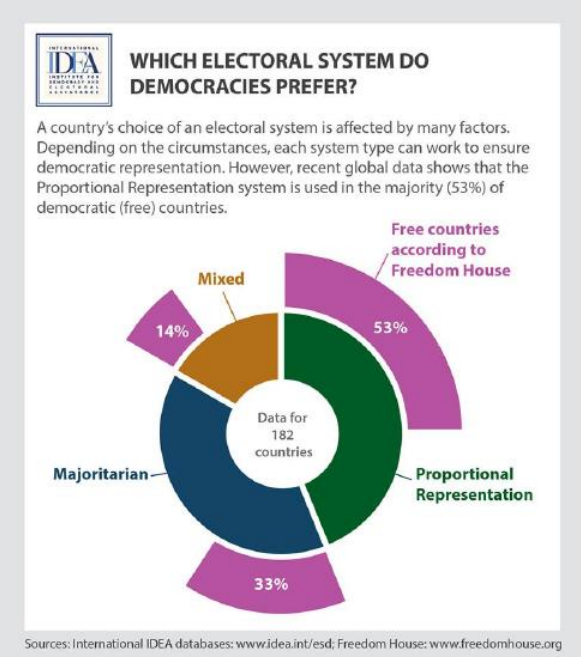
The final "building block" of government to identify is the **judiciary** or Judicial Branch, where laws can be interpreted and enforced. In some countries, such as the United States, the judiciary is the third branch of government. In other countries, the judiciary shares the responsibility of interpreting the constitutionality of laws with other branches of government. In authoritarian regimes, the judiciary tends to be subservient to the executive and legislative branches. In democracies, the judiciary upholds the separation of powers, so no one branch can become too powerful.

In the U.S., the Supreme Court has the sole power of **judicial review**, which is the ability to interpret the constitutionality of laws. In doing so, they have the ability to overturn decisions made by lesser courts. Other countries have a similar process.

Electoral Systems & Political Parties

As described previously, 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. **Elections** are the mechanism through which leaders get chosen around the world. These rules can include 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.

- A **plurality voting system** is one where the candidate who gets the most votes, wins. There is no requirement to attain a majority, so this system can sometimes be called the first-past-the-post system. It's the second most common election type for presidential elections and elections for legislative members around the world.
- The **majoritarian voting system** is one 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.
- The **proportional voting system** is one where voting options reflect geographical or political divisions in the population to enable 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.
- Some countries employ mixed voting systems, which can combine the use of any of the aforementioned election systems, using different systems for different types of elections, i.e. presidential versus legislative.



Date of publication November 2016

Political parties play am important role in elections and how political agendas are accomplished in different countries. Often, parties use a label to indicate group leaders as well as their core values/priorities. It is interesting to consider political parties in the context of U.S. democracy. Originally, the country didn't plan for parties. In fact, political leaders warned against them as deleterious.

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 U.S. President George Washington stated in his farewell address, myriad factions 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. An example can be found in former U.S. 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 was likewise near-unanimous party-line votes.

Katz classifies political parties by:

- the number of parties competing--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.
- orientation-ideological/national vs. local/service--The orientation depends upon the electoral formula. Generally, proportional representation systems yield parties with an ideological orientation.
- internal unity--It 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.

4.2: Institutions within Democracy is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **4.2: Institutions within Democracy** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 a democracy, there may be a presidential, parliamentary and/or semi-presidential system. Each system has been designed to fit the context and cultures of a specific democratic system. Likewise, each one has its share of advantages and disadvantages.

The **presidential system**, sometimes called a single executive system, is one where the head of government (the president) leads the executive branch of government. The executive branch of government is separate and distinct from the legislative branch, to ensure a separation of powers. The president is the chief executive and is elected into their role and is not dependent upon the legislature for attaining its position. Some systems, like the United States, can encounter the problem of the "personalization of power" where vendibility, cronyism, and even deinstitutionalization can occur. Typically, parliamentary systems have heads of government and heads of state that are not elected directly. Rather, the ministers of the executive branch are drawn from the legislature and are accountable to that body. So personality-driven heads of state are not as prominent.

In contrast, 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. Thus, the prime Ministers must have the support of the legislature in order to take and maintain their office. The legislature can choose to remove the executive from office if they feel a change of leadership is necessary through a vote of "no confidence". This model is dynamic and flexible and can respond quickly to a lack of consensus. Parliamentary systems commonly have minimum-winning coalitions, minimum-sized cabinets, and oversized minority coalitions that are fragmented requiring constant negotiation within their multiparty system. A runoff election between the top two candidates is not unusual.

Finally, the **semi-presidential system**, sometimes called the dual executive system, is one where a country has both a president and a prime minister. The president 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, performs the functions of the legislative branch.

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 the prime minister and the president decreases the amount of bureaucracy.
Disadvantages	1. Deadlock within the executive branch of government 2. Temporal rigidity, fixed term, can't remove them easily (example: 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 of 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 the head of government and the 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

4.3: Systems of Democracy is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **4.3: Systems of Democracy** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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, making them less at risk to fall back into authoritarian regimes. These transitions from non-democratic, to democratic, to consolidated democracies are of major interest to 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. Indeed, governmental changes can occur within a given regime without creating a true regime transition.

Political scientist Ronald Francisco (2000) argues that regime change is, at its core, a political event, meaning that the changes which occur center around political issues. Accordingly, the most important results include the new constellation of rules, institutions, and authority that are established or developed over time. Although there is no 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 are 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. However, 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?

- The two-election test, also known as the transfer of power test, asks if a democracy is consolidated when a government that had been freely and fairly elected is defeated in a subsequent election and the election outcome is accepted by both sides. Since the peaceful transition of power is critical in any democracy, this test makes sense. At the same time, this test has some 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 longevity test suggests that 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 of high quality. There is great difficulty gauging whether democracy is in danger of backsliding into authoritarianism.

Below are a few theories that have been proposed regarding the likelihood of a democracy becoming consolidated. This list is not a complete one, as 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.

According to this theory, there will be some types of regimes that, prior to becoming democracies, may be better suited to eventually become consolidated democracies. 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 an established state which had some form of legitimacy. To this end, Beethem 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.

Do the circumstances under which the regime transitioned to democracy matter? Are there certain types of transition to democracy that may later inhibit its ability to consolidate? 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. Also, there is the possibility of an authoritarian regime initiating a change to democracy, which may or may not lead to long-term democratic processes. Finally, a regime transition may be 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 by external or authoritarian forces.

Theory 3

The chances of democratic consolidation improve with economic development.

Some scientists have argued that states need a free market system and economic growth in order to experience democratic 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, then loosening power may be necessary. In choosing not to control all market outcomes, the state is more likely to experience economic growth. Generally, 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 is somewhat controversial. Historically, some political scientists argued that Protestant-based countries had a better opportunity to democratize than, for instance, Catholic states. According to Max Weber, Protestants were more accepting of individual responsibility, focused on productive work, and were non-conformists. Later, this theory was used to suggest that certain religions were simply incapable of democratization. Without solid support, this theory was largely been revoked.

Overall, new theories of democratic consolidation have emerged over the last few decades. Yet, there is no 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 that need to be considered: historical context, political culture, identity politics, class structures, economic structures, institutions, types of government structure, and constitution types.

4.4: Democratic Consolidation is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **4.4: Democratic Consolidation** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

Political scientist Samuel P. Huntington popularized the concept of **waves of democracy**, moments in history when multiple countries transitioned to democracy during the same time period. Often, these waves 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 that may help countries modernize and improve institutions, such as supporting education and the working class
- changes in how religion and religious traditions factor into political institutions

External factors can include

- regional pressures that occur if/when citizens observe other societies transitioning towards democracy and want the same governmental changes for their own countries
- global pressures as more global news and information are available to citizens in different countries.
- exposure to new ideas causing citizens to question the legitimacy and basis for their own country's government

Between the 1970s and 1990s, a Third Wave occurred, when authoritarian regimes transitioned into democratic regimes, initially garnering great hope worldwide. Forty years later, however, a number of the countries that had initially moved towards democratization experienced disparate outcomes. Some scientists argued that most countries that attempted to democratize during and following the third wave simply became semi-authoritarian regimes or flawed democracies.

Through the lens of Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), this case study considers the similarities in South Africa and Iraq's moves to democratize while also exploring how their political outcomes have differed.

South Africa

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 1900s, White South Africans demanded independence from Britain, which eventually culminated in the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The government structure was modeled after the British system, and had a British leader installed as a ceremonial head of state. In 1931, full independence was achieved, giving South Africa's government the ability to act outside of, and without permission from, the UK.

Although South Africa's government had the hallmarks of a democratic government with three branches of government operating with checks and balances, its legacy of colonialism and racial divide made democratization difficult. Under British rule, segregation and the disenfranchisement of nonwhite citizens were legally promoted. Following World War II, the National Party stoked fears that significant growth in the nonwhite population of South Africa was a threat. After winning the majority votes in the 1948 election, the political party implemented a system of apartheid. (**Apartheid** is a system of governance wherein racial oppression is institutionalized.) In the case of South Africa, 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. Socially, Apartheid resulted in the segregation and displacement of nonwhites into segregated neighborhoods and the prohibition of interracial marriage and relationships.

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. The main opposition to the National Party, the African National Congress (ANC), worked to bring down South Africa's system of apartheid by using a variety of tactics including guerilla warfare and acts of sabotage. Eventually, the National Party and the ANC began meeting to negotiate a way forward. The outcome 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 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 commission was tasked with investigating crimes committed 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 in 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 he made strides in improving domestic conditions, including investing in education, welfare programs, and the protection of workers and prominent industries, the country 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 presidency was 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 the country.

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.)

Corruption is, at best, damaging to democracy and, at worst, fatal to democracy. It 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 toward COVID-19 relief. There are additional allegations of the government favoring 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 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. In the last two decades, police and military forces have allegedly been engaged in racist activities. For example, during COVID-19, a number of Black South Africans were killed by police officers violently enforcing lockdowns. Frequent instances of violence against Black citizens have prompted 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 the 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 African law is questionable. In 2019, 51% of women in South Africa experienced some kind of physical violence as a result of their gender. This violence continued to increase during the COVID-19 lockdowns.

Iraq

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. While Iraq was nominally independent, the country had signed an agreement with the British that gave them power over major segments of the country. 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 believed the country, and its newly installed royalty as illegitimate.

For the next three decades, the British remained in Iraq, with military bases, transit rights for troops, and eventually control over the growing oil industry. Still, the question of illegitimacy never left. In 1958, King Faysal II was overthrown in a coup led by a general that belonged to the Ba'athist Party. (The **Ba'athist Party** was a transnational Arab political party that espoused pan-Arab nationalism and socialist economic policies.) Although it came to power in Iraq and Syria, it also exerted some influence in Jordan, Lebanon, and Libya. Eventually, after internal conflicts between the Ba'athist party and the Iraqi military, the country came under the command of Saddam Hussein.

After eight (8) years of fighting, a stalemate was reached in the Iran-Iraq War. The country found itself in debt to its neighbors, particularly Kuwait, located to the South. Kuwait had been a thriving autonomous trading community for centuries. Over time, the British had curried favor with the ruling as-Sabah family and took control of their military and foreign affairs. Historically, Iraq claimed Kuwait as its 19th province and believed that the British had unfairly kept it from them. Hussein invaded and annexed the country in 1990. The US and a coalition of allies invaded Kuwait and Southern Iraq the next year. In 1992, the US set up two 'no-fly zones' 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 government 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 2003 invasion resulted in Hussein being captured. He was put on trial, found guilty of crimes against humanity, and executed in 2006. During this time, a fact-finding mission found that there was no identifiable WMD program.

The US invasion and Hussein's fall had a dramatic effect on Iraq, and 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 the U.S. 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 and used the revenues from nearby oil fields to finance their violent activities. 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 group 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. Democratic elections were held in 2005, and a religious Shi'a party won the plurality of seats under Nouri al-Maliki. al-Maliki remained as prime minister until 2014, governing a tenuous coalition while being accused of protecting Shi'a militias. He also forged closer ties with neighboring Iran, much to the chagrin of the U.S. 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 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. Sectarianism is what led Iraqi Shi'a to look to Iran for leadership and what led Sunni Arab tribes to become receptive to first al-Qaeda and ISIS overtures. How long will it take for Iraq to consolidate as a democracy? That question remains unanswered for now.

4.5: Comparative Case Study – South Africa and Iraq is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **4.5: Comparative Case Study – South Africa and Iraq** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

---

4.6: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **4.6: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

4.7: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **4.7: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

5: Non-Democracies and Democratic Backsliding

5.1: What are non-democracies?

5.2: Strategies for staying in power

5.3: Varieties of non-democracy

5.4: Democratic backsliding

5.5: Case Study - Russia’s evolution over time

5.6: References

5.7: Student Resources

5: Non-Democracies and Democratic Backsliding is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

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 the differences between non-democracy and democracy

Introduction

Scholars have employed terms such as dictatorship, tyranny, monarchy, oligarchy, and totalitarian regime, among others, to describe non-democracies, past and present. At its broadest, **non-democracy** refers to all forms of government that deny citizens meaningful institutional channels for making choices about their collective well-being. The choices can range from limited to no ability for public input in the selection of political leaders and/or limited or no decision-making power over the allocation of public resources.

While there are 'varieties of democracy' ranging from liberal to social democratic, with different institutional configurations such as presidential and parliamentary, there still exists common principles such as divided government and accountability to the people. All democracies have electoral systems, an executive, a legislature, and a judiciary. In contrast, non-democracies 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), swinging from extreme levels of nationwide poverty to becoming economic dynamos, and presenting sustained economic growth rates unseen in recorded human history. An example would be China from 1978 to 2020. In a reversal of this pattern, the kingdom of Chad and the post-independence state of Chad (1960-present) went from being a major trading empire during the ninth through nineteenth centuries to becoming one of the poorest sub-Saharan countries in Africa today. Overall, non-democracies appear to experience deeper economic troughs and higher economic highs than their democratic counterparts.

All non-democracies share several overriding characteristics. These relate to accountability, competition, and freedom.

Accountability

Political accountability has many dimensions. 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 society. Free and independent media can ensure this flow of information, along with monitors within the government. Accountability 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. For example,

- 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 to the governed. Take the example of Saudi Arabia. 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 the head of state and head of government of Saudi Arabia. There is no legislature to pass laws, 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.

Competition

Non-democracies have limited to no competition for political office. Political parties may also be absence, 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). Novelist Mario Vargas Llosa described the party as “the perfect dictatorship” because it managed to remain the ruling party of Mexico for decades despite the existence of opposition parties. Slowly, the opposition parties began to win elections in the 1980s. In 2000, PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) presidential candidate Vicente Fox won national elections and overturned the single-party rule. Political parties are one way to observe the degree of competition in a political system, and serve as a proxy for a deeper and more meaningful competition of policy ideas. Competition of ideas is a critical marker of the debate, dissent, and diversity that characterizes a democratic system.

Freedom

Non-democracies lack a commitment to individual freedom, which is a hallmark of modern democracy. Elections and independent media 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 an individual will or the need to subsume the individual to a 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.

- Polity Project (now in its fifth iteration) 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. The data is publicly available and can be downloaded for analysis.
- 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.

5.1: What are non-democracies? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **5.1: What are Non-Democracies?** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 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.



Source: Idioms4U

Governments may also expend resources to shore up their legitimacy in the minds of citizens 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. It's purpose is to control people's perceptions and thoughts, and is especially powerful when it can draw on existing cultural foundations in society.

All regimes utilize a mix of carrots, sticks, and ideas to stay in power. 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. But when 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 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** are shared practices, norms, and organizations which exist beyond any single individual.) Some people think of them as the "rules of the game" for all social life. Institutions structure the way we do things, organize our interactions with others, and are the source of social and political power. For example, 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. Thus, these 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. By absorbing and dispersing resources, regimes stay in power.

POSITIVE INDUCEMENTS (aka the carrots)

Let's start with institutional carrots. Nondemocracies have in place a variety of institutions that provide positive inducements for supporting the regime: 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 being ousted from power. To blunt the force of an opposition, or even vocal critics, a regime might invest in institutions that have the appearance of democratic representation, such as rigged elections, legislatures, courts, etc. These institutions are actually "window dressing" or façades for a tightly controlled political system. In these systems, judiciaries are not independent, nor do they provide a meaningful check on the authority of rulers. Many non-democratic regimes have in place legislatures that lack the authority to veto measures passed by those in power. An example is the highly authoritarian Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), or North Korea. The country 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.

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, such as drawing a salary or receiving other perks of office like having a chauffeured car or swanky office. Co-opting opposition through such institutions 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 distributes resources to those within their network. For example, a leader might take a portion of oil revenues and distribute those monies to their deputies scattered throughout the provinces. Then, those deputies make sure that the leader's posters are prominently displayed in every local government office. The reciprocal bond unites members of the network.

Patronage networks may be organized via many different kinds of organizations or social groups, such as the military or state-owed businesses. In addition, political parties may distribute public resources in exchange for political obedience. Identity groups, including those bound by ethnicity or tribe, may be the basis of patronage networks. For example, in Syria, major institutions of the state are controlled by the Alawite minority, a Shia Muslim group that is less than one-fifth of the population. Alawite networks support the ruling al-Assad family.

Broad-based clientelism

Although related to patronage networks, institutions promote clientelism on a broad scale. Clients are those who rely on a patron for resources. Thus, **clientelism** is a strategy whereby rulers seek to buy off the loyalties of broad swaths of the population. To do so, rulers invest in mass social programs to which they have clearly marked their sponsorship. 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.

Broad-based clientelism was utilized during the rule of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (or Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI) 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. This group distributed government funds to poor communities to build public works such as schools, health clinics, water treatment facilities, and electric grids. 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.

REPRESSIVE STRATEGIES (aka the sticks)

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, including the creation of domestic security bureaucracies and paramilitary groups.

Domestic security apparatuses

Nondemocracies are the creators of the modern secret police. Examples include the creation of the Cheka under Lenin, which evolved into the NKVD – internal secret police – under Stalin, and then into the KGB in Russia. Italy and Germany had similar

systems prior to World War II. These types of institutions can serve critical purposes, from collecting intelligence on potential dissent within a country to terrorizing citizens.

China has developed a sophisticated means for surveilling its population. Indeed, since 2010, the ruling Chinese Communist Party has spent more on domestic security than external defense. “Sharp Eyes” (xueliang) is a nonstop video feed of public squares, intersections of major roads, public areas in residential neighborhoods, and transit stations. It also included monitoring of buildings such as the entry points of radio, TV, and newspaper offices. Today, combined with other projects, there are more than 200 million public and private security cameras installed across China.

Paramilitaries

Paramilitaries are another powerful institution of repression. These groups have access to military-grade weapons and training, yet they are not part of the national military. Typically, they are “irregular armed organizations that carry out acts of violence against civilians on behalf of a state,” (Üngör 2020). In addition to being deployed by governments around the world, they have been used to terrorize citizens. For example, death squads carry out extrajudicial murders, usually of political enemies of the state. 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.

Cultural and ideological controls

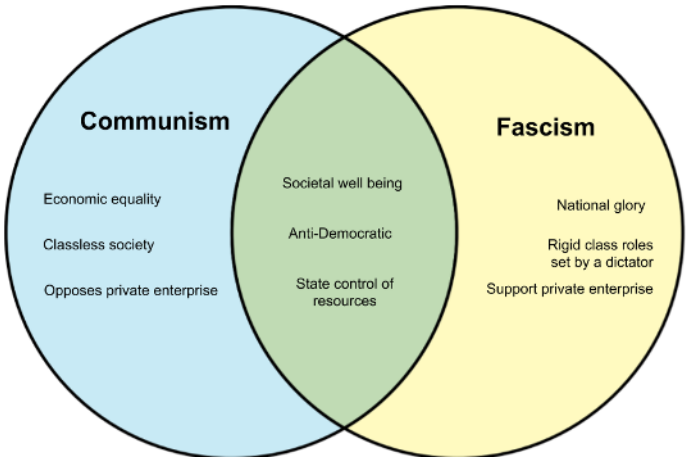
Another powerful way to maintain authority is to convince people to believe in the legitimacy of nondemocratic rule. This action can preempt resistance. Thus, nondemocratic leaders invest in creating strong ideational foundations for their rule. Often, these ideas may derive selectively from deeper cultural traditions within a society – including those linked to faith traditions – or from the dissemination of non-democratic ideologies to the masses.

