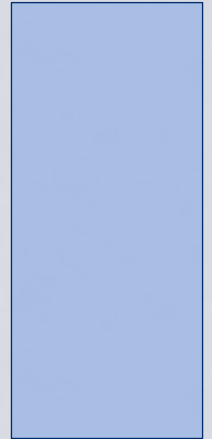


INRL 211 - CONTEMPORARY STATE SYSTEMS

WEEK 1-2-3



ASSESSMENT METHOD

- Mid-term exam: %40
- Quiz: %10
- Final exam: %50

CONTEMPORARY STATE SYSTEMS

THE AIM OF THE COURSE:

- To analyze state systems and politics of countries in detail,
- To identify common themes in their development that explain long-term causes of changes and continuities
- **Cross-national comparisons and explanations on four themes:**
 - Historical formation, internal organization, interaction of states within international order
 - Role of state in economic management
 - Spread and challenges of democracy
 - Sources and political impacts of collective identities

CONTEMPORARY STATE SYSTEMS

WHY?

- Understanding politics requires looking **beyond a single national perspective**
- Deep connections and divisions formed **worldwide**
- **Explore politics of different countries** and their interdependence
- By comparing political institutions, values, processes in other countries, **learn analytical skills that can be used at home**

COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- **Comparative politics** studies domestic political institutions, processes, policies, conflicts, attitudes in different countries
- **International relations studies** foreign policies and interactions among countries, role of international organizations, influence of global actors
- **Studies overlap;** distinction important because political activity occurs within state borders and states still fundamental political building block

KEY TERMS

State

- The state comprises a country's key political institutions that are responsible for making, implementing, enforcing, and adjudicating important policies in that country.
- States have also been defined as those institutions within a country that claim the right to control force within the territory comprising the country and to make binding rules (laws), which citizens of that country must obey.

WHY COMPARE STATE SYSTEMS?

- States have been primary actors for about five hundred years

- DESPITE GLOBALIZATION?

- **GLOBALIZATION**

- Since the end of the Cold War (1989) we see increasing interconnectedness of nations, states and economies around the world.
- The intensification of worldwide interconnectedness associated with the increased speed and magnitude of cross-border flows of trade, investment, and finance, and processes of migration, cultural diffusion, and communication.
 - Economic – reorganization of production, redistribution of work force, increased international trade, finance, foreign direct investment
 - Movement of people – migration, business, educational opportunities
 - New applications of information technology

STATE & GLOBALIZATION

- Globalization complicates politics and erodes ability of countries to control their destinies
 - New forms of international governance to regulate and stabilize the flows of globalization
 - Example: European Union, World Trade Organization
 - Grassroots movements have challenged globalization
 - States can no longer act in isolation
 - Governments must address global problems nationally

STATE & GLOBALIZATION

- STATES ARE STILL IMPORTANT BECAUSE:
 - Rulers of states conquer other states
 - Legal codes of states allow business to operate
 - States provide for citizens, regulate movement of people
 - Policies of international organizations represent balance of power among states
 - Globalization causes blurring of the line between “the domestic” and “the foreign/ international”

KEY TERMS

- **Comparative Politics:**
- The study of the domestic politics, political institutions, and conflicts of countries. Often involves comparisons among countries and through time within single countries, emphasizing key patterns of similarity and difference.

KEY TERMS

- **Regime:**
- A term that is generally synonymous with government or political system.
- - institutions
- - law
- - rules
- - behaviour

KEY TERMS

- **Country:**
- A territorial unit controlled by a single state. Countries vary in the degree to which groups within them have a common culture and ethnic affiliation.

KEY TERMS

- **Liberal Democracy:**
- A political system that combines capitalist organization of the economy with a democratic political system.

KEY TERMS

- **Neoliberalism:**
- A term used to describe government policies aiming to promote free competition among business firms within the market.
- Neoliberal policies include monetarism, privatization, reducing trade barriers, balancing government budgets, and reducing social spending.

KEY TERMS

- **Ideology:**
- A set of fundamental ideas, values, or beliefs about how a political, economic, or social system should be organized. Examples of ideology include capitalism, communism, and socialism.

KEY TERMS

- **Authoritarian:**
- A system of rule in which power depends not on popular legitimacy but on the coercive force of the political authorities.
- Hence, there are few personal and group freedoms. It is also characterized by near absolute power in the executive branch and few, if any, legislative and judicial controls.

KEY TERMS

- **Globalization:**
- The intensification of worldwide interconnectedness associated with the increased speed and magnitude of cross-border flows of trade, investment, and finance, and processes of migration, cultural diffusion, and communication.

