

POL1054: Repression and Democracy around the World

MWF 10:10-11:00

Blegen 435

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Objectives: This course provides an introduction to the study of comparative politics, which is the study of politics *within* different countries around the world. Thus, in this course we will frequently compare and contrast US politics with politics elsewhere. Comparative politics aims to understand how different peoples around the world *seek to establish a durable and legitimate political system, how they seek to contest the legitimacy of and attempt to transform that system, and how they seek to benefit from that system.* Given this, after we define several key political concepts, we will explore the following four themes:

1. Establishing political order
2. Structuring political participation and contestation
3. Constructing collective political identity
4. Shaping public policy

Expectations: grading will be based on a midterm (30%), a final (30%), a five-page paper (25%), and ten short assignments that are all due in discussion sections (15%). The five-page paper assignment will be passed out early in the semester and is due at the start of the last class meeting. Exams will combine short-answers and longer essays. Exam grades will be based on a demonstrated command of the material from lectures *and* readings. Grades will be based on University grade definitions, which establish the qualities of performance expected at different grade levels. For example, the University defines a “C” grade as “achievement meeting the basic course requirements in every respect” (see CLA “Classroom Grading and Examination Procedures.”)

All short assignments are due in discussion section. If you miss section the day an assignment is due you *cannot* receive credit for that assignment. Exceptions will be granted only in accordance with the policy below.

Policies for make-up exams, late assignments, and incompletes: make-up assignments or exams will **NOT** be permitted unless the student notifies the professor *before* the assignment is administered and presents written documentation of the circumstances (e.g. a note from the University Health Service verifying illness). I will accept the following as legitimate circumstances justifying lateness or taking a makeup exam: religious holidays, verifiable illness, serious family emergencies, subpoenas, jury duty, military service, and participation in group activities sponsored by the University. In all cases, you must speak to me directly, and not via email. Incompletes will be granted only in the case of documented long-term illness, and if the student and professor complete the CLA Agreement for Completion of Incomplete Work.

Readings: reading assignments *average* about 100 pages of reading per week - sometimes more, sometimes less. I expect students to do *all* the readings, *before* the scheduled class. I will make time during every class for discussion, so come prepared with questions. Feel free to also come to my office hours to discuss class topics more in depth or to get help with any aspect of the class, including exam and paper preparation.

Texts: students should purchase the following books at the bookstore. The books are also on reserve at Wilson Library. You may be able to find these three books used on Amazon.com or elsewhere if you prefer, but be aware that we are using the **tenth** edition of Shively.

- W. Phillips Shively, *Power and Choice: an Introduction to Political Science* (10th edition). New York: McGraw-Hill, 2006.
- Nella Larsen, *Passing*. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003 [1929].
- Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Kang Chol-Hwan, *The Aquariums of Pyongyang: Ten Years in the North Korean Gulag*. New York, Basic Books (New Edition, 2005).

Course Website/On-Line readings: I have placed many readings on a course website. These readings will **NOT** be put on reserve. The course website is <http://www.polisci.umn.edu/courses/spring2007/1054/001/>. You can type this in or go to the Political Science Department's web site and find it by following the link to "courses." In addition to containing the readings, the course website will contain a copy of the syllabus, slides for each lecture, and exam study guides. **You will need your U of MN X500 ID and password to enter the course website.**

Class meetings: regular meetings combine lecture, discussion and activity; section meetings will focus on discussion and group activities. Lecture material will range FAR beyond the readings, and you are responsible for ALL materials covered in the course. Translation: *you will be tested on lectures, discussions and readings*. I will post my lecture outlines (the slides) on the course website, but the slides contain only a fraction of what I say in lecture. *If you miss the lecture or discussion sections you will miss "testable" material.*

Group activity: At times during the semester you will be asked to undertake group assignments. Your individual grade for these assignments will depend on the participation of each member of the group. The grade for group assignments will count as part of the "short assignments" portion of your grade.

Expectations for Classroom Behavior (mine and yours): my goal is make you think, not tell you what to think. I will respect your views, and I expect you to respect the guidelines I establish for classroom discussion and to behave respectfully towards your classmates. I will try to learn your names, and you are to always refer to your classmates by their names. And please, **TURN OFF CELLPHONES DURING CLASS!**

COURSE SCHEDULE

Course Introduction

Week 1 (1/17-1/19)

- What is politics?
- What is *comparative* politics? What is the *object* of comparative politics?
- What is the *method* of comparative politics?
 - An exercise in the comparative method: Montesquieu's Theory of Climate
- What is "Power?" How is it exercised?
- What do we mean by "Choice" in politics?
 - What do we mean by political "interests?" That is, why do people choose what they do (in politics, not at Wal-Mart)?
 - What is the relationship between *ideology* and *political choice*?
- What is political "legitimacy?"
 - That is, why do we obey the power of authorities we didn't elect and follow laws we did not choose and to which we did not actively consent?