Undemocratic concepts, such as hierarchy and unaccountable authority, are embedded in many cultural traditions. For example, the monarchies of Europe and the empires of the Americas were supported by the idea of 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 helped 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.

One ongoing debate is whether “persistent authoritarianism” is an inevitable consequence of certain cultural traditions. Undemocratic cultural elements are not necessarily barriers to eventual democratization. Some political scientists argue for the incompatibility of democracy and Islam, or democracy and Confucianism. Yet many modern democracies 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. 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 the 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 non-democratic leaders to remain in power is the creation of a cult of personality, where a state leverages all aspects of a leader's real and exaggerated traits to solidify the leader's power. A cult of personality creates the illusion of mass support for – even adulation of – the ruler through propaganda bureaus and state control of media channels. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was famous for creating such a cult around his personal rule. Later leaders built on this idea, such as China's Mao Zedong and Romania's Nicolae Ceaușescu. Fanning a cult of personality creates an emotional link between citizens and the ruler, as well as an appearance of invincibility on the part of the ruler, which can serve to stave off challenges to their rule.

5.2: Strategies for staying in power is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **5.2: Strategies for Staying in Power** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

There is a wide diversity of regimes that are commonly labeled 'non-democracy'. Typologies offer a powerful means for thinking analytically about a group, by dividing it into subgroups based on certain criteria.

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. After dividing non-democracies into types A, B, C, and D, 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 are not ranked, or ordinal, in relationship to one another. Rather, the typology represents non-democracies divided into sub-groups based on certain characteristics. There is not hierarchy between groups.

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 the expiration of old types. In the 20th century, the rise of modern fascist and communist regimes prompted some scholars to argue that a new type of non-democracy, **totalitarianism**, had arisen. To this day, political scientists debate whether totalitarianism is a useful term.

Another challenge to typology is that some observations may not slot neatly into the types offered, but rather combine characteristics of two or even more types. This kind of combination is observable in the real world, and highlights how types within our typology of non-democracies are not mutually exclusive. In other words, 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. They 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, which may eventually become widely accepted by specialists and more casual observers. Illiberal or hybrid regimes, which will be discussed later, is one example of this phenomenon.

There are many typologies for dividing up the countries classified as non-democracies in the world. This chart (see below) depends on two qualitative factors

- Leadership focuses on questions such as whether the core leadership comprises one or several people. Other leadership characteristics may answer: Are civilians or the military in power? Do the leaders all come from a certain institution, such as a political party or religious group?
- Foundations of regime authority is also important. 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, we can focus on five major types of non-democracy in the world today. 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, in turn, provide divine legitimacy to political leaders, who are not accountable to the public. 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. Meanwhile, the Vatican is organized around Roman Catholicism.

Personalist rule and monarchy

Non-democracies characterized by **personalist rule** are led by a single leader. Legitimacy derives from a variety of sources, such as personal charisma 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. 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.

Overall, personalist rule tends to be unstable due to problems of succession. There may be hesitant to designate a successor because that successor then has incentives to depose the ruler 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 is a theocracy, as well as a self-described "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.

Single-party rule and oligarchy

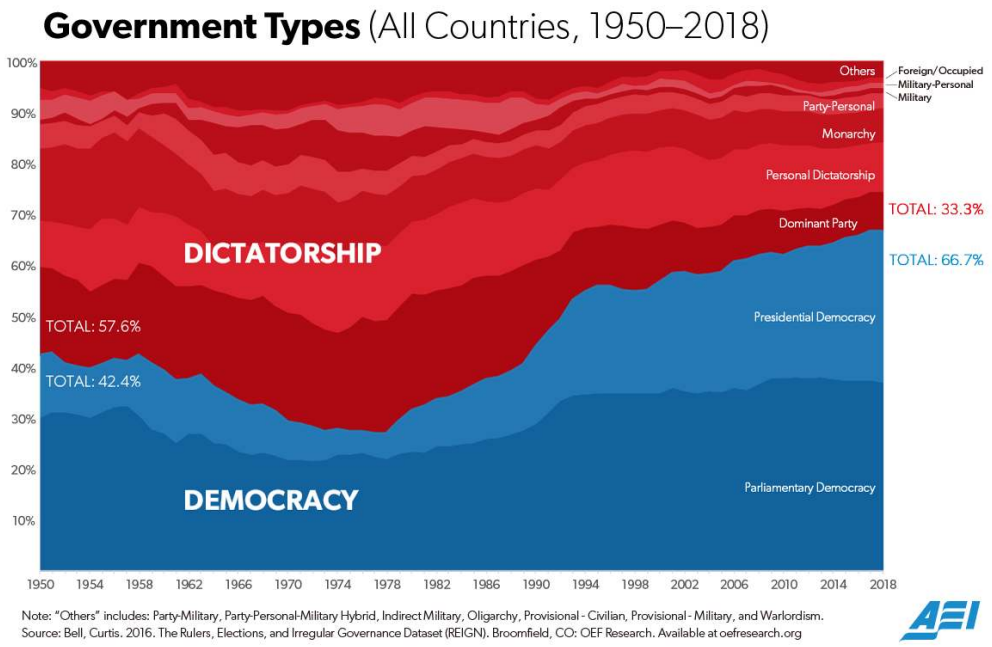
In contrast to personalist rule, single-party rule and oligarchies are shaped by collective leadership. In an **oligarchy**, elites control political office and national resources, and are not accountable to the public for their actions. One of the earliest examples was the ancient Roman Republic, where only the very wealthy could hold high political office.

Political scientist Jeffrey Winters (Winters 2011) 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. In the contemporary world, Russia has been 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). A ruling party may have a clear guiding ideology and serve as an organization 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.



Source: American Enterprise Institute.

The People's Republic of China is an example of single-party rule. Political leadership over the billion-plus citizens resides in the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party, a body comprising around twenty individuals. Within the Politburo is the Politburo Standing Committee, typically holding 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. A military may rise to political power by possessing the material means – the weapons and organizational capacity – to seize control over a society. Or 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. In some cases, the military might appear to be a particularly stable and orderly institution during a time of political turmoil. This scenario may appeal to certain segments of society (such as economic elites, who especially value stability) or entire war-weary societies.

The role of militaries within a polity is argumentative. On one end of the continuum, developed democracies are grounded in civilian control of the military. For example, the commander-in-chief of the Canadian military is the Canadian monarch. On the other end, in nondemocratic situations, the military is not accountable to the public, even for gross human rights violations. Burma is a prominent example of a country that has been subject to repressive military rule for significant chunks of its post-colonial independence. Burma's military, known as the Tatmadaw, appeared to allow some liberalization and turned toward civilian leadership in the 2010s. But, in the 2020s, i again asserted control over the country and its political apparatus.

During the 20th century, military rule rose and fell in frequency. 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** – one that mixes characteristics of liberal democracies but is decidedly illiberal in other respects – emerged in the twentieth century with the birth of many aspiring democracies after the end of the Cold War (1989-1991), from Romania to Kazakhstan, were sliding into nondemocratic habits.

An illiberal regime might have multiple political parties, partially free media, and partially free and fair elections. Central institutions are weak and subject to manipulation by those with economic power and political influence. 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. Political scientists question 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. This category acknowledges that many nondemocracies can incorporate more than one type of system. 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. Further, President Xi Jinping may be moving China 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

5.3: Varieties of non-democracy is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **5.3: Varieties of Non-Democracy** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

5.4: Democratic backsliding

Learning Objectives

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

- Evaluate indicators of democratic backsliding

Introduction

Historically, many countries that had adopted representative democracy or liberal republicanism returned to a non-democratic form of government. Indeed, the 21st century has been marked by a weakening of democratic institutions in many once-robust democracies. **Democratic backsliding** is when a country becomes more illiberal and undemocratic over time. This action can occur through

- the weakening of electoral systems and attenuation of the rule of law
- repression or infringement of civil and political liberties
- corrupt governance that enjoys weakening accountability.

Importantly, democratic backsliding is often gradual and protracted, as well as difficult to identify and stop because only smaller or subtle shifts that might not be cause for alarm by a critical mass of democrats within a society are noticed. 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, including 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. In a parliamentary system, executives are appointed by the legislature and subject to 'no confidence' votes. In a presidential democracy, executives are relatively difficult to dismiss before they complete their term of office. During this time, they may opt to abuse their power or degrade democracy in significant ways.

Countries which lack strong institutions of accountability are also more susceptible to democratic backsliding. When courts do not check those in power, and there is only a 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 degrade a democracy, both in practice and in the legitimacy of that regime. Thus, well-resourced, robust anti-corruption bureaus or inspectors general are an important bulwark against this kind of internal decay.

A politically motivated military can also threaten democracy. 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. Many governments are continually challenged to build a professional military that is focused on its security responsibilities rather than tempted by political power.

Cultural Explanations

Popular and elite beliefs in the appropriateness of democratic rule can shape political outcomes. When there are strong democratic norms in place, a society supports and reinforces democratic practices and institutions. Yet these “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. Critical thinking about where authority and power should rest in their society, and believing that people are empowered to challenge nondemocratic rule act as buffers against democratic backsliding.

Charismatic, autocratic leaders can gain a national following and move a democracy toward non-democracy. A variety of tactics to gain a mass following may be used, especially those that 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
- nationalist ambitions or exploit ethnic divisions
- present themselves as messengers with a holy message
- offer promises of a return to a golden past or golden future

Such autocratic leaders take a variety of forms, but a common goal is to degrade 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 after the collapse of communist Yugoslavia, Serb nationalist named Slobodan Milošević argued that a newly independent Serbia should reclaim territories once occupied by the Serb nation. His calls fell on the fertile nationalist ground, which intersected with religious and ethnic faultlines in these Slavic territories. Milošević, who was eventually elected president of Serbia, was a major political leader and instigator during a brutal civil war that ensued between the former republics of Yugoslavia. He was eventually indicted for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide in Bosnia Herzegovina.

International Factors

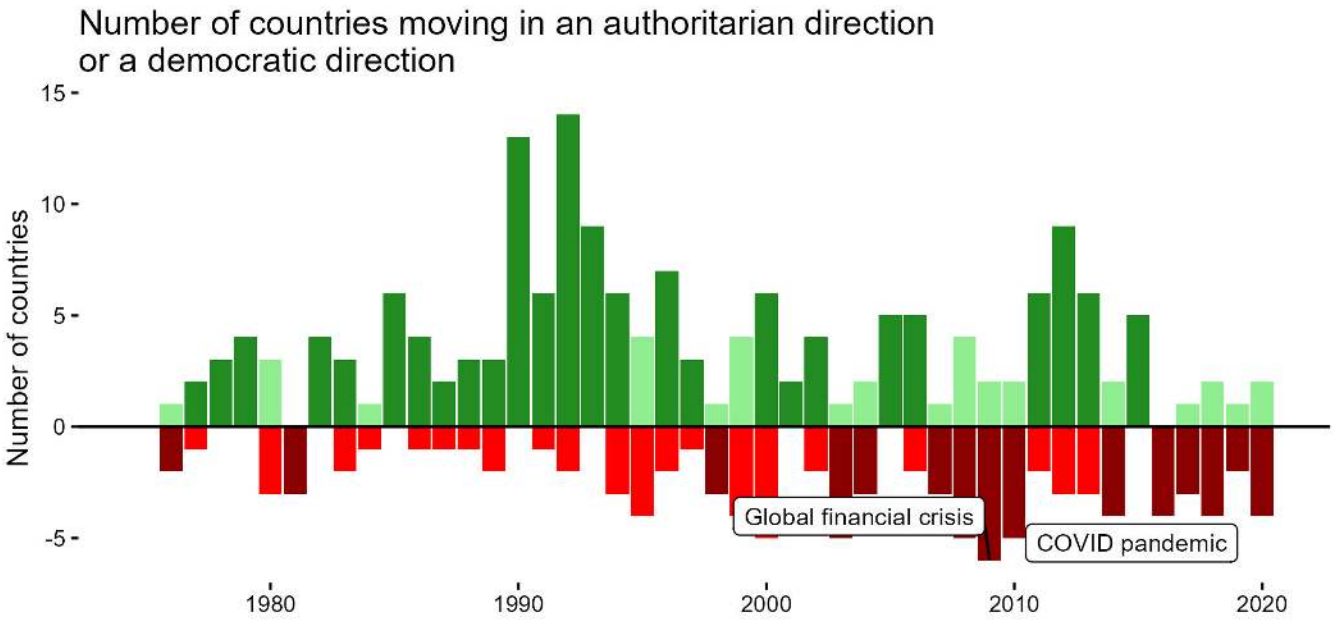
A country may be susceptible to democratic backsliding as a result of international factors, including “neighborhood effects”. If a country resides in a region where countries are trending non-democratic, or if there is a high regional concentration of non-democratic regimes, it is more likely to become a non-democracy. Conversely, a neighborhood that 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 that seek 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.

Covid-19 and Backsliding

According to the 2021 Global Report by IDEA, democracy has been endangered by a perfect storm of threats, both from within and from a rising tide of authoritarianism. The Covid-19 pandemic exacerbated these threats through states of emergency, the spread of disinformation, and crackdowns on independent media and freedom of expression. More countries than ever suffered from ‘democratic erosion’, including established democracies. The number of countries undergoing ‘democratic backsliding’ (a more severe and deliberate kind of democratic erosion) included regional geopolitical and economic powers, such as Brazil, India, and the United States.

In 2021, more than a quarter of the world’s population lived in democratically backsliding countries. Add the number of people living in outright non-democratic regimes, and more than two-thirds of the world’s population is represented. The full report is located here. Global State of Democracy Report 2021: Building Resilience in a Pandemic Era.



Source: International IDEA, The Global State of Democracy Indices v. 5.1, 2021, <https://www.idea.int/gsod-indices/>

5.4: Democratic backsliding is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **5.4: Democratic Backsliding** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

Over the centuries, Russia has undergone many transitions, from czarist rule to a communist party-led federation known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) to an illiberal democracy with authoritarian tendencies but also a vibrant and sophisticated civil society.

- **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. During the 16th century, political consolidation gained momentum under Ivan the Terrible, who claimed the title of czar and ruled from 1547 to 1584. He joined the powerful House of Romanov by marriage, beginning a three-century period of czarist rule.

During this czarist period, Russia was organized as a feudal state in which power was consolidated in the czar but local power existed in noble houses. Ivan the Terrible consolidated the czar's power in Moscow through the creation of standing armies and noble councils. In addition, 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, the construction of public buildings in European architectural styles, and support for industrialization.

Throughout these centuries, 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 from the past. This action was not enough to contain growing mass discontent with a brittle political system of czars and noble houses, and a revolution broke out in the early years of the twentieth century.

In 1905, mass protests broke out in the cities and resulted in Czar Nicholas II creating a legislature. Unrest continued, presenting a moment for a republican revolution and unprecedented transformation. In 1917, a revolution was led by political parties that adhered to socialism and communism as the path forward for Russia. A vicious civil war ensued, with the Bolsheviks emerging

triumphant, Vladimir Lenin taking the mantle as Russia's paramount political leader, and a new federation being forged 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 Baltic Sea to the eastern shores of Siberia. The USSR's first leader, Vladimir Lenin, carried out a radical wholescale reorganization of the state and society. State-led modernization and industrialization became the watchwords. 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.

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 and women's federations, as well as 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. In 1989, a string of revolutions in client states 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.



In the first map, orange represents the territories and influences of the Soviet Union at its peak. In the second map, blue is the national boundaries of the Federation of Russia after the Cold War ended in 1991. The multicolor shows the various republics that became independent after the Soviet Union collapsed. Source: Wikipedia

Illiberal Regime, 1991-Present

In the decades after 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 'new' Russia possessed great energy reserves and mineral wealth, a highly educated population base, along with thousands of nuclear weapons, and a sophisticated military-industrial complex. All of these things were leveraged to maintain Russia's status as a regional power. Today, Russia is a major energy provider to the European Union, and has maintained client states in Eurasia such as Belarus and Syria. (NOTE: Currently, the Russo-Ukrainian War is being fought, which has affected trade between the EU and Russia. Thus, providing energy and resources is in flex.)

Hope that Russia would join the liberal European fold has 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.

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 throughout its history. 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.

5.5: Case Study - Russia's evolution over time is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **5.5: Case Study - Russia** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

5.6: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **5.6: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

5.7: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **5.7: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

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

6.1: Introduction to Political Identity

6.2: Culture

6.3: Race and Ethnicity

6.4: Gender

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

6.6: References

6.7: Student Resources

6: Political Identity - Culture, Race and Ethnicity and Gender is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

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 can answer several questions, 'Who am I?' 'How do I want to be seen by others? '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. Sometimes, identity can take 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.

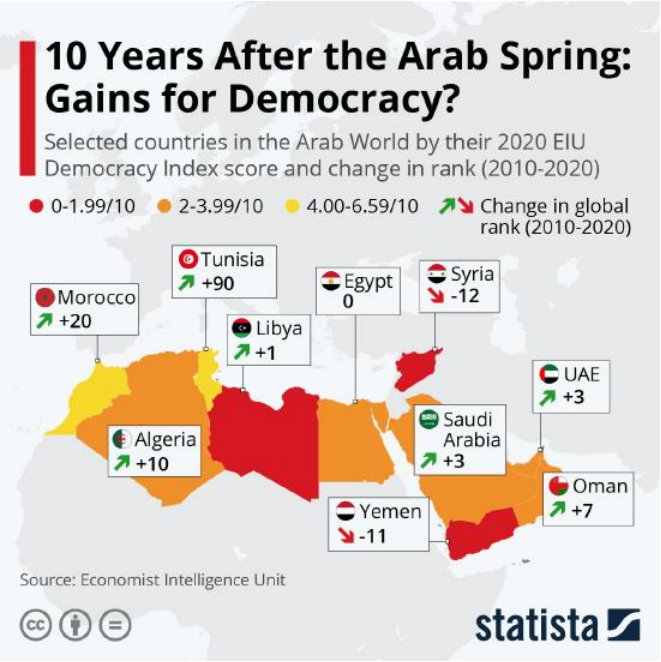
Identity, and the calculation of one's identity, can section people into groups of 'sameness' and 'differentness'. As a consequence, the development and outcomes of identity shape the world around us and the conflicts that arise. It can also help us understand history and past conflicts.

Not surprisingly, the term political identity shares almost all of the same traits as the term identity itself. The questions of 'Who am I?' and 'How do I want to be seen by others,' are answered using political orientations. In other words, **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.

Over the past two decades, political scientists have considered many political identities, some rooted in biology and genetics (race, biological gender, etc.) and others being rooted in symbolic, religious, and patriotic origins. (For instance, being born a certain race and identifying with that race versus deciding to belong to a religious group of one's own volition).

Political scientists have begun focusing on political identity because human attachment to these identities has been mobilized for/with political consequences. **Political mobilization** is organized activities intended to motivate groups of participants to take political action on a particular issue. Two examples are included below.

> Occurring in 2010, the **Arab Spring** was a series of protests against oppressive government regions in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen, sometimes resulting in violence. The protesters tended to be from two main identity groups: the country's youth or young people who were dissatisfied with authoritative regimes and wanted democratic governments or the Unions that were under constant threat. In this circumstance, the identity of the younger population, as well as those belonging to Unions, was mobilized to demand change. Though there is still conflict in all of these countries, the Arab Spring is said to have ended in 2012. According to political scientists, the 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.



Source: Statista

Another more recent example is the **January 6, 2021, Insurrection at the US Capitol Building** where approximately 2,000-2,500 supporters of then President Donald Trump attempted to violently overturn the 2020 election results showing that 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. This group believed there was widespread election fraud and corruption in the 2020 Presidential Election. By organizing through social media, and attending Trump's speech that same morning, the protestors mobilized their collective political identity, marched to the Capitol, attacked and infiltrated the building, assaulted law enforcement officers, vandalized property, and stayed on the premises for hours. Five people died and over 130 police officers were injured. Some have alleged that Trump's speech was intended to incite violence, though proving speech invokes action can be difficult to do. An excerpt from 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)*

The Process of Political Socialization

Political identity is often a key factor to consider for the formation of states, as well as in the context of causes for conflict. If a state's population is fairly homogeneous, or similar in identity, it may be easier 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. A diverse society can be a peaceful or efficient one, but when identities are different enough in terms of values and concerns, conflict is more likely to arise. For example, in India, state formation was a challenge in part due to the variety of political identities that existed with potentially different religions, ethnicities, values, and beliefs.

