CollegeBoard
Advanced Placement
Program

AP® Comparative Government and Politics

2006–2007
Professional Development
Workshop Materials

Special Focus:
Teaching the Comparative Method

connect to college success™
www.collegeboard.com

CollegeBoard
Advanced Placement
Program

AP® Comparative Government and Politics

2006–2007
Professional Development
Workshop Materials

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

connect to college success™
www.collegeboard.com

The College Board: Connecting Students to College Success

The College Board is a not-for-profit membership association whose mission is to connect students to college success and opportunity. Founded in 1900, the association is composed of more than 5,000 schools, colleges, universities, and other educational organizations. Each year, the College Board serves seven million students and their parents, 23,000 high schools, and 3,500 colleges through major programs and services in college admissions, guidance, assessment, financial aid, enrollment, and teaching and learning. Among its best-known programs are the SAT®, the PSAT/NMSQT®, and the Advanced Placement Program® (AP®). The College Board is committed to the principles of excellence and equity, and that commitment is embodied in all of its programs, services, activities, and concerns.

Equity Policy Statement

The College Board and the Advanced Placement Program encourage teachers, AP Coordinators, and school administrators to make equitable access a guiding principle for their AP programs. The College Board is committed to the principle that all students deserve an opportunity to participate in rigorous and academically challenging courses and programs. All students who are willing to accept the challenge of a rigorous academic curriculum should be considered for admission to AP courses. The Board encourages the elimination of barriers that restrict access to AP courses for students from ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic groups that have been traditionally underrepresented in the AP Program. Schools should make every effort to ensure that their AP classes reflect the diversity of their student population. For more information about equity and access in principle and practice, contact the National Office in New York.

© 2006 The College Board. All rights reserved. College Board, AP Central, APCD, Advanced Placement Program, AP, AP Vertical Teams, CollegeEd, Pre-AP, SAT, and the acorn logo are registered trademarks of the College Board. Admitted Class evaluation Service, connect to college success, MyRoad, SAT Professional Development, SAT Readiness Program, Setting the Cornerstones, and The Official SAT Teacher's Guide are trademarks owned by the College Board. PSAT/NMSQT is a registered trademark of the College Board and National Merit Scholarship Corporation. All other products and services may be trademarks of their respective owners. Permission to use copyrighted College Board materials may be requested online at: www.collegeboard.com/inquiry/cbpermit.html.

Visit the College Board on the Web: www.collegeboard.com.
AP Central is the official online home for the AP Program and Pre-AP: apcentral.collegeboard.com.

Table of Contents

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

Introduction
Jean C. Robinson 3

Comparative Tools

Using the Internet to Teach AP Comparative Government and Politics
Ken Wedding 7

Using and Understanding Tables, Charts and Graphs
Jean C. Robinson 21

Comparative Concepts

Why and What Do We Compare?
The Story of Revolution and Democratization
Mehrzad Boroujerdi 27

Ideology, Religion and Politics: The History of a Changing Concept
Jeffrey Key 41

Gender, Comparison, and Political Equality
Jean C. Robinson 48

Political Culture
Ethel Wood 59

Understanding Civil Society and Social Capital
Kristen Parris 64

Conceptualizing Globalization in Comparative Politics
Lisa Laverty 82

Contributors 88

Contact Us 90

Important Note: The following set of materials is organized around a particular theme, or "special focus," that reflects important topics in the AP Comparative Government and Politics course. The materials are intended to provide teachers with resources and classroom ideas relating to these topics. The special focus, as well as the specific content of the materials, cannot and should not be taken as an indication that a particular topic will appear on the AP Exam.

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

Introduction

Jean C. Robinson
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

A tremendous excitement about the new AP Comparative Government and Politics course is shared by all of us who have been working on its development, from the College Board administration to the AP teachers and college faculty who created the topic outline and examination. The curriculum it covers is much closer to that offered in college and university introductory comparative politics courses, and many of the topics speak to contemporary global political issues that are vital to us both as students and as citizens. These materials have been designed to assist you in developing your course materials for the new AP Comparative Government and Politics topic outline and examination. The first examination for this latest version will be in May 2006; the new topic outline replaces the existing course starting in the 2005–2006 academic year.

The decision to revise the existing course was made after conducting surveys of college and university courses and consulting with major political scientists involved in the teaching of introductory comparative politics. The move away from a country-by-country study to one that links country studies through applying concepts and themes is the current trend in colleges and universities. Furthermore, as in the discipline of political science as a whole, the AP Comparative Government and Politics course follows trends that are catalyzed by actual political events. Current and recent political changes and systemic evolutions are part of what our students should study.

But the study of comparative politics is more than current events; it is also about learning scholarly social science skills. The disciplinary subfield of comparative politics has been engaged in vigorous debates about methodology and analysis: How, in other words, should we study the incredible political events of the last decade? What kinds of methods should we use? What kinds of skills do our students need to better understand political evolution and difference? If we have no method, as Patrick O'Neil argues in *Essentials of Comparative Politics*, all we are left with is "a collection of random details." Certainly the introductory class is no place to begin teaching statistical analysis or the case-study method, but it is the place to begin thinking about what we are comparing, why we are comparing it, and what kinds of generalizations we might be able to draw from the details.

The new course offers you an opportunity to provoke exciting conversations with your students about the compelling political and economic issues facing our world. It provides the opportunity to challenge students to be more conceptual and more analytical—precisely the skills that are most highly valued in postsecondary education.

The major changes you will see in the AP Comparative Government and Politics course are greater emphasis on conceptual and thematic analysis; a change in the country focus; coverage of six countries, albeit in slightly less factual depth (Britain, China, Iran, Mexico, Nigeria, and Russia); and a new emphasis on themes such as political change, globalization, public policy, and citizen-state relations. The topic outline and examination include renewed attention to beginning mastery of analytical skills, from graph and chart reading to application of concepts and cross-national comparisons.

The focus of these materials, then, is to help you prepare to teach students the following:

- How and what to compare
- How to make reasonable use of abstract concepts in explaining data and historical materials
- How to employ both comparative and conceptual approaches when analyzing politics

Knowing that no set of materials can provide you with everything you need, we want to remind you that AP Central has a great deal of information and reviews on resources, briefing papers on countries and themes, and current articles on political events. We have made a concerted effort to review the most up-to-date resources on AP Central, which we hope you will use as a complement to these materials as well as the new *Teacher's Guide: AP® Comparative Government and Politics*. In addition, because some of the concepts and countries to be covered in the course are not in all textbooks, the College Board has prepared a series of briefing papers, which contain full analyses of Iran, Mexico, and Nigeria and lengthy discussions of concepts such as political institutions, legal systems, and civil society.

In the following pages, we have included information and examples from many of the countries you will be teaching in your class. We have included sample classroom exercises, reading lists, and discussion questions. While we have not been able to provide chapters on every major concept and country, we have endeavored to provide you with ideas about how to teach some important central concepts and approaches. You will find here substantive discussions about:

- Comparative revolutions and political change, with extensive discussions about Iran, China, and Russia
- Teaching about religion, ideology, and politics, with a special emphasis on Islam

- Civil society and social capital and applications to nondemocratic as well as democratic countries
- Gender, comparison, and political equality

We have included two pedagogical chapters on using the Internet and using tables, graphs, and charts. To complement articles found on AP Central as well as in the briefing papers, we have also included two shorter chapters that provide overviews of the concepts of globalization and political culture. The authors, all of whom are experienced teachers of comparative politics, have prepared discussion questions, ideas for in-class activities, reading lists, glossaries, and the like for you to apply in your class. Everything that follows in these materials has been designed for you to use in the classroom or to use as a basis for developing your own lectures and activities for students.

Teaching the new AP Comparative Government and Politics course will require that you find ways to move back and forth between studying factual information about countries and understanding and applying concepts as a way to compare individual countries. This kind of movement between concept and country is modeled in the essays in the special focus section. In addition, following the topic outline will be an effective approach to developing a successful course for your students.

The topic outline, as in the previous versions, covers quite a bit of territory. Recognizing that textbooks generally do a good job in covering political institutions, these materials focus on presenting topics that are less well covered in the textbooks. We have been guided by the topic outline, which is divided into six sections:
1. Introduction to Comparative Politics
2. Sovereignty, Authority, and Power
3. Political Institutions
4. Citizens, Society, and the State
5. Political and Economic Change
6. Public Policy

The essays in the special focus section fit into the topic outline at different points. For instance, you may find Ken Wedding's "Using the Internet to Teach AP Comparative Government and Politics" and my "Using and Understanding Tables, Charts, and Graphs" useful at the beginning of the course when you are introducing the idea of comparison, or you may want to introduce them later after you have spent a bit of time working with data from individual countries. Certainly both Mehrzad Boroujerdi's "Why and What Do We Compare? The Story of Revolution and Democratization" and Jeffrey Key's "Ideology, Religion, and Politics: The History of a Changing Concept" will be extremely relevant in section 2, "Sovereignty, Authority, and Power." But both are also useful ways to introduce the idea of comparison at the beginning of the course.

The Boroujerdi essay will also be quite useful for preparing your class lessons for studying revolutions in section 5, "Political and Economic Change"; the Key article will come in handy when you discuss cleavages in section 4 and factors that inhibit or promote democratization in section 5. Lisa Laverty's discussion, "Conceptualizing Globalization in Comparative Politics," will be helpful when you discuss supranational levels of government in section 3, "Political Institutions"; it will also obviously be a major source as you develop your lessons on globalization for section 5. Ethel Wood's overview of political culture fits perfectly into the section on political culture, communications, and socialization in section 4, "Citizens, Society, and the State," as does Kristen Parris' contribution, "Understanding Civil Society and Social Capital." Parris' essay, however, might be brought into the discussions about democratization in China and can be used to help foster discussion about the components and consequences of democratization. "Gender, Comparison, and Political Equality" starts to fill a large gap in most comparative government textbooks and should be useful when you address the issues of cleavages and politics and political participation in section 4. In addition, it will be helpful as your students consider issues related to citizenship and social representation (section 4), processes of democratization (section 5), and policy issues (section 6).

We hope you will find the essays that follow to be useful. We believe that if you use these in combination with the variety of other materials provided by the College Board, you will find the experience of teaching the new AP Comparative Government and Politics course a rewarding and enriching experience.

Using the Internet to Teach AP Comparative Government and Politics

Ken Wedding
Northfield, Minnesota

We've all used the Internet. We've all directed students to use the Internet. The results have been mixed. Sometimes the Web seems miraculous. Other times using it is just a waste of time—like some of the filmstrips (or films or videos) I showed back in those BI (before the Internet) times. There have been times when I figured I would never take a class to the computer lab again. There have been other times I've celebrated.

There's more than you ever wanted to know on the Internet. More, yes. Useful? Helpful? Accurate? Misleading? Wrong? Nasty? Unexpected? Yes.

It's your job to help your students *find* good information that will help them learn the concepts, the examples, and the generalizations that are part of comparative government and politics. And it's your job to help your students learn to *distinguish* between the truthful and the disingenuous, between reliable and suspicious sources and information.

Finding Information

Some things online are reliable and relatively static. Project Bartleby (named after the scribe in the Melville story)—www.bartleby.com—is one of several projects that aim to put digital pages on the Internet. These publications have passed out of copyright and are free to anyone. Most of the content tends to be scans of old books and magazines. If you want to direct your students to the work of John Stuart Mill, for instance, you'll find it online—www.bartleby.com/people/Mill-JS.html.

You can also find constitutions online. Look at one of the following sites:
- www.constitution.org/cons/natlcons.htm
- http://confinder.richmond.edu
- www.findlaw.com/01topics/06constitutional/03forconst
- http://kclibrary.nhmccd.edu/constitutions-subject.html

It is often a good exercise to have students read at least parts of constitutions. For instance, you could have them compare the legislative sections of the Russian and Chinese constitutions.

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

The CIA World Factbook—www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook—is online and full of valuable political and economic data for over 200 countries. You can use it to test comparative hypotheses. Pick out a number of countries, perhaps the six countries in the AP curriculum. Read the descriptions of governments in the Factbook and rank the countries from least to most democratic. Then collect statistics on those countries that you or your students hypothesize are related to the presence of democracy. Do you think that higher GDP per capita might be likely to be positively correlated with democracy? Do your students suspect that there's an inverse correlation between the state of democracy and the percentage of the population engaged in farming? Gather the data and compare your lists.

Official information from governments is also available. AdmiNet, a French Web site begun at Ecole des Mines de Paris with the support of the French Ministry of Industry, maintains (in cooperation with NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) advocating political transparency in many countries) a large collection of links to governments, including a variety of links to the six countries included in the AP Comparative Government curriculum—www.adminet.com/world/gov. Similarly, the University of Keele in the United Kingdom maintains links to more than 175 governments' Web sites (and many other valuable resources)—www.psr.keele.ac.uk/official.htm.

Electionworld—www.electionworld.org—has been online for a long time and has an encyclopedic calendar of elections and an equally huge collection of elections results. Direct your students to the site to gather information about when elections were held, who won, and by what margin. Similar, but more limited, information about election results can be found at CNN's Election Watch—www.cnn.com/WORLD/election.watch.

If you want your students to compare British political parties, the major parties maintain permanent Web sites:
- Labour Party—www.labour.org.uk
- Conservative Party—www.conservatives.com
- Liberal Democratic Party—www.libdems.org.uk

You won't always be able to do that with Russian parties. They only maintain Web sites in the months before elections. (Of course, many Russian parties only exist in the months before elections.) You can be sure that the British government Web sites will have up-to-date information on policies and legislation. Sometimes, you will find some of those things on Nigerian government Web sites. You can also be pretty sure that nothing like that is available on Iranian government Web sites. What is available can often be found at C-SPAN—www.c-span.org/international/links.asp?Cat=Issue&Code=l—

which hosts links to legislatures from around the world, as does Electionworld—www.electionworld.org/parliaments.htm.

The availability of information online from the countries in the AP curriculum varies widely. Here are links that might prove helpful. Remember that these are all subject to change at an election's notice.

- United Kingdom government—www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page1.asp
- Russian Federation government (in Russian)—www.gov.ru/index.html
- The U.S. Embassy of the Russian Federation—www.russianembassy.org
- China government (in Chinese)—www.govonline.cn
- The U.S. Embassy of the PRC—www.china-embassy.org/eng
- Mexico president—http://envivo.presidencia.gob.mx/?NLang=en
- Mexico, Cámara de Diputados (in Spanish)—www.camaradediputados.gob.mx
- Nigeria president—www.nopa.net
- Iran president—www.president.ir/eng

While some things are relatively stable and predictable, change is more the rule on the Internet. A change in administration in the United States brings about changes in U.S. government Web sites. A change in faculty at a department in a British university may bring to an end the updating of a valuable Web site for comparative politics. And for Web sites that want to attract lots of "eyes," the content must change frequently to keep people coming back.

Searching Tools

If you and your students want to find useful, helpful, accurate, and unexpected information, you'll have to learn to be good searchers. Contemporary search engines are wonderful. New ones that claim to be better in one way or another are coming online. Google—www.google.com—is the top of the heap right now, searching more than 8 billion Web sites. But I remember a few years ago that a search engine called Northern Light was the bright and shining star among search engines. So pay attention to improvements in Yahoo!—www.yahoo.com—and MSN—www.msn.com. Don't even neglect Amazon.com's search engine—http://A9.com—as it develops searching techniques to find references *inside* the books it sells as well as sites online.

In addition, new search engines are competing for pieces of Google's success. CompletePlanet—http://aip.completeplanet.com—is a directory of databases on the Web. You and your students can also check out the clustering of results offered by:

- Vivísimo—www.Vivisimo.com
- Kanoodle—www.kanoodle.com

- Mooter—www.mooter.com
- KartOO—www.kartoo.com

The people at Google are not resting on their laurels. There are new services there as well. The new Google service relevant to comparative government is Google Scholar—www.scholar.google.com. (See Exercise 6 below for an example of the type of article cataloged by Google Scholar.) A search for "civil society" at Google Scholar resulted in links to 173,000 books and articles about that topic. Items are ranked by the number of citations found on the Web to the book or article. You can do further Web searches based on the key words in each item found there.

Searching Techniques

Don't neglect some simple searching techniques. Do you and your students realize that searching for United Kingdom will bring you different results than searching for "United Kingdom" as a phrase within quotation marks? If you use the first term, most search engines will search for every occurrence of *united* and *kingdom*. Using the second term, most search engines will look only for the word *united* followed immediately by the word *kingdom*. If you or your students are looking for information on the UK, guess which set of results will be more useful? The first search will not only find Web pages mentioning the UK, but also any page describing things like Nepal as a kingdom united by Buddhism. Try this yourself with this example or another like Iranian Republic and "Iranian Republic." Why not do this exercise in class, so students can learn how to come up with useful search phrases and styles? (By the way, this is also useful for teaching students the terms they might use in searches when they are trying to find out about, for instance, civil society. Encourage them to come up with synonyms or similar political concepts to use as search phrases. So for "civil society," students might also try concepts such as political participation or public sphere. (This is, of course, a great way to learn how to define, paraphrase, or describe analytical concepts.)

Similarly, most search engines will respond to the commands "near," "and," "or," and "not" when used with other terms. In the past it was necessary to do this kind of advanced searching manually. These days, Google, Yahoo, and Vivísimo offer a dozen options on their advanced search pages. The Google page is typical. It offers you the opportunity to specify that you want a search done "with all of the words" you specify or "with the exact phrase" you type into the form (the equivalent of putting quotation marks around a phrase). You can also indicate that you want a search for "at least one of the words" you type in or "without the words" you insert. Searching for "intelligence" without the word "quotient," for example, will facilitate a search engine's work if you're looking for information about the kind of work the CIA does. The search engine will ignore Web pages about IQ research and Marilyn vos Savant.

And, if you're still not finding what you want to find, try a different search engine. Do searches for something like "identity politics" at Google, Yahoo!, Vivísimo, and Amazon. Compare the results so you can make recommendations to your students.

Evaluating Information

When I was taking my social studies methods course in BI times, one of the things that Daniel Powell emphasized in that Northwestern University classroom was critically evaluating sources of information. Of course, we were evaluating sources of printed information—nothing digital, nothing online.

The critical thinking skills we learned to teach are probably more valuable today. Books and magazines have publishers, editors, and reputations. And if you find a book or a magazine in the library, there is a librarian's evaluation endorsing its presence.

There's not much mediation between us and the content providers on the Internet. Sure, it was fairly easy in BI times to use a mimeograph machine to publish independently, but it only took a glance to distinguish that product from *Time* or *Newsweek*. It's often much more difficult today to recognize the differences between the Web sites of the *Economist*, The Drudge Report, *The Onion*, and a high school student in Akron, Ohio.

It only requires rudimentary skills and a free Internet account to post messages or Web pages online. And, according to the famous *New Yorker* cartoon showing two dogs talking to one another in front of a computer, "Online, no one knows you're a dog."

Those critical evaluations of editors, publishers, and librarians are rarely present online. The ability to critically evaluate the information on the computer screen is probably more important than the ability to evaluate the information in a book.

Back in that grad school classroom, Powell pointed me toward the same kinds of skills my high school social studies teachers had described to me: differentiate between fact and opinion; examine assumptions and biases of sources; be aware of fallacious arguments, ambiguity, and manipulative reasoning; stay focused on the whole picture, while examining the specifics; and look for reputable sources.[1] Those are exactly the kinds of skills necessary for evaluating information on Web sites.

Evaluating Sources

As the World Wide Web came into general use, many people (often librarians) created Web sites to help students apply those critical thinking skills to online information. Many of those sites are still online (do a search for "critical thinking" or "evaluating Web sites") but haven't been updated recently. The assumption seems to be that we are all aware of the need to carefully evaluate online information and don't need help as much now. That assumption may not be warranted.

Jana Sackman Eaton, a teacher of AP Comparative Government at Unionville High School in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, developed a general form for evaluating Web sites[2] (online at www.ucf.k12.pa.us/~jeaton/evaluation.html). It's a good model to follow as you create a form for your specific assignment. You might find useful information and lesson plans at Kathy Schrock's Guide for Educators on the Discovery Channel's School page—http://school.discovery.com/schrockguide/evalhigh.html—or the National Council for Excellence in Critical Thinking's Web page—www.criticalthinking.org. You can also search the Social Studies School Service online catalog—http://catalog.socialstudies.com—for more teaching ideas.

