Comparative Area Studies

Higher School of Economics 2018

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Comparative Area Studies

Part 1: Course Information

Instructor Information

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Course Description

This is a required course for the Politics and Economics in Asia, the HSE-KIC dual degree program students. This course aims to provide students with basic knowledge and analytical tools for a more concrete understanding of countries and regions in the world by introducing two major disciplines in the social sciences, i.e., comparative politics and area studies. Beginning with reviewing key analytical concepts such as institution and culture, students will explore a wide range of comparative cases in an attempt to explain various key political, economic and social outcomes in our time including but not limited to state failure, ethnic conflict, economic development, democratization, welfare state, and globalization.

Prerequisites

As the course Comparative Area Studies is realized partly online HSE students wishing to enroll must also take Adaptation Session. Introduction to Political Science and Global History are formal prerequisites for students wishing to enter a course in Comparative Area Studies.
Course Goals

Through the course, students are expected to acknowledge the benefit of the comparative perspective in approaching issues in specific areas of interest, as well as the risk of superficial and non-contextual comparative approaches. This offering will also contribute to bolstering the academic vigor of those students who are interested in political science or area studies in general, or who aspire to pursue it as their college major.

Required Text:


Part 2: Grading Policy

Each student is required to attend every session and peruse assigned readings: (1) Attendance. Three absences are excused throughout the course. No documentation is required. Each additional absence beyond the allowed number will lower your final grade by one notch (e.g., B0 to B-); (2) Participation. 10 percent of your final grade will be based on your class preparedness and in-class discussion. The more you talk in class, the better your participation score will be; (3) Quizzes. Three pop quizzes will be administered, of which the best two will be scored (20 percent); (4) Exams. Two in-class essay exams, midterm and final, will consist 40 percent (20 percent each) of the final grade; (5) Home assignments. The remaining 30 percent will be graded by three individual assignments.

| Attendance | N/A |
| Participation | 10% |
| Quizzes | 20% |
Home Assignment

Three assignments will be administered through the course:

- First assignment: Find one newspaper or journal article that employs comparative method(s) to support its argument. There is no pre-determined format but be sure to discuss the comparative methods and find problems as much as possible. Also be sure to suggest your own alternative solutions to the problems. It will definitely help you avoid potential errors when you do the individual research project (2nd and 3rd assignments)
  - Summarize the article
    - Identify the writer’s main argument(s)
  - Describe the comparative analysis used in the article
    - Method(s) of comparison
    - Cases selected
  - Discuss its comparative method(s)
    - Four sources of mis-comparison
    - Proper conceptualization (level of abstraction)
    - Selection bias
    - Other logical errors
  - Evaluate and present suggestion(s)
    - If you were the writer, how would you support the argument(s)?

- Second assignment: Find and submit your research question on any topic of your interest. Since the final assignment is to answer the question, be considerate in finding and making your puzzle
  - Question should be in a question format
    - Explain why it is puzzling
  - Attach sufficient resources
Newspaper or magazine articles, reports, academic papers, etc.)

- Sample

Question: Why diesel price is higher than gasoline price in the United States?

- Explain why it is puzzling
  - Although diesel fuel is easier to refine from crude oil than gasoline, Diesel fuel’s average retail cost in the United States is higher than that of gasoline
  - Diesel fuel is generally sold cheaper than gasoline in other countries

Submit resources
- Data, newspaper articles, etc.

(3) Final assignment: Solve your puzzle

- Redefine and articulate your puzzle (refer to your 2nd assignment)

- Set hypotheses and test them using comparative methods
  - Be sure to control comparative variables
  - Be sure to avoid mis-comparison (refer to the 1st assignment), “selection bias” in particular

- What you need to submit by the due date
  - Redefined research puzzle
  - Hypotheses
  - Explanation on the variables and causal relations
  - Test result
  - Conclusion and implication

- All should be submitted directly to the class website in a single MS-Word document file or an MS-PowerPoint file
Part 3: Topic Outline/Schedule

Weekly Schedule:

- Week 1. Course overview
- Week 2. What is Comparison?
- Week 3. How to Compare?
- Week 4. The State
- Week 5. Nations and Society
- Week 6. Political Economy
- Week 7. Democratic Regimes
- Week 8. Non-democratic Regimes
- Week 9. Midterm
- Week 10. Political Violence
- Week 11. Advanced Democracies
- Week 12. Communism and Post-communism
- Week 13. Less-developed Countries
- Week 14. Newly-developed Countries
- Week 15. Globalization and Comparative Area Studies
- Week 16. Final Exam
Lecture Outlines

Week 1: Course Overview

(1) Learning Objectives

While the instructor outlining the course, students should be able to acknowledge:

1. The goal of the course.
   a. What comparative area studies is
   b. What is the benefit of comparative area studies
2. The requirements and grading policy
3. The home assignments and the submission schedule

(2) Session Outline

1. The comparative politics
   • Discipline of political science
   • Major thinkers of comparative politics
   • Trends in comparative politics
     i. Traditional approach
     ii. Behavioral approach
2. The area studies
   • Disciplines in area studies
   • Development of area studies
   • Recent trend
     i. After the Cold War
     ii. The Big Debate in the 1990s
3. Comparative Area Studies
   • Synthesizing the comparative politics and the area studies
   • Benefit of comparative area studies approach in understanding East Asian countries

(3) Required Readings

Essentials of Comparative Politics, Ch.1.
Week 2: What is Comparison?

