

**Core Seminar in Comparative Politics  
POSC 6401-701  
Marquette University**

**Dr. Susan Giaimo  
Fall 2015**

Course time and location:

Mon. 5:00-7:40 PM Wehr Physics 138

Dr. Giaimo's office:

Wehr Physics 402

[susan.giaimo@marquette.edu](mailto:susan.giaimo@marquette.edu) Tel. 414.288.3356

Office hours: MWF 1-2 PM, and by appointment

This seminar will introduce students to the field of comparative politics. It will cover the major theoretical approaches and methodologies in comparative politics and their strengths and limitations. We will read seminal works as well as survey articles of the field by contemporary scholars as well as cases that illustrate the different theoretical approaches and methods in practice. The purpose of the course is to provide you with a solid foundation in this subfield of political science and to stimulate your critical and creative analysis and writing.

**Requirements**

Participants are required to attend all seminar meetings and actively participate in the discussions, and complete all required readings before class. I expect you to read only the required readings; however, if you wish to explore a topic in greater depth I have included suggestions for further reading.

Written assignments include three (3) critical essays (3-4 pages double-spaced) that address that week's required readings. In these critical essays, you will present your own critical assessment of the approach at hand and the arguments of the authors and not simply summarize their work. Think of it as engaging in a dialogue with the authors in which you address the key points of the authors' argument as well as critique such elements as their logical consistency, quality of evidence, plausibility of conclusions, and implications for the study of comparative politics. You must turn in each paper in advance of the relevant seminar meeting. In addition, each participant will write a longer seminar paper (approximately 10 pages double-spaced). The paper is due on Monday, December 14 at 6 PM. I will provide further details on the critical essays and paper assignments early in the semester.

Each student will also present in class a selection of required and/or recommended readings from among the weekly readings. I will distribute a sign-up sheet and list of articles for this assignment early in the semester.

I grade written assignments on the content and clarity of the argument, organization and evidence, use of relevant sources, and on writing style (grammar rules, punctuation, spelling, etc.). Therefore, I encourage students to seek out advice and help from the Writing Center in completing these assignments. This is a resource that is open to all students, undergraduate and graduate alike. The Writing Center is located in Raynor Library R240; tel. 288-5542. (You need to call them to make an appointment.)

Attendance at all class meetings is mandatory. If you miss more than one class, it will adversely affect your course grade. If you have more than two unexcused absences, it will be grounds for withdrawal from the course. In addition to seminar attendance, participants must actively participate in class meetings. Active participation is more than just attending class; it consists of thoughtful and regular participation in class discussions. This entails that you complete the required reading assignments in advance of class.

Be here now. During class, please turn off your cell phones or set them to silent. Please do not use the web during class unless asked to so as part of a class discussion. Such behavior may be distracting to your colleagues; it certainly is to me. If you have an emergency call that cannot wait, please leave the room discreetly to take the call, but only do this as a last resort.

The breakdown of the course grade is as follows:

3 critical essays: 30% (10% each)

Final paper: 40%

Presentation and leading class discussion on readings: 10%

Class participation: 20%

### **Policies on Late Assignments and Academic Dishonesty**

I will not accept late assignments unless you are experiencing a genuine illness, individual or family emergency, or unless it is the result of an officially sanctioned, scheduled university activity. In such cases, I expect you to make arrangements with me in a timely fashion to complete the coursework for this class. If you turn in an assignment late without a legitimate excuse, I will downgrade it a full grade (e.g. B to BC) for each day that it is late.

I do not tolerate academic dishonesty by students (including plagiarism, copying, or cheating). I will follow all University policies on academic dishonesty. Please see the University's Academic Integrity page for more information on such policies:

<http://bulletin.marquette.edu/undergrad/academicregulations/#academicintegrity>.

### **Course materials**

The following books are required for purchase. You can buy or rent them at BookMarq, or from amazon.com or directly from the publisher. Be sure you have the current editions.

