

Higher School of Economics 2018

Утверждена Академическим советом
образовательной программы
«5» сентября 2018 г., № протокола_1

Академический руководитель
образовательной программы



Introduction to Political Science

Part 1: Course Information**Instructor Information**

Instructor: Ksenia Andryushchenko

Office: TBA

Office Hours: by appointment

E-mail: k.andryushchenko@yandex.ru

Course Description

This is a required course for HSE dual degree program students. We will study the basics of politics as has existed in human society from the time immemorial. We will learn why politics came about, how it has been institutionalized, and how it affects both the government, non-governmental actors, and you. Above all, students are expected to acquire a theoretical framework with which they could analyze any political systems in the global village and apply their knowledge to reality wherever they may go. The course will be conducted in the form of lectures and discussions **so that students must read assignments before class**. You are also expected to study comprehensively those terms, names, and events that appear in the text.

Prerequisites

HSE students wishing to enroll in Introduction to Political Science must also take Adaptation Session and Global History courses.

Learning Outcomes

- Understanding what politics is
- Understanding why politics (r)evolves as it does
- Acquiring theoretical framework and methodology to analyze

politics

- Building capacity to apply political science to reality

Textbook & Course Materials

Required Text

Michael Roskin et al., *Political Science: An Introduction*, 14th ed. New York: Pearson Education, 2017 (ISBN 9780134402857)

The collection of additional reading materials will be available through a distributed reader (PDF format).

LECTURE/SEMINAR/HOMEWORK HOURS

NO	Topic	Contact hours			Home work	Hours total
		Lectures	Seminars	Total		
1	Syllabus and Introduction	4		4	6	10
2	Political Theories	4		4	6	10
3	MK Analytical Framework	4		4	8	12
4	Political Ideologies	4		4	6	10
5	State-building	4		4	6	10
6	Political Regimes	4		4	8	12
7	Political Culture and Public Opinion	4		4	6	10
8	Mid-term exam	2		2		2
9	Interest Groups and Political Communication	4		4	6	10
10	Political Parties and Elections	4		4	8	12
11	Legislatures	4		4	6	10
12	Executives and Bureaucracies	4		4	6	10
13	Judiciaries and Political Economy	4		4	8	12
14	Political Economy Continued	4		4	6	10
15	Political Violence as State Decay	4		4	6	10
16	Final Exam	2		2		2
	Total	60	0	60	92	152

Part 2: Grading Policy

The grade for this course is based on a midterm 20%, a final exam 30%, attendance 10%, chapter essays 20%, and one home assignment 20%.

Midterm Exam	20%
Final Exam	30%
Attendance	10%
Home Assignments	20%
Final Project	20%

Home Assignments

1. *Chapter Essay*. Students are required to write an essay on each chapter **before** class. The goal is to get them prepared for class lectures and discussions. Essays consist of two parts: 1) thesis and 2) explanation. Students need to find what strikes them as the main point in each chapter and write, not outline, it in a complete sentence with a subject and predicate (p. 24). It may be long and complex but must be one complete and declarative sentence. Students are required to look for generalizations. Here is an example for Chapter 1: "Politics can be studied objectively, provided claims are supported by empirical evidence and structured by theory. The second part is to explain this compact thesis in detail (1-page maximum, Font 12, interval 1). There should be **5** summaries submitted. The summary (**hard copy**) for a chapter must be submitted **before the class** covering this chapter starts to the instructor. This will contribute to the 10% of the grade.
2. *Movie Essay*. The movie "Carlos" (<https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1321865/>) will be watched partially in class and/or partially distributed to watch at home. Based on the movie a student is free to compose an essay raising a political question covered in class. You should submit a 2-page essay (Font 12, interval 1). If any form of plagiarism is detected in an essay, the student will receive zero points for an assignment and the issue will be proceeded according to the regulations of the university. This will contribute to the 10% of the grade.

Final Project

Students are required to write an analytical essay where they need to 1) choose 30 most populous states in the world, 2) get data/numbers for three variables of per capita GDP, freedom rankings, and happiness index for these 30 states, 3) see what relations there are among these three variables throughout the 30 cases drawing 3 scatter grams (p. 295), 4) write, not

outline, an essay on the findings, 5) apply their findings to Russia, 6) Get the essay printed out and stapled, and 7) hand it in **before the final exam** in class. I strongly encourage students to start on their final project as early as possible and ask the instructor all the necessary questions while doing it as this will contribute to the 20% of the grade. Some sources suggested for the data are:

- The World Bank Data. <https://data.worldbank.org>
- Polity IV: <http://systemicpeace.org/inscrdata.html>
- NMC v5 (zip folder): <http://correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/national-material-capabilities>
- Maddison Project: <http://ggdc.net/maddison/maddison-project/data.htm>

Part 3: Topic Outline/Schedule

Chapter numbers of the main textbook and the reading material within parentheses are listed below the weekly topic. Please note that you have to complete the reading **BEFORE the actual class**. Readings marked with an asterisk (*) symbol will be brought for discussion in class. Please be ready to present an informed opinion on the matter of the article.

Weekly Schedule:

- **Week 1. Syllabus and Introduction**
- **Week 2. Political Theories**
 - Chapter 1
 - *Ollman, Bertell. What Is Political Science? What should it be? *New Political Science*, 22:4.)
- **Week 3. Political Ideologies**
 - Chapter 2
 - *Malesevic, Sinisa. 2013. Is Nationalism Intrinsicly Violent? *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*. 19:1
- **Week 4. State-building (3, 4)**
 - Chapter 3
 - Chapter 4
- **Week 5. Political Regimes: How and for Whom the Regime Runs**
 - Chapter 5
- **Week 6. Political Culture and Public Opinion**
 - Chapter 6
 - Chapter 7
- **Week 7. Political Communication**

- Chapter 8
- *Kapstein Ethan, Nathan Converse. 2008. Why democracies fail. *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 19, No. 4.
- **Week 8. Mid-term exam**
- **Week 9. Interest Groups**
 - Chapter 9
 - *Chong Denis, James Druckman. 2007. Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies. *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 101., No. 4.
- **Week 10. Political Parties and Elections**
 - Chapter 10
 - Chapter 11
- **Week 11. Legislatures**
 - Chapter 12
 - *Introduction. Is it Rational to Vote? (Excerpts from Blais, Andre. To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory)
 - *Chapter 1. When and Where Are People More Likely to Vote? (Excerpts from Blais, Andre. To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory)
- **Week 12. Executives and Bureaucracies**
 - Chapter 13
 - Weber. Max. Bureucracy. (From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans. and ed. by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1958).
- **Week 13. Judiciaries and Political Economy**
 - Chapter 14
- **Week 14. Political Economy**
 - Chapter 15
- **Week 15. Political Violence as State Decay**
 - Chapter 16
 - *Rice Susan, Graff Corinne. 2005. Can "Freedom Only" Secure Our Future. The Brookings Institute. Mcgill International Review.
- **Week 16. Final Exam**

Lecture Outlines:

Chapter 1: Politics and Political Science

(1) Learning Objectives:

After reading Chapter 1, students should be able to:

- 1.1: Evaluate the several explanations of political power.
- 1.2: Justify the claim that political science may be considered as a science.
- 1.3: Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of several theoretical approaches to political science.
- 1.4: Contrast normative theories of politics to political science.

(2) Chapter Outline

I. Introduction

- A. The relevance of political science
 1. The end of the Cold War and the "triumph" of democracy
 2. Collapse of the march toward democracy
- B. What is political science?
 1. A topic of study: what is politics?
 2. A method of studying a topic: what makes the scientific method a distinctive approach?

II. What Is Politics?

- A. Defining political power
 1. Political science focuses on power, which distinguishes it from other disciplines
 2. Power defined
 3. Second founding father of political science is Niccolò Machiavelli
- B. Biological
 1. Forming a political system and obeying is innate to human nature
- C. Psychological
 1. Similar to biological
 2. Empirical
- D. Cultural
 1. Behavior is learned
- E. Rational
 1. People know what they want; have good reasons for what they do
- F. Irrational
 1. People are emotional, dominated by myths and symbols
- G. Power as composite
 1. Truth in all preceding explanations of power
 2. Power is neither finite nor measurable
 3. Power is not the same as politics

III. What Is Political Science?

- A. Understanding political science
- B. You do not need to like politics in order to study it
 1. Studying political science is not same as politics
- C. Aristotle: Founder of the discipline
 1. Politics is the "master science"
 2. Almost everything is political

- D. Can politics be studied as a science?
 - 1. How to define science
 - 2. Attempts by some political scientists to become like natural scientists
 - 3. Large areas of politics unquantifiable
 - 4. Some political science questions cannot be answered like those questions in the natural sciences
 - E. The struggle to see clearly
 - 1. Political science is more like a natural science when researchers study things as they are not as they wish them to be
 - 2. Reasoned
 - 3. Balanced
 - 4. Evidence
 - 5. Theoretical
 - F. What Good Is Political Science?
 - 1. More than just opinions
 - 2. Not just studying to be a politician
 - 3. Can contribute to good government by warning politicians that all is not well; speaking truth to power
 - G. Subfields of political science
 - 1. U.S. politics: focuses on U.S. political institutions and process
 - 2. Comparative politics: examines politics within other nations
 - 3. International relations: studies politics among nations
 - 4. Political theory: attempts to define the good polity
 - 5. Public administration: studies how bureaucracies work and how they can be improved
 - 6. Constitutional law: Studies the application and evolution of the Constitution
 - 7. Public policy: Studies the interface of politics and economics
 - H. Comparing Political Science to History and Journalism
 - 1. Understanding how others study politics makes political science distinct
 - 2. Historians and journalists describe unique circumstances
 - 3. Political science instead seeks to generalize
- IV. Theory in Political Science
- A. Theories are not facts; they are suggestions for how facts should be organized
 - 1. Some have more evidence to support them than others
 - 2. Like all scientists, test theories with observations
 - 3. Adjust theories to better reflect observations
 - B. Behavioralism
 - 1. Institution focus
 - 2. Numerous critiques
 - 3. Buildup of critiques leads to post-behavioral movement
 - C. New Institutionalism
 - 1. Rediscovering institutions
 - 2. Government structures shape the behavior of people within them
 - D. Systems Theory
 - 1. David Easton political systems model
 - 2. Systems theory not as applicable in some situations
 - 3. Modified systems model
 - E. Rational-choice Theory