How is political identity formed? Where does one's political identity come from? **Society** refers to a population that has organized itself based on shared ideas for how the world acts and should act through both formal and informal institutions. Thus, **political**

socialization is the process by 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, 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. Identity can also be formed based on symbolic meaning, ideology, gender, religion, and culture. Regardless of whether the aspects of identity are fixed or dynamic, the process of socialization can be influenced and formed through a number of different actors/institutions in a person's life.

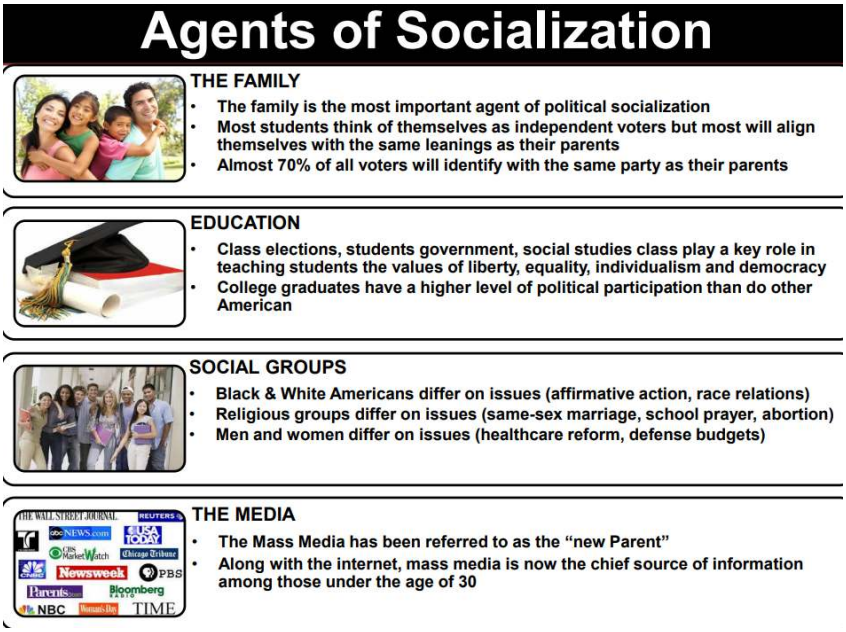
- Families, such as mom, dad, parental guardian, or mentor, share their beliefs and perceptions about society with a child. In some ways, whether a child adopts the same views as their parents, guardians or mentors may depend on whether the child truly recognizes these actors as legitimate with authority. In other words, 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 these agents as legitimate, they may adopt opposing stances.
- Schools are institutions that provide students with information about the world around them. In a number of countries worldwide, schools provide structured and standardized education to address core subjects that society has deemed important. In the United States, students may take mathematics, science, English, reading, social studies, and writing, as well as electives like art, computers, shop class, drama, automotive, and so forth. Teachers can have a huge impact on what a student walks away thinking about 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. Oftentimes, younger students will be more likely to trust those who are teaching. But, as adolescence arrives, they will begin to ask these questions more critically.
- Friends and peers are also agents of socialization. Adolescents are more influenced by their friends and peers than when they were younger. Some research has shown peer influences may not be representative or predictive of the political identity that adolescents form later on in life. However, in the short term, adolescent youths will be influenced by their peers' thoughts, ideas, attitudes, and beliefs in an attempt to fit in or please their friends.
- Over the last 40 years, the media's influence has grown substantially around the world. In the late 20th century, news in the United States largely took place at one time of day, 6 pm, with local news at 10 pm. Today, the news is broadcasted every hour of every day in a 24-hour news cycle. News can offer political judgement based on political ideological leanings, speaking more from the perspective of an ideology rather than a position of complete objectivity.

  In addition, social media 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 judgments. Although readily available, opinions are not always edited, managed, corrected, or deemed accurate by any overarching source to manage public perceptions. This action can be both a good and bad thing for political socialization as well as democracy. Freedom of speech is one of the cornerstones of democracy. However, the elevation of opinions to broadcasting status can amplify judgments that are not based on facts or scholastic reviews. 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. All of these factors do, for better or worse, shape a person's political identity.

- Religion can be a powerful force in the lives of many people. In the United States alone, more than 80% of the citizens say they believe in a 'higher power', according to one large sample survey data. Keep in mind that this data does not mean that US citizens are similar in religion and religious values. 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. Within the US, there are major divisions, particularly between the majority Protestant population and the minority Catholic population. Other religious belief systems 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.
- What the government itself says or does and how individuals perceive their actions and values in the context of their greater society are important.

Agents of Socialization in the United States

While agents of socialization occur in all countries and cultures, how they apply to political events, ideologies, and applications may differ. This graphic shows how agents of socialization might appear in the United States regarding key issues.



Source: Ms. Newell's AP US Government Course @Prince William County Public School District, Virginia.

6.1: Introduction to Political Identity is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **6.1: Introduction to Political Identity** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 is the combination of customs, social institutions, arts, media, and social, economic, and political achievements of a social group. It can be seen as a "catch-all" for so many factors of social behavior, habits, and traditions found in a society, including **norms** (standard practices, rules, patterns, and behaviors that are considered acceptable in a society). In some situations, the inability or unwillingness to abide by cultural norms can result in punishments and violence. Some scholars have argued that norms can have a significant influence on political behaviors.

Michele Gelford, a psychology professor at the University of Maryland, wrote the book *Rule Makers, Rule Breakers: How Tight and Loose Cultures Wire the World*. She argues that cultures that enforce strict adherence to norms tend to have greater control over their own populations, 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, she suggests that cultures that do not have a 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)*

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, researchers found that cultures with either too-strict or too-loose adherence to cultural norms also had lower levels of happiness and higher rates of suicide. Conversely, cultures that had more moderate adherence to norms were among the happiest and most economically successful countries.

Political culture is 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** is the extent to which citizens believe in the reliability, validity, or truth of their government and their fellow citizens. It 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? Accepting election results, even when your party has lost, is an important and foundational feature of any democracy. If trust does not exist, what are the chances that institutions can perform their functions? The odds of political conflict and violence increase as the level of trust decreases.
- **Postmaterialism** is the extent to which a political culture focuses or cares about issues that are not of immediate physical and material concern, such as human rights and environmental concerns.

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba have also studied the importance and influence of political culture worldwide. Their contribution, *The Civic Culture*, recognizes three types of political culture as it relates to political participation and interaction with their political systems.

- A **parochial system** exists when citizens are not interested, and do not care to become interested, in the politics of their countries.
- A **subject system** occurs when citizens are somewhat aware and responsive to their governmental systems. Yet, 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.
- 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.

6.2: Culture is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **6.2: Culture** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 are not interchangeable terms. In sociology, **race** refers to physical differences that a particular society considers significant. For example, on the U.S. Census, individuals can identify their race as 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 that describes a shared culture between people. Racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic, and cultural origin are all factors.

Both race and ethnicity can be categorizations that raise problems. Two of the most obvious problems are:

- People do not want to be categorized according to their race or ethnicity for fear of any consequences that may come from being identified in a certain way.
- People feel the current labels do not capture their identities. These limited options do not seem appropriate for those needing to select an option.

Race and ethnicity can be explored as both an influence on and an effect of political outcomes. Within the U.S., the **Civil Rights Movement** (1954-1968) attempted to ensure equal treatment under the law for Black and African American citizens. Civil rights activists and protestors sought to end racial oppression, end segregation, and end Black voter suppression and discriminatory employment and housing practices. This movement 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.

Race and ethnicity have been studied in relation to the quality of democracy, the role of public opinion, individual attitudes, public policy, the quality and scope of institutions within a regime, the evaluation of how different groups work together, as well as inequality in wealth and economic outcomes. Overall, the scope of race and ethnicity in politics is sweeping.

Researchers have studied 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., members of the Republican Party are far more likely to say great advances have been made in terms of racial equality in the country, while members of the Democratic Party affirm that much more needs to be done. According to the Pew Research Center, the majority of Black Americans 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 by, or effect, different racial or ethnic groups.

This video provides an overview of race and ethnicity.



6.3: Race and Ethnicity is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **6.3: Race and Ethnicity** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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. 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." Girls and boys gradually learn to behave as their parents and society expect, and develop **gender roles**. From this process comes **gender identity**, one's own internal sense of self and gender, whether that is man, woman, neither, or both.

From a biological sex perspective, historically, women have been underrepresented and discriminated against. Today, **women's suffrage** (the right of women to vote in elections) is guaranteed in over 180 countries in some capacity. 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. During the Covid-19 pandemic, of the 1.1 million people who were pushed from the workforce, 80% were women. In the United States alone, female workforce participation dropped to 57%, the lowest level since 1988. Economic projections calculate it will take women twice as long as men to recover as a result of the pandemic. Clearly, the pandemic disproportionately affected women greater than men.

> *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).*

Globally, it has been calculated that women's jobs are twice as much at risk than male jobs. While women account for 39% of all jobs worldwide, their participation in the workforce dropped by 54% worldwide with the pandemic. Thus, some scholars suggest that the pandemic has had a regressive effect on gender equality. 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. This may contribute to trillions of dollars of lost economic output.

Gender identity is accepted differently based on political systems. Scientists have researched the relationship between gender identity and sexual orientation. **Sexual orientation** is the sustained pattern of romantic and/or sexual attraction to people of the opposite sex or gender, the same sex or gender, or both. The top five countries accepting of different gender identities and sexual orientations are Iceland, Norway, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Canada.

Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Malawi, and Oman are often accused of mistreating citizens of different gender identities or sexual orientations. They tend to have laws or legal codes against transgender and LGBTQIA+ communities. 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, not all U.S. states offer protection against gender-based discrimination. Indeed, some states prohibit discussion of homosexuality and LGBTQIA+ issues. Interestingly, a report published by UCLA's School of Law, "Social Acceptance of LGBTQIA+ People in 175 Countries and Locations, 1981-2020," found that 56 out of 175 countries have experienced improvements in acceptance since 1981. In contrast, 57 countries have experienced decreases in acceptance. and 62 countries have experienced no change (Flores, 2021).

6.4: Gender is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **6.4: Gender** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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, often individuals locate and assign themselves an identity that matches their preferences and motivations. There are many examples relating to racial, ethnic, cultural, and gender preferences. Specifically, in April 2021, in Brazil, over 40,000 political candidates were able to categorize their own racial identities differently than in previous elections. According to political scientist Andrew Janusz, this action provided politicians with a way to attract the voters they wanted to turn out at the polls.

Consider gender identity around the world. As of late 2021, sixteen countries allow citizens to choose between male, female, non-binary or third genders on their passports, including Argentina, Austria, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Malta, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, India, Nepal, and the United States. Indeed when looking at 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." Meanwhile, factors that were important toward 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 collectively decreased importance in terms of how political identity is interpreted today.

In reality, 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, the debate over political identities is still heated, even in places where it seems values of inclusion are being given greater weight.

Japan and India have democracies. Although their constitutions ensure equal treatment of citizens under the law as well as freedom from discrimination based on race, religion, and gender, both countries have struggled with improving gender equality in various segments of society. Generally, gender gaps are measured with regard to women in the economy (their participation and earnings 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 how Japan and India have experienced 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. Overall, these two countries have taken different actions to treat current gender gaps.

Japan's Gender Gaps

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



Source: Country Reports

Japan is an island in East Asia off the coast of China and Taiwan. As one of the oldest democracies in East Asia, 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 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 from the 1947 Constitution, which was created during the U.S. occupation of Japan following World War II. Interestingly, the 1947 Constitution was written to institute democracy, while not contradicting the previous Meiji Constitution. In doing so, it was hoped that the people of Japan would more readily accept the new constitution.

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. According to the World Economic Forums' 2022 Gender Gap Index, the country ranks 116th out of 146 countries worldwide

Within the Meiji Era, women did not have legal rights, and 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 were expected to be modest, tidy, courteous, obedient, and self-reliant, as well as 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 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 1947 Constitution expanded 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 in 1945 (right before the new Constitution was adopted). It was hoped that women would enjoy equal rights and treatment as men. However, since World War II, women have faced great challenges in terms of being treated equally under the law and within society.

Although there is a preference for women to maintain the Meiji existence, the vast majority (almost 70%) of adult Japanese women work. 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.

With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, employment prospects and data worsened for Japanese women with larger reductions in their work hours, a higher tendency to be furloughed, and pushed from the workforce at a far greater rate than men. Many believed, in the face of the lockdown and quarantines, women should be at home helping their children and tending to household responsibilities. Thus, they bore the brunt of all family-related obligations during the pandemic. This exodus of women in the workplace has been called the 'she-cession'. Economic recovery has been slow, and raises questions about the overall ability of women to re-enter the workforce again.

Inequality in the workplace is not the only area of concern for women in Japan today. Two other areas of concern

- female representation within the political structures--Although political parties in Japan have prioritized increasing the representation of women in their organizations, growth has been slow. Interestingly, survey results indicate that voters are not

necessarily biased against candidates for their gender. Rather not many Japanese women run for political office, which aligns with the belief that women need to be submissive, modest, and unambitious.
- the prevalence of sexism and gender discrimination overall--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 indicates that Japanese women would be more likely to run for office if political parties made efforts to lend greater support and funding for their candidacies. 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 idea goes back to the perception that men need to be the main "breadwinners" of the household. Plus, if a woman is not employed, the family is eligible for more government support. Data also indicates that women face stark gender-based discrimination and harassment, 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

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



Source: Country Reports

India is a country in South Asia, bordered by Pakistan, China, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, and Myanmar. The country gained its independence from Britain in 1947, and redrafted its Constitution to install a democracy as a federal parliamentary republic with 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 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 that includes a supreme court and a number of high and lower courts.

India's constitution is substantially longer than Japan's. 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. India also has severe problems with gender equality and treatment. Japan ranks 116 for gender gaps, and India ranks 135. 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, whereas women are responsible for the reproduction of heirs and handling home duties (submissive to the head of the household).

Historically, women were seen only as wives and mothers, and their positions were always subordinate to men. In this society, men drove all social, political, and economic choices. The role of the women was to ensure a male child, who would eventually be 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 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 should be free from discrimination based on religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth, many historical perceptions of women's roles persist in society today.

In terms of gender equality, there is a lack of women's representation in politics, a 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 representation in politics.

Case Analysis

Following the end of World War II, Japan's 1947 Constitution was well-received and enabled Japan to maintain its historical and cultural origins while adopting democratic values. India's also prioritized equal protection under the law as well as ensured individuals would not be discriminated against based on religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. Both India and Japan are democracies that continue to struggle with gender gaps. The COVID-19 pandemic has wreaked terrible outcomes on the treatment of women. India needs to focus on the health of women, ensuring women have access to affordable and quality healthcare to protect their interests and prospects of survival. Meanwhile, the Japanese government has established a new direction for many of its policies and initiatives relating to decreasing the gender gaps. For example, 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.

6.5: Comparative Case Study - Gender Gaps in India and Japan is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **6.5: Comparative Case Study - India and Japan** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

6.6: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **6.6: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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. Human attachment to political identities has been mobilized for/with political consequences. 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, and 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. Cultures that 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 used to categorize groups of people according to their own relation to culture, such as racial, national, tribal, religious, linguistic, and origin. Race and ethnicity play a major role in politics around the world. Almost every country on the planet has unique historical contexts and political circumstances that in some way are affected or effected by different racial or ethnic groups.

Subsection #6.4: Gender

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 the 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' constitutions, there is an emphasis on equal treatment under the law for all citizens, as well as freedom from discrimination based on race, religion, sex, and other factors of importance in both societies. Nevertheless, the 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

6.7: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **6.7: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

7: Political Identity - Nationalism, Religion, Class

7.1: What is Political Identity?

7.2: What is National Identity?

7.3: What is Religious Identity?

7.4: What is Class Identity?

7.5: Comparative Case Study - Israel and Iran - The Intersection of Politics and Identity

7.6: References

7.7: Student Resources

7: Political Identity - Nationalism, Religion, Class is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

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 influence our sense of self [our identity].

What Are the Components of Political Identity?

Political identity is how a person or group of people 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, including our ethnicity, religion, gender, class, ideology, nationality, age, and generation.

Why Is Political Identity Important in Studying Comparative Politics?

Understanding how individuals and groups see their own identity is critical to the analysis of the political culture and system of any country. For example, in the United States, people think of White evangelicals as affiliated with the Republican Party and persons of color to be more likely affiliated 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.

What Is Identity Politics?

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.). It can provide a sense of belonging and purpose for a group of people, while also leading to division and a sense of 'us' versus 'them' mentality. 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.

- 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 **hyperpluralist society** has many groups with divergent priorities making it difficult to compromise and agree on shared values with others in the society.

People often identify with more than one group. For example, the creation of the state of Israel was done specifically to provide a homeland for the Jewish people after World War II. 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.

In his book, *A Theory of Justice*, John Rawls described 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 for class, race, ethnicity, religion, etc. Identity politics, however, focus 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".

7.1: What is Political Identity? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **7.1: Political Identity and Identity Politics** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

Introduction

Is "Political Identity" the Same as "National Identity"?

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, which can range from a relatively narrow ethnic identity to a broader civic identity that encompasses many ethnic and religious groups. For example, in Canada, there is a 'cultural mosaic' of many different types of people, including immigrants, who make up the nation. 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. Indeed, 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. During 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, such as gender and politics, or race, ethnicity, and politics, or religion and politics. Political scientists are keen on understanding the experiences of 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 **intersectionality**, or 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"

Comparative political scientists are quite interested in how national identity affects politics. National identity creates a feeling of belonging, and is commonly reflected through symbols. Think about the meaning of the colors and design of a national flag, the choice of a national bird, and the words of a national anthem. These symbols, colors, and/or words can inspire and bind people together.

After losing a war or when new nation-states is formed, it is common for countries to choose new symbols. However, this is not always the case. For example, some 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 as "one nation indivisible" with references to the "flag".

National identity clearly impacts contemporary politics. A good example includes the September 11th terrorist attacks in the United States. Even though a person may have lived 3,000 miles away in California, and did not physically experience the trauma, the shock, dread, and then anger that person felt was still palpable. This event shows how powerful national identity can be, where we can internalize what others have experienced, and have it affect 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 an ideology where devotion and loyalty to one's state prove more important than other interests, and 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.

Hechter (2001) defines a nation as "highly solitary, territorially concentrated, culturally distinctive groups". Nationalism is a "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 different theories and views on nationalism, one thing is clear: nationalism can mean different things.

- **Exclusionary nationalism** implies a sense of superiority or exceptionalism and can lead to violence.
- **Liberal nationalism** 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].

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 can be a force for the creation of a new and independent state. (**Separatist movements** are 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 "French Canada". 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 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:

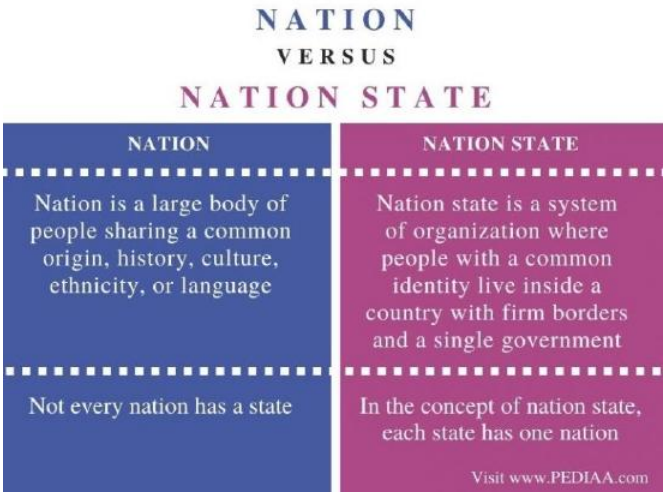
> *Catalonia has its own language and distinctive traditions, and a population nearly as big as Switzerland's (7.5 million). It is one of Spain's wealthiest regions, making up 16% of the national population and accounting for almost 19% of Spanish GDP. (BBC)*

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, "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. Flags, marches, national anthems, and other types of displays are better understood as expressions of nationalism. In a country like the US, citizens do not tend to separate their nation and state. Indeed, we often refer to countries such as the U.S., Poland, and Hungry as nation-states. A **nation-state** is a state where all or most of the people in that state belong to a single nation. A **multinational-state** is where a state contains multiple nations, such as Russia and India.

