

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

T 3:30 – 6:15
Candler Hall 117
Office Hours (Room 308):
W: 2:00 to 4:00 p.m.
T: 11:00 to 12:00 a.m.

Fall 2016
Dr. Markus M.L. Crepaz

This is a foundational course for the study of comparative politics to which you will return when you prepare for the comprehensive exam in this subfield. The purpose of this course is to introduce you to the main “approaches” to comparative politics, of which there have been many - 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, among others. This course will provide you with a firm understanding of the concepts, powers and limits of various approaches outlined above.

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

Benedict Anderson (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London (Verso) (IC)

In addition, you are required to read the articles mentioned in the detailed reading assignments below. These articles have been placed on electronic reserve in the main library (password: weber) where you may check them out 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 one short paper 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 original claims, ideas, concepts, typologies, theories, measures, implications, etc.

The paper should contain the following parts; a substantive part clearly indicating a) the substance of the argument in the book or article (dependent/independent variables, control variables etc. where applicable) 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, e) it should discuss what “approach” was used; how did you recognize this particular approach; what are its advantages, disadvantages, etc.

The short paper will count for 15% of the total grade. Hand out a **one page summary (NOT MORE – POINTS WILL BE DEDUCTED FOR LONGER HANDOUTS)** of the paper you present on the day you present it. Paper is due one week after it was given in class in hard copy form!

2. Each student is required to **produce a two page summary of the required readings for every week.** This short paper should summarize and compare and contrast the various readings. Send those short papers to me via e-mail at least one day before class. I will read all of them but will supply feedback only selectively, but so that each student will have at least received feedback on one of these assignments. This will count for **10 percent** of your grade.

3. Each student will be a **discussion leader** for one class. This means that the student will take the initiative to briefly introduce the required readings, to raise questions and guide the ensuing class discussion. This will count for **10 percent** of your grade. Summarize the main points of your discussion in a **one page handout!**

4. Each student is required to write an original, analytical research paper of around 15 pages in length. Refer to the “*Edicts of Candler*” at the end of the syllabus. The research paper will count for 50% of the total grade.

The research papers are due by Dec. 8, 2016 high noon, in HARD COPY FORM!

5. Seminar participation (will count for the **remaining 15%**). 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 16 **General introduction to comparative politics and the nature of the “puzzle”.**

Aug 23: **"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.

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.

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/>

Hibbs, Douglas, et. al. (2004) “Geography, Biogeography and Why Some Countries are Rich and Others are Poor”, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 101:3715-3720. You can find it here: <http://www.pnas.org/content/101/10/3715.full.pdf>

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

“The plough and the now”, July 21, 2011. *Economist*.
<http://www.economist.com/node/18986073>

“No use crying – Milk and economic development”. *Economist*, March 28, 2015.
<http://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/21647352-ability-digest-milk-may-explain-how-europe-got-rich-no-use-crying>

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).

Ira Katznelson (2009) "Strong Theory, Complex History: Structure and Configuration in Comparative Politics Revisited", in: *Comparative Politics, Rationality, Culture, and Structure* (Eds. March I. Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman) Second Edition. Cambridge University Press.

Aug 30: 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).

Rosamond, Ben (2000) Neofunctionalism in: Rosamond (ed.) *Theories of European Integration*, pp. 50-73. (Palgrave, New York).

Barber, Bernard (1956) "Structural Functional Analysis: Some Problems and Misunderstandings", *American Sociological Review*, Vol: 21: 129-135. Can be found here: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2088512?seq=1>

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.

Sep 6: "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.

Greif, Avner. 1994. "Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies." *The Journal of Political Economy* 102(5):912-950.

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

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.

Norton M.I and D. Ariely (2011) "Building a Better America – one Wealth Quintile at a Time". (BBA) Can be found here:
<http://www.people.hbs.edu/mnorton/norton%20ariely%20in%20press.pdf>

Robert Putnam (1993) *Making Democracy work* (entire)

Markus M. L. Crepaz, et. al. (2014) Trust Matters. The Impact of In-group and Out-group Trust on Nativism and Civicness. *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol: 95:938-959

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 13: 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

“More Kirk than Spock” Economist May 9, 2015.

<http://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/21650588-behavioural-economics-has-made-headway-still-has-long-way-go-more-kirk>

“Poor Behaviour” Dec. 6, 2014 Economist.

<http://www.economist.com/news/finance-and-economics/21635477-behavioural-economics-meets-development-policy-poor-behaviour>

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.

Sep. 20: 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.

Paul Zak and Jorge Barraza (2009), “Empathy towards Strangers triggers Oxytocin Release and Subsequent Generosity”, in: *Values, Empathy, and Fairness across Social Barriers*, Volume 1167, 2009.

Can be found here:

http://books.google.com/books?id=CBOcE5jvSz0C&pg=PA182&lpg=PA182&dq=Empathy+towards+strangers+triggers+oxytocin+release&source=bl&ots=WSpQKFXNOv&sig=llV_wgt5ruC1Lc3NNmhC6rKMtxQ&hl=en&ei=eU1FTqTHD82ltwfCsKDrBQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=8&ved=0CEgQ6AEwBw#v=onepage&q&f=false

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9X68dm92HVI> (watch this video by Dan Ariely)

Jeremy Rifkin, The empathic civilization (watch this video)
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=17AWnfFRc7g>

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.