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand what comparison is and why it is used in explaining political and social phenomena. It should also be understood how comparison is actually used in comparative analysis:

1. What is comparison?
2. Why use comparison?
3. How comparison is used in comparative politics and area studies

(2) Session Outline

1. Why compare?
   a. To explain, understand, and interpret
   b. Single case study
      i. Offers rich understanding and information
      ii. Good for generating hypothesis
   c. Hypothesis testing
      i. Comparative method is one of the efficient ways to test a hypothetical claim
   d. Hypothetical claim
2. “Comparing is controlling”
   a. Comparing is one of the ways to control contextual variables, or exogenous variables, in explaining causal relations
   b. What is comparable?
      i. Comparing is controlling
      ii. Anything can be compared as long as variables can be controlled and measurably operationalised
   c. No one can control all variables
      i. “Comparable with respect to which properties or characteristics”
   d. Comparing is very purposeful
      i. Comparable things vary according to the purpose of comparison
3. Comparability
   a. All variables sometimes matter or do not matter depending on the puzzle you want to solve
   b. Specific puzzle often leads researchers to “miscomparing”
4. Sources of “miscomparing” (Sartori 1991)
   a. Parochialism
   b. Misclassification
   c. Degreeism
   d. Conceptual over-stretching
5. Cases of comparative approaches
   a. Comparative politics
   b. Area studies
   c. East Asian studies

(3) Required Readings
Comparative Area Studies

Essentials of Comparative Politics, Ch. 1.

(4) Discussion

1. Lead discussion to check whether students fully acknowledge the usefulness of comparison in social science researches
2. Lead discussion to check whether students understand the sources of miscomparison
   a. Illustrate cases of miscomparison
   b. Have students bring their cases of miscomparison to the discussion

Week 3: How to compare?

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand comparative approaches and methods. The use of concept and conceptualization should be understood properly as the basis of comparative study.

1. Concepts and method of comparative analysis
2. Correlation and causation

(2) Session Outline

1. Concepts
   a. Containers of meaning
      i. Terms of concepts
      ii. Referents of concepts
   b. Common points of reference for grouping phenomena
      i. Vehicle to travel across contextual (or geographic) boundaries
2. Conceptualization
   a. How to make a concept?
      i. Collect a representative set of definitions
      ii. Extract their characteristics
      iii. Construct matrixes that organize such characteristics meaningfully
3. Conceptual application
   a. Conceptual traveling
      i. Application of concepts to new cases
   b. Conceptual stretching
      i. Distortion occurring when a concept does not fit the new cases
   c. How to avoid conceptual stretching while traveling?
      i. Appropriate level of abstraction
4. Ladder of abstraction
   a. Key to conceptualization: Abstraction
   b. Applicability and differentiation
      i. Climbing the ladder: More applicability
      ii. Descending the ladder: More differentiation
5. Two comparative methods to solve a puzzle
   a. Starting from in-depth case studies to formulate a hypothesis and develop it into a comparative puzzle
      i. Bottom-up, inductive reasoning
      ii. Common method in sciences
      iii. Scientific inferences and empirical falsification
   b. Starting from a hypothesis, or a set of hypotheses, and then collect comparative data to prove it
      i. Top-down, deductive reasoning
      ii. Common method in logical reasoning
6. Obstacles to comparative study
   a. Matter of variables
      i. Unlike natural sciences, real world variables are impossible to control
      ii. Difficult to single out independent variable(s) as too many variables influence a political outcome: multi-causality
   b. Hard to distinguish cause and effect
   c. Independent variables and dependent variables are not separated: endogeneity problem
7. Mill’s methods of causal reasoning
   a. Methods for selecting actual causes among possible causes
      i. Start with variables assumed to include the possible causes
      ii. Use correlation to separate actual causes from possible causes
   b. Four methods of comparative causal reasoning
      i. Method of Agreement
      ii. Method of Difference
      iii. Method of Concomitant Variation
      iv. Method of Residues
8. How to control variables in comparative studies?
   a. Most similar systems design (MSSD)
      i. Method for dealing with differences in similar cases
      ii. Method of difference
      iii. Building on experimental research design
      iv. Control concomitant variables among selected cases
      v. Ignoring extraneous variables
   b. Most different systems design (MDSD)
      i. Method for dealing with commonalities in different cases
      ii. Method of agreement
      iii. Building on statistical research design
      iv. Control irrelevant variables
      v. Larger number of variables can be addressed
9. Selection bias
   a. A statistical bias occurring when sampling is not sufficiently random
   b. Resulting in flawed interpretation
   c. One of the major limitations of comparative area studies
10. How to minimize selection bias?
    a. Tailored research design for comparative cases
    b. Increase the number of cases
c. Introducing advanced mathematical procedures

11. Large-N vs. small-N
   a. In general, inductive reasoning is suitable for comparing small or limited number of cases, while deductive inference favors large-N comparative studies

12. Quantitative vs. qualitative research tradition
   a. Qualitative method
      i. Mastery of a few cases through the detailed study of their history, language, and culture
      ii. Emphasis on depth over breadth
   b. Quantitative method
      i. Gathering of statistical data across many countries to look for correlations and test hypotheses about cause and effect
      ii. Emphasis on breadth over depth

13. Correlation vs. causality
   a. Correlation: relations among multiple variables
   b. Causation: relations between independent and dependent variables

(3) Required Readings

   Essentials of Comparative Politics, Ch. 1.

