

## FOUNDATIONS OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Government 20 (Fall 2015)

M, W 10-11am

Instructor: Dr. George Soroka

Office: CGIS Knafel, 1737 Cambridge Street, Room K-151D

Phone: (617) 495-9890

Email: [soroka@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:soroka@fas.harvard.edu)

Office Hours: Monday 1-4 pm, and by appointment

Head TF: Dr. Colin Brown ([brown4@fas.harvard.edu](mailto:brown4@fas.harvard.edu))

This course is designed to offer an introduction to major concepts and theories in comparative politics, as well as to familiarize students with the basic tools of comparative analysis. During our time together, we will ask (and attempt to answer) questions such as: When do revolutions occur? Why are some countries democratic while others are not? What is the interplay between culture and politics? How do economic factors influence political development? To what extent are political processes the result of individual volition versus larger structural forces?

In doing so, we will examine cases from around the globe and across time. The objective of this course is two-fold: to provide students with a theoretical grounding through which to understand the political world we inhabit, as well as to introduce the academic field of comparative politics, along with its empirical expectations and modes of argumentation.

### **Course Requirements:**

- 1) Section participation (15 percent of grade)
- 2) Two short papers (15 percent of grade each): 6-8 pages, double spaced, 12 pt. font, addressing topics handed out in class (no outside research is required). **Due October 7 and November 23**
- 3) In-class midterm exam (20 percent of grade): **October 28**
- 4) Cumulative final exam (35 percent of grade)

### **Late Policy:**

Unexcused late papers will be marked down a third of a letter grade (e.g., A to A-) for each day they are late. Extensions will only be granted in exceptional circumstances and must be approved by the course head.

### **Academic Honesty/Collaboration:**

The exchange of ideas is essential to academic work. Consequently, students are encouraged to continue discussing course-related topics outside of class and to participate in reading discussion groups, but must be responsible for their own work and preparation. To be clear: *the expectation in this class is that all students will make a good-faith effort to complete the assigned readings on their own (sharing reading notes in lieu of doing so is not acceptable)*. The point of reading discussion groups should not be to apportion readings and then trade notes (this is a bad idea for many reasons); rather, after students have attempted to grapple with the readings individually,

they may find it useful to compare their thoughts with those of others. Additionally, students are cautioned that *collaborative writing is not permitted*. All assignments submitted for evaluative purposes must be the student's original work.

**Accommodations for Students with Disabilities:**

Students requiring academic adjustments or accommodations due to a documented disability must present a Faculty Letter from Harvard's Accessible Education Office (AEO) and speak with the course head by the end of the second week of term (Sept. 11). Failure to do so may result in an inability to respond in a timely manner. All discussions will remain confidential, although AEO may be contacted to discuss appropriate implementation plans.

**Laptops/Mobile Phones:**

Students may use laptops to take notes during lecture, but are respectfully asked to refrain from checking email, surfing the web, or otherwise engaging in non-course-related activities while in class. (It is very easy to spot such activity from the instructor's vantage!) Likewise, cellphones should be turned off for the duration of class.

**Course Materials:**

The following books are required reading and may be purchased from the Harvard COOP. A course packet containing additional required readings is available from Gnomon Copy (1308 Massachusetts Avenue). All assigned readings, including the course packet, are also available on reserve in Lamont Library.

Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Penguin, 2002)

Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague* (Vintage, 1999)

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (Oxford, 2008 [3<sup>rd</sup> ed.])

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, 1994)

James Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford, 2015 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.])

Alberto Alesina & Edward Glaser, *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference* (Oxford, 2004)

**Schedule and Readings:**

**Week 1: The Comparative Method** (Sept. 2)

Jeffrey Kopstein, Mark Lichbach & Stephen Hanson, "What Is Comparative Politics?" in *Comparative Politics: Interests, Identities, and Institutions in a Changing Global Order* (Cambridge UP, 2014 [4<sup>th</sup> ed.]), ch. 1-2.

Stephen Van Evera, "Hypotheses, Laws, and Theories: A User's Guide," in *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science* (Cornell UP, 1997), pp. 7-48

Charles Ragin & Howard Becker (eds.), *What Is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry* (Cambridge UP, 1992), pp. 1-11

## **Week 2: States, Regimes and Governments** (Sept. 9)

Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge UP, 1985), pp. 169-187

Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism & Democracy* (Routledge, 2003 [1942]), pp. 250-283

Amy Gutmann, "Democracy," in Robert Goodin, Philip Pettit & Thomas Pogge (eds.), *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, v. II (Blackwell, 2007), pp. 521-531

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," in *The Marx Reader* (Polity, 1997), pp. 128-146

Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (Vintage, 2005), pp. 3-54, 206-220

Cole Bunzel, "From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State," *Brookings Analysis Paper 19* (March 2015): 4-37

## **Week 3: Economic Development & Politics (I)** (Sept. 14, 16)

Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Penguin 2002 [1905]), pp. 1-36, 67-87, 105-122

Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (Free Press, 1958), pp. 43-65

W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge UP, 1960), pp. 4-12

Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Harvard UP, 1962), pp. 5-30

Alex Inkeles, "Making Men Modern: On the Causes and Consequences of Individual Change in Six Developing Countries," *American Journal of Sociology* 75.2 (Sept. 1969): 208-225

## **Week 4: Economic Development & Politics (II)** (Sept. 21, 23)

Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Peter Klaren & Thomas Bossert (eds.), *Promise of Development: Theories of Change In Latin America* (Westview, 1986), pp. 111-123.

