

# Seminar on the Politics of Community Development

POL2 310S

Political Science Spring 2020

Classroom and Class hours

Pendleton East 139 Thursdays 14:20 – 17:00 Christopher Candland Wellesley College

Office and Office hours

Pendleton East 245 Tuesdays and Fridays 15:45 – 17:00 Please sign-up using sheet on door.

# Description

This seminar examines practices of non-governmental associations and theories related to community development. The emphasis is on associations working in rural areas of lower-income countries, although we do consider associations working in urban areas, such as the Landless Workers Movement in Brazil, and in higher income countries, such as the United Farm Workers in the United States.

The seminar is focused on managerial techniques and political conditions for effective public action to reduce poverty, generate employment, promote opportunity, create solidarity, combat discrimination, educate children, and keep infants alive. The seminar closely examines several community development associations and their strategies; their relations with funding agencies, with governments, and with transnational organizations; faith as a basis for activism and solidarity; women's leadership; and collaboration between activists and researchers.

The specific organizations examined are Akhuwat (Pakistan), the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (Bangladesh), the Grameen Bank (Bangladesh), the Green Belt Movement (Kenya), the Landless Workers' Movement (Brazil), the Orangi Pilot Project (Pakistan), the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (Sri Lanka), the Self-Employed Women's Association (India), and the United Farm Workers (United States). Transnational non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations considered include the Ford Foundation, la Via Campensina, Local Futures, Médecins Sans Frontiéres, Oxfam International, Pathfinders International, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing. Students will use their knowledge of these associations and organizations to evaluate theories related to community development.

#### **Format**

Preparation for and participation in class discussion is essential.

Class discussion during ten of our thirteen class meetings will be led by groups of three students; these groups will meet to review the reading and design learning objectives and teaching methods for their class and the class discussion. The group will prepare and distribute to the class a discussion paper.

# Requirements and Assignments

Careful reading and engagement with other students are the two most important course requirements. By the end of the day before class, please answer the study questions found in the syllabus below. Also, please come to class prepared to discuss those questions and the questions posed by the weekly discussion paper. Those leading class discussion may give additional assignments for their classes.

Assignments include (1) two of these co-authored, short discussion papers; (2) leadership in guiding two class discussions; (3) brief responses to study questions; (4) informed participation in class discussion, including helpful suggestions on other students' final paper projects; and (5) a final paper.

# **Leading Class Discussions**

During the first class, you will select in rank topics on which you're interested in guiding discussion. I will make assignments that best match preferences and post these to the Sakai course conference. Groups will have 60 to 75 minutes of class time.

You will need to complete the week's reading and to then meet with your group one full week before your class. Then, you will need to meet with me, after class, from 5:00 until 5:30 on a class Thursday before your class, for me to hear and approve your class plan.

Groups are to write a lesson plan, of no more than one page, with definitions, activities, questions, assignments, and any other elements that might be helpful, and to post that to the Sakai course conference by the end of the day on the Sunday before your class. To reinforce learning, groups will compose and post to the Sakai course conference by the end of the day on Wednesday before the following class, a one page summary of learning objectives. The group will review these and lead reflection for 10-15 minutes.

# Responses to Study Questions

You are required to post on our Sakai electronic conference answers to these questions by 6:00 pm on the Wednesday before the relevant class. Please read others' responses in preparation for class discussion.

# **Final Project**

You have a choice of two options for your final project: (1) conceiving of, analyzing and researching (with an emphasis on your analysis) and writing a final paper or (2) conceptualizing a plan and completing the forms for a 501(c)3, as a non-partisan, non-profit under the U.S. Internal Revenue Code.

# Option One - Paper and Proposals

The final paper must be fewer than 4,000 words (about 16 pages), and double-spaced. This word count includes quotations but not the endnotes or the bibliography. Please follow the guidelines below on paper design, writing style, and citation format.

Paper proposals are due by 4.00 pm on Monday, April 27. The proposal is not graded, but it is required. The proposal is a description of the project in no more than 500 words, excluding sources. The proposal must articulate a single, focused question that the paper will address, note the importance of addressing that question, justify the method or methods that will be used, and list the sources that have been identified. Proposal must be approved before students complete and submit their papers. The proposal and paper are to be sent to me, at ccandlan@ wellesley.edu, as an attachment to an email in .doc (not a .docx or .pdf) format.

