Religious free exercise conflicts occur when religiously compelled
behavior (whether action or inaction) appears to violate a law that
contraindicates or even criminalizes such behavior. Fearful of the
anarchy of religious conscience, the U.S. Supreme Court opted instead
for authoritarianism in this church and state matter: The state's need
for civil order is conclusively presumed to be achieved by enforcing
uniform obedience to generally applicable laws, and thus legislation
must trump the human and constitutional right to religious freedom.
Rejecting the Court's unthinking rigorism, the book more appropriately
views a free exercise case as a conflict of principles or “goods”: the basic
constitutional and human right to freedom of conscience and religious
freedom versus the societal good furthered and protected by the
legislation. The book recommends an alternative analytical free exercise
process grounded within the common law tradition as well as social
ethics: casuistry. Casuistical reasoning requires a careful analysis of the
particulars and factual context of the case, and relies upon analogies
and paradigmatic illustrations to get to the heart of the principles at
issue. The book furthermore explores the panoply of theories, self‐
understandings, typologies, contexts, and societal constructs at play in
free exercise conflicts, and in the final chapters applies casuistry to two
free exercise situations, spiritual healing methods applied to children,
and ingestion of sacramental peyote in Native American Church rituals.
Robust authoritarian governments are better placed than democratic governments to implement unpopular reforms effectively, so it might seem that they have a better chance of tackling human induced climatic and environmental deterioration. The fact that it is easier for authoritarian governments to implement unpopular policies can perhaps be illustrated by China’s one-child policy which has enabled this nation to curb population growth more effectively than for instance India. However, history shows that the unpopular policies implemented by authoritarian regimes more often serve to consolidate the power of the ruling elite, or to enrich it, than promote the interest of societies overall. Therefore, a shift from democracy to authoritarianism is not an acceptable way to come to terms with human induced climate change and environmental destruction.

Engendering Transitions
Georgina Waylen

Published in print: 2007 Published Online: September 2007
Publisher: Oxford University Press DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199248032.001.0001

This book examines the roles that women's mobilizations have played in processes of democratization and the impact of transitions to democracy on gender relations. In an over-arching and thematic analysis, it compares transitions from state socialism and authoritarianism that took place as part of the ‘third wave’ of democratization that swept the world from the 1970s onwards. Using case study material drawn from eight countries primarily in Latin America and East Central Europe as well as South Africa, the book explores the gendered constraints and opportunities provided by processes of democratization and economic restructuring. It develops an analytical framework that brings together the analysis of key actors and institutions, and shows that under certain conditions, transitions to democracy can result in some positive gender outcomes such as improvements in women's political representation and more ‘gender sensitive’ policy in areas such as domestic violence. The book argues that women's mobilization during transitions is no guarantee of success and change is easier to achieve in some areas than others. Understanding the different roles that can be played by organized women's movements, key actors, institutions, and the wider political environment, such as the international context, is crucial in helping to explain why gender outcomes vary in different circumstances. The book therefore aims to address important debates within the study of both comparative politics and gender and politics.
This is an analysis of how fundamental change came about in the Soviet Union and of the part played by political leadership. In its most general aspect, it is a contribution to the literature on democratization and transitions from authoritarian rule. More specifically, it examines the evolution of Mikhail Gorbachev as a reformist politician and his major role in the political transformation of the Soviet Union and in ending the Cold War. The failures as well as the successes of perestroika are examined – economic reform that left the system in limbo and the break-up of the Soviet state that Gorbachev had attempted to hold together on the basis of a new and voluntary federation or looser confederation. The institutional power of the General Secretary was such that only a reformer in that office could undertake peaceful systemic change in such a long-established, post-totalitarian authoritarian regime as the USSR, with its sophisticated instruments of control and coercion. In embracing the pluralization of the Soviet political system and thereby removing the monopoly of power of the Communist Party, Gorbachev undermined his own power base. His embrace of new ideas, amounting to a conceptual revolution, combined with his power of appointment, made possible, however, what Gorbachev himself described as revolutionary change by evolutionary means. Mikhail Gorbachev's lasting merit lies in the fact that he presided over, and facilitated, the introduction of freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of association, religious freedom, and freedom of movement, and left Russia a freer country than it had been in its long history.