Web Domains

Some of the suggestions from the early days of the Web still make sense. There are contextual clues that can be useful, like URLs. Universal Resource Locators (URLs) are the online addresses of Web sites. They appear in the address or location line in a Web browser window. While there are ways of forging these addresses or redirecting traffic from one site to another, URLs can be helpful clues in evaluating Web sites.

Nearly all URLs ending in .edu belong to institutions of higher education, a useful bit of evaluative information. However, it is also common for students to be able to post Web pages on college and university sites. These may be related to research or academic work, they may be entirely personal, they may be satire, or they may be propaganda.

---

[1] Debra Jones, "Critical Thinking in an Online World" (Cabrillo College, Aptos, California, 1996), www.library.ucsb.edu/untangle/jones.html.

[2] Jana Sackman Eaton, "Teaching About Election 2004 Through the International Media," Social Education 68, no. 6 (October 2004): 395–400.

You can often (but not always) distinguish student Web pages on college or university Web sites because of the use of a tilde (~) after ".edu/" in the URL that identifies the owner of the Web page(s). (An example might be www.student.college.edu/~jdoe/.) That sign of a personal Web page doesn't label that page as good or bad, it merely tells you the page is presented to you by an individual. At universities, researchcenters and academic departments might also have their own pages on their university's URL, so if students see www.college.edu/~pols/, they might have stumbled onto a political science department page. Those URLs are something to consider as you evaluate the information.

Similarly, nearly all the URLs ending in .com and .biz belong to companies. Those suffixes by themselves are neither guarantees of reliability nor warning signs of bias. Together with other information, they can be helpful in evaluating the contents of Web pages. The URLs ending in .org, .net, and .info are intended respectively for nonprofit groups, Internet organizations and companies, and sources of information. That doesn't mean they are always used that way, but they are indicators of part of the context within which you and your students must evaluate the information available.

The .org domain is especially varied. This is the domain where many special interest groups and think tanks are registered. They range from the purely public interest groups (like Doctors Without Borders—www.doctorswithoutborders.org) to the wildly partisan (The Cutting Edge—www.cuttingedge.org—which published an article titled "NATO Launches First-Ever Attack on a Sovereign Nation—Serbia. Today, Serbia; Tomorrow, the United States . . ."). See Exercise 2 below for help making this point with students.

Another URL clue that can be helpful is recognizing the Web addresses of free or nearly free Web-hosting services. Angelfire.com, Tripod.com, Geocities.com, Yahoo.com, AOL.com, and other sites offer free or very inexpensive Web site hosting. The information you find on these sites (like college and university students' sites) might be valuable and accurate. But you probably will want to evaluate it carefully and look for verification.

Evaluating Web sites also involves what the providers of information have to say about themselves. Nearly all providers offer a link to a Web page about themselves. It's often labeled "About . . ." If you don't see an "About" link, try finding the front page of the Web site. That is most often found by using only that part of the URL preceding any slashes. (All URL elements are separated by slashes.)

In other words, if you are reading a *Washington Post* article about presidential election campaigns in Mexico, you might be looking at a Web page whose address is www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A21516-2004Sep14.html. The last element of that URL ("A21516-2004Sep14.html") is the specific page you're reading. The two elements that precede the article address ("wp-dyn/articles/") are the sections of the Web site where the page is located. The beginning of the URL ("www.washingtonpost.com/") is the location of the newspaper's front Web page. (The prefix "http://" is the code that tells your Web browser to look for a site.) If you use only the basic section of the URL, you can usually find the front page and the "About" link.

Exercises

Exercise 1: Comparing URLs

This can be important if you have similar sites that offer contradictory information on a topic. Suppose you present your students with the following Web pages:[3]

- Structural Adjustment—A Major Cause of Poverty at www.globalissues.org/TradeRelated/SAP.asp
- PovertyNet at http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/0,,menuPK%3A336998~pagePK%3A149018~piPK%3A149093~theSitePK%3A336992,00.html
- Bretton Woods Project at www.brettonwoodsproject.org/topic/adjustment/index.shtml
- Structural Adjustment Programs at www.fpif.org/briefs/vol3/v3n3sap.html
- Structural Adjustment Program at www.whirledbank.org/development/sap.html

What would you ask, direct, or expect your students to do in order to evaluate the information they find at these sites about structural adjustment? What would they find when they compared "www.globalissues.org" with "web.worldbank.org"? And how would the sponsoring organizations compare with the one that sponsors the Web site at "www.whirledbank.org"? And what is "www.fpif.org" anyway? Using URLs can be a very useful first step in evaluating information and sources.

Exercise 2: Sorting Out the .org Domain

As noted above, the .org domain is home to a wild variety of organizations that present themselves online. Here's a quick idea that should help your students realize the importance of not placing too much importance on the domain name of a site when evaluating sources.

---

[3] Remember, change on the Internet is the rule. Check the viability of these Web sites before you use them with your students.

In the computer lab, have different groups of students (one to two students each) look up the following .org Web sites. They're all about human rights in China. Students should study enough of the content to determine what point of view the authors of the site have about human rights in China. Students should make note of the clues they use to determine the site's point of view. You should also ask them to make note of any methods used on the site to mislead readers or to disguise the authors' identities. (Is it a government site masquerading as a citizens' group, for instance?) When they've done their research, have them report to the class about what they've found. Try to reach some conclusions about the variety of material available on .org Web sites.

Sites:
- China's Human Rights—www.humanrights-china.org
- Human Rights in China—www.hrichina.org/public/index
- Derechos HR—www.derechos.org/human-rights/nasia/china
- Human Rights Watch—http://hrw.org/doc/?t=asia&c=china
- The Chinese Human Rights Web—www.chinesehumanrightsreader.org
- Christus Rex—www.christusrex.org/www1/sdc/hr_facts.html
- The Cato Institute—www.cato.org/dailys/11-15-96.html
- Human Rights First—www.humanrightsfirst.org/workers_rights/wr_china/wr_china.htm
- PRC Embassy to the USA—www.china-embassy.org/eng/zt/zgrq/default.htm
- Olympic Watch—www.olympicwatch.org
- Global Exchange—www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/sweatshops/china
- Human Rights for All—www.globalissues.org/HumanRights/Abuses/China.asp
- Food First—www.foodfirst.org/progs/global/trade/china.html
- Amnesty International USA—www.amnestyusa.org/countries/china/index.do
- Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute—www.c-fam.org
- Overseas Young Chinese Forum—www.oycf.org/Perspectives/5_043000/chinese_cultural_tradition_and_m.htm

Exercise 3: Test Your Students' Critical Thinking Skills

We all know that a lesson teaching critical thinking works best when it's directly integrated into the curriculum. Nevertheless, sometimes a short exercise that's only about teaching a specific skill can do great things.

Here's one that has nothing to do with comparative government and politics, but it has everything to do with critical thinking. If you find an example that uses a topic from the AP Comparative Government curriculum, use it. Then send the idea to the rest of us on the AP Government and Politics Electronic Discussion Group (see details below).

"Send" your students to the Web site for New Hartford, Minnesota—http://descy.50megs.com/NewHartford/newhtfd.html. Ask them to evaluate the accuracy and value of the information about this Minnesota town. Ask them what critical thinking principles they used to do the evaluation.

What's the catch? Don't tell your thinking students, but this town is entirely fictitious, just like Lake Wobegon. If they don't figure that out, send them to the Web site for New Richland, Minnesota—www.cityofnewrichlandmn.com (this is a real town)—or an actual town of about 3,000 people in your state. Compare it to the site for New Hartford. Can your students distinguish between fact and fiction? How do they do it? It's worth a discussion to ensure that no one is left in the dark about evaluating online information.

Exercise 4: Liberal Media?

The political arguments about whether mainstream media is liberal are prominent in some circles. Accuracy in Media—www.aim.org—and Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting—www.fair.org—present very different opinions on the issue.

Choose an issue or event involving government and/or politics in one of the countries in the AP curriculum. (Reports of disasters or human interest stories probably won't work for this exercise.)

1. Send students to the Web sites of the *Washington Post*—www.washingtonpost.com—and the *Washington Times*—www.washingtontimes.com. Have them compare the reporting. These two newspapers have quite different political reputations. Have students look specifically for things like loaded words, unnamed sources, unstated assumptions, and the selective use of evidence. What kinds of adjectives are used? Do the nouns, verbs, and adjectives used in the reports have implications of approval or disapproval?
2. Then send your students to the Web sites for Fox News—www.foxnews.com—and CNN—www.cnn.com. Ask them to do a similar comparison of the reporting on the same issue or event. These two news networks have different political reputations. Does the reporting support or contradict those reputations? In what ways? How does the reporting compare to the print media? How do your students evaluate the accuracy and value of the reporting?
3. Finally (this will work best with the UK, Russia, China, or Nigeria), send your students to the BBC News Web site—http://news.bbc.co.uk—and to a news site from within the country in question. You can find Web addresses for newspapers all over the world at the Internet Public Library—www.ipl.org/div/news. Compare the British reporting with the reporting done within the country in question. Compare these

reports with those of the Washington, D.C., newspapers and the U.S. news networks. Use the evaluation techniques of critical thinking to complete these evaluations.

A good discussion may suffice as a culminating activity, but you may want students to write a summary essay. And while you're discussing the journalistic coverage, ask your students about the politics of the situation reported on.

Exercise 5: Researching the European Union

The purpose of this exercise is to have students research the Web pages of the EU for information about how the EU is structured and how it operates. The underlying purpose is to illustrate the ways in which an international organization interacts with national governments and how the EU promotes or retards changes in structure and process within national political environments.

The EU Web site—http://europa.eu.int/index_en.htm—is a wonderful example of an online source of information. It's well organized, easy to use, and very informative.

I wrote the questions with my goals in mind while reading the EU Web site. Each question is based on the information in one section or on one page. In practice, I assigned each question to two or three students in class. After spending time in the computer lab to find answers, the class reassembled and shared information. Sometimes, students found they hadn't done a thorough job of answering a question and had to go back later and do more research.

Here are the questions:

1. The EEC, the Common Market, the EC, the EU. What are all these things? What are the differences between them?
2. What limits on national sovereignty do the EU-associated treaties impose on member nations?
3. a. Who is on the EU Commission, where are they from, and what are their assigned responsibilities?
   b. How do people get to be members of the Commission?
   c. Why did everyone on the Commission resign in 1999?
4. a. What ministers met most recently as the EU's Council of Ministers? What was the topic of their meeting? What did they decide?
   b. Why don't the same ministers meet every time the Council meets?
5. a. What is the distribution of parties in the current European Parliament?
   b. When was the last election?
   c. What kinds of powers does this parliament have?

6. How much power does the European Court of Justice have—compared to national courts, for example?
7. a. What nations have most recently been admitted to the EU?
   b. What nations are asking for admission to the EU? How likely are they to get in?
8. What issues have come up in the debate about admitting new members?
9. What difficulties have come up in the first years of monetary union?
10. How and where in the EU system were decisions made about who could join the European Monetary Union and what the requirements for joining would be?
11. What's happening with the EU constitution that was recently approved? What steps are next in the ratification process?

You can create a similar concept-oriented miniresearch project for your class. Do an online search for a concept (like democratization, civil society, or recruitment) or an institution (like foreign ministry or electoral commission). Based on what you find online, write some questions for your students to answer that will help them understand the concept and learn to apply it. Maybe you'll find several Web sites offering different definitions and perspectives. Put the students to work evaluating them. Maybe you'll find a UN, EU, or government policy statement that can provide insight into the application of the concept in the real world of politics. Write good questions. Promote discussion. Ask students to reflect. All those things will help them learn the important stuff of comparative government and politics.

Exercise 6: Analyzing What You Find Online

Here's an exercise to give your students some practice.[4] Without the Internet, access in high schools to papers like this one would be severely limited. This access is one of the gems we should all take advantage of. Finding papers like this one is easier than it used to be because of Google Scholar—http://scholar.google.com. This new service offers to find academic information more directly than regular searches on Google.

Send your students to the paper "Tipping the Scales? The Influence of the Internet on State-Society Relations in Africa" by Dana Ott and Lane Smith at www.arts.uwa.edu.au/MotsPluriels/MP1801do.html.

1. According to the Web site, the authors, Dana Ott and Lane Smith, are associated with the U.S. Agency for International Development. Can your students confirm that? Can

---

[4] Once again, you have to check to see whether this paper is still online before giving your students this exercise. If it's not, do a search for topics you're teaching about. You'll probably find a useful article.

they find any information about either of the authors? What do the results of the search for information contribute to the evaluation of the article?

2. The site that hosts this paper is at www.arts.uwa.edu.au. The ".edu" part of the address indicates an educational site, but what's with the ".au"? What can your students find out about the "arts.uwa.edu.au" site? What does that information suggest about the credibility of the article?
3. Those beginning evaluation steps can all take place before your students read the article. One other bit of thinking also precedes reading. Does the title of the article make sense to them? Do they understand the concepts of citizen, state, and society well enough to get an idea of what the article is about? (A little discussion or lecture may be helpful at this point in the exercise.) Before they read the article, ask them to write a one- or two-sentence prediction of what they think the article says. After they have read the article, ask them to come up with a new title that makes more sense to them. You can evaluate their understanding by evaluating their proposed titles.
4. In the fifth paragraph, the authors write, "Ironically, despite the more limited overall access to the Internet in these less developed countries, its impact is disproportionately greater because of the widespread problem of lack of access to information generally." Ask your students to restate that sentence in a way that preserves the meaning of the authors. Ask them whether they think this is really irony or a confusing smokescreen for illogical thinking.
5. Later in the article, while supporting the idea mentioned above, the authors write, "Broadly-distributed reports . . . which highlight . . . problem areas (such as governance and corruption), undermine the efforts of even the most repressive governments to prevent their citizens from hearing what others are saying about them. . . . [T]he Internet is available in every country in Africa and while the majority of citizens may not have direct access, there are organizations (such as NGOs) which can retrieve information and distribute it throughout the community, either through print media or increasingly through community radio." Ask your students whether this clarifies the argument. Does it make the argument more plausible? What additional information would your students want to further evaluate Ott and Smith's statements?
6. Ask your students to explain to you (in writing for evaluation purposes or in discussion if you want to be sure more students understand the article) why Ott and Smith think some power elites fear the spread of information on the Internet and why others are less concerned about controlling the flow of information.
7. Near the end of the article, Ott and Smith write, "There are powerful arguments about both the benefits and the costs of this technology, particularly with regard to the state-society relationship." Can your students list examples of the benefits and costs? Can they evaluate the authors' arguments in light of this conclusion?

8. Two of the important sources cited by Ott and Smith were written in 2001 by L. Main and L. R. Sussman (check the footnotes for details). Can your students find out anything that would help them evaluate these sources? If they search the Internet for the authors or the titles, what do they find? Does what they find contribute to their evaluation of the article and the argument made by Ott and Smith?
9. Finally, ask your students whether they think this article is a valid source to cite in a research paper. Ask them how this information could be used in writing a paper about the relationships between new technology and democracy.
10. When you're done, congratulate your students for working through the processes of evaluating a source, evaluating an argument, and coming closer to understanding some important concepts in comparative government.

Conclusion

The Internet can be an opening to tremendously valuable learning tools. Finding information and evaluating it are the first steps in the process of "doing" comparative politics. You and your students are likely to find good information, and you're likely to come up with good exercises using that information.

Don't forget to share those good ideas with other AP teachers through the AP Government and Politics Electronic Discussion Group. If you don't know about the EDG, use your Web browser to go to AP Central—apcentral.collegeboard.com. Once you're registered at the site, choose "Courses" from the menu on the left edge and choose to view the course home page for AP Comparative Government and Politics.

Scroll down the course home page a bit and find the link that allows you to register for the electronic discussion group. Once you've joined the group, you can read the good advice members offer, ask questions of the group, respond to questions that others ask, and tell us all about the valuable information you've found and the terrific ideas for teaching you've developed.

Using and Understanding Tables, Charts, and Graphs

Jean C. Robinson
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana
(With thanks to Gary Copeland, University of Oklahoma)

The ability to interpret charts, tables, and graphs and to create figures based on quantitative data is an important skill for students to master. Interpretations of charts and tables lead to deeper understanding of comparative politics and also contribute to more effective presentations on many aspects of comparative politics. Finally, it is a necessary skill to being a lifelong effective consumer of political information, that is, an effective citizen. An AP Comparative Government and Politics course, then, should seek to provide students with ample opportunities to read, interpret, and indeed create charts, graphs, and tables. Here is an overview of how to understand these kinds of figures, followed by a few teaching strategies to assist students in developing table-reading skills.

Univariate Tables: Looking at One Variable

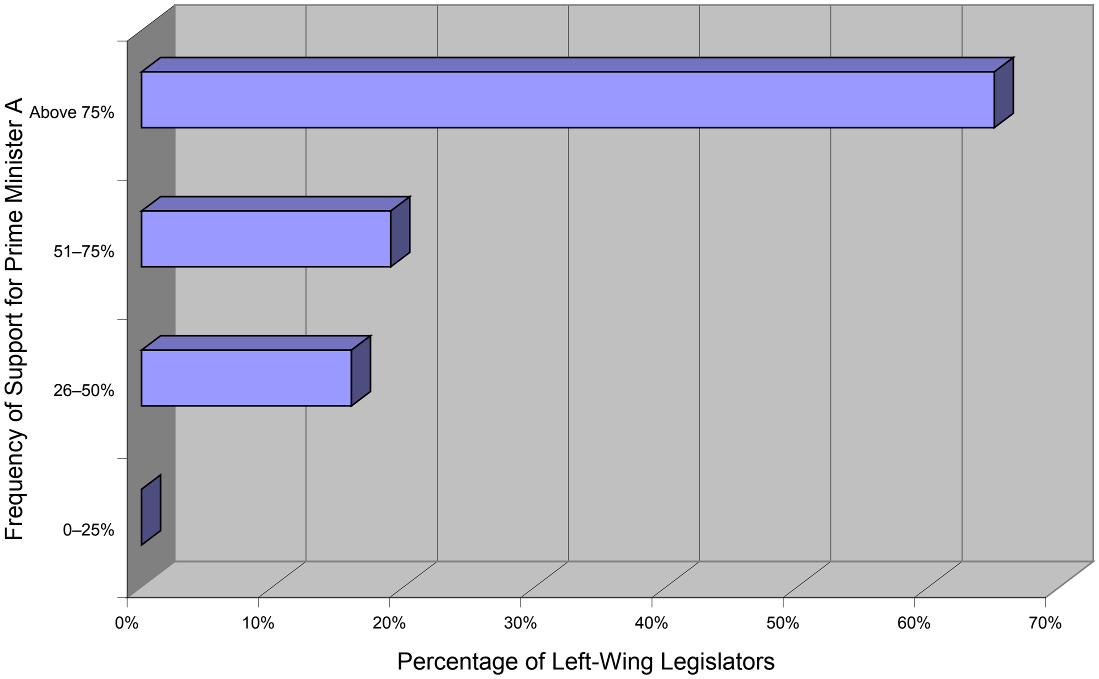
First, a table might be a **univariate** table—meaning that the table summarizes a single variable. A univariate table can represent a **frequency** (or better, **percentage**) distribution. Here you determine how frequently you find various levels of the variable and show that frequency in a table. For example, you might want to know how often left-wing legislators supported Prime Minister A—between 0 and 25 percent of the time, between 26 and 50 percent of the time, between 51 and 75 percent of the time, and over 75 percent of the time. Table 1 (composed of hypothetical data) suggests that no left-wing legislator supported the prime minister less than 26 percent of the time and that 65 percent of the legislators supported the prime minister more than 75 percent of the time.