(4) Discussion

   1. Questions and methods
      a. What is important is not the methodology per se, but research questions and goals
      b. What questions we have to ask?
      c. How we can answer the questions through comparative area studies
   2. Have students acknowledge that there is no intrinsically superior methodology in comparative studies
      a. Finding researchable puzzles and the suitable methods for the puzzles to make your argument compelling is more important than the methodological debates per se

(5) First Assignment
Week 4: The State

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand the concept of the state as a central institution in comparative studies. Students also analyze how states can vary in autonomy and capacity, and how this can shape their power.

1. Development of the modern state (system)
2. Defining state power

(2) Session Outline

1. Origins of the modern state
   a. Feudal system
      i. Reciprocal relations among the King (or primus inter pares) and the nobility (followers)
      ii. Autonomy and loyalty (followership)
   b. Continuing (physical) competition
      i. Internally, competitions over land tenure among the noblemen
      ii. Externally, competitions over imperial, patrimonial, and religious causes
   c. Growth of commerce and cities (towns)
   d. Technological development
   e. Gradual decline of the feudal system
      i. Fragmentation of authority
      ii. Conflict over jurisdiction
      iii. Commercialization
   f. Growing power of large estates
2. Emergence of the polity of the estates (Ständestaat, 12-14C)
   a. “Power dualism” between the territorial ruler and the estates
   b. Shifting balance of power
   c. Capitalism
   d. Rise of cities
   e. Declining power of feudal lords
3. Centralization of political power
   a. Institutionalization of rule
   b. Key aspects of institutionalization
      i. Depersonalization
      ii. Formalization
      iii. Integration (differentiated and organized)
   c. Political basis of the absolutist system of rule
   d. The burgeoning idea of “legitimacy”
4. Monopoly: Formation of the modern state
   a. Monopolization of physical forces
      i. States achieved independence from the empire as well as from the Catholic church
      ii. The estates were deprived of the control on the means of production
   b. Advance of institutionalization of rule
5. The absolutist monarchies
   a. Proto-type of modern state
i. Development of bureaucracy
ii. Resource extraction and mobilization
iii. Standing army
b. Territorial expansion and defense
c. Mercantilism
   i. Competition for more resources
d. Concentration of power and institutionalization
e. Sovereignty
f. Formation of the idea of “territoriality”

6. Peace of Westphalia (1648)
   a. Recognition of the state’s sovereign right over its territory
   b. Equality of legal status among sovereign powers

7. Territorial state
   a. The notion of “state sovereignty” means “territorial state”
   b. Modern states in Europe have optimized their territorial size and bureaucratic apparatuses
      i. For resource extraction
      ii. For territorial defense
      iii. For national integration

8. State-building as a universal imperative
   a. Westphalia system of states
      i. Diffusion of modern-state system
      ii. State-building became the primary imperative for all political communities with sizable population
   b. Problem of failed states
      i. Imperialism and colonialism
      ii. Non-Western states
      iii. Post-colonial predicament

9. The modern state
   a. “Monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory”
      i. Monopoly of physical force
      ii. Sovereignty
      iii. Territorial exclusiveness
      iv. Sole authority
      v. Legitimate use of violence
   b. A state fails if it loses any of the essential elements in the definition of the state

10. Legitimacy
    a. Types of social power
       i. Coercive, economic, and ideological (normative)
       ii. As a system of rule, the state wants citizens to comply with its authority, not from the inertia of unreasoning routine, or the utilitarian calculation of personal advantage, but from the conviction that compliance is right

11. Obstacles to state-building
    a. State-building without competition
       i. No urgency for exclusive control of its territory
       ii. Limited penetration into society
       iii. Local powerbrokers were not eliminated
       iv. Little need to extract and mobilize resources comprehensively
    b. Underdeveloped state apparatus
    c. Economic difficulties after independence
i. Resource curse
ii. Aid-dependent economy
d. Ethnic diversity and local strongmen
e. Difficult to extend the central state's authority
   i. Multiple sovereignty
f. Origins of the tragic history of non-Western, post-colonial countries

12. Failed states
   a. A state that does not correspond to its definition
   b. A state that is not sufficiently strong (or capable) to effectively rule a given territory
   c. Precursor of state collapse

13. State power
   a. A strong and capable state
      i. How to enhance the power of the state?
   b. How to measure state power?
      i. The power of the state is relational
   c. State power vis-à-vis the society
      i. Despotic power: The range of actions which the state elite is empowered to undertake without routine, institutionalized negotiation with social groups
      ii. Infrastructural power: The capacity of the state to actually penetrate society, and to implement logistically political decisions throughout the realm

14. Autonomy vs. isolation
   a. Autonomous (vis-à-vis society) state does not necessarily mean strong state
   b. States can be physically strong but isolated from society at the same time
      i. Limited and inefficient penetration state power
      ii. Heavy reliance on despotic power of the state
   c. A strong and capable state should be autonomous from but, simultaneously, penetrate into society
   d. “Embedded autonomy

(3) Required Readings

*Essentials of Comparative Politics*, Ch. 2.