Sep 27: 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>

Paul J. Zak. The Neurobiology of Trust. *Scientific American* (May, 2008)
<http://www.scientificamerican.com/article.cfm?id=the-neurobiology-of-trust>

watch this video: Barry Schwarz: the paradox of choice

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VO6XEQIsCoM&feature=relmfu>

Recommended Readings:

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

Oct 4: Functional and Historical Institutionalism and the possibilities of "constitutional engineering".

Required Readings:

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.

Benoit, Kenneth (2007). "Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining the Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions." *Annual Review of Political Science* **10**(1): 363-390.

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.

Kumlin, Staffan, and Bo Rothstein. "Making and Breaking Social Capital: The Impact of Welfare State Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies* 38 (4) (2005): 339-365.

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://cps.sagepub.com/content/early/2009/03/03/0010414009332147.full.pdf>

Anthony M. McGann and Michael Latner (2013). The Calculus of Consensus Democracy. *Comparative Political Studies*. Can be found here:
<http://cps.sagepub.com/content/46/7/823.abstract>

Oct 11: Shaping ideas – making outcomes: constructivist approaches to comparative politics.

Required Readings:

Ernest Renan: Qu'est ce qu'une nation? In: *Nationalism*, Hutchinson and Smith (eds.), p. 17-18, Oxford. Oxford University Press.

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.

Peter K. Enns, Nathan J. Kelly, Jana Morgan and Christopher Witko. "Understanding the Congressional (Non)Response to Growing Economic Inequality". Presented at APSA 2015 in San Francisco.

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>

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>

Benedict Anderson (IC) entire.

Franklin D. Gilliam (1999) The Welfare Queen Experiment. The Nieman Foundation for Journalism at Harvard University. Vol: 53, No. 2. Can be found here: <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/17m7r1rq#page-1>

Recommended 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.

Oct 18: 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>

David, Paul A., "Clio and the Economics of QWERTY" (in *Economic History: A Necessary Though Not Sufficient Condition for an Economist*), *American Economic Review*, Vol. 75, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Ninety-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association. (May, 1985), pp. 332-337. Can be found here: <http://www.econ.ucsb.edu/~tedb/Courses/Ec100C/DavidQwerty.pdf>

Thelen, Kathleen. "Conclusions: Empirical and Theoretical." In *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States and Japan*, Kathleen Thelen, 278-96. New York:Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Capoccia, Giovanni and R. Kelemen (2007), "The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism", *World Politics* 59:3 (342-369). Can be found here: <http://ecohist.history.ox.ac.uk/readings/critical-junctures.pdf>

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.

Oct 25: Present preliminary projects, thoughts, puzzles, and general discussion

Nov 1: What is "the state"? Its causes and consequences

Max Weber: Politics as a vocation, in: H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Galaxy, 1958) pp. 77-87.

Charles Tilly. War Making and State Making as Organized Crime in: Evans, Rueschemeyer and Skocpol, *Bringing the State Back in* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge), 1985, pp. 169-191.

Spruyt, Hendrick (2002). "The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State", *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol 5: 127-49.

J.P. Nettl (1968). "The state as a conceptual variable" *World Politics* 20.

P. B. Evans (1997) "The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in an Era of Globalization", *World Politics*, Vol 50:62-87.

Fred Block (1977). The Ruling Class does not Rule. Notes on the Marxist Theory of the State. *Socialist Revolution* Vol: 33. Can be found here: <http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/~wright/SOC621/RulingClass.pdf>

Nov 8: 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

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.

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 15: Presentation of research papers

Nov 22: **Thanksgiving Holiday**

Nov. 29: Presentation of research papers

Dec. 8: **Final Research Paper is due, at high noon in my office in hardcopy form.**

THE EDICTS OF CANDLER HALL

MARKUS M. L. CREPAZ

THE BIG TEN!

Below you find the most crucial elements of a successful research paper. They should all be there to reduce the “B.S. factor”. Here are the steps you should follow in order to write a logically compelling research paper.

- 1) **RESEARCH QUESTION or PREMISE:** It’s what your research revolves around, it’s central argument.
- 2) **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.
- 3) **UNIT OF ANALYSIS:** What is the “unit” that you are examining? Is it elections, individuals, countries, etc.? In the example below, the unit of analysis is “cat”.
- 4) **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.
- 5) **THEORY:** 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.
- 6) **TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL PARAMETERS:** Over what time period and what location are you applying your theory? Are you making a **CROSS-SECTIONAL** or **TIME SERIES** argument, or **BOTH**?
- 7) **DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES:** Which ones are they? How much do they vary?
- 8) **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 such as: how do we know that the cat is fat? We can weigh her. How do we know what “more feeding” means: well we could measure the amount of food in the number of teaspoons of fancy feast the cat gets. This is what is called, turning a concept into a measure, or more technically, operationalization.
- 9) **CAUSAL MECHANISM:** How do you know that your argument is causal rather than correlational?
- 10) **CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS:** After you have done your research and presented your evidence, are you accepting or rejecting your hypothesis? 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?