Can one have pride in their nation, but not in their state? The answer is yes. Catalonia 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, including Catalonia, Galicia, and the Basque country.



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. For example, 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 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 30 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. 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. For example, the process in the United States is quite lengthy with very specific requirements. Switzerland requires that a person spends 10 years in residency before applying 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. Being a citizen confers certain rights and privileges and involves special duties. For example, many countries, such as Israel, Turkey, and Russia, require young men, and in a few cases young women, to compulsory enlist in their militaries through a draft referred to as **conscription**. 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.

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, either chose not to become a citizen or were not given the chance, 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.

7.2: What is National Identity? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **7.2: National Identity** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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. National identity is closely connected to one's sense of nationality and/or the nation they reside in. **Religious identity** is 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.

Nationalism developed in part due to the printing press, which was introduced in Europe in the 1400s. As more and more people became literate, they began to read newspapers. This ritual of buying and reading newspapers allowed people to feel connected and part of an imagined community. Anderson refers to this idea as print capitalism, and suggests it is the causal mechanism that led to the development of nations around three hundred years ago.

Without the development of a 'nation' in the 18th and 19th centuries, it is unlikely that there would be nationalism. For some scholars, the concept of a nation is considered a priori, or deductively reasoned. In other words, the nation must be formed or conceived beforehand, before a national identity can exist: nation → identity.

When looking at religious identity, the a priori argument is less clear. In order to have a religious identity, or a sense of religiosity, a religion must exist beforehand. Unlike the nation, religion as a concept is far older.

How Does Religious Identity Differ from National Identity?

Emile Durkheim argued that religion is an eminently social thing. Rather than focusing on deities and/or 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. The 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. Iif 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 in which it originated, then an argument can be made that religious identity could have more impact. Evidence includes 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?

- If religious identity is considered to precede religion itself, then it is **primordial identity**. (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). 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).
- **Constructivist identity** posits that people have multiple identities and that as people change, so can the importance of a particular identity, or the adoption of a new identity altogether. In most modern societies, individuals choose to join a community, particularly in secular societies. It is not determined by the clan, tribe, or even nation one is born into. Indeed, 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. An example is the Protestant Christians in the United States, who go 'church shopping' or visit different congregations before settling down on one church that fits their needs.

Religious Identity and Politics

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.

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** for understanding religion and politics as they influence how people may vote, view certain policies, and support certain political parties. These four dimensions represent what Hoogendorn and Saroglu refer to as "the social, cognitive, emotional, and moral elements of religion, respectively" (Saroglou, 2011; Hoogendoorn, et. al., 2016)

- **Believing** is a religious belief or the 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. The word 'denomination' is associated with Christianity and often refers to a "religious community or (transhistorical) group with a common history and future" (Hoogendoorn, et. al., 2016). This term could be used to identify groups such as Catholics, Southern Baptists, Latter-Day Saints (Mormons), etc.
- **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. 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 a religious ritual by means of spiritual practices. People go through these experiences either individually or together as a community. It can include prayer, meditation, worship, religious ceremonies, and pilgrimages.

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". In addition, the authors 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 non-collective traditions. For example, this idea is more relevant as a higher number of people in the United States now identify as non-religious, but still spiritual. A recent Pew Research Center survey indicated that roughly three-in-ten Americans are religiously unaffiliated.

7.3: What is Religious Identity? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **7.3: Religious Identity** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 class identity is important in the study of comparative politics

Introduction

Class identity is how a person or group of persons think of themselves in relation to others in society based on their economic and social position. Class identity can impact our happiness, our sense of security, our daily interactions, and even our experience with the justice system. For example, 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."

> *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, manifests itself in politics. In his book, *The Power Elite*, sociologist C. Wright Mills asserted that political power is held by the Elites, the upper socio-economic class, or the "ruling class", who use it for their own self-interests. They have social capital, networks to call upon for help finding a new job, new clients, new customers - for themselves and their family. At its conception, *The Elite Theory* was focused on the nexus of power in the United States. Today, it is discussed in international terms and has been expanded to include elite organizations, such as major oil companies, global military contractors, (Horowitz, 1981).

Class Identity: Socioeconomic Class

Social status is a person's standing or importance in relation to other people within a society. Economic class is based on measurable characteristics: money and material resources. 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**. Note: "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. 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".



Source: Pediaa. com

Class Identity and Politics

Class identity is a major component of politics, influences political affiliations and attitudes, and can drive political and social movements. Politicians appeal to class identity as a means of gaining support for their policies.

We can see this intersect in Marxism. Discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8, **Marxism** is an approach to political economy that is based on the idea of class conflict - between the owner and worker classes. The theory 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. In other words, 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 about one's identity as belonging to a particular class that is politically important.

Class identity is often a key focus of political campaigns seeking to win votes or support for specific candidates and political parties. An example would be the U.S. presidential election campaign of 2015-2016 with the intense interest in the working class. The **working class** contains people engaged in manual-labor occupations or industrial work, who often do not have a four-year college degree. Beginning in the 1930s, unionized working-class Americans had been fairly united behind the Democratic Party. However, that started to change in the 1980s. In the 2016 election, many working class voters were disappointed by the Democratic Party candidate and stayed home rather than vote. This action helped contribute to Republican candidate Donald Trump winning the presidency.

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. In September 2021, a survey found widely differing views across class lines. In particular, a clear majority of working class respondents voiced serious concern about foreign influence in the United States. However, the more educated [and presumably wealthier] respondents had the opposite view (Public Religion Research Institute, 2021). In another study, scholars found that many working class Americans feel threatened by global trade and had seen their economic security reduced. Whereas, wealthier Americans tended to see globalism in either a neutral or positive light.

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 a class-based identity politics movement is 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]*

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]*

Israel demonstrates 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.

7.4: What is Class Identity? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **7.4: Class Identity** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 some examples of how religion relates to identity in Israel and Iran

Introduction

In a most different systems approach, the dependent variable is the same across cases. For this 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). Second, social science evidence suggests that each group has economic access and favorable treatment in the economy. Favoritism and preferences for religious students and for religious education are observable. Finally, there is the role of religious parties or factions in each country's political system.

Israel is classified as a democracy. 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. In other words, a patron-client relationship exists where (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 in the same report.

Secularization is "the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols" (Fowler, 2014). Traditionally, an agrarian society became a sophisticated urban society governed by the rule of law and secular in nature. Israel or Iran developed differently, with a mix of secular and religious authority. Iran was decidedly secular when the shah reigned. However, this forced secularization backfired and contributed to the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Iran is now defined as an Islamic state and is governed by 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).

Internationally, Israel enjoys closer relationships with the West, particularly the United States, where direct military and economic support is legislated yearly. This contrasts with Iran, where relationships with Western countries are much more distant.

State of Israel

- **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. Zionism, the ideological drive for an independent Jewish state, 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. 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.

Israel is a state explicitly created as a homeland for the Jewish people. There, Jewish identity 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. Religious Jews believe, behave and belong, which can explain their strong bonding.

Israeli political identity is also informed by maintaining a Westphalian vision of sovereignty. This ideology can be traced to the creation in 1947, by the United Nations, a partition plan that divided the Jewish and Arab groups into two states. [Heaphy] The creation of the state of Israel led almost immediately to war and subsequent conflicts between Israelis and the Palestinians. Maintaining control over territory granted by the UN 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]

Islamic Republic of Iran

- **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 and is mainly surrounded by Arab states, Iran is not an Arab country. Its dominant language is Farsi, but Iran is mostly Muslim.

Approximately 90% of the Muslims in Iran 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 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 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).

Understanding the foundation of Shi'a helps someone understand Iranian politics today. While Sunni Muslims bask in the glory of the previous empires, Shi'a Muslims instead see a history of oppression and mistreatment. Many Shi'a see this oppression as a test from God and Husayn's martyrdom as a rallying cry. 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. In addition, he 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.



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. This 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]

Similar to Israel, religion features prominently in the Iranian flag. 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. The Iranian banknotes also feature religious imagery by including a picture of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

7.5: Comparative Case Study - Israel and Iran - The Intersection of Politics and Identity is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **7.5: Comparative Case Study - Israel and Iran** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

7.6: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **7.6: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

7.7: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **7.7: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

8: Political Economy

8.1: What is Political Economy?

8.2: Political Economic Systems

8.3: Comparative Case Study - Germany and China

8.4: References

8.5: Student Resources

8: Political Economy is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

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 is a subfield of political science that considers various economic theories, such as capitalism, socialism, communism, and fascism, as well as practices and outcomes either within a state or among and between states in the global system. Within a given territory is a **market**, the exchange of goods and service, that can involve 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 or **public goods** that are nonexcludable and nonrival in nature. Examples include public roads, public hospitals, and libraries. Finally, political economy studies how individuals interact with the market and society (Britannica, n.d.)

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. 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 often correlated with the election chances of sitting politicians. Just ask U.S. 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!"

Generally, political economy is engaged in three ways:

1. Studying how the economy (and/or economic systems) affects politics.
2. How political forces affect the economy. (i.e. How do institutions, voters, and interest groups affect economic outcomes? How does this influence public policy?)
3. How economic foundations and tools can be applied to study politics.

Political Economy: Foundation and Key Terms

Scholars have been thinking about the interaction between society and the economy for centuries. Ancient philosophers 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.

Written in 1776, Adam Smith's work, the *Wealth of Nations*, is often considered the first formal study of political economy. David Ricardo followed up on his ideas, writing about comparative advantage and the free market. Still 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. As early as 1891, political economy as a specific discipline in universities was recognized. Published in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* by Oxford University Press, an 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 consider various concepts including public gods, private goods, property, and property rights. In contrast to public goods, **private goods** are defined as economic resources that are acquired or owned exclusively by a person or group. Public and private goods can vary greatly between countries. For instance, healthcare is considered a public good in most countries. However, a few nations think of it as a private good. A defining feature of private goods is their potential scarcity, and the competition that arises from this scarcity.

Property is a resource or commodity that a person or group legally owns. Property can include tangible items, like cars and houses. Or intangible items, like patents, copyrights, or trademarks. Although that lines, a **property right** is a 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.

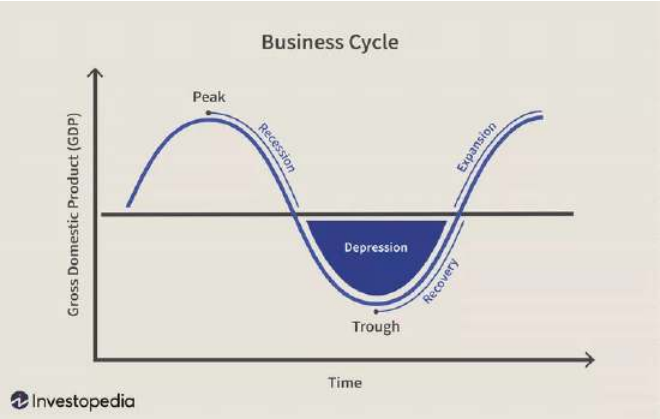
States can affect the market through a variety of measures.

- First, they can simply pass laws that regulate the market. **Regulations** are rules imposed by a government on society. These rules cover a broad range of social issues from protecting public interests to social cohesion. Market regulation is often referred to as regulatory policy, economic regulation, or fiscal regulation.
- **Taxation** is the process of a government collecting money from its citizens, corporations, and other entities. These taxes can be imposed on income, capital gains, and on estates. Taxes can be used to pay for public goods, and help regulate economic activity. A country can impose higher taxes on a product, driving up the price, to dissuade people from using it. In addition, a government may impose **sin taxes**, which are levied on a product or activity deemed harmful to society. Sin taxes exist on tobacco, alcohol, and gambling in almost every state in the United States. Taxation, spending, and regulation are referred to as **fiscal policy**.

Monetary policy is the action 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. Rather, its value is determined by the government that prints it. A five-dollar bill is worth five dollars because that is what the U.S. government says it is. If the public does not believe it, then the money can be worthless. The German mark, the French franc, and the Greek drachma no longer have any value since those countries' governments have adopted the Euro.

Economic growth is the process by which a country's wealth increases over time. Eventually, a country will experience a **recession,** when there are two consecutive quarters (six months total) of declining economic activity. Overall, a country can use two different monetary approaches to influence the business cycle.

- A central bank will manipulate the money supply through interest rates. If a central bank reduces interest rates to stimulate economic growth, businesses will find it easier 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, a major consequence of higher spending is inflation, 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 by international trade between countries. States never trade equally. In every trading relationship, one country benefits more than the other. The trade surplus or trade deficit can be small and inconsequential or large with important consequences.

- If a country is experiencing large trade deficits, then that country is importing more than it is exporting.
  - A positive effect--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--hard money leaves the country, which affects the country's money supply.

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 the government to fund numerous development projects.

A foundational principle in international trade is **comparative advantage**, the goods, services, or activities that one state can produce or provide more cheaply or easily than other states. 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 scenario is especially true for states with certain natural resources, such as oil or minerals. 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. Then, goods will be less expensive, and production will be more efficient for states that engage in trade.

Political Economy as a Modern Discipline

Economics is focused on the 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. Thus, political economy is an extension of economics, but with a focus on how politics and public policy affect economics.

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. For example, the economics of owning a house is 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.

- **Comparative political economy (CPE)** 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 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.

The focus is on international trade, economic development, international monetary bodies, as well as the influence of multinational corporations and non-governmental organizations.

8.1: What is Political Economy? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **8.1: What is Political Economy?** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

8.2: Political Economic Systems

Learning Objectives

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

- Compare and contrast the four political economic systems.

Introduction

In some political economy systems, the state supports **laissez-faire**, which translates from French as ‘let it be’. 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. Some states have **command and control**, 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. On the other end, some states, including countries in Latin America and Europe, tend to have 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, deciding when and where investment takes place. This **statism** is also referred to as state capitalism, where the invisible hand is replaced by the visible hand in the market (Bremmer, 2012).

Mercantilism (Economic Nationalism)

Defined as a system that seeks to maximize a country’s wealth through increasing exports and limiting imports, **Mercantilism** is probably the world's oldest political economic system. From the 16th to 18th centuries, several European nations tried to have complete control of production and trade by state-led companies, which led to high inflation and taxes. Mercantilism also allowed for the expansion of the slave trade.

To achieve imperial economic growth, the British empire strongly discouraged its colonies from importing competitive foreign products. This idea was supported by high 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 economic policies that maximized their 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, while trying 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 North America, where the cost of imported goods from Britain was substantially higher than imports from other regions. Mercantilism is often cited as one of the precipitating factors contributing to the U.S. 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. **Economic nationalism** is an attempt by a state to protect or bolster its economy for nationalist goals. This newer type of mercantilism has surged in both the United States and Western Europe. It's often associated with **Protectionism**, which are 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. Agriculture would be one such area. However, controversy exists 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. Indeed, 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)

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 to export goods in the US (and, of course, in other countries) and to succeed (and therefore to hire Americans).

Free Market Capitalism (Economic Liberalism)

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. Key components include 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. Trade imbalances may lead 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. The idea of trade being a zero-sum game is nothing new. Indeed, it contributed to the development of mercantilism, where government policies *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 choices at competitive prices. Meanwhile, businesses 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". Also, countries benefit from an improved standard of living. Two examples are China and India, which "have experienced growth and development that might not have happened without access to markets." (Wolla and Esenther, 2017)

Today, capitalism is often referred to by a newer term. **Economic liberalism** is 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 would be when US president Reagan's deregulated the phone industry, over 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. Greece was required to sale some state-owned businesses to a private company in order to save its economy in 2012.
- The loosening of government controls, or liberalization, involves reducing the rules related to trade, taxes, etc. Countries that embrace economic liberalism are said to become more capitalist.

Marxism (Economic Structuralism)

Marxism became a critical response to free market capitalism. Developed by Karl Marx, this theory argues that capitalism is destructive, corrupt, and unable to survive as an economic system. Further, capitalist systems would inevitably lead to conflict between the working class (proletariat) and business owners (bourgeoisie). In considering more specifically its economic

applications, **Marxism** is 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.

Communism is where the state, usually dominated by one party, is in complete control of the political economic system, including all property. According to the communist theory, the state itself would wither away and politics would become a relic of the past. In the end, a utopia where everyone has achieved true equality would exist without the need for 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, imposed communist rule through the state party apparatus, and renamed the country the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). His successor, Joseph Stalin, 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 demise of communism, Marxist thought still plays a prominent role in today's economic community through **Economic structuralism,** where the working class must be protected from exploitation of the capital-owning class, but on an international scale. This system has had a significant role in policy-making in the developing world, particularly in Africa and Latin America. The focus is on workers and owners, as well as inequality, uneven development, property rights and ownership, specialization, and trade.

Economic structuralist theory has been a significant force in Latin America. Often credited to Argentine economist Raul Prebish, underdevelopment is often 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). In Latin American, deficiencies and dysfunctions are both from outside (foreign) and within (domestic).

- 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)
- domestic dysfunction includes "accelerated population growth, premature urbanization…as well as the underdevelopment of agricultural production" among others. (Missio, et al, 2015)

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. These strategies may include 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.

- Direct barriers:
  - **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. 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)
  - **Quotas** are 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. These goods are typically 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 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.
- Technical barriers typically come in the form of rules or standards imposed by the destination country on the exporting country. For example, the US imposed a requirement that all tractor-trailers coming into the country 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** consists of people producing goods and providing services outside of regular employment, such as selling home-made food products, providing auto repair services and child care. 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, “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)

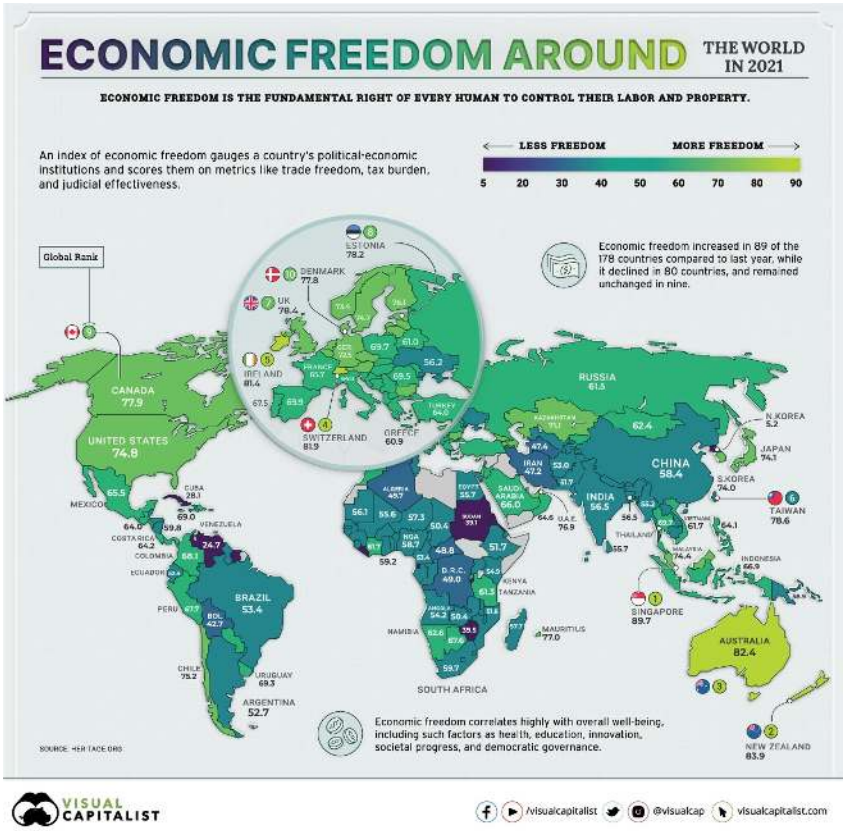
Broadly speaking, **Socialism** is both a political and economic system in which property, as well as the means of production, are collectively owned. In most cases, production is owned and controlled by the state. Socialist theory does allow for individual ownership of property, such as one’s house. 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 is Venezuela.