Arend Lijphart, 2012, *Patterns of Democracy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, 1986 [2013], *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Most of the required readings will consist of journal articles and book chapters. Journal articles are available electronically as pdf files on the Marquette University Raynor Library website. Required book chapters and books will be available in hard copy form on ARES library reserve. If Marquette libraries do not have the required readings, then I will post them as pdf files on the course website on D2L. I require that you submit your final seminar paper to turnitin.com. For both the ARES and turnitin.com sites, the course name is Comparative Politics (POSC 6401) and the password is **comparative**.

The syllabus lists required readings, which all seminar participants must read. It also lists recommended readings that will be useful for exploring a topic further or for writing the longer seminar paper.

### **Additional sources and topics of interest**

I encourage you to read a daily newspaper with coverage of comparative and international politics, such as *The New York Times*, *The Economist*, *Financial Times*, or *Washington Post*. It is very useful to discuss current events and relate them to the theoretical approaches that we will be considering in class. These are in the library or available online through the Raynor Library website if not directly on the publication's site. You can also get a student-discounted rate for subscriptions.

If you are interested in getting perspectives on comparative politics and international affairs other than those of American media, you may want to tune to some TV news programs on PBS, channel 36: "The Journal," which is broadcast by the German *Deutsche Welle*, and "BBC World News," a British production. Other PBS programs dealing with world affairs may be of interest to you. These air on channels 10 and 36 or you can stream them from the PBS website. In addition, National Public Radio stations (stations 89.7 and 90.7) broadcast news programs on comparative politics and international affairs, such as "BBC World Service" (broadcast daily) and "The World" (broadcast Friday afternoons and other times during the week).

Literature, film, and music also provide different perspectives on the world, its people, cultures, and politics. The Milwaukee Film Festival, which runs September 24-October 8, shows an excellent range of foreign films. I encourage you to attend some of these films if you can. Their website is [www.mkefilm.org/festival](http://www.mkefilm.org/festival). You might also want to attend Global Union, a global music festival that Alverno College sponsors on September 19 at Humboldt Park. The event is free and open to the public. Alverno College also sponsors a world music series, "Alverno Presents," throughout the academic year with student tickets offered at a discount. Check their website for more information on these events.

## Class Schedule and Readings

### I. INTRODUCTION

**Aug. 31: Course introduction.** No reading assignment.

**Sept. 7: No class; Labor Day**

**3: Sept. 14: Why compare? What to compare? Theoretical and methodological issues in comparative politics**

Required:

B. Guy Peters, 1998, *Comparative Politics: Theory and Methods*, New York: New York University Press, chaps. 1, 3, 5, 6.

Peter Hall, "Beyond the Comparative Method," *APSA-CP Newsletter*, Summer 2004.

"Symposium: The Confluence of International Relations and Comparative Politics: Professional Dilemmas," *APSA-CP Newsletter* 16 (1) Winter 2005, pp. 7-25.

Michael Wallerstein, "Does Comparative Politics Need a TOE (Theory of Everything)?" *APSA-CP Newsletter* 12 (1) Winter 2001.

### II. MAJOR THEORETICAL APPROACHES

**Sept. 21: Cultural explanations of politics (values, ideas, ideologies)**

Required:

Marc H. Ross, 1997, "Culture and Identity in Comparative Political Analysis," in Mark I. Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman (eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 42-80.

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, 1965, *The Civic Culture*, chaps. 1, 12, 13.

\_\_\_\_\_, 1989, *The Civic Culture Revisited*, chap. 1 only.

Ronald Inglehart, 2008. "Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006," *West European Politics*, 31 (1-2) (January-March), 130-146.

Clifford Geertz, 1973, "Thick Description: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Culture*, New York, pp. 3-30.

Tim Tilton, 1990, *The Political Theory of Swedish Social Democracy*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, chap. 1 and pp. 276-280 ("Ideology Shapes Policy"). An example of ideology and ideas guiding policy choices.

Recommended for further reading:

Ronald Inglehart, 1971, "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-Industrial Societies," *American Political Science Review*, 65 (December): 991-1017.