Readings:

- Shively, pages 414-420
- Shively, chapters 1-2
- Shively, pages 149-153

Theme 1: Building Effective Institutions

Week Two (1/22-1/26): What is "The" State and Where did it Come From?

- Conceptual and theoretical principles defining "The State."
- What do states "do," and why?
- Terminological distinctions: state nation, regime, government, etc....
- Why did the modern state emerge?
- What did (or does...?) "pre-modern" political organization look like?
- To what extent are people *actually* governed by states, as opposed to something else?
- Compare, contrast and assess the arguments of Diamond and Tilly.

Readings:

- Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651). Pp. 183-188 and 227-228. (Reader)
- Shively, Chapters 3-4

- Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel*. Chapter 14, “From Egalitarianism to Kleptocracy” (website).
- Charles Tilly, “War-Making and State-Making as Organized Crime.” In Peter Evans *et al.* (eds.) *Bringing the State Back In* (website).

Theme 2: Structuring Participation and Contestation

Week 3 (1/29-2/2): Democracy and Non-Democracy

- What is democracy and why have one?
- How do we know whether a country is democratic or not? What distinguishes a democratic state from a non-democratic state?

Readings:

- Kang Chol-Hwan, *The Aquariums of Pyongyang: Ten Years in the North Korean Gulag*. New York, Basic Books 2001. Entire.
- Shively chapter 8
- Dahl chapters 2, 4-8

Week 4 (2/5-2/9): The Institutions of Democracy

- What are the main ways to set up the “rules” of politics in a democracy?
- How do constitutions and other political institutions affect the dispersion or concentration of power and choice?
- If you could, what would you change about the US Constitution? Why?

Readings: **(IMPORTANT – READ IN THIS ORDER!!!)**

- Dahl chapter 10
- Shively chapter 9, 15, 14, 10
- Constitution of the United States of America. Available on-line: <http://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/constitution.overview.html>
- Hendrik Hertzberg, “Framed Up: What the Constitution Gets Wrong.” *The New Yorker* 07/29/02 (Website).

Week 5 (2/12/-2/16): Where Does Democracy Come From?

- How does democracy arise?
- What political factors promote or hinder democratization?
- Can democracy be “brought” to a country?

Readings:

- Dahl, chapters 12-15
- Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave*, pp. 40-108 (Website)

Week 6 (2/19-2/23): Why Does Democracy Sometimes Collapse into Non-democracy?

- What factors might cause democracy to collapse into dictatorship?
- Could democracy collapse in the US? What sustains democracy here?

Readings:

- Adam Przeworski *et al.*, 1996. “What Makes Democracies Endure?” *Journal of Democracy* 7(1): 39-55 (Website).
- Fareed Zakaria, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy.” (Website)
- Ivan Krastev, “Democracy’s Doubles.” (Website)

Theme 3: Identity: Political Preferences and Political Culture

Weeks 7-8 (2/26-3/5): Central Questions; Primordialism vs. Constructivism

- What is political identity? What is political “culture?” What is the difference?
- Where does *individual* political identity come from, and how is it politicized?
- Where does *collective* political identity come from, and how is it politicized?
- Why are some cultural traits politicized and others not?
- How do individual and collective political identities relate to the establishment, maintenance or transformation of political order?

Readings:

- Karl Marx, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. “Part I: Bourgeois and Proletarians” (written, in German, in 1848) (6 pages). Available on-line at <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/communist-manifesto/>
- Max Weber, “Class, Status, Party.” In H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (15 pages: *skip the part on parties at the end*). Published, in German, in 1922). (Reader)
- David Brooks, “The Triumph of Hope Over Self-Interest: Why Middle-Class Americans Vote Like Rich People.” *New York Times* January 12, 2003 (2 pp) (Website).
- Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations.” *Foreign Affairs* 1993 (Website)
- Nella Larsen, *Passing*. New York: Penguin Classics, 2003. Entire.

MIDTERM EXAM: MARCH 7TH (NO SECTIONS THIS WEEK)

NO CLASS FRIDAY MARCH 9TH HAVE A GOOD SPRING BREAK!

[SPRING BREAK 3/12-3/16]

Week 9 (3/19-3/23): Ethnicity/Race and Politics (Theme 3 continued)

- What's the difference between ethnicity and race?
- How and when do ethnicity and/or race become politicized?
- What impact do ethnicity and/or race have on politics?

Readings:

- David Laitin, 1985. "Hegemony and Religious Conflict: British Imperial Control and Political Cleavages in Yorubaland." In Peter Evans *et al.*, *Bringing the State Back In* (27 pp.) (website)
- Anthony Marx, 1998. *Making Race and Nation*. Chapter 7, "Order and Progress: Inclusive Nation-State Building in Brazil." (19 pp.) (website)

Week 10 (3/26-3/30): Religion and Politics

(Guest Lecturer, TBA)

- How and why do religious beliefs shape political preferences?
- What about the reverse - can political forces shape religious beliefs?
- Are your own religious beliefs fully compatible with democracy? Why or why not?
- More generally, to what extent are different religions compatible with democracy?