Table 1: Hypothetical Data Reflecting Leftist Party Support for Prime Minister A

Support for Prime Minister	Percentage of Left-Wing Legislators
0–25%	0%
26–50%	16%
51–75%	19%
Above 75%	65%
Total	100%
	Sample = 225

Frequency distributions are often presented as graphs, either as a frequency polygon (line graph) or as a histogram (bar graph). So for instance, Table 1 could be presented as a bar graph in this way:

Left-Wing Legislators' Support for Prime Minister A



Bivariate Tables: Finding Relationships Between Two Variables

The other type of table to consider is a **bivariate** table. This table considers two variables simultaneously and generally suggests a relationship between the two variables. When doing bivariate analysis, the first thing to consider is which variable is the independent variable and which is the dependent variable. **The dependent variable is the one that we think is influenced by (depends on) the independent variable.** (Loosely speaking, the independent variable *causes* the dependent variable.) The question of which is which is a matter to be determined theoretically or logically. Which variable makes the other one change? Identifying the independent variable allows you to determine how to calculate percentages in a table or set up a graph.

In constructing a table, the key question is how the percentages are calculated. There are not infallible rules, but generally percentages are calculated according to the independent variable. (This is the only way to do so if you are looking for a relationship between the variables.) Calculating this way, for example, allows you to say what percentage of religiously active citizens voted for Candidate A and what percentage voted for Candidate B. Then you can calculate what percentage of nonreligious citizens voted for Candidate A and for Candidate B and see if religiously active voters were more likely to vote for Candidate A than were nonreligious voters.

Table 2 proves an example of what might be found after conducting an analysis of the relationship between religious activity and party vote choice. Here we think that religious identification and involvement may be a partial cause of the party vote choice. Therefore, religious identification is the independent variable, and the vote choice is the dependent variable. Percentages, then, are calculated within the categories of the independent variable. In this hypothetical example, we find that 75 percent of those who identified as being religiously active voted for Party A (375/500) and only 25 percent for Party B (125/500). Among those identifying as not active in religion, we find that 30 percent voted for Party A (150/500) and 70 percent for Party B (350/500). Religiously active citizens were 45 percentage points more likely to vote for Party A than were those not involved in religion. So it seems that religious identification makes a major difference in the vote choice.

Table 2: Hypothetical Data Reflecting the Relationship Between Religious Identification and Party Vote Choice for 1,000 Voters in Country X

	Active in Religion		Not Active in Religion	
Party A	375	75%	150	30%
Party B	125	25%	350	70%
Total	500	100%	500	100%

Teaching Students to Read and Understand Tables

In terms of helping students learn to read tables, there are several exercises you can do. The first exercise is to talk students through reading a table. Tell them to first read the title of the table. It should be descriptive and cue the reader to what the table is about. Often, the title even summarizes the main point of the table. Table 2, for example, might have been entitled "The Importance of Religious Identification for Party Vote Choice." Second, students should identify the variable or variables in the table. If it is a bivariate analysis, students should identify which is the independent variable and which is the dependent variable. The next step is to determine how the percentages are calculated. Then they should interpret what the numbers mean. Students should take each cell in the table, in turn, and ask what the number tells them. For example, the upper-left cell in Table 2 tells us that 375 of the 500 religiously active citizens (75 percent) voted for Party A. After looking at each cell, students can try to draw conclusions about the pattern found in the table.

The next level of understanding for students can be developed by asking them to explain how tables in their textbook or other readings support the arguments of the author. If an author argues that religious identification is an important component of vote choice, then it should be pretty clear how Table 2 supports that contention. But the exercise can also be used to remind students that each bit of statistical analysis is usually pretty narrow in scope. What Table 2 really shows is support for the hypothesized relationship for two parties competing in one election. Interesting discussion could center around whether students expect that pattern to be the same in different years or for different elections and why. Another valuable discussion might center around how students could build a stronger case for the general conclusion (for example, by looking at the table for different years or for different types of elections, or for multiparty as opposed to two-party systems, or for different kinds of electoral systems—"first pass the post," party lists, proportional representation, and so on).

Finally, students can further refine their skills by learning how to construct tables themselves. The trick is to not overburden them with data but to find a manageable data set that allows them to ask interesting questions. The CIA World Factbook or the numbers provided by the World Bank provide excellent data for use in comparing and contrasting politics within the individual countries as well as across countries. For example, students could look at the relationship between GDP and number of political parties. Students might find data for each of the six AP countries on GDP and the number of parties participating in the last election and turn the data into a bivariate analysis by comparing the level of support for democratic contestation (as measured by the number of effective political parties) among wealthy and poor nations. If students have access to Microsoft Excel, for instance, they can easily turn their bivariate analysis into a graph. This process will teach them a lot about how to read graphs and charts as well as how to create them.

Constructing a classic 2x2 table is probably the most straightforward introduction to tables and their utility. One possible construction, for example, might be this:

Relation Between GDP and Democratic Institutions

	Low GDP	High GDP
Strong Dem. Institutions		
Weak Dem. Institutions		

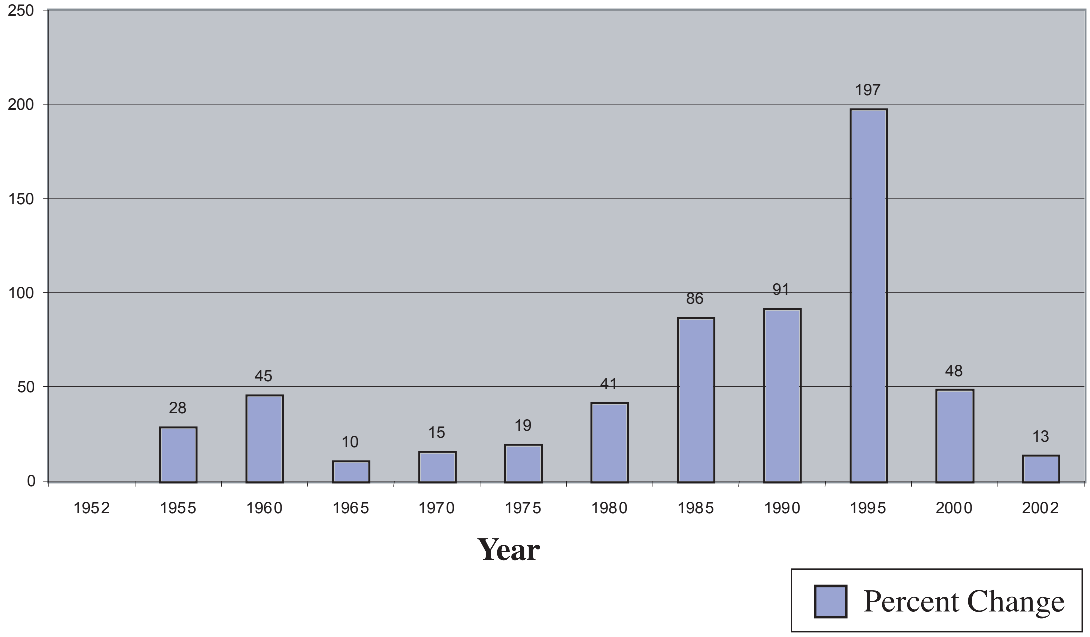
In this case, students would need to define democratic institutions, perhaps by listing them and determining some measure for weakness or strength; they might then use UN measures to develop criteria for low or high GDP. In this example of a 2x2 table, students are forced to combine country cases into generalizable groups. From this they can then practice generating some hypotheses.

Students, of course, can also be asked to interpret their findings after constructing their tables. Doing these exercises in interpreting tables and creating graphs, students should also be alert to overinterpreting. For instance, a trend is something that occurs over a period of time. So the bar graph presentation of the data in Table 1 does not in fact present a trend. But students can develop graphs that show trends. Have students collect data (such as the gender gap in voting for the Labour Party in the UK over the last 20 years, or the number of military coups in Nigeria associated with drops in oil prices) and determine whether there is a trend in the data. Here too, the usefulness of a line graph is made apparent.

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

Almost anything can be presented as a table or chart. Give your students plenty of opportunities to read charts and graphs, using whatever is in your textbook as well as what you can scrounge up elsewhere. For instance, here is bar graph on changes in GDP in China between 1952 and 2002. Have student find trends and ask them to relate trends to changes in political leadership in China. They might even chart these changes and posit some interpretations.

China's GDP: Change over Previous Year in GDP per Capita



Conclusion

Comparative politics teachers should take seriously the task of teaching and testing table reading. As students become more accomplished, they will be more comfortable analyzing new situations and new information and develop the skills to judge the quality of evidence offered by an author. These skills are not only critical to understanding key political arguments but also to becoming lifelong effective citizens.

Data for tables can be found on a number of Web sites, including many of those listed in "Using the Internet to Teach AP Comparative Government and Politics."

Why and What Do We Compare?
The Story of Revolution and Democratization

Mehrzad Boroujerdi
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York

Introduction

The field of comparative politics starts with the assumption that knowledge in the social sciences must proceed by way of the search for comparisons, or what has been called "suggestive contrasts." Scholars of comparative politics compare in order to discover similarities and explain differences. As infrequent and highly complex events, revolutions have attracted a great deal of attention from comparativists.

In this article, we will address the following topics:

- The concept of revolution
- Why do revolutions happen?
- Can revolutions be predicted?
- What do revolutions accomplish?
- What are some of the failures of revolutions?
- Comparing characteristics and outcomes of some revolutions
- Questions to ask students
- Internet sources

The Concept of Revolution

How do we define a revolution? How are revolutions distinct from other forms of political change such as coup d'état, rebellion, mutiny, insurrection, or uprising? All of the above nouns may denote acts of violence aimed at changing or overthrowing an existing order or authority. However, there are important legal and political differences among them as well.

> **Coup d'état** is a sudden seizure of state power by a small faction that does not necessarily change the social system. These so-called "palace revolutions" are often violent events that lead to a change of state personnel or modifications of the constitution but do not amount to a revolutionary change of the polity.

Insurrection (or **uprising**) refers to popular revolts that are limited or can be viewed as a dress rehearsal for a more extensive rebellion.

Mutiny is revolt against constituted authority. For example, we can speak of a mutiny by sailors over low pay.

Rebellion (or **revolt**) is an armed, open, and organized resistance to a system of political authority that often fails to achieve its purpose. It can be considered as a violent expression of grievances, such as when we speak of a rebellion by an officer corps.

Revolution (which originates from the Latin *revolvere*, meaning to turn again) is an all-encompassing and often violent change of the social structure and the political order of a given society leading to the overthrow of one government and its replacement with another. Revolutionary change entails a fundamental alteration in the distribution of power in a nation and the modification of social values, social structures, and political institutions. Revolutionaries insist that changes be instituted at once and in full so that the society can develop rapidly. As such, revolutions often involve utopian dreams, hybrid ideologies, and jagged constituencies.

Why Do Revolutions Happen?

Revolutions can take place for a variety of factors: poverty, socioeconomic paralysis, uneven economic development, lack of opportunities for social mobility, restriction of political rights, failure to fulfill electoral commitments, success or failure of reform initiatives from the top, illegitimacy of the chief executive (king, president, prime minister), and so on. A number of theoretical frameworks have been proposed by scholars to explain why revolutions occur.

Aristotle argued in *Politics* that "inferiors revolt in order that they may be equal, and equals that they may be superior. Such is the state of mind which creates revolutions."[1]

Karl Marx presented a class analysis approach that stresses the inevitability of revolution as a consequence of contradictions in economic base. He considered a revolution as the replacement of one mode of production by another (for example, feudalism by capitalism) and maintained that all the principal sources of human unhappiness can be removed by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. Marx viewed the English, French, and American revolutions as "bourgeois revolutions" led by middle classes who were responding to the expansion need of new capitalist forces of production.

---

[1] *Politics*, book 5, chapter 2.

James Davies's "J-curve" theory of revolution maintains that a revolutionary crisis occurs when a period of rising economic prosperity suddenly gives way to disappointment.[2] The J-curve theory challenges the commonly held view that "misery breeds revolt" by arguing that not all oppression stirs revolt. Instead he posits that revolutions are caused not by absolute but by relative deprivation.[3]

Samuel Huntington's *Political Order in Changing Societies* (1968) maintains that autocratic modernization in developing societies breeds revolution. This happens due to the fact that modernization expands educational and economic growth, which in turn gives rise to a revolution of rising expectations. However, the gap between desire for change (for example, greater political participation) and accomplished change causes popular frustration that leads to revolution.

Ted Robert Gurr's *Why Men Rebel* (1970) presents a social-psychological approach that views revolution as an individual act. Gurr argues that popular frustration caused by unmet aspirations is the motive force of revolutions. Disoriented individuals faced with tension, marginality, and disorder can become the foot soldiers of a revolution.

Charles Tilly's *From Mobilization to Revolution* (1978) suggests that revolutions are a form of collective action whereby groups act collectively to pursue a common goal. Tilly argues that political discontent is not in and of itself sufficient for a revolution to occur. For this to happen, the aggrieved parties must have the resources and the organization to take collective action. So according to Tilly, revolutions must be studied in terms of the structure of power, the mobilization process (gaining control over resources), and the correlation between the two.

---

[2] J. C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution."

[3] The American Democratic politician Hubert H. Humphrey articulated a version of this theory when he once said: "History teaches us that the great revolutions aren't started by people who are utterly down and out, without hope and vision. They take place when people begin to live a little better—and when they see how much yet remains to be achieved."

Theda Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* (1979) presents a "social-structural" approach that argues social revolutions are caused by the breakdown of the state and of the political system. She maintains that three sets of conflicts (dominant and dominated classes, state and dominant classes, and the state in the international context) are central to when and why a revolution takes place. Combining organization theory with class analysis, Skocpol argues that international pressures (particularly military competition or incursion) often reveal the weaknesses in the old regime (bankruptcy, military collapse).

As state leaders attempt to remedy these weaknesses, they come into conflict with vested political, economic, and social elites. Such conflicts further weaken or paralyze the government, thereby creating the opportunity for popular groups to mobilize and express their grievances. This state of affairs leads to revolutionary change. Therefore, contrary to Lenin's main thesis in *What Is to Be Done?,* which maintained that a highly centralized vanguard party of professional revolutionaries is a prerequisite for a successful revolution, consolidation of power, and eventual construction of communism, Skocpol contends that "revolutions are not made, they come." According to her theory, the difference between successful revolutions and the failed ones has to do with the power of the state. Her distinctive criterion for a "social revolution" is mass participation in a project that alters both polity and society (i.e., economy, state, elites, and political culture).

Jack A. Goldstone's *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World* (1993) posits that early modern revolutions (in England, France, China, Ottoman Empire, Japan) were ultimately caused by demographic growth, since demographic explosion can give rise to a series of economic and social crises such as growing unemployment, state financial distress, food shortages, and increasing prices. This spiral of crisis can encourage revolutions.

Can Revolutions Be Predicted?

It is said that revolutions are better understood than predicted since not every revolutionary situation ultimately leads to revolution. The likelihood, timing, and ferocity of revolutions are difficult to predict since such factors as chance, cultural uniqueness of a country, and interactions of circumstances can impact the outcome. Jack Goldstone has compared the study of revolution to the study of earthquakes. He writes: "When one [revolution] occurs, scholars try to make sense of the data they have collected and to build theories to account for the next one. Gradually, we gain a fuller understanding of revolution and of the conditions behind them. And yet the next one still surprises us. Our knowledge of revolutions, like that of earthquakes, is still limited. We can detail the patterns in those that have occurred, and we can list some of the conditions conducive to them; but a better and more exact understanding of precisely when they are likely to occur still lies in the future."[4]

The difficulty of predicting a revolution was manifested in the case of the 1979 revolution in Iran, which almost no scholar had predicted. The Iranian Revolution took place in the same year in which Skocpol's *States and Social Revolutions* was published.

However, many of the factors that scholars such as Skocpol had identified as essential prerequisites for a revolution were clearly absent. There was no defeat in a war for the Iranian state, the army was intact, there were no serious financial crises facing the shah's government, and finally the peasants played virtually no role in the success of the revolution.[5] Furthermore, with the exception of financial crisis and competition from stronger states, the anticommunist revolutions of 1989–1991 in the USSR and Eastern Europe also defied Skocpol's hypothesis. East Germany under Erich Honecker seemed like a powerful and well-disciplined state that was not facing any mass mobilization or challenge from autonomous elites with leverage against the state. Yet this powerful state collapsed as swiftly as many other communist states of Eastern Europe.

Despite the above problems, it is still possible to advance a few general propositions:

1. Revolution is the most extreme political option of a dissenting group and is a course taken generally when more moderate attempts to achieve reform have failed.
2. Revolutions occur after long bouts with dictatorship, and one of the earliest signs is the mass desertion of intellectuals when they condemn the ruling regime and demand reforms (for example, England, France, Russia, and Iran). The regime tries to respond to criticisms by undertaking major reforms that are often too little, too late.[6]
3. The fact that during the course of the twentieth century there was a dearth of revolutions in advanced democratic industrial states while revolutions took place in numerous undemocratically ruled developing countries (Mexico, China, Cuba, Nicaragua, Iran, Philippines) has given rise to the argument that democracy seems to preclude revolution.

---

[4] Jack A. Goldstone, *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies*, 17.

[5] Theda Skocpol, "Rentier State and Shi`a Islam in the Iranian Revolution."

[6] For a discussion of this trend see Crane Brinton's classic book entitled *Anatomy of a Revolution*.

What Do Revolutions Accomplish?

Besides being hard to predict, revolutions are also hard to judge! Should we understand and judge a revolution by its original goals (development, freedom, liberty, republicanism), its causes (cultural alienation, rising and unmet expectations), or its tangible results (land distribution, health acre improvement, greater role of citizens in governance)? The Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) reminded us that (a) "revolutions are always verbose"[7] and (b) "it is difficult to judge a revolution by its original goals since revolutions hardly ever fully correspond with the intentions of their makers." Furthermore, if we consider a revolution not as "an event in time" but as an "evolutionary process," then how can we account for all the intervening variables that can and often do change the eventual outcome?

Proponents of revolution can correctly argue that modern societies owe much to past uprisings against repressive governments. After all, great social revolutions—such as the ones that took place in France, Russia, Mexico, and Iran—have been important turning points in domestic, regional, and international politics. They brought forth social and ideological transformations, established new touchstones of legitimacy (i.e., a new constitution), fundamentally altered the developmental routes of the respective states, and managed to embody new ideas in the structure of national governments and political institutions. The English Revolution forced the king to give royal assent to the Declaration of Rights, thereby guaranteeing constitutional government. It also promoted religious toleration and commercial activity. The French Revolution (1789) ended aristocratic rule, brought along nationalism and democracy, and famously declared that the state is a possession of the people rather than of the king since political authority resides and emanates from people.[8] The American Revolution introduced the Bill of Rights, which enshrined libertarian principles as the foundation of modern democracy in the United States. The series of violent uprisings in Europe, known as the Revolutions of 1848, undermined the concept of absolute monarchy and established an impetus for liberalism and socialism. The Russian Revolution (1917) provided an important alternative to liberal capitalism both economically and morally and thereby helped create two ideological camps in the world. The Iranian Revolution (1979) led to the establishment of a state based on political Islam and set in global motion the political phenomenon of "Islamic fundamentalism."

---

[7] Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, vol. 2, chap. 12.

[8] For more on this, see Theda Skocpol, "Reconsidering the French Revolution in World-Historical Perspective."

The above positive view of revolution was championed by Barrington Moore Jr. in his important book, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (1966). Focusing on the cases of "bourgeois revolutions" in Britain, France, and the United States, Moore argues that liberal democracy requires a radical break with past political experience and social structure. He summed up the contributions of these revolutions by saying that the Puritan Revolution permanently changed the role of the monarchy in Britain, the French Revolution eradicated royal absolutism and launched the political rights of modern citizenship, and the American Civil War smashed the landed upper classes and prepared the way for the continued growth of industrial capitalism. According to Moore, all three of these historical revolutions were set in motion by economic development, and their victorious outcome eventually laid the foundation for the emergence of liberal democracies. The implication of Moore's theoretical model was that efforts at a "negotiated" transition to democratic rule were not likely to result in a liberal democracy.