KEY TERMS

- **Sovereignty:**
- A state's claim to exercise authority and effective political control of political decisions within a given territory.

Key TERMS

- **Executive:**
- The agencies of government that implement or execute policy.
- The highest levels of the executive in most countries is a president or prime minister and cabinet.
- The top executive officeholders supervise the work of administrative departments and bureaus.

KEY TERMS

- **Cabinet:**
- The ministers who direct executive departments.
- In parliamentary systems, the cabinet and high-ranking sub-cabinet ministers (also known as the government) are considered collectively responsible to parliament.

KEY TERMS

- **Legislature:**
- One of the primary political institutions in a country, in which elected members are charged with responsibility for making laws and usually providing for the financial resources for the state to carry out its functions.

KEY TERMS

- **Judiciary:**
- One of the primary political institutions in a country, responsible for the administration of justice and in some countries for determining the constitutionality of state decisions.

KEY TERMS

- **Bureaucracy:**
- An organization structured hierarchically, in which lower-level officials are charged with administering regulations codified in rules that specify impersonal, objective guidelines for making decisions.

KEY TERMS

- **Legitimacy:**
- A belief by the broad citizenry that a state exercises rightful authority.
- In the contemporary world, a state is said to possess legitimacy when it enjoys consent of the governed, which usually involves democratic procedures and the attempt to achieve a satisfactory level of development and equitable distribution of resources.

KEY TERMS

- **State Formation:**
- The historical development of a state, often marked by major stages, key events, or turning points (critical junctures) that influence the contemporary character of the state.

KEY TERMS

- **Nation-state:**
- Distinct, politically defined territory with its own state, relatively coherent culture, economy, and ethnic and other social identities.

KEY TERMS

- **Political Culture:**
- The attitudes, beliefs, and symbols that influence political behavior; often defined in terms of specific national political-cultural orientations.

KEY TERMS

- **Dictatorship:**
- A system of rule in which power depends not on popular legitimacy but on the coercive force of the political authorities.
- Hence, there are few personal and group freedoms. It is also characterized by near absolute power in the executive branch and few, if any, legislative and judicial controls.

Key terms

- **Democratic Transition:**
- The process of a state moving from an authoritarian to a democratic political system.

KEY TERMS

- **Political Economy:**
- The study of the interaction between the state and the economy, that is, how the state and political processes affect the organization of production and exchange (the economy) and how the organization of the economy affects political processes.

KEY TERMS

- **Sustainable Development:**
- An approach to promoting economic growth that seeks to minimize environmental degradation and depletion of natural resources.
- Advocates of sustainable development believe that policies implemented in the present must take into account the impact on the ability of future generations to meet their needs and live healthy lives.

KEY TERMS

- **Gross Domestic Product (GDP):**
- The total of all goods and services produced within a country that is used as a broad measure of the size of its economy.

KEY TERMS

- **Gross National Product (GNP):**
- A broad measure of the size of the economy. Similar to gross domestic product but also takes into account income from foreign sources.
- The World Bank started using the term *gross national income* rather than *gross national product* in its reports and statistics in 2002.

KEY TERMS

- **Social Movements:**
- Grass-roots associations that demand reforms of existing social practices and government policies. Social movements are less formally organized than interest groups.

KEY TERMS

- **Consolidated Democracies:**
- Democratic political systems that have been solidly and stably established for an ample period of time and in which there is relatively consistent adherence to the core democratic principles.

KEY TERMS

- **Transitional Democracies:**
- Countries that have moved from an authoritarian government to a democratic one. Also referred to as newly established democracies.

KEY TERMS

- **Authoritarian Regimes:**
- A system of rule in which power depends not on popular legitimacy but on the coercive force of the political authorities.
- Hence, there are few personal and group freedoms. Authoritarian regimes are also characterized by near absolute power in the executive branch and few, if any, legislative and judicial controls.

KEY TERMS

- **Totalitarian:**
- A political system in which the state attempts to exercise total control over all aspects of public and private life, including the economy, culture, education, and social organizations, through an integrated system of ideological, economic, and political control.
- Totalitarian states are said to rely largely on terror as a means to exercise power. The term has been applied to both communist party-states including Stalinist Russia and Maoist China and fascist regimes such as Nazi Germany.

