

Comparative Politics POL2 202

Christopher Candland Wellesley College

Classroom and Class Hours

Pendleton East 127 Tuesdays and Fridays 2:50 – 4:00 pm Political Science 202 Spring 2016

Office and Office Hours

Pendleton East 245 Tuesdays and Fridays 4:00 – 5:00 pm and whenever the office door is open, and by appointment

Description

Comparative Politics examines political institutions and processes across and within countries. The course asks students to distinguish between core concepts in the study of politics (e.g., government, regime, state, nation); to appreciate the politics of collective identities (e.g., class, ethnicity, gender, religion, race); to understand common political processes (e.g., state formation, revolution, democratization) and major electoral systems (e.g., single member constituency, proportional representation) and systems of representation (e.g., parliamentary, presidential); to gain familiarity with the political histories and domestic politics of several countries; and conceive of research designs using comparative methods. In Spring 2016, the theme is women, elections, and methods for increasing women's presence in national-level elected bodies..

Requirements

Class attendance and active participation based on thoughtful consideration of the assigned reading are the most important requirements.

You are required to post on our Sakai course conference by the end of the day before each class brief answers (2-3 paragraphs) to study questions. Study questions are given below for each class. Responses are not graded individually but are required, and will contribute to the participation component (20%) of the final grade.

You are required to write three short papers. Details on the paper assignments and guidance on how to approach your papers appear below.

Please note that there are six paper assignments and accompanying deadlines; you are required to write only three papers, according to your interests and schedule.

There is an end of term examination. It is designed not to identify grades or graduations but to ensure that every student knows the core concepts and can address core questions. Thus, everyone student could and should get full marks. The concepts to be identified and the questions to be answered will be distributed in advance.

Authorship

The writing that you submit under your name must be your original work. I encourage you to seek others' assistance with your ideas and writing. You are permitted to ask others to read drafts of your work and to make suggestions related to content and grammar and style. But you are not permitted to allow others to edit your work for you.

Plagiarism

Ideas, and the words that are used to express them, are authored. Ideas and words exist because of someone's effort. Representing another's ideas or words as your own even if those ideas and words are not published and even if you are only paraphrasing rather than quoting, is a kind of theft. Carefully citing all sources of ideas and words in your writing protects you from plagiarism. Carefully citing all sources of ideas and words in your writing also impresses your reader with the research and authority that you bring to your subject.

Grades

Each of the three papers is worth 20% of the final grade. The quality of class participation throughout the semester, including responses to study questions, is worth 20% of the final grade. The end of term examination is worth 20%.

Credit

Successful completion of this course provides one unit of credit toward any of the three International Relations majors or toward the Political Science major. Some programs, such as the Latin America Studies and South Asia Studies, may allow you to count this course instead toward the major or minor in that program. If you would like to arrange for this course to count for a major other than International Relations or Political Science, please let me know within the first two weeks of the semester so that we can make arrangements with those programs.

Resources

All reading is available electronically on our Sakai course conference or through links on the electronic version of the syllabus (found on our Sakai course conference). Please note that the length and the difficulty of readings are not the same for every class. I have given page numbers below so that you can judge when you need to devote more time to a class' assigned reading.

An excellent resource for the most significant concepts, institutions, events, and issues related to Comparative Politics is Joel Krieger, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Comparative Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

The <u>BBC website</u> has excellent country profiles. These include an "overview, facts, leadership, media" (which has links to major English language newspapers) and a "timeline"). For the "country profiles" one must select a region and then scroll to the bottom.

The World Economic Forum's *Global Gender Gap Report 2014* (available in the Sakai conference) provides national data related to gaps in economic opportunity, educational attainment, health, and political empowerment of males and females.

Laptop Computers

I would like you to be focused on the class conversation. Therefore, I would like you to refrain from using laptop computers or other electronic devices during class.