1. Political behavior can be predicted by knowing the interests of the actors involved
 2. Game theory
- V. "Political Theory" vs. Theory in Political Science
- A. Plato
 1. Republic focused on the ideal polis or political community
 2. Ideal system ended up looking like fascism or communism
 - B. Aristotle
 1. First empirical political scientist
 2. Both he and Plato searched for the source of Athenian decline and sought to prevent this
 3. His work was both descriptive and normative
 - C. Machiavelli
 1. Introduced a focus on political power
 - D. The "contractualists" analyzed why government should exist at all
 1. Hobbes
 2. Locke
 3. Rousseau
 4. Marxist Theory

(3) Test Examples

1. Aristotle's view that, like herd animals, humans naturally live in groups is most related to which kind of explanation for political power?
 - a. biological
 - b. psychological
 - c. cultural
 - d. economic

Chapter 2: Political Ideologies**(1) Learning Objectives**

After reading Chapter 2, students should be able to:

- 2.1: Explain the difference between apolitical theory and an ideology.
- 2.2: Distinguish between classic and modern liberalism.
- 2.3: Contrast Burke and conservatism with its current variety.
- 2.4: Explain how socialism split into several varieties.
- 2.5: Trace the origins of nationalism until the present day.
- 2.6: List and define as many ideologies as possible.
- 2.7: Evaluate the "end of ideology" argument.

(2) Chapter Outline

- I. What Is Ideology?
 - A. A plan to improve society
 1. Anthony Downs
 2. Not political science
 - B. Ideologies cement things together in politics
 1. People need something to believe in

2. Americans used to be very ideological
 - C. Ideologies never work out precisely as intended
 1. Failures and wishful thinking
- II. Liberalism
- A. Adam Smith publishes *The Wealth of Nations*
 1. Core of liberalism
 2. Government interference retards economic growth
 3. Market will regulate itself
 4. Expanded to general belief that society should be free from as much government interference as possible
 5. Classic liberalism different from modern
 - B. Modern liberalism
 1. Late nineteenth century, clear that market was not self-regulating; rise of monopolies
 2. Thomas Hill Green rethinks liberalism
- III. Conservatism
- A. Edmund Burke: Classical conservatism
 1. Agreed with Adam Smith on free market
 2. Opposed to crushing the U.S. Revolution
 3. Strongly objected to the application of ideas by French revolutionists because they had turned liberalism into radicalism
 4. Argued that liberalism placed too much confidence in human reason—mistakenly so, as people are only partly rational due to their irrational passions
 5. Important thinker
 - B. Modern conservatism
 1. Previously called classical liberalism
 2. Put great faith in a self-correcting market
 3. Roots in Adam Smith and influenced by Burke
- IV. Socialism
- A. Karl Marx
 1. Analysis of why capitalism would be overthrown by proletariats and replaced by socialism
 2. Never specified what socialism would look like
 - B. Social democracy
 1. Beginning in twentieth century
 2. What do social democrats stand for?
 - C. Communism
 1. Marxism-Leninism
- V. Nationalism
- A. Exaggerated belief in the greatness and unity of one's country
 1. Nationalism born out of sovereignty
 2. Appears with the French Revolution
 3. Freedom for the nation
 4. Arises when a population perceives an "other" against which to struggle
 5. Can lead to wars
 - B. Regional nationalism
 1. Breaking up existing nations into "true" nations
 - C. Fascism
 1. Nationalism grew into fascism in Italy and Germany
 2. Emphasis on military, structure, and order
 3. Term often overused and misused

VI. Ideology in Our Day

- A. The collapse of communism
 - 1. 1980s fall of the Soviet Union
- B. Neoconservatism
 - 1. New U.S. ideology
 - 2. "Liberal mugged by reality"
- C. Libertarianism
 - 1. Return to Adam Smith
 - 2. Economic and personal freedom
 - 3. Cato Institute
- D. Feminism
 - 1. Developed in the 1960s and became a force in U.S. and Western European women's movements in 1970s
 - 2. Women treated as "second-class citizens"
 - 3. Root problem is psychological
 - 4. Feminism has had an effect but has not achieved all of its goals
- E. Environmentalism
 - 1. 1960s advanced industrialized democracies
 - 2. Limits on growth
 - 3. Some environmental political parties

VII. Is Ideology Finished?

- A. Daniel Bell
 - 1. End of ideology
 - 2. Not much to fight about
- B. Fukuyama
 - 1. End of history
- C. Not much to suggest ideology is done
 - 1. End of communism did not disprove Marx
 - 2. New ideologies have emerged

(3) Test Examples

1. *The Wealth of Nations* was written by _____.
 - a. John Locke
 - b. Adam Smith
 - c. Edmund Burke
 - d. Anthony Downs

Chapter 3: States**(1) Learning Objectives**

After reading Chapter 3, students should be able to:

- 3.1: Explain with examples the institutionalization of power.
- 3.2: Distinguish between effective, weak, and failed states.
- 3.3: Contrast unitary and federal systems.
- 3.4: Explain the relationship between electoral systems and party systems.
- 3.5: Delineate the ways the state may relate to the economy.

(2) Chapter Outline

I. Introduction**A. What are nations and states?**

1. Nation: population with a sense of itself and a sense of coherence
2. State: governing structure, usually sovereign and powerful

B. Which came first?

1. Many think nations, but most nations are creations of states

II. Institutionalized Power**A. Political institutions**

1. Working structure of government
2. Good way to study is to locate the most powerful political offices within the system
3. What is the form of the state?

III. Effective, Weak, and Failed States**A. Does the state function at all?**

1. Just because there is a flag and a UN seat does not mean state is effective

B. Three categories of states

1. Effective
2. Weak
3. Failed

IV. Unitary or Federal Systems**A. Unitary systems**

1. Component units have little or no autonomy from the national government
2. Pros and cons of unitary systems

B. Federalism

1. Federal systems
2. Pros and cons of federal systems
3. Relationships among the central government and the first-order units varies
4. Ex-Yugoslav federalism
5. Canadian federalism

V. Electoral Systems**A. Single-member districts**

1. Simplest electoral system
2. Advantages of single-member districts
3. Disadvantages of single-member districts

B. Proportional representation

1. Based on multimember districts that send many representatives to parliament instead of one
2. Advantages of proportional representation
3. Disadvantages of proportional representation

VI. States and the Economy**A. Another way to classify states is by how they handle the economy**

1. Laissez-faire systems
2. Welfare state
3. Statism
4. Socialism

B. What happens in practice?

1. A great deal of variation around the world

C. Question about which role is best for modernizing the state

1. Compare the experiences of France with that of the United States and Britain

2. Japan and the Meiji Restoration

(3) Test Examples

1. George Washington retired after two terms. No other president tried to serve longer, until _____.
 - a. Theodore Roosevelt
 - b. John Kennedy
 - c. Franklin Roosevelt
 - d. Woodrow Wilson

Chapter 4: Constitutions and Rights**(1) Learning Objectives**

After reading Chapter 4, students should be able to:

- 4.1: Distinguish between constitutions and statutes.
- 4.2: Explain the purposes of constitutions.
- 4.3: Explain the variety of "rights" in the modern world.
- 4.4: Explain how U.S. judicial review was a first among constitutions.
- 4.5: Trace the development of the U.S. right to free speech.

(2) Chapter Outline

- I. Introduction: U.S. Surveillance on American Citizens
 - A. Various laws (for example, FISA) make surveillance and data collection from citizens legal
 - B. Law aims to defend against foreign threats
 1. Fourth Amendment defends against unreasonable searches and seizure
 2. A balancing act between security and privacy
 - C. Every political system has a problem establishing and limiting power
 - D. Wishes of the majority and the rights of the minority
 - E. Guidelines provided by traditions, statutes, and above all, by national constitutions
- II. Constitutions
 - A. Constitutions are about the structure of a political system
 1. Political scientists' definition: the rules or customs, either written or unwritten, about how government is run
 2. Almost all states have them
 3. Different from statutes, which are just ordinary laws passed by legislatures
 4. Most now specify individual rights for citizens
 - B. Political scientists study both what is written and what is practiced
 - C. U.S. Constitution is less detailed than most other constitutions around the world
- III. The Highest Law of the Land
 - A. Nations adopt constitutions as the supreme law of the land
 1. State the fundamental laws of society
 2. Not easy to revise
 - B. The general nature of constitutional law

