

Chapter 1: Tradition, Discipline, and Definition

The Tradition of Political Science

- The development of our political institutions, the systems of political thought, and the questions underlying the political enquiry are rooted deeply in the Greek, Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions.
- Greeks introduced us to the notion of democracy
- Development of democracy in Athens acted as a model and inspiration for succeeding generations to present.
- Plato and Aristotle's writing laid the foundations of political enquiry
- Concept of citizenship and rights is associated with Romans
- John Locke introduced notions of limited government, individual rights, and political tolerance
- American Revolution (1776) and French Revolution (1789) were premised on the principles of individual rights of life, liberty, and equality.
- Since the cold war, democracy has emerged as by far the most acceptable form of government

The Discipline of Political Science

- Largely based on explanation and understanding of legal and institutional aspects of government, such as the Constitution.
- Role of interest groups content of political authority, legitimacy, individual and collective behaviour, electoral politics, political culture
- Political science is now generally understood to be the study of the governmental processes- the dynamics and institutions of public governance.
- Institutions, Distribution
- Authoritative allocation of values: who gets what, when, and how.
- CONFLICT AND POWER
- Conflict emerges in society for two reasons:
 1. Competition for scarce resources (oil, gold)
 2. Competition for different goals and values. (Spending on health, defense, and education)
- Power Enables the government to make binding decisions to allocate scarce values
- 3 Variants of Power:
 1. Influence: government use influence to persuade citizens to do something
 2. Coercion: Uses force to make citizens comply
 3. Authority: is vested in individuals by virtue of their office
 - i. Traditional- (Church, Monarchy) Structure is derived from a respect for sanctity of tradition
 - ii. Charismatic- (Hitler, Napoleon, Kennedy, Ghandi) based on the extraordinary qualities and mission of the charismatic leader

- iii. Legal- (Liberal) based on legal principles, and it is a rule of law that legitimizes authority.
- Citizens cannot easily opt in or out of the membership of a state.
- Para-political organizations- CIA, MI6

Sub-Fields of Political Science

1. Political Theory: Field encompasses both normative political philosophy and empirical oriented theory.
 - What is a good citizen? Best form.
 - Marx, Weber (late modern thought)
 - Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau (enlightenment)
 - Christian thinkers (medieval)
 - Classical (Greeks and Romans)
 - Contemporary political theory (racism, multiculturalism, gender, dramatic theory)
 - Non-Western political thought- Islamic philosophy, eastern traditions (Hinduism)
 - Look at politics from a normative perspective (how things should be or ought to be)
 - Equality vs. Liberty
 - Justice.
2. Comparative Politics: Domestic parties/politics of countries
 - Studies different political systems in the world comparing different forms of government and functioning in order to develop an understanding of some of the worlds diverse political structures and practices.
 - More imperial- opposite of theoretical- experience by observation
 - Political culture, ideologies, institutions (democracy, constitutions, electoral systems, interest groups)
3. International Politics:
 - Studies relations between different states and their foreign policy
 - Foreign policy, war and peace, strategic and security studies, international organizations, globalization
 - Liberalism, neo-liberalism, realism, neo-realism, constructivism, feminism.
 - Human rights, environment, international/political economy, diplomacy
4. Canadian or Domestic Politics
 - Local to national politics, nature of intergovernmental relations
 - Linked to Comparative politics
 - Federalism

5. Public Policy and Public Administration

- How does it work?
- Addresses issues such as: What governments do or don't do.
- What processes undertake these government actions and decisions and what consequences can be attributed.

Max Weber:

- Modern day state is a compulsory association, which organizes domination
- Monopolize the legitimate use of physical force as means of domination within a territory
- Every state is founded on force.
- State is a human community that claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory
- The sole source of the "right" to use violence.
- "Politics" for us means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state.
- He who is active in politics strives for power either as means of serving other aims, ideal or egoistic, or as "power for power's sake"
- Or to enjoy the prestige feeling that power gives.

Bernard Crick

- All over the world are men aspiring to power and there are actual rules who, however many different names they go by, have in common a rejection of politics.
- Fidel Castro told a reporter in 1961: "We are not politicians. We made our revolution to get the politicians out".
- Politics ill understood, have been defined as the art of governing mankind by deceiving them.
- Politics arises from accepting the fact of the simultaneous existence of different groups, hence different interest and different traditions, within a territorial unit under a common rule.

Chapter 2: Contending Approaches

- Different approaches, different assumptions, focuses, concepts, and perspectives

Formal legal Approach

- Also called “old institutionalism”
- Centred on the formal institutions of politics: constitutions, parliaments, cabinets, bureaucracies and so on.
- Described workings of the state through exploration of the structure of these institutions and their relationships with one another.
- Sought to explain politics by specifying how political institutions worked.

Criticisms:

- Descriptive rather than explanatory, why do they work?
- Non-theoretical, didn't look to formulate generalizations.
- Led to the description of particular case studies and was therefore non-comparative.
- Parochial, looked almost exclusively at Western developed countries as oppose to non-Western and developing ones.
- Led to another approach,

Behaviourism

- Objective: to make study of politics truly scientific
- Emphasized individual actors, their behaviours, rather than institutions.
- Led to 2 formulation of two approaches during 1960s;

System Analysis

- More scientific, viewing politics as a system.
- AKA “Systems Theory”
- Focused on political actors rather than on institutions
- Provided a theoretical model of politics, a simplified representation of political life that specified its logic and its workings.
- System analysis was presented as being valid for understanding politics in any country at almost any given time
- System involves the interrelation of individual components.
- EASTON: Political system is constitutes by interactions that lead to the “authoritative allocation of values”. Values are material (financial, and other) as well as symbolic (prestige, recognition, etc.).

- Key principle: Equilibrium; system is self-adjusting; it continuously seeks to maintain balance and when distributed, moves to recapture an equilibrium, or “norm”.
- Inputs and Outputs
- Inputs- demands/support (claims for money, services, recognition, moral values, etc.)
- Outputs- decisions/actions/policies of political authorities when they are considered satisfactory by society, they come back as inputs in the form of feedback of unsatisfactory.

Criticisms:

- Completely evacuated the state from political analysis and therefore misses an important element of politics.
- Approach gives the impression that politics takes place in the context of a classless society, unrealistic picture of politics in industrialized societies.
- The model generates in only incrementally, or fundamentally unable to deal with political change, especially in its most radical and dramatic forms.
- It is not explanatory in nature. It does not shed light on the fundamental workings of politics, but rather simply gives a new terminology to describe (not explain) the political process.

Structural Functionalism

- Popularized in 1960s by Gabriel Almond
- Views politics and social life in systematic terms: a political system coexists with other types of systems.
- Structures of politics (formal institutions, rules, practices, etc.) exist because they have a social function.
- Social needs determine the structure of politics.
- Seven functions in political systems:
 1. Political socialization
 2. Interest articulation
 3. Interest aggregation
 4. Political communication
 5. Rule making
 6. Rule application
 7. Rule adjudication

Strengths:

- Offered an elegant, straightforward view of politics
- It was not tied to any particular institutional design, could be used to study politics in developing as well as developed countries.

Weaknesses:

- Explanatory power of each approach is poor
- Proponents produce a list of functions, and then predictably justify the existence of structures by relating them to different functions.
- Hide and forgets class and other cleavages and for bias toward stability and the status quo.

Political Culture

- Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba
- Idea is that political systems can be explained by society's culture.
- Centred on democracy.
- Some suggested democracy was linked to certain norms, values, beliefs, and attributes toward power, politics, personal behaviour, and life in society.
- The above factors, taken together, form political culture
- Scholars have suggested that tolerance, individual freedom, a distrust of political authority, and a belief in the ability of individuals to shape history are the values/attitudes most conducive to democracy.
- Also known as "fragment theory"
- Influence of socialism is marginal in U.S. because the industrial revolution occurred in Europe after settlement in the American colony took place, and there is a distrust of government and an attachment to individual freedoms because those who went to America left Europe to escape political arbitrariness and religious persecution.
- Political culture brings a different type of insight to the study of politics when compared with approaches that stress institutions, the political process, the economy, etc.

Criticisms:

- Issue of change, if a society has a particular culture, and if culture brings specific political outcomes, then how can there be political change?
- If African and Asian cultures are not deemed conducive to democracy, what does this mean to democratization in these areas?

Political Economy

- Concerned with the relationship between states and markets
- Works under the assumption that politics is shaped, or even completely determined, by economics.
- Two branches;
 1.
 - First approach draws from Marx's theory of class conflict.

- Suggests that in a capitalist economy there are two antagonistic classes, these classes are determined by ownership of the means of production.
- Classes consist of the bourgeoisie wealthy and powerful merchants and industrialists who control the means of production, and the proletariat, the poor and weak who work for them.
- Openly critical of capitalism- see globalization and free trade as favouring the wealthy and powerful.
- Looks at issues of uneven development, poverty, and so on.

2.

- Derives from the work of classical economists such as Adam Smith.
- Suggested free markets was best tool of social and economic development
- Contemporary political economists in this tradition are committed to the market, free trade, and deregulation
- Identify dysfunctions, proposing improvements, etc.
- Interested in issues of trade, finance, and development, adjustment rather than change.

Weaknesses:

- Some scholars suggest that politics as a sphere of activity is at least, partially, autonomous from economics. These critics argue that economic forces do not entirely, nor even primarily, condition political phenomena.

Rational Choice

- Has become one of most popular approaches
- Committed to seeking the formulation of general value-free laws of politics through the study of individual behaviour.
- Very influential in many areas of political science, particularly in the study of elections, voting, and the formation of party coalitions.
- Theorists assume that individuals are rational, strategic, and self-interested that they naturally look to maximize their own wealth or power, and that they are constantly making decisions by weighing costs/benefits.
- Politics is fundamentally about strategic action, should be understood as the aggregate of rational individual decisions
- Suggests that individuals may, for strategic reasons, choose to join or form a group (party, association, interest group, etc.) these groups are then treated as rational actors just like individuals.

- Integrated institutions, defined in terms of both formal structures as parliaments and executives and more informal ones such as electoral systems and political rules, into their framework.
- Conceptualize institutions as part of the individual or the group's strategic context.
- Ex. A country's electoral system can provide parties with incentives to adopt certain policy positions and/or to form electoral conditions.

Strengths:

- Straightforward- avoids pitfalls of elusive concepts such as political culture or even social functions.
- Wide Applicability- positions itself to tackle political phenomena in any country at any time

Weaknesses:

- Strategic decision-making never occurs in undisturbed conditions ex. Information = rarely complete
- Rationality may be useful in explaining the means to an end, but not the end itself
- Critics question foundation of rational choice. Is politics only and always about strategic decision-making?

New Institutionalism

- Suggest that the state, and political institutions should be given theoretical importance, important variables in explaining political phenomena.
- Focuses on how institutions impact on political outcomes rather than simply on how institutions work.
- Suggest that institutions weigh heavily on society.
- Interested in explaining differences in outcomes across countries, Argue that differences tend to be product of different institutional framework.
- Parliamentary system in Canada and USA encourage distinct forms of lobbying.
- Policy making in different types of institutions = different results.
- Institutions matter heavily and they should be given primary importance in political analysis.

Weaknesses:

- Ignores/marginalizes variables other than institutional ones.
- Politics, state is multidimensional and cannot be reduced to weight of institutions.

Feminism and Postmodernism

- Critical because they argue that traditional approaches are not neutral and value free as they claim to be, rather, they represent and promote a particular view on politics.

Feminism

- Feminist approach idea; traditional approaches remain silent on the power relationships between the genders.
- Seek to bring women into the study of politics.
- To situate them within different political phenomena and processes.
- Conclude existing political orders are male dominated and oppressive for women.

Postmodernism

- Argue that there is no political reality, per se rather that politics is simply discursive practices or discourse.
- Argue that a dominant political discourse represents a claim to power and hides a particular conception of politics, if not an agenda and interests.
- Question the very idea of the possibility of generating knowledge.

Criticisms:

- Feminism- favours a political science that is not neutral, objective, value-free
- Critics state that post modernism threatens all the perceived gains made by the discipline of political science in the last 50 years and beyond.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The Language of Politics

Dependent variable

- The political phenomena we are trying to explain. It depends on factors.
- What needs to be explained

Independent variables

- Variables that cause the dependent variable
- AKA explanatory variables

Hypothesis

- A conjectural statement about the relationship between two variables
- All hypothesis should be stated in terms of relation between two variables, and they must relate changes in the dependent variable to changes in the independent variable(s).

Intervening variable

- Variable that intervenes between the independent and dependent variables and influences the relation between them in a positive or negative way.
- System unresponsiveness

Tautology

- When independent and dependent variables interchange.
- A relationship is assumed to exist between two variables that actually have no causal interaction

Spurious Correlations

- Correlations where two variables seem to be correlated, but in reality neither causes the other.
- Two variables can positively correlate but 3rd variable is cause for other 2.