Disabilities

I encourage students who might be eligible for disability-related accommodations to consult with James Wice, Director of Disability Services (x2434), within the first two weeks of the semester.

Class Schedule

Tuesday, January 26 1. Course Overview and Introductions

Friday, January 29 2. Course Overview and Introductions

1. Comparative Insights on Female Mortality and Violence against Women

Tuesday, February 2

3. Missing Women: Comparative Insights from China and India

- Dreze and Sen, "Gender Inequality and Missing Women" (Dreze and Sen 1999: 104-107)
- Sen, "Missing Women Revisited: Reduction in Female Mortality has been Counterbalanced by Sex Selective Abortions" (Sen 2003: 1297-1298)

Bharati et al, "Is Son Preference Pervasive in India?" (Bharati et al 2011: 291-298)

Study Question: How does Sen and Bharati *et al* use comparison to advance their arguments?

Friday, February 5 4. Violence Against Women: Comparative Insights from Mexico and Pakistan

Bovarnick, "Universal Human Rights and Non-Western Normative Systems: A Comparative Analysis of Violence against Women in Mexico and Pakistan" (Bovarnick 2007: 59-74)

Study Question: Are human rights claims sufficiently attentive to cultural difference to be useful in preventing violence against women?

2. Comparative Methods in a Complex World

Tuesday, February 9 5. Fieldwork in Cross-Cultural Settings (1)

Nussbaum, "The Study of Non-Western Cultures" (Nussbaum 1997: 113-147)

Study Question: How, in your opinion, can cross-cultural researchers ensure that their findings do not advance their own cultural biases?

Friday, February 12 6. Fieldwork in Cross-Cultural Settings (2)

Schenk, "Navigating an Inconvenient Difference in Antagonistic Contexts: Doing Fieldwork in Aceh, Indonesia" (Schenk 2013: 342-356)
King, "The Decline of International Studies" (King 2015: 88-98)

Study Question: How do you evaluate the suggestion that the involvement of "a cosmopolitan intermediary" can be used to overcome antagonism and hostility in cross-cultural settings?

Tuesday, February 16 7. The Political Origins of Comparative Politics

Chilcote, "Ideology and Issues of Comparative Politics" (Chilcote 1981: 29-53)

Study Question: In what ways did U.S. foreign policy influence the methods and priorities of Comparative Politics?

Friday, February 19 8. Schools of Comparative Politics

Laitin and Zhang, "Political Culture" (Laitin and Zhang 2013: 223-227) Smith, "Political Development" (Smith 2013: 227-229) Gourevitch, "Political Economy" (Gourevitch 2013: 230-234) Green, "Rational Choice" (Green 2013: 304-306)

Study Question: What are the defining features of the Political Culture, the Political Development, the Political Economy, and the Rational Choice approaches?

Tuesday, February 23 9. Comparative Methods

Shekerjian, "A Shift in the Scenery" (Shekerjian 1990: 115-128) Ragin, "The Distinctiveness of Comparative Social Science" (Ragin 1987: 1-18)

Study Questions: Why can life in an unfamiliar place lead to insights about one's own place and life? Why do you agree or disagree with Swanson's claim (quoted in Ragin 1989: 1) that "thinking without comparison is unthinkable"?

Friday, February 26 10. Comparative Methods: Case-Oriented Approaches

Ragin, "Case-Oriented Comparative Methods" (Ragin 1987: 34-52) Farmer, "On Suffering and Structural Violence" (Farmer 2003: 29-50)

Study Questions: Why is Farmer's argument about suffering best advanced using caseoriented comparative studies? What does Farmer mean when he writes that Acéphie's and Chouchou's lives are not "anecdotal" but "exemplary"?

Monday, February 29 by 4.00 pm

PAPER QUESTION 1: Please write no more than 1,500 words (count text only, not quotations or footnotes) on one of the following:

1. Why do you agree or disagree with Swanson's claim (quoted in Ragin 1989: 1) that "thinking without comparison is unthinkable"?

