

PS H100: INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Irfan Nooruddin

Winter Quarter 2005

The Ohio State University

Time: MW 9:30 am – 11:18 pm

Location: 0434 Bolz Hall

2084 Derby Hall

Office Hours: T 2:00 – 4:00 pm

E-mail: nooruddin.3@osu.edu

“Those who know how to think need not teachers.” – Mahatma Gandhi

“As revolutionaries, we are not afraid of confrontation.”

—Fidel Castro, *Address to the UN General Assembly, 1978.*

This course is designed to provide the participants with an overview of important topics in comparative politics. Each class, we will discuss some area of the scholarly literature, usually focusing on a major theoretical controversy. Topics we will cover include, but are not limited to, social movements, political participation, revolutions and revolts, electoral and party politics, democratization, political culture, political and economic development, and the various linkages there in. We will study these topics using the powerful tool of the comparative method, whereby we will utilize the variation across states to formulate and evaluate generalizable explanations for various political phenomena. The course will combine lecture and discussion with some combination of participation, papers and “blue book” exams (if necessary) forming the basis for the grade. No knowledge of history, economics, or political science is required for this course. Rather the only prerequisite is a desire to learn about how politics happens around the world and to seek the “truth” about the unknowable.

Over the next two months we will grapple with a number of fascinating intellectual puzzles. At times clear-cut answers will seem nonexistent but in our journey towards understanding we will gain the analytical skills to study issues concerning comparative politics. If there is a cardinal rule for this class, it is simply this: **we do not know the truth.** There is no right or wrong answer *per se*. As political *scientists* our purpose is to examine hypotheses using diverse methodologies in the hope of disproving some and finding stronger evidence for others. All we have is data and all we can do with it is analyze it. So leave preconceived notions of “how the world works” at the door and enter this classroom with an open mind.

The Great Adventure

“A college is where people of varying degrees of ignorance sit around trying to make their ignorance less”—President Lowry, The College of Wooster, August 1960.

“And so I have always thought that the best way to find out what is right and what is not right, what should be done and what should not be done, is not by giving a sermon, but by talking and discussing, and out of discussion sometimes a little bit of the truth comes out.”—Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History.*

Being relatively few in number, our class sessions will cover less material than the assigned readings; consequently they are even more selective and more interpretative than the readings. The purpose of discussions is to give YOU an opportunity to engage the material and to analyze it immediately, directly, and creatively. Students are *strongly* encouraged to raise questions as they occur to them—to think out loud while the idea is still fresh. Be sure to ask a question whenever a word or concept is unfamiliar to you and to keep them in your notes. Class will generally begin

with a chance for you to raise questions based upon the previous reading, discussion, assignment or lecture. If you are puzzled or unsure about something chances are that other members of the class are too! Asking questions is emphatically not an interruption. Rather, it is a crucial and essential feature of a good class. Remember, if you already knew the answers, you wouldn't need to take the class. ASKING QUESTIONS IS NOT AN ADMISSION OF IGNORANCE; IT IS AN ATTACK ON IT.

If this is going to work, you must do **all** the assigned readings **before** we meet for class. There are no exceptions to this expectation. I sincerely encourage you to cultivate the habit of taking good reading notes. While this greatly increases the amount of time it takes to do the reading, you will find that it enhances your learning and retention of the material. After all, if a book is worth reading, it is worth reading with some care and attention. Of course some of the material will be fairly complex and you may not understand it when you first read through it. Three suggestions in this regard: 1) Re-read the piece, 2) Re-reread the piece and 3) Ask questions in class.

Course Requirements

PAPER #1	25 %
PAPER #2	30%
PAPER #3	35%
SECTION ASSIGNMENTS*	10 %

* Section assignments include, but are not limited to, a) attendance, b) participation, c) reading AND map quizzes, d) think-pieces, e) you get the idea.

Policies and Procedures

Students with Disabilities

Students who feel they need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss their specific needs. Please contact the Office of Disability Services at 614-292-3307 in Room 150 Pomerene Hall to coordinate reasonable accommodations.