Just like Marxism, modern variants of socialism exist today. The most prominent and relevant is **social democracy**, which 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. In other words, how can one have true freedom, if they lack the means to survive? Freedom of speech, of the press or to assemble does 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. In theory, the heavy system of regulation protects society from the potential harm that a free market capitalist system could yield. At times, some socially democratic countries will take over the means of production in a particular industry. For example, in Norway, 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.

In Europe, social democracy policies were initially put in place to blunt the ability of communist movements to rally workers to their cause. Since then, these policies have proven to be quite popular. 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. This type of a mixed economy is also often referred to as a **social market economy.** Over time, the European Union has adopted a number of directives that have aligned with social democracy concepts, including reducing wage inequality, improving incentives to work, and working to sustain domestic demand.

For a full-screen image, please visit Mapped: Economic Freedom Around the World



8.2: Political Economic Systems is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **8.2: Political Economic Systems** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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. Their difference include:

- Government--China is a socialist republic led by a single, communist political party and communist elites, while Germany is a democratic, federal parliamentary republic where two main political parties vie for dominance.
- Election and Media--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 are mostly controlled by the state. Germany's political system enables the participation of its citizens in politics, the representation of opposing views, a free media, and the protection of civil liberties.
- 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. Germany 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 two countries 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.
- 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 their total GDP. (For reference purposes, the US only exports what amounts to less than 15% of its GDP).
- 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 because its large population lacks the purchasing power to buy the goods produced by the country. 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

- **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

Based on GDP, Germany currently has the 5th largest economy, and is one of the largest global exporters in the world. It has a highly developed economic system utilizing a social market economy. Originating in 1949, this economic concept combined principles of capitalism with domestic social welfare considerations. It borrowed the capitalist principles of fair competition and competitive advantage. **Fair competition** 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.

Germany's Economic History

Germany's social market economy was the product of dire economic conditions coming out of World War II. Following World War I (1914-1918), Germany was thrown into a weak democracy under the Weimar Republic. In addition, under the terms of the **Versailles Treaty**, the country was forced to drastically reduce its military, take full responsibility for the war, pay exorbitant reparations to the Allies, and ultimately relinquish some of its territories. The Weimar Constitution of 1919 attempted to shift power away from the German military, and more toward the political parties, including the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany (USDP).

The main challenge facing the Weimar Republic was **hyperinflation**, which occurs when inflation exceeds 50%. In order to pay the high reparations and war debts to the Allies, the German government tried to print more money. (The German debt totaled 132 billion gold *papiermarks*, the equivalent of $33 billion U.S. dollars at that time.) In order to produce more money, the country abolished its use of the gold standard. In doing so, inflation rates soared beyond 20,000%, with prices doubling every 3.7 days. For reference, in 1918, the exchange rate 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. This hyperinflation meant citizens could not buy basic goods, and many Germans went hungry. It also led to Germany becoming 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 economic troubles continued and planted the seeds for further societal distress.

During the 1920s, Adolf Hitler advocated for the politically right-wing party, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDP). These Nazi members were drawn by the devastating economic conditions of hyperinflation, unemployment, and poor working conditions. In November 1924, Hitler led an attempt to by over 2000 Nazi party members to overthrow the Weimar Republic in what later became called the Beer Hall Putsch. The coup d'etat was squashed by the local police. While serving his prison term for the failed attempt, Hitler drafted his autobiography, *Mein Kampf* (meaning, *My Struggle*).

By 1933, the Nazis emerged as the largest party in the Reichstag, or German parliament. President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor of Germany. Over time, Hitler would use 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. His leadership and command of a state-controlled economy enabled Germany to experience six years of rapid economic growth. This mercantilist approach also allowed Germany to pursue its military objectives.

After World War II (1939-1945), Germany was in ruins, including the country's physical capital. Hitler had commented suicide days before the war ended, so leadership was under the control of other officials. Post-war German economists advocated greater free-market capitalist principles. At the same time, the German government wanted to ensure that the people's welfare, particularly those of the workers, was protected. Transitioning to a fully capitalist model was too risky, since many believed that not all workers or citizens would be able to compete effectively. These concerns led to the adoption of a social democratic political economy.

Germany's Economy, Present Day Circumstances and Challenges

Germany is Europe's largest economy and the largest exporter of goods in Europe. Prior to March 2020, Germany had experienced consistent growth for 10 years. When the Covid-19 pandemic struck, Germany's economy contracted by 5% led by a decline in exports. Germany fared better than many of its European Union (EU) trade partners or global economies. 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. Even as the pandemic has subsided, the country still grapples with unemployment, disruption of imports and exports, and the social fallout experienced by frequent shutdowns and isolations.

China's Market-Oriented, Mixed Economy

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

Based on GDP, China has the second-largest economy, 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)** compares the prices of goods and services to gauge the absolute purchasing power of a currency.) China pursues **state capitalism.** Part of the reason for the high state intervention stems from China's authoritarian system 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. Military installations and equipment, as well as basic transportation, communications, and power systems had been destroyed and were badly in need of repair or rebuilding. The leadership intended to modernize China as fast as possible. As such, from 1949-1952, the Chinese government prioritized projects to repair transportation, communications, and power grids. 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. The government officials looked to the Soviet model. 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. Although not invested in, agricultural output increased 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 the **Great Leap Forward**, 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. 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. 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 contributed 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. However, the strain on the workers was too great, and industrial output declined.

Between 1961 and 1965, China tried to reconstruct its economy by replacing the concept of the Great Leap Forward. The country reformed all of its agricultural practices, including lowering taxes and providing more equipment. Attempts were made to

decentralize control of various industries to local governments. By 1965, economic conditions were again stable, and the Chinese government focused on balancing 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 Communist ideology. Mao alleged that the bourgeoisie was attempting to infiltrate China with the goal to overthrow the communist government. (**Bourgeoisie** refers to the upper middle classes, who often own most of a society's wealth and means of production.) Mao's sayings and wisdom were compiled into the *Little Red Book*, which became 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 put a strain on resources, labor, and equipment.

Mao died in 1976. In 1978, under the leadership of Deng Xiaopeng, China reduced government controls, enabled market mechanisms, and generally attempted to reform the economy. This change was not a sudden move away from communism, but a gradual move towards a mixed economy, designed to stimulate growth. Slowly the country opened to global trade. In 2001, China became a member of the World Trade Organization, cementing its transition from a command and control economy, to a largely state-capitalist society.

China's Economy, Present Day Circumstances and Challenges

Due to the Covid-19 Pandemic, for the first time since adopting capitalist reforms, China's economy contracted. However, the country has been the first to bounce back with a growth rate of 8.5% in 2021. China is still export-heavy, but some industries are experiencing a decline, such as telecommunications, fabric/clothing, coal, and logging, due to supply and demand issues. 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.

Under a largely authoritarian regime, there have been questions over how accurate China's reporting on economic growth and output is. Some political scientists argue that the level and extent of continued economic growth are not feasible, and suggest 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, China reported little to no economic contraction during the 2008 recession.

Export-Based Economic Problems

China and Germany share a similar problem: how to handle economies that 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, these countries' economies may be unable to thrive. If a state is no longer able to afford the product or buy the goods, the exporter will struggle. The unemployment and economic slowdown caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as the subsequent global recession, may lead citizens to question their government's legitimacy. These ideas are evident in 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.

8.3: Comparative Case Study - Germany and China is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **8.3: Comparative Case Study - Germany and China** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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/

8.4: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **8.4: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 that 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 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, 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

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 environmental 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.

8.5: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **8.5: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

9: Collective Action and Social Movements

9.1: What is collective action? What are social movements?

9.2: Frameworks for collective action

9.3: A framework for explaining social movements

9.4: Comparative Case Study - Workers' movements in Poland and China

9.5: References

9.6: Student Resources

9: Collective Action and Social Movements is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

9.1: What is collective action? What are social movements?

Learning Objectives

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

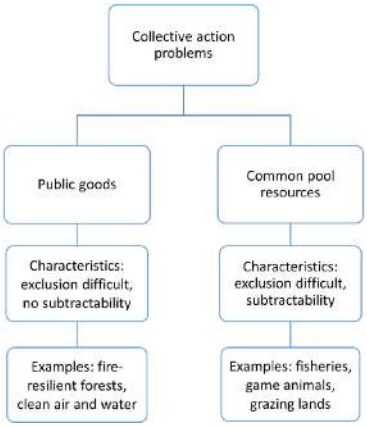
- Differentiate collective action from social movements

Introduction

Beyond common defense, **collective action** supports 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. 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. In other words, collective action can result in benefits for all or for the few.

Societies flourish when there is the robust provision of public goods. Once provided, a **public good** is nonexcludable and nonrival. Individuals cannot be excluded from enjoying them, and one person's enjoyment of that good does not impinge upon others' enjoyment. However, a public good can impede the organizing of collective action to provide that good. These types of problems are observable throughout societies, but societies also manage to solve them in various ways.

Collective action may lead to narrower objectives, such as **common pool resources**. These resources are nonexcludable but rivalrous in consumption. A good example 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.



Source: Research Gate

Collective action pervades the private sector. For example, an industry advocacy group procures 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. Voting is a form of collective action, especially in a democracy where individuals' decision to cast ballots for a certain candidate or policy can determine a society's values and allocation of resources. The larger the electorate, the more evident the problems. 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 have the potential to lead to the collapse of any given collective action endeavor, in this case, the representativeness of a republic.

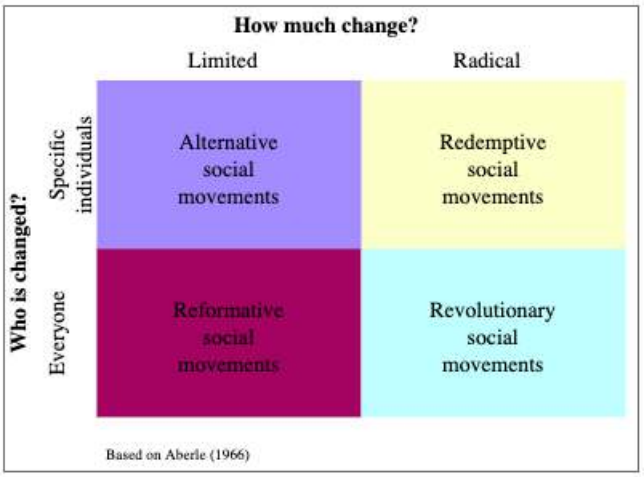
Historically, collective action has led to social change and even revolution. Because it can occur outside of existing political institutions, collective action has the potential to destabilize societies and challenge existing structures. One illustration is when groups unite to demand the franchise (as with the women's suffrage movement) or when workers' strikes bring industry to a standstill.

Social Movements

Social movements are a subset of collective action. All social movements rely on collective action, but not all collective action is a social movement. Specifically, social movements are coordinated and goal-oriented, but they are characterized by political activity outside of established institutions (extra-institutional). A 20th century example in the United States would be the Civil Rights Movement, which sought equal rights for racial minorities and an end to institutional racism at all levels of government. From an international comparative context, social movements for civil rights and labor rights have spanned the globe.

Sociologist David Aberle (1966) classified social movements by 1) what it is the movement wants to change and 2) how much change they want. Generally, there are four types of social movements.

- Alternative movements are typically focused on self-improvement and limited, specific changes to individual beliefs and behavior. Alcoholics Anonymous would be an example in the United States.
- Redemptive movements (sometimes called religion movements) are "meaning-seeking," focused on a specific segment of the population, and intended to provoke inner change or spiritual growth in individuals.
- Reformative social movements seek to change something specific about the social structure. They may seek a more limited change but target the entire population. Environmental movements and the women's suffrage movement are examples.
- Revolutionary movements seek to completely change every aspect of society. Examples include the Civil Rights Movement or political movements, such as a push for communism.



Source: Lumen Learning

9.1: What is collective action? What are social movements? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **9.1: What is Collective Action? What are Social Movements?** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

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 Mancur Olson’s *The Logic of Collective Action* (1965), which argues that collective action failures are to be expected given rational and self-interested individuals. Such people are disinclined to organize and contribute to the production of a public or collective good, while letting others do the hard work of achieving the goal, then enjoy the fruits of that collective good once provided. This concept is known as the **free rider problem**.

Consider the example of climate change. Collective action in the form of everyone reducing carbon footprints would yield an abatement of this problem. Yet a single country or an individual has weak incentives. Why?

- 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.”
- 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!” This logic is an example of 'free ride', knowing that the benefits of others' work will apply to everyone regardless of their contributions. This problem raises issues of fairness but even worse, a collective good may not be produced if enough people adopt a free-rider mentality.

Collective action also hinges on cooperation, which can be well-illustrated through the so-called Prisoner’s Dilemma. In this scenario, the players cooperate with a partner for mutual reward, or betray their partner for individual reward.

Here's another example of the **cooperation game**. Imagine Child Y and Child Z have taken cookies from the cookie jar at home -- without asking and while no one was looking. 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 repeatedly taking cookies from the cookie jar, over the course of months) to extend their punishment. The interrogating parent pressures each child to offer evidence of the other’s guilt. What should each do?

- Both stay silent--receive the lightest of possible punishments, a week without video games
- One stays silent while the other betrays--the betrayer gets zero punishment while the betrayed receives a long punishment of three weeks without video games.
- Both betray--both aren’t allowed video games for two weeks.

In each box, the first number indicates the punishment for Child Y and the second number indicates the punishment for Child 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 sees the immediate personal gain of 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.

When playing this game with one hundred or even millions of players, the problems of coordination and cooperation become evident. To take up the example of climate change again, we can replace the choices with the following: staying silent (cooperating) is equivalent to making lifestyle changes to lighten one's carbon footprint, while betrayal is 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.

Game theorists have developed ways to outsmart the Prisoner's Dilemma. Watch this video to learn more:



Factors promoting collective action

Cooperation can be costly. *The Logic of Collective Action* highlights important barriers to coordinated action. However, we observe them frequently in the social world.

The free rider problem can be resolved when a group is sufficiently organized. Economist Elinor Ostrom 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). His framework suggests that collective action is most likely to take place in groups with concentrated interests, where the effort expended is more likely to yield significant gains for each participant. An example would be the interest groups lobbying in many wealthy democracies today.

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.

Thomas Schelling has noted that the barriers to collective action are not quite as high as proposed by Olson. In his opinion, collective action is possible when rational and self-interested individuals have reasonable expectations that others will join the movement. This action can happen when individuals 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.

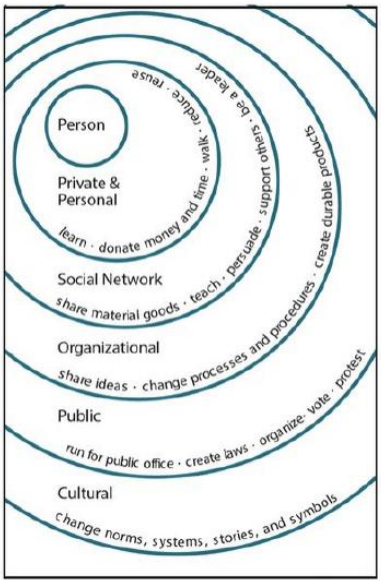
This framework has its limits because it does not explain who or what is the spark that starts the collective action. Timur Kuran, in the article "Now Out of Never," suggested individuals are moved to act when they reach their individual threshold for tolerance on an issue. In a collective action situation, there are "first movers" who have the strongest preferences for change. These initial movers then create momentum. For example, people 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 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? 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.

In short, logics exists 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.

Individuals play a critical role in inspiring collective actions within various spheres of influence. This image was included in the article: *Understanding how to inspire individual and collective action on climate change*



9.2: Frameworks for collective action is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **9.2: Frameworks for Collective Action** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

Introduction

Social movements often embody large ambitions that cannot be realized without collective action. During the 21st century, a myriad of social movements emerged, such as the Sunrise Movement to stop climate change, the #metoo movement for women's rights, and Black Lives Matter for racial justice. Globally, there has been the New Right movement. While the causes and participants vary greatly, scholars have sought to identify common factors and explain the conditions under which a social movement may realize its objectives.

Social scientists have brought the tools of their disciplines to bear in understanding the complex emergence of collective mobilization. Psychologists focus on the individual level of analysis, while sociologists and political scientists tackle 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." From a social movement perspective, a moment of ideational awakening may lead to concrete change only when certain stars align. Success is more likely when the broader political context is receptive to the movement's ideas. For example, climate change advocacy gained momentum among the people of wealthy democracies when there was a discourse about this problem by political elites.

Political opportunity is a structural factor that affects whether a social movement forms and prevails in its goals. **Structure** can include whether political institutions and elites are receptive to specific changes, or 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. Within this structure, activists may choose from a range of tactics regarding how to organize, mobilize, and frame their goals (See Figure below).

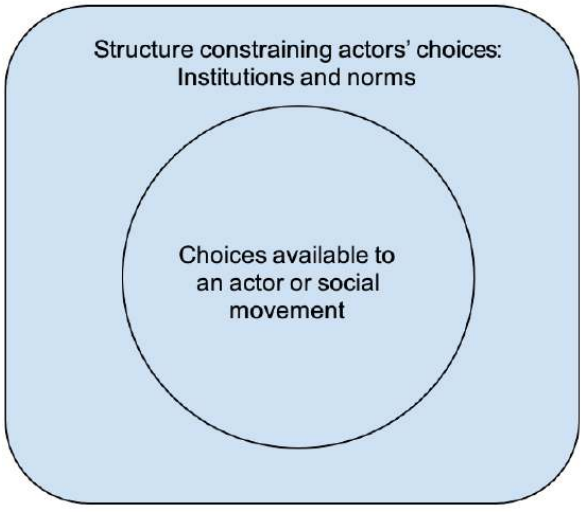


Figure 9.3.1: Structure is the broader context within which individuals or groups may act. (Source: Institutions and Norms *by Charlotte Lee is licensed under* CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

In the case of the US Civil Rights Movement, markers of political opportunity can be identified in hindsight. These identifiers 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, in President John F. Kennedy's 1963 Report to the People on American Civil Rights, stating, "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 notified society 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. However, organizational strength is a direct correlate of mobilizational power and momentum. For example, backbone organizations promoted the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. Black churches contained multigenerational communities united by bonds of faith and trust. HBCUs (historically Black colleges and universities) offered spaces for student organizing. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (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).

Organizational forms may be more decentralized and less hierarchical by design. The "leaderless" Black Lives Matter movement in the US is an example. There was 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 were organized and executed without direction from an organizational headquarters. One strength of this approach is more cellular organization, with new protest repertoires and messages emerging to suit local conditions and audiences. A disadvantage is the potential loss of 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). These so-called "liberation technologies" provided a way to organize a social movement in defiance of geographical constraints and even repressive governments. However, some scientists argue that these new technologies have led 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.

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. Thus, it must be culturally appropriate and meaningful.

Under the concept of framing, individuals join a movement 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 can sustain the movement and attract additional adherents from society. For example, 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 the 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

Social movements may diffuse across borders, with activists sharing tactics and resources, as well as providing moral support to one another in their common cause. Given the advent of globalization since the end of the Cold War in 1991, seemingly faraway events may resonate with global audiences. One such example: Deforestation in Indonesia sparked protests in European cities over unsustainable practices in the supply chains of furniture companies that source wood from Borneo. Indonesian environmental activists found common causes with counterparts in the Netherlands.

International "democracy promotion" efforts contributed to increases in democracy since the 1990s. These actions 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.