March 23: Defining state power

(4) Discussion
1. State and state power
   a. Why are there failed states?
   b. Determinants or essential elements of state-building
   c. Causes of state failures
2. Then, how can we build a functioning state on troublesome lands?
   a. Problems of projecting Western experience to non-Western environment
   b. Policy implications for failing states
3. If a country needs a strong state, how can it enhance the power of the state?

Week 5: Nations and Society

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand the nation-building process and the ways in which national identity is formed and binds people together. Students also need to understand the cause of ethnic and national conflict.

1. What are nationality, ethnicity, and citizenship?
2. Culture, religion, and identity politics

(2) Session Outline

1. Nation-building
   a. Once you take over a state, you need to make people within its territory have same identity as members of a same political community, i.e., the state
   b. Mutual recognition of domestic sovereignty of the state and bourgeois citizenship
   c. The state became portrayed as a legitimate institution that embodies the collective identity of the public
   d. Nation-state as the model of nation-state building
      i. Nationalism in unification or independence movements
2. National identity
   a. A sense of belonging to a nation and a belief in its political aspirations
   b. Nation: A group that desires self-government through an independent state
   c. Often (but not always) derived from ethnic identity
   d. Inherently political
      i. Espousing the idea of self-government and sovereignty
   e. Basis for nationalism
3. Nationalism
   a. “A pride in one’s people and the belief that they have their own sovereign political destiny that is separated from those of others”
   b. A political aspiration to build a sovereign nation-state
   c. Thrust for national development
   d. Ambition for unification or independence
4. Nationalism and ethnic conflict
   a. Ethnic groups (ethnos) without nation-states
   b. Nationalism for independent state-building
   c. Separatist insurgency
   d. Counter-insurgency warfare
5. Multi-ethnicity and ethnic conflicts
   a. Insurgency theory
6. Weak state power and ethnic conflict
   a. Either by incomplete state-building or state failure
   b. Vicious circles of failing states and nations
7. Citizenship: How to integrate people?
   a. Transformation of the relations between the state and the people through the nation-state building process
      i. State’s growing demand for economic and human resources
   b. People’s growing demand for protecting their own rights
8. Evolution of citizenship and the contemporary idea of citizenship
   a. An individual’s relation to the state
   b. The individual swears allegiance to the state, and the state in turn provides certain benefits or rights
   c. Purely political and thus more easily changed than ethnic identity or national identity
   d. The basis for patriotism
9. Identity matters in integration
   a. Types of political identity besides nationality and citizenship
   b. Religion
   c. Ideology
   d. Political attitude
   e. Culture and civilization
10. Secularization and disenchantment
   a. Transition from ascriptive to acquired identity
   b. Resilience of traditional identity
      i. Re-sacralization and the rise of religious fundamentalism
      ii. Ethnic conflicts and “clashes of civilization”
   c. Sources of social cleavages
11. Identity and democracy
   a. Political identities make political interests
   b. Issue of “interest aggregation”
   c. Social cleavages mobilized for (and by) political parties
   d. Social cleavages externally mobilized by political parties are a good soil for patronage (clientelistic) politics
      i. Distributing divisible benefits or collective goods to their own supporters
      ii. Centrifugal, exclusive politics
      iii. Ethnic and religious political parties
12. Multi-identity politics
   a. There is no inherently undemocratic political identities
   b. Developing appropriate institutional schemes and political systems matters
13. Making democracy work in divided (multi-ethnic or multi-cultural) society
   a. Creating centripetal (moderating) incentives among political forces
      i. Conditions for the democratic stability
   b. Cross-cutting cleavages
   c. Proper electoral system
   d. Various solutions to manage multi-identity issues including the federalist solution
14. Federalism
   a. Federalism as a political device to manage social divisions
   b. Federalism can accommodate ethnic diversities
(3) Required Readings

*Essentials of Comparative Politics*, Ch. 3.
Alfred Stepan and Graeme B. Robertson, “An ‘Arab’ more than ‘Muslim’ Electoral Gap,” *Journal of Democracy* 14: 3 (July 2003), 30-44

(4) Discussion

1. Why societies are divided?
   a. Nation-building process as a way to achieve domestic integration
      i. Political process of creating an imagined community
      ii. Failure of nation-building in post-colonial states
      iii. State building without national integration
      iv. Persistence of ethnic divisions
   b. Industrialization and democratization
      i. Cleavages are formed and becoming politically salient
   c. Identities make centripetal or centrifugal forces when politically mobilized

2. How to maintain a stable democratic system in a divided society?
   a. Engineering a suitable political system
      i. Making party and electoral system work: institutions really matter
   b. There is no inherently undemocratic political identities
      i. Developing appropriate institutions and political systems matters

Week 6: Political Economy

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand how states are involved in the management of markets and property. Students are also required to analyze different political-economic systems and to compare them in terms of how each of them provides public goods and collective benefits.