Other scholars have questioned Moore's proposition that democracy is dependent on a revolutionary break with the past, by reminding us that (a) not all radical breaks contribute to the breakthrough of liberal democracy since throughout history we have witnessed ample cases of radical social revolutions, which, instead of paving the way for the formation of a liberal democracy, have resulted in the coming to power of more authoritarian regimes; (b) in many small European countries (for example, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden), working-class mobilization was the true source of democratic drive and not a revolution;[9] and (c) since the 1980s, we have seen a series of cases of negotiated transitions to democracy in such places as Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and South America. Brazil, Chile, Hungary, Poland, South Africa, and South Korea also represent some examples of negotiated transitions.

What Are Some of the Failures of Revolutions?

Revolutions may be festivals of the oppressed (or festivals of hope), but they often leave us with a set of ominous lessons as well. First and foremost among these is the eruption and pervasiveness of violence. Marx used to regard force as "the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."[10] Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution, famously said that "you cannot make a revolution in white gloves,"[11] and Lenin's Chinese counterpart, Mao Zedong, further elaborated on the same logic by writing: "A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another."[12]

---

[9] See Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne H. Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Democracy and Development.*

[10] Quoted in Karl Marx, *Capital*, vol. I, chap. 31.

[11] Quoted in Tamara Deutscher, ed., *Not By Politics Alone . . . the Other Lenin*, chap. 2, p. 79.

There is a lot of truth to Macaulay's argument that "the violence of revolutions is generally proportioned to the degree of the maladministration which has produced them."[13] The problem, however, is that violence does not end with the overthrow of the *ancien régime*. Born and bred by violence, revolutionary regimes more often than not are consumed by it as well, since violence has a propensity to escalate. During the daunting transition process from revolution making to state building, former revolutionary colleagues find themselves engulfed in various power struggles, policy differences, or ideological disagreements. In this ambiance, violence establishes itself as a corollary of dissent as revolutionary governments ratify a sweeping set of laws dealing with "state security," which treats dissidents as "counterrevolutionaries" and takes away many of their political rights (for example, France, Russia, and Iran). Hence, it has become a common development in revolutions that the initial supporters of the revolution end up being persecuted as one revolutionary faction turns against another. As the French-Algerian philosopher and author, Albert Camus, put it, "every revolutionary ends by becoming either an oppressor or a heretic."[14]

Another problem pointed out by the critics of revolutionary change is that revolutions often replace one evil with another, sometimes leading to opposing counterrevolutions. In his major work, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), the eighteenth-century political thinker Edmund Burke argued against French revolutionaries by maintaining that liberty pursued by revolutionary methods not only would not result in limited politics but, on the contrary, would destroy the very conditions that are indispensable for its preservation. It is an oft-touted fact that revolutions lead to more centralized and muscular governments than had existed under the prerevolutionary regime.

---

[12] Mao's *Selected Works,* vol. 1.

[13] See Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne H. Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Democracy and Development.*

[14] Albert Camus, *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt.* See "Rebellion and Revolution" in part 3.

Revolutionary states often do not allow a multiparty political system or a free press.[15] Hence, it is a paradox of revolution that despite mass mobilization and socioeconomic upheaval, new forms of authoritarian rule often emerge.[16] This authoritarianism often manifests itself in the emergence of a cult of personality around an all-powerful leader (Emperor Napoleon after the French Revolution, Stalin, Mao, Castro, and Khomeini), which is ironic considering that many revolutions in the developing world were launched to overthrow the personalistic rule of a discredited executive in the first place (Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Iran).

Comparing Characteristics and Outcomes of Some Revolutions

In teaching students about revolution, teachers may wish to highlight some of the following similarities and differences about characteristics and outcomes of revolutions.

- Revolutions are conducive to utopian and Manichean ideologies that divide the world into a simple binary opposite between the good and the evil.
- At first it is the moderate reformers who seize the reins of state, only to be displaced by the more radical elements.
- The peasantry was the greatest single social force supporting the revolutionary cause in Mexico, Russia, China, and Vietnam.
- Iran and Russia are the only two countries that experienced two twentieth-century revolutions (Russia in 1905 and 1917, Iran in 1905 and 1979).
- Unlike the czar's army in 1917, the shah's army remained intact and loyal until he left the country.
- Prerevolutionary Iran and Russia can both be described as "modernizing autocracies."[17]
- Mexican president Porfirio Díaz, who twice served as head of state (1876–1880 and 1884–1911), and the shah of Iran (1941–1979) both believed in the modernization of the socioeconomic infrastructure of their respective countries but did not undertake any serious attempt to create dynamic and open political systems.
- The leaders of both the Chinese and the Iranian revolutions (Mao and Khomeini) personified charismatic authority.

---

[15] Again Camus nicely describes this process by writing: "More and more, revolution has found itself delivered into the hands of its bureaucrats and doctrinaires on the one hand, and to the enfeebled and bewildered masses on the other."

[16] See K. J. Middlebrook, *The Paradox of Revolution: Labor, the State, and Authoritarianism in Mexico*.

[17] See Tim McDaniel, *Autocracy, Modernization, and Revolution in Russia and Iran*.

- The founding fathers of the Russian and Iranian revolutions (Lenin and Khomeini) each spent many years in exile. Khomeini's exile took him to Turkey and Iraq, while Lenin had to go to Siberia and then Western Europe. Furthermore, both developed much of their original theoretical contributions to the theory of statecraft while in exile.
- The Iranian Revolution was the first contemporary revolution in which dominant ideology, forms of organization, leadership cadres, and proclaimed goals were religious in form and aspiration. A revolution led by the clergy, financed by the bazaaris (traditional merchants), and fought by the urban poor, it led to the establishment of the first revolutionary theocracy in the modern era. In other words, while Western revolutions were all against church *and* state, in Iran it was only directed against the state.[18]
- The ascendancy of clerics to political power in 1979 can be attributed to a host of comparative advantages, such as financial independence from the state, strong communication networks, capable full-time orators, legal centers of mobilization (mosques, seminaries, Islamic councils, religious foundations), numerous religious occasions, historical/mythical figures, populist slogans, bazaar support, a centralized leadership with a well-defined hierarchical structure, a ready blueprint for action, and the help given to them by the shah's regime to counter the leftist forces.
- The Iranian Revolution also remains the only modern social revolution in which the peasantry and rural guerrilla warfare played a marginal role.
- Just like in China, the new revolutionary elites in Iran started a campaign of "cultural revolution" to purge their enemies. The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" (1966–1976) was a movement aiming to "purify" Chinese Communism through a purge of the intelligentsia while the Iranian "cultural revolution" (1980–1982) aimed to purify Iran's educational and cultural scene from nonloyal and "undesirable" elements (i.e., liberals or communists). In China, the wrath of the "Red Guards" was directed at the head of state, Liu Shaoqi, and party secretary, Deng Xiaoping, while in Iran the "Hezbollahis" (armed gangs of hooligans loyal to the hard-line clergy) targeted leftist forces and liberal intellectuals. In both cases, the debate was framed in terms of "revolutionary zeal" being more important than "technocratic expertise." In both countries, the educational system came to a standstill while the cultural revolution was going on.

---

[18] For more in-depth discussion of the Iranian Revolution, see Said Amir Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran*.

- Like the Soviets who faced the question of "socialism in one country" or "permanent revolution," the revolutionary elite in Iran faced the question of "Islam in one country" or "world Islamic government?" In both cases, the ruling elites ended up opting for the first option, which proved to be more pragmatic.[19]
- Deng Xiaoping, Gorbachev, and Khatami were three reformist leaders who ventured to change the direction of a state born through revolution.
- There has been no real succession crisis in Iran as was witnessed in the USSR or China.

Questions to Ask Students

- Why do revolutions happen in some countries but not in others?
- Are revolutions inevitable, or can they be evaded?
- Are revolutions the cause of change, or is it the other way around, namely that change prepares the ground for revolution?
- Do revolutions conform to one or a few basic patterns?
- What are some examples of "atypical" revolutions?
- What constitutes a "social revolution"?
- Is it possible to have revolutionary change without violence?
- What types of political institutions or public policies help reduce the chances of revolution?
- What constitutes a "revolutionary condition"?
- What theories of revolution are most useful in cross-national studies covering different world-historical periods?
- Is there a "typical aftermath" to revolution?
- Do all triumphant revolutions ultimately decay?
- Did the Russian Revolution of 1917 correspond to Marxist theory? Why or why not?
- What attitude did the Chinese communists adopt toward such Confucian virtues as filial piety, respect for authority, belief in consensus, hard work, education, prudence, and a willingness to put society's interest before the individual's?
- Was the 1979 revolution a liberating force for Iranian women, or did they emerge as one of the major losers?
- Do postrevolutionary societies have a greater propensity for sociopolitical unrest than those that do not experience a revolution? Why or why not?
- How do revolutionary governments attempt to reform themselves in the face of globalization and increasing popular appeals for participation and democracy?

---

[19] In this regard, it is useful to remember the words of the Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev: "Revolutions are not made for export."

Internet Sources

American Revolution
http://revolution.h-net.msu.edu
http://theamericanrevolution.org
www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/revolution

English Revolution
www.constitution.org/eng/conpur.htm

Chinese Revolution
http://orpheus.ucsd.edu/chinesehistory/cr/cultrev.htm
http://museums.cnd.org/CR/english
http://uk.encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761580341/Chinese_Revolution.html

French Revolution
http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution
http://uk.encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761557826/French_Revolution.html

Iranian Revolution
www.bbc.co.uk/persian/revolution

Mexican Revolution
www.mexonline.com/revolution.htm

Russian Revolution
www.barnsdle.demon.co.uk/russ/rusrev.html

Bibliography

Aristotle. *Politics.* Translated by Benjamin Jowett. New York: Modern Library, 1943.

Arjomand, Said Amir. *The Turban for the Crown: The Islamic Revolution in Iran.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Brinton, Crane. *Anatomy of a Revolution.* New York: Vintage, 1965.

Burke, Edmund. *Reflections on the Revolution in France.* New York: Penguin, 1982.

Camus, Albert. *The Rebel: An Essay on Man in Revolt.* New York: Vintage, 1992.

Davies, J. C. "Toward a Theory of Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 27 (1962): 5–19.

Deutscher, Tamara, ed. *Not By Politics Alone . . . the Other Lenin.* Manchester, New Hampshire: Olympic Marketing Corp, 1976.

Goldstone, Jack A. *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Goldstone, Jack A. *Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative, and Historical Studies.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986.

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*? Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Huntington, Samuel. *Political Order in Changing Societies.* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1968.

Lenin, Vladimir Ilich. *What Is to Be Done?* Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1973.

Macaulay, Baron Thomas Babington. *Macaulay's History of England from the Accession of James II*, vol. 2. London: Everyman's Library, 1964.

Marx, Karl. *Capital*, vol. I. Marx and Engels Internet Archive, www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/index.htm.

Mao Zedong. *Selected Works.* New York: International Publishers, 1954.

McDaniel, Tim. *Autocracy*, *Modernization, and Revolution in Russia and Iran.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Middlebrook, K. J. *The Paradox of Revolution: Labor, the State, and Authoritarianism in Mexico*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Moore, Barrington, Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne H. Stephens, and John D. Stephens. *Capitalist Democracy and Development.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Skocpol, Theda. "Reconsidering the French Revolution in World-Historical Perspective." *Social Research* 56, no. 1 (Spring 1989).

Skocpol, Theda. "Rentier State and Shi`a Islam in the Iranian Revolution." *Theory and Society* 11, no. 3 (May 1982).

Skocpol, Theda. *States and Social Revolutions.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution.* New York: Addison-Wesley, 1978.

Trotsky, Leon. *The History of the Russian Revolution.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1932.

Ideology, Religion, and Politics: The History of a Changing Concept

Jeffrey Key
Sweet Briar College
Sweet Briar, Virginia

Introduction

Ideology, religion, and politics all shape people's attitudes about the way that governments are organized and operate and the roles of rulers and citizens. Though they are related concepts, this relationship has evolved over time. Ideology, religion, and politics have varied in their relative importance and sometimes become intertwined. Early in the twenty-first century, the ties between them are once again in a state of flux. Understanding this complex relationship is important to understanding such issues as Islamism in Iran and Egypt, Hindu fundamentalism in India, and the role of "values politics" in the 2004 U.S. presidential election.

Some Basic Definitions

An **ideology** describes an ideal political system and prescribes the rules for achieving and maintaining it. Those in power preserve and promote the ideology. Ideological writings and principles are a source of law.

A **religion** explains the creation and working of the universe and sets guidelines for human behavior. Many religions have rules about who should rule and how they should rule. Sacred texts and beliefs are a source of law.

Politics determines "who gets what and why." Policies change over time as sources of power, rulers, and institutions change. Laws are made by whoever rules.

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

How Ideology, Religion, and Politics Have Evolved

Religion and Politics in the Premodern Period and the Impact of the Enlightenment

Regardless of how rulers came to power, religion provided the basis for political authority around the world in the premodern period. The ancient Greeks and Romans consulted oracles and claimed to have the favor of the gods, Europe's monarchs said they ruled by "divine right," and China's emperors relied on the "Mandate of Heaven." In India, ruling was a sacred duty reserved for the Kshatriya caste. This reliance on religious authority was abandoned in the West but continued elsewhere for several centuries.

In Europe, the role of religion in public life was undercut by the Enlightenment in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The rise of **secularism** meant that social rules would no longer be based on religious beliefs. As reason challenged the power of religion, state institutions and public life were largely secularized, and a new foundation for law and government was needed. Ideology filled this void, and some of the oldest ideologies formed at this time. **Conservatism** was the least radical of these. It promoted maintaining traditional social institutions, including religion, and called for little political change from the old order. **Liberalism** was more radical and emphasized individual rights and freedom from the state.

Western civilization's rejection of religion as a source of authority was unique. Religion continued to play a role in the rise and fall of empires and dynasties elsewhere in the world. Though force was essential in creating and maintaining empires, new rulers ultimately cited some kind of religious authority to justify their hold on political power. By setting the rules for politics, religion continued to help determine "who got what and how." Successive dynasties in China relied upon Confucianism. Not surprisingly, the state was used to spread the rulers' faith. The Gupta empire (320–ca. 550) in India built many Hindu temples, while the Moghul empire promoted Islam there from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

The Rise and Spread of Western Politics and Ideologies

The modern nation-state (a sovereign country with a government ruling a homogeneous population) came into being in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when multiethnic kingdoms broke up, and people sharing a common language and culture formed states. German unification in the nineteenth century is a good example of this process at work. These countries needed answers to basic questions about how to arrange and operate their governments. For example, the organization and makeup of the legislature and its power relative to the executive branch were key issues. Established countries like Britain also faced institutional problems.

These political growing pains occurred during a time of rapid social and economic change. Frustration with political arrangements grew as the Industrial Revolution spawned urbanization and the growth of a more complex class system. The new middle class in particular demanded a larger voice, and the power of the traditional aristocracy was greatly reduced. Britain's Reform Act of 1832 is the clearest example of this process at work. The act's passage enlarged the franchise and presaged a decline in the power of the House of Lords, benefiting the House of Commons.

Social and economic changes and political reforms in the nineteenth century stirred a philosophical debate in Europe. Governments were not changing fast enough for some intellectuals. New ideologies began to develop. Karl Marx (1818–1883) argued that reforms alone would not go far enough to address the plight of the working class. **Socialism** called for a redistribution of wealth by the state. Other ideologies emerged. Some were more radical and others less so. **Nationalism** promoted the idea of the nation (people sharing a common identity) and advanced its interests over those of outsiders. Ideologies continued to expand their influence in the twentieth century and grew even more extreme. In Russia, Marxism was joined with Leninist thought to form **communism**, which promoted violent revolution to achieve a dictatorship of the proletariat. Nationalism took the extreme form of **fascism** in Germany and called for the suppression of anything that worked against the unity of the state and society.

Western politics and ideology also influenced the political development of much of the rest of the world. Though they were motivated by economic gain, Europe's imperial powers also spread the West's secular ideologies to what became known as the "Third World," this dissemination continuing until the mid-twentieth century. The vast French and British empires had the greatest impact. Conservatism, liberalism, communism, and nationalism all found new adherents around the globe. Religion was associated with backwardness. As these countries gained their independence from the European powers beginning in the late 1940s, their governments were thus shaped and guided by Western political ideals. Many independence movements in Asia and Africa found leftist and nationalist ideologies especially attractive. The Cold War struggle in the Third World was over which Western ideology would prevail. The end of the Cold War left these countries to look for political values with roots in their own culture rather than the colonial one.

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

Ideology, Religion, and Politics in the Twenty-First Century

Francis Fukuyama proclaimed in his book *The End of History* that the close of the Cold War marked the world's turning away from ideology. With the exception of Maoist beliefs that continued to guide rebel groups in a few far-flung countries like Peru and Nepal, the age of ideology did seem to be at an end.

However, at the same time that ideology was declining, religion began reasserting itself in the form of revivalism in most of the world's major faiths. Having been diminished in the West by the rise of secular politics and ideology and undercut globally by Western imperialism, religion began a comeback as a political force. Movements in many former colonies began looking to religion to rediscover their political as well as their cultural identities.

Though a modern phenomenon, **religious fundamentalism** stresses early religious practices and the application of sacred texts to contemporary political and social questions. Groups claiming sacred authority for their political actions now seek to take power and influence politics and policies. Within this framework, imposing their beliefs on public life is a fundamentalist's sacred duty. Religion is being used in the same way that ideology had been used earlier. Fundamentalists' beliefs resemble ideologies because they claim absolute authority and do not allow for competing ideas or sharing power. In some cases, the emphasis on gaining political power is so great that the movement becomes more ideological than religious. For example, the promotion of political Islam is now referred to as *Islamism* to distinguish it from the religion. Except for the collapse of communism, Islamism is the most important trend in world politics in recent decades.

Though Iran is an overwhelmingly Shi'ite Muslim country (Shi'ites make up roughly 20 percent of the world's Muslims), the 1979 Iranian Revolution energized all Muslims. Lead by bearded and robed Shi'ite clerics, the revolution dramatically marked the return of religion to discussions about ideology and politics. Earlier revolutions like those in France, Mexico, Russia, and China had all sought to drive religion out of public life. In Iran, the regime of Shah Reza Pahlavi that was overthrown was thoroughly Western and secular, and this revolution sought to create an Islamic state. The new leaders were clear about the relationship between religion and politics. Senior clerics had the power to censure politicians whom they thought were misguided and to veto laws that they deemed to be "un-Islamic." A quarter-century after the revolution, Iran's Council of Guardians continues to oversee the government and clerics play prominent roles in most aspects of public life. Critics condemn Iran as a **theocracy** (government by religious authorities), but this label overlooks the fact that the country has many characteristics of a functioning democracy such as political parties and regular elections.

Sunni fundamentalist groups became more visible in the 1990s. The **Salafist** movement is the most significant fundamentalist movement in the world today. The names of some groups associated with it, including al-Qaeda, regularly appear in the headlines of major newspapers. How widespread is this movement? Every country with a significant Muslim population has some Salafist groups. What do Salafist groups believe? *Salaf* means "ancestors." The movement's central belief is that the earliest Muslim community in seventh-century Arabia was an ideal society where there was no distinction between religious and political authority.

Islamic fundamentalism is not unique. Other major religions have produced their own powerful fundamentalist movements. Militant Hinduism has had a large impact on India's politics. And like the Salafists, this movement seeks to increase its influence over India's public life and to spread its message. The rise of Hindu fundamentalism gained attention with the rise to national power of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the 1990s. The BJP's promotion of ***Hindutva*** ("Hindu-ness" or rule according to Hindu principles) and aggressive posture toward India's non-Hindu minorities has softened somewhat, but it continues to enjoy the support of militant groups that wield considerable power at the regional level in India.