There are two great mysteries in the political economy of South Korea. How could a destroyed country in next to no time become a sophisticated and affluent economy? And how could a ruthlessly authoritarian regime metamorphose with relative ease into a stable democratic polity? To make sense of these mysteries the book follows two narratives for the period from 1945 to 2000. One is about social policy from its feeble roots
in poor relief in the colonial period, early land reform, and the influx of foreign voluntary agencies in the first years of independence. And the second one is about the state and its shifting foundations in democracy, cronyism, chaebŏl capitalism, and dictatorship. South Korea took off to modernization in the authoritarian period. The authoritarian leaders created a Janus-faced state, which used hard power in the controlling of forces from below but in governance the softer strategy of mobilizing social forces into its design. There is no support in The Korean State for the theory that authoritarianism is conducive to development but every support for the theory that state leadership, authoritarian or not, depends on the mode of governance. Authoritarianism usually results in the crushing of civil society, but the South Korean brand inadvertently left a legacy of vibrant civil society institutions. Dismantling the hard power apparatus of the state still left the governance part intact. That part of the state the democratic rulers who came in when the authoritarian ones were overthrown could put to work for their purposes with little difficulty. This book is about many things: development and modernization, dictatorship and democracy, state capacity and governance, social protection and welfare states, and Korean history. But finally it is about lifting social policy analysis out of the ghetto of self-sufficiency it is often confined to and into the center ground of hard political science, where we think it belongs.

Russia: The Authoritarian Adaptation of an Electoral System

Steven White

in The Politics of Electoral Systems

Published in print: 2005 Published Online: February 2006

Russia’s mixed parallel system was adopted after the collapse of communism, following a series of negotiations and disagreements between parliament and president. The high thresholds applied in the PR-list component of elections resulted in considerable disproportionality and a significant number of votes cast for parties that failed to reach the threshold. The fact that the lists were closed led to very weak links between list MPs and citizens. The single-member constituencies, contrary to the predictions of Duverger’s Law, have not favoured the larger parties, but have seen the election of many independent MPs. The elimination of the single-member constituencies proposed by president Putin is part of a broader authoritarian adaptation of the electoral process.
Vladimir Putin's Political Choice: Towards Bureaucratic Authoritarianism

Lilia Shevtsova

in Leading Russia: Putin in Perspective: Essays in Honour of Archie Brown

Published in print: 2005 Published Online: February 2006
Item type: chapter

This chapter examines Putin’s efforts to strengthen the state, which subjects society and individuals to its will. It argues that by cancelling out the democratic achievements of the Gorbachev and Yeltsin years, Putin’s new rules have taken Russia back to the point from which it tried to move forward in the 1980s. In short, Putin’s leadership has traditionalist elements that negate the transformational paradigm.

Gorbachev and Political Transformation

Archie Brown

in The Gorbachev Factor

Published in print: 1997 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

A central thesis of the book, elaborated especially in this chapter, is that from the outset of his General Secretaryship, Gorbachev was seriously interested in political change as well as in economic reform, but that in the course of the struggle to introduce it, he came to the realization that reform was not enough and that the political system had to be comprehensively transformed. The chapter discusses six stages of transformation between March 1985 and December 1991 as well as the fourfold nature of the transformation that was required: first, the movement from authoritarianism to political pluralism; second, the need to move from a command economy with virtually 100% state ownership of the means of production to a market economy with a substantial private sector; third, the need to create a genuine federation or a looser confederation in place of the pseudo-federalism in which the aspirations of the more self-conscious nations within the Soviet borders had been ruthlessly suppressed; and, fourth, the need to transform foreign policy. The dilemma for Gorbachev was that the fourfold transformation was an interlinked process: any three of these basic changes were likely to be undermined by the absence of a fourth; yet, as each was implemented to a greater or lesser degree, its side effects produced complications.
in the other spheres. Among the political changes analysed are the breakthrough represented by the Nineteenth Party Conference of 1988, the movement from party to state power, the advent of contested elections for a new legislature, the indirect election by that legislature of Gorbachev as President, and the failure to split the Communist Party.

Introduction
Alexandra Barahona de Brito, Carmen González-Enríquez, and Paloma Aguilar

