P.S. 201 Introduction to Comparative Politics 140905
Prof. Frank Wayman
Fall 2014, TTh 3:30-4:45 PM
1205 SSB
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INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Required Texts:
Bingham Powell et al., *Comparative Politics Today*: new edition. New York, Pearson, copyright 2015.
Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
course pack from Dollar Bill Copy. Each student should buy the course pack, available from Dollar Bill Copy, for sale on line or at their toll-free number. $Bill can be reached at 1-877-738-9200, or at www.dollarbillcopying.com. At the website, go to order products on line, then to the order course packs on line bar, then to UM-D, then to the course number. After selecting all those things, proceed to order, give mailing info., credit card, and $Bill ships next day UPS to your address.

Focus of the course:

This course examines how government evolves and functions in various economic and cultural settings. We start with the emergence of democracy in Western Europe, examining the factors that give rise to it and help it survive in Great Britain and France. We next examine the origins of fascism in Germany and Japan, the reasons why it emerged and the subsequent emergence of democracy in these countries. We then examine the rise of communism in Russia and China, attempting to understand why it emerged and flourished in those settings-- and why it later collapsed. This leads to an analysis of the current struggle between reformers and hardliners, concerning the move to market economies and liberal democracy in Russia, China and Eastern Europe. Next we will examine the struggle for democracy in Mexico, India, and by extension the other modernizing countries of Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Finally, we examine the extent to which there are predictable trajectories of economic, cultural and political change in global perspective. Is the gradual spread of prosperity, then democracy, which we have seen since the onset of the industrial revolution, likely to continue? What about trends in public policy, such as the questions of the size and role of government, and of the future of the welfare state, in Western Europe, Japan, and elsewhere, including the United States?

COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS:

Students should complete the following readings by the indicated dates.

I. THE THEORY AND BASIC CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

By Sept. 6th: Powell, *Comparative Politics Today*, pp. xii-55.

By Sept. 13th: Deutsch, *Politics and Government: How People Decide Their Fate*, pp. 3-108. (Course Pack) {This section is on: politics; government; interests, needs, and values; legitimacy and probabilities of law enforcement; capability of individuals to learn, and social learning; power and other stakes in politics; security and liberty; interest groups and parties; and major political thinkers.}

By Sept. 20th: Deutsch, *Politics and Government: How People Decide Their Fate*, pp. 109-228. (Course Pack) {This section is on: nations in the world; "peoples", nations, and multi-ethnic states; social cleavages, and inequality; the political system, and how it steers itself; the process and machinery of government; the performance of political systems: life expectancy, wealth and economic growth, the extent of inequality.}

By Sept. 27th: Powell, pp. 56-95 (Interest Articulation and Aggregation). Powell, pp. 96-147 (Govt. Policy Making and Public Policy)

By Oct. 4th: Handout from Wayman and Schafer, *Stamp of Authority, Coin of the Realm: the States, Nations, and Entities of the World from 1492 to present.* {What *are* we comparing in comparative politics? To address that, this section is on: established *vs.* aspiring nations in the world; sovereign states; the other political entities, such as colonies, League of Nations mandates (later re-labeled "UN trust territories") and zones of military occupation; the problem of continuity of nations and entities across time (especially across periods of occupation by outsiders); what we mean by "countries" and "societies"; what we mean by "states" vs. the other terms "political systems", "governments", "regimes", and "empires"; application of this to the United Kingdom; France; Spain and its former colony Mexico; Portugal and its former colony Brazil; Iran; and India -- an entire sub-continent itself colonized, in portions of the modern era, by the Moghuls, the UK, France, and Portugal.

II. COUNTRY STUDIES

By Oct. 11th: Powell, pp. 148-193 (Britain).

-- THE FIRST EXAM WILL BE ON TUES., OCT. 14TH --
THE EXAM WILL COVER ALL MATERIAL IN PART I.