2. Why can life in an unfamiliar place lead to insights about ones' own place and life?

Tuesday, March 1 11. Comparative Methods: Variable-Oriented Approaches

Ragin, "The Variable Oriented Approach" (Ragin 1987: 53-68)
Haghighat, "Debunking the Assumed Connection between Educational Attainment, Reduced Fertility and Mortality, Labor Force Inclusion and Political Participation for Women in the Middle East" (Haghighat 2012: 309-332)

Study Question: Why is Haghighat's argument about women's political empowerment best advanced using a variable-oriented approach?

3. Crafting Case Studies

Friday, March 4 12. Chief Critic of Comparative Political Inquiry: Its Founder

Mill, "Of the Four Methods of Experimental Inquiry," "General Considerations on the Social Science," "Of the Geometrical, or Abstract, Method," and "Of the Chemical, or Experimental, Method" (Mill 1843: 478-503 and 1061-1085)

Study Question: What is Mill's argument for the claim that the method of agreement and the method of difference are not adequate to social inquiry?

Monday, March 7, by 4.00 pm

PAPER QUESTION 2: Please write no more than 1,500 words (count text only, not quotations or footnotes) on the following:

How does a comparative political scientist respond to Mill's claim that the comparative method cannot be used in political inquiry because in politics variables outnumber cases and because if any two polities were similar in all respects except the one under study then they would be identical in that respect as well?

Tuesday, March 8 13. Using Comparative Methods to Select Countries of Study

National Public Radio, "The Surreal Reasons Girls Are Disappearing In El Salvador" <u>here</u> (October 5, 2015)

http://data.worldbank.org/ http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutProject.cfm Also see resources on page 13 below.

Friday, March 11 14. Using Comparative Methods to Select Countries of Study

http://data.worldbank.org/ http://www.quotaproject.org/aboutProject.cfm Also see resources on page 13 below.

4. Governments, States, Regimes, and Nations

Tuesday, March 15 15. Governments, States, Regimes, and Nations

Candland, "Thinking Like a Political Scientist" (Candland 2014: 1-5)

Study Questions: What are the logical implications of conflating governments and regimes? What are the ethical implications of conceiving of nations and states as actors?

Friday, March 18 16. States and State-Making

Tilly, "How War Made States, and Vice Versa" (Tilly 1990: 67-95) Rodgers, Maguire, Bangay, and Davey, "The Rise of Islamic State" (BBC 2015: 3.36 min)

Study Questions: In what ways is the Islamic State of the Levant and Iraq, designated by the U.S. Department of State as a terrorist organization, already a modern state? In what ways has the Islamic State of the Levant and Iraq failed to meet the minimum requirements for a modern state?

Tuesday and Friday, March 22 and March 25 No Classes – Spring Break

Monday, March 28, by 4.00 pm

PAPER QUESTION 3: Please write no more than 1,500 words (count text only, not quotations or footnotes) on the following:

Why does political inquiry require a distinction between entities that have agency (such as governments) and those that do not have agency (such as states)?

Tuesday, March 29 17. Rentier States and Failing States

Milliken and Krause, "State Failure, State Collapse, and State Reconstruction: Concepts, Lessons and Strategies" (Milliken and Krause 2002: 753-774)
Cramer and Goodhand, "Try Again, Fail Again, Fail Better? War, the State, and the 'Post–Conflict' Challenge in Afghanistan" (Milliken and Krause 2002: 885-909)

Study Question: What essential feature of the modern state does Afghanistan lack?