Several important realities about the relevance of religion to understanding comparative government and politics must be noted. Religion has played a role in politics dating back to the earliest times, and religious revival groups formed in Muslim countries and in India while they were still under colonial rule. These groups' contributions were overshadowed by the postcolonial ruling parties that grew out of independence movements. The second important fact is that religious fundamentalism is not synonymous with **religious conservatism**, which is the belief that one's religion requires the rejection of some modern social practices. Unlike fundamentalism, religious conservatism is an older phenomenon and is generally apolitical. All religions have some conservative groups. Finally, it is important to remember that controversies over religion in politics are not limited to Islamic countries or developing countries generally. Editorials about the 2004 U.S. presidential election argue that a large number of voters were motivated by what they perceived to be the excessive secularization of American public life. These voters pointed to the banning of prayer in schools and the removal of public religious displays as evidence of this marginalization of their beliefs. Religion has also been an issue in France, Russia, China, and Japan. The French government's ban on Muslim girls wearing the traditional head scarf in school received worldwide attention. In Russia, the Orthodox Church has reemerged as a force in the postcommunist period and pressured the government to take steps to curb the activities of foreign missionary groups. The Chinese government suppressed the Falun Gong sect because it was perceived to be a threat to the authority of the Chinese Communist Party. Japan's Komeito political party was even sponsored by a Buddhist sect.

Conclusions and Suggestions

Discussing ideology and politics can create friction even among friends. Adding religion to the mix makes such discussions still more difficult. Classroom teachers face a dilemma. Explaining the relationship between ideology, religion, and politics is both sensitive and challenging, but it is also necessary if students are to make sense of government and politics in diverse countries.

Keeping in mind the following suggestions will make teaching this material easier.

1. Help students to understand ideology, religion, and politics as concepts apart from any particular ideological, religious, or political preference they may hold.
2. Carefully explain the difference between analyzing and criticizing ideological, religious, or political values.
3. Be sensitive to the nuances of words. For example, religious conservatives should not be confused with religious fundamentalists. (The Amish are an example that most American students will grasp. They are religious conservatives who reject the modern lifestyle but are not fundamentalists seeking to capture the public agenda.)

Key Terms

ideology
religion
politics
the enlightenment
secularism
conservatism
liberalism
socialism
nationalism
communism
fascism
religious fundamentalism
Islamism
theocracy
Salafist
Hindutva
religious conservatism

Questions for Discussion

1. Identify several ancient empires and several modern ones. What was the basis for their rule?
2. List several major revolutions. What was their impact on religion?
3. Identify several major ideologies and their core belief.

4. What do ideology and religion have in common? How do they differ?
5. How many examples of religious fundamentalism can you identify around the world?

Major Revolutions

French (1789–1795)
Mexican (1910–1921)
Russian (1917–1920)
Chinese (1911–1949)
Iranian (1979)

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

Gender, Comparison, and Political Equality

Jean C. Robinson
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

We know that although women don't come from Venus, and men aren't from Mars, men and women do experience and participate in politics in very different ways. If we could line up all the leaders of the nations around the world, we would see few women. If we could put all the world's legislators in the same auditorium, we would see more women, but it certainly would not be half (or rather, 52 percent) of the legislative population. And if we counted up all the references to women, girls, and females in comparative politics textbooks, we wouldn't need many fingers to do the counting.

So why study how gender operates in politics? One reason is that more women *are* to be found at various levels of governance, and more and more women are participating in politics through voting and political action at local and regional levels. We might also want to know whether an increase in women's participation has any effect on policies. Or we might want to discover the relation between political and social change and greater gender equality in a society.

If we want to learn and teach about politics in a more inclusive way, we need to address the gaps in our textbooks by bringing new information to our students. But first we need to consider the stereotypes about men and women that students (and perhaps researchers, journalists, and news reporters) carry with them. Then we need to find the data that may not be available in the textbooks we are using, and finally students can start asking and answering some interesting questions about gender and politics.

A first exercise for the classroom is to deal with those nasty stereotypes. Get the students to list various attributes and adjectives that are useful for effective participation in politics, whether as a citizen or as a leader. Then have each student mark each attribute as male, female, or nongendered. The class might tabulate their findings: Do students mark public speaking ability, for instance, as a male characteristic? Is obedience associated with being female and power with being male? The final step in this exercise is to discuss whether attributes that are considered necessary for political leadership are gendered and serve as an explanation for the small number of women political leaders in the world.

A second exercise for the classroom is to gather data. Is it true that there are a small number of women leaders? Here is where AP teachers will need to go to the trenches and supplement what is typically found in introductory comparative politics texts. We will need to collect political data on men and women: percentages in legislatures and bureaucracies, voting rates, areas of governance where women (or men) are concentrated, issues where men and women seem to differ (the "gender gap"). Enlist your students to help with this research: looking for data will not only supplement the texts, but it will also teach students some important research skills. What should they look for? Where should they look? They will want to find empirical data and thus move away from those nasty stereotypes (which, as we all know, are based in some reality, but not the full reality!). Here are some ideas for directing students to this data.

Statistical indicators about women's and men's educational attainments, access to health care, employment patterns, longevity, and, for women, maternal death rates, the year female suffrage was granted, and much more can be found at sites such as those maintained by the World Bank GenderStats office (http://genderstats.worldbank.org) or by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (www.unifem.org). Data on women's representation in parliaments as well as in national and regional-level bureaucracies can be found at www.ipu.org, a Web site managed by the Inter-Parliamentary Union. Have students collect statistical data for both men and women and start doing some comparisons: Why is life expectancy so different for men and women in Russia? How might this matter for Russian political issues? What kinds of explanations can we find for the low percentage of women parliamentarians worldwide (15.4 percent in 2002) but such high percentages in Nordic countries (39.7 percent)? What might explain the difference in granting suffrage to women in southern Nigeria (1958) and northern Nigeria (1978)?

Asking questions is one of the best ways to learn and to understand. A third introductory exercise is to develop appropriate questions. One of the fundamental skills behind AP-level political science classes is analysis. Here is an opportunity to encourage students to develop analytical skills and research skills by getting them (either in the classroom or as a writing assignment) to develop appropriate questions about gender that are relevant to the themes and concepts in the AP Comparative Government and Politics course. We don't want them to ask unreasonable or unanswerable questions ("Are women from Venus and men from Mars?"). Rather, we want to help them develop the analytical skills to understand what questions are appropriate. So what can we ask, on the basis of the types of data that are available? What kinds of questions will move away from stereotypes and biases? Here are some possibilities:

- How are women and men similar/different in terms of political attitudes?
- How are women and men similar/different in terms of participation in politics?
- Are there ideological differences between men and women?

After developing the questions, you might have students work in groups to use the data from the exercise described above (and find more information) to answer them.

Let's take an example here—suppose the students want to ask a question that is reasonable and relevant for all of the six AP countries.

Does political and economic change lead to more gender equality?
This question has vexed researchers for a long time. If students want to tackle this, they would need to define the kinds of change (increase in GDP, movement away from agriculture to industry or service economies, transition to democratic elections, establishment of multiparty systems, and so on), and they would also need to define how they could measure gender equality (more women participating as voters, more women getting elected to public office, more men sharing in family and household work, fewer divorces, fewer marriages—lots of room here for discussion!). If they can gather this data, they can then formulate a reasonable answer, based on the information they have found. This would provide ample opportunity to learn some information about women and men in the political systems we are studying, while simultaneously teaching some research and analytical skills.

Using some data and research developed by political scientists, here is one possible way to answer that *big* question.

Women in Parliaments Worldwide

Does political and economic change lead to more gender equality?
In the 1960s, what is commonly known as the economic growth model assumed that endemic problems of women's literacy and education, their poverty, low pay and occupational segregation, the heavy weight of care-giving responsibilities, and their lack of participation and representation in the political world would all be erased as a consequence of greater affluence and economic growth. (See, for instance, W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, 3rd ed., Cambridge University Press, 1991, orig. 1960.) But clearly that model was inadequate. Otherwise, how could we explain the following discrepancies? Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Quatar are about as wealthy as Sweden in per capita GDP, but women in those societies cannot stand for office or even vote. The Middle East and North Africa have the lowest rates of female labor force participation in the world, although some of the countries in the region are quite wealthy. Indeed, in some poorer countries, political conditions are more favorable for women. For instance, in India, although women's rights are limited in many ways, about 800,000 women serve in local governments, where 33 percent of local legislative seats are reserved for

them. Even in the most affluent societies—including the United States, France, and Japan, where women have made substantial gains in access to education, corporations, and professions—there has been minimal progress for women's participation in formal government positions, whereas in South Africa, by contrast, women comprise one-third of all parliamentarians.

Obviously the problem of gender equality is more complex and intractable than political development theorists assumed. Growing affluence does tend to generate the establishment of a social safety net and the rise of white-collar jobs. But these improvements do not necessarily benefit women's lives, nor do they translate into more political representation for women. We can see, though, that there are some benefits of economic growth and the spread of affluence for women as well as men. As GDP increases, typically we see higher literacy rates for females and a slow but steady catching up to (and occasionally surpassing) men's literacy and education levels. Also evident is the extension of life expectancy due to better health care; maternal death rates fall as risks to pregnant women are alleviated. In addition, as girls get more schooling, the fertility rate (the average number of children a woman would have in her lifetime) typically falls. Fewer pregnancies and births generally mean longer, healthier lives for adult women. But even though we see these important changes in women's lives, we don't see any guaranteed transference of these social and economic advances into female political power, activism, participation, or representation.

In the 1980s and 1990s, recognizing the limitations of economic strategies alone, international organizations attempted to expand women's participation in the political process. Through the United Nations, the European Union, the Agency for International Development, the World Bank, and others working alongside international women's movements and NGOs (nongovernmental organizations), efforts were made to educate women and to prepare them for entry into public participation. Women were taught economic skills, encouraged to form their own self-help movements, and provided opportunities to learn from one another across national borders. There was also an expansion of policy efforts from a primary and often singular focus on the problem of women's well-being (or perhaps "ill-being") toward emphasizing the role of women's agency and voice in gaining equal rights. Through the UN-sponsored International Women's Years, an international effort was launched to secure minimal human rights for women, primarily through recognition of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Scholars and policymakers now argue that there is a discernible trend toward more gender equality. But if economic development itself doesn't explain this trend, what does?

A recent argument, from political scientists Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris (see *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*, Cambridge University Press, 2003), posits that cultural shifts make the significant difference. Their argument includes the following:

- Industrialization brings women into the workforce and dramatically reduces fertility rates, increases literacy, and generates educational opportunities.
- Women are enfranchised and begin to participate in representative government.
- Rapid technological and scientific innovation brings with it the process of secularization and weakening of religious authority.
- Following upon this is the erosion of the nuclear family structure, the growth of nontraditional households, and changing patterns of marriage and divorce.
- Also evident is that more married women are in the labor force permanently.
- Most recently, the postindustrial phase brings a shift toward greater gender equality as women rise in management and professions and gain political influence through elected and appointed bodies.

Students can gather evidence for (or against) the Inglehart-Norris model and use this as an opportunity to analyze the relation between social changes and political change. In the process, they might examine some other shibboleths like the following claims:

- Women were thought to be more conservative politically than men.
  Gender differences in party preferences were never as marked as classic electoral cleavages of class, region, and religion, and there were no mass "women's" parties like those associated with unions, regions, and churches. Women's political conservatism was seen as a persistent and well-established pattern, but in the 1980s, this conventional wisdom came under increasing challenge. In many West European countries, a process of gender *dealignment* appeared, with studies reporting minimal sex differences in voting choice and party preference. In the United States in the 1980s, we saw a gender realignment, which we have come to call the gender gap, where women shifted allegiance to the Democratic Party while men moved toward the Republican Party.
- Women are more traditional than men.
  But if this gender realignment is really happening, then students would expect to find that women might be more liberal than men. Political scientists studying public opinion have found that across most countries of the world, women hold more left-leaning views than men; the gender gap is particularly strong in poorer nations as well as in middle-income nations. Data from the Eurobarometer suggest that the greatest evidence of ideological shift is in richest nations (where women have also experienced the greatest transformations in their lifestyles and sex roles).

- Women are less politically active than men.
  In the 1970s, Verba, Nie, and Kim said that "in all societies for which we have data, sex is related to political activity: men are more active than women." Barnes and his colleagues (1979) found that women were also engaged less in unconventional forms of participation. Given all the other changes, one would expect that this piece of wisdom might be wrong. In voting turnout, the gap has closed, but women are less involved in other forms of electoral activism, such as campaign contributions, affiliation with political organizations, and contact with public officials. Men are more likely to join parties, and men engage in discussions about politics more than women. The gender gap in civic organizations varies substantially according to the type of organization: women predominate as members of religious, health-related, and social welfare groups. There is no support for the proposition that women are more likely to be in environmental or peace organizations.
- Notions of women's empowerment or equality with men are universal.
  For instance, it might be revealing to talk about the ways in which Western concepts or symbols of antifeminism can be viewed by others as instruments of women's empowerment. Students might examine the issue of the mandatory head scarf and covered women's dress in Iran in 1979 and compare it to attitudes in Iran in 2004. Such analysis will raise questions about how equality is measured or can be measured—and whether there are social universals or whether political analysis has to accept cultural difference.

Despite the rising tide of gender equality, in the public sphere, no matter the nation, women remain less politically active in most nations. The gender gap is modest but ubiquitous. Still, any analysis of equality will raise questions about the meaning of equality.

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

Teaching About Gender in Comparative Politics

- Don't forget it's about both women and men.
- Use policy areas to give students an opportunity to understand similarities and differences in terms of gender.
- Don't rely on old data—there are many important changes in female and male behavior and attitudes in all countries. Involve students in the process of discovering new data!

Resources

Barnes, Samuel, and Max Kaase. *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1979.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. *Rising Tide: Gender Equality and Cultural Change Around the World*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Seager, Joni. *Penguin Atlas of Women in the World*. New York: Penguin, 2003.

Verba, Sidney, Norman Nie, and Jae-on Kim. *The Modes of Democratic Participation: A Cross-National Comparison*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, 1971.

And Web sites such as:

- WomenWatch—www.un.org/womenwatch
- GenderStats—http://genderstats.worldbank.org
- UN Development Fund for Women—www.unifem.org

Appendix: Women in Parliaments Worldwide

Note: The term "parliament" includes any legislative body, whether it is called congress, assembly, legislature, or parliament.

Sources: Except where noted, the tables in this appendix were compiled in fall 2004 from data on the Inter-Parliamentary Union's Web site (www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm); please note that the site's data is updated regularly and more current figures may be available.

Members of Parliaments Worldwide, by Gender

Both Houses Combined	
Total MPs (Members of Parliament)	42,605
Number of MPs for Which Gender Data Is Available	40,868
Men	34,566
Women	6,302
Percentage of Women	**15.4%**

Single House of Parliament or Lower House	
Total MPs (Members of Parliament)	36,273
Number of MPs for Which Gender Data Is Available	34,560
Men	29,156
Women	5,404
Percentage of Women	**15.6%**

Upper House or Senate	
Total MPs (Members of Parliament)	6,332
Number of MPs for Which Gender Data Is Available	6,308
Men	5,410
Women	898
Percentage of Women	**14.2%**

Women in Parliament: Regional Averages

Region	Single House of Parliament or Lower House: Average Percentage of Seats Occupied by Women	Upper House or Senate: Average Percentage of Seats Occupied by Women	Both Houses Combined: Average Percentage of Seats Occupied by Women
Nordic countries	39.7	NA	39.7
Americas	18.5	18.2	18.5
Europe—OSCE* member countries, including Nordic countries	18.1	15.3	17.6
Europe—OSCE* member countries, excluding Nordic countries	16.0	15.3	15.9
Asia	15.5	13.6	15.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	14.6	12.8	14.4
Pacific	10.9	20.5	12.2
Arab states	6.0	7.5	6.4

Regions are classified by descending order of the percentage of women in the lower or single house.

---

* Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

Women in the Parliaments of Selected Countries

Rank Among the 128 Countries* with Parliamentary Data	Country	Lower House of Parliament or Single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Election Month and Year	Total Number of Seats	Seats Held by Women	Percentage of Total Seats Held by Women	Election Month and Year	Total Number of Seats	Seats Held by Women	Percentage of Total Seats Held by Women
29	Mexico	July 2003	500	113	22.6	July 2000	128	20	15.6
37	China	March 2003	2,985	604	20.2	NA	NA	NA	NA
48	United Kingdom	June 2001	659	118	17.9	NA	677	113	16.7
58	United States [not an AP country]	November 2002	435	62	14.3	November 2002	100	13	13
66	France [not an AP country]	June 2002	574	70	12.2	September 2001	321	35	10.9
80	Russia	December 2003	450	44	9.8	NA	178	6	3.4
98	Nigeria	April 2003	359	22	6.1	April 2003	109	3	2.8
107	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	February 2004	290	13	4.5	NA	NA	NA	NA

---

* The rankings go from 1 (the country with the highest percentage of parliamentary seats held by women) to 128 (the country with the lowest percentage of parliamentary seats held by women)

Selected Statistical Indicators for the Six Countries Covered in AP Comparative Government

The two tables below were compiled from the World Bank's GenderStats database (http://genderstats.worldbank.org), specifically its Summary Gender Profile section.

Country	GNP per Capita (Converted to U.S. Dollars)			Population (in Millions)			Female Illiteracy Rate (Percentage of Female Population That Is Illiterate)			Male Illiteracy Rate (Percentage of Male Population That Is Illiterate)		
	1980	**1990**	**2000**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**
China	$220	$320	$840	981.2	1,204.9	1,262.6	45.6	31.1	22.1	21.0	12.8	7.9
Iran	$2,250	$2,590	$1,650	39.1	54.4	63.7	61.8	46	31.1	39.1	27.8	17.0
Mexico	$2,520	$2,830	$5,100	67.6	83.2	98	23.5	15.7	10.9	13.7	9.4	6.7
Nigeria	$780	$270	$270	71.1	96.2	126.9	78.3	61.6	43.9	55.3	40.6	27.8
Russia	NA	$3,420	$1,720	139	148.3	145.6	1.7	1.1	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.3
UK	$8,380	$16,190	$25,220	56.3	57.6	58.9	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Country	Primary School Enrollment (Male:Female)—Percentage of primary-school age males enrolled in primary school compared to percentage of primary-school age females enrolled			Life Expectancy in Years (Male:Female)			Labor Force (Male:Female)—Percentage of total labor force that is male compared to percentage that is female		
	1980	**1990**	**2000**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**
China	NA	99:95	92:93	66:68	68:71	69:72	57:43	55:45	55:45
Iran	NA	100:94	80:78	57:59	64:65	68:70	80:20	79:21	73:27
Mexico	NA	99:100	99:100	64:70	68:74	70:76	73:27	70:30	73:27
Nigeria	NA	NA	NA	44:48	48:51	46:47	64:36	65:35	63:37
Russia	NA	93:93	NA	62:73	64:74	59:72	51:49	52:49	51:49
UK	NA	96:98	100:100	71:77	73:79	75:80	61:39	58:42	56:44

Political Culture

Ethel Wood
Princeton High School
Princeton, New Jersey

Consider the following news stories from across the globe:

- The Russian president proclaims that he will appoint hundreds of political officials who until then had been elected by the people, and no one in the country seems to object.
- The Chinese government sends troops to arrest farmers who refuse to give up their land to state-sponsored developers as China continues to bolster its market economy.
- The citizens of Mexico vote the one-party system out of its 75-year rule by selecting a president from a party on the right in 2000, but now they seem to be leaning toward a leftist president candidate for 2006.
- Almost every week, the British prime minister faces the opposition party leader toe-to-toe in a "question hour" that encourages even members of his own party to hurl insults at him.

How do we make sense of the actions that we read about in the news? The nature of electronic news coverage almost inevitably leaves us with many unanswered questions, and even the most diligent observer is left with the impression that government and politics in most other countries are puzzling enigmas. That is one reason why it is so important to understand political culture, the set of beliefs and values held by citizens that shapes the political system. Through examining this all-important foundation, we can better interpret political events and actions by politicians because they almost always are solidly footed in political culture.

Three Levels of Political Culture

According to a well-known analysis by Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, political culture exists on three levels: the political system, the political and policymaking process, and policy expectations.