1. What is political economy?
2. What is the relations between the state and market?

(2) Session Outline
1. What is political economy?
   a. Idea of national economy: political economy

2. Historical development of the idea of political economy
   a. Classical economists
      i. Separation of politics and economy
      ii. Idea of self-regulating free market
      iii. Productivity creates wealth: division of labor and competitive advantage
      iv. Market attains natural equilibrium
      v. Laissez-faire state
   b. Neoclassical economics
      i. Departure from political economy to “pure” economics
      ii. Sophisticated mechanism of explaining equilibrium
      iii. Maximization of utility
      iv. “Marginal revolution”
      v. Objectifying and universalizing economic theory
   c. Marxism
      i. Capitalism’s inherent propensity to crisis
      ii. Politics as a means to suppress the contradiction of capitalism
   d. Taking politics out of economy
      i. (Neo-liberal) economics
      ii. Marxian economics
   f. Keynesian revolution
      i. Private sector efficiency can generate macroeconomic inefficiency
      ii. Advocates government intervention
   g. Emergence of alternative political economic systems
      i. Socialist revolutions
      ii. Mixed economies: social democratic regimes, welfare states, etc.
   h. Growing cases of economic changes by state intervention
      i. New Deal policy (Keynesianism)
      ii. Ordoliberalismus
      iii. Dirigisme
      iv. State socialism
      v. NICs and the state-led economic development

3. “Varieties of capitalism”
   a. Each capitalist economy has developed unique “institutional arrangement” to maximize utilities per its comparative advantages
      i. Transaction cost (New Institutional Economics)
      ii. Path-dependence
      iii. Institutional complementarity
   b. Institutions in a political economic system have mutually complementary relations
      i. Each institution has its “fit”
   c. Capitalist economies can be roughly grouped into two types of political economic system
      i. Liberal market economies (LMEs)
      ii. Coordinated market economies (CMEs)

4. Studying political economy
   a. Formation of national political economic systems
i. State wants to intervene in economy for political purposes
ii. Market actors want freedom from the state for economic purposes
b. Market-conforming intervention
c. Unique transformation of the relationship between political and economic institutions in a country

5. Regulation or deregulation
a. The state regulates and deregulates the market
b. The degrees of market regulations are largely determined by politics
c. Domestic political interest
   i. Interest group pressures and class relations
   ii. Regime legitimization
   iii. International pressure
   iv. Global standard
   v. Economic crisis
   vi. Ideological imperative
d. Primary goal of the state (de-)regulation: Economic performance

6. Theories of economic growth
a. All states want to economically thrive
b. How to achieve economic growth?

7. Mercantilism
a. Classical economists
b. Neo-classical economists
c. Marxist interpretation
d. Statist
   i. “The Developmental State”

8. Political outcomes
a. Different theories on economic development generate different political economic systems
   i. Liberal economies based on (neo-)classical theories
   ii. Socialist economies based on Marxian theories
   iii. State-developmental (mercantilist) economies in the late-developing countries
   iv. Social democratic economies with modified capitalism

9. Economic changes
a. Different political economic systems require different institutional arrangements for economic changes
   i. Market deregulation, corporatist scheme, politically controlling SOEs, state’s direct intervention, etc.
   ii. Limitation due to preexisting institutional arrangements
b. Difficulties of economic reform
   i. Economic reform is as much a matter of politics as economics
   ii. Matter of political preference
c. Unintended consequences of economic reform
   i. Institutions have been tailored for specific purposes under specific political economic circumstances
   ii. Imposing foreign institutions may (or may not) generate unanticipated results
(3) Required Readings

*Essentials of Comparative Politics*, Ch. 4.

(4) Discussion

1. Why is there no panacea for economic problems?
   a. Why not simply applying “best practices” and “time-tested measures” to improve economic performances?
   b. Varieties of institutional arrangements and the limitation of exogenous economic reforms
2. How can we change economy?
   a. Economic growth as an essential element of a functioning nation-state
   b. Implications for underdeveloped countries

Week 7: Democratic Regimes

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to define democracy and explain its components while explaining why democracy has emerged in some cases and not in others. Students also are required to distinguish different democratic systems as well as to evaluate them comparatively.

1. What is democracy and democratization?
2. Type of modern democracies and their evaluation?

(2) Session Outline

1. What is democracy?
   a. “Political power exercised either directly or indirectly through participation, competition, and liberty”
   b. It’s all about power in a political community, or a nation-state
2. Representative democracy
   a. Indirect democracy through representation
   b. People themselves do not govern but leave governance to the agents they elect
3. Liberal democracy
   a. “Political system that promotes participation, competition, and liberty”
b. Election, political party, accountability

4. Institutional elements of democracy
   a. Elections and electoral procedures
   b. Political parties
   c. Judicial system
   d. Civil society
   e. Free media

5. Questions on democracy
   a. Who has the political power?
      i. Forms of political system: presidential vs. parliamentary
      ii. Balancing between accountability and stability (efficiency)
   b. How political power is instituted?
      i. Electoral systems: plurality-majoritarian vs. proportional representation
      ii. Impact of electoral system: changes in party competition and the form of representative democracy
   c. How much power should be bestowed?
      i. Responsiveness vs. delegation
      ii. Deligative democracy: Balancing between autonomy and responsibility
   d. How well power is represented?
      i. Quality of democracy
      ii. Elite vs. mass; polyarchy vs. full democracy