Friday, April 1 18. Nations and Nationalism

- Smith, "The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?" (Smith 1991: 353-368)
- Gellner, "Nationalism and Modernization" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994 (1964): 55-62, 330-331)
- Nairn, "The Maladies of Development" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994 (1977): 70-76)
- Hobsbawm, "Invention of Tradition" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994 (1983): 76-83, 331-332)
- Brass, "Elite Competition and Nation Formation" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994 (1979): 82-89, 332-334)
- Anderson, "The Origins of National Consciousness" (in Hutchinson and Smith 1994 (1983): 89-96, 334-335)
- Wolf, "Ethnic Segmentation" (Wolf 1982: 379-381)

Study Question: What, in your opinion, creates the sentiment that people belong to a nation?

Monday, April 4, by 4.00 pm

PAPER QUESTION 4: Please write no more than 1,500 words (count text only, not quotations or footnotes) on the following:

What is the relationship between the monopoly of the use of force (or threaten to use force) and the legitimacy (or the legality) of government?

Monday, April 4 by 4.00 pm

PAPER QUESTION 5: Please write no more than 1,500 words (count text only, not quotations or footnotes) on one of the following:

1. Which is causally prior: a government, a nation, or a state?

2. What did Rabindranath Tagore mean when he wrote that "the Nation is the greatest evil for the Nation"? (Tagore 1919: 42)

Tuesday, April 5 19. Democratic Regimes and Undemocratic States

Dahl, "Democratization and Public Opposition" and "Does Polyarchy Matter?" (Dahl 1972: 1-16 and 17-32) Roy, "Mr. Chidambaram's War" (Roy 2009: 1-35)

Study Questions: Can states be democratic? Why does procedural democracy often fail to create substantive democracy?

Friday, April 8 20. Governments: Presidential, Parliamentary, and Hybrid

Cheibub, "Introduction" and "Conclusion" (2007: 1-25 and 165-174)

Study Question: Why, according to Cheibub, does the correlation between presidential systems and democratic breakdown not mean that presidential systems cause democratic breakdowns?

5. Women's Political Empowerment

Tuesday, April 12 **21. Quotas for Women**

Krook and O'Brien, "The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide" (Krook and O'Brien 2010: 253-272)
Nurjanah and Candland, "Women in Indonesia's Elected Governments and Political Parties" (Nurjanah and Candland 2015: 1-25)

Study Questions: Why do some parliaments have higher percentages of women than is mandated by quotas or reserved seats? What trends in the data, by region, political institution, and proportion of women in parliament, are visible in the tabulation of women in parliament by country? How do you evaluate Krook and O'Brien's argument that the salience of women's representation is relative to historic trends and transnational forces? Which mechanisms seem to be most effective in increasing the percentage of women elected to parliament?

Friday, April 15 22. Women's Empowerment through Armed Struggle

Menchú, "I, Rigoberta Menchú" (Menchú 1983)

Study Question: What drove Rigoberta Menchú to the conclusion that women's empowerment requires armed struggle?

Tuesday, April 19 No Class – Monday Schedule

Friday, April 22 23. Conversation with Chairwoman of the Constituent Assembly of the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal

Ms. Hasila Yami

Assignment: Prepare and post to the Sakai course conference two well-informed questions for Comrade Parvati.

(nb. Parvati was the *nom de guerre* of Member of Parliament Hasila Yami from when she went underground to fight with the Community Party of Nepal (Maoists) against the Royal Army of the Kingdom of Nepal in 1996 until she joined the peace negotiations in 2003 . She prefers to be addressed as Comrade Parvati.)

Consult: World Economic Forum, "Gender Quotas Database" at www.idea.int/datatools/data/gender-quotas?country=101

Monday, April 25 by 4.00 pm

PAPER QUESTION 6: Please write no more than 1,200 words (count text only, not quotations or footnotes) on the following or on a question of your own (to be approved by me).

How should women's political empowerment be defined, measured, and achieved, and why?

Tuesday, April 26 24. Conversation with Member of Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia

Ms. Nihayatul Wafiroh

Assignment: Prepare and post to the Sakai course conference two well-informed questions for Minister of Parliament Bu Ninik.