Gaston V. Rimlinger, 1971, *Welfare Policy and Industrialization in Europe, America and Russia*, New York: John Wiley, 1971, pp. 138-148.

**Sept. 28: Politics in divided societies**

Required:

Lowell Barrington, 2006, chap 1, in *After Independence: Making and Protecting the Nation in Postcolonial and Postcommunist States*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Samuel Huntington, 1993, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* 72 (3) (Summer) 23-49. (For a longer treatment on this subject, see Huntington's book by the same name.)

Reza Aslan, 2005, *No god but God*, New York: Random House, chaps. 9-10.

- Donald L. Horowitz, 1985, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, Berkeley: University of California Press, chaps. 2, 14, 15.
- Kanchan Chandra, 2005, "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability," *Perspectives on Politics*, 3 (2) (June), 235-252.
- Arend Lijphart, 2008, *Thinking about Democracy*, London and New York: Routledge, chap. 2 (Consociational democracy) and chap. 5 (Constitutional design for divided societies).

Recommended for further reading:

- \_\_\_\_\_, 2004, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- David Laitin, 1978, "Religion, Political Culture and the Weberian Tradition," *World Politics*, 30 (4) 563-592.
- Samuel Huntington, 2004, *Who Are We: The Challenges to America's National Identity*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

**Oct. 5: Class analyses: Marxism and beyond**

Required:

- Karl Marx, "The Communist Manifesto," in Lawrence H. Simon (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, Indianapolis: Hackett, pp. 157-186.
- Ralph Miliband, 1983, "Marx and the State," in *Class Power and State Power*, London, pp. 3-25.
- Ellen Meiksins Wood, "Capitalism and Human Emancipation: Race, Gender and Democracy," in *Democracy against Capitalism*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, chap. 9, pp. 264-283.
- Gosta Esping-Anderson and Walter Korpi, 1984, "Social Policy as Class Politics in Post-War Capitalism: Scandinavia, Austria, and Germany," in John H. Goldthorpe, ed., *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 179-208.
- Charles Lindblom, 1982, "The Market as Prison," *Journal of Politics*, 44 (2) May, 324-336.

Recommended for further reading:

- W.R. Runciman, *Great Books, Bad Arguments*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010, chap. 4, "The Communist Manifesto."
- Karl Marx, "Grundrisse" in *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, David McLellan, ed., Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 345-387.
- Karl Marx, 1994, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte (selections)," in L. H. Simon (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected Writings*, Indianapolis: Hackett, pp. 187-208.
- V. I. Lenin, *Writings on the Commune*, New York: International Publishers, 1976, chaps. 3-7, pp. 96-129.
- Walter Korpi, 1983, *The Democratic Class Struggle*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, chap. 3.

**Oct. 12: Institutional approaches**

Required:

- James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, 1984, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *American Political Science Review* 78 (3) 734-749.
- Peter A. Hall and Rosemary Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," *Political Studies* XLIV, 1996, pp. 936-957.
- Ellen M. Immergut, 1992, "The rules of the game: the logic of health policymaking in France, Switzerland, and Sweden," in S. Steinmo, K. Thelen, and F. Longstreth, Eds. *Structuring Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 57-89.
- Kathleen Thelen, 2003, "How Institutions Evolve: Insights from Comparative Historical Analysis," in J. Mahoney and D. Rueschemeyer, Eds. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 208-240.

- Robert D. Putnam, 1979, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, chaps. 1 and 6.
- Steffan Kumlin and Bo Rothstein, "Making and Breaking Social Capital: The Impact of Welfare-State Institutions," *Comparative Political Studies*, 38 (4) 2005, 329-365.

Recommended for further reading:

- Wolfgang Streeck and Kathleen Thelen, 2005, *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. See chap. 1 for theory and subsequent case study chapters.