Taxonomy

- A subject divided into classes distinct from one another. For example, we may want to classify European political systems into either presidential or parliamentary systems.

Typology

- A more complex taxonomy that revokes classifying phenomena based on a number of variables.

Models

- Deliberate simplifications of an otherwise very complex process.

Theory

- A set of systematically related generalizations suggesting new observations for empirical testing.

Methodology in Political Science

Normative

- This type of inquiry is concerned with normative questions
- How we should act and live and organize our life to achieve greater justice, equality, democracy, and freedom for all.
- Political philosophy

Empirical

- Concerned with why things happen
- Seeks to establish testable and verifiable relationships between the independent and dependent variables
- Why did a revolution take place in turn in 1978-79?
- Heart of the contemporary study of political science and particularly the study of comparative politics and international relations.

Case Study Method

- Emphasized the in-depth study of a single country, or a single political institution or political behaviour in a single country.
- Ex. Study of development in Tanzania, parliament in G.B.

Drawbacks:

- Findings are based on study of single case
- Contributes least to theory building confirm/debunks existing theories

Statistical Method

- Involves the use of a variety of statistical techniques to measure observations and collect data.
- Mathematical manipulation of empirically observed data to test/discover certain relationships among independent/dependent variables.
- Ex. Useful to test hypotheses relating economic development and political stability.

Drawbacks:

- Scholars try to develop variables that can travel easily across different regions and cases
- Ex. Democracy in several regions.

Comparative Method

- Involves the analysis of a small number of cases usually two or three, but at least two, to discover empirical relationships between variables and to test hypotheses
- Ex. Interest in study revolutions in different countries with such experiences and develop an explanation

Most similar systems approach

- Two cases that are similar in as many ways as possible

Most different system approach

- Seeks to explain variations on the dependent variable by selecting cases that are dissimilar in many respects.

Downfalls:

- Tries to explain why different countries went through different transitions from authoritarianism to democracy or political liberalization.

Diachronic comparisons

- Compare political dynamics/ political institution in one country, but different periods of time.

Synchronic Comparisons

- Compare a political institution/ political behaviour across countries; usually during same time period.
- Most-similar systems approach is associated with comparisons

Experimental Method

- Above labelled non-experimental methods because they are based on observation and measurement of variables within/between cases
- Two equivalent groups are setup, one of which is exposed to a stimulus while the other is not.
- Results compared with differences attributed to stimulus.

Chapter 4: Liberalism and Conservatism

'Ideology' – science of ideas

- Karl Marx equated ideology with “fake consciousness” that saw the poor deceive themselves about their true interests, thereby remaining bonded to their subjugation
- Ideologies provide lenses for understanding societal (social, political, economic) issues and point to the way society ought to be structured.
- Is a value or beliefs system that is social constructed, possesses considerable scope, is formally articulated.

Liberalism

- 17th Century Britain
- Glorious Revolution (1688)
- British bourgeoisie
- Non-violent
- Crown Vs. Parliament
- Secular
- Freedom
- Individuals rational and self interested
- Limited and Accountable Government
- Equality of Rights

Classical Liberalism

- Related to reform liberalism, which emerged in 14th century
- Freedom from something- negative freedom
Reform Liberalism was the product of the inequalities of the Industrial Revolution, specifically of perceived need to reduce them, and rise of democratic ideas
- 4 Main Principles;

Left vs. Right- Communism vs. Fascism

- Left usually includes progressives, social liberals, social democrats, socialists, anarchists
1. Idea of limited political power
 - Liberals argue that political power that is absolutely extensive and arbitrary is problematic since it prevents individuals from fully using their intelligence and creative capabilities to better their own lives in the future of society as a whole.
 - Argue that this type of political power is corrupt, self-serving, and unpredictable

- Advocate limited and accountable government
 - John Locke argued that government needed the consent of the governed.
 - Liberalism is closely linked to the notion of government by representation
 - Argue that the state should play only a minimal role in society
 - Argue that individuals, not governments, know best what to do with financial resources.
 - Translate into preferences for weak economic regulation and low level of taxation
 - For liberals, humans are rational and self-interested
 - Separation of religion and politics, frequently alienating religious establishments (separation of society)
 - Right wing-usually includes- Conservatives, reactionaries, capitalists, monarchists, nationalists, and fascists
2. Freedom
- Most important value for liberals because it allows individuals to fully use their intellectual capacities and creativity
 - Freedom from state interference, reflected in the protection of fundamental liberties such as thought, religion, association, and speech and Habeas Corpus
3. Equality of Rights
- Opposes privileges for wealthy citizens (feudal society)
 - Rule of law: nobody is above law, not even those who create it.
4. Free-market economy
- Believed capitalism is the economic system that complements best the political principles of their ideology
 - Argue that wealth and prosperity is generated from competition.
 - Holds that the market itself is the most efficient instrument of economic regulation
 - Adam Smith suggested something like an invisible hand that guided participants in a free market to promote the common good
 - Liberalism favours economic competition and free trade.

Reform Liberalism

- Refashioned ideology in 4 ways;
 1. Added idea of positive freedom to classical liberalism's emphasis on negative freedom
 - Positive freedom entails the capacity and power to do something
 - Notion of freedom reform liberal's added notion of empowerment
 2. Reform Liberals boosted classical liberalism's conception of equality

- Equality of opportunity, involved creating conditions that would allow individuals to effectively exploit their legal entitlements
3. Favours toward state intervention
 - Use of mechanisms of redistribution such as progressive taxation (the wealthier you are, higher tax rate) and welfare/unemployment policies
 4. Advocated universal suffrage, reconciling the liberal ideology with democracy
 - John Stuart Mill believed extending right to vote for women was logical implication of liberal ideology
 - Liberalism and democracy is the same thing.

Liberalism in Contemporary Politics

- Several mechanisms have been put in place to control and limit political power:
- Responsible government, whereby the executive needs to explain, justify, and defend its actions to a legislative assembly; federalism, which in formally dividing a check on the power of 'both levels' of governments
- Charter of Rights and Freedoms, offers judiciary check on political power
- Canada is committed to a market economy
- Charter Rights and Freedom, Federalism
- The four major political parties, all agree with main principles of liberalism, although with qualifications in some cases:
- Conservative party exhibits strong shades of conservatism while the NDP is close to democratic socialism
- Classic Liberals speak of lowering taxes, eliminating deficit, reducing the debt controlling public spending, privatizing Crown Corporations, and creating a good business environment
- Reform Liberals put more emphasis on social spending and rely on the State to redistribute wealth and correct the deficiencies of the market.
- American political parties, Republican and Democratic, are ideologically very similar, close to classical liberalism, although the Republican party is also strongly influenced by Conservatism
- In America "liberal" often means specific positions on particular issues most notably support for multiculturalism, gender inequality, legal abortion, gay rights, and pacifism in International Affairs
- Political institutions of west European countries are liberal in nature but many of their parties are in their own way, critical of liberalism; environmental and social democratic parties are sceptical about the

market as an agent of social and economic regulation; far right parties tend to be antithetical to the egalitarian discourse of liberalism.

- “The west” often promotes strongly free-market economics and free trade both directly and indirectly through international financial economic institutions (NEOLIBERALISM)
- Many political scientists argue pushing liberalism into developing societies is wrong because it causes problems culturally and religiously.

Conservatism

- Socio-political order of European feudalism is where it rooted
 - Feudal societies were hierarchically structured and functioned according to well defined sets of relationships
 - Feudalism presents picture of rigid society with institutionalized inequalities, where political power is unchallenged and change is unwelcomed
 - French Revolution- decisive moment in articulation of classical conservatism
 - This represented a rupture with the feudal order: abolished the monarchy, stripped aristocrats of their special privileges, and sought to destroy the power and influence of the church.
1. First distinctive feature of conservatism is the importance of order over equality and freedom. Accepts change if it is small and gradual.
 2. Second distinctive feature is the concept of individuals and society. They see society as a whole and are against the individualistic perspective of liberals. The importance the conservatives give to tradition and structure is reflected in the institutions they value, namely the Church, the army, and the family.
 3. The third distinctive feature is the belief in the existence of an objective moral order. Believes politics must be imbued with the moral guidance provided by religion; politicians must do the right thing. Aspect of conservatism is anti-gay right, anti-abortion.
- Involves a distinctive view of the state as a benevolent and slightly paternalistic entity.
 - Role is the protection of society physically and socio-economically
 - Ex. Expanding police presence and tough justice system.
 - Support democracy
 - Neo-conservatism- preferring to limit the state to law and order duties and minimal social protection.
 - Translates into lowering taxes, controlling and reducing spending, eliminating deficits, and reducing the debt.

- On social issues, it has evacuated much of religious discourse and maintaining concern for unity and well being of society as a whole.

Conservatism in Contemporary Politics

- Conservatism strongest in U.S. where politics is imbued with a strong sense of righteous morality.
- Republicans are anti-abortion; stress family values, importance of moral leadership; advocate a strong military; favour small state, low taxes, and minimum redistribution.
- Reforming the Young Offenders Act to carry stricter sentences, increased military spending.
- Fiscally, advocated lowering taxes, eliminating the deficit, paying down the debt.
- Conservative thought strongly embedded particularly in Alberta
- Emphasized unity of nation, and attachment to long-standing institutions.

Chapter 5: Socialism and Communism

- Socialism- 2 branches:
- Communism and Social Democracy

- Social Democracy continues to influence government policies around the world.

Socialist and Marxist Thought

- Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels
- Industrial Revolution radically transformed the relations of production (relations between owners and workers) and the social conditions of workers.
- There was virtually no regulation of labour conditions, and no mechanism to reduce the disparity between those who owned the means of production (the machines and factories) and those who did not.
- Gracchus Babeuf and Robert Owen argued that liberal principles of individual freedoms and political rights did nothing to alleviate poverty, oppression, and the increasing polarization between rich and poor.
- Socialists argued that people could achieve self-fulfillment and happiness only as members of cooperative community
- They called for a new social order, a utopian society, where governments would be produced and distributed to advance the overall good of society.

Marx's Communist Manifesto (1848)

- Was a watershed event in the history of social thought
- Provided protest movements with a socio-economic explanation for understanding the plight of the working class and a road map for political action.
- Mode of production (i.e. ancient civilization, feudalism, and capitalism) and the consequent class struggle
- Many argued that there are 2 “warring” classes:
- The dominant class, which owns material, machines, money
- The subject class, whose members are exploited for their labour
- Under capitalism; 2 classes:
- The Proletariat, (working class)
- The Bourgeoisie, (Capitalist class)
- Relationship- the worker is exploited, dehumanized, and treated like a commodity.
- Labour theory of value- price of a commodity directly reflects the labour time used to produce it, Marx argued capitalism contained its own seed of self-destruction. Because capitalists strive to achieve surplus value in order to

- attain profits, workers' wages represent only a portion of the value of the product they have produced.
- **Communism**- Collective ownership of everything (everyone shares everything)
 - Abolish Capitalism
 - Revolution of proletariat leads to a classless society,
 - Associated with totalitarian forms of government

Marxist Doctrine and Communist Regimes

- While Marxist theory inspired revolutions that took place in Communist countries, totalitarian regimes that were created afterward significantly transformed the content of Marxism to suit their needs and circumstances.
- Marx's economic interpretation of social change suggested socialism was to occur in advanced capitalist countries, given that capitalism was the necessary precursor to socialism
- The communist party would be vanguard of the proletariat, leading the workers to an understanding of their true class interests.
- Lenin regarded imperialism as the final stage of capitalism, characterized by the exploitation of economically underdeveloped societies by a small number of imperialist powers.
- Lenin's views of imperialism proved quite attractive to many underdeveloped countries that would reinterpret and modify the Marxist-Leninist doctrine to fit their own unique circumstances.
- Ex. While the Common strategy focused on industrial workers as the base for revolutions in the colonial areas, Chinese communist party under Mao Zedong locked to the peasantry rather than the urban proletariat to bring about a Communist revolution in that country.
- Like most ideologies, communism developed in a variety of countries according to their own unique traditions and circumstances.

Social Democracy and Communism in Contemporary Politics

- This ideology was behind the development of trade unions and work legislation. It was also central to the rise of the welfare state.
- Social benefits social programs/protection available to Canadians, from employment insurance and universal healthcare to a system of equalization payments that redistributes wealth from richer to poorer provinces.
- NDP, most observers would argue is social democratic.
- Suggested to raise taxes to corporations and wealthy individuals.
- Dedicates itself to issues that concern women and cultural minorities.
- Embraced a "Third Way", basically represents something close to a reform liberal approach to politics: attempting to reconcile business-friendly politics (low taxes, balanced budgets) with strong social programs.
- Social democracy was overshadowed by Communism during cold war.