CLASSIFYING POLITICAL SYSTEMS

- Over two hundred states with distinctive political regimes
- Typologies are artificial constructs
 - Analyst selects basis for classification
 - Helpful to the extent that they allow comparison that provides useful knowledge

CLASSIFYING POLITICAL SYSTEMS

- From World War I until 1980s consensus on “Three Worlds”
 - **First World was Western industrial democracies**
 - Countries somewhat democratic, not industrialized
 - **Second World was communist states**
 - Nearly disappeared today
 - Remaining have developed market-based policies
 - **Third World was economically less developed**
 - Countries share few features
 - May be useful for “developing” classification although this can be further divided

CLASSIFYING POLITICAL SYSTEMS

- Lively debate as to alternative typology
 - Authors suggest basing typology on extent to which governments are democratic
 - **Consolidated democracies**
 - **Transitional democracies**
 - **Authoritarian regimes**

A TYPOLOGY OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

- **Authoritarian regimes** lack democratic principles
 - Power highly concentrated in person, group, or institution
 - Those in power claim exclusive right to govern and impose will
 - Varieties include communist party-states, theocracies, monarchies, military or personal dictatorships
 - Frequently claim to embody democracy

A TYPOLOGY OF POLITICAL SYSTEMS

- IMPORTANT : Both democratic and authoritarian states change and evolve over time in response to domestic and international influences
- Some countries may straddle categories or political experiences may cause change in category
 - No automatic path of political development

WHAT IS THE MEANING – OR RATHER, MEANINGS – OF DEMOCRACY?

- Rough consensus over minimum features
 - Free and fair elections to select highest public offices
 - Political parties free to compete
 - Government policies developed according to rules that include transparency, accountability
 - Civil and political rights and liberties for all citizens
 - Independent judiciary
 - Elected government exercises supreme power

Democratic Government

Non-democratic Government



Political equality
Majority rule
Popular sovereignty
Political liberty
Minority rights
Political competition
Rule of law

Political inequality
Elite rule
Tyranny, oligarchy
Political pressure
Repression of m.
Power monopoly
Arbitrary rule (***rule by
law***)

TYPES OF NON-DEMOCRACIES

RULE OF THE FEW: oligarchy

Military, religious or political elites govern.

RULE OF ONE: autocracy

A single dictator or king governs.

DEFINING NONDEMOCRATIC RULE

- Systems—authoritarianism and totalitarianism
- Few individuals exercise power
 - Dictatorship
 - Oligarchy
- No constitutional responsibility to public
- Limit, to varying degrees, other public rights

NON-DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

- Never open & democratic.
- Rulers monopolize power.
- Media censored.
- Opposition parties banned.
- No (literally) free elections.
- No right to criticize government.

AUTHORITARIANISM: REGIMES AND IDEOLOGY

- **Can be strongly ideological:** fascism, communism
- **Can be non-ideological:** driven by whims of those in power
 - **Charismatic leader:** popular individual who promotes their ideas; persuades others to follow; movement; tenuous legitimacy, if not institutionalized → ideas may die with leader
- Regime in negative sense— all decisions flow from leader without **institutional boundaries**



AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENTS:

- Authoritarianism: umbrella term for governments whose authority is not put to test in elections, opposition not tolerated
 - but, great variation!
 - right-wing (conservative) → Saudi Arabia, military governments (Latin America)
 - left-wing (socialist) → China, Russia

TOTALITARIANISM AND NONDEMOCRATIC RULE

- Often used interchangeably, but different
- Totalitarianism seeks to transform total fabric of society
- Use of force to break people, shatter institutions
- Terror, violence central
- China, Burma, Cuba, Vietnam, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, North Korea, United Arab Emirates, Yemen

NONDEMOCRATIC REGIMES AND POLITICAL CONTROL

- How do nondemocratic regimes stay in power?
 - Coercion and Surveillance
 - Cooptation
 - Personality Cults
 - Legitimacy?

COERCION AND SURVEILLANCE

- Observation of violence against people
 - Targeted harassment, torture, killings, disappearing
- Widespread purges, indiscriminate terror
- Inculcation of fear necessary
- Secret police as tool to enforce

COOPTATION

- Bring individuals into an organization through beneficial relationship
- Making people dependent on organization for benefits
- Cooptation present (if suspect) in democracy, but widespread in nondemocratic rule

PERSONALITY CULTS

- Promotion of image of leader above mortal qualities
 - Extraordinary wisdom and power
 - Quasi-religious qualities
 - Use of media to portray this image
 - All failings ascribed to “lesser” people below him or her
 - Terror: no one willing to state that leader is fallible

MODELS OF NONDEMOCRATIC RULE

- (1) Personal and Monarchical Rule
- (2) Military Rule
- (3) One-Party Rule
- (4) Theocracy
- (5) Illiberal Democracies