### III. STATE-SOCIETY RELATIONS

#### **Oct. 19: State-society relations and governance**

Required:

- Alfred Stepan, "Liberal-Pluralist, Classic Marxist, and 'Organic-Statist' Approaches to the State," in *Arguing Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 39-72.
- Wolfgang Streeck and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Community, Market, State—and Associations? The Prospective Contribution of Interest Governance to Social Order," *European Sociological Review* 1 (2) 1985, 119-138.
- Peter J. Katzenstein, 1985, *Small States in World Markets*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, chaps. 1, 3, and 4.
- Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, chaps. 1 and 2, introductions to Parts 2 and 3, and Epilogue.
- Anke Hassel, 2003, "The Politics of Social Pacts," *British Journal of Industrial Relations* 41 (4): December, 707-726.

Recommended for further reading:

- Philippe C. Schmitter, "Still the Century of Corporatism?" in Philippe C. Schmitter and Gerhard Lehmbruch (eds.) *Trends toward Corporatist Intermediation*, Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979.
- Fred Block, "The Role of the State in the Economy," in Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg (eds.) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, Princeton and New York: Princeton University Press and Russell Sage Foundation, 1994, pp. 691-710.
- Martin Rhodes, "The Political Economy of Social Pacts: 'Competitive Corporatism' and European Welfare Reform," in Paul Pierson, Ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 165-196.
- Theda Skocpol, 1985, "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research," in P. B. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer, and T. Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-37.

#### **Oct. 26: The link between electoral and party systems; continuity and change in European party systems**

Required:

- Arend Lijphart, 1999, *Patterns of Democracy*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, chaps. 5, 8.
- Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, 1995, "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party," *Party Politics* 1 (1): 5-28.
- Andrei S. Markovits and Phillip S. Gorski, 1993, *The German Left*, New York: Oxford University Press, Introduction, chap. 6, and conclusion.
- Piero Ignazi, 2006, "Extreme Right Parties: The By-Product of a 'Silent Counter-revolution?'" in *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, chaps. 2, 12.

- Sherri Berman, "Social Democracy's Past and Potential Future, in *What's Left of the Left?* James Cronin, George Ross, and James Shoch, eds., Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011, pp. 29-49.
- Gerrasimos Moschonas, "Historical Decline or Change of Scale?" in *What's Left of the Left*, 2011, pp. 50-85.

Recommended for further reading:

- Otto Kirchheimer, 1966. "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems," in J. LaPalombara and M. Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 177-200.
- Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, 1967, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments; An Introduction," in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, New York: Free Press, pp. 1-64.
- Maurice Duverger, 1954. *Political Parties*, trans. Barbara and Robert North. London: Methuen, pp. 17-40 and 61-79.
- Giovanni Sartori, 1976, *Parties and Party Systems*, New York: Cambridge University Press, chaps. 3 and 5.

#### IV. COMPARING POLITICAL SYSTEMS

##### Nov. 2: Varieties of democracy

Required:

- Philippe Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, 1991, "What Democracy Is...And Is Not." in Geoffrey Pridham, *Transitions to Democracy*, Aldershot and Brookfield: Dartmouth, 1995, 3-16.
- Arend Lijphart, 2012, *Patterns of Democracy*, entire (especially pay attention to chaps. 1-8, 10, 15, 17).
- Juan Linz, "The perils of presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy*, Winter 1990, 51-69 and discussion by Donald Horowitz, Seymour M. Lipset, and Juan Linz, *Journal of Democracy*, Fall 1990, 72-91.

##### Nov. 9: Varieties of authoritarianism

Required:

- Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 1951 [1973], New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, chaps. 10-13.
- Carl J Friedrich and Zbigniew K. Brzezinski, 1956, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, chaps. 1, 5, 17.
- Juan J. Linz, in J. Linz and A. Stepan, eds., 1978, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*, Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, Part I, chaps. 1-4 only.
- Stephen White, ed., 2008, *Politics and the Ruling Group in Putin's Russia*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, chaps. 1-4.