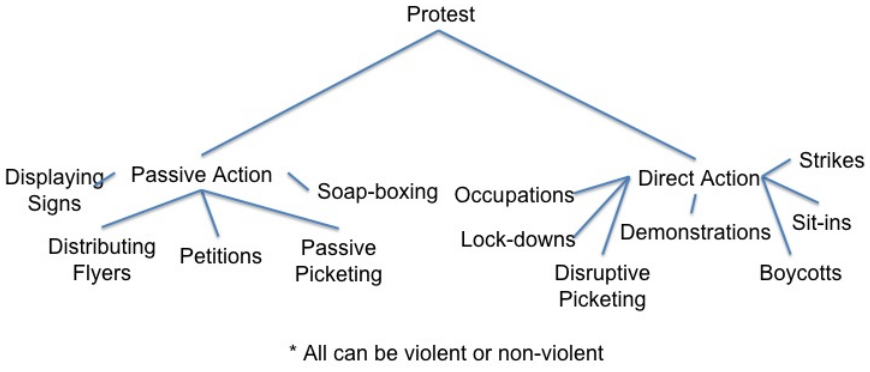
The role of nonviolence

Social movements may employ a vast number of tactics, and are constantly innovating and creating new repertoires based on changing contexts, cultural symbols, and new technologies. For example, pro-democracy Hong Kong protesters created new forms of protest in 2019 as part of their movement to secure democratic rights and autonomy within the People's Republic of China's "One Country, Two Systems" framework. One notable tactic was occupying terminals of Hong Kong International Airport, which disrupted the business of a global city reliant on the flow of businesspeople and tourists by air and drew global attention to their plight.

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: Stephan and Chenoweth define campaigns 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 can be contributed 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. Further, suppressing a nonviolent movement with force can drive public support -- domestic and international -- even more toward the aims of the social movement.

Non-violent methods do not involve hurting people or causing damage. However, over the course of an event, a nonviolent method may evolve into violence (lawless and destructive behavior). For example, a person may be giving a speech (nonviolent). Someone may object to the speech's content and start a riot (violent).



Source: Occupy Wall Street Analysis

9.3: A framework for explaining social movements is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **9.3: A Framework for Explaining Social Movements** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

9.4: Comparative Case Study - Workers' movements in Poland and China

Learning Objectives

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

- Apply components of social movement theory to two different worker-based social movements

Introduction

The 21sts century witnessed several labor movements, many of which were supported by the ideologies and theories of Karl Marx (1818-1883) regarding the divide between capitalists and workers. In this relationship, capitalists would exploit and squeeze as much labor out of workers for the lowest wages. Eventually, workers would realize the injustices of their situation, unite, and revolt. This action would lead to the creation of a socialist system characterized by economic redistribution. Then, the socialist state would evolve to become a stateless communist society of liberated labor.

In communist party-led states, labor unions are typically controlled by the communist party. Ironically, these workers have continued to organize and press for more rights and better working conditions. For example, in 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 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.

As this comparative case study will show, 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, China workers' protests have remained on the fringes.

Solidarity in Poland

From 1952 to 1989, Poland was under communist party rule, and part of the so-called Eastern Bloc. A mid-sized country located in central Europe, Poland neighbors Russia and many republics of the former Soviet Union (USSR), as well as the Baltic Sea to the north. Its capital is centrally located in Warsaw.

- **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



Source: Country Report

Beginning in 1970, workers organized protests in Poland. In 1980, a model shipyard worker from the Gdańsk shipyard was dismissed for engaging in free union organizing in the shipyards. This action triggered a major strike. Under communist rule, all unions were managed by the ruling party and free unions were forbidden. In response to Anna Walentynowicz's dismissal, more workers organized, calling 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. Gradually, the protests spread nationally, which required a national-level response from the Polish communist party. 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 the recognition of the Solidarity trade union by the government.

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 movement's popularity led Polish officials to declare martial law in 1981, and hundreds of Solidarity members were arrested. Within years, amnesty was declared and political prisoners were released.

During the 1980s, 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).

In addition, the social movement 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. That same year, communist rule was overturned with the election of Wałęsa to the Polish presidency in free and fair elections.

Fragmented labor in China



Source: Country Report

China has been under the rule of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) since 1949. The country's capital is Beijing, located in the northeast. However, economic gravity is near the wealthy urban centers of its eastern coastal region, which includes cities such as Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Guangzhou. The country'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.

While the Soviet Union and many other communist party-led states collapsed between 1989 to 1991, the CCP remained firmly in control of the Chinese state. The CCP did not emerge from this period unscathed. Major protests erupted nationwide in 1989, with popular calls for the liberalization of the political system. At the heart of this national movement was a student-led nonviolent protest 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.

Similar to other communist party systems, free unions in China are not allowed. Instead, workers are 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. As a result, the employment landscape for workers has changed. Specifically, the danwei system (work unit) no longer provides workers with the security and material benefits that they once enjoyed.

Workers were particularly restive from 2008 to 2012. For example, workers decided to strike at the Honda car factory in Guangdong province, which led to wage increases for workers. In addition, labor shortage, new labor laws, and greater media openness provided an opening for organized labor to press for gains. The Labor Contract Law provides a legal basis for a 40-hour week, payment of wages, and paid leave. Enforcement remains a perennial challenge, which provides the basis for more worker protests.

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 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 that restrict the operation of foreign nongovernmental organizations within the country. 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.
- The political opportunity structure varied significantly across Poland and China.
  - In Poland, there was an opening for government leadership to compromise with labor leaders, 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.
- There are also stark differences in organizational capacity.
  - 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 its workers in a variety of non-violent actions.

9.4: Comparative Case Study - Workers' movements in Poland and China is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **9.4: Comparative Case Study - Poland and China** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

9.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **9.5: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

9.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **9.6: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

10: Comparative Public Opinion

10.1: What is Comparative Public Opinion?

10.2: Political Socialization and Public Opinion

10.3: Measuring Public Opinion

10.4: Comparative Case Study - Barometers Around the World

10.5: References

10.6: Student Resources

10: Comparative Public Opinion is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

10.1: What is Comparative Public Opinion?

Learning Objectives

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

- Apply principles of public opinion across countries

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, 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."

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. In addition, it can be studied in the comparative context at three levels: conceptual, operational, and measurement. Interpreters of public opinion data can be elected and appointed officials, the media, interest groups and non-profit organizations, community leaders, and individual members of the general public. Information can be haphazardly interpreted, especially by individuals who are not trained in analyzing such data.

How does comparative public opinion differ from U.S. public opinion?

Comparative public opinion differs from U.S. public opinion in three ways.

- U.S. public opinion is interested in what the national sentiment is around particular policy and political issues, or 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, U.S. public opinion has a longer history, largely because surveys and polling have been used by the media, pollsters, and political scientists since the 1950s. Most non-American comparative public opinion surveys were developed after 2000.
- U.S. public opinion is only focused on the opinion of people in the United States. 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.

How can we evaluate research in comparative public opinion?

Evaluating research in comparative public opinion is exciting and challenging. For example, the notion of housing is conceptualized differently by people across these two countries. In some countries, public housing is largely available to individuals. In other countries, the government plays no role or little role in the process of providing housing. So when scientists ask the question: "what role should the government play in providing housing to individuals in need?", some 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 within a country.

Evaluating research also involves grappling with the conceptual, operational, and measurement levels of ideas, things, and people that may not directly translate between countries. Different languages are spoken in different parts of the world. Thus, unless a scientist is fluent in the languages and cultures of other countries, completing a comparison between two countries would be difficult.

10.1: What is Comparative Public Opinion? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **10.1: What is Comparative Public Opinion?** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

https://socialsci.libretexts.org/@go/page/150482

10.2: Political Socialization and Public Opinion

Learning Objectives

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

- Analyze how political socialization is discussed in contemporary comparative public opinion research

Public Opinion

Public opinion collectively refers to the views and opinions of the public at large. In the context of political science, inherent questions focus on the 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 a nationwide mask or vaccine mandates', 'support for a border wall', or 'beliefs in the legitimacy of one home country's elections. If a public official continually ignores his or her constituents, then there is the possibility of a negative backlash or electoral defeat in the next election.

The public can have mass opinions on different sorts of subjects, such as sports. However, recently non-political things have become increasingly politicized in the United States. Thus, knowing the public's opinion is valuable knowledge that elected officials should take into account when determining what issues to focus on, and how to go about solving problems.

Where do our opinions come from?

Where do our opinions come from? Most people derive their opinions from their beliefs and attitudes that form in early childhood. These core views and values guide us in how we make decisions or interpret the world. For example, one may believe in a higher power or God. Someone may have a strong belief in equality. While others may believe that American football is the greatest sport ever invented.

Attitudes also create opinions. For example, someone who has had negative experiences with the police may have a suspicious attitude regarding law enforcement. Conversely, someone who has had a 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

As defined in Chapter Six, political socialization is the process by which our political beliefs are formed over time.

- Parents and siblings are our largest sources of information throughout early childhood. For example, children who grow up in households where voting is expected will likely take a greater interest in voting themselves. If one's parents are politically active in a particular political party, the child will likely share, or at least at an early age, hold many of the same beliefs.
- Education is an impactful agent because of what is experienced in an academic environment, i.e. interactions with teachers, 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 have previously encountered racial or ethnic diversity.
- Someone's faith or religious belief system is impactful. For example, if someone attends church regularly, they are more likely to agree with the church's doctrine, and that faith will more actively inform their political points of view.
- 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.
- By choosing to focus on certain issues, the media can help us define what's important (Cook et al., 1983). Also, someone may hold off on forming an opinion about a political issue until they have heard a trusted commentator's take on the subject.

10.2: Political Socialization and Public Opinion is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **10.2: Political Socialization and Public Opinion** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

10.3: Measuring Public Opinion

Learning Objectives

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

- Understand how individual measures of public opinion affect aggregate measures of public opinion

Public Opinion Polls

The **public opinion poll** is the most common way to measure public opinion. Using this method, scientists interview (survey) a broad pool of citizens and draw inferences (reasonable guesses) from the responses.

Imagine you are making a large pot of spaghetti sauce. But you want to test the sauce before you serve it to others. By tasting a sample you can make a reasonable guess as to what the entire batch of sauce tastes like. The small spoon you use to test the sauce must contain all the ingredients and seasoning proportionally to 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? First, it must be representative, or have all the same features and elements as the larger body. To achieve this, researchers and political scientists use randomization when choosing respondents. Through this process, everyone 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 60 times, you'll probably get at least a couple of rolls with each number. If you rolled the dice 600 times, you'll get closer to 100 for each number. And if you rolled the dice 6000 times, you would get even closer to an equal distribution. 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**, which 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. 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. 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.

Focus Groups

Another way to measure public opinion is by using a **focus group,** or small subset of individuals that are exposed to a treatment of some kind and then are asked about their impressions of that treatment. In this format, group members are allowed to interject their opinions, which provides more real-life interaction that can be organically followed. 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.

Modes of Contact and Types of Polls

The best scientific polls are usually done over the phone by Random Digit Dial (RDD).

Advantages

- Computers can make contact with many individuals within a short period of time
- Phone numbers can be randomly dialed, which is one way to achieve a random sample
- Findings are more accurate

Disadvantages

- Biases against individuals who do not have phones, primarily only using cell phones
- Can be expensive (time to call thousands of respondents, collect, calculate, and interpret data)

Online polls have been used with greater frequency as technology has evolved. Potential problems will quickly manifest. Many people are skeptical of unknown sources. Low response rates make the results less accurate, because there is uncertainty as to what population is answering the question. Some pollsters may offer financial incentives (like a gift card or a lottery drawing) to improve their response rate, which create bias.

Examples of political polls

- Tracking Polls is a common tool used to measure approval ratings among public officials. It collects a sample over the period of a few days (typically 3-7), and uses a rolling sample. Contacts are made every day. New contacts are continually added to the sample while the older contacts are taken out. 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. Poll workers interview respondents as they leave the election site. This data is good because we are asking individuals about who they have actually voted for, instead of how they plan to vote. The shortcomings: these polls are conducted earlier in the day and use a tactic called systematic randomization (randomly choosing a single respondent and interviewing every third, fourth, or some other fixed number after).
- Push Polls are designed to provide information under the guise of measuring someone's opinion. Campaigns frequently use these to try to build false enthusiasm. 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 order 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. Imagine you are taking a poll at a Mizzou basketball game. You ask the attendants who is their basketball player. The results would be different than if you asked the same question among basketball fans nationwide.

Type of Poll	Description of Poll
straw	informal collection of opinion; non-random; not representative; pop-up question
tracking	repeated over time with same group of respondents; following policy or person
exit	taken as voters leave/exit the polling locations after an election
push	poll uses leading questions in an attempt to get a predetermined answer; may be used to influence a targeted audience with the skewed polling data
Type of Sample	**Description of Sample**
random	limited number of people from overall population selected; each person in overall population examined has equal chance of being chosen to participate in the poll
representative	group whose demographic distribution is similar to the overall population sought for the poll

Source: CourseHero

We often see non-scientific polls on partisan or news websites. These polls are not random, and those who complete the polls want to complete the poll. At the conclusion of the poll, the results are skewed. For example, let's say a conservative news network conducts a poll asking their viewers who won a debate. 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, there will be pitfalls.

- **Priming** effects are having a respondent think about a certain subject matter they would not normally be thinking about or thinking about at that time. For example, we contact a respondent and ask them if they prefer hamburgers at McDonald's or at Wendy's. After they respond, you ask them what they plan to eat for dinner that evening. And shockingly, they answer, “hamburger”. Of course, they could be telling you the truth. But would they have planned to eat a burger for dinner, if you hadn't asked the question?
- **Framing effects** are those that influence a respondent by how a question is presented. For example, imagine reading a newspaper article on the struggles of undocumented immigrants. Then, imagine reading an identical article, but it uses the word “illegal” instead. The tone of the entire article completely changes.
- A **social desirability effect** (also referred to as the ‘Bradley Effect’) occurs when some voters give inaccurate polling responses for fear that, by stating their true preference, they will open themselves to criticism. 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?
- **Band-wagon** effects are similar. In this case, respondents are influenced by the enthusiasm of those around them.

Political science studies rally around the flag effects phenomenon (Baum 2002). Typically, a sense of one’s identity as a citizen of a nation is activated, and one's political priorities temporarily change in response to an external threat. Thus, the dramatic spikes in public approval ratings occur during wartime, or at least in the beginning of an armed conflict. The suddenness of the spikes could also mean the opinions are less stable. For example, U.S. President George H. Bush’s public approval was in the 90s (out of 100) after Operation Desert Storm, yet he lost a presidential election less than two years later.

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.

10.3: Measuring Public Opinion is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **10.3: Measuring Public Opinion** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

10.4: Comparative Case Study - Barometers Around the World

Learning Objectives

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

- Evaluate the similarities and differences between two or more 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, for political scientists, the term means 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

Below is a table that summarizes eight (8) of the most well-known 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 the 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

Afrobarometer

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.

Conducted in 2019, the questionnaire for the country of Botswana was 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 the Summary of results: Afrobarometer Round 8 survey in Botswana in 2019.

Arab Barometer

According to its website, the Arab Barometer“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, specifically the countries of Algeria, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Iraq. This wave consisted of three parts from July-October 2020, October 2020, and March-April 2021. The Part 1 questionnaire featured eight 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.”

The core questionnaire of the Asian Barometer is currently in its fifth wave (2018 to 2021). The fourth wave (2014 to 2016) surveyed 14 countries, including 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, ranging 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.”

The Eurasia Barometer has been inactive since 2018, but previous examples did include 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. No survey results or summaries appear to be readily available.

Latino Barometer

Latinobarómetro 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. 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. In Ecuador, there were 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. A more recent one is the 2016 Taiwanese elections.

The CNEP has developed, and maintained, a common core of questionnaire items that are asked in country-specific surveys. Approximately 100 questions are spread across 14 themes, including 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.

Unlike other surveys, such as the Afrobarometer and Latino Barometer, the survey results are not 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 the ability in using specialized data analysis software.

The results 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 for research and analysis purposes. The technical report describes the county and year, the timing of interviews, the survey organization that conducted the poll, the sponsor of the survey, the sampling method, the mode of survey (face-to-face, online, telephone, etc.), and the population covered.

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, is available in both Spanish and English, and has been administered nine times since 2004.

The most current survey, from 2021, includes two unique elements. First, by using a split-sample design, 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?". 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. This action means that the questions are randomly assigned to survey respondents. 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.

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 original wave occurred in 1981. The latest, or 7th wave, was conducted from 2017 to 2020 across 51 countries and territories.

The Master Survey Questionnaire 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, which "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.”

According to 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 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.

Contributor(s)

2022 version: Byran Martin, Ph.D. and Josh Franco, Ph.D.

10.4: Comparative Case Study - Barometers Around the World is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **10.4: Comparative Case Study - Barometers Around the World** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

10.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **10.5: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.d

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.

10.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **10.6: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

11: Political Violence

11.1: What is Political Violence?

11.2: State-sponsored political violence

11.3: Non-state political violence

11.4: How Does Political Violence End? Post-Conflict Strategies

11.5: Comparative Case Study - Conflict Termination - Bangladesh and Turkey

11.6: References

11.7: Student Resources

11: Political Violence is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

11.1: What is Political Violence?

Learning Objectives

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

- Explain the differences between forms of political violence

Introduction

"When is violence considered political?" First, let's define the concept of **violence**. Kalyvas (2006) states that "[a]t the basic level, violence is the deliberate infliction of harm on people". While harm can come in many types, such as social or economic oppression, political violence exclusively focuses on physical violence or 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. The simple act of violence itself does not make it political. There is another step. **Political violence** occurs when the use of physical harm is motivated by political intentions.

Differentiating when an act of violence is criminal or political can be tricky. The drug 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, the Mexican drug trafficking groups are politically violent. However, 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. Thus, they are not 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.

Are interstate wars, or wars between two or more countries, considered political violence? The answer generally is no. The vast majority of political violence transpires within a state. 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. The individuals are "participating" as a member of a sovereign state.

When classifying different forms of political violence, think about who is using the violence. Generally speaking, at least one of the parties is a **non-state actor**, "an individual or organization that has significant political influence but is not allied to any particular country or state" (Lexico, n.d.). Examples include non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, and trade unions. Insurgents, guerilla groups, and terrorists may also be considered non-state actors. 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. **Transnational political violence** is 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 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.

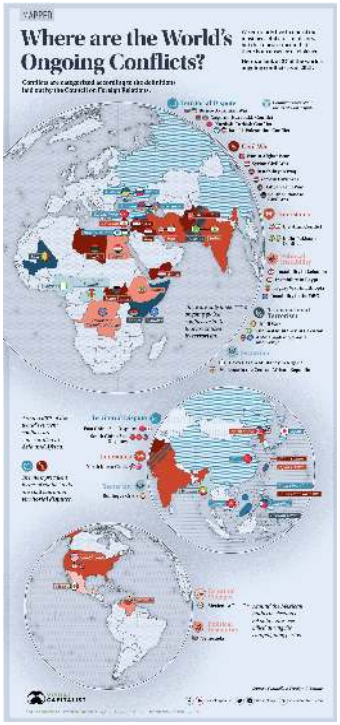
Since the 1990s, terrorism has become transnational, with the rise of groups such as al-Qaeda, their affiliates, and offspring. These actors blur the line between comparative politics and international relations. As countries have allied to combat transnational terrorist activity, their responses could 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, there are several categories of political violence.

- state-sponsored political violence occurs when a government uses violence either against its own citizens (**internal sponsored political violence)** or against foreign citizens, usually in neighboring countries (**external sponsored political violence)**
- non-state sponsored political violence involves insurgencies, civil wars, revolutions, and terrorism

Mapped: Where are the World's Ongoing Conflicts Today?

Click here for a full-screen version of this image, as well as an explanation.



11.1: What is Political Violence? is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **11.1: What is Political Violence?** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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

Introduction

States have a '**monopoly on the use of violence**'. In other words, only the state and its institutions, such as the police or the military, have the authority to use violence, *when necessary*. 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, and 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.

Sometimes, on global TV stations, there are images of protesters beaten in the streets, or 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, the 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). Who exactly gets to decide who is a threat, and in turn define them as an enemy, is left to debate. Political leaders often use the word government terrorism, or state-sponsored terrorism, to describe actions taken by their political opposition. Similarly, people also apply the word to unpopular decisions made by leaders that have had harmful repercussions.