(1) PERSONAL AND MONARCHICAL RULE

- Claim that one person alone is fit to rule the country
- Ruler not subject of the state
- Often justified through charismatic or traditional legitimacy

(2) MILITARY RULE

- Relatively recent development
- Military seizes control of state: coup d'etat
- Often justified as a temporary move
- Often lacks a specific ideology
- **Bureaucratic authoritarianism**: state bureaucracy and military support “rational” authoritarian rule as opposed to “emotional” democracy
 - Many of these nondemocratic regimes transitioned to democracy, but not all

(3) ONE-PARTY RULE

- Single political party monopolizes power, and other parties banned or excluded from power
- Party incorporates people into politics, though still a minority—cooptation primary feature
- Party control extends into community
- Benefits given to party members in return for support
- Leadership uses the party to mobilize and spread propaganda as needed

(4) THEOCRACY

- Rule by God
- Faith is the foundation for the political regime
- Such a regime can be founded on any number of faiths
- Often the goal of fundamentalists

(5) ILLIBERAL/HYBRID REGIMES

- Possess democratic mechanisms, but weakly institutionalized
- Executives typically hold tremendous power
- Democratic processes not respected
- Sudden changes, arbitrary withdrawal
- Media under state control
- State institutions under direct control of government (politicized)
- “Halfway house”—will become more democratic over time?

REGIME TYPES

- Authoritarian: a government that concentrates political power in an authority not responsible to the people
- Totalitarian regime: which the state holds total authority over the society and seeks to control all aspects of public and private life wherever possible.

AUTHORITARIAN – TOTALITARIAN – DEMOCRATIC ?

	Authoritarian	Totalitarian	Democratic
Limitation on command structure	NONE	NONE	YES-MANY
Effective responsibility	NONE	SOME, party determined	CONSIDERABLE
Organization of command State Bureaucracy/military Individual leader	YES	YES PARTY CONTROLLED YES COLLECTIVE	STATE AND STATE AGENCIES SUBORDINATE ELECTIVE
Penetration of society of political organs	YES	EXTENSIVE	LIMITED
Mobilization for supports	YES	STRONG	VARIABLE
Official Ideology	WEAK	STRONG	WEAK
Parties	WEAK	SINGLE	MANY
Police, force, intimidation	YES	YES	VARIES
Individual rights (protection) in form in substance	MAYBE QUESTIONABLE	NONE	YES YES, GENERALLY

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

- In 1900, there were no states with universal adult suffrage--today more than half do.
- Democracy: ‘a mode of decision-making about collectively binding rules and policies over which the people exercise control, and the most democratic arrangement [is] that where all members of the collectivity enjoy effective equal rights to take part in such decision-making directly.’ (Beetham: 1992)

EXPANSION OF FRANCHISE: UK

- 1258: Barons
- 1341: Aristocrats are *represented*
- 1832: from 10% to 20% of 21+ males
- 1867: 40% of 21+ males
- 1884: 60% of 21+ males
- 1918: 100% of 21+ males / 80% of 21+ females
- 1928: 100% of 21+ males / 100% of 21+ females
- 1969: voting age reduced to 18

EXPANSION OF FRANCHISE: USA

- 1788: first election (under Constitution of 1787)
- 1810: 10 % of males
- 1828: 16% of males
- 1870: former slaves/free blacks can vote
- 1920: women can vote at 21
- 1924: Native Americans can vote
- 1971: age requirement reduced to 18

DEMOCRATIZATION

- ‘Democratisation studies examine and explain the processes whereby government, states and societies attempt to move away from some form of authoritarianism towards some form of democracy’ (Grugel: 2002)

WHAT IS DEMOCRATIZATION?

3 basic components:

- 1. ending an authoritarian regime;
 - 2- installing a democratic regime;
 - 3- consolidating a democratic regime
-
- Different causes may be responsible for each of these developments.

(Samuel Huntington)

DEMOCRATIZATION (2/2)

- Democracy provides for **periodic changes** in government which effectively prevent a given majority or group of political elites from remaining in power for too long.
- But the process of democratization is very complex.

