

**THEORIES OF COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (SIS 672-003)**  
**American University, School of International Service**

Fall 2007  
Tuesdays, 8:10 – 10:40 pm  
Location: Ward 114  
<http://dss.ucsd.edu/~clevan>

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Asbury room 224B  
Office hrs: Tues 3-5/Fri 2-4

**Course description:**

This course examines central issues and theoretical approaches in the fields of comparative and international politics. These areas of inquiry have traditionally been treated separately but analysts increasingly recognize a conceptual and practical convergence between them. The course takes up the “discrete” concerns of these fields while attempting to bridge the gap between them. Democracy is a central theme of the course because of its importance to modern social science, to theorists who link regime type to development and stability, and to contemporary intellectuals who are raising alarms about “illiberal” democracies.

The course is divided into five broad units: the introductory unit begins with an overview of the sociological tradition in politics. Social theory provides the intellectual foundations for many of the comparative analyses that follow. Second, the course focuses on structural theories including modernization, dependency, world-systems theories. These explanations for economic development and change are relevant to the analysis of “domestic” systems as well as international interactions. Third, we address the broad theories that emphasize the state and human agency. This includes an overview of the realist tradition in international relations, which focuses on the strategic interactions among states, and various critiques of realism. We also examine globalization, which poses some basic challenges to earlier approaches in both comparative politics and international relations. Fourth, we consider how cultures and identities influence the domestic and international political scene. We take up the concept of political culture and explore how globalization and democratization are animated by the dynamics of civil society and social movements. Critical research here explores reasons for the saliency of ethnic identities. Fifth, the course concludes with some critical readings on democracy promotion and the emerging challenges to assumptions about the nexus between democracy and capitalism.

**Required texts:**

- O’Neil, Patrick and Ronald Rogowski, eds. 2006. *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition.) New York and London: W.W. Norton.
- Roberts, J. Timmons and Amy Bellone Hite. 2007. *The Globalization and Development Reader: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Keohane, Robert. 1986. *Neorealism and its Critics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lichbach, Mark and Alan Zukerman, eds. 1997. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure*. Cambridge University Press.
- Required readings posted on Blackboard are denoted with an \*asterisk below.

**Recommended:**

- Marsh, David and Gerry Stoker, eds. 2002. *Theory and Methods in Political Science*. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition) New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

## Course Requirements:

The requirements include two short analytical papers and a take-home final examination:

- For each of the analytical papers, you are required to answer one of the questions listed in *italics* at the beginning of each new section of the course. You cannot choose two questions from the same section; no questions are posed for the introductory and the concluding sections of the course. You should come to class prepared to discuss your essay for a few minutes (this will count toward your class participation grade). Outside research is neither required nor discouraged. You are encouraged to bring short handouts for your presentation. Each paper should be 5-6 pages long and the due dates are:
  - Structural analysis will be due on September 18.
  - Agency, autonomy and state power will be due on October 23.
  - Society, identity and political culture will be due on November 13.
- Topics for the take home exam will be distributed via Blackboard and it will be due at **8:10 pm on December 11**. The prompt will ask you to respond to a broad over-arching question in a convincingly argued and carefully constructed 10-12 page paper.

While early papers are always welcome, late papers will be penalized five points per day. All papers submitted for the class are expected to follow standard formatting for citations and bibliography. If you have questions about format, consult the library's Style Guide: <http://www.library.american.edu/subject/citation.html>. Use one-inch margins, 12-point type, double-spacing, and please do not go over the page limit. For tips on grammar, take a look at *Elements of Style*. Papers will not be accepted by email without prior permission.

A passing grade cannot be awarded without completion of all course requirements. If you anticipate missing an assignment deadline due to medical or other emergency, please notify the instructor in advance. Your course grade will be based on the following calculation: First analytical paper (30%), second analytical paper (30%), final exam (30%), and participation (10%). A note on participation: *Please do not browse, email, IM, sidekick, etc. during class!*

## INTRODUCTION

### (1) Course Overview (August 28)

- \* Bennett, Andrew and G. John Ikenberry, "The *Review's* Evolving Relevance for U.S. Foreign Policy, 1906 – 2006," *American Political Science Review* 100 (Nov. 2006): 651 – 658.
- \* Berlin, Isaiah. 1978. "The Decline of Utopian Ideas in the West," in *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 20-48.

#### Recommended:

Lichbach and Zukerman, Chapter 1: "Research Traditions and Theory in Comparative Politics"

### (2) Social Theory and Social Science (September 4)

Lichbach and Zuckerman. Chapter 9: "Social Theory and Comparative Politics," in Lichbach and Zukerman.

Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, in Roberts and Hite.

Durkheim, Emile. Selections from *The Division of Labor in Society*, in Roberts and Hite.