(nb. "Bu," meaning Mother, is the honorific term of address in Indonesia for women who are older or of higher status than the speaker. Ninik is Member of Parliament Nihayatul Wafiroh's familiar name. She prefers to be addressed as Bu Ninik. The 'k' is glottal stop and is not pronounced.)

Consult: World Economic Forum, "Gender Quotas Database" at www.idea.int/datatools/data/gender-quotas?country=101

Friday, April 29 25. Conversation with Senator Haifa Hajjar Najjar of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

Ms. Haifa Hajjar Najjar

Assignment: Prepare and post to the Sakai course conference two well-informed questions for Senator Najjar.

Consult: World Economic Forum, "Gender Quotas Database" at www.idea.int/datatools/data/gender-quotas?country=101

Tuesday, May 3 25. Reflections on Conversations with Course Visitors

Friday, May 6 (over dinner 6 pm – 8.30 pm) 26. Review Session for Final Examination

Suggestive Comparative Cases for Study of Women's Political Empowerment

Cuban and Nicaraguan Parliamentarians

BBC, "Cuba: overview, facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>) BBC, "Guatemala: overview, facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>) BBC, "Nicaragua: overview, facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>)

Icelandic and Norwegian Parliamentarians

Mjoset, "Iceland" (2001) BBC, "Iceland: overview, facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>) Amand-Eeckout, "Women in Politics: Iceland" (Amand-Eeckout 2013) Mjoset, "Norway" (Mjoset 2013) BBC, "Norway: overview, facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>) Bocholier, "Women in Politics: Norway" (Bocholier 2013)

Burundian and Rwandan Parliamentarians

BBC "Burundi : overview facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>) BBC "Rwanda: overview facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>)

Bangladeshi and Pakistani Parliamentarians

BBC, "Bangladesh: overview facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>) BBC, "Pakistan overview facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>)

Indonesian and Malaysian Parliamentarians

BBC, "Indonesia: overview, facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>) BBC, "Malaysia: overview, facts, leadership, media and timeline" (available <u>here</u>)

Bibliography

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- Candland, Christopher, "Thinking Like a Political Scientist," mimeograph, 2014
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- Hutchinson, John, and Anthony Smith, eds., *Nationalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994
- Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in National Parliaments" (available here)
- King, Charles, "The Decline of International Studies: Why Flying Blind is Dangerous," *Foreign Affairs*, 94:4, (July/August 2015), 88-98
- Krook, Mona Lena, and Diana O'Brien, "The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide," *Comparative Politics*, (April 2010), 253-272
- Levitisky, Steven, and Lucan Way, Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010

- Maddison, Angus, Class Structure and Economic Growth: India and Pakistan Since the Moghuls, New York: Norton and Company, 1971
- Menchú, Rigoberta, *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, ed., Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, trans., Ann Wright, London: Verso, (1983), 1984
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- UN Women, "Women in Parliament 2015" (available here)
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Writing Suggestions for Your Papers

Focus. A narrower argument is almost always more defensible and more interesting than a general argument. Be succinct. It's not merely a virtue; it's a requirement. The text of your final paper – not including footnotes and bibliography – must be fewer than 1,500 words. Accordingly, it is good to write long rough drafts and then to eliminate nonessential material. Papers may be shorter than the word limit. Many excellent papers are. At the end of the paper, give a word count (e.g., 1,302 words).

In your introduction, state your question, your approach, and your argument. Throughout the paper, use topic sentences. The contribution of each paragraph should be clear from its first sentence. Avoid lists, familiar metaphors, and contractions. Give phrases and the acronym for these phrases in parentheses (e.g., non-governmental organizations (NGOs)) before using an acronym alone. Capitalize acronyms. But do not capitalize common nouns.

Avoid first person claims. A sentence such as "I believe that comparative politics cannot be gender neutral" leads the reader to divide her attention between the authority of the writer and the truth of the claim being advanced. ("Hmm...? That's an interesting claim. But I wonder how she came to believes that.") Stating a claim directly usually gives it more credibility. (e.g., "Analysis of empowerment requires attention to gender.")