1. Constitutions cannot cover every problem that arises
 2. Constitutional courts interpret the highest law in specific cases
 3. The power of judicial review allows courts to rule on the constitutionality of legislation
- C. Constitutions and constitutional government
1. Constitutions depend largely on how they are interpreted
 2. Culture affects how states with similar constitutions might interpret them differently
 3. Constitutionalism
 4. The purpose of a constitution
- IV. Can Constitutions Ensure Rights?
- A. Civil liberties and civil rights
1. Horrors of World War II lead to a push to affirm basic civil and human rights that government may not arbitrarily take away
- B. Minority groups and civil liberties
1. Multiethnic societies illustrate the tensions between preserving minority rights and pressures to conform to the dominant culture
- V. The Adaptability of the U.S. Constitution
- A. Constitutions can be modified by traditions, new usages, and laws.
1. For example, U.S. Constitution does not mention political parties yet a party system exists
 2. Constitutions thus require flexibility
- B. The right to bear arms
1. Supreme Court ruling in 2008 that the right to bear arms is an individual right illustrates adaptability
 2. Framers wanted to prevent concentration of power that would come from a standing army
 3. Heller case opened a range of questions about the right to bear arms to which the Constitution will need to adapt
- VI. Freedom of Expression in the United States
- A. Free speech in the Constitution
1. First Amendment to the Constitution
- B. Free speech and sedition
1. Sedition
 2. Twentieth-century sedition acts
- C. Rights for terrorists?
1. Creation of a new category under the George W. Bush administration called "unlawful enemy combatants"
 2. Court asserts that the administration violated habeas corpus rights
 3. When thinking about rights, context is important

(3) Test Examples

1. British citizens have had a clear set of rights and freedoms since _____.
 - a. the tenth century
 - b. the American Revolution
 - c. the end of World War II
 - d. the year 2000

Chapter 5: Regimes**(1) Learning Objectives**

After reading Chapter 5, students should be able to:

- 5.1: Explain why representative democracy is the only feasible kind.
- 5.2: Contrast elitist and pluralist theories of democracy.
- 5.3: List the features attributed to totalitarianism.
- 5.4: Distinguish totalitarianism from authoritarianism.
- 5.5: Explain why new democracies often fail.

(2) Chapter Outline**I. Representative Democracy****A. Democracy has many meanings**

1. Democracy does not always equal freedom
2. Means rule by the people
3. Representative democracy is the only workable system because a national government that required millions of people to vote in order to make decisions would be unwieldy
4. Modern democracy does not mean that the people set policy
5. Constitutional means that government power is limited in specific ways

B. Characteristics of representative democracy

1. Popular accountability of government
2. Political competition
3. Alternation in power
4. Uncertain electoral outcomes
5. Popular representation
6. Majority decision
7. Right of dissent and disobedience
8. Political equality
9. Popular consultation
10. Free press

II. Democracy in Practice: Elitism or Pluralism?**A. Political power can never be evenly distributed in society****B. Key dispute for political scientists is how much elites in society are accountable to the masses**

1. Elite theorists: argue that elites in society have little accountability
2. Pluralist theorists: argue that elites are ultimately accountable to the masses

C. Key elite theorists

1. Gaetano Mosca: society always ends up in the hands of a few people
2. Robert Michels: Iron Law of Oligarchy
3. Modern elite theorists are not conservatives but radicals

D. Key pluralist theorists

1. Robert Dahl: key political decisions made by tiny groups who are ultimately accountable

E. Elite arguments

1. Money and connections give elites access to political power
2. Wealthy interests influence politics through campaign contributions

3. Politics is a single pyramid with elites at the top
- F. Pluralist arguments
 1. Politics functions through interest groups
- III. Totalitarianism
 - A. Totalitarian systems
 1. Elites almost completely unaccountable and difficult to oust
 2. Very few totalitarian systems left
 - B. What is totalitarianism?
 1. Essentially began with Lenin's 1917 seizure of power in Russia
 2. An all-encompassing ideology
 3. A single party
 4. Organized terror
 5. Monopoly of communications
 6. Monopoly of weapons
 7. Controlled economy
 - C. Image and reality of total control
 1. Totalitarian states never have total control in spite of outside perceptions
 2. Totalitarian states are attempts to impose total control, not the achievement of it
 3. Tend to attract opportunists and non-believers due to control over job and career advancement
 - D. Right-wing totalitarianism
 1. Different from communism
- IV. Authoritarianism
 - A. Authoritarianism is different from totalitarianism
 1. Authoritarian regime usually governed by a small group that minimizes popular input
 2. Limit individual freedoms in favor of hierarchy, obedience, and order
 3. Some trappings of democracy may exist but only for appearance's sake
 4. Jeanne Kirkpatrick: difference between authoritarian and totalitarian states is that authoritarian states can reform
- V. The Democratization of Authoritarian Regimes
 - A. Two types of regimes have contributed to the wave of democracies that have emerged since 1974
 1. Authoritarian regimes with strong economic growth
 2. Communist regimes with weak economic growth that collapsed
 - B. As countries improve, their economies they become ripe for democracy
 1. Economic growth creates a middle class with a stake in the political system
 2. Rising education levels make people less susceptible to demagogues and extremist ideas
 3. People are more aware of their interests and express them
 - C. Transition does not work with petrostates
 1. Oil exports concentrate wealth in the hands of few and thus retard democracy
 - D. Economics can have a negative effect on democracy as well
 1. Illustrated by the collapsed communist states
 - E. Unclear as to whether democracies will take root in newly developing states
 1. Some hope
 2. Some concerns

- F. Hope for more democracies as they seem to make the world more peaceful
 - 1. Democratic peace thesis

(3) Test Examples

1. In the United States, the press is often referred to as the “fourth branch of government” because _____.
 - a. of its key role in keeping government accountable to citizen demands
 - b. of its constitutional obligation to keep citizens informed about public affairs
 - c. of the cooperative arrangements made between the media and the other three branches
 - d. it is considered equally as powerful as the other three branches in its impact on government decisions

Chapter 6: Political Culture**(1) Learning Objectives**

After reading Chapter 6, students should be able to:

- 6.1: Distinguish political culture from public opinion.
- 6.2: Explain how a country’s political culture can change over time.
- 6.3: Distinguish between elite and mass political subcultures.
- 6.4: Explain the effects of sharply distinct minority subcultures within a nation.
- 6.5: List with examples the main agents of political socialization.

(2) Chapter Outline

- I. Introduction: America’s Partially Split Political Culture
 - A. Trends toward two camps: Liberal and conservative
 - B. Still hold many values in common
 - C. The split is very deep and fundamental
- II. What Is Political Culture?
 - A. Political culture is the beliefs, symbols, and values about the political system
 1. Varies between nations
 2. Determined by a nation’s history, religions, and folkways
 3. Serves as a collective political identity for the nation
 - B. Political culture and public opinion
 1. Political culture and public opinion overlap as they both look for general attitudes about politics
 2. Methodologies may overlap as well
 3. Original assumption was that political culture was nearly permanent
 4. Political culture changes far more slowly than public opinion
 - C. Participation in America
 1. If Americans rarely participate, how can the United States be a model of “civic culture”?
 2. Helps to explain low levels of voter turnout in the United States
- III. The Decay of Political Culture
 - A. Political culture in advanced democracies growing more cynical and voter turnout is declining

1. Steepest drop in Japan
2. Also drop in the United States following the Iraq war and the 2010 bank bailouts
- B. Related is the development of the polarizing culture wars in the United States between liberals and conservatives
 1. Gap has been exploited by politicians
 2. Fear that if gap continues to grow political, stability is at risk
- C. Decline in the willingness to form associations in the United States
 1. Robert Putnam: BowlingAlone
 2. Others argue that associational life is still vibrant in the United States
- D. Some argue that growth of distrust in government is natural and not necessarily bad
 1. Politicians promise more and more but cannot deliver
 2. Due to education, citizens more aware of gap and more willing to criticize
 3. Decline is really the growth of critical citizens
- IV. Elite and Mass Subcultures
 - A. Political culture is not uniform or monolithic
 1. Differences between mainstream culture and subcultures as well as difference between elites and masses
 2. Elites
 3. Illustrates irony in democratic politics
- V. Minority Subcultures
 - A. One third of U.S. residents in 2010 are nonwhite
 - B. When differentiating qualities are strong enough in a particular group, we say that they form a subculture
 1. African Americans form a subculture in American politics
 - C. Subcultures may dislike being ruled by a dominant culture
 1. French speakers of Quebec
 2. Bengalis of East Pakistan
 3. Basques in Spain
 4. Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland
 - D. Sharply distinct subcultures can threaten the state
 1. Soviet Union
 2. Yugoslavia
 - E. Should an effort be made to integrate political subcultures?
 1. France made a centralized effort to turn "peasants into Frenchmen"
 2. United States relies largely on voluntary integration into mainstream culture
- VI. Political Socialization
 - A. Socialization is the process of learning political values
 - B. The agents of socialization
 1. The family
 2. The school
 3. Peer groups
 4. The mass media
 5. The government

(3) Test Examples

1. The 1959 and 1960 surveys of 1,000 people in five countries conducted by Almond and Verba uncovered three political cultures. What were they?

- a. participant, subject, and parochial
- b. participant, subject, and religious
- c. voter, subject, and parochial
- d. participant, subject, and secular

Chapter 7: Public Opinion

(1) Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 7, students should be able to:

- 7.1: Distinguish between anecdotal and survey evidence.
- 7.2: List the main factors that produce public-opinion views.
- 7.3: Explain what can go wrong with polling.
- 7.4: Explain the intensity factor in structuring public opinion.