The Political System

How do people feel about government and politics in their country in general? At its most fundamental level, political culture is shaped by citizens' sense of identity with the political system. Do they have national pride, and do they accept and support decisions made by their leaders? An important element of political culture is *legitimacy*, the belief that the government's rule is valid and that it should generally be obeyed. Countries with a long national history generally have an advantage over more recently founded nations, which must convince citizens to develop new political loyalties. However, long histories may be filled with ethnic or religious strife that in turn may foster legitimacy problems. Whatever the challenges, governments tend to function much better if citizens believe in the legitimacy of the political system. It is difficult to measure legitimacy; indeed, we can usually tell when it isn't there, but it is hard to pinpoint when it is. So in political science we look for clues that legitimacy defines the relation between rulers and citizens by looking at the bases of legitimacy that exist in a society. Citizens may grant legitimacy to their governments on several different bases:

- **Tradition—**Citizens may accept a government based on heredity, so that when the ruler dies, the legitimate heir is his son (or in some cases, daughter). In other traditional societies, people have accepted rulers whom they believe have special powers or have contacts with the supernatural. For example, in ancient China people generally followed the orders of their emperors because they believed them to be "Sons of Heaven." These beliefs help to form a political culture that stabilizes the society and legitimizes the government.
- **Ideology**—A political ideology is a set of beliefs that sets a vision in place for a better society. Ideologies generally criticize the old order (or opposition ideologies), evaluate problems and prescribe their solutions, and try to build public support for their new direction. For example, Marxism criticized capitalism, predicted doom if capitalist ways continued, and envisioned a whole new order based on elimination of private property. Twentieth-century leaders in Russia and China adopted Marxism, which gained support from large numbers of people who participated in mass movements that drastically redefined the dominant ideology and thus the legitimacy in those countries at this basic systems level.
- **Competitive elections and constitutions—**Most modern democracies base their legitimacy on fair, regular, and competitive elections in which citizens have real choices among alternative candidates. These elections, along with other basic political processes, are defined by law. In many countries, a formal constitution sets a blueprint that reflects political beliefs and values of the political culture. Because a democracy is based on the value that people should have an input into government, the constitution must include some channels that link citizens to the decision makers if it is to be accepted as a basis for legitimacy. We can find clues that a government is considered legitimate if people participate freely and in large numbers in elections or if they follow and express support for the tenets of the standing constitution.

- **Public benefits**—Some governments enhance their legitimacy by providing public benefits to their subjects. For example, in the twentieth century, both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China reinforced their communist ideologies with benefits such as welfare, job programs, and rent subsidies.

The Political and Policymaking Process

A second level of political culture involves citizens' expectations of how government should operate, how political leaders should behave, and how they themselves should participate. In some countries, citizens expect to be actively involved and regularly consulted regarding the business of government, and if they are not, they may decide to throw their leaders out or possibly to question the very legitimacy of the political system. In other countries, citizens are subjects who passively obey the law but do not involve themselves in government. Instead, they leave political decisions up to the leaders. In still other nations, citizens may have no awareness of government and politics at all because they never or seldom come in contact with political leaders or their policies.

Most societies are a mixture of participants, subjects, and parochials (those who have little awareness of government). Generally, the stronger the government is, the smaller the number of parochials, since citizens cannot escape contact with the political system. Strong governments may discourage active political participation (as in large authoritarian regimes), or they may encourage it (as in many modern democracies). However, the success or failure of authoritarian and democratic regimes is often strongly influenced by the political culture. If the people have long accepted passive political roles, it is generally much more difficult to build a viable democracy. Likewise, if people are accustomed to speaking their minds in public, they will almost certainly resist having authoritarian rule imposed on them. So political culture at the process level has many important repercussions throughout the entire political system.

Policy Expectations

What do people expect their governments to do for and to them? These expectations affect the ability of decision makers to make and implement successful political policy. Should political leaders manage the economy? How involved should government be in the lives of its citizens? How much and what kind of support should the government expect from its citizens? The answers to these questions reflect the political culture on a third level: policy expectations.

For example, in some countries, most people believe that the government should ensure that everyone is provided for. Other political cultures hold that individuals are primarily responsible for their own well-being and have few expectations of government in providing for the general welfare. This fundamental difference in political beliefs will surely influence how tolerant citizens are of high taxes, subsidies for the unemployed, and government-funded old-age pensions. As a result, citizens of Sweden generally tolerate high taxes in order to enjoy a prosperous retirement, but the political culture of the United States communicates to retirees that Social Security is not enough to fund a comfortable lifestyle.

Types of Political Culture

It is important to assess the broad influences of political culture in any given political system, but the task is not usually an easy one because values and beliefs vary among people within a nation. For example, some people in a country may believe that religion should play an important role in shaping political decisions, whereas many others may believe in strict separation of church and state. The number and depth of disagreements among citizens within a society form the basis for dividing political cultures into two types: consensual and conflictual.

- **Consensual political culture**—Although citizens may disagree on some political processes and policies, they tend generally to agree on how decisions are made, what issues should be addressed, and how problems should be solved. For example, citizens agree that elections should be held to select leaders, and they accept the election winners as their leaders. Once the leaders take charge, the problems they address are considered by most people to be appropriate for government to handle. By and large, a consensual political culture accepts both the legitimacy of the regime and solutions to major problems.
- **Conflictual political culture**—Citizens in a conflictual political culture are sharply divided, often on both the legitimacy of the regime and solutions to major problems. For example, if citizens disagree on something as basic as capitalism versus communism, conflict almost certainly will be difficult to avoid. Or if religious differences are so pronounced that followers of one religion do not accept an elected leader from another religion, these differences strike at the heart of legitimacy and threaten to topple the regime. When a country is deeply divided in political beliefs and values over a long period of time, political subcultures may develop, and the divisions become so imbedded that the government finds it difficult to rule effectively.

Just how much political culture changes over time is a matter of some debate among political scientists. Some see it as relatively static—a set of characteristics that endure through time and form the basis for accurately analyzing political systems. Others believe that no matter how we categorize political cultures, they are constantly changing, so that over time, conflictual political cultures may become consensual, and vice versa. Whatever the perspective, political culture is important. So when the Russian president dictates a major change of policy, the Chinese government enforces economic development of rural lands, the British prime minister endures another round of derision, or Mexican citizens take a liking to a leftist leader, you may be sure that political culture is a force behind the stories in the news.

Teaching Suggestion

An important point to make to students about political culture is that it forms the basis for almost everything else in a country's political system: institutions, leaders' actions, international relations, and current events. One way to make this point is to have students look for examples of political culture in newspapers and/or news magazines. U.S. newspapers that often cover other countries are the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, although other large newspapers may certainly be used. Magazines might include *Time, Newsweek,* or *U.S. News and World Report.* Or you could have students search newspapers, news services, or magazines from other countries online, a practice that also exposes students to points of view other than those of the U.S. media.

You might start the process by finding a good example to copy for your students to read and analyze in class. For example, in early 2004 a news article that focused on new restrictions on Iranian elections gave many clues to Iranian political culture. More recent articles about decisions made by British "law lords" also reflect basic principles of British political culture. Once students have the general idea by going through an article that you choose, allow them to search on their own. Assign students to come to class prepared to discuss political culture as reflected in articles that they find on their own.

Special Focus: Teaching the Comparative Method

Understanding Civil Society and Social Capital

Kristen Parris
Western Washington University
Bellingham, Washington

Civil society and **social capital** are two terms that have experienced a boom in comparative politics. Hundreds of scholarly articles using one or both of these terms are published each year. In addition, the World Bank, development organizations, and journalists have begun to use these terms in professional and popular publications. Often seen as interrelated, civil society and social capital open up exciting possibilities for the study of comparative politics, though their highly abstract and sometimes fuzzy definitions present some difficulties as well. Because these terms have become nearly impossible for students of politics to avoid, teachers of comparative politics are encouraged to find ways to integrate them into their courses.

Civil Society: History and Definitions

The term civil society has a long history in political theory dating back to the early Enlightenment. Locke, and later Tocqueville, Hegel, Marx, and other theorists, including the Italian neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci, engaged the concept, each in a distinct way. Locke, for example, saw civil society as a means for self-governance and the protection of private property, focusing on the moral and institutional basis in the social contract and the law. Marx treated civil society as the self-regulating, self-interested realm of entrepreneurial economic activity, and Gramsci excluded the market altogether, instead defining civil society as the sphere in which political consent (or "hegemony") is mobilized by the dominant class. In spite of these and other fundamentally different approaches, at its most basic, civil society has been typically understood as a realm of relatively autonomous and self-organized associational life.

The use of the term civil society fell off in the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries and did not become a core concept in the social sciences until the beginning of the 1970s. At this time, conceptualized as a sphere of self-regulation and autonomy, civil society was counterposed against a "totalitarian state" and became a central rhetorical device and political strategy in the struggle against state socialism led by Solidarity in Poland and against oppressive military regimes by Latin American scholars and activists. At the end of the twentieth century, the concept also found its way into critiques of the European welfare state on the one hand and the power of large globalizing corporations on the other.

Over time, civil society has come to be understood by scholars as a site for citizen action and agency that promotes and maintains stable democracy against the threats from political tyranny, citizen apathy, and even the all-embracing corporate power.

Civil Society and Social Capital

In considering the relationship between civil society and democracy, Robert Putnam has argued that a vibrant civil society characterized by widespread membership in groups promotes democracy by generating “social capital.” Social capital in this view is defined as “networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam 1995, 67). Thus formal and informal groups such as neighborhood associations, sports clubs, and civic associations are seen as producing the “civic virtues” of tolerance, trust, cooperation, and the like that can help to solve problems, reduce crime, encourage development, and promote democracy. Civil society is seen as a training ground for democratic citizenship, and social capital is a way of solving problems without expanding the power of the state or corporations.

This approach follows from the study of political culture done most notably by Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba beginning with *Civic Culture* in 1963. Relying on survey research that identifies and measures social trust and other key values in a community, as well as the density of membership in civic associations, social capital is treated as an independent variable that can explain the development and maintenance of stable democracies as well as economic growth and other positive outcomes. Networks are naturally good for individuals, but, Putnam argues, they also can produce externalities that are good for the community as a whole. Thus when neighbors get together for regular barbecues, crime in the neighborhood is likely to drop (Putnam 2004). This attitudinal or cultural approach to social capital is not the first or only one, but it has been the most influential, especially with political scientists, because it is seen as having important political effects. In Putnam’s approach, civil society directly promotes social capital, which in turn facilitates political participation, good governance, and other social goods (Putnam 1993).

This approach to social capital incorporates two aspects: values or cultural aspects (trust) and structural aspects (associational life or civil society). These two aspects are typically understood to be separate, although related, variables. Trust is difficult to measure, but the much-used World Values Survey data seeks to measure generalized social trust in a society by asking individuals the following question: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people?” Civil (or civic) society is measured by counting the number of organizations and the extent of participation. These two are combined to create a composite index for social capital. One of the most interesting findings is that nations tend to cluster together in patterns across a map of social capital, with the Nordic countries ranking high in both elements of social capital and Central Europe and South America ranking low in both (see Figures 1 and 2). Asian countries, both democratic and nondemocratic, including China, rank just below Germany on the composite social capital index, with relatively high levels of social trust but generally lower levels of civic society. In looking at these two measures separately, Pippa Norris finds that it is social trust rather than associational behavior that is most correlated with democratic outcomes (Norris 2003, chapter 8).

An alternative is taken by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. In his view there are three types of capital: economic, cultural, and social. All are forms of economic resources or power. Social capital refers to the possession of social networks, obligations, or "connections" that can be more or less institutionalized or guaranteed by a common family name or by membership in a class, tribe, school, party, or other group, and that provide members with the support of the collectivity. Nobility is a form of institutionalized social capital but so is membership in an elite club or the Communist Party. However, some networks have greater value than others. According to this structural approach, social capital, like all forms of capital, is accumulated over time through investment strategies by individuals and groups, and it can under certain circumstances be converted into economic capital and power (Bourdieu 1983).

Questions and Critiques of Concepts

Perhaps because of their relatively recent entrance into the lexicon of social science, a variety of questions and controversies remain: causality, comparability, and even the basic definitions of these concepts. Such questions do not mean that the concept of civil society will be abandoned anytime soon or that it cannot be used in the classroom. On the contrary, these questions can be presented to students as a way to sharpen their critical and analytical skills.

- **Defining the boundaries:** What precisely are the boundaries of civil society? Does civil society include legislatures and economic organizations, including firms and corporations? Are self-interested and instrumental actions part of civil society, or is it a realm of only public-spirited behavior? If we cannot agree on what it is, how can we engage in systematic study?
- **The normative vs. empirical:** Is civil society a normative or empirical concept or both? Juxtaposed to a repressive state, civil society is unalterably good. As a basis for the generation of democratic values, social capital can only be understood as good. Does this normative element lead to bias in our empirical work? Are clubs that allow only men (or the affluent or white people) to gain access to networks of power while preventing women entrance a part of civil society? Are organizations with antidemocratic or illiberal values considered part of civil society? Again, how is the boundary for civil society drawn? Even if they are not part of civil society,

they certainly produce social capital in Bourdieu's understanding of the term, but how does this fit into Putnam's civic-cultural approach? As students consider clientelistic relations in China (*guanxi)* or in Mexico (*camarillos*), they might find Bourdieu's approach to social capital more useful.

- **The dark side of social capital:** Membership in groups can promote cooperation and trust for insiders while encouraging distrust, disdain, and hatred for outsiders. Putnam (2004) recently acknowledged what has been called the "dark side of the force" (Heying 2001), noting that some networks have been used to finance terrorism. Thus an empirical question for scholars of social capital has become this: which associations and networks create good social capital by *bridging* social cleavages and which promote *bonding* social capital that reinforces exclusivist tendencies and cleavages such as ethnicity, region, and class?
- **Ethnocentrism:** There also is the question of whether the term civil society is limited to the particularities of European history and culture and so not appropriate for comparative study. Civil society is said by some to be a product of the Enlightenment and a function of liberal society. Attempting to find it and measure it in other places is a form of ethnocentrism and leads to bias as well as misunderstanding (Chatterjee 1990).
- **Methodology:** Finally, there are some concerns about methodology. Does the data collected by the World Values Survey really get at the questions raised by the literature on civil society and social capital? If so, the question of causality continues to be unclear. Does social capital promote economic growth and stable and good governance? Does democracy cause good governance, or do social trust and civic society result from economic prosperity and good governance?

In spite of these controversies, the term seems here to stay, and not just in the West. As the cold war ended and the new millennium dawned, civil society and social capital seemed to fill a need for analytical concepts that would illuminate the patterns and variations in democratization, economic development, and changing patterns of state-society relations. While some may reject the terms as Western impositions, there are many scholars in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East who have embraced them.

Civil Society and Social Capital as Heuristics

Civil society and social capital provide a useful heuristic for teachers and students of comparative politics. For classroom use, it might be useful to begin by thinking about civil society as a space between, but not fully independent of, the state and the domestic household sphere, one in which groups of various kinds engage in public activity to pursue individual, group, and national interests. Marcia Weigle and Jim Butterfield suggest that civil society has two parts that specify its character and organization: (1) some legal or quasi-legal framework that permits autonomous social organization and defines the terms of the relationship between state and society, and (2) the identity and goals of social actors (Weigle and Butterfield 1992). Social capital is generated by the social actors but constrained by the institutional arrangements. Thus, the nature, extent, and organization of civil society, and therefore social capital, will vary based on the institutional contest and the values directing associational activity. This conception of civil society and social capital can be applied to any country if there are some voluntary associations between the state and the family.

Classroom Exercises: Locating Civil Society and Identifying Social Capital

- Begin by asking students to name voluntary associations that might make up part of civil society in a liberal political system such as that found in the United Kingdom. Typical responses would be neighborhood associations, soccer clubs, unions, animal rights groups, human rights organizations, and so forth.
- Have the class locate civil society and its relationship with the state and other spheres by drawing a diagram on the board, with separate but overlapping circles representing the state, the market, civil society, and the private sphere. Figure 3, adapted from Thomas Janoski (1998), is suggestive of one possible outcome.
- You can ask students to locate organizations and institutions that would be included in each sphere and also to discuss the areas of overlap and the nature of the changing relationships between these spheres (see Figure 4). It’s important that students understand there is not necessarily a “right” answer to such questions, only well-reasoned arguments. What kinds of organizations and where they are located will depend on the particularities of time and place, but further, there can be considerable ambiguity about the location of some entities. The character of certain legislatures, citizen councils, business associations, nonprofits, private clubs, and secret societies may land them in ambiguous or overlapping territory.
- After the diagram is complete, students should consider and map where and how in the diagram social capital is created and reproduced. How do the networks of social capital connect individuals, groups, and institutions in the separate spheres? Membership in an elite family or private club might be converted to wealth via a well-paid business or a place in the government. The use of *guanxi* by the sons and daughters of high government officials in China (the “princelings”) is an example of the conversion of social capital into wealth and political power.
- Civil society and social capital draw attention to the changing and ambiguous relations between public and private worlds. You can ask students to shade the private areas versus the public areas. They might consider the extent to which

even parts of the state, through corruption for example, might be "privatized," or how parts of the family sector might be made public by birth control policies, reality shows, and so forth.

- Students can create a series of such diagrams through which they can compare the constitution and relationships between state, market, civil society, and private sphere across time and space. For example, China at the turn of the twenty-first century can be compared with Maoist China or with the United Kingdom, Mexico, or Russia. See Figure 5 for an example of China under reform.
- Drawing from Norris's study and Figures 1 and 2, students can also consider some methodological and theoretical issues. Particular questions include:
  - How should we measure social trust? What if the people you are interviewing about trust do not trust you?
  - Is counting up formal organizations the best way to measure civil society? What kinds of things will be missed this way?
  - What is the difference between correlation or association on the one hand and causality on the other? If prosperous, democratic countries rank high on the social capital index. Does this mean that social capital causes economic growth, stability, and democracy or vice versa? How do we know?
  - How do we account for the fact that certain regions seem to have greater social capital than others? Is social trust culture-bound? Is it easier to trust people if you are living in a prosperous, stable country?

What is important is that students use the heuristics of civil society and social capital to understand the complexities and dynamism in these relationships rather than reify these concepts or diagrams. Thus the Cultural Revolution might be seen as a high point of totalitarianism in China, as measured by state penetration and atomization of society. If we diagram its social conditions, the large state sphere will crowd out the market and civil society, and even squeeze or atomize the family in the domestic sphere. The state did exhibit totalistic impulses. Stories such as "Chairman Mao Is a Rotten Egg" by Chen Jo-hsi, *The Red Scarf Girl* by Ji-li Jiang, or the film *The Blue Kite* can be used to illustrate the penetration and disruption of the private and family sphere by the party-state.

Yet the Cultural Revolution was also a time when the state lost control of many aspects of society, and black markets emerged in many regions of the country and laid the groundwork for private trading networks and private firms that would later be legalized under reform. Can these networks be seen as social capital or as a nascent civil society or social capital? Moreover, Red Guards in factories attacked offices and destroyed the dossiers that were one of the tools of state monitoring and control. Meanwhile, some of the students who criticized authority, studied Mao's revolutionary theory, embarked on revolutionary travel, and were "sent down" to the countryside to learn from the peasants used these experiences and ideas in the creation of the Democracy Wall movement. Thus the Cultural Revolution might be seen as a time that produced localized social networks or autonomous social movements (Chan 1992) or even as a training ground for the democratic movements of the 1970s and 1980s (Goldman 2002) and perhaps one basis for an emerging civil society during the reform. (See Figure 5 below.)

Moreover, throughout the Maoist period, although there was no formal civil society, because autonomous organizations were not legal, there was plenty of room for the cultivation of social capital in the form of social networks. *Guanxi* networks were the basis for social trust and cooperation and the channel for guaranteeing access to resources of all kinds. In a context without secure legal protections or formal channels for pursuing interests or accumulating wealth, social capital in the form of clientelistic relations became crucial for those who hoped to succeed. In contemporary China, with the introduction of markets, the creation of property rights, and new values promoting wealth, the nature of social capital has changed as well.

Further Reading

Chan, Anita. "Dispelling Misconceptions About the Red Guard Movement—The Necessity to Re-examine Cultural Revolution Factionalism and Periodization." *The Journal of Contemporary China* 1, no. 1 (September 1992): 61–85.