Recommended for further reading:

- Stanley G. Payne, 1983, *Fascism*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, chaps. 1, 8, 9.
- Jerry Hough and Merle Fainsod, 1979, *How the Soviet Union Is Governed*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- J. Linz and A. Stepan, eds., 1978, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. See Parts II and III for country cases.

## V. REGIME CHANGE: THE DIFFICULTIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

### Nov. 16: Modernization and democratization: is there a link?

#### Required:

Samuel H. Beer, 1973, "Modern Political Development," in *Patterns of Government: The Major Political Systems of Europe*, New York: McGraw-Hill, pp. 54-70.

Barrington Moore, Jr., 1966, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Boston: Beacon Press, chaps. 1, 7, 8.

Guillermo O'Donnell, 1973, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*, Berkeley: University of California Press, chaps. 2 and 3.

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, "How Development Leads to Democracy: What We Know about Modernization," *Foreign Affairs*, 88 (2) 2009, 33-48.

Minxin Pei, 2006, *China's Trapped Transition*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, Introduction and chaps. 1-2.

#### Recommended for further reading:

W. W. Rostow, 1960, *Stages of Economic Growth*, London, pp. 1-16.

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968, pp. 1-92.

*Will China Democratize?* Andrew J. Nathan, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, Eds. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.

### Nov. 23: Democratic transitions: successes and failures

#### Required:

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, 1986 [2013], *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, chaps. 1-7.

Alfred Stepan with Juan Linz, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," in Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz, *Arguing Comparative Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 295-314.

Alfred Stepan, 2001, "The World's Religious Systems and Democracy: Crafting the 'Twin Tolerations,'" in *Arguing Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 213-254.

Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz, 2013, "Democratic Theory and the Arab Spring," *Journal of Democracy* 24 (2) April 15-30.

#### Recommended for further reading:

Reread Reza Aslan, *No god but God*, chaps. 9-10.

Yezid Sayigh, 2011, "Agencies of Coercion: Armies and Internal Security Forces," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 43, 403-5.

## VI. COMPARATIVE PUBLIC POLICY

### Nov. 30: Welfare regimes in capitalist democracies: origins, regime types

#### Required:

Gosta Esping-Andersen, 2000, *The Social Foundations of Post-Industrial Economies*, Oxford University Press, 2000, chaps. 2, 3, 5.

T. H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *Sociology at the Crossroads, and Other Essays*, London: Heinemann, 1963, pp. 67-127.

Jacob S. Hacker, 2002, *The Divided Welfare State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Introduction and chap. 1.



Recommended for further reading:

- Kees van Kersbergen, 1995, *Social Capitalism*, London /New York: Routledge, chaps. 4, 8, 10, and pp. 177-190.
- Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, Eds. 1981, *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books. See esp. introduction, pp. 17-34, and Flora and Alber, pp. 37-80.
- Ann Shola Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of State Policies and Gender Relations, *American Sociological Review*, 58 (3): 1993, 303-328.
- Theda Skocpol, 1992, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press/Harvard University Press, Introduction.
- Peter A. Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity*, Cambridge University Press, 1990, Introduction and conclusion.
- Harold Wilensky, 1975, *The Welfare State and Equality*, Berkeley: University of California Press, chap. 2.

**Dec. 7: Welfare regimes: adaptation and transformation in response to new challenges**

Required:

- Paul Pierson, "Post Industrial Pressures on Mature Welfare States," in Paul Pierson, Ed. *The New Politics of the Welfare State*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 80-104.
- Jonas Pontusson, 2011, "Once Again a Model: Nordic Social Democracy in a Globalized World," in James Cronin, George Ross, and James Shoch, Eds. *What's Left of the Left*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp. 89-115.
- Bruno Palier, 2012, "Turning Vice into Vice: How Bismarckian Welfare States Have Gone from Unsustainability to Dualization," in G. Bonoli and D. Natali, eds., *The Politics of the New Welfare State*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 233-255.
- Jacob Hacker, "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States," *American Political Science Review* May 2004, 98 (2), 243-260.

**Dec. 14: SEMINAR PAPER DUE to turnitin.com by 5 PM.**