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INTRODUCTION TO COMPARATIVE POLITICS

POL 210 Spring, 2025

Moodle: <https://moodle.cc.sophia.ac.jp/course/view.php?id=18163>

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Office: 10-530

Class meets Tues (Kioi-115) & Fri (Kioi-B104) 9:00-10:40

Office hours: by appointment

Website: www.kasasustainability.org

GENERAL GUIDELINE

Course Description

This course introduces students to important concepts, themes, and approaches in the comparative study of politics. The course is organized around empirical questions that reflect both interesting phenomena and puzzles that call for explanation. Throughout the course, we explore the key analytical frameworks in comparative politics which constitute political systems and shape outcomes in our everyday lives—the state, social structure, interests, identities, and institutions. Topics include modern states, political regimes, origins of democracy and dictatorship, political parties, interest groups, representation, participation, resistance, revolutions, nationalism, ethnic/religious conflicts as well as the issues of institutional designs (parliamentarism vs. presidentialism, consensual vs. majoritarian democracy, federalism and decentralization). By the end of the course, the student will have acquired a broad perspective of the field of comparative politics and some basic analytical frameworks to examine a wide range of political and social phenomena.

Requirements and Grading

1. Engagement: 20%

A main goal of this class is to spark a sense of intellectual curiosity and nurture critical thinking. Although the class will be structured around lectures, I try to create as many opportunities as possible for students to actively participate in discussions. *Please print out the readings and come to class prepared*, having completed the readings and reading to discuss them. Ask each other hard questions, listen to your peers' responses and respect the opinions of instructors and classmates. My hope is that the course will stimulate your intellectual curiosity and help you find your academic interests that you'd like to pursue in depth. Remember, there are no wrong answers; but you must be able to support your argument with sound reasoning!

Attendance is very important. I expect you to attend every class. Missing class will hurt you in two ways. First, you will miss the thesis of the readings that we will take up in class. This will have significant impact on what you get out of this course. Second, you will not be able to answer questions on pop quizzes, the midterm, and final exams. Should you be forced to miss a class because of sickness or family emergency, you must present a letter from a doctor or the Chair of FLA. Should you be forced to miss class because of athletic and other activities, you must inform the instructor ahead of time and present a letter from your supervisor.

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2. Midterm exam: 40%

The midterm exam is meant to assess the progress of student's learning after the first half of the course. It is divided into two parts. First, ID questions ask you to define key terms and concepts that we have discussed so far. Second, essay questions ask you to briefly explain the contexts, causes, and consequences of politically salient phenomena that we have discussed so far. The exam will be closed-book and closed-note.

3. Final exam: 40%

The final exam is meant to test your knowledge on the basis of what we have learned in the course. In other words, if you have completed all the readings, come to the lectures, and proactively participated in discussions, you will find that the final is to reconfirm what we have learned in the class. The final is composed of two sections: ID questions and essay questions. You will be asked to identify a set of terms and phrases from the lectures and readings and to answer short essay questions. The exam will be closed-book and closed-note.

Grade Distributions

Engagement:	20%
Midterm exam:	40%
Final exam:	40%

Grade cutoff points are as follows: A = 91-100%; B = 81-90%; C = 71-80%; D = 61-70%; NC = < 62%.

Expectations and Responsibilities

I am excited about this course! I expect you to be excited about the course, too. This excitement carries us through the entire semester. However, sustaining the excitement is not easy. There are times when you are distracted by what surrounds you in everyday lives. But I want you to keep focused on what you are doing throughout the semester. I want you to engage with the readings which may seem sometimes abstract and challenging to you at this early stage in your college education. Never give up on the readings! If you cannot comprehend at all, try to pick up some key points, and try to capture a big picture that the author is trying to put together. In other words, you should not be bogged down by every detail, and come to class with your thoughts and questions. It is my hope and responsibility that some disconnected ideas make a sense by the end of the semester. Therefore, I encourage you to keep up with your good work because only such a work habit can bear fruit in the long run.