- Marxist-Lenin thought found in ideologies in China, Cuba, North Korea, and Vietnam.
- According to Marx, capitalism would be overthrown by a proletariat revolution and replaced by socialism
- Socialism was to be a temporary and transitional stage on the road to the final destination, communism.
- Under communism, means of production would be politically owned, private property would be abolished, and the state would wither away.
- Socialism views the capitalist relations of production as the primary causes of social and political inequalities in society and advances political projects to eliminate social injustices.
- Rejects the liberal conception of individuals as naturally competitive and self-interested and instead argues that human beings, under the right conditions, are cooperative and interested in pursuing the common good.
- Socialism places the greatest importance on equality.
- **Social Democracy**- considers the equality of rights cherished by classical liberals to be nice but insufficient. Its own view of equality is closer to reform liberalism's equality of opportunity
- Socialism strives for some measures of equality of conditions, there cannot be major discrepancies between actual living conditions.
- Social democracy stresses positive rather than simply negative freedom, argue that basic rights and liberties fall short of providing individuals living in difficult socio-economic conditions with meaningful freedom.
- 2nd key to social democratic thought:
- The state playing an active and positive role in society.
- Socialists advocate substantial redistribution of wealth in society.
- Liberals would hesitate waving high taxes on corporations for fear that this policy would hurt the economy; typically socialists have no such qualms as they see large, presumably profitable companies paying high taxes as a matter of social justice.
- Socialists see a need for the state to get not only act as an agent of redistribution, but also as a regulator of the economy
- Socialism also pays particular attention to minority and disadvantaged groups in society
- Ex. Supports the traditional demands of women's groups, the claim of homosexual couples to marry, right for immigrant communities to promote native culture.
- Social Democracy
- Communism
- Both favour public ownership in order to eliminate economic inequalities.
- S.D.- collective ownership of means of production
- Distribute resources depending on the work done

- Socialism can develop in democracies, selection in order to benefit the working class
- Socialists work within the capitalist system and provide legal protection to workers
- Adhere to democratic societies.

Chapter 6: Fascism

- Fascism contradicts liberal democratic ideal and principles
- It adheres to one-party states, government by force, the use of coercion to quash freedom of expression, and control over instruments of communication
- Fascist Corporatism
- National Socialism (Nazism)

Historical Origins of Fascism

- Emerged after WWI during a period of great social and political upheaval brought by the post-war economic crisis and the spread of communism and socialism
- Discontented WWI veterans, unemployed and certain segments of the working class joined fascist movements drawn by fascism's appeal to nationalist sentiments
- Ultimately, fascism cut across all social groups.
- Italian fascism first emerged in 1914 when revolutionary nationalists, led by Benito Mussolini, formed the organization "Fasci di Combattimento" led to transformation of the New Fascist Party in 1921.
- Mussolini was a former activist in the social movement who had been expelled from the party for his nationalist views for his support of Italy's entry into WWI.
- Used terror to abolish other political parties.
- Nationalist views were on the rise after allies promised to support Italian territorial demands in Austria-Hungary after the war was not kept.
- Used pageantry, propaganda and terror and presented himself as Italy's hero
- Reorganized into corporatist arrangement, the state regulated economic affairs by incorporating labour and industry groups in the state apparatus with fascist corporatism
- Labour disputes and strikes were rendered illegal and industry had to take direction from state agencies responsible for setting prices and wages and for establishing the terms of employment production, and distribution for individual sectors.
- By 1924, the fascist regime had reorganized trade unions and industry associations into 22 corporations.
- Economic and political ability of the fascist state and corporatist arrangement began disintegrating with Italian expansionism in Ethiopia and Italy's alignment with Hitler's Germany in WWII
- In process of losing war, Fascist grand council rebelled against Mussolini, who was later dismissed by Victor Emmanuel III
- Soon after, the Fascist party was disbanded and Italy surrendered to the allied forces

- Mussolini was captured and executed in April 1945.

National Socialism and Nazism

- Nazism emerged in Germany after World War I as a reaction against communism and the liberal-rational tradition.
- Their attempt inspired fear among members of the middle and upper classes. As it did in Italy, the fear of communism inspired by the conservative segment of German society to join ultra-nationalist right-wing parties and organizations aimed at bringing about the downfall of the Weimar Republic.
- Adolf Hitler's Nationalist Socialist German Workers' Party, also known as the Nazi Party
- Hitler opportunistically exploited German dissatisfaction with the 1919 Versailles Treaty, which had assigned responsibility for the war on Germany and ordered the country to pay huge and extraordinarily onerous reparations to the allied nations
- Also exploited the misery of the German people during the Great Depression, appealing to their frustrations and insecurities.
- The Enabling Act- essentially outlawed the Communist party and conferred to him total dictatorial powers
- Nazi doctrine was institutionalized in Germany's law and court system. Like Mussolini, Hitler established a corporatist state.
- He disbanded trade unions and strictly controlled the country's economic affairs
- Also regulated all aspects of cultural life including schools and the press, in an effort to quash dissent and strengthen the racial consciousness of the German people.
- Party created youth groups like the Hitler Youth and the League of German Girls, and organized youth ceremonies to indoctrinate children and adolescents in its racist worldview
- Propaganda was also an important tool of the Nazi regime, which used words and images in art, literature and film to exploit the status of the party and its leader.
- Consistent with the Nazis' doctrine of racial superiority, the empire would lay claim to the superiority of the Aryan race and domination of "inferior" races
- Represented values of the Enlightenment tradition, such as reason, equality, and individualism, values that threatened the union
- In early years of war, Germany succeeded in conquering many parts of Europe, including Poland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France, and the Balkan states

Basic Tenets of Fascism

- Unity and power are central features of fascist doctrine
- Fascism rejects the Enlightenment ideals of rationality and individual liberty, and champions a collectivist ideology that focuses on the needs and aspirations of the national community
- Fascism appeals to emotions rather than reason, and glorifies instinctive, aggressive action as a creative force
- Depicts liberal society as spiritually empty, because it forces individuals to compete with one another in the pursuit of material ends.
- A people, in fascist doctrine, are defined as distinct faction or group within a society that is united through language, culture, tradition, or territory.
- Life according to Fascism is conceived as duty-duty to the state, the nation, and future generations of the collective.
- “The Fascist accepts life and loves it, knowing nothing of and despising suicide: he rather conceives of life as duty and struggle and conquest” - Mussolini
- Conservatism and Fascism have several similarities including the rejection of the principle of equality. They affirm “the immutable, beneficial, and fruitful inequality of mankind”
- Critical of rationalism
- Fascism calls for the creation of a new society/ community and the dismantling of traditional institutions (eg. Religious)
- This stands in contrast to conservatism
- Fascism’s political goal is to establish a new social and political order based on a unified national and/or ethnic identity
- For this reason, it rejects Marxism’s class-based politics, arguing that it promotes allegiances that divide and weaken the national community
- Under fascism, class conflict is institutionalized and managed through corporatism, an arrangement in which labour and business groups are integrated within the state apparatus.
- The economy is heavily regulated and controlled by the state through this corporatist structure
- Fascist state is a totalitarian state due to the extensive control it exerts on its individual citizens
- Fascism views the state as having ultimate moral and political authority
- Fascist leader makes use of myths and rituals to mobilize and manipulate the masses. His reign is also maintained through a totalitarian regime of propaganda, and terror
- The dictator is the epitome of Weber’s charismatic authority, receiving religious-like adulation from the masses.
- Nazism distinguishes itself by extreme or radical nationalism based on race.

Chapter 7: Feminism and Environmentalism

Feminism

- Concepts and Themes:
- Feminism is an ideology and political project based on the belief that men and women are treated unequally socially, politically, and economically. It aims to identify and abolish the sources of women's oppression in all spheres of life.
- Gender is used to describe those characteristics of men and women that are socially constructed rather than biologically determined.
- Patriarchy is an institutionalized system of mere domination and power, which subordinates and marginalizes women.
- Feminism seeks to abolish patriarchy and other systems of subordination and privilege, such as racism, through social and political activism

Overview of the Women's Movement

1. First wave feminism- Equal civil and political rights, legal power
 2. Second wave feminism- Economic opportunity, civil liberty, and to achieve equality. (Child care, reproductive rights)
 3. Third wave feminism- Diversity, identity, recognition of all women.
- Tensions between western feminism and third world feminism are illustrated by the debate over the hijab, a veil worn by Muslim women to cover their heads and faces
 - Western feminist regard as symbol of women oppression. Muslim women see it as a symbol of freedom from western cultural imperialism and domination.

Strands of Feminism

Liberal feminism- informed by the principles of equality, fairness, and individual autonomy. Adheres to the humanist conception of the individual as a rational autonomous agent.

- Criticized lack of educational opportunities for women, claiming that it kept them in a state of ignorance and rendered them dependent on their husbands.
- Women are entitled to same rights and opportunities enjoyed by men.
- Equal pay for work of equal value
- Political project in public realm
- Classical liberal feminist focus on changing discriminating laws that apply to women.
- Maternity leave, equal pay, property rights, human rights legislation

- Welfare feminists, argue that feminist project should also focus on eliminating socio-economic barriers that impede women from recognizing their true human potential.

Marxist-Socialist Feminism

- Offers a class perspective regarding the root of women's oppression in society that originates in the nineteenth century works of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.
- Viewing inequality between the sexes in structural terms.
- Argues that women's subordination is rooted in both patriarchy and capitalism
- Engels contended that gender relations and inferior status of women in society are inextricably linked to the capitalist economy.
- Argue that women's labour has led to women performing "double duty", working for wages while still undertaking domestic jobs.
- Liberation of women can only occur under socialism.

Radical Feminism

- Helped define second-wave feminist movement
- Originated late 1960s out of civil rights and new left movement in North America, Britain, and France.
- Women treated as clerical assistants or sex object by their male coworkers rather than as equal partners in the organization.
- Point out that women around the world are oppressed regardless of economic system they live under.
- All forms of oppression such as racism, ageism, and environmental degradation are rooted in patriarchy.
- Biological reproduction is primary source of women's oppression
- Domestic Violence, incest, rape, sexual harassment, pornography
- Choose to work outside the system, seeking radical, personal and social transformations.

Environmentalism

- All embracing term used to describe a number of different themes, activities and perspectives related to the issue of environment.
- Defined as a belief system and political project that seeks to protect the quality and continuity of life through the conservation, preservation, or protection of the natural environment and its inhabitants.

- Anthropocentrism- based on the principle of a human-centred world, where humans are assigned to a superior status in their relationship with nature. The natural environment exists to serve the needs of human beings.
- Eco centrism- offers more organic view of world and rejects anthropocentrism. Recognizes the interdependence and interconnection between humans and nonhumans
- Sustainable development- development that meets the needs of the present. Represents the reconciliation of economic development with the integrity of the ecological system

History of Environmental Movement

- Early conservationists and preservationists were concerned with the impact of industrialization and Europeans colonialism on the natural environment.
- Ideals of conspired landscapes and sought to protect natural resources and wildlife for future generations.
- Early conservatists and preservatists had an anthropocentric view of the environment, wanted to protect nature and wildlife for the spiritual, recreational, or economic pursuits of human beings
- Preservationists- created national parks, which preserved forests and wildlife from exploitation.
- 2nd wave, challenged notion that human beings were destined to control nature and instead portrayed humans and nature as intertwined in the complex web of life
- Concluded that continued use of certain pesticides on agricultural land would irrevocably harm birds and animals and contaminate the world's food supply.
- Germany's green party (1990s)
- 1980s + 1990s- 3rd wave, sought to harmonize environmentalism with free markets and economic grants
- Sustainable development- legitimate compromise between economic interests and environmental protection
- Kyoto Accord- rejected by US.

Branches of Environmentalism

Shallow Ecology Perspective

- Seeks to achieve short-term environmental objectives within existing institutions and processes
- Least political of the branches, personal environmentalism seeks to make a positive impact on the environment through individuals incorporating sensible and earth-friendly practices in their day-to-day lives
- Recycling, carpooling, driving fuel-efficient cars, and cutting down on water use are strategies that make up a good environmental citizen.

- Reform environmentalism seeks to achieve political mandate within the policy process
- Seeks legislative and policy changes such as anti-pollution legislation, bans on the use of certain pesticides, waste disposal strategies, stopping nuclear testing, etc. In an effort to protect the local or global environment.
- Intent to fix current state of environment without overhauling the prevailing political and economic order.