# Final papers are due by 4.00 pm on Friday, May 15.

# Option Two - Forming a 501(c) 3

The option of establishing a 501(c)3 entails explaining the mission and vision, organizational design, social base, funding relations, government and political party and political candidate and office holder relations, leadership selection mechanism, and envisioned leadership qualities, among other important dimensions. Students will decide the state in which to register, explain why, and complete fully the appropriate registration forms. These must be completed properly for full credit. Students who choose this option will need to read Mark Warda's *How to Form a Non-Profit Corporation*, Naperville: Sphinx Publishing, 2004 and complete the forms therein.

If you aim to form a 501(c)3 as your final project, you must have my approval by Wednesday, April 15 by 4.00 pm. You will need to summarize your association and its aims and post these to the Sakai conference by 4.00 pm on Monday, April 27 for the discussion of final projects in the last class, on Thursday, May 7. The 501(c)3 forms and accompanying material are due by 4.00 pm on Friday, May 15.

#### Authorship and Plagiarism

Ideas, and the words that are used to express them, are authored. The writing that you submit under your name must be your original work. You are encouraged 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. You are not

permitted to allow others to edit your work for you.

Ideas exist because of someone's effort, however independent words might appear on the printed page. To represent another's ideas or words as your own, even if paraphrased, is a form of theft. Carefully citing all sources of ideas and words in your writing protects you from the charge of 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.

# Grading

Each discussion paper and each guided discussion is worth 10% of the final grade. The quality of class participation throughout the semester, including the classes in which we discuss final projects, is worth 20% of the final grade. The final project is worth 40% of the final grade.

# Reading

There is a great deal of reading. You will need to commit to 10 hours per week for reading. You will need to start reading straight away, and not let up, because there are some weeks that have more than you can do in a week. To stay ahead will require real effort.

All reading is available on the Sakai course conference or through links on the electronic version of the syllabus, which is on our Sakai course conference.

#### Accommodations

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

# Holidays

I encourage students who might participate in religious holidays that will effect participation in the course to discuss with me within the first two weeks of the semester

#### Class Schedule

Thursday, January 30

#### 1. Course Introduction and Self Introductions

Thursday, February 6

# 2. What is Development? How Is Poverty Produced?

Seabrook, "Development and Economics" and "Development and Human Needs" (Seabrook 1993: 7-22 and 199-204)

Farmer, "On Suffering and Structural Violence," (2003: 29-50, 270-277) PROSHIKA, Stories for the Livelihoods of the Extreme Poor Study, (PROSHIKA 2003: 1-45) UNDP, Human Development Report 2019, (UNDP 2019)

# Study Questions:

What is the relationship between development and poverty? Is poverty produced? What exactly is "the common ruin that unites both the beneficiaries and the victims of the capitalist scheme of things"? (Seabrook 1993) Why does Paul Farmer focus on suffering rather than poverty? What are the dominant features of structural violence as Farmer describes it? What are the major vulnerabilities faced by the people whose lives are profiled by PROSHIKA? How does the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) conceptualize poverty?

Thursday, February 13

# 3. How Can We Understand Rural Poverty?

Lipton, "The Rural Skill Drain" and "What Can Be Done?" (Lipton 1977: 259-269, 405-409 and 328-352, 421-423)

Chambers, "Rural Poverty Unperceived" and "Integrated Rural Poverty" (Chambers 1983: 2-27 and 103-139)

Dalrymple, "Green Revolution," (Dalrymple 2001: 337-338)

Hickel, "The True Extent of Global Poverty and Hunger" (2016: 749-767)

Study Question: What are the major obstacles that scholars from urban or advanced capitalist countries face when trying to understand poverty in rural settings?