In political science, terrorism has a specific meaning. **Terrorism** is a violent act that generally targets noncombatants for political purposes. This violence may be carried out by *nonstate* actors. The goal of terrorism is to use violence to disrupt and place fear among the general population as a way to put pressure on government leaders. Terrorists hope that this pressure will lead to changes in government policy that they find favorable.

Different governments approach the use of political violence differently.

> In democratic regimes, political violence 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. In presidential systems, this decision often falls to the President. Both leaders may consult intelligence agencies or the national defense council which may 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.
>
> In authoritarian regimes, a similar process plays out, but with some important differences. The executive level decides who the enemy is. Whether it is a Prime Minister, President, or Premier making that call is irrelevant. 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. Thus, the propensity for political violence may be greater in authoritarian regimes. As there are fewer 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 to designate 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. 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. In addition, it 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, those who act against a state may be arrested or detained. 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 would be a group that espouses an apocalyptic ideology, that may lack any political goals, but still, desire the destruction of their home government. 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 to invoke wider security measures that could affect society at large.

  Political violence can occur through vigilante groups, paramilitaries, and other armed groups. In many countries, these groups may not have the explicit support of the state. Rather, it is implicit. 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, governments may claim that they exert no control or influence over the group's actions.

- In authoritarian countries, repression through violence may be an official state policy, also known as **overt repression as policy**. The Soviet Union under Stalin, Nazi Germany under Hitler, Cambodia when ruled by the Khmer Rouge, and Afghanistan in the 1990s, all adopted explicit repressive policies of violence towards people and segments of their population. For example, 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 into the wrong group. Finally, the Taliban targeted minority groups, such as the Hazaras.

  In addition to overt repression, there is **covert repression as policy,** those actions undertaken by secret police services, or domestic intelligence agencies. Such use of violence against individuals or groups is often done secretively with society unaware that these violent actions are taking place. Some intelligence agencies, such as in Syria or Iraq and 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. For example in former East Germany, the *Stasi*, or the State Security Service, became infamous for its network of informants. They used this network to terrify the population and use that fear to target those who might oppose the regime.

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 occurring. 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. **State-sponsored terrorism** is 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.

- **Patronage model of state-sponsored terrorism** is when a state *actively* participates and encourages terrorist actions in other countries.
  - An example is Iran's support for Hezbollah, 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. In addition, they have directly confronted Israel. 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).

- **Assistance model of state-sponsored terrorism** is when a state *tacitly* supports and encourages terrorist actions in other countries.
  - An example would be Pakistan's tacit support for Lashkar-e-Taiba. Lashkar-e-Taiba roughly translates as 'army of the righteous/pure'. This Pakistani-based terrorist organization 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, and it still operates within Pakistan through a number of offshoot groups (Macander, 2021).



11.2: State-sponsored political violence is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **11.2: State-Sponsored Political Violence** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

11.3: Non-state political violence

Learning Objectives

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

- Explain the differences between civil wars, insurgencies, and guerilla warfare, as well as terrorism and revolution.

Introduction

As we stated earlier, a non-state actor is a political actor not associated with a government. Generally speaking, non-state political violence is by the type of action, rather than the type of actor. 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 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. Remember, political violence is defined as the use of physical harm motivated by political intentions.

According to Sambanis (2004), to meet the definition of civil war, 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, 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 (1860-1865) killed over 600,000 people, and its scars are still felt to this day. Given this, most scholars have adopted a numerical threshold of 1,000 deaths when defining political violence, according to the Correlates of War project. However, strict application of this 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 relies 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, and is closely related to the concept of a rebellion. Insurgents claim that they represent the will of the people against a government that no longer represents them. For many insurgents then, the ultimate goal is the overthrow of the government, which in that case makes them revolutionaries. 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 faced against the state. Even in a situation where the state is facing extinction as a functioning political entity, the state still often has overwhelming firepower. As such, the challenging side needs to be creative and innovative 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. This tactic occurs when small, lightly armed bands use military tactics, including ambushes, sabotage, raids, petty warfare, hit-and-run tactics, and mobility, to fight a larger and less-mobile traditional military. These fighters usually do not engage in mass mobilization practices. Unlike insurgents who claim to represent the will of people, guerillas tend to represent the interests of certain groups, and not necessarily the entire population.

What causes civil wars? Earlier literature on the onset of civil wars focused on grievances (Gurr, 1993). These grievances often revolve around economic, social, and political rights, as well as demand for political autonomy. They also contribute to the likelihood of communal mobilization, which can lead to political violence Especially, 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. Thus, 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, leaders can point to legitimizing their cause and propelling the movement. As the

level of grievances increases within a group, the easier it becomes for leaders to recruit potential rebels. Eventually, rebellion and civil war can occur.

Collier and Hoeffler (2004) argue that “the incidents of rebellion are not explained by motive, but by the atypical circumstances that generate profitable opportunity”. More specifically, factors associated with the cost of and the availability of financing the rebellion, the relative military advantage of the potential rebel group, and the pattern of demographic dispersion are robust indicators of whether rebellion is an attractive option for opportunistic actors. In addition, rebellion is most likely when participants have low incomes. The basic idea: if joining the rebel movement appears to be more profitable for the individuals, 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. In other words, an insurgency can be viable and sustained under certain conditions: mountainous terrain, contiguous cross border 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

Terrorism is a violent act that generally targets noncombatants for political purposes. Religion, ethno-racial factors, and extreme political ideology can be primary motivations for extreme groups to resort to violence. 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 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.”
- rational choice explanations center around the idea that 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 cost of such behavior and produces the highest expected utility, then such an act becomes the most strategically sound option for a group.

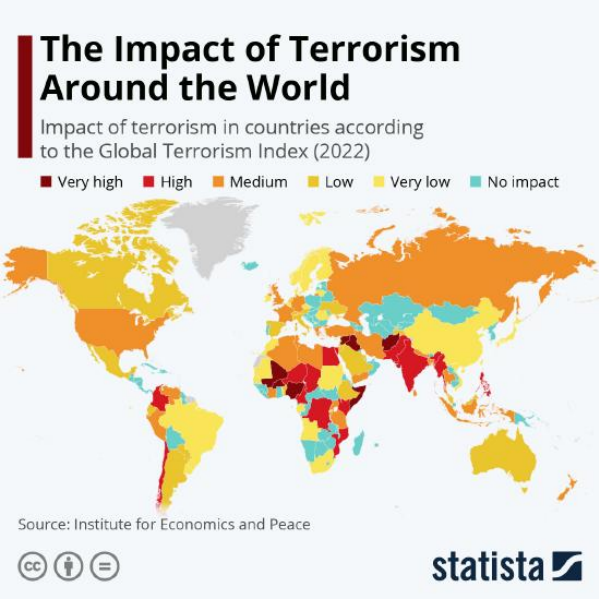
If the United States military were to fight an existing terrorist group on U.S. soil, the U.S. would most likely win. Thus, most terrorist groups to do deploy large-scale units on US soil. Instead, a terrorist group may attack the US where it is most vulnerable - targeting noncombatant targets, such as civilians. On September 11th, 2001, 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 was to put pressure on the US government to change its foreign policy and international behavior. If we were to use the rational choice explanation of terrorism, then the 9/11 attacks were committed by a group engaged in a willful strategy to accomplish a political outcome.

The effectiveness of non-state terrorism is mixed. Terrorist action can lead to a specific change in government policy. However, there have been few notable overall shifts in foreign policy. For example, in 2004, al-Qaeda bombed several train stations in Madrid as a reaction to the Spanish government's involvement in the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. The attacks took place right before the national elections and 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.

Terrorist action can cause unintended government policy changes. For example, the 9/11 attackers did not intentionally desire to change airport policies in the US. Yet 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, 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.

Sometimes the stated purposes of a terrorist organization fail completely. The Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) called for the creation of a caliphate, which is essentially a state run by Islamic political authorities, in the areas of Syria and Iraq. A caliph is believed 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 U.S. forces largely defeated ISIS in 2019. Even though ISIS committed 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. One way is to cut off terrorist financing 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. The European Union (EU) has worked to deradicalize convicted terrorists, as well as 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.)



A full-screen version of this image is available here: The Impact of Terrorism Around the World

Revolution

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. Even the participants of the protest have used the word in their slogan, "Liberate Hong Kong, the Revolution of Our Times." While journalists can use the word, generally speaking describing the struggle as a revolution may not be appropriate.

According to Skocpol (1979), a **revolution** is 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 characteristic differentiates from other types of political violence, such as a coup d'etat. 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. However, a revolution 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 a regime change, such actions are classified under other types of political violence (e.g., civil war).

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is a great example of a revolution. 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. In 1923, the success of the communists led to a dramatic reordering of Russian society. A largely agrarian society was collectively industrialized in the ensuing decades, and new social norms were introduced.

In some cases, revolutions may occur without violence. Nonviolence tactics can include protests, boycotts, sit-ins, and civil disobedience. 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 d'etat per se, as a coup d'etat is led by military elites. In other words, 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.

The fall of communist regimes is an example of a non-violent revolution. The Soviet Union had 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 occurred in Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (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.

11.3: Non-state political violence is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **11.3: Non-State Political Violence** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

11.4: How Does Political Violence End? Post-Conflict Strategies

Learning Objectives

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

- Evaluate the difference between peacekeeping and peacemaking

Introduction

How does political violence end? A negotiated settlement leaves the organizational capacity of both sides intact, making a future resumption of 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 low.

Here's an example. Sri Lanka is a nondemocracy, with a history of significant discrimination against non-Buddhist minority groups. 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. The LTTE carried out its first major attack on July 23rd, 1983, also known as Black July, and the start of the Sri Lankan Civil War. For over 25 years, the war caused significant hardships for the population, environment, and economy of the country, with an initial estimated 80,000–100,000 people killed during its course.

In late 2005, the government launched a number of major military offensives, driving the LTTE out of the entire Eastern province of the island. In 2007, the government shifted its offensive to the north, taking 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. This action led the LTTE to finally admit defeat on 17 May 2009. The pro-LTTE Tamil National Alliance dropped its demand for a separate state, in favor of a federal solution.

Ending Political Violence

Rebel victories often end in political transformation, with the new regime often embracing democracy, though not always. 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. Remember, if a rebel group wins, its capacity to wage violence is still intact.

Civil wars can end and lead to peace through negotiated settlements. When rebels, insurgents, guerillas, or terrorists disarm, they worry not just about their own safety, but also the needs of the groups they were fighting for. A negotiated settlement often involves the recentralization of power in certain areas where a government reasserts its authority, such as in 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. Thus, minimum safeguards must be in place to protect their interests.

Peacekeeping

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. Thus, there needs to be a third-party guarantor of the settlement. 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.). They can help prevent violence from reoccurring by monitoring the behavior of the former belligerents; and, in some cases, enforcing the agreed-upon provisions. In addition, peacekeepers may help prevent mistakes and miscommunications that could lead to the resumption of violence. Finally, peacekeepers can also prevent the potential abuse of former rebels.

Peacekeeping has been relatively successful since the 1940s, reducing 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

- Consent-based (traditional) peacekeepers are peacekeepers that have been invited by the belligerents.
- Non-consent or non-invited peacekeeping also occurs. For example, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) imposes a security force in an area, such as in Bosnia and Kosovo during the Yugoslavia Wars of the 1990s.

Peacekeepers are important even when there are strong financial incentives to still fight, such as when lootable resources are involved, such as oil, minerals, and precious metals that can confer wealth on those who own, mine, or transport them.

As part of a post-conflict strategy, peacebuilding efforts are relatively successful because it aims to restructure the political, economic as well as social institutions in a country. This action often includes building stronger institutions, encouraging mass political participation, and promoting respect for societal diversity. Doyle and Sambanis (2000) suggest several other strategies, including 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 United Nation (UN) peacekeepers are present.

11.4: How Does Political Violence End? Post-Conflict Strategies is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **11.4: Post-Conflict Strategies** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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. 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. (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). Eventually, the LIC can become a full-scale conflict, such as a civil war.

Through the post-conflict dynamics, 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 relationship between the Kurdish minority and the Turkish government during their long-running civil war, and the relationship between the Jummas (Hills people) and the Bangladeshi government.

Mill's Method of Difference (most similar systems) approach will be used between the two cases by comparing past history and 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. While the Turkish government heavily employed indiscriminate violence, the Bangladeshi government was more selective when using violence to counter insurgents. (Indiscriminate violence is the use of violence that is random in nature.)

Similarities stem from the 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 its respective ethnic minority, as part of its own nation-building process.
- Each country sought to forcibly assimilate the 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





Sources: Edmaps.com and Country Reports, respectively.

The Kurds are an ethnic group, speaking an Indo-Iranian language, and native to the mountainous region of Kurdistan. Kurdistan is not an independent state recognized by the United Nations. Instead, the population is dispersed among four countries: Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran. After following devastating civil wars, Kurdish groups gained a level of self-government in Iraq and Syria. 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.

In Turkey, Kurdish interests have historically been represented by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). The continued use of indiscriminate violence, such as torture, kidnappings, disappearance, and summary executions, provided a strong incentive for Kurds to support the PKK. PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan was captured in 1999, which meant a symbolic ending to the war. Öcalan publicly announced that relying on violence to resolve the Kurdish struggle was a mistake and endorsed seeking a non-violent political solution. He ordered high-ranking PKK officers to surrender, of which 16 individuals turned themselves in. Kuridh public opinion supported Öcalan's endorsement of a nonviolent approach. As a result, PKK violence and Turkish government reprisals declined. For the first time in many decades, the Kurdish region of Turkey experienced a period of relative calm.

However, this action did not mean that tension faded. Public demonstrations still took place, especially over mistreatment. Violent clashes between the two sides led to a resumption of political violence just a decade later. This time, rather than just focusing on Kurdish leaders, the Turkish government also targeted noncombatant villagers, mostly women and children (Yildiz, 2005; Yildiz & Breau, 2010). The government essentially reverted back to its reprisals before the capture of Öcalan.

The persistence of indiscriminate violence against the Kurdish minority noncombatants has shaped the narrative of the overall conflict. For many, the capture of Öcalan meant the end of the insurgency. However, Kurds were targeted even when someone desired to remain neutral. In sum, the post-conflict environment, where Turkish government reprisals have continued, the Kurds have been motivated 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



Sources: Country Reports and Google images, respectively

The Jummas, or hill people, are a group of ethnically distinct tribes living in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area of Bangladesh. Just like Turkey, Bangladesh attempted to forcefully and violently assimilate all minority groups. This action prompted armed challenges from members who faced oppression.

Originally, the government of Bangladesh relied on the use of intimidation and coercion regarding the Jummas. The noncombatant population was also subject to indiscriminate violence. A change in attitude and government policy towards the Jummas made peace possible. In 1983, the government of Bangladesh offered a 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. Instead of indiscriminate violence, 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. Deliberation and transparency, coupled with a tremendous reduction in the use of force, allowed for a relative period of peace to emerge and set the stage for a series of peace negotiations that ultimately culminated in the Chittagong Hill Tract Peace Accord of 1997.

The commitment of the government of Bangladesh and the tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts to finding a political solution to the civil war produced a successfully negotiated settlement that is still in effect to this date, despite some lingering issues.

11.5: Comparative Case Study - Conflict Termination - Bangladesh and Turkey is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **11.5: Comparative Case Study - Bangladesh and Turkey** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

11.6: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **11.6: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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 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 categories. 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. An example would be Turkey and its treatment of the Kurdish minority. Alternatively, if a government uses selective violence in its counterinsurgency strategy, only targeting those who actively participate in political violence, then a negotiated settlement is possible. In Bangladesh, the government did not target ordinary Jumma people, so they did not feel compelled 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.

11.7: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **11.7: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

12: Challenges and Questions in Comparative Politics

12.1: Challenges and Questions

12.2: Pressure From Above - Globalization

12.3: Pressure from Below - Fragmentation

12.4: Conclusion

12.5: References

12.6: Student Resources

12: Challenges and Questions in Comparative Politics is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

12.1: Challenges and Questions

Learning Objectives

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

- Discuss why comparative politics still matters

Introduction

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. However, states are no longer the only actors 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 provisions. 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 in studying comparatively? Are we better off focusing on 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 Covid-19 Pandemic disrupted global supply chains, causing shortages in products throughout countries. Alternatively, countries are increasingly fragmented along ethnic, racial, or religious lines, such as Ethiopia or India. Other countries struggling with intense politics in the wake of the pandemic. For example, while the U.S. and Brazil may both be hyperpolarized, they are clearly two different countries, with two vastly different historical trajectories and outcomes. Given these challenges, is there a value in studying comparatively?

Our direct answer is yes. 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. Why? The state remains the central actor. During the Covid-19 pandemic, responses to the virus were overwhelmingly 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 the Covid-19 policies. It took quite a bit of time for the European Commission to provide a coherent policy (Goniewicz, et. al. 2020). Responses to Covid-19 are also compared cross-nationally. In June 2020, research suggested a bivariate (two variates) relationship between a country's Global Health Security Index Score and its death rates.

What about pressures from below? During Covid-19, 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. For example, India has 28 states and 8 union territories. In April and May 2021, individual states, such as Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra, were caught off guard by the swift rise in cases. According to 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 prepared and could even export supplies to neighboring states.

Can the world really be globalizing and fragmenting at the same time? The answer is yes. Right after the Cold War ended, Barber (1992) wrote *Jihad vs. McWorld*, in which 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 used 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 noted that neither force is democratic. McWorld requires "order and tranquility" and not necessarily freedom. Whereas Jihad is "grounded in exclusion", parochial by definition, and achieves solidarity through warfare.

Most comparativists research aspects of the state, such as their regime type, political economy, or episodes of political violence, including terrorist attacks, and then compare across states. Thus, the paradoxical forces of globalization and fragmentation have been less central in the study of comparative politics. How these two forces fit into this subfield is the focus of this chapter.

12.1: Challenges and Questions is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **12.1: Recurring Challenges** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

12.2: Pressure From Above - Globalization

Learning Objectives

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

- Distinguish between globalization and glocalization.
- Reflect on how globalization affects individuals and influences government policy.

Introduction

The collapse of the Soviet Union created interesting thoughts among the global community. Democracy defeated authoritarianism. Capitalism defeated communism. The West, led by the US and her NATO allies, had triumphed. Liberalism, 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. Free-market, capitalist liberal democracies were the endgame. In other words, the world was witnessing the end of history. Of course, we know now that not all of these statements are true or accurate.

In simple terms, **globalization** is the process by which people and goods move easily across borders. However, political scientists disagree on how and what it is. 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. Over time, the economies of the world would come together, pushing for a new global society based on capitalism, democracy, and liberalism.

In response, Steger (2020) suggested that globalization is more than just the advent of economic capitalism, or of Western values replacing local traditions. His ideas were based on the theory of **glocalization**, the practice of conducting business according to both local and global considerations. Worldwide interconnectivity is thickening the relationships between people, companies, and countries. Thus, it has become difficult to separate what happens within a country to what happens outside of it.

> *Globalization is about growing worldwide interconnectivity.*

At some level, these interconnections have always existed. Some argue that globalization has its roots in the ancient trade routes on land and sea. Others claim the heyday of European empire-making, when Britain, France, the Netherlands, and other countries colonized large swaths of the world, was the first wave of globalization. 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 globalization began, there is no doubt that globalization, as a process, has had an impact on how we consume, act, think, and even pray.

Economic Globalization

Free-market capitalism has been identified as the driving force in contemporary globalization. **Neoliberalism** is a newer form of (classical) liberalism, and is much more focused on economic freedoms. It takes the classical liberal arguments of private property, legal enforcement of contracts, the 'invisible hand' of the market, and principles of free market capitalism within a country, and applies them to the global community. 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. There are several organizations that evolved from this system.

- **World Bank**, an international institution that provides loans and financial assistance to developing countries, primarily by funding industrial projects

- **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, which manages the global monetary system and provides loans to countries that experience a currency crisis
- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which later became the **World Trade Organization (WTO)** supervises the trade agreements between countries, with the aim of promoting free trade

The collective effort of the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO in promoting neoliberalism is labeled the **Washington Consensus**. Scholars, policymakers, and politicians argued that D-L-P would lead to free trade between countries and foreign direct investment.

- **Free trade** is the unregulated trade of goods and services between countries, usually through the reduction of import and export controls
- **Foreign direct investment (FDI)** is a 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. Agricultural workers 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, too. These changes would promote 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 **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.