Deep Ecology

- Deep ecology calls for fundamental change in the relationship between humans and the environment
- Environmental problems of today are rooted in the industrial capitalism, which itself is based on the domination of nature
- Human beings are just one particular strand in the web of life
- Ecocentric view, humans equal to any other living being
- Ideology that bases on principle that nature and wildlife are worthy of moral consideration and that this principle should govern social, economic, and political relations.
- Makes link between ecological diversity and cultural diversity
- Emphasizes the importance of place and community, theorists argue that ecology movements must recognize that the issues of sustainability and ecology are intimately linked to issues of justice and equity.

Bioregionalism

- Challenges the supposed right of human beings exploit, develop, and own land.
- Advocate the “remapping” of regions and cultures along natural elements of the ecosystem including rivers, mountain ranges, and forests rather than man-made structures.
- Societies and communities must get in touch with natural rhythms of the land to ensure social and economic development occurs at a pace that protects and maintains the long-term health of ecology
- Favour protectionist policies that minimize world trade and encourages the economic self-suffering of a region

Ecofeminism

- Argue that the root cause of environmental degradation is not anthropocentrism, but rather patriarchy
- The domination of nature and subordination of women are interconnected

- Recognizing the historical connection between nature and women, Eco feminists regard industrialization and the nation of technological progress as male projects meant to control both the natural environment and women.
- Call for radical transformation of society, which entails dismantling the hierarchical relations of patriarchy and replacing them with a worldwide view that recognizes the intrinsic value of other peoples, animals, and the physical environmental

Environmentalism in Contemporary Politics

- Fundamental critique of contemporary politics and economics
- U.N.E.P. (United Nations Environmental Program) (sustainable development)
- Environmentalists argue that economic globalization, International free trade agreements; undermine the ability of governments to adequately protect the environment.
- Deep ecologists reject left/right wing debate who view it as an ideological construct of industrialization.

Chapter 8: The State

State Formation in the West

- The modern state is a creature of the Peace of Westphalia (1648)
- The sovereign “Westphalia State” has been the hallmark of the international system for some time now.
- 1st feature is cultural homogeneity- well-defined local vernaculars demarcated these populations into linguistic groups unable to communicate with one another. First nation-states would emerge around these local linguistic groups.
- 2nd feature is that the majority of the population practices a peasant way of life. The historical importance of modern states should not be underestimated. It allowed state makers, in this case ruler, to tax the peasants as they saw fit. This ability to extract resources from the peasants allowed rulers to use these resources for their own objectives: namely, to finance their growing armies and to wage wars. The existence of a small landlord elite that owned much of the land facilitated this process. It allowed ruler to enter into alliances with these landlords in an effort to subdue and control the peasants.
- 3rd feature is that these areas consisted of extensive decentralized, but relatively uniform political structures. By the 15th century all largely came to share a common understanding of what sovereign state should look like.
- Centralizing efforts at state makers in Western Europe were almost always resisted in the peripheral areas by the peasantry.
- 17th century- peasants rose in rebellion against the attempts of state makers to extend their control over them and to eliminate them as rival semi-autonomous powers.
- State makers used taxation to raise revenues to finance their expanding armies, also required armies to extend, control, and defend their frontiers, and thus allow the ‘rulers’ the ability to use violence effectively within their boundaries.
- The process of state formation required standing armies, which in turn required
- Extracting resources from the population through taxation which led to
- The emergence of new bureaucracies and administrative innovating (state institutions to manage the new resources), led to
- Resistance and rebellion by the subject populations. However, these rebellions were crushed by the rulers’ armies, thus allowing rulers to
- Extend control over more and more areas and hence extract even more resources, thus increasing the power of their armies and of state institutions.

- Single most important casualty of this process was the peasantry, who were destroyed as an autonomous force.

War Making and State Making

- The cyclical dynamic of state formation suggests the existence of a causal relationship between war making and state making
- War making requires financial resources
- Extraction of resources from any population requires the establishment of institutions and the training of cadres responsible for the management of these resources.
- War is at heart of process of creating strong states and institutions
- Modern state's distinguishing characteristics is its sovereignty i.e. the ability to make decisions without interference from external factors.
- Europe was in midst of religious warfare and a constant conflict between the feudal lords and the monarchy
- Law and order problem were resolved by the established use of absolute authority by the European monarchs
- Reformation movement led to separation of Church/State. Luther and Calvin, challenged authority of Catholic church
- Sovereignty is indivisible: there can be only singly secular sovereign authority residing in one person, which nobody can override.

The Welfare System

- Welfare state took shape mainly between the two world wars
- John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), advocated alternative notion, the equality of opportunity, to exercise those rights, though he stopped short of advocating an equality of outcomes for all.
- Welfare state amounted to an expansion of state duties beyond simply protecting private property to include a more active or interventionist role in promoting distributive justice.
- Employment insurance, health insurance, collective bargaining rights, maternity leave.
- Political economic logic of welfare state suggested financing these benefits by taxing private businesses and introducing a system of progressive personal income taxes.
- New Deal objective was to promote equal opportunity for all, and to give individual freedom palpable value
- Without state intervention, individuals can neither be free nor equal
- Welfare state liberalism lead to ever-expanding state apparatus, whose drive was directed toward satisfying ever-increasing social demands.

State Formation in the Rest of the World

- Colonial powers created the essential features of a modern state
- The territorial state and its administrative structure now defined the arena, or the political space in which most of meaningful political life took place.
- The commercial and industrial bourgeoisie as well as the urban middle classes, had to organize themselves in a way that made sense in terms of the new political realities; on the other hand, those who did not or could not, namely the rural and the lower urban classes, were marginalized and weakened.
- States created by colonial powers in developing world were artificial because these new states were many times larger than the political systems, whether tribal or dynastic, that they displaced or encapsulated.
- Consequently, expansion of territorial space and the concentration of politics at the centre of the new states that politicized ethnic identities and created ethnic conflict in many parts of the developing world.
- Control over state institutions opened the way for control over state resources, state economic planning, and the state's coercive machinery
- In states, compromising different ethnic, religious, sectarian, or tribal groups, competition over control of state resources is always a conflict. What one group considers a gain is considered a loss by another.

Defining the State

- Max Weber: continuous administration staff, military who has monopoly on violence, financial and tax apparatus to support military and administration.
Territoriality
- The nation state denotes that political organization where the state and the nation tend to overlap
- Most contemporary states are home to multiple nations or ethnic groups
- Social organizations in developing countries actively resist a state's effort at acquiring a substantial level of control over its citizens through monopolization, the stipulation of social values, governing peoples' behaviours.
- Social organizations control the available material resources and manipulate the imaginative symbols that make up peoples' "strategies for survival", the blueprints that guide people in their actions and beliefs in a contested social environment
- In conflict environment, the strength (or weakness) if a state hinges upon its capability to reorganize society and execute state-planned social change in a manner that allows it to enforce its control.
- State capabilities include; the capacities to penetrate society, regulate social relationships, extract resources, and appropriate or use resources in determined ways. (Pg.154 textbook for examples)

States and Regimes

- States- Europe and North America, democratic states with powerful institution structures, the governing bodies of these states are called the administration or the government.
- Ex. Bush Administration, Clinton Presidency, the Blair government.
- Many non-democratic states that lack powerful institutions, we refer to the government bodies as regimes.
- Regime- that nexus of alliances within and without the formal bureaucratic and public sectors that the leader forms in order to gain power and to keep it.
- Iraqi regime, changes of regimes can/may bring with it either a complete transformation of the political system or the death of the leader, or both.

Chapter 9: Executives and Legislatures

- The making, the execution and the interpretation of laws- 3 main functions of government:
- Legislature, the Executive, the Judiciary

The Legislature

- Central task of the legislature is law production
- May be either unicameral or bicameral
- Veto player of a legislature process is defined as an actor whose consent is required for the status-quo bill to be changed and amended.
- In states with bicameral legislature, the first or lower chamber is elected on the principle of popular representation, while the second or upper chamber is organized on the basis of some other principle.
- In some countries, like Canada, each district is entitled to elect one representative, but there are many states around the world with multimember constituencies (ex. Poland)
- Actual names of the lower chambers often express this idea of popular representation. Thus, we find first chambers are called the House of Commons (Canada and Britain), or the House of Representatives (United States).
- Similarly, the names of the second chamber usually express the underlying principle of representation: the upper chamber of Indian Parliament is called the Council of States (Rajya, Sahah), suggesting that it provides representation for the subnational units of the federation (the states), second chambers are often called the Senate (Canada and US)
- Members of legislature receive committee assignments depending on their background, expertise, interests, and seniority
- Standing committees on finance/foreign affairs deal with issue areas of great national significance and, as a result, tend to be more prestigious than others.
- Some committee's can be weak because of inadequate resources, facilities, or the large number of assignments per legislator.
- The more committee assignments a legislator have, the smaller the chances that he/she becomes an expert in any one specific area of legislation.
- Legislative committees may be of three major types;
 1. Permanent or Standing = permanent nature
 2. Ad Hoc
 3. Joint
- Permanent/standing- mandated to look after bills proposed in clearly defined issues or policy areas. Normally they exercise oversight and scrutiny over the activity of the government department and the civil service in the area of responsibility.

- If the number of standing committees is lower, than government departments enjoy greater scope of freedom and autonomy from legislative oversight
- Ad Hoc- Legislature may decide to form an ad hoc committee in order to examine and investigate a particularly sensitive issue, scandal, or problem of immediate and major concern to the population.
- Joint Committees- Bicameral legislatures may appoint joint committees in order to resolve conflicts that may emerge between the two chambers in the legislative process, or simply to ensure that representatives from both chambers are adequately involved in scrutinizing the government
- Where the law making body brings together individuals from various economic classes and cleavage groups (whether ethnic, linguistic, regional or linguistic minorities), it is very likely that the laws passed by the legislature will both be reflective of and responsive to the needs and views of the widest possible range of interests in the political community.
- First-past-the-post is generally referred to as the plural electoral system where the eventual winner has to win only plurality of the votes cast in the constituency.
- This suggests that the nature of the electoral system and the voting rule in a polity has a significant influence on the ability of the legislature to fulfill its represented function.
- In non-democratic regimes, the token representation of diverse social groups in the legislature can be actually used by the political elite to enhance the legitimacy of the non-democratic regime!
- Since most social groups are represented in the legislature; it is easy to claim that the laws of the land are reflective of the needs of the general population even though legislatures are not elected in contested elections.
- The representation of women was slightly higher in lower houses and unicameral legislatures than in upper houses: in the former 15.6 percent of all deputies were female while in the latter the corresponding figure is only 14.5 percent.

The Executive

- Collectively, the executive branch of government is responsible for implementing the laws made by the legislature
- Top of hierarchy within the executive is the head of state, which not only symbolizes the unity of the state, but, depending on the constitution, may also have important and effective political powers.
- 2 main types of head of state:
 1. The elected (president, governor general)
 - Directly elected head of state- France
 - Indirect heads of state elected- Germany/India
 2. The Hereditary (British Commonwealth)
 - Norway and Netherlands

- Governor general represents the British Monarch, who technically remains the head of state
 - Hereditary chief executives tend to have least amount of political power, their role is primarily ceremonial and titular
-
- While the overwhelming majority of states have a single person performing the functions of the head of state, some states have a collegial chief executive
 - Seven member Swiss Federal Council was designed as a consociation device to allow the main political and linguistic groups of this deeply divided land to share political power.
 - Executives can be distinguished in terms of the relationship between the head of state and the head of government
 1. Executives in which the two officers are held by the same person
 2. Executive branches in which the two roles are played by different individuals (split executive)
 - The elected president of the US as well as the directly elected presidents of Southern Cone Latin America and a number of post-Soviet Central Asian states fuse the two functions
 - In contrast, the directly elected presidents of Western (France) and Eastern Europe (e.g. Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria) do not function as heads of government at the same time.
 - After the head of state, the head of government makes up the next rung in the executive hierarchy
 - Duty of head of government is the day-to-day management of the executive branch, it is assisted by the council members or Cabinet
 - In some political systems such as G.B. or Canada, Cabinets are collectively responsible to the legislature
 - Doctrine of collectively responsible to the legislature
 - Doctrine of collective cabinet responsibility encourages both teamwork and consensual decision-making in the cabinet.
 - Individual ministerial responsibility, which means that each minister is responsible for the affairs of the department or ministry, that he or she heads
 - Where individual ministerial responsibility is an established practice, ministers may be compelled to resign their positions as a result of scandal or failure of policy delivery
 - In political systems where these doctrines are practiced, the head of government is essentially a primus inter pares, meaning that he is the first, or prime minister among his ministerial colleagues who are technically considered his equals.
 - PRIME MINISTER- decides to call a vote of confidence in the legislature.
 - In Germany, for example, the ministers named by the chancellor (prime minister) are responsible directly to the chancellor, not the legislature

- Once elected, the chancellor can be removed only by a constructive vote of no confidence, which requires that the opposition parties agree on an alternative prime minister.

