

University of Georgia
Department of International Affairs
INTL 6300 Preseminar - Comparative
Political Analysis

M 3:30 – 6:15
Candler Hall 117
Office Hours: W: 2:00 to 4:00 p.m.
T: 11:00 to 12:00 a.m.

Fall 2009

Dr. Markus M.L. Crepaz

The purpose of this course is to gain a perspicuous overview of the major theoretical "discourses" that are currently competing for control of the broad center of comparative analysis. There have been many "approaches" to comparative politics, but few "arrivals". This course will train you in recognizing these central approaches, understanding their advantages and disadvantages and highlight the connections between a chosen approach and the resultant findings.

This class examines structuralism, functionalism, rational choice, culture, constructivism, the new institutionalism and the logic of path dependent arguments. We will also be searching for the "springs of action" and explore what causes people to act. As a starting point we will use the works of Marx, Weber, and Durkheim and highlight their relevance for comparative politics. This course will hopefully provide a firm understanding of the concepts, powers and limits of various approaches outlined above.

Required readings: Giddens, Anthony (1971). *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory. An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*. Cambridge University Press. (CMST)

Almond, Gabriel (1990). *A Discipline Divided. Schools and Sects in Political Science*. Sage Publications. (ADD)

Putnam, Robert (1993). *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press. (MDW)

Mark I. Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman (2009) *Comparative Politics. Rationality, Culture, and Structure* (2nd edition) Cambridge University Press. (CP)

In addition, you are required to read the articles mentioned in the detailed reading assignments below. These articles have been placed on reserve in the main library (password: durkheim) where you may check them or make your own copies. Better yet, many of these articles are available either on line from the reserve desk, or you can just find them on the internet using the multitude of library resources available and download them directly to your computer.

Course requirements: **1.** Each student is required to write two short papers based on books, parts of books or articles provided in this syllabus (no

longer than five pages) **Do not just repeat the argument in the book or article! Briefly** state the argument, but then go beyond it, placing it in the larger literature, and providing **constructive criticism**. Most likely, to make a convincing case you will have to quote or cite additional material. Of the five pages, **do not spend more than one page** on summarizing the article or book; in other words, not more than 20 % of your paper should be devoted to summarizing the argument – 80 % should be devoted to breaking new ground, coming up with novel claims, ideas, concepts, typologies, theories, measures, implications, etc.

The paper should consist of two parts: **first**, a substantive part clearly indicating a) the substance of the argument in the book or article (dependent/independent variables, control variables etc.) b) its relevance to the field of comparative politics c) an original critique and possible modifications, amendments, etc.d) alternative hypotheses and additional original research questions.

The **second** part of the paper should deal with the "methodological" aspect. What approach was used? What are the particular strengths and weaknesses of this approach? How do you recognize a particular methodological approach? Would another approach yield different/more incisive insights?

Each short paper will count for 15% of the total grade.

2. Each student is required to write an original, analytical research paper of around 15 pages in length. Refer to the attached research paper guidelines for further information. The research paper will count for 50% of the total grade.

The research papers are due by Thursday, Dec. 14, 2009

3. Seminar participation (will count for the remaining 20%). Participation will be measured not only in the frequency of comments but also their quality. Clarification questions, while certainly encouraged, will not count towards seminar participation. Only informed questions and statements about the readings or other pertinent sources which directly refer to the topic at hand or to specific books or articles will count as "seminar participation". Solid preparation for each meeting is essential as you will be called upon to provide your own assessments of the various assignments.

Reading assignments:

Aug 17: General introduction to comparative politics and the nature of the “puzzle”.

"The Return of the Son of the Bride of the Future of Comparative Politics"
Read only David Laitin's VERY short abstract.

“Observation, Speculation, and Modeling” (1975), by Charles A. Lave and James G. March. In: *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*. Edited by: Patrick O’Neil and Ronald Rogowski (2004) W.W. Norton & Company. Pp. 10-33.

“Thinking and Working in the Midst of Things. Discovery, Explanation, and Evidence in Comparative Politics”. Mark Lichbach. In: CP

Aug 24: "In the final instance, the subject is dead" - Explorations into structuralism.

Required readings:

Charles Lindblom: "The privileged position of Business" in *Politics and Markets*, pp. 170-178.