For many, this future has materialized. Research has shown that economic globalization has led to dramatic global economic growth, accompanied by 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. Since the Cold War, **international institutions,** bodies of authority above the state that codify, maintain, and sometimes enforce, sets of rules that govern state behavior, have increased in importance. Examples include United Nations (UN), the World Bank, the IMF, and the World Bank. Initially, some political scientists believed that national governments would wither away and that some version of a world government would develop. Now, few, if any, believe this to be the case. Instead, **global governance** emerged, a collective effort of the world's countries to find lasting solutions to global problems through the constellation of international institutions.

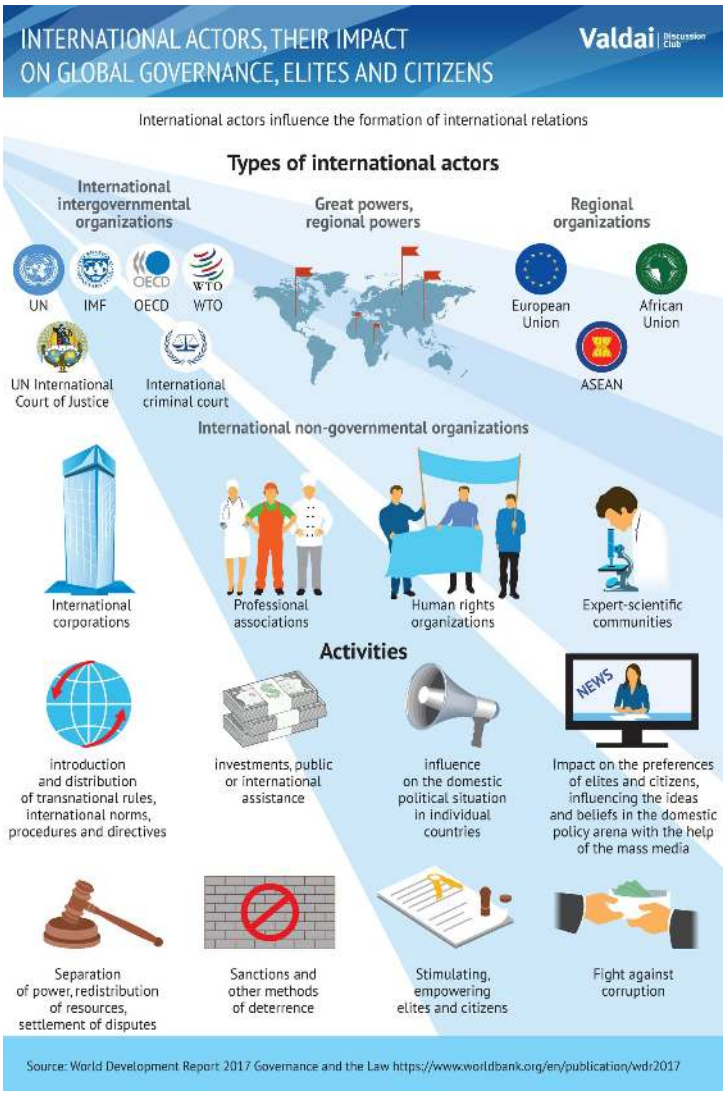
During the Covid-19, global governance has been called into question as countries sought to address the spread and containment of the virus on their own. The US, UK, EU, Russia, and China all developed their own vaccines. Some countries eschewed cooperation with international institutions, such as the World Health Organization (WHO). For example, former U.S. President Trump's administration accused the WHO of being insufficiently critical of China, where the Covid-19 virus originated, and went as far as to rescind the US's annual contribution to 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 is still important.

In addition to international institutions, there are non-state actors. Non-state actors are "an individual or organization that has significant political influence but is not allied to any particular country or state" (Lexico, n.d). These individuals 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 Mcdonald's 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**, private, voluntary organizations that unite, usually for action on specific issues. NGOs lie outside the traditional structure of international politics, while having a significant impact on world affairs. Their power derives from a variety of sources, most notably that of moral authority, where members believe that the cause they are fighting for is righteous. Using media strengthens and promotes their cause.

Finally, political globalization has focused on the process of democratization. The diffusion of capitalist beliefs would be accompanied by 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. Globalization would mean greater cooperation between countries to address global problems, such as climate change or terrorism.

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' economies, the closing of borders, and the granting of emergency powers during the Covid-19 pandemic suggest the shift toward authoritarianism may accelerate.



For a full-screen image of this graphic, click here International Actors, Their Impact on Global Governance, Elites and Citizens

Cultural Globalization

Cultural globalization has been affected by the movement of people and the ever-growing flow of information brought on by newer technologies. Ideally, scholars thought that the peoples of the world would eventually coalesce into one global civil society. Steger (2020) called this idea a **global imaginary,** or people's growing consciousness of global connectivity, where people think of themselves as global citizens first.

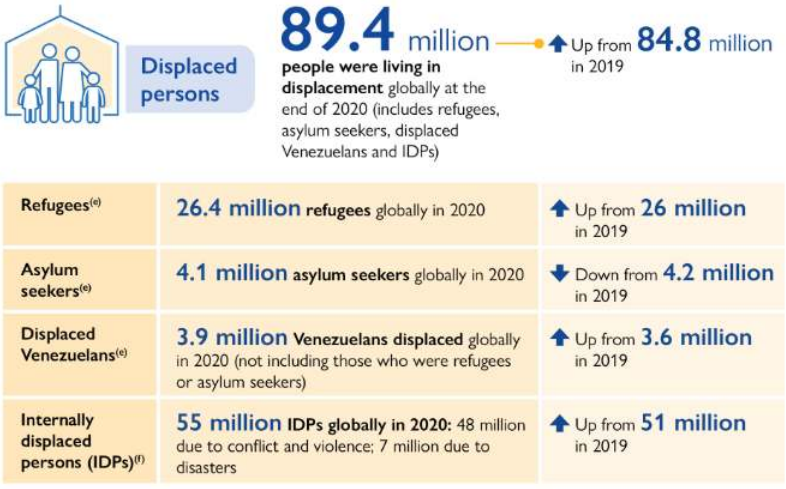
Cultural forms are re-used to fashion new identities in diverse contexts. Changes affect how we view ourselves and others, as well as our daily lives and those around us. For example, migration can have a nativist effect on the receiving country. Too much migration often leads to a rise in anti-immigrant sentiment among the public, which is sometimes accompanied by xenophobia and discriminatory action.

Migration

Since the Cold War, migrations have increased. These movements between countries are categorized in two ways.

- **Intentional migration** is when a person chooses to move from one place to another.
  - **Immigrants** are migrants who willingly and legally left their home countries to work and live in another country. They often have needed skill sets or investment capital.
  - **Sojourners** are migrants who temporarily live in a place and return to their home country. Examples include international and study abroad students, as well as temporary labor.
- **Unintentional migration** is when a person does not choose to move from one place to another.
  - A **refugee** is a person outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence who has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, or membership in a particular social group.
  - A **temporary asylee** 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 and 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. As a result, these people are among the most vulnerable in the world.

Each year, the UN's International Organization for Migration produces an annual report. Due to the time it takes to comply data, the results are often 1-2 years behind the calendar year. This image is a small snippet of a much larger infographic. For the complete graphic, view the World Migration Report 2022.



Internet

The **Internet** and the rise in social media are two of the key changes in how we receive our information. Instant access to websites, document repositories, blogs, discussion communities, and news resources vastly expands an individual's ability to access greater social information. We live in a digital world where 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 attempt to severely restrict access to information. Anyone can blog, which democratizes access to information and allows people 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, users and activists find ways around it. For example, even before the Arab Spring protests began, youth movements had been organized 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. In fact, 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”.

During the protests of early 2011, the Mubarak regime blocked Internet use. So, 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, the protesters published an “Egypt Wiki page – a “how-to” list for activists to get online and stay connected, started using text messages to organize their marches” (al Jazeera, 2016). Protesters also went analog by creating 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, e.g. more citizens taking to the streets, further fueling the revolution.

12.2: Pressure From Above - Globalization is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **12.2: Globalization** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

12.3: Pressure from Below - Fragmentation

Learning Objectives

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

- 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. Fracturing can take place at the individual level, the domestic level, and the global level.

The post-Cold War era has seen rapid changes in the way people work, communicate, buy, learn, and in some cases, physically survive. As such, individually, people are becoming less trustworthy of the world around them. Steger and James (2019) called it the **Great Unsettling**, where earlier ways of acting and knowing have been upended through globalization, causing uneasiness among people. By this, the authors mean relations between "people, machines, regimes, objects, [and] nature" that have defined our lives. An example is the ubiquity of technology and our reliance on it, especially during the pandemic. We use technology to order food, attend classes, and even date. The authors contend that for some people, there is a desire to 'return' to the past, when life was simpler.

Domestically, fragmentation is happening in two ways.

- 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 idea was represented by the Christian Democrats on the right and the Social Democrats on the left. Since the Global Financial Crisis (2007-2008) voters have had less faith in established parties.
- Devolution was designed to bring democracy closer to the people through the empowerment 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.

- The development of economic nationalism usually involves actions taken by a country to protect its economy from outside competition and influences such as tariffs, import quotas, and subsidies.
- Growing geopolitical tension between major powers has occurred. For example, China and Russia see themselves as global powers in their own right and are pushing back against US hegemony. China is asserting itself in the 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 decried the potential NATO membership of neighboring Ukraine.

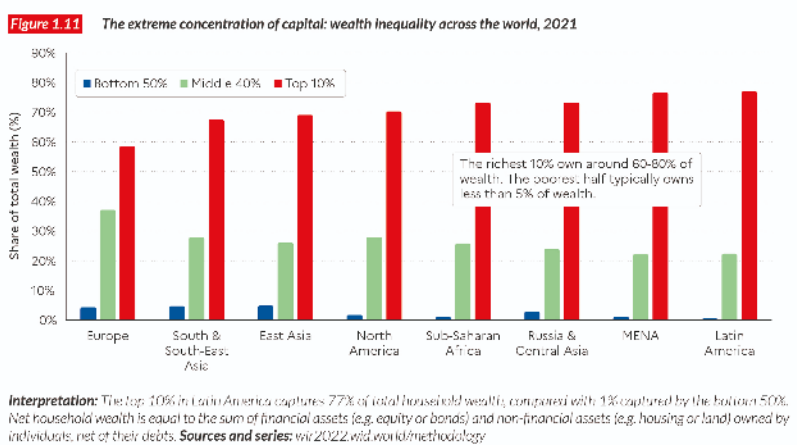
Economic Fragmentation

Economic fragmentation is intimately linked to globalization. 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. The pandemic has only made these issues more acute.

Neoliberal economies are deregulated and concentrated in their capital. Thus, 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.

The World Inequality Lab is a research laboratory focusing on the study of inequality worldwide. The WIL hosts the World Inequality Database, the most extensive public database on global inequality dynamics. This image is taken from the World Inequality Report 2022.

The lab breaks the world into regions for comparative studies.



Political Fragmentation

Job losses in manufacturing and other labor positions have a direct effect on domestic politics in democracies, as does the rise of populism, especially national populism. **Populism** is built on an appeal to the people, is often a denunciation of the elite, and promotes the idea that politics should be an expression of the general will. Ideologically, it can occur on both the left and right sides of the political spectrum.

Leftist populism is characterized by a combination of populism with some form of socialism where the ‘worker’ needs protection from globalization. Its goal is to prioritize class allegiance over national attachment. Leftist populists see capitalists as greedy, and 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. In the aggregate, they 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. In addition, they tend to use nationalistic slogans such as “take our country back!” or “make America great again!”

National-Populism centers on three “threats”:

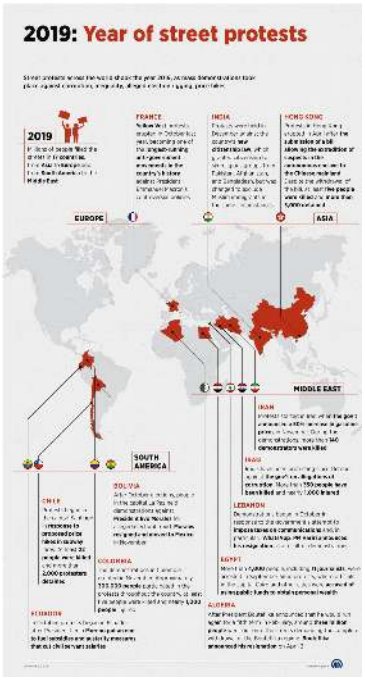
- Threats to one’s employment (economic threat hypothesis)
- Threats to one’s cultural or national identity (cultural threat hypothesis)
- Threats to one’s personal security or physical safety (security threat hypothesis)

Societal Fragmentation

The Global Financial Crisis (2007/2008) exposed serious cracks in global civil society. Belief in the future of globalization was muted, and unemployment levels increased. This event 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.

In 2019, the "Year of Protests" occurred. Most of these protests were sparked by local issues, such as rising fuel prices or dissatisfaction with a leader. Others demonstrators shared grievances centered around economic inequality, government corruption, and poor governance. In fact, in Chile, the protests led to a complete rewrite of the country’s constitution.

To see a full-screen image, click here 2019: Year of street protests compiled by the Turkish Press



The Covid-19 pandemic has led to an explosion of protests. According to the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED), protests actually *increased* 7% in 2020. At first, the protests were against the lockdowns of societies. Then, vaccine mandates led to more protests. Most protesters framed closures and mandates as government overreach and argued they were fighting for their freedoms.

Another example of societal fragmentation is **Brexit,** 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 and opted to not enter into three major EU projects:

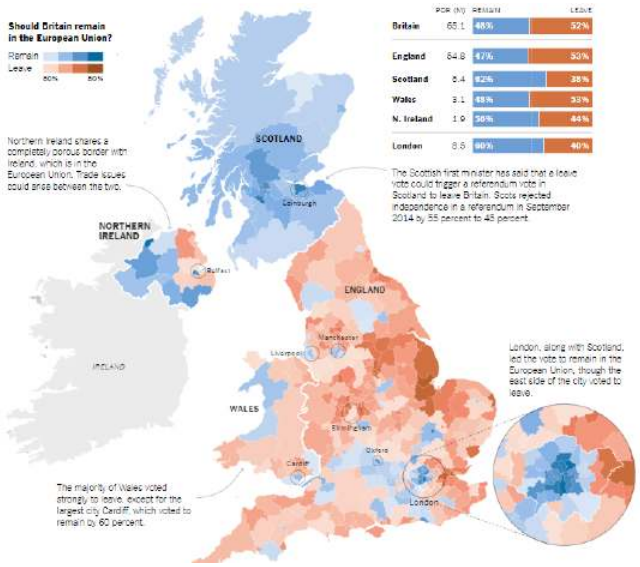
- the Schengen Agreement, where citizens of the EU can move freely without a passport
- the monetary union, where countries adopted the Euro
- the Charter of Fundamental Rights

Traditionally, the UK has been a global leader in the promotion of neoliberalism. The Global Financial Crisis deeply affected the UK, and 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, which forced then Prime Minister 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 people 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 to leave. '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 toward a political union that arguably took the UK out.

Brexit has led to serious economic and political consequences. Scotland voted to remain. Indeed, 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, where the UK shares a land border with Ireland, an EU member-state. To halt the free movement of European citizens into Britain, they would have to erect 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, will it become more difficult for Europe to coordinate meaningful policies?

To see a full-screen image, visit How Britain Voted in the E.U. Referendum published by the New York Times



12.3: Pressure from Below - Fragmentation is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **12.3: Fragmentation** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

Concluding Thoughts

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, in states, and in countries. Likewise, fragmentation is fracturing the world we live in, and being 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. Cultivating an understanding of why social, political, and economic outcomes occur is a precondition for approaching solutions to complex global problems. Conversely, it is important to learn why certain processes have failed, and what those failures mean.

12.4: Conclusion is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **12.4: Concluding Thoughts** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

12.5: References is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **12.5: References** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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? Yes, since 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 has 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

---

12.6: Student Resources is shared under a CC BY-NC 4.0 license and was authored, remixed, and/or curated by LibreTexts.

- **12.6: Student Resources** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

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.

Chapter Seven

- **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.

Chapter Twelve

- **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.

- **Master Key Terms/Glossary** by Dino Bozonelos, Julia Wendt, Charlotte Lee, Jessica Scarffe, Masahiro Omae, Josh Franco, Byran Martin, & Stefan Veldhuis is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

Index

Glossary

Sample Word 1 | Sample Definition 1

Detailed Licensing

Overview

Title: AP Comparative Government and Politics

Webpages: 98

Applicable Restrictions: Noncommercial

All licenses found:

- CC BY-NC 4.0: 92.9% (91 pages)
- Undeclared: 7.1% (7 pages)

By Page

- AP Comparative Government and Politics - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - Front Matter - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - Instructor Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - TitlePage - *Undeclared*
    - About the Authors - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - InfoPage - *Undeclared*
    - Table of Contents - *Undeclared*
    - Licensing - *Undeclared*
  - 1: Why Study Comparative Politics? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.1: What is Comparative Politics? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.2: Ways Comparativists Look at the World - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.3: Things that Comparativists Study and Say - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.4: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 1.5: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 2: Using Comparative Methods - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.1: The Scientific Method and Comparative Politics - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.2: Four Approaches to Research - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.3: Case Selection (Or, How to Use Cases in Your Comparative Analysis) - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.4: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 2.5: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 3: States and Regimes - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.1: Introduction to States - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.2: The Modern State and Regime Types - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.3: Comparative Case Study - Botswana and Somalia - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.4: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 3.5: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 4: Democracies and Democratization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.1: What is Democracy? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.2: Institutions within Democracy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.3: Systems of Democracy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.4: Democratic Consolidation - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.5: Comparative Case Study – South Africa and Iraq - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.6: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 4.7: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 5: Non-Democracies and Democratic Backsliding - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.1: What are non-democracies? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.2: Strategies for staying in power - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.3: Varieties of non-democracy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.4: Democratic backsliding - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.5: Case Study - Russia's evolution over time - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.6: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 5.7: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 6: Political Identity - Culture, Race and Ethnicity and Gender - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.1: Introduction to Political Identity - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.2: Culture - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.3: Race and Ethnicity - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.4: Gender - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.5: Comparative Case Study - Gender Gaps in India and Japan - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.6: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 6.7: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 7: Political Identity - Nationalism, Religion, Class - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 7.1: What is Political Identity? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 7.2: What is National Identity? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 7.3: What is Religious Identity? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 7.4: What is Class Identity? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
    - 7.5: Comparative Case Study - Israel and Iran - The Intersection of Politics and Identity - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

- 7.6: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 7.7: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*

- 8: Political Economy - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 8.1: What is Political Economy? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 8.2: Political Economic Systems - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 8.3: Comparative Case Study - Germany and China - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 8.4: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 8.5: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 9: Collective Action and Social Movements - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 9.1: What is collective action? What are social movements? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 9.2: Frameworks for collective action - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 9.3: A framework for explaining social movements - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 9.4: Comparative Case Study - Workers' movements in Poland and China - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 9.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 9.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 10: Comparative Public Opinion - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 10.1: What is Comparative Public Opinion? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 10.2: Political Socialization and Public Opinion - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 10.3: Measuring Public Opinion - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 10.4: Comparative Case Study - Barometers Around the World - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 10.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 10.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 11: Political Violence - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 11.1: What is Political Violence? - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 11.2: State-sponsored political violence - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 11.3: Non-state political violence - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 11.4: How Does Political Violence End? Post-Conflict Strategies - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 11.5: Comparative Case Study - Conflict Termination - Bangladesh and Turkey - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 11.6: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 11.7: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- 12: Challenges and Questions in Comparative Politics - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 12.1: Challenges and Questions - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 12.2: Pressure From Above - Globalization - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 12.3: Pressure from Below - Fragmentation - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 12.4: Conclusion - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 12.5: References - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - 12.6: Student Resources - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
- Back Matter - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - Master Key Terms/Glossary - *CC BY-NC 4.0*
  - Index - *Undeclared*
  - Glossary - *Undeclared*
  - Detailed Licensing - *Undeclared*