6. Who governs?
   a. A state is governed by the executive (cabinet)
   b. Voters in a democratic country generally do not vote directly for cabinet members
   c. To whom the cabinet is accountable defines the types of the democratic government
      i. If cabinet serves at the exclusive confidence of the legislature: Parliamentary government
      ii. If the cabinet is subject to the exclusive confidence of a popularly elected chief executive: Presidential government

7. Presidential system
   a. Directly elected president holds majority of executive power as head of state and government
   b. Serves for a fixed term and cannot be easily removed from office

8. Parliamentary system
   a. Indirectly elected prime minister holds executive power as head of government
   b. Parliament (congress, assembly, diet, etc.) can be dissolved before completion of full term
9. Some hybrid systems
   a. Semi-presidential system
      i. Both have president and prime minister
      ii. Prime minister is generally appointed by the president
      iii. President needs to take opposition party into account: Cohabitation
      iv. Cabinet (i.e., government) is responsible to the parliament
      v. Parliament can remove cabinet members from their offices
      vi. Complement the problem of responsibility in presidential system
   b. Parliamentary republic
      i. Parliamentary system with separated head of the state
      ii. Heads of the state are generally elected by the parliament
      iii. Complement the problem of stability in issues related to long-term agenda

10. How political power is formed?
    a. How to realize “representativeness” through democratic election?
    b. A variety of ways to convert votes into seats
    c. Plurality-Majority (SMD in Textbook)
       i. FPTP, Two-Round System, Alternative (preferential)
       ii. Single-member-district-plurality (SMDP): winner-takes-all
       iii. Multi-member: Plurality-at-large, Block vote (multiple non-transferable)
    d. Proportional Representation (PR)
       i. Party List PR (closed-list/open-list, single vote), STV (preferential, ranked votes)
       ii. Various apportionment methods
       iii. Some favor smaller parties while others favor larger parties
    e. Mixed: Parallel (Mixed-Member)
       i. Single-non-transferable-vote (SNTV): basically plurality but semiproportional result

11. Electoral systems and party politics
    a. Two-party competition more likely in SMDP or FPTP electoral systems
       i. Disproportionality in the seat to vote ratios
    b. PR leads to multi-party competition
       i. In PR systems more parties get votes unless the threshold is exceptionally high
    c. Electoral system as a game changer
12. How much power should be bestowed?
   a. A modern popular democracy is an indirect democracy, which is a representative democracy
   b. Then, the elected office holders are authorized to do whatever they want to do?
   c. Problem of “delegation”
13. Making system more representative: The quality of democracy
   a. Elite delegation vs. mass democracy
   b. Representative democracy in limbo
14. How much participation is desirable?
   a. Is mass participation, as in the case of plebiscitarian democracy, always good?
   b. At the same time, how can we ensure the responsiveness of elected office holders, without impairing the efficiency of representative democracy?
15. Stability, efficiency, accountability
   a. Democracy as a historical consequence of nation-state building
      i. According to the stages of political development, priorities vary across countries
      ii. Balancing between political stability and democratic accountability matters
   b. Implementing institutions for representative democracy
      i. A number of factors, e.g., geography, demography, political system, ethnic composition, stages of development, technology, etc., affect the efficiency of electoral systems
   c. Designing a (democratically) more accountable institution in given conditions

(3) Required Readings

*Essentials of Comparative Politics*, Ch. 5.
Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, “What Democracy is... and is Not,” *Journal of Democracy* 2: 3 (Summer 1991), 75-88.

(4) Discussion

1. What is democracy and how democratic is our system?
   a. In terms of political system
   b. In terms of electoral system
2. What is the limitation of representative democracy and how to overcome it?
   c. Institutional limitation and new institutional design
      i. Balancing between democratic accountability and political stability (or efficiency)
      ii. Stage of political development and proper institutional design
   d. Implications for our system of democracy
Week 8: Non-Democratic Regimes

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand the ways in which non-democratic regimes maintain their power. Students also should understand different type of non-democratic rules and evaluate them comparatively. Finally, students need to understand why they persist despite the global democratization and international efforts.

1. Type of non-democratic rules
2. Resilience of non-democratic regimes

(2) Session Outline

1. What is non-democratic regime?
   a. Non-democratic rule
      i. Political regime in which power is exercised by a few, unbound by public or constitutional control
      ii. Monolithic (non-competitive) system of rule
   b. Key characteristics
      i. Government is not constitutionally responsible to the public
      ii. Public has little or no role in selecting leaders
      iii. Individual freedom is restricted
   c. Non-democratic regimes however may be institutionalized and legitimate

2. Forms of non-democratic rule
   a. Variety of non-democratic regimes
      i. Tyranny, despotism, autocracy, dictatorship, etc.
      ii. "Lawless" and "unconstitutional" forms of government
      iii. Ruler, oligarch, nobility, or particular status group dominates and exercises power

3. Totalitarianism
   a. Defined not by the system of government but by the principle of action
   b. Lawful and constitutional system of government
   c. No more space for individually motivated action such as freedom and liberty
   d. All, including the leader, are the functionaries of a totalist society to carry out a prophetic goal defined by its ideology
   e. Fundamental transformation of most domestic institutions and the potential use of violence toward that end
      i. Terror is not simply a means to a political end but an end in itself
      ii. Terror and fear delegitimize political institutions while legitimizing the rule
   f. Totalitarian ideology is:
      i. Not a simple device to secure compliance and mobilize people but
      ii. A law of history and nature, a doctrine of destruction for total reconstruction
iii. Has produced enormously powerful regimes enabling massive mobilization building on popular support