(2) Chapter Outline

I. What Public Opinion Is and Isn't

- A. Public opinion concerns people's immediate reactions to policies and problems
 - 1. Not the same as political culture
- B. Public opinion is not the same as individual opinion
 - 1. Public opinion refers to political and social issues
- C. Should survey numbers make policy?
 - 1. Sometimes government creates public opinion
 - 2. Sometimes public opinion is manipulated by groups in society
- D. All governments are vulnerable to public opinion
 - 1. Gandhi
 - 2. Post-Stalin USSR

II. The Shape of Public Opinion

- A. Social class
 - 1. Marx viewed social class as massively salient
 - 2. Social class is very important, even in the United States, which is relatively classless
 - 3. Class can combine with other factors
 - 4. Declining social mobility in the United States is making class more salient
- B. Education
 - 1. Is related to social class and contributes to polarization
 - 2. U.S. education has a split effect
- C. Region
 - 1. "Every country has a South"
 - 2. A country's outlying regions harbor resentments, creating center-periphery tensions
 - 3. Once a region is set in politics it stays that way for a long time
- D. Religion
 - 1. Most explosive issue and contributes heavily to the structuring of opinion
 - 2. Can mean either denomination or religiosity
 - 3. Religion very important in the United States
- E. Age

1. Two theories on how age affects political opinions
- F. Gender
1. Women's views are often at variance with the views of men
- G. Race and ethnicity
1. Ethnicity plays a role of its own, especially in multiethnic societies with ethnic political subcultures
 2. Race and ethnic politics can change over the decades
- H. Elite and mass opinion
1. Often a difference between the two
 2. The bailout of the banks is a good example of the split between elite opinions and mass opinions
- III. Public Opinion Polls
- A. Do not blindly follow poll data
1. Most of the public does not closely follow issues and does not hold clear opinions
 2. Opinion distribution does not fall into well-defined patterns
 3. Asking a representative sample about their positions is called a survey, more popularly known as a public-opinion poll
 4. Debate over the political side effects of polling
- B. Polling techniques
1. Selecting the sample
 2. Reaching the sample
 3. Asking the questions
- C. How reliable are the polls?
1. Generally reliable as long as limits are recognized
 2. Public opinion is volatile and quick to change, however
 3. Phone surveys increasingly unreliable
 4. Internet surveys have a self-selection bias—any survey that includes only those who want to participate is biased and invalid
 5. Growth of cell phones caused a similar problem
- IV. American Opinion
- A. Presidential ratings
1. Polls are about presidential support or approval of job performance, not about popularity
 2. Presidents typically start with high support and enjoy a honeymoon with the press and public during their first year
 3. Popularity almost always declines and few presidents leave office as popular as when they entered
 4. Rally events can cause a spike in presidential popularity, but rarely does the spike last.
 5. Some suspect that presidents try to appear dramatically decisive to boost sagging popularity
 6. Recessions and economic downturns have a major effect on the overall approval ratings of a president
- B. Liberals and conservatives
1. Is public opinion polarized in the United States?
 2. It is important to note the difference between economic and noneconomic liberalism
- C. Who pays attention?
1. The attentive public (see Classic Works box in the text) has a great effect because those who pay attention have ideas and articulate them
 2. Indifference and fragmentation of the public's views often make public opinion hard to discern

V. Is Polling Fair?

- A. Polls do more than monitor public opinion; in many cases, they make it
 - 1. Poor poll showings in early campaign can lead to defeat as supporters and contributors lose interest
 - 2. Controversy around exit polling
- B. Should the United States be governed by polls?
 - 1. It would seem not, for the following reasons

(3) Test Examples

- 1. Mahatma Gandhi's movement in India illustrated that _____.
 - a. peaceful movements are more likely to succeed than violent ones
 - b. a government always responds to the public opinion of the population
 - c. a government responds to public opinion when its image is threatened
 - d. public opinion must be shaped into a non-violent protest movement to be successful

Chapter 8: Political Communication**(1) Learning Objectives**

After reading Chapter 8, students should be able to:

- 8.1: List the modern mass media and show which are most influential.
- 8.2: Demonstrate the political impact of the new "social media."
- 8.3: Argue that television has or has not ruined political discourse.
- 8.4: Define and explain "structural bias" in the mass media.
- 8.5: Show how adversarial media are necessary for democracy.

(2) Chapter Outline

I. The Mass Media and Politics

- A. Introduction
 - 1. The mass media strongly influence politics, and politics is heavily dependent on communication
 - 2. All political action is communication and occurs at different levels
 - 3. Television may have eroded the role of opinion leaders
 - 4. Fewer Americans now interested in news
 - 5. Various media appeal to different audiences distinguished by age, income, and education level
- B. Modern Mass Media
 - 1. Newspapers
 - 2. Radio
 - 3. The news services
 - 4. The elite media

II. The New Social Media

- A. Political impact of social media is growing
 - 1. Online news is growing, especially among young Americans
- B. Internet can catch stories that the conventional media overlook
 - 1. In part due to the independence of online news sources

2. Can jolt the mainstream media into covering things previously ignored
 - C. Social media do not only highlight issues
 1. Journalism is still required
 2. Social media and Internet do not necessarily play by the rules of conventional journalism
 - D. Does the presence of social media make for a more informed citizenry?
 1. Many doubt it due to shortcomings
 - E. Digital media can undermine political regimes
 1. Iranian social media mobilization against rigged elections
 2. Middle East
 3. China
 - F. Democratic participation in digital media
 1. Like a conversation because it is a two-way flow of ideas
- III. The Giant: Television
- A. Television news
 1. Still the biggest source of news for most citizens
 2. Favors the visual and imitates face-to-face communication
 3. Television needs to know in advance what is going to happen to cover it
 4. Short time-frame of television news weakens the analysis function of news reporting
 - B. Television and politics
 1. Television has changed politics in several ways
 2. Nomination by television
 3. Television and apathy
 4. Television ownership and control
- IV. Are We Poorly Served?
- A. U.S. media does not serve Americans well
 1. News coverage is highly selective
 2. There is no comprehensive picture of world events that emerges from the media
 - B. What can be done?
 1. Mass media (except for the elite media) ill-equipped to provide meaning
 2. Can anything be done?
- V. The Adversaries: Media and Government
- A. Role of the press as a critic of government is well-established
 1. Jefferson: newspapers without government is better than government without newspapers
 - B. The rise of the adversarial relationship between the media and government
 1. Begins in the 1960s as elite media and television begin to adopt hostile stances toward the executive branch
 - C. Does the press go too far?
 1. The media seem to think they are always right and the government is always wrong
 2. Liberal bias or media deference to corporations and the president
 3. The rise of accountability journalism and the willingness to uncover everything
 4. The Supreme Court's Sullivan Rule presumes all "public" persons to be open to media scrutiny, protecting the press from charges of libel

(3) Test Examples

1. What is one way in which television influenced the 1960s civil-rights movement that print and radio did not?
 - a. Television pundits advocated for non-violent resistance.
 - b. Television directly communicated commentators' opinions.
 - c. Television showed police attacking peaceful demonstrators.
 - d. Television allowed news anchors to editorialize about the events.

Chapter 9: Interest Groups

(1) Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 9, students should be able to:

- 9.1: Define interest groups and distinguish them from political parties.
- 9.2: Explain the relationship between interest groups and democracy.
- 9.3: List, with examples, the factors that make interest groups effective.
- 9.4: Explain the several strategies interest groups use.
- 9.5: Explain and give examples of how interest groups may become too strong.

(2) Chapter Outline

- I. The Ubiquity of Interest Groups
 - A. Theory behind interest groups
 1. On your own you can accomplish very little; form a group and you can affect politics
 2. Interest group activity is very strong in the United States but exists everywhere—even in dictatorships
 3. The term interest group refers to almost any collection of people trying to influence government
 - B. Interest groups and political parties
 1. Interest groups may look similar to political parties but are different
 2. Goals
 3. Nature of memberships
 - C. Who belongs to interest groups
 1. The sheer number of divergent interests that exist in society leads automatically to group formation
 2. Under pluralism, a competing host of interests seeking to influence government balance each other out
 3. Playing field for interest groups is not level—not everyone can form and use interest groups
- II. Interest Groups and Government
 - A. Interest groups aim to influence governments and therefore depend on them
 1. Weak states interpenetrated by crime have lots of groups, but they are not interest groups acting in a legitimately "pluralistic" way
 2. Not all "interest group" activity is good, as with weak states
 3. As government gets bigger and funds more programs, interest groups proliferate
 4. Interest groups sometimes participate in government
 - B. Government-created interest groups

1. Congress creates a program, the program creates an interest group, the interest group pressures Congress to keep funding the program
 - C. Bureaucrats as an interest group
 1. Bureaucracies themselves have become powerful interest groups
 2. Bureaucracies can develop interests of their own
 3. Interest groups can be offshoots of government
- III. Effective Interest Groups
- A. Political culture
 1. Interest groups flourish in open societies with traditions of people forming groups
 2. In societies where people join groups, people have higher levels of political competence and political efficacy
 - B. The rise of big money
 1. Money is probably the single most important factor in the success of interest groups
 2. Especially important in elections
 3. Some countries have tried to reform
 4. United States reluctant to use public financing in campaigns
 5. Some political action committees and groups contribute to groups not working directly with a candidate
 - C. McCain-Feingold Campaign Finance Reform Act
 1. Constitutional, but by 2004, basically irrelevant
 2. Is money out of control?
 - D. The rise of single-issue groups
 1. Second-biggest factor in the influence of interest groups is issue intensity
 2. Increase in single-issue groups since the 1970s
 - E. Size and membership
 1. Size of membership gives groups clout
 2. Size alone is not the most important element
 3. Socioeconomic status of members gives groups influence
 4. Disadvantaged groups with the biggest grievances are among the least likely to be listened to
 - F. Access
 1. Groups need to be heard by policymakers
 2. Structured access (LaPalombara) occurs when a group has cultivated a lasting and stable relationship with a branch of government
 3. Can groups get shut out—pluralists say no, but it does happen
- IV. Interest Group Strategies
- A. Approaching lawmakers
 1. Lobbying, interest group efforts to persuade legislators, receives the most attention
 2. When a major interest is threatened by new laws or proposed changes in laws, they will spare no expense to work to prevent it from happening
 - B. Approaching the administration
 1. Depending on issue, executive branch may be better target
 2. Groups may not want a new law, just a favorable interpretation of an existing law
 3. Use many of the same tactics that they use on legislators
 - C. Approaching the judiciary