Goldman, Merle. "The Reassertion of Political Citizenship in the Post-Mao Era: The Democracy Wall Movement." In *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China,* edited by Merle Goldman and Elizabeth Perry. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Country-Specific Cases for Further Analysis

China

- Falun Gong, the organization devoted to spiritual exercises, drew millions of followers and demonstrated in a silent protest in front of the leadership compound in April 1999. Although it began as an apolitical association (indeed, members claim that it is not even an organization), Falun Gong became highly politicized in response to criticism in the media and was targeted and for the most part crushed by the leadership under Jiang Zemin. The state-controlled media complained that the group, organized around charismatic leader Li Hongzhi, was cultlike and encouraged dangerous practices, including the use of breathing exercises and meditation rather than medical attention to treat illness.

The resistance of intrepid practitioners, some of whom responded to arrests with further demonstrations in the face of sure repression and even hunger strikes while in jail, fit the image of "civil society against the state." The resulting reform program allowed greater autonomy for individuals and groups even as state support for health care and employment was limited. Although the millions of practitioners created and expanded social networks, this social capital was of little value when confronting the power of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) because of the institutional context they worked in. Without a rule of law or due process to check the power of the CCP, the Falun Gong networks might have encouraged practitioners to resist but did not protect them from arrest. Civil society is still weak, and a strategy of creating social capital through membership in the CCP might bring more valuable social capital for larger numbers of people.

Falun Gong raises interesting questions for students of civil society. While the state's claims must be carefully scrutinized, the group did have cultlike qualities. Are cults part of civil society? Why or why not? If Falun Gong is seen as part of civil society in and beyond China, what about the East Turkestan Islamic movement that seeks an independent East Turkestan in Xinjiang Province? This group has been publicly listed by both the CCP and the Bush administration as a terrorist organization. Further, the leader of the Falun Gong was living and directing the organization from the United States, and many Falun Gong practitioners were organized around the world, some supporting or directly participating in protests against the CCP inside of China and pressuring the United States and other governments to denounce the repression.

- Although the student movement of 1989 is often used as an example of the emergence of civil society in China, there are a wide variety of examples and possibilities. Many of them are not nearly so dramatic.

  Homeowner associations: One example from the local level is the new type of resident or homeowner associations that are emerging in urban China. While there have long been resident and neighborhood associations in China created by the state to provide services and monitor citizens, these associations are different. The introduction of the market and commodification of housing means that many middle-class and wealthy families now own expensive homes in posh compounds. In many cases, private homeowners associations, which are provided for by the law, have typically been organized independently of the state to protect the rights of homeowners and demand services. Such organizations are not seeking to change the political system or resist the state as such, but when publicly owned property management corporations (typically part of the local government) abrogate contracts or refuse to deliver services, these organizations have come together to demand services (trash pickup, cable TV, security, and so forth) and redress based on their new status and identity as property owners and rights-bearing citizens. In some cases, the leaders of these organizations have researched the law, written petitions, refused to pay for services, and gone to the newspapers and to court.

Civil society and self-interest: These homeowner associations are not other-oriented. They do not necessarily seek to promote the "public interest" or "democracy" as such. Nevertheless, these associations represent a fundamental change from the old state-organized neighborhood associations. While they are not necessarily in resistance to the state, it can be argued that individuals learn to identify and assert their rights and to work with others to articulate their interests. All of which might be seen as part of a newly emergent civil society and a training ground for democratic citizenship. It might also be seen as a way that the new middle class is able to convert its newly acquired economic capital into social capital and political power.

Students might be asked to consider the relationship between markets, civil society, and political change. Business owners and some young professionals have grown increasingly wealthy and powerful in many localities of China. Will the emergence of a middle class in China (and elsewhere) strengthen civil society? Will the middle class become the bearers of further political liberalization and ultimately democratization? Or are business owners and the newly rich as likely to support any government that will protect their private property rights? Do any of these changes signal a change in Chinese political culture?

Further Reading

Dickson, Bruce. *Red Capitalists in China: The Party, Private Entrepreneurs, and Prospects for Political Change.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Gladney, Dru C. "Islam in China: Accommodation or Separatism?" *The China Quarterly* (June 2003): 451–467.

Marquand, Robert. "Pressure to Conform in West China." *Christian Science Monitor* (September 29, 2003): 6, www.csmonitor.com/2003/0929/p06s01-woap.html.

Østergaard, Clemens Stubbe. "Governance and the Political Challenge of the Falun Gong." In *Governance in China*, edited by Jude Howell, 207–223. Lanham, Maryland: Roman and Littlefield, 2004.

Zhang Jing. "Neighborhood-Level Governance: The Growing Social Foundation of a Public Sphere." In *Governance in China*, edited by Jude Howell, 121–142. Lanham, Maryland: Roman and Littlefield, 2004.

For East Turkestan information, see the Unrepresented Nations and People's Organization at www.unpo.org/member.php?arg=21.

For the Falun Gong Web site, see www.falundafa.org.

Mexico

Natural disaster and civil society: Students can be asked about the sources of civil society. Does civil society emerge and social capital grow as a part of economic growth and marketization from political reform? In some cases, natural disasters create openings for civic organization, as neighborhoods and communities form self-help efforts in protest against the failure of state relief. The 1985 earthquake in Mexico City can be seen as one such case. Students can investigate the impact of that earthquake on Mexican political change and democratization. Did it trigger the growth of civic organizations? Do such organizations represent the growth of social capital in the sense of a civic culture? How did these new organizations relate to the power of the state over time? Did these organizations stimulate democratization processes in Mexico? Are there other examples of natural disasters that strengthen civil society and social capital?

Neoliberalism and civil society: Liberal policies introduced in the 1980s and 1990s also spurred both aid organizations and protest movements. While the Chiapas rebellion is the most dramatic and well-known response to NAFTA, there are other less dramatic responses to economic policies, including El Barzón (The Yoke), a middle-class response to the high interest rates resulting from the peso crisis that left the middle class overburdened by debt. El Barzón mobilized citizens, called for a moratorium on debts, and pushed the banking system into concessions. El Barzón continues as a civic organization defending small debtors against banks and other creditors. How does this middle-class organization compare to the Chiapas rebellion in Mexico or other people's movements? Is it similar or different from China's new homeowner associations?

Is one class or another more likely to be the basis for civil society or bearer of social capital?

Further Reading

Eckstein, Susan, ed. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements***.** Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Foweraker, Joe, and Ann L. Craig, eds. *Popular Movements and Political Change in Mexico*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990.

Thelen, David. "Mexico, the Puzzle: A Conversation About Civil Society and the Nation with Ilan Semo," 1999, www.indiana.edu/~jah/mexico/isemo.html.

Globalization

To what extent is civil society becoming transnational? Are we seeing the growth of a global civil society with such groups as Save the Children, Nature Conservancy, Habitat for Humanity, and others setting up shop in western China and other parts of the world? If so, can we expect this global civil society to promote a convergence of values? Or will the globalization of civil society bring more conflict?

Further Reading

Barber, Benjamin. "Jihad Versus McWorld." *The Atlantic Monthly* 269: 3 (March 1992).

Global Civil Society Yearbook, 2003, www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Yearbook.

Smith, Jackie. "Global Civil Society? Transnational Social Movement Organizations and Social Capital." In *Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Bob Edwards, Michael W. Foley, and Mario Diani. Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2001.

Text References

Bourdieu, Pierre. "Forms of Capital." Originally published as "*Ökonomisches Kapital, kulturelles Kapital, soziales Kapital*," in *Soziale Ungleichheiten* (*Soziale Welt, Sonderheft 2*), ed. Reinhardt Kreckel, 183–198. Goettingen: Otto Schartz and Co., 1983. An English translation by Richard Nice is available at www.viet-studies.org/Bourdieu_capital.htm.

Chan, Anita. "Dispelling Misconceptions About the Red Guard Movement—The Necessity to Re-examine Cultural Revolution Factionalism and Periodization." *The Journal of Contemporary China* 1, no. 1 (September 1992): 61–85.

Chatterjee, Partha. "A Response to Taylor's 'Modes of Civil Society.'" *Public Culture* 3, no.1 (fall 1990).

Edwards, Bob, Michael W. Foley, and Mario Diani, eds. *Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective*. Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2001.

Goldman, Merle. "'The Reassertion of Political Citizenship in the Post-Mao Era: The Democracy Wall Movement." In *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China*, edited by Merle Goldman and Elizabeth Perry. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Heying, Charles H. "Dark Side of the Force: Economic Restructuring and Social Capital in a Company Town." In *Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Bob Edwards, Michael W. Foley, and Mario Diani. Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2001.

Janoski, Thomas. *Citizenship and Civil Society: A Framework of Rights and Obligations in Liberal, Traditional, and Social Democratic Regimes*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Norris, Pippa. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2003. See especially chapter 8, "Civic Society and Social Capital," http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris/Books/Democratic%20Phoenix.htm.

Putnam, Robert. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy***.** Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.

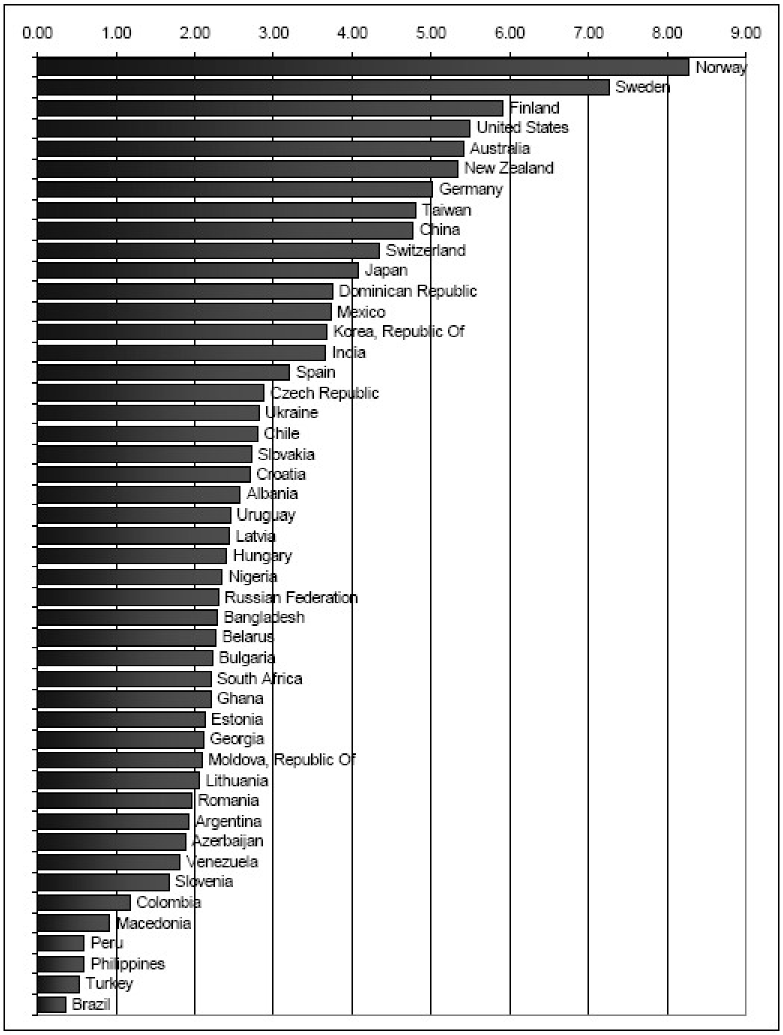
Putnam, Robert. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* (January 1995): 65–78.

Putnam, Robert. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000.

Putnam, Robert. "Bowling Together" *OECD Observer* (March 2004), www.oecdobserver.org/news/fullstory.php/aid/1215/Bowling_together.html.

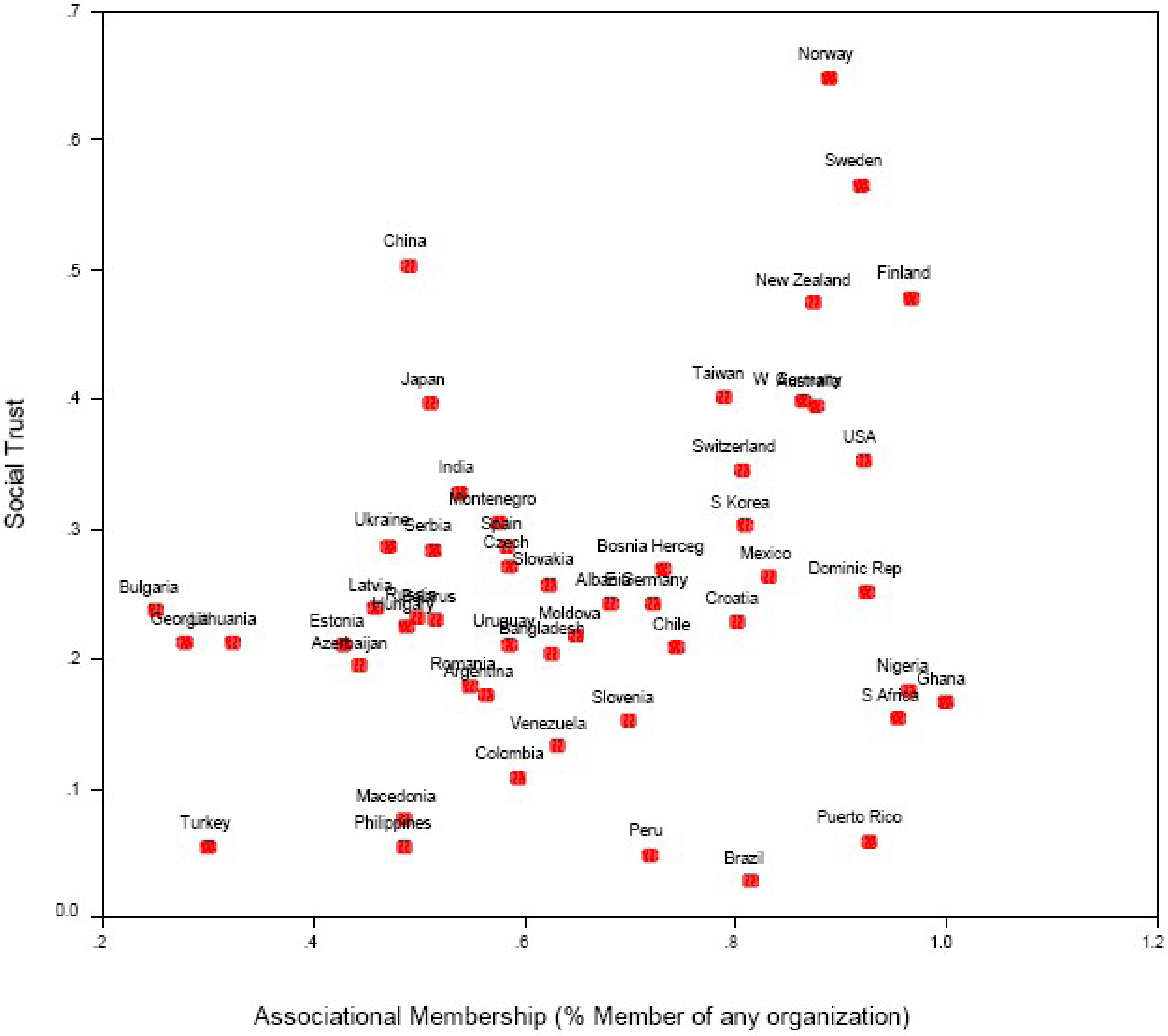
Weigle, Marcia, and Jim Butterworth. "Civil Society in Reforming Communist Regimes: The Logic of Emergence." *Comparative Politics* (October 1992): 1–23.

Figure 1: Distribution of societies by the Social Capital Index



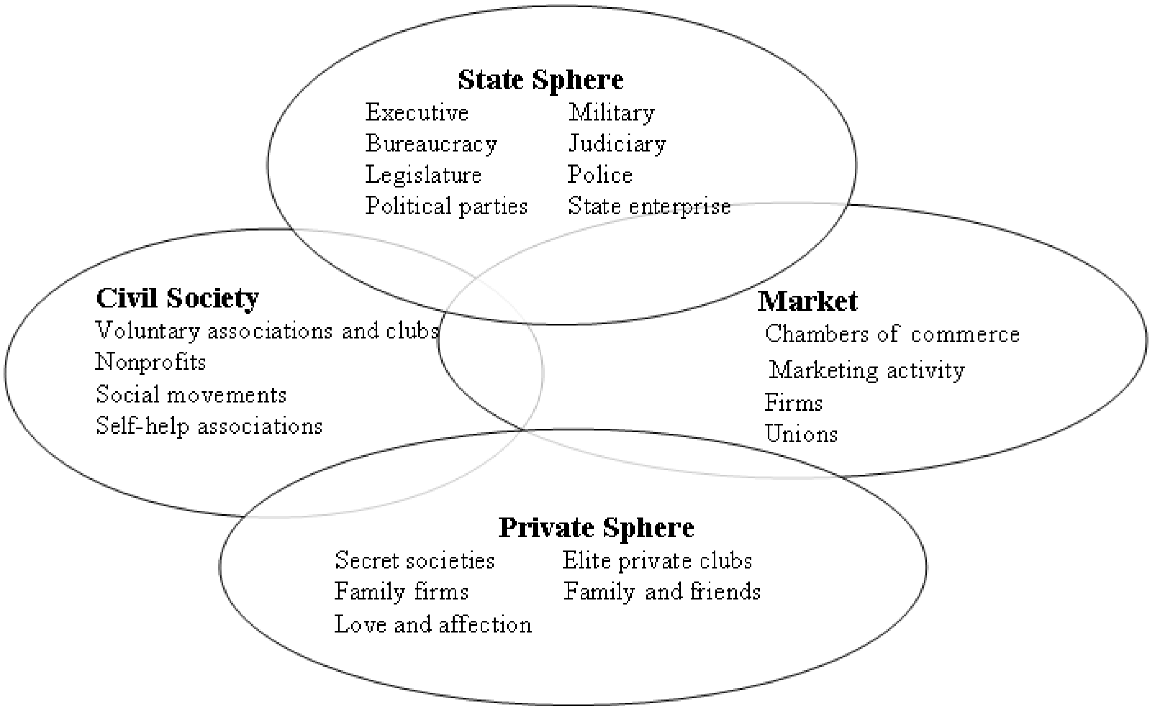
Source: Norris 2003

Figure 2: Map of social capital (social trust and social activism), mid-1990s



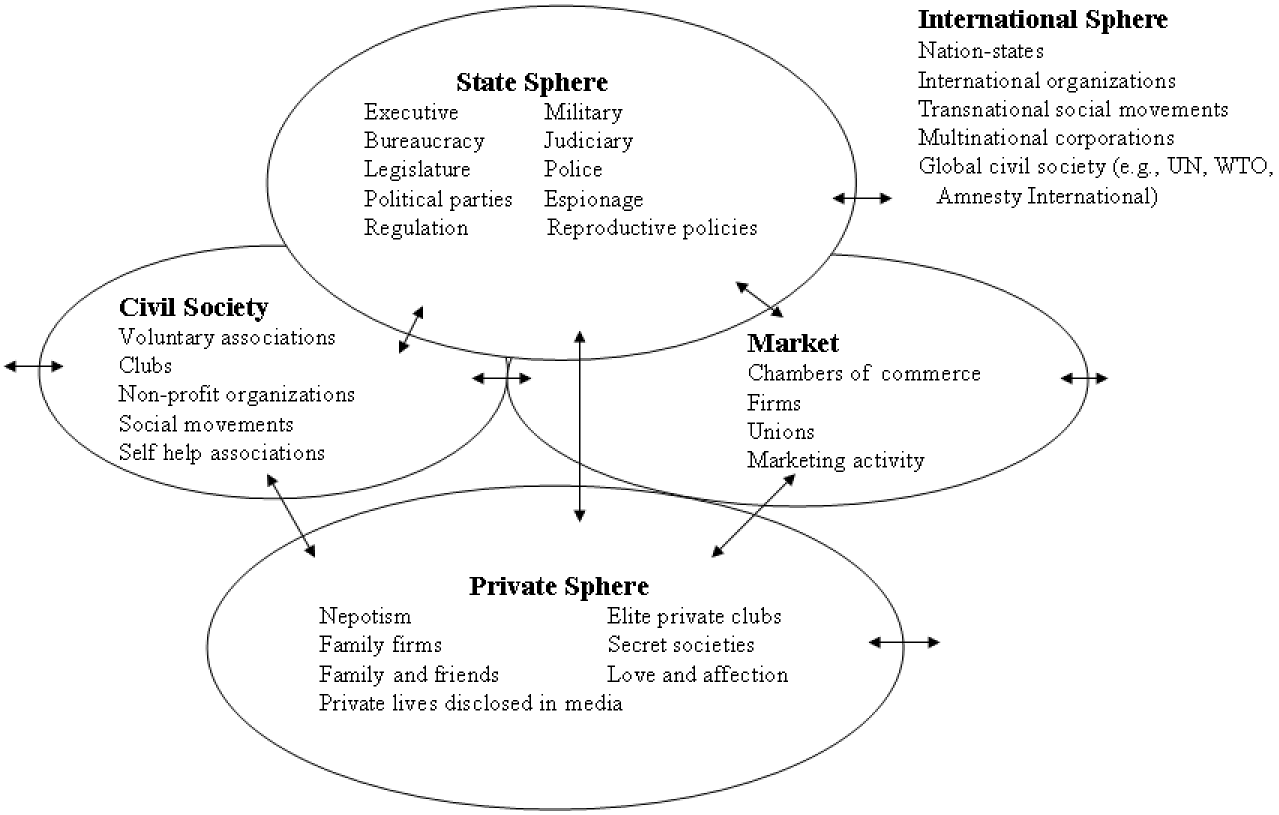
Source: Norris 2003

Figure 3: Mapping civil society, state, and market: actors within each sphere


State Sphere
Executive
Military
Bureaucracy
Judiciary
Legislature
Police
Political parties
State enterprise
Civil Society
Voluntary associations and clubs
Nonprofits
Social movements
Self-help associations
Market
Chambers of commerce
Marketing activity
Firms
Unions
Private Sphere
Secret societies
Elite private clubs
Family firms
Family and friends
Love and affection

Adapted from Thomas Janoski, *Citizenship and Civil Society: A Framework of Rights and Obligations in Liberal, Traditional, and Social Democratic Regimes*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 13.