Chalmers Johnson, "Political Institutions and Economic Performance: The Government-Business Relationship in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan," in *The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism* (Cornell UP, 1987), pp. 136-164

Rudiger Dornbush, "The Case for Trade Liberalization in Developing Countries," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 6.1 (Winter 1992): 69-85

Kiren Chaudry, "The Myths of the Market and the Common History of Late Developers," *Politics and Society* 21.3 (1993): 245-274

Daron Acemoglu & James Robinson, *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty* (Crown, 2012), pp. 7-63; 70-95; 102-110; 113-117

Jeffrey Sachs, "Government, Geography, and Growth: The True Drivers of Economic Development," *Foreign Affairs* (Sept./Oct. 2012)

Recommended:

Robert Wade, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization* (Princeton UP, 2003 [1990]), pp. 1-29, 345-381

**Week 5: Democratization and Democracy** (Sept. 28, 30)

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy* (Yale UP, 1971), pp. 1-47

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Beacon, 1966), pp. 413-432

Seymour Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53.1 (March 1959): 69-105

Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2.3 (April 1970): 337-363

Adam Przeworski & Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theory and Facts," *World Politics* 49 (1997): 155-184

Seymour Lipset, "George Washington and the Founding of Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 9.4 (1998): 24-38

Sheri Berman, "How Democracies Emerge: Lessons from Europe," *Journal of Democracy* 18.1 (Jan. 2007): 28-41

Eva Bellin, "The Iraqi Intervention and Democracy in Comparative Perspective," *Political Science Quarterly* 119.4 (2004/2005): 595-608

Ashutosh Varshney, "India Defines the Odds: Why Democracy Survives," *Journal of Democracy* 9.3 (1998): 36-50

Recommended:

Stephan Haggard & Robert Kaufman, "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule," *APSR* 106.3 (Aug. 2012): 495-516

**Short paper #1 topics handed out Sept. 30 (due Oct. 7)**

**Week 6: Authoritarianism and Regime Change (Oct. 5, 7)**

*Oct. 5: Post-Communist Transitions in Europe*

*Oct. 7: Assessing the Arab Spring*

Samuel Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 2.2 (Spr. 1991): 12-34

Steven Levitsky & Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (Cambridge UP, 2010), pp. 3-24

Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague* (Vintage, 1999), pp. 11-60; 78-130; 157-167

James Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford, 2015 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.]), pp. 39-154

Recommended:

Stephen Haber & Victor Menaldo, "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse," *APSR* 105.1 (Feb. 2011): 1-26

Jorgen Andersen & Michael Ross, "The Big Oil Change: A Closer Look at the Haber-Menaldo Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies* 47.7 (2014): 993-1021

**Week 7: Social Revolution: Theory (Oct. 14)**

**Monday, Oct. 12: Columbus Day (University holiday)**

James Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," *ASR* 27.1 (1962): 5-19

Theda Skocpol, "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18.2 (Apr. 1976): 175-210

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (Cambridge UP, 1979), pp. 3-33

John Foran, "A Theory of Third-World Social Revolutions: Iran, Nicaragua, and El Salvador Compared," *Critical Sociology* 19.2 (1992): 3-27

Eric Selbin, "Revolution in the Real World: Bringing Agency Back In," in John Foran (ed.), *Theorizing Revolutions* (Routledge, 1997), pp. 123-136

**Week 8: Social Revolution: Cases (Oct. 19, 21)**

*Oct. 19: The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917*

*Oct. 21: Third World Revolutions and the Case of Iran*

Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution* (Oxford UP, 2008 ed.), pp. 15-92, 149-172

Nikki Keddie & Yann Richard, *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution* (Yale UP, 2006 ed.), pp. 214-262

Theda Skocpol, "Rentier State and Shi'a Islam in the Iranian Revolution," *Theory and Society* 11.3 (May 1982): 265-283

Jeff Goodwin & Theda Skocpol, "Explaining Revolutions in the Contemporary Third World," *Politics & Society* 17.4 (1989): 489-509

**Week 9: Ethnic and Religious Conflict: Theoretical Approaches (Oct. 26)**

Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (U. of CA, 1985), pp. 3-12

Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretations of Culture* (Basic, 1973), pp. 255-277

Joan Nagel, "The Political Construction of Ethnicity," in Susan Olzak (ed.), *Competitive Ethnic Relations* (Academic, 1986), pp. 93-111

Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," in Michael Brown (ed.), *Ethnic Conflict and International Security* (Princeton UP, 1993), pp. 103-124

James Fearon & David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *APSR* 97.1 (2003): 75-90

Evan Lieberman & Prerna Singh, "Institutional Origins of Ethnic Violence," *Comparative Politics* 45.1 (Oct. 2012): 1-24