1. Interest groups can initiate lawsuits on behalf of groups or a class of people whose interests they represent
2. Interest groups can file an amicus curiae brief in support of a person whose cause they share
3. NAACP fought racial segregation in the courts
- D. Appeals to the public
 1. Interest groups can take their cases directly to the public
 2. Powerful interest groups understand the value of public relations
- E. Demonstrations
 1. Some interest groups cannot afford publicity and use demonstrations to draw attention to their cause
- F. Violent protest
 1. Happens when a group loses faith in the system and believes that conventional political channels no longer work
 2. It works in certain circumstances
- V. Interest Groups: An Evaluation
 - A. Interest groups are at the core of democracy, but how well do they serve citizens?
 1. Represent groups, but small groups may not have any input
 2. Some people cannot organize into groups
 3. Some groups do not really speak for the members
 - B. Skewing policy
 1. Powerful groups contribute to both parties to make sure they get what they want
 - C. Stalemate political power
 1. Government might refuse to act on certain issues because it does not want to anger groups on either side of the issue

(3) Test Examples

1. Which of these is an example of two distinct interest groups working for the same cause?
 - a. gay men and lesbians both supporting same-sex marriage
 - b. social conservatives and the Religious Right both supporting school prayer
 - c. fiscal conservatives and business owners both opposing minimum wage hikes
 - d. libertarians and cancer patients both opposing laws against medical marijuana

Chapter 10: Parties

(1) Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 10, students should be able to:

- 10.1: Explain the function of political parties as inputting devices.
- 10.2: Contrast U.S. with European parties.
- 10.3: Explain the ideological spectrum for classifying parties.
- 10.4: Enumerate the several party systems and give examples.
- 10.5: Explain how parties are like product brands.

(2) Chapter Outline

I. Functions of Parties

- A. A bridge between citizens and government
 1. Political parties serve as inputting devices and provide citizens a mechanism by which their needs can be heard by government
- B. Aggregation of interests
 1. If interest groups were the highest form of political organization, politics would be chaotic
 2. Parties take multiple interests and help combine them into a single, larger organization
 3. Democratic Party under Roosevelt a classic example of interest aggregation
- C. Integration into the political system
 1. Political parties help pull new groups into the system that had previously been excluded
 2. Integration of workers by the British Labor Party and the U.S. Democratic Party
- D. Political socialization
 1. Helps members learn how to play the political game
 2. Provides a training ground for leaders
 3. Partisan identification or party ID
- E. Mobilization of voters
 1. Parties are important in helping citizens turn out to vote
 2. Causal connection between party strength and voter turnout
 3. Party propaganda may trivialize politics but plays an important role in simplifying complex issues for voters
- F. Organization of government
 1. The party that wins the election gains jobs, power, and the ability to shift public policy in their direction
 2. Party control of government is stronger in Britain due to the nature of the parliamentary system
 3. No party ever completely controls government; they can only attempt to control it

II. Parties in Democracies

- A. Centralization
 1. How much control the party leadership can exert over its elected members
 2. Parties with high levels of centralization will tend to be more coherent, ideologically consistent, and disciplined
 3. United States has parties with a history of decentralization
- B. Setting government policy
 1. How successful is the majority in enacting a legislative program?
 2. In the United States, it is really difficult to determine where the majority lies
 3. Members of U.S. parties have trouble agreeing on a national program because they are highly decentralized
- C. Party participation in government
 1. U.S. separation of powers makes it hard to enact platforms
 2. European system is more conducive to "responsible government," wherein a party campaigns on a platform and then is able to implement it when they win
 3. In both systems, parties participate in government by providing jobs for party activists in governmental departments and agencies

- D. Financing the party
 - 1. Parties are dependent on rich donors for money
 - 2. Many democracies have passed laws that seek to restrict or regulate campaign donations
- III. Classifying Political Parties
 - A. Ideological classifications
 - 1. A good way to classify a party is by determining where it sits on the ideological spectrum
 - B. Communist parties
 - 1. Classic communist system of Lenin
 - 2. Soviet system
 - 3. Why did Gorbachev undermine the Soviet party structure?
 - 4. Soviet experience suggests that single-party systems that monopolize power are not workable over the long term
- IV. Party Systems
 - A. Party systems are not the same as "parties"
 - 1. Parties seek power; party systems are about the interactions of several parties with each other
 - 2. The health of a political system depends, in part, on the party system
 - B. Classifying party systems
 - 1. One-party systems
 - 2. Dominant-party systems
 - 3. Two-party systems
 - 4. Multiparty systems
 - 5. Two-plus party systems
 - 6. Fluid party systems
 - C. If the party system has at least two parties, it can be described as competitive
- V. The Future of Parties
 - A. Scholars are divided about the future of political parties
 - 1. Declining membership, voters less loyal
 - 2. Most major parties are centrist and similar to each other
 - 3. Mass media, interest groups, and think tanks have taken over important functions of political parties
 - B. Most local offices and many states consistently won by one party
 - 1. The minority party has little incentive to work hard if they never win
 - 2. Dominant party gets lazy because they never need to try hard
 - C. Some see parties as relevant now more than ever
 - 1. Democrats more clearly liberal, Republicans more clearly conservative
 - 2. Members share fewer political values with the opposite party
 - 3. More relevant and less relevant at the same time?

(3) Test Examples

- 1. In democratic societies, large political parties are typically_____.
 - a. based on a complex ideology
 - b. run by charismatic individuals
 - c. supported by single-issue voters
 - d. coalitions of distinct interest groups

Chapter 11: Elections**(1) Learning Objectives**

After reading Chapter 11, students should be able to:

- 11.1: Explain the low turnout in U.S. elections.
- 11.2: Review the variables that predict who is most likely to vote and why.
- 11.3: Review the variables that predict who votes how.
- 11.4: Criticize the theory of electoral realignment.
- 11.5: Explain the strategies of winning elections.

(2) Chapter Outline**I. Why Do People Vote?****A. Why do Americans vote so little?**

- 1. American presidential elections historically have had low voter turnout rates
- 2. Lots of reasons why people don't vote

B. Non-voting has sparked a major debate among political scientists

- 1. One school of thought says low voting is bad for democracy
- 2. Another school says that low voting is nothing to worry about

C. Americans voter turnout is lower than that of Europeans

- 1. What explains the difference?

II. Who Votes?**A. Income and education**

- 1. People with higher incomes vote more than people with lower incomes
- 2. The well-educated vote more than people with lower levels of education
- 3. The two factors often combine and are reinforcing
- 4. Difference is often due to efficacy, the feeling that one has at least a little power
- 5. Education broadens interests and increases the perception that the voter has a stake in the system

B. Race

- 1. Until recently, African American voting rates much lower than whites

C. Age

- 1. Young people under the age of 25 are less likely to vote
- 2. Why don't young people vote?
- 3. The Twenty-Sixth Amendment lowered the voter age from 21 to 18 in the United States

D. Gender

- 1. Traditionally, women voted at lower rates than men in almost every society
- 2. In the United States, that trend is reversed, and women vote at higher rates than men

E. Place of residence

- 1. Urban areas have higher voter turnout rates than rural ones
- 2. Regional differences in voter turnout do exist

III. Who Votes How?

- A. Voting is affected by many factors that can be divided into long- and short-term variables
 - 1. Long-term variables affect how a person votes throughout his or her lifetime
 - 2. Short-term variables affect how a person votes in a given election
- B. Party identification
 - 1. Attachments that citizens feel toward a party for a long time
 - 2. Party ID is heavily influenced by parents
 - 3. Party ID is important to electoral stability
 - 4. Party ID in Europe used to be much stronger than in the United States, but those differences may be fading
 - 5. Groups that tend to identify with certain parties are called voting blocs, and politicians design their campaigns to try to win the blocs most likely to vote for them
- C. Class voting
 - 1. Social class is a determinant of voting behavior
 - 2. Two things that muddy class voting
- D. Regional voting
 - 1. Some regions identify strongly with certain parties
- E. Race and Ethnicity
 - 1. Strong determinants for voting in the United States
 - 2. Non-whites a growing electoral force
- F. Religious blocs
 - 1. After race, religion is strongest predictor in U.S. voting
 - 2. Other countries have religious/secular divide as well
- G. Age groups
 - 1. Young people “catch the tide” of their youth and stay with it
- H. Gender gap
 - 1. Women used to be more traditional and conservative than men but now are more liberal by several percentage points
- I. Marriage gap
 - 1. Unmarried people are much more likely to vote for Democrats than are married people, who tend to be more conservative and vote for Republicans
- J. Gay gap
 - 1. Election in 2012: first time exit polls asked about sexual orientation
 - 2. Five percent identified as gay and three-quarters of those supported Obama
- K. Urban voting
 - 1. Big cities vote strongly liberal or left
 - 2. Small towns and rural areas tend to vote conservative
- VI. Electoral Realignment
 - A. Theory of critical or realigning elections
 - 1. People retain party identification for years
 - 2. One version of the theory: certain watershed elections lead to voters dissolving existing, long-term partisan identifications in favor of new ones
 - 3. Alternative theory says that critical elections are exceptions
 - B. A new realignment
 - 1. Democrats argued that 2008 and 2012 were realignments in their favor
 - 2. Problems with realignment theory (some political scientists want to throw the whole theory out)