Presidential and Parliamentary Forms of Government

- 3 types of government:
- Presidential, Parliamentary, and semi-presidential

Essential characteristics of the presidential government:

1. The direct election of the chief executive (in fact, this executive is called the president)
 2. Executive and legislature terms that are fixed independent of one another
 3. The heading of the cabinet by the directly elected chief executive
 4. (US, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Nigeria, Senegal)
 5. Some legislative authority in the hands of the directly elected chief executive
- These 4 characteristics promote a separation of powers between the executive and the legislature
 - The two branches are essentially independent of one another.

Parliamentary form of government

- Characterized by the fusion of legislative and executive authority. Thus, the parliamentary form of government
 1. Does not have a directly elected chief executive
 2. Has terms of its executive and legislature that are contingent on the confidence of the legislature
 3. Has a head of state who normally appoints the head of government, who directs the composition of the cabinet
 4. Has a head of state with no legislative authority
 5. Canada, Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago, UK, Italy, Germany

Semi-Presidential (also called Premier-presidential)

1. The direct election of the chief executive (president)
 2. The wide range of powers granted to the directly elected president
 3. The presence of a cabinet, and the prime minister who are subject to the confidence of the legislature
 4. France, Austria, Finland, Poland, Russia
- Most presidential forms of government are found in Latin America
 - Most parliamentary systems of government are found in Western Europe and the former non-British/European colonies

- Among the new democracies of Eastern Europe the semi-presidential form of government has been the most popular choice
- By virtue of the separate elections of the executive and the legislature in the presidential and semi-presidential systems, it is possible that different political forces, or coalitions of political parties will come to control the two branches of government
- According to some, a divided government creates deadlock between the two branches of government, reduces the efficiency of policy making, and slows decision making
- George Tsebelis showed that the impact of divided government on law making depends on the ideological position of the players whom control the branches. If they are located far apart from one another in the ideological space, then legislative deadlock will most likely characterize their relationship
- Despite the common functions of modern government, ways of organizing inter-branch relations are extremely diverse.

Chapter 10: Federalism and Federations

- Federalism- Canadian government

Conceptual Distinctions:

- Federalism and federations are also about structuring and organizing political power, but they refer to the territorial division of power: which unit is empowered to act in which policy area (education, social services, the environment etc.)
- Federalism is understood as a principle of government that seeks to reconcile unity and diversity through the exercise of political power along multiple autonomous levels.
- Federation refers to political systems where two or more levels of government are sovereign within their own specified jurisdiction
- The crux of this principle is the idea of combining self rule and shared rule
- Different political units can live together yet apart since they share a government while at the same time having their own
- These units coexist within a common political framework, but also enjoy political autonomy
- Therefore, federalism attempts to maintain the delicate balance between the federal government's tendency to favour centralization and the will of the units to preserve and/or expand their own powers.

Federalism has two main political uses

1. Fragmentation of political power and creation of check and balance
2. Margins ethnic, linguistic, or religious diversity.

- Federalism is a liberal idea
- Limits power that an individual, group, or government can have, and features two poles of political power that can monitor and check each other's actions.

Federation- more descriptive concept referring to types of political systems, more specifically to the way the territory is structured politically.

- Showing sovereignty between levels of government
- Federal and constituent (federated) unit
- 3 features:
 1. Formal division of power between central and regional government
 2. Division of power is specified in a constitution
 3. Fiscal capabilities of units is a factor affects autonomy (unity, diversity, self-rule, shared rule, independence, interdependence)
- In most federations, constitutional change in division of power requires a qualified majority in the 2 federal legislature, one which supports the constituent units and the support of majority of themselves.

Unitary State and Confederation

- Unitary states are generally more centralized than federations, although they may have, like federations, more than one level of government
- Crucial features of a unitary state is that whatever powers, regions, or other governments have, they are delegated only by the central state, which means they can be “brought back: at any time without the approval of regional governments. In other words, the division of power can be changed unilaterally, by the central government. This is due to the fact that the division of power is not written into the constitution; rather, it is specified in an ordinary law that can be changed with a majority in parliament.
- Confederation is a political unit composed of independent states that accept to cede some of their sovereignty to common institutions. Each state remains independent, and decisions typically require unanimity
- Swiss Confederation, longest-lived confederation

Intergovernmental Relations and Fiscal Arrangements

- Division of powers in federations almost never translates into a situation where the two levels of government can act without having to interact with one another
- Executive federalism and corporative federalism
- Main actors of executive federalism are members of government as well as high-level civil servants. Generally features meetings of cabinet ministers on issues relevant to the portfolio.
- Cooperative federalism coordination and information sharing was done through different levels of bureaucracy
- 2 Financial transfer types:
 1. Conditional- transfers for which the federal government stipulates how the funds should be spent
 2. Unconditional- transfers come with no strings attached

Centralization/Decentralization, Symmetry/Asymmetry

- 3 Criteria for centralization/decentralization
 1. It is written in the constitution
 2. Government expenditures
 3. Looking at federal institution
- Symmetry in federalism means that all constituent units have a similar status and similar powers
- Asymmetry involves one or more constituent units having distinct status and different powers.

Chapter 15: Nations and Nationalism

Definitions and Conceptual Distinctions

- Political scientists often use the concept of nation interchangeably with other concepts such as state and ethnic group while ethnicity, and even tribalism, sometimes substitute for nationalism.

Distinctions of a nation:

1.

- Nation is not a state
- Political leaders speak of nations when referring to states
- The state is a legal concept, determined by sovereignty and international recognition, while the nation is sociological in nature and represents therefore a more subjective concept characterized by identity.
- Consequently, a state may harbour more than one nation. Ex. Spain, where Catalonia and the Basque Country may be considered nations distinct from the Spanish one.
- A nation may also be spread out in several different states. Ex. Case of the Kurds, since a group they exhibit a sense of solidarity that does not conform to formal citizenship, be it Turkish, Syrian, Iranian, or Iraqi.
- The state (legal concept) sometimes corresponds to the nation (sociological one). This is the case for the US and some other countries, most of which- Norway, Portugal, Korea, and Japan- are ethnically and linguistically homogenous.

2.

- Less clear and more controversial
- Between nation and ethnic groups
- Typically, the literature on nationalism uses the label “ethnic group” when discussing developing countries and, to a lesser extent, Eastern Europe (the Yoruba’s of Nigeria, the Serbs, etc.) and “nation” in reference to industrialized democracies (Quebec, Scotland, Catalonia)
- Nations are generally portrayed as modern, developed, and democratic, while ethnic groups tend to be depicted as backward, exclusive, and a source of violence.
- Nation has an inherent political dimension
- Both nations and ethnic groups are human communities united by a special sense of solidarity deriving from shared features, most importantly, language, religion, ancestry, history, myths, and symbols.
- Definition of the nation needs to highlight that this human community seeks, in the name of this solidarity, to gain or maintain a distinct political situation, usually autonomy or independence

3.

- Only the former sometimes refers to immigrant communities within established states (for example, the Italians of Toronto)

- Political scientists also disagree on what constitutes the nation
- Involves subjective and objective conceptualizations of the nation
- Objective conceptualization suggests that nations are products of shared objective criteria
- Stalin argued that the nation was a “stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.
- The subjective conceptualization suggests that nations exist first and foremost as a result of a collective act of will and a voluntary decision to belong.
- A nation is not readily identifiable to the external observer since its existence is a matter of choice. It is an “imagined community”. Therefore, a nation is whatever group says it constitutes a nation.

Nationalism

- Four sets of distinctions permeate discussions on this concept
1. Terminological use of nationalism and the related concept of ethnicity.
 - Scholars tend to make a similar distinction between nationalism and ethnicity as they do between nation and ethnic group. They use nationalism to speak of developed societies, has more positive connotations than “ethnicity”, which tends to be reserved for developing countries and linked with conditions of backwardness, ethnocentrism, and violence.
 - Nationalism is inherently political while ethnicity can be strictly cultural
 2. The views of nationalism as an ideology or idea, and as a movement or political process
 - Nationalism is the idea that the political and cultural units should be congruent
 - Political scientists tend to speak much more of nationalism as a concrete political process, usually linked to modernization, that involves identity and mobilization.
 - Nationalism is a movement that makes political claims on behalf of a nation and on the basis of a national identity
 3. Between state and sub-state nationalism
 - State nationalism refers to the nationalism of existing states, that is, to German nationalism, American nationalism, Japanese nationalism, and so on.
 - Just like sub-state nationalism, it is characterized by a sense of solidarity that underpins a collective identity, but its aim is obviously not the creation of a new political entity
 - French nationalism, for example, was a central force in World War I, where it was stimulated by Germany’s political and military ambitions.

- The German nationalism that led to World War I, where it was stimulated by Germany's political and military ambitions
- The German nationalism that led to World War II, blending notions of racial superiority with goals of expansion and domination, is an extreme example of the latter instance.

4. The concepts of "ethnic" and "civic" nationalism

- Some nationalisms are "ethnic" while others are "civic"
- In the case of ethnic (or cultural) nationalism, these criteria are accretive, which means one is born with them and they cannot be readily acquired. In other words, inclusion in the nation is a matter of meeting specific criteria that are either totally or mostly objective.
- Race and ancestry are the two most rigid criteria.
- Of course, Nazi Germany serves as an extreme example of nationalism where inclusion and exclusion is determined by factors beyond an individual's control
- For example, children born in Germany of foreign parents were, as recently as 2000, not automatically granted German citizenship
- Since ethnic nationalism distinguished between insiders and outsiders on the basis of features that, at the very least, are difficult to acquire, it is generally viewed negatively by political scientists
- Ethnic nationalism puts minorities in a precarious position because it involves political power being exercised in the name of a particular group and works on a logic of homogeneity and homogenization.
- It is therefore not surprising that ethnic nationalism is typically characterized as backward, unenlightened, and dangerous.
- Two situations make nationalism more likely.
- The first is a social, political, economic, and ideological context that does not correspond to Western modernity. In other words, secular industrialized societies with liberal-democratic traditions and high levels of economic development would not be good candidates for the development of ethnic nationalism.
- The second situation considered favourable to ethnic nationalism is when a nationalist movement seeks the creation of an independent state.
- Civic nationalism refers to a type of nationalism that emphasizes choice as opposed to objective criteria. In practical terms, this means that the only condition required to be included in a nation is to live within its territorial borders and accept its laws.
- The traditional examples here are France and the United States. In France, the conception of the nation has its roots in the 1789 Revolution, which framed the political community in the language of freedom and equality of rights.
- Civic nationalism is generally considered to be the "good" nationalism.

- It is argued that, while ethnic nationalism is linked to pre-modern and developing societies, civic nationalism is an offshoot of modernity.
- Finally, nationalism is said to have more chance of being civic when it supports an already existing state because it is likely to engage as heavily in nationalist mobilization as a movement seeking state creation.
- Three main problems have been identified:
 1. First, few nationalisms seem to be either purely civic or ethnic.
 - In France, citizens of North African backgrounds are not that well accepted by some segments of French society.
 - The FN decries immigration as a threat to the coherence of the French nation and targets populations of immigration as a threat to the coherence of the French nation and targets populations of immigration as a threat to the coherence of the French nation and targets populations of North African origins who, despite the fact they speak French, are still considered outsiders because of their religion (they tend to be Muslims) and the colour of their skin.
 2. The second problem is that sub-state nationalism can be mostly civic while state nationalism can be mostly ethnic
 3. Finally, some political scientists have argued that the civic-ethnic distinction suffers from a Western bias because it suggests that the “good” civic nationalism is primarily associated with the developed West while the “bad” ethnic nationalism is primarily associated with Eastern Europe and developing countries.

Modernism and Primordialism

- It pits, modernists against primordialists.
- The fundamental argument of modernists is threefold:
 1. First, nations and nationalism are modern rather than ancient.
 - Nations are constructed, they have no significant pre-modern roots, and their emergence can be understood strictly in the context of a transition from traditional to modern societies that occurred at the earliest in late seventeenth-century Europe.
 - In other words, modernization demands cultural homogenization for the sake of social unity and economic effectiveness
 - Differently put, modern societies need fluid channels of communication and, therefore, cultural homogeneity
 - As a consequence, modernists suggest that for the first time in human history, political authority governed in the name of one population, not several, that occupied a well-circumscribed territory and was thought to form a social and cultural whole.