Attendance

Since the purpose of our time together is discussion, attendance is a must. You cannot participate if you are not physically in class. If you accumulate three absences during the semester, your participation grade will be docked half a letter grade (i.e., it will be lowered from an A- to a B+, for instance). For each additional absence past three, there will be an additional penalty of the same magnitude.

Extensions and Make-ups

Extensions will NOT be granted. You will be informed of all assignments well in advance, so good planning and time management skills will benefit you. Assignments must be handed to **me** in class on the day they are due (or before that date if you want). Late assignments will suffer a penalty of half a letter grade per day it is late. Make-up examinations and quizzes are NOT permitted. Also, there will be NO opportunities for extra credit.

Academic Dishonesty

Academic integrity is essential to maintaining an environment that fosters excellence in teaching, research, and other educational and scholarly activities. Thus, The Ohio State University and the Committee on Academic Misconduct (COAM) expect that all students have read and understand the University's Code of Student Conduct, and that all students will complete all academic and scholarly assignments with fairness and honesty. Students must recognize that failure to follow the rules and guidelines established in the University's Code of Student Conduct and this syllabus may constitute "Academic Misconduct."

The Ohio State University's Code of Student Conduct (Section 3335-23-04) defines academic misconduct as: "Any activity that tends to compromise the academic integrity of the University, or subvert the educational process." Examples of academic misconduct include (but are not limited to) plagiarism, collusion (unauthorized collaboration),

copying the work of another student, and possession of unauthorized materials during an examination. Ignorance of the University's Code of Student Conduct is never considered an "excuse" for academic misconduct, so I recommend that you review the Code of Student Conduct and, specifically, the sections dealing with academic misconduct.

If I suspect that a student has committed academic misconduct in this course, I am obligated by University Rules to report my suspicions to the Committee on Academic Misconduct. If COAM determines that you have violated the University's Code of Student Conduct (i.e., committed academic misconduct), the sanctions for the misconduct could include a failing grade in this course and suspension or dismissal from the University.

If you have any questions about the above policy or what constitutes academic misconduct in this course, please contact me.

Other sources of information on academic misconduct (integrity) to which you can refer include:

- * The Committee on Academic Misconduct web pages (oaa.osu.edu/coam/home.html)
- * Ten Suggestions for Preserving Academic Integrity (oaa.osu.edu/coam/ten-suggestions.html)
- * Eight Cardinal Rules of Academic Integrity (www.northwestern.edu/uacc/8cards.html)

E-mail

E-mail is the best way to stay in touch with me but I insist on two rules if this interaction is to be mutually beneficial. First, don't expect instant responses. While I will do my best to reply to you promptly, I feel no obligation to do so within a few hours of receiving your e-mail. Nor am I obligated to check my e-mail every hour so there's a distinct possibility that I sometimes won't see your e-mail for a day after it's sent. If I don't respond within a week, then it's entirely appropriate (and appreciated) if you remind me politely. Second, while some, more avant-garde and sophisticated than I, would abandon all rules of spelling, punctuation, and grammar when one is writing e-mail, I resist the temptation to do the same and insist that all official correspondence with me conform to standard rules of academic writing.

Grading

Grading will be based upon (a) accuracy of factual information; (b) ability to synthesize the appropriate evidence, both theoretical and empirical, from all parts of the course not just rehashing the texts; (c) judgment in separating the important from the trivial, keeping on the subject, critically evaluating all assumptions [including your own and mine]; and (d) effective expression—organization, choice of words, basic grammar, etc. These are the essentials; imagination and true originality are based on them and not a substitute for them.

“Without struggle, there can be no progress”—Frederick Douglass

From the Faculty Rules (Rule 3355-8-24 A1): “One credit hour shall be assigned for each **three hours** per week of the average student's time, including class hours, required to earn the average grade of ‘C’ in this class.”