I expect you to come to class prepared to engage. I believe that active and intelligent class participation is essential part of effective learning. Being able to address your thoughts in class is an important skill that you will need to develop in/beyond this semester. Getting the readings done does not mean that you have something to say about them. This class requires at least five-six hours of preparation each week, depending on your familiarity with key concepts in political science. I strongly suggest that after finishing the reading assignment for each class session, you spend 15-30 minutes writing a summary (around 250 words) of the reading. This short exercise helps organize your thoughts that you might want to address in class. In addition, it is important to know that what I expect from you is not accuracy but your effort to engage in the readings.

You can expect me to work very hard to create a valuable learning environment for you. I am always open to suggestions as to how I can make my class a better environment for you to learn. I will give you my feedback on your paper promptly, meet with you for

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advising, and write you reference letters (e.g., internships, scholarships, and graduate schools) in/beyond this semester. In other words, I will make time for you.

Academic Conduct

Plagiarism and cheating of any kind are strictly forbidden. Plagiarism entails borrowing ideas from others without attributing sources. Copying from the Internet and pasting on your summaries is the most primitive form of plagiarism. *The use of AI tools including "Chat GPT," "Grammarly," "NoodleTools," among others for any purposes such as correcting grammar, paraphrasing, formatting references, translating and transcribing is strictly forbidden across all courses.* We have zero tolerance for plagiarism and cheating. Any misconduct will automatically result in no credit.

Cell Phones and Laptops Policy

To create an effective learning environment for everyone, the use of the Internet with your cell phones and laptops is strictly forbidden. For the sake of effective class management, we will not warn you or call your name in class. To avoid any unnecessary misunderstanding, please put away your cell phones and laptops in your bag.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a disability and require accommodations for this course, please speak with me as soon as possible so that your needs may be appropriately met.

Late Policy

Late works will not be accepted under any circumstances. I will dock your paper grade third a letter grade (e.g., an B- to a C or from a C to a C-) for each day. Special Arrangements will only be made in the case of sickness (requiring a doctor's note) or family emergency (requiring a Chair's note).

Important Etiquettes

In order to create a pleasant study environment for everyone, please follow the protocol. *Please turn off your cell phones when you enter the classroom. **Cell phones must be put away at any time during the class. When someone is speaking, we listen attentively. It is importantly to treat one another with courtesy.** Please come to the class on time.* Please note that *voluntary late arrivals and early departures do not count as one class attendance.* These are just a few things that distract our attention. For other issues, please use your common sense, and treat one another with respect and courtesy. If problems continue to disturb the proper procedures of class, I will ask disruptive students to leave the class.

Appointments with the Instructor

Meeting with professors could be challenging for students. Although I know exactly how you feel, I encourage you to TALK to me in person on any subjects related to class. My office is located at 10-530. If you cannot make it during my office hours, please email me for an appointment. In principle, I use my email to make appointments rather than consultations. I am also available for coffee/tea.

Textbook

The following book is a required textbook. You can order your copy of the textbooks through any online bookstores. Or Sophia Express can help you connect with students who want to sell their secondhand textbooks. In addition to these, the reading materials are available on the course website. Please make sure to sign up for the course to download them.

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Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso.

COURSE OUTLINE

1. April 15

Introduction to the course: what is comparative politics?

No reading!

I. To Rule

2. April 18

What is the state? (Light Reading, Read Ahead)

How and why do the scholars approach the concept of the state differently? Consider assumptions, ends of rule, means of rule, and conditions of rule.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Leviathan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 68-73, 93-95.

Marx, Karl and Frederich Engels. 1978. "Manifesto of the Communist Party: Part I." in Terrell Carver ed. *Marx Later Political Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 473-483.

Suggested

Harvey, David. 2001. "The Marxian Theory of the State." In D. Harvey. *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. New York: Routledge: 267-283.

Mann, Michael. 1988. *States, War and Capitalism: Studies in Political Sociology*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell: Ch. 1 (1-32).

Stepan, Alfred. 1978. *The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 3-41.