- In other words, political competition in the context of the modern state produces references to territory and culture that spur the construction of nations.
- The modernist argument is that nationalism creates nations, and not the other way around.
-
- 2. Second modernist argument is that the origins of nations and nationalism are European
 - Originate from the French Revolution
 - Political power was to be exercised, and wars fought, in the name of this political community, the nation, which rested on the principles of liberty, equality, and solidarity
 - The modernist perspective also has clear implications for the grounding of nations and nationalism outside Europe, particularly in the developing world.
 - Indeed, modernists explain nationalism in the developing world by colonization, arguing that the concept of nation was brought over to, and indeed forced upon, Asian, African, Latin American, and Middle Eastern societies by colonial powers.
- 3. Third argument is that culture is not important in the constitution of nations
 - They argue that nations and nationalism are socially and politically constructed rather than culturally determined
 - They are often without any tangible cultural basis or, at least almost always deprived of any straightforward continuous cultural history.
 - What is important about cultural markers such as language, modernists suggest, is that they serve as a resource for the creation of symbols and myths that are central to nationalism and its popular appeal.
 - Indeed, the modernist perspective greatly stresses the idea that nationalism is about the re-invention of tradition and the re-interpretation of history for purposes of mobilizing the masses and achieving political power.
- Primordialists are sceptical towards the modernist position that nations are constructed, instead they suggest there is a certain naturalness to nations
- In this context, nations cannot be purely modern phenomena
- In other words, nations have direct ancestries; they have a genealogy.
- For example, this view suggests that contemporary Basque or Scottish nationalism is only the most recent expression of a cultural community that has consistently expressed its personality, if not necessarily politically, then at least through poetry, the arts, and so on.
- There exists, “ancient nations” and Primordialists point to Egypt, Ethiopia, Armenia, Greece, and Israel as examples.
- In sum, nations create nationalism

- Primordialists also disagree with the modernist argument that nations and nationalism are a European invention
- In other words, Primordialists suggest that, while the term “nation” may have European origins, the reality of the nation is, and has always been, universal.
- Primordialists would, for example, point at Aboriginal populations in the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand as clear cases of non-Western nations that existed long before the arrival of European settlers.
- A cultural unity and identity permeating a political system strongly connected to territory.
- Modernists would oppose this position by suggesting that the absence of a fully developed state with clear territorial boundaries, which hosts a population whose members, at least for the most part, never have face to face relations, represents a significant qualitative difference from the form of political organization that emerged in eighteenth century Europe and that was subsequently spread around the world.
- Finally, primordialism considers that culture is the most important constitutive element of the nation and the foremost force behind nationalism.
- Primordialists argue that culture, and more specifically language, has a natural symbolic meaning, and that it creates bonds that, because they are deeply intertwined with feelings and emotions, touch the very core of human beings.
- Nations are natural and coherent entities. They pre-exist social interactions and politics. Indeed, their existence is primarily the result of the overwhelming power of culture

Modernism

- Modernism has the merit of confronting the crudest and most simplistic aspects of primordialism: the portrayal of nations as natural, almost eternal entities, and cultural essentialism.
 - Modernists do not view nations as “givens” of social existence but rather the result of socio-political processes of identity construction and political mobilization.
 - Modernism, because it emphasized factors other than culture, has more difficulty in accounting for the power of nationalism as a political force. The modernist perspective can explain how and why myths are fabricated and symbols generated, but it does not say why these myths and symbols resonate within a population.
 - There also exist contending theories of nationalism, each with its strengths and weaknesses.
1. Cultural- idea that culture is a powerful force and that it fulfills the natural need for human beings to have a cultural identity and to belong to cultural, national groups.
 - Nations are objective realities; they exist naturally, and nationalism simply corresponds to their awakening, which can be

triggered by various social, political, economic, or ideological factors. As was the case for primordialism, the cultural explanation for nationalism seems well equipped to tackle the emotional component of nationalism or, in other words, to explain why followers follow.

2. Economic- Holds that nationalism is ultimately the product of the uneven development of the capitalist economy. Its roots are not primarily in culture but rather in material conditions.
 - I- Internal colonialism- tackles nationalism from a neo-Marxist perspective and suggests that it is the consequence of the deliberate exploitation and oppression of peripheral regions by a central state. Therefore underdevelopment produced by economic exploitation is what fuels nationalism. This thesis has been shown to be problematic empirically since nationalist movements have emerged in richer regions such as Catalonia.
 - II- Second version of the economic explanation makes room for nationalism to emerge in these more wealthy regions since it does not make nationalism the result of patterns of oppression but rather the consequence of the territorial discrepancies in capitalist development.
 - These economic explanations seem to capture a dimension of nationalism, since many nationalist claims and grievances are about the central state's territorial distribution of resources and economic development policies.
3. Political approach- nationalism is about power and features elites most prominently.
 - Nationalism is an almost accidental by-product of elite competition: struggles for power between leaders of linguistic groups, for example, would be more likely to structure politics around language and trigger processes of identity construction and nationalist mobilization
 - The usefulness of nationalism for political elites trying to gain an advantage in their power struggles: elites make a strategic decision to mobilize, politicize, and even create identities to further their own immediate political objectives.
 - It is a political outcome that tends to come in the form of a movement, with leaders and followers.
 - The weakness of the political explanation is that it has difficulty explaining why elite competition and power struggles do not always lead to nationalism, even in conditions of cultural diversity.

Nationalism and Globalization

- Does globalization stimulate or marginalize nationalism?
- On state nationalism, the dominant thinking is that it is weakened by globalization

- Economic interdependence, and free trade in particular, lessens the role of the state in governing the economy and, as a consequence, in implementing social policies.
- In Western Europe, where globalization has involved political integration in the form of the European Union (EU), the transfer of power from states to supranational institutions is one additional process that diminishes the power and scope of action of the state, thereby further decreasing its ability to effectively promote and protect national identity
- One view suggests that globalization represents a trend that is contrary to sub-state nationalism.
- In other words, the trend is toward association and integration rather than dissociation and disintegration
- The argument here is that globalization, because it makes state intervention less apparent and less decisive, puts the onus on regional governments to take charge of such issues as economic development and removes many of the benefits these same regions could find in remaining part of the state.

Nationalism in Contemporary Politics

- Perhaps most striking is the fact that Quebec nationalism is the nationalist movement that, among others in Western societies, is closest to achieving secession.
- Before the 1960s, the idea of a French Canadian nation was defined heavily by the Catholic religion and the rural-traditional lifestyle and economy.
- First, the nation was now termed “Quebecois” rather than French-Canadian, and territorial provincial borders circumscribed it.
- Second, religion and descent were evacuated as defining elements in favour of language, which made this new nationalism more civic.
- In others words, recognition and extensive autonomy are said to be necessary since the Quebec government is in the special situation of having to protect the French language and culture in Canada.
- Nationalism in Canada is not limited to Quebec; it can also be found within the Aboriginal populations.
- Indians, Metis, Inuit’s
- Indian Act- this act represents the background for nationalism within this group of Aboriginal’s because its subjugating and controlling character, as exemplified by the many restrictions on individual liberties, left the Indian population with terrible socioeconomic conditions and serious cultural dislocations.
- Self-government, which was included in the failed Charlottetown accord but has not been the focus of comprehensive negotiations since then, and ownership of and access to land, which is the subject of an ongoing judicial process
- Quebec and, to a lesser degree, Aboriginal nationalism presents significant challenges to the Canadian national identity.

- In Spain, Catalan and Basque nationalism was crucial in shaping the institutional arrangements of the post-dictatorship era, which began in the late 1970s.
- Catalan nationalism seeks greater autonomy within Spain but not independence. Its crucial cultural marker is the distinct Catalan language. It is mostly civic and non-violent. Basque nationalism generally seeks independence from Spain rather than autonomy.
- In Belgium, Flemings, who inhabit Flanders in the northern half of the country and are Dutch speakers, succeeded in transforming the state into a federation in 1993 and have since been pushing for further decentralization.
- The decision by the U.K.'s Labour government to implement "devolution", that is, to grant political autonomy to Scotland and Wales, was in large part the result of pressures from Scottish nationalism.
- At the most general level, the transfer of powers from states to the supranational institutions of the European Union involves the relinquishing of sovereignty, which has historically acted as a central pivot of nationhood and national identity.
- The area where nationalism has been a particularly significant political force in the last fifteen years is Eastern Europe.
- In this context, nationalism contributed to the ultimate downfall of the Soviet Union and was the motor for the creation of fifteen new states.
- On the one hand, Czechoslovakia was dissolved into two independent states in 1993, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, primarily as a result of Slovak nationalism. This event is quite significant for scholars of nationalism because it was one of the little peaceful secession in modern history.
- The current republic of Yugoslavia is overwhelmingly Serb
- The genocide of the latter, that is, attempt to eliminate the entire Tutsi population.
- In Nigeria, for example, tensions between Hausas, Yorubas, and Ibos- three groups with distinct languages and histories, which are also divided along religious lines – create political instability and threaten civil peace.
- One reason often invoked for this large number of violent nationalist conflicts in Africa is the arbitrary character of the borders, which were drawn and imposed by colonial powers.
- The Middle East also has at least one significant sub-state nationalism stemming from the Kurdish population, which is found in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey and seeks the creation of an independent state.

Chapter 17: Citizen and Political Community

- Citizenship defines the relationship between the individual and the state as well as the relationship among members of a community.
- Our understanding of citizenship, that is, a person's membership in an organized political community, is being challenged by a number of different forces, including globalization, nationalism, international migration, and multiculturalism.

The Origins of Citizenship

- Citizenship as social membership and participation has its origins in the classical Greek city state or polis
- Aristotle defined a citizen as one who "shares in the administration of justice, and in public offices"
- The ownership of property was a central precondition for the status of citizenship. Moreover, women, slaves, and foreigners were excluded from full citizenship; therefore, they could not vote or hold public office
- The growth of jurisprudence under the Roman Empire helped transform citizenship from a political status to a legal status, giving legally defined rights and protections to all male subject of the empire. The so called citizens, however, were primarily subjects of the emperors and did not participate in the affairs of government.
- The development of modern citizenship as a formal legal status is tied to the transition from feudalism to capitalism and the rise of the nation-state.
- Individual freedoms and rights protecting private ownership lent support to this new form of economic life.
- In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the nation-state became the primary locus within which citizenship was expressed and practiced.
- The French Revolution was a pivotal event in the development of national citizenship.
- Citizenship, political equality, social fraternity.
- The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of equality, and community.
- The Declaration also contributed to the development of national citizenship by recognizing the sovereignty of the nation. As Turner explains, the French Revolution contributed to an important institutional development of the state as a separate entity with specific subjects called citizens.
- Modern citizenship is generally understood in the context of the nation-state
- A citizen is by definition a citizen among citizens of a country among countries. His rights and duties must be defined and limited, not only by those of his fellow citizens, but also by the boundaries of a territory.

Rights-Based Citizenship

- Liberal-democratic model of rights and entitlements.
- T.H. Marshall defined citizenship as a status conferred to individuals who enjoy certain important rights and entitlements as members of a community
- According to Marshall, citizenship comprises three types of civil rights:
 1. Civil
 - Institutionalized in legal doctrines and are meant to protect and uphold the individual freedoms of members of a political community, especially vis-à-vis the state.
 2. Political
 - Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
 - Political rights typically refer to the right to vote and the right to hold or seek political office
 3. Social
 - Social rights of citizenship are closely associated with the welfare state of the post-war era.
 - These rights guarantee a citizen a certain standard of living to share fully in the social heritage of the community.

- Drawing on his analysis of the experience of British workingmen, Marshall put forward an “evolutionary” perspective that regarded the development of citizenship rights as the natural and inevitable consequence of societies evolving into higher and more complex forms, specifically from feudal societies to capitalist societies.
- Citizenship rights developed in three historical stages:
- In eighteenth century Britain, civil rights such as religious freedom and freedom of speech were granted to all male members of the community.
- In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, political rights, specifically the franchise, were extended to all citizens, not just property owners.
- It is important to note however, that the expansion of political and social rights in Britain and in other liberal democracies was at first circumscribed to white males. Certain segments of society, such as women and visible minorities, would gain citizenship rights later through political struggle.
- In the United States, the civil rights movement of the 1960s strove to abolish the status of African Americans as “second-class citizens” and the barriers that prevented them from exercising their political and civil rights.
- These examples of exclusion reveal that the granting of citizenship rights was not always, as Marshall described, a peaceful or evolutionary process; rather, these rights were fought for and won by several groups in society through political struggle.