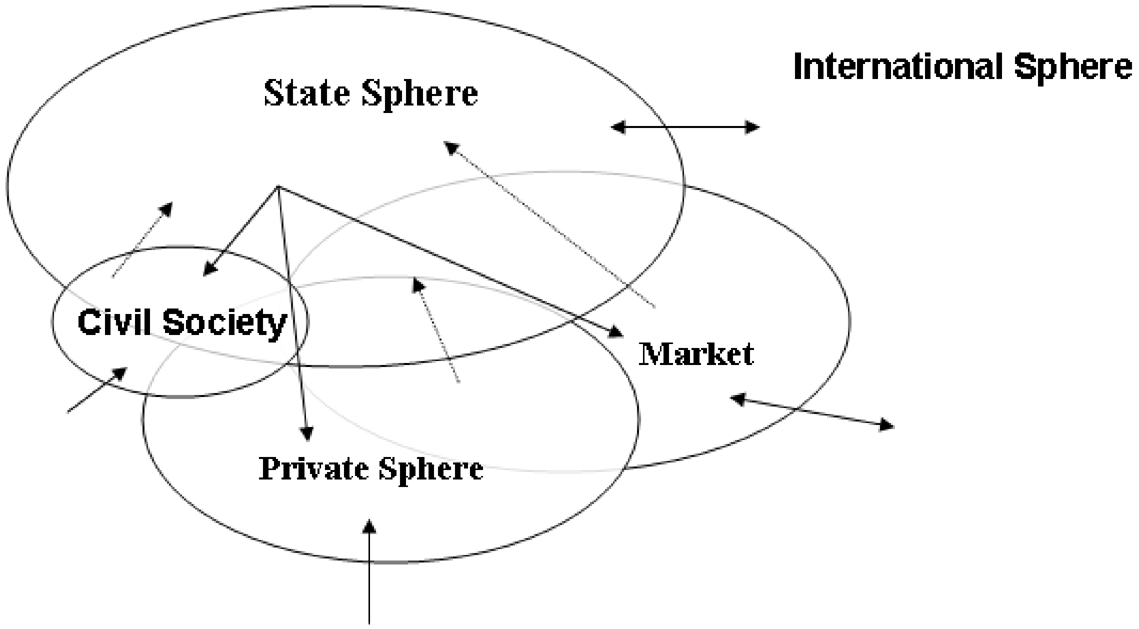
Figure 4: Mapping relationships between civil society, state, market, and private sphere



State Sphere
Executive
Bureaucracy
Legislature
Political parties
Regulation
Military
Judiciary
Police
Espionage
Reproductive policies
International Sphere
Nation-states
International organizations
Transnational social movements
Multinational corporations
Global civil society (e.g., UN, WTO, Amnesty International)
Civil Society
Voluntary associations
Clubs
Non-profit organizations
Social movements
Self help associations
Market
Chambers of commerce
Firms
Unions
Marketing activity
Private Sphere
Nepotism
Family firms
Family and friends
Private lives disclosed in media
Elite private clubs
Secret societies
Love and affection

Adapted from Thomas Janoski, *Citizenship and Civil Society: A Framework of Rights and Obligations in Liberal, Traditional, and Social Democratic Regimes*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 13.

Figure 5: Mapping civil society, state, and market in China under reform


State Sphere
International Sphere
Civil Society
Market
Private Sphere

Adapted from Thomas Janoski, *Citizenship and Civil Society: A Framework of Rights and Obligations in Liberal, Traditional, and Social Democratic Regimes*, Cambridge University Press, 1998. For his comparison of eight countries, see, p. 113.

Conceptualizing Globalization in Comparative Politics

Lisa Laverty
Eastern Michigan University
Ypsilanti, Michigan

The term **globalization**, which emerged as a buzzword in political science toward the end of the 1980s, is overutilized, underexplained, and alternately blamed or praised for having caused a dizzying array of political, social, and economic phenomena. Consequently, it is not surprising that students may have a hard time coming to grips with globalization as a concept in an introductory comparative government and politics course. This essay provides a brief overview of what globalization means, some thoughts on how to explain the complexities of globalization to students, and a brief set of resources for AP teachers to use to help teach this concept.

Defining Terms: Globalization, Globalism, or Globaloney?

One of the problems that students often face with globalization is that the term has been used to describe such a wide variety of conditions that it seems to have little specific meaning. Those definitions that students may be familiar with tend to be rather vague. For example, in his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Thomas Friedman defines globalization as "farther, faster, deeper, cheaper" integration of people, ideas, and societies.[1] This is a catchy way to think about globalization, but it begs the question, "farther, faster, deeper, cheaper" than what, exactly? Without an initial reference point, this is a difficult question to answer. Sometimes globalization is used in an economic context, referring to increased trade linkages and foreign investment levels, without reference to the role of governments or citizens at all. To the extent that a definition is offered, common features include reference to increased interconnection between people or interdependence among countries.

So is globalization a condition or a process, a cause or an effect, or all of the above? Perhaps one useful way to explain globalization is to break the concept into separate parts, as Joseph Nye does in his book, *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to Globalization*.[2] Nye makes a distinction between "globalism" as a condition or effect, on one hand, and "globalization" as a causal process, on the other hand.

---

[1] Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York: Anchor Books, Random House Inc., 2000), 9.

[2] Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Power in the Global Information Age: From Realism to 26 Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2004), 191–200.

Globalism, according to Nye, refers to the existence of a network of connections (not merely bilateral relationships between two countries or two groups of people) that span more than one region of the world.[3] Nye recognizes that globalism can occur across several dimensions, including economic, military, environmental, and social or cultural globalism. Regardless of the dimension, however, this understanding of globalism is primarily descriptive. If globalism is a condition that can be measured and described, then in Nye's terms, globalization refers to the process by which globalism increases.[4] This increase may be uneven, impacting some countries and social groups more than others. In other words, globalization may result in "thinner" or "thicker" degrees of globalism, both within and between countries.[5]

It is also possible to witness deglobalization. That is, the process of globalization, and the resulting changes in the degree of globalism a society experiences, is neither an inevitable nor necessarily permanent phenomenon. As Friedman points out, although it is difficult for any individual to single-handedly halt the process of globalization, a collective backlash against some of the negative impacts of globalization is always possible.[6] This point also suggests that the present encounter with globalization is really nothing new. In this view, globalization comes and goes, although different waves may emphasize different dimensions (political, economic, cultural).

Finally, some scholars make the claim that most of what is currently labeled as "globalization" is, in fact, "globaloney."[7] Some argue that the current trend toward increasing interconnection and interdependence is nothing new, while others argue that imprecise definitions lead people to mistakenly apply the label "globalization" to phenomena that would be better understood as modernization, democratization, or some other political science concept.

Teaching Globalization: Resources and Ideas

Regardless of the definition students are supplied with, globalization is a complex idea. In order to understand the political and social consequences of globalization, students must first develop a tangible descriptive base. This can be achieved in a variety of ways. Newspaper articles describing the spread of communications technology and global relocation of jobs and multinational corporations abound. While students are most often aware of American newspapers, English-language foreign newspapers also may be useful to provide a different angle on globalization. One excellent resource for finding these newspapers is the Internet Public Library's reading room, available at www.ipl.org/div/news, where students can click on the country of their choice and then scan the available newspapers to find appropriate articles. Students can then be assigned journal or essay assignments in which they report or reflect on specific aspects of globalization as described in the articles they find or those provided by their teacher. Other sources of information on globalization are Web sites designed by organizations devoted to teaching about globalization. One excellent source is the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) Dialogue on Globalization project, available at http://fesportal.fes.de/pls/portal30/docs/FOLDER/EPO/DOG_PORTAL/frameset.htm.

---

[3] Ibid., 192.

[4] Ibid., 194.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, especially chapters 15 and 19.

[7] Michael Veseth, *Globaloney* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishing, 2005).

The FES is a German nonprofit organization founded in 1925 to further international understanding and cooperation and to promote the ideals of social democracy. One part of the institute's "dialogue on globalization" includes a series of short (two- to four-page) articles about the nature and impact of globalization on everyday life in cities and towns in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In addition to providing a basic factual background, these articles could be used in class to start a more analytical discussion of the costs, benefits, and uneven impacts of globalization outside of North America and Europe.

Yet another useful Internet resource is the *Globalist*, an online news magazine that reports on issues related to globalization. While some of its features require registration (which is free) in order to access them, many are available to the public without registration. This includes a series of short analytical essays written by noted scholars about the effects of globalization, as well as several brief, descriptive articles about globalization in specific countries. The *Globalist*'s "Guide to Globalization" can be found online at www.theglobalist.com/guide/globalistguide.shtml.

There are also several excellent sources of basic descriptive information about individual countries available on the Internet. One such source is the CIA *World Factbook*, available at www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html. The information available on this site can be used in a variety of ways. In the example below, information is presented on the number of traditional land-line and mobile cell phones in each of the six "core countries" included in the AP Comparative Government course. Teachers could provide such a chart to students, or students could prepare it themselves.

Access to Communication Technology in Selected Countries[8]

Country	Total Population	Number of Fixed, Land-Line Telephones	Number of Mobile, Cellular Telephones
China	1,298,847,624	263,000,000	269,000,000
Iran	69,018,924	14,571,100	3,376,500
Mexico	104,959,594	15,958,700	28,125,000
Nigeria	137,253,133	853,000	3,149,500
Russia	143,782,338	35,500,000	17,608,800
United Kingdom	60,270,708	34,898,000	49,677,000

The above table suggests a few surprising indicators of the extent to which citizens in these countries are linked to the global community. As cell phone technology continues to improve, allowing cell phones to act as cameras, minicomputers, and Internet hookups in addition to telephones, access to a cell phone means an increasing ability not only to download information from outside sources but also to upload information about local conditions and to do this in ways that are increasingly beyond government control. The mobility of this technology means people can remain connected to the entire world virtually anywhere and any time of the day. Although it is still the case that higher-income countries such as the United Kingdom tend to have more widespread access to technology in comparison to their population size, as this chart shows, it is also true that lower-income countries are increasingly connected. In China, for example, roughly 20 percent of the population has access to a cell phone. It is also interesting to note that in most of the countries listed above, cell phones outnumber traditional land-lines—in Nigeria by more than three to one! A key point illustrated here is that globalization is not limited to any one part of the world, although the impact of globalization may be felt more strongly in some countries than in others.

A simple comparison such as this can also be used as a launching point for a discussion of why some countries appear to be less connected to the global community. For example,

---

[8] Data from the CIA's *World Factbook*, taken in January 2005 from www.odci.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html. Note that the CIA updates its data regularly but data in different categories is revised with varying frequency; for instance, the total population figures above are the CIA's estimates for early 2005, while the telephone figures haven't been updated since 2002 or 2003, depending on the country. For these reasons, this table is provided for broad observations, not country-by-country numerical analyses.

Iran's relatively small number of cell phone users, both as a percentage of the overall population and in comparison to the number of traditional, land-line telephones, raises interesting questions about how and why information is controlled in Iran. Some questions teachers might ask students to respond to include:

- To what extent does government policy constrain the flow of information about political events, both within Iran and outside of Iran?
- What consequences, if any, might this have for the legitimacy of the regime, or for grass-roots attempts to bring about regime change?
- In a broader context, what sorts of political changes have occurred in other states where increased access to information is more widespread?
- Does globalization in the sense of increased access to information and contact among people beyond national borders help alter the demands citizens make on their own governments, or the way in which those demands are framed?

In addition to Web sources, there are many documentary films that address the causes and political and cultural consequences of globalization. One particularly interesting example is a video titled *Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh*, available from the International Society for Ecology and Culture. This video examines the ways in which economic and cultural globalization alter the lifestyle and politics of a region in India known as Ladakh, or "Little Tibet." In the process of examining this region's experiences, the narrator, anthropologist Helena Norberg-Hodge, also turns the spotlight back on the experiences of advanced industrial societies such as the United States or Britain. This film could be used as a background to a classroom discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages of globalization, not only for people in the so-called "underdeveloped" world but also for those in "developed" societies.

Finally, there are many article-length treatments of globalization in journals such as *Foreign Affairs* or *Foreign Policy*. These could be used to stimulate debate regarding the process and effects of globalization. *Foreign Policy* also publishes an annual *Globalization Index* of approximately 20 pages that includes a ranking of the extent to which a variety of countries can be considered to be "globalized," based on a variety of different measures, along with charts and graphs to illustrate this index.

Conclusions

As the above discussion and the College Board's summary outline for the AP Comparative Government and Politics suggest, globalization is a concept that can be introduced into a comparative government class in many ways. Globalization can be related to themes, including sovereignty, political culture, the development of civil society and social movements, the nature of political change, regionalism and fragmentation, and the ability of states to deliver public policies that are accepted as legitimate by citizens. Regardless of how you choose to introduce globalization in your course, there are many excellent resources available to help you and your students achieve a clearer perspective on the myriad ways in which globalization is occurring and its impact on politics, both inside and outside national boundaries.

Contributors

Information current as of original publish date of September 2005.

About the Editor

Jean C. Robinson is professor of political science and East Asian studies at Indiana University in Bloomington. She has been a faculty member at Indiana since 1980 and has taught in her home department of political science as well as in women's studies, gender studies, west European studies, East Asian languages and culture, the Russian and East European Institute, and the Honors College. She has also served as director of women's studies and as the university's dean for women's affairs. She received the President's Award in Recognition of Distinguished Teaching in 1996, was elected to FACET (Faculty Colloquium on Excellence in Teaching) in 1994, and has received several other Teaching Excellence Recognition Awards. She teaches at all levels of the university, from freshmen to graduate students. Jean served on the AP® Government and Politics Development Committee from 1992 to 1999 and again in 2001–2002. She chaired the Development Committee from 1996 to 1999. She has been a Reader, a Table Leader, and a Question Leader at the AP Reading for many years. She was an Exam Leader for the AP Comparative Government and Politics Exam in May 2004. Her current research focuses on policies relating to women and reproduction in France, Poland, the United States, and China. She is a member of an international consortium of scholars who are interested in the interaction between women's movements and social policies in European and North American countries.

Mehrzad Boroujerdi is associate professor of political science and director of the Middle Eastern Studies program at Syracuse University. He is the author of *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism*, as well as numerous articles, book chapters, and reviews. Dr. Boroujerdi serves as the general editor of the *Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East* book series published by Syracuse University Press and is also the book review editor for *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. He has been a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University, a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow at the University of Texas at Austin, and a scholar-in-residence at the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C. Finally, Professor Boroujerdi is a member of the AP Comparative Government and Politics Development Committee.

Jeffrey Key is an associate professor of government and international affairs at Sweet Briar College. He received his B.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin. Key is an expert on south Asian politics but has taught comparative politics courses on other regions as well as topical courses. He has served as an AP Comparative Government and Politics Exam Reader or Table Leader since 1995.

Lisa Laverty is a doctoral candidate in political science at Indiana University. Her research interests include social movements, European politics, and globalization. She is currently teaching international politics and comparative government at Eastern Michigan University. Ms. Laverty has been a Reader for the AP Comparative Government and Politics Exam for several years.

Kristen Parris is an associate professor of political science at Western Washington University, where she teaches comparative politics and East Asian politics; she does research on Chinese politics. She is the author of several articles on Chinese politics and is currently working on a book about private business owners in China. She spent the 2001–2002 academic year in Hangzhou, PRC.

Ken Wedding is a national consultant to the College Board and a regular contributor to the AP Government and Politics Electronic Discussion Group. He began teaching both AP Government and Politics courses in 1986, reading exams in 1992, and comoderating the electronic discussion group when it was launched. He is also the author of four books on teaching political science, the most recent of which is *Lesson Plans for Teaching AP Comparative Government and Politics* (The Center for Learning, 2005).

Ethel Wood has taught AP Comparative Government and Politics at Princeton High School in Princeton, New Jersey, for 14 years. She has been a Reader for the AP Comparative Government and Politics Exam since 1991 and a Table Leader since 1995. She is also the author of the College Board's *AP Comparative Government and Politics Teacher's Guide*.

Contact Us

College Board Regional Offices

National Office
Advanced Placement Program
45 Columbus Avenue
New York, NY 10023-6992
212 713-8066
Email: ap@collegeboard.org

AP Services
P.O. Box 6671
Princeton, NJ 08541-6671
609 771-7300
877 274-6474 (toll free in the U.S. and Canada)
Email: apexams@info.collegeboard.org

AP Canada Office
1708 Dolphin Avenue, Suite 406
Kelowna, BC, Canada V1Y 9S4
250 861-9050
800 667-4548 (toll free in Canada only)
Email: gewonus@ap.ca

AP International Office
Serving all countries outside the U.S. and Canada
45 Columbus Avenue
New York, NY 10023-6992
212 373-8738
Email: apintl@collegeboard.org

Middle States Regional Office
Serving Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands
2 Bala Plaza, Suite 900
Bala Cynwyd, PA 19004-1501
866 392-3019
Email: msro@collegeboard.org

Contact Us

Midwestern Regional Office
Serving Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, West Virginia, and Wisconsin
1560 Sherman Avenue, Suite 1001
Evanston, IL 60201-4805
866 392-4086
Email: mro@collegeboard.org

New England Regional Office
Serving Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont
470 Totten Pond Road
Waltham, MA 02451-1982
866 392-4089
Email: nero@collegeboard.org

Southern Regional Office
Serving Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia
3700 Crestwood Parkway NW, Suite 700
Duluth, GA 30096-7155
866 392-4088
Email: sro@collegeboard.org

Southwestern Regional Office
Serving Arkansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Texas
4330 South MoPac Expressway, Suite 200
Austin, TX 78735-6735
866 392-3017
Email: swro@collegeboard.org

Western Regional Office
Serving Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming
2099 Gateway Place, Suite 550
San Jose, CA 95110-1051
866 392-4078
Email: wro@collegeboard.org