in The Politics of Memory and Democratization

The general aim of this book is to shed light on how countries deal with legacies of repression during a transition from authoritarian or totalitarian rule to democratic rule. Two broad kinds of transition are covered: those that occur as a result of the collapse of the old regimes or regime forces, as in Portugal, Argentina, Central and Eastern Europe, Russia and Germany after reunification, where collapse was followed by absorption into another state; and those that are negotiated between an incoming democratic elite and an old regime, as in Spain, the southern cone of Latin America, Central America and South Africa. Because of this range of transitional situations, it is possible to see how varying degrees of political, social and institutional constraints affect the solutions adopted or limit opportunities to deal with the past, and to permit a comparative analysis of the variety of policies adopted, establishing links between one and the other. The book concentrates on the presence (or absence) of three kinds of official or government-sponsored efforts to come to terms with the past: truth commissions, trials and amnesties, and purges; to a lesser extent, it also looks at policies of compensation, restitution or reparation. At the same time, it focuses on unofficial and private initiatives emerging from within society to deal with the past – usually promoted by human rights organizations (HROs), churches, political parties and other civil society organizations; in doing this, the book examines a ‘politics of memory’ whereby societies rework the past in a wider cultural arena, both during the transitions and after official transitional policies have been implemented and even forgotten. The different sections of the Introduction are: Truth and Justice in Periods of Political Change: An Overview; What Can be Done about an Authoritarian Past? Limits and Possibilities of Transition Types and Other Variables; Beyond the Transitional Period: Authoritarian and Long-Term Historical Legacies; Truth, Justice and Democracy; and Memory Making and Democratization.
Constitutionalism in Belarus: A False Start
Alexander Lukashuk

in Democratic Consolidation in Eastern Europe Volume 1: Institutional Engineering

Published in print: 2001 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

Describes the failure of the constitution-drafting process to contribute to democratic consolidation in Belarus. Today, Belarus is considered the worst authoritarian regime in Eastern Europe. The chapter characterizes the Constitution of Belarus as an occasionally used tool for manipulation by the country's autocratic president. While the president considers the Constitution he drafted to be the sole foundation of law in the country, the democratic opposition considers it illegal and illegitimate. Nevertheless, as the focal point of the struggle between President Lukashenka and the democratic opposition, the significance of the Constitution remains strong. The chapter emphasizes how certain choices and omissions in the constitution-drafting process laid the foundation for the current undemocratic regime. The chapter indicates reasons behind the failure of constitutionalism in Belarus, such as a weak national identity, the absence of economic reforms during the first five years of independence, the state monopoly of the electronic media, and Russia's strong economic and political support of the Belarus's authoritarian leader.

Comparative Politics: Democratization Studies
Laurence Whitehead

in A New Handbook of Political Science

Published in print: 1998 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

Provides an overview of the sub-field of democratization. Three questions are asked of democratization studies: ‘who is it for?’, ‘what is it like?’, and ‘how is it done?’. Methodological and theoretical issues arising are discussed, including relativism and normative dilemmas, contingency in causation, process, concept formation, and objectivity. Democratization is singled out for its growth as a discipline and its inherent tensions in subjectivity and prescription. The latter should not limit the former.
The entire double process of legitimation and consensus building in the four cases is illustrated with reference to survey data and other sets of data. Attitudes toward politics, democracy, and authoritarianism are discussed in greater detail. The main explanations of the entire legitimation process are provided. The main forms and paths of legitimation are suggested.

Belarus and Ukraine: Democracy Building in a Grey Security Zone

Taras Kuzio

Compares different paths of democratic consolidation in Belarus and Ukraine since the disintegration of the USSR. The author argues that Ukraine has evolved beyond ‘Electoral Democracy’ towards ‘Liberal Democracy’. By contrast, after 1994 Belarus has seen democratic erosion and regression from ‘Electoral Democracy’ to authoritarianism. The chapter advances three propositions. Firstly, the strength of ethnicity and national identity at the start of transition process can have a direct impact upon the choice of strategy, speed, and domestic policies adopted by the ruling elites. Secondly, the elites have little choice but to choose a foreign policy orientated towards ‘returning to Europe’—the source of security assurance and technical and financial assistance. Thirdly, the international community can play a highly positive role by providing incentives and assistance that persuade countries that have embarked on democratization to continue the process in the hope of reaching the final destination of democratic consolidation. The chapter is divided into three parts. The first places the transition in Ukraine, Belarus, and the rest of the former USSR within a theoretical
and comparative framework by focusing on domestic factors. The second part discusses the international influences faced by a country that has participated in the reform process (Ukraine), and Russian influences on a country that has not done so (Belarus). The last two parts examine Ukraine's 'return to Europe' and Belarus' 'return to Eurasia'.

The Authoritarian Alternative: ‘Anti‐Politics’ In the Popular Sectors of Lima
Aldo Panfichi

Explores the emergence and success of President Alberto Fujimori as the dominant political figure in Peru during the first half of the 1990s. It is particularly concerned with explaining the support of a broad sector of the urban population of Lima for an authoritarian, personalistic leader. It attributes Fujimori's rise and success to the conjunction of three factors in a specific historical moment: (1) the dramatic worsening of a long-term economic crisis and consequent generalized sense of insecurity and despair; (2) the discrediting of democratic institutions and the whole range of established political parties across the ideological spectrum combined with the indiscriminate violence of guerilla insurgents; and (3) the emergence of personalistic and authoritarian leaders from social sectors marginal to the political system who offer hope for a better future. Fujimori's background as an unknown Peruvian of Japanese descent and his ability to use his 'outsider' status to articulate a symbolic connection with the Peruvian popular classes and a critique of the political establishment were crucial to his political and electoral success.