4. Authoritarianism
   a. A political system neither democratic nor totalitarian
      i. With limited, not responsible political pluralism
   b. Often quite extensive social and economic pluralism
      i. Without elaborate and guiding ideology but with distinctive mentalities
      ii. Without extensive or intensive political mobilization except at some points in their development
   c. In which a leader or occasionally a small group exercises power within formally ill-defined but actually quite predictable norms
      i. Some autonomy in state careers (bureaucracy) and in military

5. Origins of non-democratic rule
   a. The Moore thesis
      i. Middle-class, the backbone of democracy
      ii. “No Bourgeoisie, no democracy”
   b. Post-colonial nation states
      i. State-building vs. democratic citizenship
      ii. “Overdeveloped state and underdeveloped civil society

6. Sources of non-democratic rule
   a. Material conditions
      i. Modernization theory: Urbanization and economic development
      ii. Modernization can also be disruptive: Poverty, inequality and economic crisis
   b. Geographic conditions
      i. “Resource Curse,” “Hydraulic Despotism,” etc.
   c. Political elites
      i. Military or tribal leaders’ appropriation of resources through despotic power
      ii. Manipulation of class or ethnic divisions
iii. Underdevelopment of infrastructural power in resource rich countries due to the elite’s isolation from society
iv. Deficiency of legitimacy
d. Social conditions
  i. Weak civil society in new nation states
  ii. Legacy of colonialism
  iii. Populist mobilization of society
e. International environment
  i. Cold War and the Third-World authoritarian regimes
f. Culture and religion
  i. Confucian authoritarianism, Islamic theocracies, etc.
7. Why no democratization?
  a. Preconditions of democratization?
    i. Modernization Theory
    ii. Economic development and its entailing other preconditions
    iii. A linear and sequential step-by-step political development
  b. Factor-oriented approaches: Lists of causal forces
    i. Economic wealth, capitalist economy, literacy, equalitarian value, the open class system, and voluntary organizational participation
    ii. Exposure to modernity, functioning media, urban population, size of non-agricultural sector, literacy rate, and per capita income
8. Institution matters
  a. Structural-Institutional Approaches
    i. Barrington Moore: Once in power, the bourgeoisie created liberal institutions that ultimately resulted in democracy
    ii. Samuel Huntington: If political institutions are not strong enough to contain social mobilization, social frustration, dispersed political participation, and political instability would occur, which eventually sacrifices democratic participation on behalf of social order
9. Persistence of non-democratic rule
  a. How non-democratic regimes survive?
    i. Coercion and surveillance
    ii. Cooptation
    iii. Corporatism
    iv. Clientelism
    v. Ideology and personality cults
  b. But, how can we explain the “stability” of a non-democratic regime?
10. Managed democracy
  a. Degrees of legitimacy, corruption, concentration of power, etc., vary across regimes
  b. Regime is legitimized by free and fair elections, although political competition is “managed” by political elites through media, manipulated public opinions, political negotiations, etc.
    i. The public cannot change the government’s policy effectively
  c. Procedural democracy without substantive democracy
11. Contemporary type of non-democratic rules
  a. Personal and monarchical rule
    i. Small monarchies and Sultanistic regimes
b. Military rule
   i. Military regimes

c. Bureaucratic authoritarianism
   i. One-party rule
   ii. Single-party states

d. Theocracy
   i. State as an organized religion

e. Illiberal and hybrid regimes
   i. Procedural democracies

12. Interrupted democratic consolidation
   a. Growing number of institutionalized and stable non-democratic regimes
   b. Dual-faceted nature of institution
      i. Democratic institutions for strong democracy
      ii. Strong institution as the basis of stable democracy
      iii. Weak institution as the origins and persistence of non-democratic rules
   c. Democratic institutions to legitimize non-democratic rule
      i. However, democratic institutions have served to reinforce nondemocratic rules
   d. Growing number of constitutional, legitimized, and institutionalized non-democratic rules

(3) Required Readings

Essentials of Comparative Politics, Ch. 6.

(4) Discussion

1. Why are there such a large number of non-democratic regimes still existing?
   a. How to explain the stability of non-democratic regimes?
   b. What are the sources of non-democratic rules?
2. Then, what is required to transform them into democratic ones?
   a. Eliminating the sources of non-democratic rules?
   b. Drawbacks of exogenous democratization
3. What are the essential elements of democratization?
Week 9: Midterm Exam

A comprehensive test to the students’ level of understanding on the major topics and issues addressed in the course. It is suggested to give a case of country which is generally familiar with the students in order to test how well the students can apply the major terms and concepts in comparative area studies in explaining a country’s political and social aspects. A sample essay exam question is:

Read the following article excerpted from The Economist (October 30, 2014) and explain why the author thinks that “Botswana’s politics may turn uncharacteristically nasty.” Write your essay based on your “educated guess” building on some concepts we have discussed in class, for instances, nation-building, state power, autonomy, legitimacy, clientelism, resource curse, representative democracy, and so forth. Writing should demonstrate your level of understanding on those concepts as well as your ability to logically organize your thought to answer the question. Creativity does count. Please do not be overly concerned about typos or grammatical errors, but be sure to answer the question properly. Your essay should be around 400-500 words (2-3 pages long) in total.