Limitations of the Rights-Based Model

- Marshall's rights-based model of citizenship has been criticized on a number of fronts. Several scholars argue that Marshall's evolutionary theory describes only the British experience
- It does not take into account the different traditions of citizenship found in different countries.
- Passive and active citizenship (Turner_
- Active citizenship, found in countries with a history of revolutionary struggle such as France and the United States, conceptualizes the citizen as "an active political agent" who has duties and responsibilities to the political community
- Passive citizenship, which is found in Germany and Britain, regards the citizen as "merely a subject of an absolute authority" whereby individuals claim rights and entitlements due to them as members of a political community.
- The strong state tradition in France has led to a public form of citizenship in that country.
- Turner- limited to Western society.
- In post-colonial states, family ties and kinship relationships continue to be the focal points for political loyalty and organization.
- Moreover, social, political, and civil rights in countries like Saudi Arabia, and Jordan hinge on the familial position of the individual citizen.
- Citizenship, therefore, can take numerous different forms depending on a country's unique social and cultural heritage.
- Another limitation of Turner's typology is that it does not recognize the existence of more than one form of citizenship within one country.
- For example, African Americans in the United States and the "underclass" in Britain practice a passive form of citizenship due to their political and economic disempowerment in their society.
- Feminist scholars and activists argue that the model ignores gender differences in the experience of citizenship; the model wrongly assumes citizenship rights are equally available to all members of a political community.
- Moreover, while women have gained access to some political rights, they generally participate less than men in most political activities, such as running for office, because of institutional, cultural, and social barriers.
- Feminist critics argue that Marshall's rights-based model is built around the individual rights of men within a class-differentiated society, ignoring other sources of political and social struggles such as those involving race, ethnicity, and gender.
- The issues of race and immigration have taken centre stage in the debate on citizenship, and touch on all aspects of citizenship-civil, political, and social.

- The right of ethnic minorities and immigrants to enter and settle in a new community often times depends on the particular laws and regulations of both the country of origin and the country where they are living.
- Some countries do not allow or recognize dual citizenship, thereby forcing immigrants to renounce the citizenship of their country of origin
- This limits the political and social rights they have in their new country.
- Countries have also adopted various inclusionary and exclusionary criteria for citizenship status constructed along racial, ethnic, class, or gender divisions. For example, in Germany citizenship is granted not on the basis of ius soli- by place of birth, but rather is granted to an individual on the principle of ius sanguinis, that is, if born of German parents.
- Many countries adopt immigration legislation that sets up, ideological, often racist constructions of boundaries, which allow unrestricted immigration to some and block it completely to others.
- In Canada, immigration policy is governed by certain objectives that are laid out in the Immigration Act
- One of these objectives is the promotion of economic development. To meet this objective, the Canadian government developed the category of “business immigrants” under which immigrants can apply and qualify to become permanent residents of Canada.
- Several analysts argue that the practice of admitting immigrants who can contribute a certain amount of capital to the receiving country essentially “commodifies” citizenship. (Undermine the social rights of immigrants)
- For example, immigrants frequently have to agree that they and any members of their families will not claim any welfare benefits from the state.
- These issues, and the struggles that accompany them, fall outside Marshall’s right-based notion of citizenship
- Liberty, Equality, Universalism - fundamental principles of citizenship
- Proponents of civic republicanism contend that Marshall’s model places too much emphasis on rights and not enough on the duties and responsibilities attached to citizenship that help generate civic virtues and strong civic identities
- While the former approach regards citizenship as a political activity, the second approach regards citizenship as a form of identity.

Multicultural Citizenship and the Politics of Identity

- How to reconcile universal citizenship, which requires equal treatment, with group-based differences, which require special treatment.
- Some social theorists argue that certain group rights should be created and that exceptions to laws and norms should be allowed in an effort to accommodate diversity.
- Multicultural citizenship perspective is critical of the individualistic conception of citizenship because it ignores the differences among people in multicultural or pluralistic societies. The citizenship-as-identity” approach

contends that so-called universal citizenship marginalizes and suppresses social and cultural differences because it imposes a standard that inhibits minority groups from living their lives as members of a majority.

- The argument here is that the emphasis on the individual in the modern conception of citizenship ignores the collective affiliations and commitments that people maintain with their cultural communities.
- “Deep diversity”, “Differentiated citizenship”, or “multicultural citizenship” would place value on minority rights, including cultural rights, rights of representation, and in some instances the right to self-government
- Within this framework, Quebec language laws and cultural policies are justified because they strive to elaborate and protect a collective identity.
- What does “differentiated citizenship” imply in practical terms?
- This could mean greater access and input on the part of disadvantaged groups in decision-making processes as well as assigning veto power on specific policies that directly impact a particular group; for example, reproductive rights for women or the development and use of reservation land for Aboriginal communities.

Civil Society Theory and Active Citizenship

- Citizenship is regarded less as a legal status and more as a mode of political activity and participation
- Aristotle described the citizen as one who participates in the affairs of the state for the common good of the polis.
- Today, proponents of this model, such as civic republicans and participatory democrats, argue that we should abandon the notion and practice of passive citizenship denoted by the rights-based model in favour of a perspective that views the citizen as a political being actively involved in shaping a shared collective identity.
- The defining features of citizenship are therefore communality and participation.
- Civil society theorists argue that these virtues are best learned not in the market but rather in the voluntary associations of civil society, such as families, churches, unions, neighbourhood associations, and community organizations.

Post-National Citizenship and the Case of the European Union

- Analysts argue national citizenship is declining in importance in what is becoming an increasingly “post-national world” “global citizenship”
- The transnational activism of non-governmental organizations and grassroots social movements suggest the possibility of a new form of “global citizenship”
- Global forces are in the process of creating new rights that cut across all cultures and affirm the inherent worth of every human being

- For example, cross-cultural negotiations and mobilization of women's organizations during the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, led to an international political consensus on women's reproductive rights.
- The international agenda on environmental protection and sustainable development is also providing a new conception of citizenship that embodies the rights of present and future generations to clean air and water. (Citizenship that goes beyond borders)
- European Union- several analysts contend that the national conception of citizenship in the EU is today being challenged by a number of global forces, including the internationalization of labour markets, increasing rates of migration, the creation of international political institutions like the EU, and the global discourse on human rights
- The expectation was that these workers would remain on a temporary basis, based on the needs of the national economy
- Instead, guest workers have gradually been incorporated and integrated into the social and political spheres of the host country
- According to some analysts, the intensification of transnational migration is resulting in the formation of a "post-national citizenship".
- Soysal argues that countries are increasingly feeling the pressure to extend membership rights to migrant labourers due to the growing international demands for the protection of human rights
- According to Soysal, "post-national citizenship" replaces nationhood with personhood and national rights with universal human rights.
- Individuals are granted rights not because they are citizens of a nation-state but because of their membership in a transnational political community.
- Our traditional understanding of belonging and membership is being challenged by domestic and international forces
- The political community, which was once associated with the nation-state, is being reconfigured by economic and cultural globalization, increased transnational migration, and the existence of nations without states (e.g. Quebecers and Aboriginal Peoples)
- With the advent of supranational institutions, like the EU, the nation-state is no longer the primary focus of loyalty and allegiance

Chapter 13: Democracy and Democratization

What is Democracy?

- Aristotle distinguished political regimes on the basis of the number of rulers and whether their rule was aimed at serving their own selfish or the general public's interests.
- Robert Dahl- most influential contemporary definition- classifies political regimes according to two criteria: the degree of contestation of political power and the extent of popular participation in such contestation.
- Polyarchy, is on that is characterized by free competition and full participation
- Przeworski's definition- uncertainty of political competition, and winners of political competition do not have control over the power they've won
- Losers know that they can win in future election, it gives them incentives to continue- democratic equilibrium
- Yet, if the losers do not accept their loss and they try to overthrow the winners democratic disequilibrium

The History of Democratization

- The number of states adopting democratic forms of government has continually risen and fallen.
- Samuel Huntington- "waves of democracy", has identified three of them in the history of the modern world.
- First two waves were followed by reverse waves, the collapse of democratic systems and their replacement by alternative non-democratic forms of government
- However, thus far no reverse wave has followed the most recent wave of democracy
- 1st wave- 1828-1926, inter-war period
- 2nd wave, end of WW2 to 1962, democratization during the period was the result of both the reconstruction of the post-war European order and the general move toward decolonization. The collapse of these democracies, together with the rise of military dictatorships in Latin America, accounted for the second reverse wave that lasted until 1975
- The Portuguese Revolution of 1974, with the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship of Antonio Salazar and his successor Caetano, marks the beginning of the third wave in the global resurgence of democracy
- The 3rd wave saw the redemocratization of a large number of states in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. The single largest ripple in the third wave was the democratization of the formerly communist states of Eastern and Central Europe.

- Today, the single largest regional bloc of authoritarian regimes remains the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, followed by sub-Saharan Africa and Asia.

Types of Democracy: Majoritarian and Consensus Democracies

- Abraham Lincoln spoke of democracy as government of the people by the people and for the people.
- According to Arend Lijphart, a contemporary political scientist, however, this definition of democracy raises the question, who exactly should be engaged in the business of governing?
- The 1st model is the Majoritarian one, based on the assumption that the majority of the people should be responsible for governing.
- The 2nd model is the consensual one, which, in contrast, rests on the assumption that government, belongs to and must be practiced by as many people as possible.
- Whereas the institutional design of majoritarian democracies concentrates political power in the hands of a political majority, that of consensual democracies divides political power among various political groups, encouraging them to practice power sharing.

Theories of Democratization and Democratic Consolidation

- One of the central questions examined by student of democracy concerns the emergence and stabilization of democratic regimes.
- Modernization, Rational Choice, Structural Schools
- Seymour Martin Lipset argued that “the more well-to-do a nation, the greater the chances that it will sustain democracy
- The indices that he used to measure the degree of modernization were per capita income, the number of telephones per 1000 individuals, the percentage of the male population employed in agriculture, percentage of population living in metropolitan areas, and the percentage of literate people.
- Lipset found that the stable democracies of Europe, as well as the English-speaking world, including Canada, Australia, and the United States, were all highly modernized, while a sample of unstable European democracies and dictatorships showed much lower degrees of modernization.
- Found a strong correlation between the decline in the level of modernization and the stability of the dictatorships in the region.
- The structural approach has emphasized the importance of long-term historical developments in the domestic and transitional structures of power in accounting for democratization
- Barrington Moore argued that the route to modernity has proceeded via three historical routes of political development: a bourgeois revolution leading to democracy; a revolution from above leading to authoritarian dictatorship; and a peasant revolution leading to state socialism and communism.

- A strong and well-organized bourgeoisie, the commercial and industrial middle class, which managed to break the political power of the landed elites via bourgeoisie revolution, characterized the historical route to democracy.
- The aristocracy would form a coalition with the rising and successful bourgeoisie.
- However, in states where the commercialization of agriculture failed to result in the appropriate changes in the attitude and strategy of the landed aristocracy, and where the bourgeoisie remained weak and under-organized, the route to democracy was blocked in favour of more authoritarian solutions
- Instead, it relied on the coercive apparatus of the state to extract more revenue from them
- Germany in the nineteenth century is an example of this scenario of class coalitions preventing the development of stable democracy
- Rueschmeyer et al. identify five classes with different interests and attitudes toward democracy
- According to their explanation democratization is the result of the formation of a winning coalition, or alliance, among the pro-democracy classes
- The class most hostile to democracy has been the landed aristocracy, or the landlord class, because of its dependence on cheap labour.
- The landlord class has traditionally feared democratization because democracy implied an improvement in the bargaining position of rural workers and labourers
- For precisely the opposite reasons, the peasantry and small farmers have been in favour of democratization; however, except for rural labourers on large plantations and haciendas, they were traditionally poorly organized.
- The industrial proletariat has been traditionally interested in the expansion of political and civil rights and freedoms in order to increase its bargaining position vis-à-vis its employers
- The authors also note the importance of two other classes, each of which is characterized by ambiguous positions toward democratization: the urban bourgeoisie and the salaried middle class
- Rueschmeyer also emphasized the importance of state power and the impact of transnational developments.
- With regard to the former, they find that a state that is too autonomous and independent of society, or one that is captured by any particular class coalition, slows democratization
- In the first case, the state itself may become too oppressive and may develop a vested interest in restricting the growth of democratic freedoms
- In the latter scenario, a given coalition may use the state apparatus to restrict expansion of democratic rights to other classes in order to maintain its own dominant position
- Geopolitical dependence, war, ideational flows across boundaries

- Geopolitical dependence may hinder democratization by strengthening and militarizing the state, while economic dependence may hinder democratization by delaying industrialization.
- War may have a positive impact on democratization through both the domestic mobilisation of hitherto repressed classes, who are assumed to be interested in the expansion of democratic rights, and the foreign imposition of democratic regimes by the winners of the war
- Due to both reasons, substantial democratization took place in continental Europe following both world wars.
- The rational choice approach, has explored how the strategic choice by leaders of the opposition and the incumbent authoritarian regime equilibrate to produce a transition to democracy.
- The rational choice approach seeks to understand how an agreement on democracy becomes equilibrium in the interaction between the authoritarian leader and the reformers.
- The rational choice perspective on democratization has identified the importance of the leaders in charge of the incumbent elite and the opposition of the elite, their preferences, and the payoffs they associate with the particular outcomes that their chosen strategies yield.