Readings for this unit:

- Shively pp. 372-374
- Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. "Religion and Politics in the US and Western Europe." (15 pp. of text and lots of charts) (Website)
- Alfred Stepan and Graeme Robertson. "An 'Arab' More Than a 'Muslim' Democracy Gap." *Journal of Democracy* (15 pp.) (Website)
- Sanford Lakoff, "The Reality of Muslim Exceptionalism." *Journal of Democracy* (7 pp.) (Website)
- Stepan and Robertson, "Arab, Not Muslim, Exceptionalism." *Journal of Democracy* (7 pp.) (Website)
- Steven Kinzer, "The Quiet Revolution." *American Prospect* 12/1/03 (2 pp.) (Website).
- Edward Said, "Impossible Histories: Why the Many Muslims Cannot be Simplified." (2 pp.) *Harper's Magazine*, August 2002 (Website).
- Mark Tessler *et al.*, "What do Iraqis Want?" *Journal of Democracy* 17(1): 38-50 (January 2006) (website).

Week 11 (4/2-4/6): Gender, Family and Politics

- Is politics a man's world? To what extent? Why? Should it be?
- What is the relationship between gender and politics? That is, to what extent do men and women have different political views? Why? Should they?

- Why, in contrast to other forms of identity, does gender rarely result in the formation of explicitly “men’s” or “women’s” parties?
- What explains the variation in the ways in which governments around the world interfere with, regulate, or determine gender relations, sexual relations, gender rights and the family?

Readings:

- Francis Fukuyama, “Women and the Evolution of World Politics.” *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 1998 (17 pp.) (Website)
- Barbara Ehrenreich *et al.* “Fukuyama’s Follies.” *Foreign Affairs* January/February 1999 (12 pp.) (Website)
- Felicia R. Lee, “Engineering More Sons than Daughters: Will It Tip the Scales Toward War?” *New York Times* 7/3/04. (2 pp.) (Website)
- Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris, “The True Clash of Civilizations.” *Foreign Policy* March/April 2003 (8 pp.) (Website)
- Robert F. Worth, “In Jeans or Veils, Iraqi Women Are Split on New Political Power.” *New York Times* 4/13/05. (2 pp.) (Website)

Week 12 (4/9-4/13): Turning Identities and Interests into Action: The Collective Action Problem, Political Mobilization and Political Organizations

Note: NO LECTURE 4/13

- Can we assume that people with similar identities and/or interests will mobilize to take political action?
- If not, what motivates collective political action?
- Organized interests: social movements, interest groups, labor unions, political parties

Readings:

- Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* pp. 1-22, 33-36 (website).
- Shively, chapters 11-13

Theme 4: Shaping Public Policy

Week 13 (4/16-4/20): The Collective Action Problem, the State, and the Economy

Note: NO LECTURE 4/20

- What role(s) *can* the state play in the economy?
- What role(s) *should* the state play in the economy?
- Given the collective action problem, what political system (if any) is best for promoting economic development?
- What is the relationship between capitalism and democracy? Is there a tradeoff between democracy and development – “More democracy, less development?”

Readings:

- Gabriel Almond, “Capitalism and Democracy.” *PS: Political Science*, September 1991, 467-474. (Website)
- Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, 1993. “Political Regimes and Economic Growth.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, 51-69. (Website)

Week 14 (4/23-4/27): Democracy, dictatorship and development: China is poor but getting rich, so why not Congo or Brazil or...(pick your country) too?

- Why are some countries rich and some countries poor?
- Is geography destiny? Or, to what extent can political factors influence economic growth?
- In the 19th and 20th centuries, China was colonized – by England and then Japan. The Congo and Brazil were also colonies. Why is China apparently succeeding at growing its economy relatively rapidly while Brazil and Congo are not?

Readings:

- Adam Hochschild, 1998. *King Leopold’s Ghost*. Ch. 8: “Where There Aren’t No Ten Commandments.” (Website)
- Ted Fishman, “The Chinese Century.” *New York Times Magazine* July 4, 2004 (Website)
- Dali Yang, “State Capacity on the Rebound.” *Journal of Democracy* 14(1) (January 2003) (Website).

Week 15 (4/30-5/4): Advanced capitalist democracies: the role of the state in the economy

- What explains different patterns of state “size” among the wealthier countries?
- What difference does the “size” of the state make for economic performance?

Readings:

- Shively chapters 5-6
- World Economic Forum, “Executive Summary.” (website)
- Elizabeth Becker, “Nordic Countries Come out Near the Top in Two Business Surveys.” *New York Times* 10/14/04 (website).

LAST CLASS 5/4: Class “Constitutional Convention”

- **Paper assignment due!!!**
- Class debate and vote to decide the best political system for “Country X.”

Final Exam: TBA