By Oct. 18th: Powell, pp. 194-293 (France and Germany)

By Oct. 25th: Powell, pp. 294-383 (Japan and Russia)

By Nov. 1st: Powell, pp. 384-481 (China and Mexico)

By Nov. 8th: Powell, pp. 482-581 (Brazil and Iran)

-- THE SECOND ASSIGNMENT WILL BE ON TUES., NOV. 18TH -- TURN IN A FIVE-PAGE DOUBLE-SPACED ESSAY DISCUSSING: "THE CONCEPTS IN WAYMAN AND SCHAFER ARE MORE CLOSELY RELATED TO THE CONCERNS OF KARL DEUTSCH THAN THE CONCERNS OF THE TEXTBOOK AUTHORS." YOUR ANSWER SHOULD BE PRIMARILY BASED ON THE MATERIAL IN WAYMAN AND SCHAFER. MORE DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS WILL BE PROVIDED AS WE GET CLOSER TO THE DATE.

By Nov. 15th: Powell, pp. 582-678 (India and Nigeria).

III. WHAT IS THE RECENT AND POSSIBLE FUTURE PATH OF THE MODERN NATIONS? Theory and Evidence from *Modernization, Culture Change, and Democracy*.

By Nov. 22nd: Inglehart and Welzel, pp. 1-100.

Note: THANKSGIVING IS NOV. 27TH, THANKSGIVING VACATION IS NOV. 27-30TH

By Nov. 29th: Inglehart and Welzel, pp. 100-200.

By Dec. 6th: Inglehart and Welzel, pp. 200-300.

By Dec. 11th: Inglehart and Welzel, Review the first 300 pages, while reflecting on terms and individuals from the backend (pp. 300-344)

-- THE FINAL EXAM WILL BE THURS., DEC. 11 TH, 11:30 AM-12:30 PM --

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

The exams in the course will be designed to test your knowledge of the readings and lectures. The two exams will be half multiple choice and half essay. The multiple choice questions will be designed to test your knowledge of specific points in the readings and lectures. The essay portion of each exam will be 25 minutes long, and during that period you will answer one question, assigned to you from a set of about three questions that will be distributed at least one week before the exam. The three questions will attempt to give you the opportunity to integrate your knowledge into a broad perspective of your own on some aspect of comparative politics. You will have to answer the question on the exam without aid of notes, but the opportunity to

prepare in advance will insure that you are not caught by surprise by the question. The two exams will have equal weight (each counts for 32 percent of the course grade). No make-up exams will be permitted without documentation of medical exigency (e.g., a physician's note). There may be occasional quizzes, each counting one to five percent of the grade (these percentages would be taken out of the weight of the three exams). About five percent of the grade will be class participation, which will help those who participate but will not lower the grade of the shy or otherwise quiet. Strong leadership in analyzing and discussing the readings may boost the weight of this class participation for those who engage in serious thinking about the texts and their relevance to global conditions. The paper due in November will have a weight equal to one of the exams.

Use of laptop computers and cell phones is not permitted in class.

Those missing class should have a legitimate excuse, and should speak to me the week before if possible. Also, UM-D makes reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students should register with the Disability Resource Services Office within the first few weeks of the semester to be eligible for services that semester.

I have been asked by the Provost to include the following statement (which should go without saying): The University of Michigan values academic honesty and integrity. Each student has a responsibility to understand, accept, and comply with the University's standards of academic conduct as set forth in the Code of Academic Conduct, as well as policies established by the schools and colleges. Cheating, collusion, misconduct, fabrication, and plagiarism are considered serious offenses. Violations will not be tolerated and may result in penalties up to and including expulsion from the University. Other administrators think it is important that you be told what our bureaucratic goals are, so I have been told to place this website in the syllabus:
http://www.casl.umd.umich.edu/politicalsciences/

ON E-MAIL ETIQUETTE:

While e-mail has become a very important means of communication between students and faculty, there is so much trouble for all of us from so-called hackers, that it is good to observe appropriate norms of behavior. Because of the threat from viruses and similar plagues, I do not open emails that do not have your name as the sender, or emails that do not have a subject heading that indicates a topic related to you and the course. I also do not open e-mail attachments. This means your e-mail must actually be readable by me when I click on it; in other words, when I open an e-mail and there is no text because all the text has been placed in an attachment, I do not open the attachment. I look forward to hearing from you; on the whole, this email system is a blessing.

Exams: Bring a # 2 pencil, a pen, a blue book, and a scan-tron form.