- C. Dealignment instead of realignment
 - 1. Number of voters choosing to commit to either party decreasing since 1960s
 - 2. Dealignment has coincided with three trends
 - 3. Some people say that dealignment probably isn't true and that most independent voters actually lean toward one party or the other fairly consistently
- V. What Wins Elections?
 - A. In modern elections, the rational choice of voters is heavily manipulated by candidate personalities and the mass media
 - 1. Modern parties showcase their leaders' personalities
 - 2. Leaders are presented as charismatic, calm, and caring
 - 3. Candidates who are optimistic about the country and its prospects tend to win
 - 4. Photo opportunities and a heavy emphasis on managing the candidate by professionals is the worldwide trend
 - B. Increase is due to the influence of mass media; television is the campaign
 - C. Retrospective voting
 - 1. Citizens vote based on their overall evaluation of the incumbent's performance during his or her time in office (Morris P. Fiorina)
 - 2. Retrospective voting colored by many things
 - D. Candidate strategies and voter groups
 - 1. Candidates want to avoid alienating their home bases and want to win swing and independent voters
 - 2. Candidates want to boost turnout among their supporters
 - 3. Presidential candidates focus on close, battleground states in the Electoral College
 - 4. Candidates focus on winning key voting blocs
 - 5. Other factors, such as ideology and party ID, are tricky as well

(3) Test Examples

1. How was voter turnout essential to the outcome of the 2012 U.S. presidential election?
 - a. Republicans boosted the participation rates of their traditional voters and pushed voter registration for those favorably disposed to the Republican Party, while the Democrats paid less attention to grassroots work, concentrating instead on television advertising.
 - b. Democrats boosted the participation rates of their traditional voters and pushed voter registration for those favorably disposed to the Democratic Party, while the Republicans paid less attention to grassroots work, concentrating instead on television advertising.
 - c. Democrats boosted the participation rates of their traditional voters, while the Republicans pushed voter registration for those favorably disposed to their party and concentrated on television advertising.
 - d. Democrats boosted the participation rates of their traditional voters and TV advertising, while the Republicans concentrated on grassroots efforts.

Chapter 12: Legislatures

(1) Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 12, students should be able to:

- 12.1: Trace the origins of parliaments.
- 12.2: Contrast presidential and parliamentary systems.
- 12.3: Explain the purpose of a bicameral legislature.
- 12.4: Argue that lawmaking is no longer the legislature's primary function.
- 12.5: Explain the weaknesses of legislative compared to executive authority.

(2) Chapter Outline

I. The Origins of Parliament

- A. Political institutions become more differentiated and complex as they become more modern
 1. Feudalism is where balance of power between the various institutions of government begins
- B. Monarchs need tax revenues
 1. In exchange for power of the purse, monarchs gave nobles modest input into royal policy
 2. The basis for British, Swedish, and French parliaments
 3. British and Swedish parliaments slowly expanded powers and resisted monarchical attempts at absolutism
- C. Philosophers on parliaments
 1. Locke: legislative power is the most basic and important
 2. Montesquieu: the only way to ensure liberty is to divide government into two branches, legislative and executive

II. Presidential and Parliamentary Systems

- A. Presidential systems
 1. Show most clearly the idea of separation of powers between legislative and executive branches
 2. Minority of the world's systems
 3. President combines the roles of head of state and head of government
 4. President elected (more or less) directly by the people, has a lot of power, is not responsible to the legislature, and is difficult to remove from office
- B. Parliamentary systems
 1. Head of state is weak and distinct from the head of government
 2. Citizens vote only for the legislature, not for the chief of government
 3. The government is directly responsible to the majority in the legislature
- C. Separation and fusion of powers
 1. American system sets branches of government against each other; an invitation to struggle (Corwin)
 2. European systems (developed after the United States) are more modern and are based on the principle of fusion of powers
- D. Advantages of parliamentary systems
 1. Cannot suffer from gridlock; what the majority wants, the majority gets, because the executive and legislative branches are controlled by the same party
 2. If there is a disagreement, a no-confidence vote can occur, which means no long, drawn-out political drama; much faster than impeachment
 3. Parliamentary systems do have some difficulties

- III. Bicameral or Unicameral?
 - A. Two-thirds of legislatures in the world have bicameral systems (two houses)
 - 1. Lower houses are much more powerful
 - 2. Only in the United States are the two houses of the legislature co-equal
 - B. A smaller number of legislatures are unicameral (one house)
 - 1. Have been experiments with multi-chamber legislatures
 - C. Why use a bicameral system?
 - 1. Federalism
 - 2. Utility of upper houses in a unitary system is unclear
- VI. What Legislatures Do
 - A. The committee system
 - 1. Most of the power of legislatures lies in the committee system, which can make or break legislative proposals
 - 2. United States has the most well-defined committee system, in part because of separation of powers
 - 3. Committees screen bills to help determine which ones are worthy of consideration
 - 4. In the 1970s, U.S. reforms weakened the powers of the committee chairs, which had traditionally been appointed on the basis of seniority
 - 5. Standing committees in the United States are based on partisan balance
 - B. A closer look at legislatures
 - 1. Lawmaking
 - 2. Constituency work
 - 3. Supervision and criticism of government
 - 4. Education
 - 5. Representation
- V. The Decline of Legislatures
 - A. Legislatures no longer work the way that Locke envisioned
 - 1. Trend of losing power to the executive branch has continued and grown
 - 2. Some political scientists argue that expectations for legislatures were too high to begin with
 - B. Structural disadvantages
 - 1. Parliamentary systems: very efficient in passing legislation; predictable and boring
 - 2. The 60-vote minimum to end a filibuster in the U.S. Senate is another structural disadvantage of the U.S. system
 - C. Overspending
 - 1. Capacity for overspending is inherent within legislatures
 - 2. Congress has tried to impose limits
 - D. Incomprehensible legislation
 - 1. Laws have gotten much longer and harder to understand
 - 2. Congresspersons seldom read bills themselves
 - 3. Modern society too complex for simple, short legislation
 - E. Lack of expertise
 - 1. Most legislators are not technical experts in matters of policy
 - 2. Lack of expertise leads to a heavy reliance on experts from the executive departments
 - 3. Most legislatures have little independent research support
 - F. Psychological disadvantages

1. Citizens are more impressed with presidents and prime ministers than legislatures
2. Parliaments are seen as groups of people who simply squabble with each other
3. Can lead to presidential "worship"
- G. The absentee problem
 1. Most of the time, members of legislature are not present in the chamber
 2. Members are only really needed to vote, and often not even then
 3. U.S. legislators are required to be present to vote, but can still be absent if their vote is paired with that of another absent legislator
 4. What explains absenteeism?
- H. The lack of turnover
 1. Members become career, lifetime politicians who are reelected as often as they like
 2. Is this a problem of democracy?
- I. The dilemma of parliaments
 1. Russian experience illustrates the dilemma of parliaments
 2. In the end, legislatures have atrophied and power has shifted to the executive branch

(3) Test Examples

1. John Locke believed that the _____ wields the foundational power of any government.
 - a. police
 - b. court system
 - c. bureaucracy
 - d. legislative branch

Chapter 13: Executives and Bureaucracies

(1) Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 13, students should be able to:

- 13.1: Compare and contrast presidents and prime ministers.
- 13.2: Evaluate the charge that the U.S. presidency has become too powerful.
- 13.3: Contrast cabinet ministers in parliamentary systems with departmental secretaries in the U.S. system.
- 13.4: Consider the thesis that bureaucratization is inevitable.
- 13.5: Compare and contrast bureaucracies in several countries.
- 13.6: Explain with examples how bureaucracy can become pathological.

(2) Chapter Outline

- I. Presidents and Prime Ministers
 - A. The difference between a head of state and a chief of government
 1. Head of state theoretically the top leader, but the duties are largely symbolic

2. Chief of government is the real working executive (usually called Prime Minister)
 3. The United States combines the two offices
 - B. Parliamentary and presidential systems
 1. In parliamentary systems, the chief executive is indirectly elected by the national legislature from its own ranks
 2. Presidential systems bypass this by having a strong president who is not responsible to parliament and is elected separately for fixed terms
 - C. Forming a government in Britain
 1. The British system is the "classic" parliamentary system
 - D. Constructive no-confidence in Germany
 1. German chancellor as strong as British PM
 2. Can only be ousted by a vote of constructive no-confidence
 - E. "Cohabitation" in France
 1. France's system is "semi-presidential"
 - F. The "presidentialization" of prime ministers
 1. Prime ministers with stable majorities start to behave like presidents
 2. Tendency is strong in Britain and Germany
 3. Personality is beginning to matter more than policy, party, or ideology
 - G. Executive terms
 1. Presidential system: presidential terms are fixed, and in some cases, the number of terms someone can serve is limited
 2. Parliamentary systems: prime ministers have no limit on their tenure in office as long as their party continues to win a majority in parliament
- II. Executive Leadership
- A. Two different styles
 1. Hands on: Jimmy Carter—tried to supervise and manage nearly all aspects of his administration
 2. Hands off: Ronald Reagan—supervised little and delegated authority
 3. Is there a middle ground?
 - B. The danger of expecting too much
 1. Citizens expect chief executives to solve all the problems in the state, which is impossible
 2. Successful chief executives project moods of calm, progress, and optimism
 3. Personality important for re-election
 4. Democracy preserved through periodic elections
- III. Cabinets
- A. What is a cabinet?
 1. Cabinets are the heads of the various executive agencies of the bureaucracy
 2. There is no "right" size for a cabinet
 - B. Who serves in a cabinet?
 1. Parliamentary system: cabinet ministers come from parliament and continue to serve in parliament (both legislators and executives)
 2. Presidential system: department secretaries are usually not working politicians but lawyers, leaders in business, and academics
 3. Which is better?
 4. In the U.S., the cabinet is becoming less important