Be prepared to work in this course. The value of this class to you will be in direct proportion to the amount of time and effort that you devote to it. If there is a question in your mind as to whether you want to complete all the work in this course you should consider enrolling in another course without delay. I will give you my best effort, and I expect nothing less from you.

Inqilab Zindabad
Question Assumptions

What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty or democracy?

-- Mahatma Gandhi, 1869-1948, “Non-violence in Peace and War.”

The Smorgasbord

REQUIRED

[1] A coursepack of readings is available for purchase at SBX, as are the two books listed below.

[2] Allen, John L. 2003. *Student Atlas of World Politics*, 6th edition. New York: Dushkin McGraw-Hill. [ISBN #: 0-07-28730-3.]

[3] Strunk, William, and E.B.White. 2000. *The Elements of Style*, 4th edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. [ISBN #: 020530902X.]

Schedule of Readings

WEEK ONE

Monday, January 03: *Getting to Know Me, Getting to Love Me, aka., Introductions*

Wednesday, January 05: *The Comparative Method*

[1] Robert Bates. 1997. "Area Studies and the Discipline: A Useful Controversy," *PS: Political Science and Politics* (June): 166-169.

[2] Arend Lijphart. 1971. "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method," *American Political Science Review*, 65: 682-693.

WEEK TWO

Monday, January 10: *Political Development I: Modernization Theory*

[1] Daniel Lerner. 1958. *The Passing of Traditional Society*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, chapter 1.

[2] Karl Deutsch. 1971. "Social Mobilization and Political Development." In *Political Development and Social Change*, edited by Jason Finkle and Richard Gable. Pages 384-405.

Wednesday, January 12: *Political Development II: Dependency Theory*

[1] Paul Baran. 1952. "On the Political Economy of Backwardness," *Manchester School of Social and Economic Studies*, XX (1, January): 66-84.

[2] Ander Gunder Frank. 1966. "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review*, (September): 17-31.

[3] Tony Smith. 1979. "The Underdevelopment of Development Literature: The Case of Dependency Theory," *World Politics*, 31 (2): 247-288.

[4] J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," *Comparative Politics*, 10 (4, July): 535-552.

WEEK THREE

Monday, January 17: **MLK Day (No Class)**

Wednesday, January 19: *Political Development III*

[1] Samuel P. Huntington. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Chp 1.

[2] Samuel P. Huntington. 1971. "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development, and Politics," *Comparative Politics*, 3 (April): 283-322.

WEEK FOUR

Monday, January 24: *State-Making*

[1] Charles Tilly. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 67-91.

[2] Richard Bean. 1973. "War and the Birth of the Nation State," *Journal of Economic History*.

[3] Robert Bates. 1983. "The Centralization of African Societies." In *Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Wednesday, January 26: Nationalism

- [1] Ernst B. Haas. 1986. "What is Nationalism and Why Should We Study It?" *International Organization*, 40 (3, Summer): 707-741.
- [2] Benedict Anderson. 1991. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, pp. 1-46, 163-206.
- [3] Lowell W. Barrington. 1997. "Nation and Nationalism: The Misuse of Key Concepts in Political Science," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 30 (4, December): 712-716.

WEEK FIVE

Monday, January 31: Political Culture I: Almond & Verba

- [1] Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 1-45.
- [2] Ann Swidler. 1986. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review*, 51 (April): 272-286.
- [3] Clifford Geertz. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Harper & Row, Chps. 1, 11.

Wednesday, February 02: Political Culture II: Inglehart

- [1] Ronald Inglehart. 1997. *Modernization and Post-modernization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 216-237.
- [2] Robert W. Jackman and Ross A. Miller. 1996. "A Renaissance of Political Culture?" *American Journal of Political Science*, 40 (3, August): 632-659.
- [3] David J. Elkins and Richard E.B. Simeon. 1979. "A Cause in Search of Its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics*, 11 (January): 127-146.