Here are the three questions to prepare for **exam 1:**

1. What two of Karl Deutsch's political thinkers are most useful to understanding the comparative politics ideas presented in Powell and Deutsch so far? (The classic thinkers listed by Deutsch are Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Edmund Burke, and John Stuart Mill.) Explain your views, referring carefully to the readings and lectures.

2. When you read Richard Rose's chapter on politics in the UK, what are the ideas from the readings of September that are best connected to the UK political system? What are the most fundamental questions studying the UK poses, and what answers have been given in the readings and lecture?

3. Discuss the following statement: "Interest groups distort the effort to get government to pursue the common good, and, especially in the U.S., 'mobilize bias' in favor of 'moneyed interests' Political parties, as Anthony Downs and others say, help government approach the public good. The critics of political parties (such as Michels, with his iron law of oligarchy) do have some good points, but, overall, political parties and their efforts at interest aggregation are the best hope for a democratic political process that comes close to attaining Rousseau's general will."

There will be about 30 multiple choice questions on the exam. On such a test, two multiple choice questions might look like this:

1. An "**established nation**," as it is defined in our course-pack book *Stamp of Authority*, is
a**. an entity that sends its team to the summer and winter Olympics**
b. a **group of people in control of a Sovereign State**, where "a people" is understood in the special sense of "the largest all-purpose group whose members can share a sense of solidarity like a family."
c. a group like the Jews in early modern times in Europe, that **share a sense of community and religion or ethnicity**.

2. At the UN, the Palestinian Arabs are represented as a
a. an observer entity as of 2011
b. an observer state as of 2012
c. both of the above.

Finally, here is an essay question that I once asked in another class. I will pass out an actual answer to it in our 201 course, so that you can see what a good answer of 25 minutes would look like. The question that the student answered was:

4. What is a sovereign state, and how does nationalism affect international relations and the strength of the state?

The concluding theme for the first lecture:

What countries are we studying, and why?

Comparative politics, as one of the half-dozen or so major sub-fields of political science, is characterized both by a substantive focus and a methodological focus. Substantively, the focus is "on more than one country." It has even been said, this means the term 'comparative politics' is narrowed from ordinary language, by "excluding within-nation comparison." Further, "Methodologically, comparison is distinguished by its use of concepts that are applicable in more than one country." (These quotes are from Richard Rose, "Comparing Forms of Comparative Analysis, *Political Studies*, Vol. 39 (No. 3), pp. 446-462; Rose is a prominent writer in the field of comparative politics, and wrote one of the chapters in our textbook; indeed, the entire textbook is dedicated to him.)

At University of Michigan-Dearborn, the sequence of study of political science usually (but not necessarily) goes from P.S. 101, American Government, to P.S. 201, Comparative Politics. The idea is that it is common and worthwhile to begin with a study of one's own national government, and that the next step is to examine the way things are done and politics works in the rest of the world. However, in my course on comparative politics the United States *is* compared to other nations, and so it would be slightly wrong or misleading to say that comparative government is the study of politics outside the United States. The inclusion of the U.S. in comparative politics, as a point of comparison, makes sense for a number of reasons. The U.S. is objectively the most powerful country on Earth. The U.S. was "the first new nation" (the first country to get free of European colonialism). The U.S. was the first "democracy". The U.S. was the first country to have modern political parties (one of which, the Democratic Party, goes back to the era of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, over 200 years ago).

Beyond the U.S., what foreign countries should we examine? There are almost two hundred countries who are members of the United Nations, so in an introductory course, it is not possible to study them all thoroughly, or even learn all their names. It is customary to take several as examples, and focus most of the readings and lectures on them. Which ones? Professor Ronald Stockton, who has taught comparative politics the most at UM-D, has said in his syllabus, "scientifically speaking, one country is as important as any other." I agree, but . . . if that is the last word, how would we decide which countries to study in the course? By what the professor knows the most about? Or by a lottery? Decades ago, it was customary to study the major powers, that is to say, the countries with the most clout. Traditionally, one studied England (technically known as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland), France, Germany, the Soviet Union, and maybe China. These, along with the United States, are the world's first nuclear powers. They are the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Back then, most of the rest of the world was a set of colonial possessions of these major powers. As the colonies became independent, which occurred mostly in 1946-1961, new