VI. Bureaucracies

- A. The term has negative connotations
 - 1. Max Weber studied bureaucracy and disliked it, but saw no way to avoid it
 - 2. Francis Fukuyama: effective bureaucracies lead to prosperous states
 - 3. Historically, officials were nobles and royal relatives
- B. What is a bureaucracy?
 - 1. Any large organization of appointed officials who implement laws and policies
 - 2. Provides rationality, uniformity, predictability, and supervision to government
 - 3. Another definition of bureaucracy is "permanent government"
 - 4. Bureaucracies are inherently conservative and hard to change
 - 5. Bureaucracies come with any large organization, including churches and armies
- C. The United States
 - 1. Most civil servants work at the state and local levels of government
 - 2. U.S. behind Europe in developing a merit-based civil service
 - 3. Fifteen cabinet departments comprise 85–90 percent of the federal bureaucracy
 - 4. Each cabinet department funded by Congress, headed by a secretary who is appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate
 - 5. Secretaries and undersecretaries are political appointees, so technically not bureaucrats using Weber's definition
 - 6. May be more important in innovating laws than the public or Congress
 - 7. Departments carry out laws with unclear details
 - 8. U.S. bureaucracy is small compared to other states, especially those in Latin America and Europe that have strong statist traditions
- D. Communist countries
 - 1. Soviet Union was one of the world's most bureaucratic states
 - 2. Marxist theory maintained no need for Western-style bureaucracy, but bureaucracy was quickly implemented by Lenin and increased by Stalin
 - 3. Top Soviet bureaucrats were called the nomenklatura
 - 4. In China all officials are also party members
- E. France
 - 1. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, France set the pattern for the rest of Europe with its heavily bureaucratized state
 - 2. Napoleon made the bureaucracy even more rational and effective
 - 3. French bureaucrats are trained at the "Great Schools"
 - 4. Instability of the Third and Fourth Republics increased bureaucratic power
 - 5. France is heavily bureaucratized and extremely centralized
- F. Germany
 - 1. German bureaucracy bears the stamp of the Prussian state nobility called Junkers, who controlled almost all civil service positions in Prussia
 - 2. German unification brought Prussian values, including loyalty to the state, to German administration
 - 3. Today German civil servants committed to democracy

4. German bureaucrats tend to have the mentality of Roman law, neatly organized into fixed codes
- G. Britain
1. Strong traditions of local self-government and dispersion of power
 2. Merit civil service based on competitive exams established by 1870 to fight corruption
 3. British ministers accountable to parliament but real power is in the hands of the career “permanent secretary” and other career bureaucrats
 4. British bureaucracy more tightly controlled than U.S. bureaucracy
 5. British bureaucrats pride themselves on being apolitical
- H. Japan
1. Extreme example of rule by bureaucrats
 2. Based on French model, bureaucracy was always powerful
 3. Key ministries are finance, economy, trade, industry, agriculture, and construction
 4. Minister is appointed, but vice minister is a career civil servant
 5. New generation of Japanese politicians trying to reform bureaucracy
- V. The Trouble with Bureaucracy
- A. The world does not love bureaucracy
1. France and Italy: hatred of bureaucrats is part of political culture
 2. U.S. bureaucracy is frequently the target of hostile political rhetoric
 3. Bureaucracy can show signs of Eichmannism and “Parkinson’s Law”
 4. Corruption and bureaucracy are intertwined
 5. Early theorists assumed the bureaucracy would never make public policy

(3) Test Examples

1. An increasingly important factor in both presidential and parliamentary elections is a candidate’s _____.
 - a. personality
 - b. economic policy record
 - c. positions on social issues
 - d. executive leadership experience

Chapter 14: Judiciaries

(1) Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 14, students should be able to:

- 14.1: Distinguish among the several types of law.
- 14.2: Compare and contrast common law and code law.
- 14.3: Contrast the conduct of Anglo-American and European trials.
- 14.4: Explain judicial review and how it originated in the United States.
- 14.5: Review the changes brought about by the Warren Court.

(2) Chapter Outline

- I. Types of Law
- A. Positive law
1. Focuses on law written and compiled by humans over the centuries

2. The opposite of natural law
 - B. Criminal law
 1. The type of law that we hear the most about
 2. Largely statutory and covers wrongs that are considered to be social evils or threats to society
 3. Offenses divided into three categories
 - C. Civil law
 1. Covers civil, as opposed to criminal, matters
 2. Usually supplemented by common law
 3. Provides redress for private plaintiffs who can show that they have been injured
 - D. Constitutional law
 1. Because constitutions are general documents, written laws and court interpretations must fill in the details
 2. Judicial review is the primary mechanism to achieve this
 3. Constitutional law is not static but rather is dynamic and changes over time
 - E. Administrative law
 1. Relatively new development in law
 2. As agencies interpret the meaning of legislations, they build up a body of regulations and case law that guides them in future decisions
 - F. International law
 1. Consists of treaties and norms of behavior recognized by most countries
 2. It cannot be enforced in the same way as national law
 - G. The development of legal systems
 1. Primitive legal systems were primarily oral
 2. Modern legal systems are written and codified
 3. The great ancient code was Roman law
- II. The Courts, the Bench, and the Bar
- A. The U.S. court system
 1. The national court structure
 2. The state court structure
 - B. Judges
 1. Federal judges
 2. State judges
- III. Comparing Courts
- A. The Anglo-American adversarial and accusatorial process
 1. Passive systems that wait for a law to be challenged or a defendant to be brought before them
 2. Two sides compete for a favorable decision from an impartial court
 3. In criminal cases the police investigate and then report to a prosecutor, who decides if there is enough evidence to take the case to trial
 4. Weakness: decision often favors the side that can afford to hire the best attorneys
 - B. British courts
 1. Established by the Judicature Act of 1873
 2. The selection and tenure of judges
 3. The lawyer's role
 - C. European court systems
 1. Based heavily on the French system
 2. The European inquisitorial process

3. The lawyer's role
- D. Courts in Russia
 1. Continued much of the Soviet legal structure
 2. Russia is now struggling to build a rule of law
 3. In 1991, fifteen-justice Constitutional Court established
 4. Crime is rampant in Russia
 5. Soviet law was based on Marx
- VI. The Role of the Courts
 - A. Judicial review highly developed in the United States
 1. Court structures in other countries parallel the United States but don't do as much
 - B. The U.S. Supreme Court
 1. Judicial review is not mentioned in the Constitution
 2. The Court did not invalidate any act of Congress from 1803 until 1857, when it ruled the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional
 3. The Court has historically been divided on how it should use judicial review
- V. The Supreme Court's Political Role
 - A. The views of justices
 1. Justices' personal convictions affect their decisions
 2. Other factors that affect decisions
 3. Most important factors
 4. Changing public opinions can affect justice's perceptions
 5. The justices also influence each other
 6. Life tenure also influences the way the Court makes decisions
 - B. The Supreme Court's political impact
 1. Warren Court was extremely influential and controversial
 2. The post-Warren Courts

(3) Test Examples

1. Which of these would be a civil law case?
 - a. A person in police custody argues that the evidence against him was illegally obtained.
 - b. A grocery store claims that one of its suppliers has broken a contract to sell produce at a certain price.
 - c. A government agency interprets the term "fair" to mean "open to all without discrimination."
 - d. A judge rules that the statute of limitations has expired, which results in the release of a defendant from jail.

Chapter 15: Political Economy

(1) Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 15, students should be able to:

- 15.1: Explain the connections between politics and the economy.
- 15.2: Review the many U.S. economic problems since the 1960s.
- 15.3: Contrast entitlements and welfare.
- 15.4: Argue for expanding or cutting U.S. entitlement and welfare programs.
- 15.5: Discuss Americans' contradictory impulses toward welfare programs.

(2) Chapter Outline

- I. Introduction: Austerity and bailouts
 - A. Heated debate about how to overcome 2008 financial crisis
 - B. Most big political quarrels are over economics
- II. What is Political Economy?
 - A. Political economy is an old and flexible term
 - 1. Marx, Mill, and Smith all wrote about political economy
 - B. Economics girds everything in politics
 - 1. All public policy choices have economic ramifications
 - 2. Economic policy should take precedence over all other policies
 - 3. Every political scientist should be an economist to some degree
 - C. Keynesianism versus neoclassical economists
 - 1. All voters expect the government to induce economic prosperity
 - 2. Earlier in twentieth century, many European governments followed "classic liberal" doctrine
 - 3. John Maynard Keynes proposed ending depressions by dampening the swings in the business cycle
 - 4. Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman were conservative economists who embraced neoclassical economic theories
 - 5. 2008 economic crisis led many to rediscover Keynes
- III. Government and the Economy
 - A. Inflation
 - 1. Demand-pull inflation: too many dollars chasing too few goods
 - 2. Spurred by spending on the Vietnam War
 - 3. Lasted through the 1980s
 - B. Tax hike
 - 1. Johnson reluctant to ask for a tax hike to offset Vietnam spending
 - 2. The lesson: In war you must increase taxes to mop up the increased spending
 - 3. Bush 43 ignored the lesson, cut taxes, and took the country to war
 - C. Balance of payments
 - 1. U.S. imported more than it exported, leading to balance-of-payments deficits
 - 2. The too-high value of the dollar made imports available at bargain prices
 - 3. U.S. exports became too expensive
 - D. Floating the dollar
 - 1. To correct the balance-of-payments problem, President Nixon cut the link between the value of the dollar and the price of gold
 - 2. The dollar was allowed to "float" and dollar devalued by one-fifth
 - E. Wage-price freeze
 - 1. Nixon froze wages and prices to knock out inflation
 - 2. Bigger problem is that when price-wage freezes are removed, inflation returns at a higher rate
 - F. Oil shocks
 - 1. Oil deals were made with overvalued U.S. dollars.
 - 2. Devaluing the dollar meant that oil-producing countries were getting less money for their oil
 - 3. OPEC quadrupled oil prices, and then following the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, doubled them again
 - 4. Oil prices are likely to rebound; unlikely to hold steady
 - G. Stagflation