Ira Katznelson (2009) “Strong Theory, Complex History: Structure and Configuration in Comparative Politics Revisited”, in: CP

Frederick Jackson Turner (1921) *The Frontier in American History*. Read chapter 9: “Contributions of the West to American Democracy”. You can find it here: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper/TURNER/>

Giddens, pp. 1-64

Recommended readings:

Theda Skocpol: *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. pp. 3-43.

Kennedy, Paul (1987): *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. Vintage Books. (Introduction: xv - xxv).

Alexander Gerschenkron: *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, pp. 353-364.

Diamond, Jared (1998). *Guns, Germs and Steel*, Prologue, “Yali’s Question”, and Epilogue, “The Future of Human History as a Science”.

Aug 31: The "needs" and "requirements" of social organisms - The debate over Functionalism.

Required readings:

Huntington, Samuel P. (1965) Political Development and Political Decay. *World Politics*. Vol. 17: 386-430

Wittfogel, Karl, A (1957). *Oriental Despotism*. Chapter 2: "Hydraulic Economy - a managerial and genuinely political economy" (pp. 22-42) and Chapter 3: "A state stronger than society" (pp. 49-54).

Luard, Evan. (1992). A System of Functional Cooperation, and Mitrany, David: "Functional Cooperation as the Road to Peace".

Giddens, pp. 65-118 in CMST

Recommended readings:

Jürgen Habermas. (1976) *Legitimation Crisis*. London. Heineman. (Part I: chap. 1-4, pp. 1-32)

Almond, Gabriel (1965). A Developmental Approach to Political Systems. *World Politics*. 17: 183-214.

September 7: Labor Day – No classes! Keep reading and thinking about a puzzle!

Sep 14: "The ties that bind" - The Power of Common Forms of Life. Culture as a mode of understanding human behavior.

Required Readings:

Clifford Geertz: "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture", in: *The Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 3-32.

Robert Putnam (1995) "Bowling alone: Americas's Declining Social Capital". *Journal of Democracy*, 6:1, pp. 65-78.

Marc H. Ross (2009). Culture in Comparative Political Analysis, in: CP

Giddens, pp. 119-184

Robert Putnam (2007) *E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty First Century*. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. Scandinavian Political Studies, Vol: 30, No. 2, 137-174.

Recommended Readings:

Herman Kahn. "The Confucian Ethic and Economic Growth", pp. 219-222.

Bo Rothstein and Eric Uslaner (2005). "All for All. Equality, Corruption and Social Trust". *World Politics*, 58 (October 2005) pp. 41-72.

Markus M. L. Crepaz (2008) "Trust in Diverse Societies" (pp. 93-133) in: *Trust Beyond Borders. Immigration, the Welfare State and Identity in Modern Societies*, by Markus M. L. Crepaz. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.

Marc Hooghe and Dietlind Stolle (2003) *Generating Social Capital. Civil Society and Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. Palgrave. New York.

Sep 21: Present preliminary projects, thoughts, puzzles, and general discussion

Sep 28: The cult of the "subject" - the radical subjectivism of rational choice.

Required Readings:

Margaret Levi (2009) Reconsiderations of Rational Choice, in: CP

Jon Elster (1986). "Introduction" in: *Rational Choice*. pp. 1-33. New York University Press.

Monroe, Kristen R (1991). "The Theory of Rational Action" in: *The Economic Approach to Politics*. (pp. 1-31). Harper Collins.

A. K. Sen: "Introduction", in: *Choice, Welfare and Measurement*, pp. 1-3

Green and Shapiro (1994). The nature of Rational Choice Theory, in: *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*, pp. 13-32

Recommended Readings:

Almond, Gabriel. (1990). "Rational Choice Theory and the Social Sciences". In: A Discipline Divided.

Margaret Levi: A Model, a Method, and a Map: Rational Choice in Comparative and Historical Analysis. In Lichbach and Zuckerman, pp. 19-42.

Oct 5 : Rational Choice revisited: The euphoria subsides....or: How "unencumbered" are you really?

Required Readings:

Kristen Monroe, M.C. Barton, and U. Klingemann: "Altruism and the Theory of Rational Action: An Analysis of Rescuers of Jews in Nazi-Europe", in: *The Economic Approach to Politics*: pp. 317-352.

Tversky, A. and Kahnemann D. (1986). "The Framing of Decisions and the Psychology of Choice". in: *Rational Choice*, (edited by: Jon Elster). New York University Press. pp. 123-141.