Weber, Max. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, in Roberts and Hite.

Weber, Max. "Politics as a Vocation," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

Recommended:

Morrison, Ken. 1995. *Marx, Durkheim, Weber: Formations of Modern Social Thought*. London: Sage Publications.  
Lenin, Vladimir. 1917. "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism." Available online for free at:  
<http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/index.htm>

*Selected scenes from a movie:* Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936)

## PART 2: STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS IN POLITICS

Katznelson, Ira. Chapter 4: "Structure and Configuration in Comparative Politics," in Lichbach and Zukerman.

1. *Is the distinction between developed and developing countries necessary or conceptually useful?*
2. *With an eye toward Iraq today, explain how the early and/or the late modernization theorists would account for political instability. Note: no outside research is necessary.*
3. *Summarize the main arguments and flaws of modernization and dependency theories. How did these scholars advance our understanding of politics?*

### (3) Modernization Theory and Political Development (September 11)

Lipset, Seymour M. 1960. "Economic Development and Democracy," in O'Neil and Rogowski.  
\* Lederer, Bill and Eugene Burdick. *The Ugly American*. "A Note from the Authors" and Chapter 18 "The Ugly American and the Ugly Sarkhanese" and Chapter 19 "The Bent Backs of Chang 'Dong'" (pages 214-238).  
\* Lerner, Daniel. 1958. Excerpts from *The Passing of Traditional Society*, in *From Modernization to Globalization*, edited by Roberts and Hite. Blackwell Publishing.  
Rostow, W.W. 1960. "The Stages of Economic Growth," in Roberts and Hite.  
Huntington, Samuel. "The Change to Change" and "Political Order in Changing Societies," in Roberts and Hite.

Recommended:

Huntington, Samuel. 1967. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.  
Deutsch, Karl, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *APSR*, 55:3 (Sept. 1961): 493-514  
Rustow, Dankwart. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics*, 2:3 (April 1970): 337-63.  
Diamond, Larry. 2006. "Commentary on Seymour Martin Lipset's 'Some Social Requisites of Democracy,'" *American Political Science Review* 100 (2006): 675 – 76.

### (4) Power and Inequality: Dependency and World Systems Theories (September 18)

Frank, Andre Gunder. 1969. "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Roberts and Hite.  
Cardoso, Fernando Henrique. 1972. "Dependency and Development in Latin America," in Roberts and Hite.  
Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1979. "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," in Roberts and Hite.  
Gereffi, Gary. 1994. "Rethinking Development Theory: Insights from East Asia and Latin America," in Roberts and Hite.

### PART 3: AGENCY, AUTONOMY, AND STATE POWER

1. Is globalization “inevitable”? Build your answer around insights from agency-centered theories and the other major themes covered in this unit.
2. How does constructivism measure up against existing IR theories? Be sure to evaluate its parsimony and explanatory power.
3. Did the international relations theories that emerged during the Cold War exaggerate the centrality of conflict and understate the potential for cooperation?
4. Reflecting on global trends in areas such as trade, international institutions, and borders discuss the evolving nature of sovereignty. Is Weber’s definition of a state still relevant?

#### (5) Agency and Autonomy (September 25)

Levi, Margaret. Chapter 2: “A Model, a Method, and a Map: Rational Choice in Comparative and Historical Analysis,” in Lichbach and Zukerman.

Hall, Peter. Chapter 7: “The Role of Interests, Institutions, and Ideals in the Political Economy of the Industrialized Nations,” in Lichbach and Zukerman.

Migdal, Joel. Chapter 8: “Studying the State,” in Lichbach and Zukerman.

Herbst, Jeffrey. 1990. “War and the State in Africa,” in O’Neil and Rogowski.

North, Douglass. 1991. “Institutions,” in O’Neil and Rogowski.

#### Recommended:

Evans, Peter. 1987. “Foreign Capital and the Third World State,” in *Understanding Political Development*, Myron Weiner and Samuel Huntington, eds. Illinois: Waveland Press.

Karl, Terry, “Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America,” *Comparative Politics* 23:1 (Oct. 1990): 1-21.

Nordlinger, Eric. 1987. “Taking the State Seriously,” in Weiner and Huntington, op cit.

Green, Donald and Ian Shapiro. 1994. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Cox, Gary, “The Empirical Content of Rational Choice Theory: A Reply to Green and Shapiro,” *Journal of Theoretical Politics*.

Skocpol, Theda. 1985. “Bringing the State Back In”

#### (6) Realism in International Relations (October 2)

Keohane, Robert. 1986. Chapter 1: “Realism, Neorealism and the Study of World Politics,” in Keohane.

Ruggie, John. 1983. Chapter 6: “Continuity and Transformation in the World Polity: Toward a Neorealist Synthesis,” in Keohane.

Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. Chapter 3: “Reductionist and Systemic Theories,” in Keohane.

Waltz, Kenneth. 1979. Chapter 5: “Anarchic Orders and Balances of Power,” in Keohane.

#### Recommended:

Thucydides. *History of the Peloponnesian War*.

#### (7) Beyond Realism in International Relations (October 9)

Keohane, Robert. Chapter 7: “Theory of World Politics: Structural Realism and Beyond,” in Keohane.

Ashley, Richard. 1984. Chapter 9: “The Poverty of Neorealism,” in Keohane.

\* Schuster, Jürgen and Herbert Maier, “The Rift: Explaining Europe’s Divergent Iraq Policies in the Run-Up of the American-Led War on Iraq,” *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 2 (2006): 223-244.

\* Nuruzzaman, Mohammed, “Beyond Realist Theories: ‘Neo-Conservative Realism’ and the American Invasion of Iraq,” *International Studies Perspectives* 7 (2006): 239-253.

- \* Kessler, Glenn and Thomas Ricks. "The Realists' Repudiation of Policies for a War, Region," *Washington Post*, December 7, 2006, p. A1.

Recommended:

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce. 2006. "Game Theory, Political Economy, and the Evolving Study of War and Peace," *American Political Science Review* 100 (Nov. 2006): 637 – 642.
- Raskin, Marcus. 1971. "The Violence Colony: Authority and the Social Contract," in *Being and Doing*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Mueller, John. 2006. *Overblown: How Politicians and the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats, and Why We Believe Them*. Free Press.

**(9) The Constructivist Alternative (October 16)**

- \* Wendt, Alexander. 1992. "Anarchy is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics," *International Organization* 41 (1992): 391-425.
  - \* Copeland, Dale. 2006. "The Constructivist Challenge to Structural Realism," Chapter 1 in *Constructivism and International Relations*, Guzzini and Leander, eds., London and New York: Routledge.
  - \* Suganami, Hidemi. 2002. "On Wendt's Philosophy: A Critique," *Review of International Studies* 28 (2002): 23-37.
- Lake, David. 2003. "The New Sovereignty in International Relations," *International Studies Review*, 5:3 (Sept. 2003): 303-323. Available at: <http://weber.ucsd.edu/~dlake/articles.html>

Recommended:

- Guzzini, Stefano and Anna Leander (eds). 2006. *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and His Critics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hopf, Ted. 1998. "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory," *International Security* 23 (1998): 171-200.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1994. "Collective Identity Formation and the International State," *American Political Science Review* 88 (1994): 384-96.
- Wendt, Alexander. 1999. *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**(8) Globalization: Theory and Evidence on Integration and Inequality (October 23)**

- Folker, Fröbel et al. "The New International Division of Labor," in Roberts and Hite.
- McMichael, Philip. "Globalization: Myths and Realities," in Roberts and Hite.
- Rodrick, Dani. "Has Globalization Gone too Far?" in Roberts and Hite.
- Hoffman, Stanley. 2002. "Clash of Globalizations," in O'Neil and Rogowski.
- Galbraith, James K. 2002. "A Perfect Crime: Inequality in the Age of Globalization," in O'Neil and Rogowski.
- Kristof, Nicholas. "Wretched of the Earth," *New York Review of Books*, May 31, 2007. Available free at <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/20230>
- \* LaFraniere, Sharon. "Cell Phones Catapult Rural Africa to 21<sup>st</sup> Century," *New York Times*, August 25, 2005, p. 1.
  - \* Forero, Juan. "Leaving the Wild, and Rather Liking the Change," *New York Times*, May 11, 2006, p. 1.
  - \* Reel, Monte. "As Forests Disappear, Pressures Mount on 'Uncontacted' Tribes," *Washington Post*, July 8, 2007, p. 1.

*Scenes from a movie: The Gods Must Be Crazy*

Recommended:

- Anderson, Sarah and John Cavanagh. 2005. *Field Guide to the Global Economy*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Held, David et al. 1999. *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Stanford University Press.
- Michael Shnayerson, "Zombies, Professors, and Holy Men: the Very Interesting Life of Wade Davis" *National Geographic Adventure* (June/July 2006).
- Walden Bello, "Globalization in Retreat" *Foreign Policy in Focus*, December 27, 2006. Available free at: <http://www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/3826>.

## **PART 4: SOCIETY, IDENTITY, AND POLITICAL CULTURE**

1. *Does research on political culture and social movements suggest that the explanatory value of prevailing theories of collective action (ie, Mancur Olson's) is overstated?*
2. *Critique competing explanations for ethnicity and civil conflict.*
3. *Has research on political culture and civil society improved over the years? What contexts (for example structural, social, political) might undermine a theory that explains political phenomena through values?*

### **(10) Political Culture (October 30)**

\* Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, pp. 255-79; 306-10.