Democracy Around the World Today

- Clearly, political and civil rights are closely correlated: those regions where political freedoms flourish are also characterized by high degrees of freedoms in terms of civil rights.
- Conversely, where political freedoms are limited, civil rights are also curtailed.

Chapter 14: Globalization

- Some authors use globalization to describe increases in international economic integration, spurred on by the rapid international flows of trade, investments, and information
- Others adopt a broader definition of globalization that encompasses the forces that are transforming political and cultural landscapes, both at the national and international levels.

Economic Dimensions of Globalization

- Globalization is often used to describe the increased integration and internationalization of economic affairs facilitated by rapid technological changes in information gathering and communications
- National economies have become integrated by way of increased trade linkages, growth in cross-border financial flows, increased international production, and lastly through treaties and supranational institutions.
- A distinguished feature of globalization is the merging of decision making bodies dealing with economic issues such as monetary policy and trade
- World Trade Organization (WTO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank have facilitated the proliferation of cross-order exchanges by reducing barriers to trade and finance between countries.
- Multinational or transnational corporations are major actors in global trade and especially in global production
- Ex. In an effort to increase profits, a Canadian company can move its production process to Mexico where labour is cheaper
- Multinational firms are often exempt from domestic economic policies, such as minimum wage laws
- Proponents of globalization argue that everyone benefits in a global economy
- This neoliberal economic perspective, often referred to as the “Washington consensus”, is reflected in the developing world
- Others, however, argue that economic globalization, and the international governance regime that accompanies it, is skewed in favour of wealthier countries.
- Researchers studying the developing countries contend that the globalization of production actually impedes long-term economic growth in those countries by preventing them from investing in industries that contribute to long-term economic growth.
- Due to the low cost of labour, developing countries are usually given the labour-intensive parts of the global production process. This prevents these countries from investing in industries that drive economic development in the long term

- Critics argue that as labour-intensive production gets shifted to more attractive (cheaper) sites in developing countries, income disparities between high-skilled and low-skilled workers in advanced societies will rise
- For ex, low-skilled workers in manufacturing, many of whom are women and minorities, are most vulnerable in this global economy.
- The capacity of unions to organize and demand better wages in collective bargaining is severely limited because firms can decide to “set up shop” elsewhere. For these reasons, the gap between rich and poor and skilled and unskilled labourers will only increase in industrialized societies.

Globalization and State Sovereignty

- Three perspectives on this issue: hyperglobalists, the sceptics, and the transformationalists
- **Hyperglobalists**
- believe economic globalization is bringing about revolutionary change to prevailing political institution and processes.
- The WTO and the World Bank are shifting the locus of political authority from the nation-state to global finance and corporate capital
- The hyperglobalists hold the autonomy and sovereignty of nation-states have been eclipsed by contemporary processes of economic globalization
- Globalization has eroded the power of the state in three important areas: defence, finance, and welfare.
- War has become less rational and therefore less likely as countries become more “interconnected” through trade
- People recognize that success in gaining world market shares has replaced territorial acquisition as the means to survival
- The increased mobility of capital has also diminished the state’s authority in the area of finance.
- With the notable exception of the US, most states no longer have the power to control their own currencies.
- The final area in which the state’s authority is diminished is welfare; programs and services typically associated with the welfare state are in jeopardy as states strive to create a favourable investment climate in their countries.
- Taxation, the major source of funding of welfare programs, discourages multinational companies from investing in the domestic economy
- The state’s authority to act in these areas has been significantly constrained by supranational institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO
- State sovereignty is also constrained by the WTO, which requires member governments to abide by its regulations governing international trade.
- The WTO charter commits member states to alter their statutes and procedure to conform to transworld trade law, and in trade disputes a WTO ruling against a state is binding unless every member of the organization

votes to overturn the judgement. In these ways and others, many decisions concerning the regulatory environment for capitalism now come to rather than from the state.

- The **sceptics**, on the other hand rejects the idea of a unified global economy and dismiss the view that globalization constitutes a new or revolutionary phenomenon
- Marxist-Lenin though, represents the latest mode of development of contemporary capitalism. Globalization is another term for global capitalism and imperialism and is therefore condemned by sceptics for propagating liberal market principles to more regions of the world.
- Globalization is a manifestation of the nation-state's continuing role in the organization of capitalism
- **The Transformationalist perspective**
- Adopts a more neutral stance in its analysis, recognizing both positive and negative transformations brought about emerging global forces.
- It focuses on the way globalization is transforming social values, practices, and institutions in societies around the world. This position views globalization as a multidimensional and uneven process that is reorganizing political, economic, and cultural power.
- It can simultaneously unleash both divisive and unifying forces
- Transformationalist do not agree that state sovereignty is eroding; rather they contend that the roles and functions of the state are being reconfigured within this new global system
- State is transformed by globalization, process of industrial change
- Contend that we must move beyond the globalization versus state sovereignty debate as a zero-sum game.
- Economic globalization by no means necessarily translates into a diminution of state power; rather, it is transforming the conditions under which state power is exercised.

Globalization and the Welfare State

- The main objectives of the modern welfare state were and continue to be to reduce poverty, to redistribute wealth among its citizens, and to provide a social safety net against various risks, including unemployment and ill health.
- Global economic forces undermine the fiscal basis of the welfare state
- The drive toward integration has put pressure on national governments to cut their public expenditures on welfare programs in order to satisfy international competitive imperatives.
- National governments are pressured to lower taxes and cut social spending in an effort to encourage economic development. Moreover, social policies

become increasingly aligned with the needs of the market rather than the needs of citizens.

- In the long run, these pressures will lead to the dismantling of welfare states and increasing inequalities in society.
- Countries in Western Europe have joined together to form an economic and political union that, among other things, would eradicate trade barriers among member countries. Some argue that in an effort to facilitate economic integration, member countries have cut public spending in social welfare and income support programs.
- Member states have adapted their national standards and regulations to be in line with those of other states in order to remain competitive in regional and global markets.
- Paradoxically, the same forces that are undermining the economic viability of the welfare state also contribute to greater reliance on its social safety net
- The international division of labour and production has led to greater income insecurity in advanced industrialized countries.
- Low-skilled workers in developed countries experience greater unemployment and lower wages.
- The increased vulnerability of workers in the global economy creates internal pressures for national governments to continue providing social programs.

Globalization and Culture

- The debate on globalization and culture centres on whether global dynamics will lead to a universal culture or to greater cultural fragmentation in the world.
- “Global civilization”- globalization, through information technologies like the Internet and international commerce, is affecting many components of culture, including language, religion, and lifestyles
- As existing communities and cultures become increasingly interconnected, their values and ways of life are being redefined and homogenized, especially in urban centres
- Ex. It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish large urban centres in China, such as Shanghai, from those found in North America.
- Globalization will erode cultural barriers, lead to a more peaceful world
- Benjamin Barber argues that globalization is unleashing homogenizing and divisive forces that threaten democratic values and practices.
- McWorld forces, which represent the homogenizing global consumer culture, and Jihad forces, which fragment people along tribal, racial, and religious lines.
- While McWorld emphasizes peace, order, and stability, it also contradicts democracy by privileging market imperatives over political rights and civic liberties

- Jihad also represents positive values such as solidarity and community; however, it brings with it undemocratic regimes such as theocracy, military rule, and dictatorships
- Barber argues that the contradictory forces of McWorld and Jihad ultimately undermine democracy and its guardian, the nation-state.
- The loss of cultural diversity, arguing that globalization constitutes the imposition of American “consumer” culture on the entire world. i.e. films, music, and television shows.
- Globalization is synonymous with Americanization, imperialistic worldwide expansion of Western consumer values at the expense of the world-views of other cultures.
- The hegemony of American culture has been facilitated by the concentration of media ownership around the globe.
- World culture theorists contend that while a world culture is indeed emerging, it does not require cultural sameness
- There is now a world culture but we had better make sure we understand what this means: not a replication of uniformity but an organization of diversity, an increasing interconnectedness of varied local cultures as well as a development of cultures without a clear anchorage in any one territory
- The push for integration leads to resistance in various parts of the world as local cultures contest and resist adaptation to foreign or Western ideas.
- This leads to the preservation of traditional and local cultures.
- Governments in communist and fundamentalist Islamic countries, for example, strive to limit the influence of “Western” ideas by placing controls on their dissemination within their borders
- Hybridization or glocalization, whereby local cultures interpret global practices and norms in different ways according to their own traditions and value systems.
- Finally, globalization has led to the institutionalization of cultural diversity as a value in various international organizations like the UN and within individual countries
- For example, Canada’s multicultural policy reflects and reinforces the value of a culturally diverse society.

Globalization and Civil Society

- The ability of nation-states to administer the economic and social affairs of their citizens has been challenged by globalization and the emergence of supranational decision-making bodies.
- The decline of the nation-state’s authority to act in many areas of life has led the re-emergence of civil society, or the third sector, as a significant player in global governance.
- Civil society, or the third sector, refers to a domain or sphere that is parallel to but separate from the state.

- Non-governmental organizations (NGOs)- advocacy groups dedicated to public interest causes such as environmental protection, women's issues, and human rights.
- Their social and political agendas, once circumscribed to national boundaries, have become global in perspective, goals, and strategies.
- Many of these groups "think globally and act locally"; that is, they adopt a global perspective while directing their activism at the grassroots level.
- Communications technology like the Internet has facilitated the emergence of transnational networks addressing a diversity of issues from HIV/AIDS to aboriginal issues.
- These networks have been successful in shaping policies at both the domestic and the international levels and have been able to put international pressure on governments that have transgressed in the area of human rights.
- Decision-making bodies influence the policies of individual governments
- Today, many international conferences on global issues such as environment and development and human rights provide forums for NGOs to participate in the deliberations
- The emerging global civic society is quickly replacing the nation-state as the defender of democratic values and principles
- NGOs, through protest movements, have drawn our attention to a number of issues, including environmental degradation.
- In recent years, NGOs have protested against what they perceive to be undemocratic decision-making processes of international institutions like the WTO and Group of Eight conferences.
- Non-government organizations challenge traditional state-based notions of political community and citizenship, and advance the idea of a cosmopolitan democracy in which members of different societies come together as world citizens in a global political community
- Advocates of cosmopolitan democracy argue that as the state's capacity to influence the global forces that affect it diminishes, a transnational political order would have to emerge to protect democratic rights around the world.
- Cosmopolitan democracy is a system of governance emerging from the diverse conditions and interconnections between different peoples and nations.
- David Held argued that while the economic dimension of globalization, that is, internationalization of trade and finance and multinational corporations, undermines democracy, emerging forms of political governance containing transnational NGOs and social movements, as well as institutions like the EU and the UN, allow democracy to thrive at the global level.
- Cosmopolitan democratic community- International community of democratic states and societies committed to upholding democratic public law both within and cross their boundaries.
- Ignatieff argues, only the nation-state can continue to provide security and protection as well as recognition to citizens.

National and Regional Responses to Globalism

- In the Arab world, resistance to globalization is expressed mainly in the political-cultural spheres
- Anti-American sentiments and terrorist attacks against US regional allies and interests are in large measure expressions of opposition to Washington's increased political, military, economic, and cultural intrusion into Arab states and societies.
- The more liberal social sectors express support for thorough cultural and political reform in the Arab world.
- Increased globalization in the Arab world is bound to intensify this debate inside Arab states and societies in the short term.
- Most Arabs remain sceptical of George W. Bush's discourse about the necessity to spread democracy in the Arab world.
- They suspect that such American declarations are at best tactical, deployed to elicit sympathy for America at its moment of crisis in Iraq, and to fore Arab regimes to adopt the American geopolitical regional agenda, but especially vis-à-vis Iraq, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and Israel.
- Indeed, English has emerged in the lingua franca of a young generation of Westernized Arabs who care much more about Beyonce than bin Laden
- The impact of globalization on countries like China and India has also been contradictory, India and China are two economic giants in Asia
- Although the two countries have divergent patterns of growth with two different regime types: India a democracy and China a closed communist political system- they have pushed for extensive liberalization reforms by privatizing their economies.
- China has overwhelmingly become the location for global manufacturing
- India is fast becoming the preferred place for production and software and the handling of outsourced business services
- The gap between the rich and poor has been increasing in both these countries.
- Certain segments of the population, particularly women, do not enjoy the same privileges and rights as others
- The economic benefits of globalization have not ameliorated the political and economic status of the poor in these societies.
- While some would argue that globalization is not a unique phenomenon, other have emphasized the numerous ways in which global forces are transforming the political and economic landscape both at the national and international levels.
- It is a multi-dimensional process that is transforming notions of identity, governance, and civil society.