Daniel Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *APSR* 98.4 (2004): 529-545

Monica Toft & Yuri Zhukov, "Islamists and Nationalists: Rebel Motivation and Counter-insurgency in Russia's North Caucasus," *APSR* 109.2 (May 2015): 222-238

John Owen, "From Calvin to the Caliphate: What Europe's Wars of Religion Tell Us About the Modern Middle East," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2015)

Recommended:

Michael Brown, "The Causes of Internal Conflict: An Overview," in Michael Brown *et al.* (eds.), *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict* (MIT, 1997), 3-25

**Wednesday, Oct. 28: midterm exam (in class)**

**Week 10: Politics of Ethnic and Religious Conflict: Yugoslavia and Rwanda (Nov. 2, 4)**

**Film: *Vukovar* (1994); date and time of viewing to be announced**

**Nov 2: *The Breakup of Yugoslavia***

**Nov 4: *Genocide in Rwanda***

Scott Strauss, *The Order of Genocide: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda* (Cornell UP, 2006), pp. 17-31; 41-52, 201-223

Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton UP, 2001), pp. 41-59; 73-75; 87-102; 184-218

Mihailo Crnobrnja, *The Yugoslav Drama* (McGill-Queens UP, 1994), pp. 16-33; 93-114; 141-188

V.P. Gagnon, "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia," *International Security* 19.3 (Winter 1994/1995): 130-166

### **Week 11: Electoral Institutions and Party Systems** (Nov. 9, 11)

***Nov. 9: Presidentialism vs. Parliamentarism***

***Nov. 11: Constitutional Design and Its Limits***

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale UP, 2006 [1968]), pp. 1-32

Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy* 1.1 (1990): 51-70

Guy Lardeyret, "The Problem with PR," in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Johns Hopkins UP, 1996), pp. 175-179

Scott Mainwaring, "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal," *Comparative Politics* 29.4 (July 1997): 449-471

Robert Elgie, *Semi-Presidentialism: Sub-Types and Democratic Performance* (Oxford UP, 2011), pp. 1-17

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy* (Yale UP, 1999), pp. 143-170

Gretchen Helmke & Steve Levitsky, "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda," *Perspectives on Politics* 2.4 (2004): 725-740

Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies* (Yale UP, 1977), pp. 1-2; 25-52

Seymour Lipset, "The Centrality of Political Culture," *Journal of Democracy* 1.4 (Fall 1990): 80-83

#### Recommended:

Robert G. Moser, "Electoral Engineering in New Democracies," in Zoltan Barany & Robert Moser (eds.), *Is Democracy Exportable?* (Cambridge UP, 2009), pp. 131-154

### **Week 12: States: Formation, Weakness and Failure** (Nov. 16, 18)

Francis Fukuyama, "The Imperative of State-Building," *Journal of Democracy* 15.2 (April 2004): 17-34

William Reno, "Clandestine Economies, Violence and States in Africa," *Journal of International Affairs* 53 (Spring 2000): 433-459

Jeffrey Herbst, "The Challenges of State-Building in Africa," in *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton UP, 2000), pp. 11-31

Miguel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (Penn State UP, 2002), pp. 1-26

Dan Slater, *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge UP, 2010), pp. 3-27

Guillermo O'Donnell, "On the State, Democratization and some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries," *World Development* 21.8 (August 1993): 1355-1369

Ned Parker, "The Iraq We Left Behind," *Foreign Affairs* (Mar.-Apr. 2012)

Recommended:

Sheri Berman, "The Challenge of State Building in Historical Perspective: Coercion, Compromise and Cooptation in the Making of Modern State," (working paper): 1-33

**Short paper #2 topics handed out Nov. 16 (due Nov. 23)**

**Week 13: Civil Society and Social Capital** (Nov. 23)

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton UP, 1994), ch. 1, 3-6

Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6.1 (1995): 65-78

Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics* 53 (Apr. 2001): 362-398

Sheri Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49 (April 1997): 401-429

Recommended:

John Hall, "In Search of Civil Society," in *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison* (Polity, 1995), ch. 1

**Wednesday, Nov. 25: Thanksgiving Recess begins**

**Week 14: Selected Topics in Comparative Politics** (Nov. 30, Dec. 2)

**Nov. 30: Redistribution and the Welfare State**

**Dec. 2: China's Future: Authoritarian Persistence or Democratic Opening?**

Alberto Alesina & Edward Glaser, *Fighting Poverty in the US and Europe: A World of Difference* (Oxford UP, 2004), ch. 4-7



Francis Fukuyama, "The Primacy of Culture," *Journal of Democracy* 6.1 (1995): 7-14

Minxin Pei, "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?" *Journal of Democracy* 23.1 (2012): 27-41

Gary King, Jennifer Pan & Margaret Roberts, "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression," *APSR* 107.2 (May 2013): 326-343

Youwei, "The End of Reform in China: Authoritarian Adaptation Hits a Wall," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2015)

Recommended:

Isabela Mares & Matthew Carnes, "The Welfare State in Global Perspective," in *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (Oxford UP, 2009), ch. 35