Thursday, February 20

# 4. What is the Relationship between Gender, Informality, and Poverty?

Rose, "SEWA: Women in Movement" and "Women's Cooperatives: A Lever for Change" (Rose 1992: 15-35 and 202-243)

Fernando, "Nongovernmental Organizations, Micro-Credit, and Empowerment of Women" (Fernando and Heston 1997: 150-177)

Benería, "The Informal Sector and the Vicious Circle of Poverty" (Benería 2003: 108-120)

Vanek, Chen, Carré, Heintz and Hussmanns, Statistics on the Informal Economy: Definitions, Regional Estimates and Challenges, (WIEGO 2014: 5-31) available here

Coffey, Revollo, Harvey, Lawson, Butt, Piaget, Sarosi and Thekkudan, *Time to Care*, (Oxfam 2020: 9-49) available <u>here</u>

Study Question: What is the relationship between gender, informality, and the production of poverty?

Thursday, February 27

# 5. Why Do Individuals Form Communities?

Vinayak, "Time for Teamwork" (Vinayak 1997: 10)

Portes and Sensenbrenner, "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action" (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993: 1320-1350)

Grouch, Gerges, Segal, and Grouch, "The Grassroots Londolozi Model of African Development: Social Empathy in Action" (Grouch, Gerges, Segal, and Grouch 2012: 154-177)

Bowles and Gintis, "The Sociobiology of Human Cooperation" (Bowles and Gintis 2011: 46-78)

Candland, "Civil Society" and ""Social Capital" (Krieger 2013: 194-197 and 369-370) here and here

Bano, "Revisiting the Collective Action Dilemma" (Bano 2012: 1-27)

Uphoff, "The Rehabilitation of Altruism and Cooperation" (Uphoff 1992: 327-356)

Uphoff, "Social Energy as an Offset to Equilibrium" (Uphoff 1992: 357-387)

Study question: Why do individuals form communities?

Thursday, March 5

#### 6. How Do Community Development Organizations Work?

Ekins, "Development by People" (Ekins 1992: 112-138)

Uphoff, Esman, Krishna, "Table 1.1: Rural Development Cases Documented in Reasons for Hope" and "Table 1.2: Additional Rural Development Experiences Considered in Reasons for Success" (Uphoff, Esman, Krishna 1998: 12-18)

Carroll, "Tending to the Grassroots" (Carroll 1992: 9-24)

#### 1. Akhuwat (Pakistan)

Friends of Akhuwat. *Microfinance with a Difference* (Friends of Akhuwat: 2008: 1-83) Zaidi, "Institutional Review" (Zaidi nd: 1-38)

2. Grameen Bank (Bangladesh)

Ekins, "The Grameen Bank" (Ekins 1992: 122-124)

Yunus, "The Grameen Bank Story: Rural Credit in Bangladesh" (Krishna, Uphoff, and Esman 1997: 9-24)

Fernando, "Nongovernmental Organizations, Micro-Credit, and Empowerment of Women" (Fernando and Heston 1997: 150-177)

3. Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) (Bangladesh)

Ekins, "Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee" (Ekins 1992: 116-118)

Abed with Chowdhury, "The Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee: How BRAC Learned to Meet Rural People's Needs Through Local Action" (Krishna, Uphoff, and Esman 1997: 41-56)

Buckland, "Social Capital and Sustainability of NGO Intermediated Development Projects in Bangladesh" (Buckland 1998: 236-248)

4. Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) (India)

Rose, "SEWA: Women in Movement" and "Women's Cooperatives: A Lever for Change" (Rose 1992: 15-35 and 202-243)

SEWA, "We, the Self-Employed" (SEWA 2005) access at: http://www.sewa.org/newsletter/newsletter3.html

Study question: What are the different ways in which micro-credit works in empowering people through the above?

Thursday, March 12

No Class - College asked students to consider departing campus Informal / Optional Meeting

Thursday, March 19 No Class - Public health break Informal / Optional Meeting

Thursday, March 26 No Class - Spring Break Thursday, April 2

# 7. How Do Community Development Organizations Work?

# 5. Orangi Pilot Project (Pakistan)

Ekins, "Orangi Pilot Projects" (Ekins 1992: 188-192)

Khan, "The Orangi Pilot Project: Uplifting a Periurban Settlement near Karachi, Pakistan" (Krishna, Uphoff, and Esman 1997: 25-40)

#### 6. Landless Workers Movement (Brazil)

Pahnke, "Working with the Past: Incorporating Public Policy, Religion, and Prior Movement Tactics" (Pahnke 2018: 87-123)

Pahnke, "Dilemas and Challenges when Confronting an 'Allied Government' (Pahnke 2018:157-192)