3. April 22

What is the state? (Light Reading, Read Ahead)

How and why do the scholars approach the concept of the state differently? Consider assumptions, ends of rule, means of rule, and conditions of rule. You may notice the stark difference between Hobbes and Scott.

Weber, Max. 1946. "Politics as a Vocation." in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills eds. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 77-80 and 120-128.

Scott, James. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven: Yale University Press: 183-191.

Suggested

Migdal, Joel. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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Foucault, Michel. 2000. "Governmentality." In *Power* (The Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984, Vol. 3) James Faubion ed. New York: the New Press: 201-222.

Mitchell, Timothy. 1999. "Society, Economy, and the State Effect." in G. Steinmetz ed. *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 76-97.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 2001. "The Anthropology of the State in the Age of Globalization." *Current Anthropology* 42(1): 125-133.

4. April 25

How does the state emerge?

When how did states emerge in the first place? What conditions facilitated the concentration of grain and manpower that are key to state formation?

Scott, James. 2017. *Against the Grain: A Deep History of the Earliest States*. New Haven: Yale University Press: Ch. 4 "Agro-ecology of the Early State" (116-149).

Suggested

Protevi, John. 2019. "States of nature: Geographical aspects of current theories of human evolution." *Political Geography* 70: 127-136.

Scott, James. 2022. "[To the State, All Discouraged Flora are 'Weeds.'](#)" *Geoforum*

II. Political Regime and Institutions

5. April 29

What is democracy? (Light Reading, Read Ahead)

How is democracy defined? Can democracy agree on what is best for a nation?

Minimalist/Procedural:

Schumpeter, Joseph. 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Allen and Unwin. (Excerpted from Dahl et al. 2003. *The Democracy Sourcebook*." MIT Press: 5-11.)

Przeworski, Adam. "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense." In Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon eds. *Democracy's Value*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Excerpted from Dahl et al. 2003. *The Democracy Sourcebook*." MIT Press: 12-17.)

Suggested

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Yale.

Bermeo, Nancy. 2009. "Does Electoral Democracy Boost Economic Equality?" *Journal of Democracy* 20(4): 21-35.

6. May 2

What is democracy?

Besides the institutional requirements, what are the essential characteristics of democracy?

Substantial/Participatory:

Dahl, Robert. 1972. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. Yale: 1-16.

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Video

Gabe Johnson and Adam B. Ellick. 2013. "The Making of Malala." *New York Times*. 7 October. Available from: <http://nyti.ms/ZjJSxl>
Ellick, Adam B. and Irfan Ashraf. 2012. "Class Dismissed: Malala's Story." NYT October 10, 2012. <http://nyti.ms/1C0XTfp>

Suggested

Huntington, Samuel. 1965. "Political Development and political Decay." *World Politics* 17(3), 386-430.
Tilly, Charles. 2007. *Democracy*. Cambridge: 1-24.
Dahl, Robert. 1998. *On Democracy*. Yale.
Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy is ... and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2(3), 75-86.

7. May 9

Regime Change and Waves of Democratization (Light Reading, Read Ahead)

How does the transition of political power occur in various political regimes? Why does democracy emerge or collapse in some countries and not in others?

Samuels, David. 2012. *Comparative Politics*. Ch. 5: 120-122.
Huntington, Samuel. Democracy's Third Wave. In R. Dahl et al. *The Democracy Sourcebook*. Cambridge: MIT, 93-98.

Suggested

Huntington, Samuel P. 1997. "After Twenty Years: The Future of the Third Wave." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (October).

8. May 13 (to be substituted by Saturday, May 10)

Causes of Regime Change (Light Reading, Read Ahead)

Samuels, David. 2012. *Comparative Politics*. Ch. 5: 123-129.

Suggested:

Munck, Gerardo. 2012. "The Origins and Durability of Democracy." In P. Kingstone and D. Yashar eds. *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*. New York Routledge, 3-14 (especially 6-10).

9. May 16

The social origins of democracy: history

Are changes in social classes and relations related to democracy? How do class alliances influence the process and results of modernization?