Dale T. Miller (1999). "The Norm of Self-Interest", in: *American Psychologist*, Vol. 54, pp. 1053-1060.

Green and Shapiro (1994). Methodological Pathologies. in: *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*, pp. 33-46.

Recommended Readings:

Ian Shapiro (2005) "Revisiting the Pathologies of Rational Choice" (chapter 2) in: *The Flight from Reality in the Human Sciences*. Princeton University Press.

"Political Scientists debate 'Theory of Rational Choice'", New York Times, February 26, 2000. Can be found here:

<http://phoenix.liunet.edu/~uroy/eco54/histlist/pol-sci-rational.htm>

Cosmides, L. and J. Tooby (1994). "Better than rational: Evolutionary Psychology and the invisible hand." *American Economic Association: Papers and Proceedings* **84**: 327-332.

Oct 12: Fixing the cracks in the edifice of rational choice - using institutions for glue. On the priority of political institutions and the political

economy of shirking, stealing and lying. Moral hazard, adverse selection and principal agent problems.

Required Readings:

Armen Alchian (1950). "Uncertainty, Evolution, and Economic Theory". *Journal of Political Economy*.

George A. Akerlof (1970): "The Market for Lemons: Qualitative Uncertainty and the Market Mechanism", in: *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

Paul Milgrom, Douglas North, and Barry Weingast (1990). "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade: The Law Merchant, Private Judges, and the Champagne Fairs", in: *Economics and Politics*.

R. M. Dawes and R. H. Thaler (1988). Anomalies. Cooperation. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol: 2, no. 3, pp. 187-97.

Can be found here:

<http://web.ebscohost.com.proxy-remote.galib.uga.edu:2048/ehost/pdf?vid=5&hid=13&sid=ceaf0082-71f8-4e12-aacc-fa10c5aa7149%40sessionmgr3>

Recommended Readings:

A. K. Sen: "Behavior and the Concept of Preference", in: *Choice, Welfare...* p. 54-73.

Oct 19: Functional and Historical Institutionalism and the possibilities of "constitutional engineering".

Required Readings:

Robert Putnam: *Making Democracy Work...* entire.

Lijphart, Arend (1993). Constitutional Choices for New Democracies. in: L. Diamond and M.F. Plattner (eds.) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 146-158). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Horowitz, Donald, L. (1993). Comparing Democratic Systems. in: L. Diamond and M.F. Plattner (eds.) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 127-133). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Quade, Quentin (1993). PR and Democratic Statecraft. in: L. Diamond and M.F. Plattner (eds.) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 165-170). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Recommended Readings:

Lijphart, Arend (1993). Double Checking the Evidence. in: L. Diamond and M.F. Plattner (eds.) *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

G. Bingham Powell (2007). The ideological congruence controversy: the impact of alternative conceptualizations and data on the effects of election rules. Presented at the 2007 Meeting of the American Political Science Association Meeting. Can be found here:

http://64.112.226.69/one/apsa/apsa07/index.php?click_key=1

Oct 26: The path you take matters: path dependency and punctuated equilibria:

Paul Pierson (2000). Increasing returns, path dependence and the study of politics. *American Political Science Review*, Vol: 94, no. 2, 251-267.

Can be found here: <http://www.jstor.org/pss/2586011>

Filippo Sabetti, "Path Dependency and Civic Culture: Some Lessons from Italy About Interpreting Social Experiments," *Politics & Society* 24/1 (Mar 1996): 19-44

Down the Wrong Path: Path Dependence, Increasing Returns, and Historical Institutionalism

Herman Schwartz: here: <http://people.virginia.edu/~hms2f/Path.pdf>

Gourevitch, Alexander (1986) *Politics in Hard Times*. (chapter 1 and 2). Cornell University Press.

Nov 2: Shaping ideas – making outcomes: constructivist approaches to comparative politics.

Required Readings:

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (2001). "Taking Stock: the Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics", in: *Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol: 4:391-416.

Martin Gilens (1999). Why Americans Hate Welfare. Introduction pp.1-10. Chicago University Press.

Samuel Huntington (2004). Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity. Chapters 1 and 2.