Cha, Rein, and Ross, "Land for the People: Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement" (Cha, Rein, and Ross 2015: 52-57)

Valtmeyer and Petras, "The Social Dynamics of Brazil's Rural Landless Workers' Movement" (Valtmeyer and Petras 2001: 79-83)

#### 7. Green Belt Movement (Kenya)

Ekins, "Green Belt Movement" (Ekins 1992: 151-152)

Ndegwa, "The Green Belt Movement" (Ndegwa 1996: 81-107)

Aubrey, "Research Findings: A Barrage of Contradictions" (Aubrey 1997: xiv-xviii and 108-142)

Maathai, "Beginnings" and "Rise Up and Walk" (Maathai 2007: 1-28 and 277-290)

Merton and Dater, Taking Root: The Vision of Wangari Maathai (Merton and Dater 2008: video)

# 8. Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement (Sri Lanka)

Ekins, "Contrasts in Development" (Ekins 1992: 100-110)

Macy, "The Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement," "Religion and the Goals of Development," and "The Monk in Community Development" (Macy 1983: 21-50, 64-73 and 90-99)

Perera, "In Unequal Dialogue with Donors: The Experience of the Sarvodaya Shramadana Movement" (Hulme and Edwards 1997: 156-167)

Ariyaratna, Collected Works (with Candland)

#### 9. The United Farm Workers

Gunckel, "Building a Movement and Constructing Community: Photography, the United Farm Workers, and El Malcriado" (Gunckel 2016)

"Ceasar's Last Fast" (video in the Sakai course conference Media folder) California Department of Labor Thursday, April 9

# 8. How Do Community Development Work with Funders and Governments?

Sanyal, "NGOs' Self-Defeating Quest for Autonomy" (Fernando and Heston 1997: 21-32) Burger and Owens "Receive Grants or Perish? The Survival Prospects of Ugandan Non-Governmental Organisations" (Burger and Owens 2013: 1284-1298)

Najam, "The 3C's of NGO-Government Relations: Confrontation, Complementarity, Collaboration" (Najam 2000: 379-396)

Clark, "Relationships Between NGOs and Governments" (Clarke 1991: 64-69)

Uphoff, Esman, Krishna, "Dealing with Government and Politics"

(Uphoff, Esman, Krishna 1998: 175-195)

Intelligence Bureau, "Impact of NGOs on Development" (Intelligence Bureau 2014: 1-21)

Study question: Why do political parties including ruling political parties (i.e., governments) often consider non-governmental organizations as threats?

Thursday, April 16

# 9. What is the Relationship of Leadership and Participation to Organizational Learning?

Uphoff, Esman, Krishna, "Learning Process and Assisted Self-Reliance," "Initiation and Leadership," and "Local Organizations and Participation" (Uphoff, Esman, Krishna 1998: 19-87)

Fowler, "Regeneration through Learning" (Fowler 2000: 137-145)

Warren, "Leadership Development: Participation and Authority in Consensual Democracies" (Warren 2001: 211-238, 297-302)

Study question: What organizational structures are most conducive to 'organizational learning'?

Thursday, April 23

#### 10. Can Foreign Funders and Local Implementers Be Authentic Partners?

Uphoff, Esman, Krishna, "Utilization of External Assistance" and "Success and Sustainability" (Uphoff, Esman, Krishna 1998: 157-174 and 196-217)

Petras, "NGOs: In The Service of Imperialism" (Petras 1999: 429-441)

Fowler, "Authentic NGDO Partnership" (Fowler 1998: 137-159)

Bano, "Why Does Aid Break Down Cooperation?" (Bano 2012: 119-142)

Study question: In what ways can funding undermine community?

Thursday, April 30

# 11. How Does the Management of Information Effect Community Development Organizations?

Uphoff, Esman, Krishna, "Management, Planning, and Implementation," "Technology and Training," and "Information as a Management Tool" (Uphoff, Esman, Krishna 1998: 88-156)

Fowler, "Mobilizing Non-Financial Resources" (Fowler 2000: 68-79)

Wijayaratna and Uphoff, "Farmer Organization in Gal Oya: Improving Irrigation Management in Sri Lanka" (Krishna, Uphoff, and Esman 1997: 166-183)

Uphoff, "The Rehabilitation of Altruism and Cooperation" (Uphoff 1992: 327-356)

Uphoff, "Social Energy as an Offset to Equilibrium" (Uphoff 1992: 357-387)

Study question: What organizational structures are most conducive to participation?