Howard and Ross, Chapter 3: "Culture and Identity in Comparative Political Analysis," in Lichbach and Zukerman.

Sen, Amartya. "Civilizational Imprisonments," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

Fish, Steven. "Islam and Authoritarianism," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

Huntington, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilizations," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

Recommended:

- Anderson, Margaret. 2000. *Practicing Democracy: Elections and Political Culture in Imperial Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ash, Timothy Garton, "Soldiers of the Hidden Imam," *New York Review of Books*, 52:17 (Nov. 3, 2005).
- Bellin, Eva, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East," *Comparative Politics* 36:2 (Jan. 2004): 139-157.
- Katzenstein, Peter. 1996. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lane, Ruth. "Political Culture: Residual Category or General Theory?" *Comparative Political Studies* 25:3 (Oct. 1992): 362-387.

### **(11) Civil Society and Social Movements (November 6)**

De Tocqueville, Alexis. Introduction to *Democracy in America*, in O'Neil and Rogowski.

Putnam, Robert. 1995. "Turning In, Tuning Out," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

Berman, Shari. 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

McAdams, Doug et al. Chapter 6: "Toward an Integrated Perspective on Social Movements," in Lichbach and Zukerman.

Evans, Peter. 2005. "Counterhegemonic Globalization: Transnational Social Movements in the Contemporary Global Economy," in Roberts and Hite.

Sachs, Jeffrey. 2005. "The Antiglobalization Movement," in Roberts and Hite.

Recommended:

- El-Sayed Said, Mohammed, "Global Civil Society: An Arab Perspective" in *Global Civil Society 2004-05*, edited by Helmut Anheier et al. SAGE Publications.

Morris P. Fiorina, 1999, "Extreme Voices: A Dark Side of Civic Engagement," in *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, Skocpol and Fiorina eds.

Robert Putnam, "Bowling Together," in *The American Prospect*, 13:2 (Feb. 13, 2002). Available at: <http://www.prospect.org/print-friendly/print/V13/3/putnam-r.html>

## (12) Ethnicity (November 13)

Collier, Paul. 2001. "Ethnic Diversity: An Economic Analysis," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

\* Fearon, James and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97 (2003): 75-90.

\* Posner, Daniel. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *American Political Science Review* 98 (Nov. 2004): 529-545.

\* Walter, Barbara. 2006. "Information, Uncertainty, and the Decision to Secede," *International Organization* 60 (Jan. 2006): 105-135.

### Recommended:

Roeder, Philip and Donald Rothchild. 2005. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Laitin, David. "The Tower of Babel as a Coordination Game: Political Linguistics in Ghana." *American Political Science Review*. 88:3 (Sept. 1994): 622-634.

Gurr, Ted. 2000. *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitics*. Washington, DC: US Institute of Peace.

→ **NOTE:** On November 20, Tuesday classes are cancelled. Friday classes meet instead.

## PART 5: CONCLUSION

### (13) Critical Perspectives on Democratization (November 27)

\* Carothers, Thomas, "The Backlash against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs*, (March/April 2006).

Bunce, Valerie. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Post-communist Experience," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

Hobsbawm, Eric. "The Dangers of Exporting Democracy," *The Guardian*, January 22, 2005. Available free at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,1396038,00.html>

\* Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2006. "Linkage and Leverage: How do International Factors Change Domestic Balances of Power?" from *Electoral Authoritarianism: the Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Andreas Schedler, ed. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.

Mansfield and Snyder, "Prone to Violence: The Paradox of the Democratic Peace," *The National Interest* (Winter 2005/06). Available online at: <http://www.nationalinterest.org>

### Recommended:

\* Gleditsch, Kristian and Michael D. Ward, "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization," *International Organization* 60:4 (Oct. 2006): 911-933.

### (14) States and Markets in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (December 4)

*The Economist*, "Is Government Disappearing?" in O'Neil and Rogowski.

*The Economist*. 2003. "Liberty's Great Advance," in O'Neil and Rogowski.

\* Raskin, Marcus. 2004. Chapter 4: "Capitalist Economics Fails Democracy" in *Liberalism: the Genius of American Ideals*. New York and Toronto: Rowman and Littlefield.

Linz, Juan and A. Stepan. 1996. "Modern Non-democratic Regimes," in O'Neil and Rogowski.  
Diamond, Larry. 2002. "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," in O'Neil and Rogowski.  
Rotberg, Robert. 2002. "The New Nature of Nation-State Failure," in O'Neil and Rogowski.  
Goldstone, Jack. 2002. "States, Terrorists, and the Clash of Civilizations," in O'Neil and Rogowski.