"developing nations" emerged, including India, African nations, and countries in Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, the states of the Middle East and Latin America, which had been independent for centuries but had a low standard of living, began to become economically more important and more in the news. It seemed reasonable to study these countries, too, in addition to the "great" or "major" powers. Cynthia Enloe, an important scholar in comparative politics, had some fun with this in a recent essay, in which she wrote,

> Our relationships to the things we study are always problematic. Early in my career as a comparative politics specialist, I noticed that those academics who studied one of the "Great Powers," France for instance, seemed to acquire more status among their peers than those who studied the politics of, say, Mali. By the very fact that they studied French politics, they seemed to be taken more seriously; that is, they appeared in the eyes of their academic colleagues to be more intellectually sophisticated. . . . Occasionally, the hierarchy of reflected status can be upset. I confess, therefore, that now, when we suddenly need to make sense of political events in Mali, I do chuckle. -- Remarks of Cynthia Enloe, pp. 174-175 of "Gender and Politics: A Discussion . . .", in *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 12 (No. 1), March 2014.

Because I also take Prof. Enloe's work seriously, I then looked at the countries she had compared in her own book, *The Politics of Pollution in a Comparative Perspective*, which I used to assign at UM-D. She had four chapters on individual countries, and each was a great power: the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and Britain. So it is not so easy, even for Cynthia Enloe, to escape focus on the great powers -- probably because they are the ones that matter the most. We will discuss a number of countries in class this term that are not great powers, but I intend to focus a lot of our attention on the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, China, and India. India brings in a former colony. Taken together (and if we include the U.S. that we're already fairly familiar with), these countries cover about half the people on the planet. And economically and strategically, these places still have at least half the clout. This way, with a focus on just one half-dozen non-U.S. countries, we'll get to know some of the places that are likely to matter a lot in your lifetimes.

Travel and family ties to ancestral homelands provide good ways of getting in touch with comparative politics. I'm no exception, and I am glad I have been able to travel to all the countries we're focusing on except Russia. I hope you'll find this course useful and fun, and that it will become a life-long interest of yours; maybe this will include travel to some of these places in your future, maybe reading about them as the years go by. Take Hemingway: "If you are lucky enough to have lived in Paris as a young man, then wherever you go for the rest of your life, it stays with you, for Paris is a moveable feast." (From the title page of Ernest Hemingway, *A Moveable Feast*, N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964)

It is impossible to study a subject like this without learning the names of some of the people who write about it. We have already mentioned Richard Rose and Cynthia Enloe. Two other major figures are Karl Deutsch and Ronald Inglehart. The major scholarly prize in comparative politics is the Karl Deutsch Prize. Inglehart changed the field forever by bringing polling and survey research to bear, showing what ordinary folks think in dozens of countries. The "Focus of the Course" section of above emulates the syllabus of Prof. Inglehart, with the change of only one word. Other big names, besides those already mentioned, are Max Weber and Karl Marx. Not knowing who's who in the field would be like taking psychology and not knowing what Sigmund Freud thought, or taking physics and not knowing who Isaac Newton was. In the course, I emphasize, in as balanced a way as I can manage, (1) the countries we are comparing, (2) the ideas and concepts we use to compare them, and (3) the scholars who created these concepts and shaped these ideas.

The basic problem for each of us is that we grow up in one place, which Plato called "the cave", and we don't know, until we are taught, that there are other interesting alternatives.

"*Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiss nichts von seigner eigenen*." Who cannot speak a foreign language, knows not his own. This is a remark of the German author Goethe, which a UM-D student (Martina Cucchiara) and I both noticed had been printed at the beginning on the first page of our Latin textbook. Compare Seymour Martin Lipset's oft-spoken aphorism from our P.S. 201 textbook, "He who knows one country knows no country!" (quoted in G. Bingham Powell 2015: 3). This is a fitting way to think about the course, and a good way to think about climbing out of the cave that we are all in to some degree. We have all made some progress already in our lives so far, and we will continue the journey, in PS 201, this Fall Term. Welcome!