Distinguish between countries, states, political regimes, governments, and nations and be clear about the concept to which you refer. (See details below.) Do not use country names as substitutes for states, political regimes, governments, or nations. The claim that "India has used preferential policies to combat caste discrimination" may refer to the administrative apparatus (i.e., the state), to the particular system of recruitment into that apparatus (i.e., the regime), or to a government (i.e., the people who manage the state). Do not conflate nations and states. A nation is the idea a people are united by a collective identity, such as citizenship, culture, ethnicity, history, language, religion, territory, or some mixture of these. A state is an inanimate apparatus. A "nation-state," wherein the borders of national identity and the authority of the state coincide perfectly, is a compelling notion and often used to legitimate government, but is very rare, arguably non-existent (except perhaps at the Vatican). Keep in mind that states, countries, and regimes, being inanimate, are not actors. Thus, the notion of a non-state actor is an unnecessary redundancy. All actors, including governments, are non-state.

Use one of the citation formats described below.

Double-space; do not use one and one half-space formatting. Paginate. Check your grammar; edit thoroughly; proof read carefully.

Citation and Bibliography Formats

Use one of the following citation formats in your papers. At the conclusion of a sentence that reflects or reports someone else's opinion or information, use either an in-text citation or a footnote.

(1) An in-text citation gives the author's last name, year of publication, and page, in parentheses. (Last Name of Author(s) year: page). Then, in an attached bibliography, each source is given like this:

Last Name, First name, year, *Title of Book*, Place of Publication: Publisher Last Name, First name, year, "chapter title," in *Title of Edited Book*, First and Last Name of Editor, ed., Place of Publication: Publisher

Last Name, First name, year, "article title," Title of Periodical, (Volume: Number)

For example:

Pakistan has one of the world's largest gaps between female and male economic and educational attainment. (Hausman, Tyson, and Zahidi 2009: 9)

Then, in your bibliography, give the full citation, like this:

Hausman, Richard, Laura Tyson, and Saadia Zahidi, 2009. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2009*, Geneva: World Economic Forum

Following the in-text citation format, chapters in books or articles in periodicals should be listed in your bibliography like so:

Chaudhry, Hafeezur Rehman, 1990. "The Shrine and Lunger of Golra Sharif," in *Pakistan: The Social Sciences' Perspective*, Akbar S. Ahmed, ed., Karachi: Oxford University Press, 190-206

Kamali, Masoud, 2001. "Civil Society and Islam: A Sociological Perspective," *European Journal of Sociology*, 42: 3, 457-482

(2) A footnote refers your reader to a complete citation at the bottom of the page. The footnote format is:

First name Last Name, *Title of Book*, Place of Publication: Publisher, Year, Page(s).

- First name Last Name, "article title," *Title of Journal*, (Volume: Number), Month Year, Page(s).
- First name Last Name, "chapter title," in *Title of Edited Book*, First and Last Name of Editor, ed., Place of Publication: Publisher, Year, Page(s).

For example:

Pakistan's early development strategy intentionally promoted economic inequality as a technique for rapid economic growth.¹

At the bottom of the page, appears the footnote.

¹Angus Maddison, *Class Structure and Economic Growth in India and Pakistan*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973, 136.

Articles in periodicals or chapters in books should be listed in your footnote like so:

If you use footnotes, you may include a bibliography but are not obligated to do so.

Please do not place citations at the end of the paper (i.e., do not use endnotes).

² Miriam Hoexter "Waqf Studies in the Twentieth Century: The State of the Art," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, (41: 4) 1998, 478
³ Robert D. McChesney, "Charity and Philanthropy in Islam," in *Philanthropy in*

America: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia, Dwight F. Burlingame, ed., Washington, DC: ABC-CLIO, 2004, 269