WEEK SIX

Monday, February 07: Democratization I

- [1] Seymour Martin Lipset. 1960. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Chp. 2.
- [2] Barrington Moore. 1966. *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Beacon, pp. 413-452.

Wednesday, February 09: Democratization II

- [1] Samuel P. Huntington. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, pp. 3-31, 280-317.
- [2] Robert Dahl. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 1-32.

WEEK SEVEN

Monday, February 14: Presidentialism and Parliamentarism

- [1] Douglas Verney. 1992. "Parliamentary Government and Presidential Government." In *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. Oxford University Press.
- [2] Matthew Shugart and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies*. Cambridge UP, Chp 1.
- [3] George Tsebelis. 2003. *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*. Princeton UP, Chp 3.
- [4] Matthew Shugart and Stephan Haggard. 2001. "Institutions and Public Policy in Presidential Systems." In *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy*, edited by Stephan Haggard and Mathew D. McCubbins. Cambridge UP, Chp 3.
- [5] Matthew Shugart. 1999. "Presidentialism, Parliamentarism and the Provision of Collective Goods in Less-Developed Countries," *Constitutional Political Economy*, 10 (1, March): 53-88.

Wednesday, February 16: Elections and Parties

- [1] Anthony Downs. 1957. "An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy," *Journal of Political Economy*, 65 (2, April): 135-150. See also, Anthony Downs. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row, chapters 7-8.
- [2] Douglas Hibbs. 1977. "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy," *American Political Science Review*, 71 (December): 1467-87.
- [3] Alexander Hicks and Duane Swank. 1992. "Politics, Institutions, and Welfare Spending in Industrialized Democracies," *American Political Science Review*, 86 (3, September): 658-74.

WEEK EIGHT

Monday, February 21: *Interest Groups and Collective Action*

- [1] Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz. 1962. "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review*, 61: 947-952.
- [2] Mancur Olson. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Harvard University Press, Chp. 1.

Wednesday, February 23: *Political Participation*

- [1] Sidney Verba, Norman Nie, and Jae-On Kim. 1978. *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven Nation Comparison*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-44.
- [2] Joan Nelson. 1970. "The Urban Poor: Disruption or Political Integration in Third World Cities?" *World Politics*, 22 (3, April): 393-414.
- [3] Albert Hirschman. 1970. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Chps. 1-4.

WEEK NINE

Monday, February 28: *Social Movements*

- [1] Sidney Tarrow. 1994. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 9-27.
- [2] John McCarthy and Mayer Zald. 1977. "Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, 9: 527-553.
- [3] Doug McAdam. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*. University of Chicago Press, Chps 1, 3.
- [4] Claudio Holzner. 2004. "The End of Clientelism: Strong and Weak Networks in a Mexican Squatter Movement," *Mobilization*, 9 (3): 223-241.

Wednesday, March 02: **ISA (No Class)**

WEEK TEN

Monday, March 07: *Weapons of the Weak*

- [1] Samuel Popkin. 1979. *The Rational Peasant*. University of California Press, Chp. 1, 6.
- [2] James Scott. 1986. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, Chp. 2, 8.
- [3] Ted Robert Gurr. 1973. "The Revolution-Social Change Nexus," *Comparative Politics*, 5 (April): 59-392.
- [5] Eric Wolf. 1969. *Peasant Wars in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Harper & Row: Conclusion.

Wednesday, March 09: *Regime Type and Development*

- [1] Charles Lindblom. 1977. *Politics and Markets*. New York: Basic Books, pp. 17-51,161-200.
- [2] Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1993. "Political Regimes and Economic Growth," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 7 (3, Summer), pp. 51-69.
- [3] David Lake and Matthew Baum. 2003. "The Political Economy of Growth: Democracy and Human Capital," *American Journal of Political Science*, 47 (2, April): 333-347.

WEEK ELEVEN

Monday, March 14 – Thursday, March 17: **FINAL EXAM WEEK**

"It is not communism that is radical;
it is capitalism."
-- Bertholt Brecht