1. Oil price increases produced inflation everywhere but depressed the economy at the same time
 2. Stagflation occurred, which meant high levels of inflation coupled with stagnant or declining economic growth
- H. Interest rates
1. Jimmy Carter wanted to stimulate the economy, but this made inflation worse
 2. Federal Reserve solved the inflation problem by raising interest rates to 20 percent
- I. Tax cuts
1. President Reagan wanted to stimulate the economy by using "supply-side" economics
 2. Cut income taxes 25 percent over three years
 3. Bush 43 used the same rationale to cut taxes in 2001 and 2003
- J. Budget deficits
1. When government takes in less than it spends, budget deficits occur
 2. Federal government issues Treasury bills to borrow money
- K. Trade deficits
1. United States imports more than it exports
 2. Makes the United States the world's greatest debtor nation
 3. Concern is that all this hangs on the value of the dollar
- L. Government debt
1. 1994 and 2010 Republican victories led to renewed efforts to deal with effect of accumulated deficits, government debt
 2. Did have a surplus from 1997–2000 under Clinton
 3. 2000 recession ended the surpluses, but Congress and the Bush administration continued to spend
- M. Fiscal cliff
1. Deficits, debt, and taxation problems combined into the 2013 "fiscal cliff"
 2. Congress and President Obama agreed that if a budget compromise could not be reached, then tax cuts would expire, and spending cuts would be implemented
 3. Politicians essentially kicked the can down the road and didn't solve any problems
- N. Inequality
1. Since the 1970s, Americans' incomes have grown less equal, and the middle class is smaller
 2. Outsourcing cuts the number and pay of blue-collar jobs
 3. Tax cuts favor the wealthy
 4. Growth in inequality fuels political anger
- O. Bubbles
1. Bubbles are periods when fast growth in investment leads people to ignore risk
 2. Caused by manias and panics, both are psychological
 3. Underlying problem: banks and investors believed that there was little risk and encouraged high levels of borrowing, which led to high levels of credit and home equity debt
- IV. What Is Poverty?
- A. Defining poverty is tricky
1. What is currently poor might have been comfortable in the past
 2. Many argue that the current formula used to determine poverty, based on food spending, is out of date

3. To understand the effects of the War on Poverty, need to look at American poverty in perspective
 4. Antipoverty programs cannot offset high levels of unemployment and long-term trends in the U.S. economy
- B. Welfare versus entitlements
1. Federal budget is divided into two categories
 2. Only a very small portion of the federal budget is traditional welfare spending
 3. Welfare is an easy target for cuts because of its client base, but the cuts do little to offset deficits and inflict hardship on the most vulnerable in society
 4. Welfare programs came into being through the Great Society programs of President Johnson
- V. The Costs of Welfare
- A. Food stamps
1. Begun by Kennedy and implemented nationwide by Johnson in 1964
 2. Carter simplified the program, eliminating the need for recipients to buy food stamps with cash at a discount
 3. Reagan tightened eligibility requirements to minimize fraud
 4. Food stamp program is bigger than expected, but government is uncertain about what to do
- B. Welfare reform
1. Clinton signed major welfare reform to "end welfare as we know it"
 2. Reform came when economy was good
- C. Health care reform
1. The Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") barely passed in 2010
 2. Medicare and Medicaid serve as a warning of rapidly increasing health care costs
 3. Government has tried to rein in costs but has not been successful
 4. Health care will be a major quarrel for decades to come
- VI. How Big Should Government Be?
- A. Americans are unclear on where the federal budget goes
1. Many think that welfare consumes most of the budget
- B. American welfare state is small compared to other advanced, industrialized countries
1. American political culture suggests that we should keep government small and be suspicious and critical of government
 2. But we need government intervention in the economy and other policy sectors
 3. We have trouble determining how much government we want
- C. 2008 financial crisis represents this quandary
1. Dislike rescue packages in principle
 2. Government should not assume the moral hazard of bad individual behavior
 3. But near-collapse led to a recognition that government had to do something
- D. Resistance to government programs may lead to long-term advantages for Americans

(3) Test Examples

1. A neoclassical economist and a Keynesian economist would disagree most strongly about _____.

- a. the problems of inflation
- b. the need to address recessions
- c. the benefits of deficit spending
- d. the importance of rational tax policy

Chapter 16: Violence and Revolution

(1) Learning Objectives

After reading Chapter 16, students should be able to:

- 16.1: Explain the relationship of legitimacy to system breakdown.
- 16.2: Review the several types of violence and what causes them.
- 16.3: Define and give examples of terrorism.
- 16.4: Explain the stages revolutions are likely to go through.
- 16.5: Analyze the present era, whether it is revolutionary or post-revolutionary.

(2) Chapter Outline

I. System Breakdown

A. Political scientists rarely used to pay attention to political violence and revolution

1. Used to think political systems were stable
2. Political violence of the 1960s changed that perspective
3. Political systems do break down over time
4. Breakdowns begin when legitimacy erodes

B. Violence as a symptom

1. Political violence does not necessarily mean that a revolution is near
2. While violence is deplorable, it can illustrate deep problems within society; as such it can serve a purpose

II. Types of Violence, According to Fred von der Mehden

A. Primordial

1. Grows out of conflicts between basic communities

B. Separatist

1. Aims at independence

C. Revolutionary

1. Aims at overthrowing or replacing existing regimes
2. Also includes counterrevolutionary movements, which are conservative attempts to crush revolutions

D. Coups

1. Usually aimed against revolution, corruption, and chaos
2. Almost always conducted by the military
3. Usually involve little violence, at least initially
4. Military takeovers tend to happen repeatedly

E. Issues

1. Some violence does not fit in above categories
2. Political violence that falls into this category is generally less violent
3. Given a serious enough issue and brutal police repression, can turn more violent

F. Change as a cause of violence

1. Political violence can be sparked by the changes a country experiences as it goes through modernization

2. Leaving the world of traditional stability leaves people worried, confused, and ripe for violent actions
3. Economic change is often the most unsettling
4. Other changes can spur unrest

III. Terrorism

- A. Terrorism is a strategy to weaken a hated authority
 1. It is not a new phenomenon
 2. Governments that terrorists hate are usually corrupt and repressive
- B. Terrorists are not insane
 1. Tactics used to panic their enemies, recruit members, and gain publicity
 2. Terrorists are rational in their pursuit of political goals
 3. Terrorist movements always have a reason
 4. Terrorism is a group activity
- C. Middle East is currently a breeding ground for terrorists
 1. Material and psychological reasons
- D. Does terrorism work?
 1. Rarely and seldom by itself
 2. U.S. agencies are not well positioned to fight terrorism
 3. Good news is that Islamic terrorism is declining

IV. Revolutions

- A. Revolution is a quick, dramatic system change that throws out the existing elites
 1. Small or moderate changes that leave the system intact are reforms, not revolutions
 2. Revolutions do not have to be bloody
 3. Revolutions require organizations through which to focus frustrations
- B. Intellectuals and revolution
 1. Intellectuals provide the organization for revolutions
 2. Some intellectuals develop "revolutionary faith" (Billington), a belief that the current system can be replaced with something better
 3. Common folks want improvement in material conditions; it is the convictions of intellectuals that cement revolutions together
 4. Most twentieth-century revolutions were led by intellectuals
- C. The stages of revolution
 1. Crane Brinton argued that revolutions pass through similar stages
 2. The old regime decays
 3. The first stage of revolution
 4. At first, moderates take over
 5. The extremists take over
 6. A "Thermidor" ends the reign of terror
- D. The role of the state in revolutions
 1. Revolutions start at the top from governments caught in a crisis they cannot manage (Skocpol)
 2. Divisions form among elites in society and mass mobilization
 3. Examples found in both Russian and Chinese Communist revolutions

V. After the Revolution

- A. Revolutions often replace one form of tyranny with another
 1. French kings were replaced by Napoleon
 2. Tsars were replaced by despotic Stalin
 3. Castro threw out Batista only to further reduce freedom in Cuba
 4. Similar fears in the Middle East following the Arab Spring

- B. American Revolution
- C. French Revolution
- D. Russia's 1917 Bolshevik Revolution
- E. Decline of revolutions after the 1960s
- F. Before and after revolutions
 - 1. At the beginning, movements are idealistic and believe they can bring about a just, fair, and prosperous society
 - 2. After seizing power, revolutionary regime discovers it's harder than they thought
 - 3. Eventually a new generation comes to power and admits that changes have to occur
 - 4. Given that revolutions end badly, will we not see another major wave of revolutions?

(4) Test Examples

1. Which of the following would you expect to see in a nation with a highly legitimate government?
 - a. high rates of street violence
 - b. politically powerful police unions
 - c. low numbers of police officers
 - d. high levels of police brutality to keep citizens in line