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press: Ch. 1 ENGLAND (3-39)

Background reading:

Tilly, Charles. 2006. "In Memoriam: Barrington Moore Jr." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* Online January-February.
<http://www.cjsonline.ca/soceye/moore.html>

Suggested

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Sevilla-Buitrago, Alvaro. 2015. "Capitalist Formations of Enclosure: Space and the Extinction of the Commons." *Antipode* 47(4), pp. 999-1012.

10. May 20

The social origins of democracy: theory

What are important factors that facilitated the process of democratization in England?

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press: Ch. 7 (413-432).

11. May 23

Presidentialism vs. parliamentarism

There are many institutional variations in democracy. We study a variety of democratic institutions and weigh their advantages and disadvantages.

Verney, Douglas. 1992. "Parliamentary Government and Presidential Government." in Lijphart, Arend ed. *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. New York: Oxford University Press: Ch. 1 (31-47).

Suggested

Linz, Juan. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1(1), 51-69.

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew S. Shugart. 1997. "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal." *Comparative Politics* 29(4). 449-471.

12. May 27

Consensual vs. majoritarian democracy (Light Reading, Read Ahead)

Lijphart, Arend. 1991. "Majority Rule in Theory and Practice." *International Social Science Journal* No. 129, 483-493.

Unitary vs. federal constitutions

Samuels, David. 2012. *Comparative Politics*. Ch. 3: 66-69.

Suggested

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press: Ch. 10 (185-199).

13. May 30

Review Session

No reading, no lecture. Come to class with your questions!

14. June 3

The social origins of democracy: history (creating a mind map through close reading)

Based on the reading, let's create a mind map that illustrates relations between various actors. You can take the following steps:

1. Identify actors who played a role in the making of democracy in England.
2. What are their interests?
3. Identify key historical events in a timeline that divided or coalesced actors' interests
4. What relations—e.g., alliance or antagonistic—emerged between these actors? Why?

15. June 6

*****Midterm Exam*****

III. Political Process—Domination, Power, and Resistance

16. June 10

Representation outside formal institutions

Beyond democratic institutions, the quality of democracy must be ensured for people from all walks of life. Can democracy be inclusive?

Gaventa, John. 2002. "Exploring Citizenship, Participation and Accountability." *IDS Bulletin*, 33(2), 1-11.

Silver, Hilary. 1997. "Poverty, Exclusion and Citizenship Rights" In C. Gore and JH.B. Figueiredo eds. *Social Exclusion and the Anti-Poverty Policy: A Debate*. Geneva: International institute of Labour Studies, 78-82.

Suggested

Helmke, G. and S. Levitsky. 2004. "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics*, 2(4), pp. 725–740.

Mehta P.B. 2001. "Is electoral and institutional reform the answer?" Seminar, Issue 506, October, New Delhi.

Pateman, Carol. Participation and Democratic Theory. New York: Cambridge University Press in The Democracy Sourcebook edited by R. Dahl, I. Shapiro, and J.A. Cheibub: 40-46.

Hobsbawm, Eric. 1959. *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. New York: Norton: Ch. 1-4: 1-73.

Tilly, Charles. 1990. "States and their Citizens." In *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 96-126.

Scott, James. 1969. "Corruption, Machine Politics, and Political Change." *American Political Science Review* 63(4): 1142-1158.

17. June 13

Economic inequality and political influence

Can people exercise the same level of influence over the government? How does economic inequality translate into democratic politics? How does socioeconomic inequality affect political participation?

American Political Science Association (APSA). 2004. "American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality." Washington, D.C.: APSA, 1-24.

Suggested:

Gaventa, John. 2019. "Power and Powerlessness in an Appalachian Valley-Revisited." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 46(3), pp. 440-456.

Carmona, M.S. .2013. *Extreme Poverty and Human Rights: Report by the Secretary-General*, Geneva: UN Human Rights Council.

Verba, S. and Nie, N.H. 1987. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.

Gilens, Martin. 2012. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Winters, Jeffrey. 2011. *Oligarchy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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18. June 17

How power works

How do individuals make decisions? Are their decisions independent of other actors or influenced by others? How should one understand non-decision? Is it consent?