Promoting Capitalist Polyarchy: The Case of Latin America
William Robinson

Argues that the shift in the US policy from supporting authoritarianism to promoting polyarchy in much of the Third World corresponds to
the emergence of a global capitalist economy and is meant to ‘make the world safe for capital’. Authoritarianism is seen as an increasingly ineffective mechanism of social control and is replaced by polyarchic regimes that do not pursue any fundamental class redistribution of political and economic power. The author examines some instances of US polyarchy promotion in Latin America.

The Mediterranean Countries: Too Late for Nostalgia, Too Early for Post-material Protest
Piero Ignazi

in Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe
Published in print: 2003 Published Online: January 2005
Item type: chapter
Publisher: Oxford University Press DOI: 10.1093/0198293259.003.0012

The extreme right never took hold in Spain, Portugal, and Greece. Their relatively new democratic regimes as well as socio-economic change eliminated the foundations of right-extremist values, and distanced the public from its traditional authoritarianism and neo-fascist heritage. Moreover, the extreme right did not provide sufficient organisational and political articulation for the populist anti-system protest during the mid-1980s, thus failing to attract a sizeable audience.

Globalization Manqué
Yezid Sayigh

in The Third World Beyond the Cold War: Continuity and Change
Published in print: 2000 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter
Publisher: Oxford University Press DOI: 10.1093/0198295510.003.0010

The main strategic, economic, and political changes in the Middle East since the end of the cold war are outlined, and an attempt made to account for the linkages between them. It is argued, first, that a combination of external and internal factors has reinforced the fragmentation of the Middle East state system, and further undermined prospects for regional cooperation or integration in the security, economic, and political spheres. The record of economic liberalization is examined, before analysing the process of political liberalization. In both cases the focus is on the state, since that is the level at which management of the domestic and external environments is conducted. This allows consideration in the conclusion of the extent to which
changes in the region can be directly attributed to the end of the cold war, and of the assumptions about the relationship between the international system and its regional and national units, particularly with regard to the impact of globalization on the nation state and domestic structures of political power.

The Survivor and the Savant: Two Schemes for Civil Religion Compared
Terence Ball

in Reappraising Political Theory: Revisionist Studies in the History of Political Thought
Published in print: 1994 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

This chapter compares and contrasts the schemes for a civil religion advanced by Auguste Comte and James Mill, which contrasts the former's illiberal and priestly views with the latter's liberal and low-church conception of the role of religion in a modern and largely secular society. The purpose of Mill's civil religion is pedagogical: it seeks to impart civically useful knowledge and to instil a sense of civic responsibility and restraint. This stands in stark contrast to Comte's civil religion, which seeks to stifle criticism, manipulate the emotions, and procure assent to an authoritarian and undemocratic system of priestly rule.

The Political Dimension
Roland Dannreuther

in The Third World Beyond the Cold War: Continuity and Change
Published in print: 2000 Published Online: November 2003
Item type: chapter

Aims to contribute to the emerging debate over the nature of capitalist development and its relationship to the social and political developments in different regions of the world, by suggesting an analytical framework for assessing the implications of these recent developments for the political structures within developing countries. The first section seeks to isolate the most important structural and international factors that have contributed to the democratizing trend in the developing world. The second section looks beyond these general trends and assesses the existing social, economic and political conditions of most developing
countries, focussing, in particular on the continuing internal and external obstacles to democratization. The final section attempts to draw from this analysis an overarching assessment of the direction of political change in the developing world, and the most appropriate models or approaches for understanding the underlying dynamic of these changes.

**Authoritarianism, Democracy and the Supreme Court: Horizontal Exchange and the Rule of Law in Mexico**

Beatriz Magaloni

in Democratic Accountability in Latin America

Published in print: 2003 Published Online: April Publisher: Oxford University Press

2005 DOI: 10.1093/0199256373.003.0009
Item type: chapter

This chapter examines the relationship between authoritarianism, democracy and the emergence of Supreme Court independence in Mexico. It presents three mechanisms to explain why party hegemony meant unrestrained rule by the president; strong dominance of the president over the Supreme Court; and the absence of a rule of law. These are: a flexible constitution that could be modified by the power it was supposed to restrain; the president’s unilateral control of nominations and dismissals; and constitutional rules that delegated insufficient constitutional powers to the Supreme Court to interpret the constitution.