ENHANCING DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS

(1) Constitutions and the Rule of Law

(2) Free and Fair Elections

(3) Strong Civil Society

(4) Economic Development

CONSTITUTIONS AND THE RULE OF LAW

- The constitution provides the rules of the game for governing.
- Limitations on governments are enshrined in a constitution and in the concept of the rule of law, underscoring the fact that **politicians and government officials are not above the law.**

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS

- An election is the only peaceful method through which citizens of a polity can change their government.
- Elections are there to “control political power”

CIVIL SOCIETY

Larry Diamond defines civil society as “the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least potentially self supporting, autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared standards”

STRONG CIVIL SOCIETY

- Powerful, autonomous groups can offset the dominating force of a powerful state, a state that may be tempted to arbitrarily use power to suppress opposition.
- But there must be balance between a strong civil society and the state.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

- Correlation between economic development and democracy (Lipset)
- Economic growth is a foundation for democracy
- Economic growth depends on sound, stable government

EXPLANATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION

- High overall level of **economic wealth**
- **Relatively equal distribution of income** and/or wealth
- **A market economy**
- Economic development and **social modernization**
- The **absence of feudalism** in society

EXPLANATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION

- **A strong bourgeoisie (capitalist class)**
- **A strong middle class**
- **High levels of literacy and education**
- **Social pluralism**
- **Development of political contestation prior to expansion of franchise**

EXPLANATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION

- **Democratic authority structures** within social groups
- Low levels of civil violence
- Low levels of political polarization and extremism
- Political leaders committed to democracy
- Traditions of toleration and compromise

EXPLANATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION

- Occupation by a pro-democratic foreign power
- Influence by a pro-democratic foreign power
- Elite desire to emulate democratic states

EXPLANATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIZATION

- Traditions of respect for rule of law and individual rights
- Communal homogeneity or communal heterogeneity
- Consensus on political and social values or absence thereof

ECONOMIC EXPLANATION?

- Almost all rich countries have democratic institutions
- **IMPORTANT: Among the 64 “low-income”** countries classified by the World Bank, **India is the only one in which democratic institutions** have survived continuously for more than a decade

FACTORS OF THE REVERSE WAVES for Democratization

- Weak democratic values
- Economic crisis
- Polarization
- Breakdown of law & order by insurgency/terrorism
- Intervention/conquest by non-democratic foreign government
- Demonstration effect

3 “WAVES” OF DEMOCRATIZATION HUNTINGTON

- 1. 1818-1926: France, Britain, U.S., etc.
- 2- 1943-1965: West Germany, Italy, Austria, Japan, Korea, Columbia, Venezuela, etc.
- 3. 1974-1995 (?): Portugal, Greece, Turkey (again), Brazil, former East Bloc countries

HUNTINGTON'S WAVES OF DEMOCRACY--FIRST WAVE 1828-1926

- Before WWI: U.S., Britain and settler colonies, France, Scandinavia, Italy, Argentina
- Then after WWI, post-Imperial Europe:
- Weimar Germany, Poland, Austria, Baltics, Czechoslovakia, plus Spain, Chile

FIRST REVERSE WAVE 1922-42

- Fascism, Soviet expansion



SECOND WAVE 1943-62

- Fall of fascism
- Germany, Italy, Austria, Japan
- and many others--Korea, several in Latin America, India, Nigeria

SECOND REVERSE WAVE 1958-1973

- tensions of cold war, failures of new democracies, one-party model, rise of “bureaucratic authoritarianism”
- Greece, Turkey, Philippines, Korea, Indonesia, India, Africa, Latin America

THIRD WAVE--1974-

- Last non-Communist European non-democracies fall--Spain, Portugal, Greece
- Latin American non-democracies transition out
- Asia--Taiwan, Korea, Philippines, India, etc.
- Fall of Communism
- South Africa, Nigeria

THE THIRD WAVE

- Started in Portugal and Spain in mid-1970s
- Spread to South America from late 1970s to early 1980s
- Reached Asia in late 1980s
- Surge of transitions in East Europe at end of 1980s
- South Africa 1990

3 “WAVES” OF DEMOCRATIZATION

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THE “THIRD WAVE:” WHAT AND WHO WAS THE 3RD WAVE?

- about 30 countries with auth. systems shifted to democratic political systems in the 1970s and 1980s
- they were:
 - * diverse – one-party systems, military regimes, personal dictatorships, racial oligarchy (S. Africa)
 - * many were “second try” democracies – leaders had learned from previously unsuccessful experiences and tried again – Spain, Portugal, Greece, Poland
 - * many emerged after 1989 with fall of the USSR

EXPLAINING THE THIRD WAVE: KEY VARIABLES

- **deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian systems in a world where democratic norms becoming increasingly accepted**
 - **global economic growth → expanded middle class**
 - **transformation of churches (especially the Catholic Church): from being a defender of the status quo to opponents of authoritarianism**
 - **changes in the policies of external actors (i.e. new attitude of the EEC/EU, shift in U.S. policies)**
 - **“snowball” effects**
- **(Samuel Huntington)**

FACTORS OF THE REVERSE WAVES

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