Lukes, Steven. 2005. *Power: A Radical View*. Chapter 1 (14-29).

Suggested:

Gaventa, John. 1982. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

19. June 20

How do the marginalized participate?

The poor and powerless are often marginalized in the political arena. Can they become an important political actor? How do they make their voices heard?

Scott, James. 1985. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 28-47.

Suggested

Nuitjen, Monique. 2013. "The Perversity of the 'Citizenship Game': Slum-upgrading in the Urban Periphery of Recife, Brazil." *Critique of Anthropology*, 33(1), pp. 8-25.

Kirkvliet, Benedict. 2009. "Everyday Politics in Peasant Societies." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(1), pp. 227-243.

Chatterjee, Partha. 2005. *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Silver, Hilary. 1994. "Social Exclusion and Social Solidarity: Three Paradigms." *International Labour Review*, 133(5-6), pp. 531-578.

20. June 24

What does Politics have to do with rising inequality?

Stiglitz, J. 2022. *Alterative Theories of Inequality*. In *The Great Polarization*. New York: Columbia University Press.

21. June 27

In-Class Reading

22. July 1

Politics and poverty

Poverty is often understood as an economic problem. Can politics play a role in poverty reduction? If so how?

Tilly, Charles. 2007. "Poverty and the Politics of Exclusion." In D. Narayan and P. Petesch eds. *Moving Out of Poverty (Vol 1): Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Mobility*. Basingstoke, UK and New York: Palgrave Macmillan; Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, pp. 45-76.

Watch the following video outside class.

Sandel, *The Tyranny of Merit*, 2020 <https://youtu.be/Qewckuxa9hw>

Suggested:

- Mosse, D. 2010. "A Relational Approach to Durable Poverty, Inequality and Power." *Journal of Development Studies*, 46(7), pp. 1156-1178.
- Eyben, Rosalind, Naila Kabeer, and Andrea Cornwall. 2008. "Conceptualising Empowerment and the Implications for Pro Poor Growth." Paper for the DAC Poverty Network, Institute of Development Studies.
- Hickey, S. and du Toit, D. 2007. "Adverse-incorporation, social exclusion and chronic poverty." CPRC Theme Paper 81, IDPM, Manchester. Accessed at: <http://www.chronicpoverty.org>
- Mosse, D. 2007. "Power and the durability of poverty: a critical exploration of the links between culture, marginality and chronic poverty." CPRC Working Paper 107, pp. 1-57.
- Green, Maia and David Hulme. 2005. "From Correlates and Characteristics to Causes: Thinking About Poverty from a Chronic Poverty Perspective." *World Development* 33(6): 867-879.

23. July 2

How do states promote economic development?

- Samuels, David. 2012. *Comparative Politics*. Ch. 11: 286-312.

IV. Politics of Identity—Nation, Ethnicity, and Globalization

24. July 8

Nationalism

Who are you? Where do our identities come from?

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso: Ch. 1-2 (1-36).

Suggested

- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1983. "Introduction: Inventing Traditions." in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 1-14.
- Calhoun, Craig. 1994. "Social Theory and the Politics of Identity." in Craig Calhoun ed. *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell: 9-36.
- Crossette, Barbara. "Citizenship Is a Malleable Concept." *The New York Times*, August 18, 1996.

25. July 11

Nationalism 2

Why did print capitalism facilitate imagining nations?

Are there any similarities between nationalisms that emerged after World War II? Comparing nationalism in Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

- Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso: Ch. 3 (37-46) & Ch. 7 (113-140).

26. July 15

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Nationalism 3

Can nationalism be invented from top-down by the state? Why did states create official nationalism?

Anderson, Benedict. 1991. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso: Ch. 5-6 (67-111).

Obituaries

Colleague: James T Siegel. 2015. "A necrology of Ben Anderson." *Jakarta Post*
<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/12/19/a-necrology-ben-anderson.html>

27. July 18

Review Session

No reading, no lecture. Come to class with your questions!

28. July 22

*****Final Exam*****