Note: Class on May 6 is an extra and optional class.

Thursday, May 6

12. Why is Faith Important to Collective Action?

Candland, "Faith as Social Capital: Religion and Community Development in Southern Asia" (Candland 2000: 355-374) here

Candland and Nurjanah, "Women's Empowerment through Islamic Organizations" (Tyndale 2006: 1-12)

Klaiber, "The Catholic Church, Moral Education, and Citizenship in Latin America" (Klaiber 2010: 407-420)

Study question: Why is faith important to collective action?

**Note:** Final paper proposals are due by **4.00 pm on Monday, April 27.** Please send an electronic copy to me as an email attachment in .doc format and post to the Sakai course conference. You are to read others' proposals and to come to class with helpful suggestions on others' projects.

Note: Class on May 13 is an extra and optional class.

Thursday, May 13 13. Discussion of Paper Proposals

Between April 30 and May 7, please read others' paper proposals and NGO profile and come to class – on May 7 from 15.20 EST to 17.00 EST – with helpful suggestions on others' projects and be ready to take notes on others' helpful suggestions on your project.

**Note:** Final papers are due by Friday, May 15 at 4.00 pm. Please send to me an electronic copy in word format (.doc).

# **Bibliography**

Included here are full references to seminar reading and works that might be useful in preparing for class and writing papers.

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- Ae, Yuesoh Sma, and Muhamasukree Masaning, "Empty Seas, Empty Nets: Two Fishermen's Account of Their Livelihood," Snigda Vallabhaneni and Kathryn Cook, eds., Srisompob Jitpiromsri, trans., (mimeograph), 2000
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- Aubrey, Lisa, The Politics of Development Cooperation: NGOs, Gender and Partnership in Kenya, New York: Routledge, 1997
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- Bano, Masooda, Breakdown in Pakistan: How Aid is Eroding Institutions for Collective Action, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012
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- Barrett, Christopher, "Idea Gaps, Object Gaps, and Trust Gaps in Economic Development," The Journal of Developing Areas, 31: 4, (Summer 1997), 553-568
- Bebbington, Anthony, "Social Capital and Rural Intensification: Local Organizations and Islands of Sustainability in the Rural Andes," *Geographical Journal*, (July 1997), 163: 2, 189-197
- Bhatt, Ela, Armaity Desai, R. Thamarajakshi, Mrinal Pande, and Jaya Arunchalam, Shramshakti: A Summary of the Report of the National Commission on Self-Employed Women and the Informal Sector, Amedabad: Self-Employed Women's Association, 1989
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- Candland, Christopher, and Siti Nurjanah, "Women's Empowerment through Islamic Organizations: The Role of Indonesia's Nahdlatul Ulama in Transforming a Government Birth Control Program into a Family Welfare Program," in Wendy Tyndale, ed., Visions of Development: Spiritually Inspired Initiatives, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007, 94-101
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# Strategy for Your Final Paper

Please use this five-staged approach to plan, propose, and write your final paper.

#### 1. Articulate a question.

The most crucial and most difficult task in designing a good paper is posing a productive question. Take some time to figure out what is most puzzling or most unsatisfying about what you have read and learned in the study of community development. It is not useful to pose a question the answer to which is presentation of information alone. A fruitful question is often posed as a puzzle; and a successful paper presents a new way of looking at or resolving that puzzle.

2. Explain briefly why that question is important to study of community development.

In the face of the literature, or in the face of common sense, briefly explain why the question or puzzle demands an answer.

3. Defend briefly a strategy for addressing that question.

Different questions demand different methodological approaches. A single case study can answer some questions. Others require explicit comparative analysis. Some questions require interpretive approaches; others statistical analysis. (For discussion of methodological approaches, see Charles Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies.*)

Explain briefly what your approach can deliver. (e.g., "Comparing micro-credit programs provided by organizations that offer union membership with micro-credit programs provided by organizations that do not allows one to assess whether enforced reciprocity is sufficient or whether bonded solidarity is necessary for micro-credit to transform women's lives.")