APSA-CP newsletter (Volume 12, 1 Winter 2001): Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics (p. 7-25). can be downloaded from:

<http://www.nd.edu/~apsacp/pdf/APSA-CP20Winter202001.pdf>

Recommended information:

Jane Elliott (1968). The blue eyes/brown eyes experiment. Go to this website:

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/divided/etc/view.html>

Nov 9: The duality of State and Society: the challenge to the state from “below” and “above”.

Required Readings:

Mancur Olson (1982) *The Rise and Decline of Nations*. pp.1-74

Etel Solingen (2009) The Global Context of Comparative Politics, in: CP

Katzenstein, Peter (1983). "The Small European States in the International Economy: Economic Dependence and Corporatist Policies". in: *The Antinomies of Interdependence. National Welfare and the International Division of Labor*. John Gerard Ruggie (ed.). Columbia University Press, New York.

Crepaz, Markus, M.L. (2002) “Global, Constitutional, and Partisan Determinants of Redistribution in Fifteen OECD Countries”. *Comparative Politics*. 34:169-188.

Recommended Readings:

Theda Skocpol (1985) Bringing the State back in: strategies of Analysis in Current Research (pp. 3-37) In: *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge University Press.

Susan Strange (1995). The Limits of Politics. *Government and Opposition* Vol: 30, 3, (291-311).

Hall, Peter (2001). "Organized Market Economies and Unemployment in Europe. Is it Finally Time to Accept Liberal Orthodoxy". In: *Unemployment in the New Europe*, (edited by: Nancy Bermeo). Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, MA.

Nov 16, 30 and Dec.7: Presentation of research papers.

THE EDICTS OF CANDLER HALL

MARKUS M. L. CREPAZ

Congratulations! You have come far; you are sitting in an “advanced” graduate seminar and you should be familiar with the conventions on how to write a research paper. All of you have taken POLS 7010. This is the time to remember what you learned in this class and to apply it right here. But just in case you don’t remember anything of POLS 7010 anymore (heaven forbid!) here are some pointers on how to do it in order to reduce the “B.S. factor”. Here are the steps you should follow, although not necessarily in this order, to write a logically compelling research paper and one that maximizes your chances of getting a good grade.

- 1) PUZZLE: This is a tough one. Your research must have a puzzle, if not, why do the research? If theory and praxis diverge, that is a puzzle; contested theories represent a puzzle; inconsistent empirical findings are a puzzle; etc.
- 2) RESEARCH QUESTION: At some point you should clearly state in the form of a question the objective of your research.
- 3) LITERATURE REVIEW: Here you are taking stock – what is it that others have written about your subject. This is the place for showing off how much have you have read and understood about the material and drop names.
- 4) THEORY: This is VERY important! Here you don’t drop names – after all this is the place where you present YOUR theory to the world, YOUR ideas, YOUR contribution.
- 5) UNIT OF ANALYSIS: What is the “unit” that you are examining? Is it elections, individuals, countries, etc.?
- 6) TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL PARAMETERS: Over what time period and what location are you applying your theory?
- 7) HYPOTHESIS: What is your hypothesis? Remember a hypothesis contains three things: first it indicates the object of observation, the dependent an independent variables, and the direction of their relationship. For example: “the more I’m feeding my cat, the fatter she gets”. “Cat” is the object of observation, “food” is the cause, cat getting “fat” is the effect, and the direction of the relationship is positive.
- 8) DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES: Which ones are they? How much do they vary?
- 9) PROCESS TRACING: Why should the cat get fat if fed a lot? If more calories enter her body that she can burn, her body will on the basis of biological processes begin to store the energy contained in the food in terms of fat. Process tracing should in detail describe the various steps how things move from cause to effect.
- 10) OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS: Your hypotheses will contain concepts, i.e. names of things. You will have to translate these concepts into things that can be measured. It is crucial that you explain this metamorphosis from concept to measure as clearly as you can.

- 11) **VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF MEASURES:** Do the measures you use capture the concept they intend to reflect? Would repeated measuring yield the same results every time? Might there be systematic or random measurement error?
- 12) **CAUSAL MECHANISM:** How do you know that your argument is causal rather than correlational? Do you have endogeneity? Is your research design indeterminate?
- 13) **FINDINGS:** Are you accepting or rejecting your hypothesis?
- 14) **CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS:** What do these findings mean? How do they affect the reigning theories? Do they question them, or confirm them? What new questions do arise? Where does future research go from here?