# 4. Apply that strategy.

Most of your paper should be devoted to analysis. Having done the difficult work of framing the paper with a question and devising a strategy for addressing that question, the analytical steps should be clear.

#### 5. Draw conclusions.

In your conclusion, state forcefully what you established. Avoid the temptations to introduce some last minute variable that might explain more, to speculate on the future, or to make policy recommendations.

# Writing Suggestions for Your Final Paper

Focus. A narrower argument is almost always more defensible and more interesting than a general argument. Be succinct. The text of your final paper – not including footnotes and bibliography – must be below the word limit. Accordingly, it is best to write long rough drafts and to then 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.

In your introduction, state your question, approach, and argument. 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 a theory of community development requires attention to gender" leads the reader to divide 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., "A theory of community development requires attention to gender.")

Distinguish between governments, states, regimes, nations, and countries and be clear about the concept to which you refer. (See details below.) Do not use country names as substitutes for states, 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 conceived as a community that believes it is united by a collective identity, perhaps by citizenship, culture, ethnicity, history, language, religion, territory, or some mixture of these. A 'nation-state,' wherein the borders of national identity and state authority coincide perfectly, is a compelling notion and often used to legitimate government, but is non-existent. 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 are non-state actors.

Please use Chicago style, give full citations in endnotes, and provide a bibliography.

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

# Basic Concepts for the Study of Politics

Political scientists do not always use the core concepts of their discipline consistently. For example, some political scientists use 'state,' 'government,' and 'nation' interchangeably. As a result, it can be difficult to evaluate some claims. The definitions below are provided so that we can know with some certainty what we mean when we use these core concepts.

# What is government?

A government is that group of people who have the authority to manage a state. Governments change more frequently than states, bureaucracies, or regimes.

#### What is a state?

A state is a collection of institutions that creates and imposes rules (the law) for behavior within a defined territory. A state might be capable of doing some things (e.g., going to war) better than others (e.g., educating the citizenry), but the state does not have a will of its own. The state is inanimate. Like a knife, it can be used to cut; but it does not itself cut. That a government – the people who run the state – is selected democratically does not mean that the state is democratically organized. Indeed, there is no such thing as a 'democratic state.' States are organized undemocratically.

# What is a bureaucracy?

A bureaucracy is a group of people who manages a state on behalf of government; they do not have independent political authority. Civil servants are sometimes referred to as the 'permanent government' because they are intended to not have independent political authority; this way, they can serve different governments without questions about their loyalty. Political appointees, on the other hand, come and go with the government that appoints them. Political appointees are a part of the government, not part of the bureaucracy.

#### What is an institution?

An institution is a pattern of behavior supported by culture and custom (i.e., informal institutions) or by law and regulation (i.e., formal institutions). Marriage, for example, is an institution, created both formally and informally. In electoral regimes, regular competitive elections for political office are an institution.

# What is a regime?

A regime is a system for the selection of a government. A military regime is one in which the military selects the government. An electoral regime is one in which elections determine the government. A theocratic regime is one in which the government is ordained by God.

#### What is a nation?

A nation is based on the idea that people who have a similar identity – cultural, ethnic, historical, geographic, linguistic, political, religious, or some mixture of these – belong together. The constitutive elements of national identity are not fixed. Some nations are based more on linguistic characteristics; some more on religious characteristics; and these elements change, sometimes precipitously. Countries always contain people whom the defenders of 'the nation' consider to be alien to 'the nation.' As such, 'the nation' is a powerful but fictional idea. Because it does not actually exist, it can be portrayed as if it were under threat by aliens within and outside 'the nation.'

#### What is the nation-state?

The are no states that have authority over a whole nation because the 'nation' is notional; it is not fixed. The 'nation-state' is an idea, that people who have cultural, ethnic, historical, linguistic, political, or religious differences (or some combination of these) deserve to be constituted under different states.

#### What is a country?

A country is the territory over which a government has a claim to authority and a claim that other governments recognize. As a country is a territory, reference to Christian or Muslim countries, like Christian or Muslim states, is not sensible. Only people can have a faith. Inanimate entities such as countries and states do not and cannot have faith.