Casting a vote in Botswana is a pleasantly dull and well-run affair; perhaps the biggest concern in the October 24th parliamentary elections was a storm that blew away tented polling stations. Slow vote counting was put down to excessive carefulness; even government critics agree there was no funny business.

But while Botswana is often held up as a model of African governance, the election result reflects growing dissatisfaction with the ruling party under its leader, President Ian Khama. For the first time, his Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), in power since independence in 1966, won less than 50% of the vote, though it retains a majority in the 57-seat parliament.

Mr. Khama, 61, a former general and the son of the independence leader, Sir Seretse Khama, now begins his second and final term. He is beloved by his rural base but critics say he runs the country like a chieftain, expecting total control. Under Mr. Khama, state-security agencies have expanded dramatically, and there have been troubling accusations of extrajudicial killings and other abuses. A newspaper editor was charged with sedition last month for a juicy story about Mr. Khama being involved in a car crash. Even BDP members worry about the authoritarian trend.

City-dwellers voted in droves for the Umbrella for Democratic Change coalition, led by a Harvard-trained human rights lawyer, Duma Boko. He says he intends to fight abuses of power and corruption, in a newly competitive parliament.

A darker cloud looms over the genteel country: the diamonds that made the country rich are quickly running out. One Gaborone-based economist, Roman Grynberg, believes that GDP per person will fall by nearly half when the diamonds disappear, perhaps some time between 2029 and 2050. Already economic growth, which between 1966 and 1999 was running at 9% a year on average, has slowed to
Week 10: Political Violence

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand the various aspects of political violence outside the control of the states. Students need to acknowledge that violence by nonstate actors can take several forms; and that it can be explained by referring to institutions, ideology, and individual personalities; and that responding to violence presents a dilemma for modern states.

1. Causes of political violence
2. Variety of political violence

(2) Session Outline

1. What is political violence?
   a. Politically motivated violence outside of state control
      i. Actions carried out by nonstate actors
      ii. Part of broader category of “contentious politics”
   b. Revolutions
   c. Civil war
   d. Riots
   e. Strikes
2. Why Political Violence?
   a. Institutional Explanations
      i. Some institutions create violence by excluding, marginalizing, and polarizing populations.
      ii. Some institutions reduce violence by promoting inclusion.
   b. Ideational Explanations
      i. Ideas set out a worldview, diagnose problems, provide resolutions, and describe the means for achieving goals.
      ii. Any of these things can inspire people to violence.
   c. Individual Explanations
      i. Individual experiences drive people to violence.
      ii. Rational actors: Violence is a strategy to achieve goals.
3. Comparing Explanations of Political Violence
   a. Free will
   b. Universalism
4. Forms of Political Violence: Revolution
   a. Some element of public participation
   b. Goal is to gain control of the state
   c. Often, but not always, violent
   d. Possible Causes of Revolution
      i. Relative deprivation model
      ii. Institutional approaches:
5. Forms of Political Violence: Terrorism
   a. Carried out by nonstate actors
      i. State-sponsored terrorism is largely carried out through proxies
   b. Targets civilians
   c. Has a political goal or intent
   d. Institutional Explanations for Terrorism
i. Economic: poverty, lack of education, inequality
ii. Political: terrorism is more common when state capacity and autonomy are weak
iii. Ideational: Specific religious ideology or nihilism
iv. Individual: Feelings of alienation or humiliation
v. Social benefits of membership: Sense of identity and group solidarity

6. Terrorism and Revolution: Means and Ends
   a. The Typical Outcomes of Revolution
      i. Authoritarian government
      ii. Increased violence
      iii. More indiscriminate violence within the country
      iv. Higher likelihood of interstate war
   b. What About Terrorism?
      i. Terrorists seldom achieve their policy goals
      ii. But, terrorists do have impact
      iii. Economy: depresses such things as tourism, foreign direct investment, and stock markets
      iv. Society: increases anxiety and insecurity
      v. Politics: erodes state legitimacy, destabilizes politics
      vi. Terrorism can provoke more conflict

7. Political Violence and Religion
   a. Factors that Can Transform Religion into Violence
      i. Hostility to modernity
      ii. Belief in “cosmic war”
      iii. Views the modern world as marginalizing or dehumanizing believers
      iv. Messianic, apocalyptic, or utopian belief

8. Countering Political Violence
   a. How Best to Combat Revolutionaries and/or Terrorists
   b. Fundamental dilemma: repression or reform?
      i. Repression may eliminate immediate threat but leads to more resentment later
      ii. Reform may satisfy some demands but can encourage more demands later

9. Counterterrorism in Democracies: The Dilemma of Freedom vs. Security

(3) Required Readings

*Essentials of Comparative Politics*, Ch. 7.


(4) Discussion

1. What triggers political violence
   a. Institutions, ideas, and individual characteristics may trigger political violence
   b. Under certain conditions, any extreme religious belief can motivate political violence

2. How effective is political violence?
   a. Political violence seldom achieves democratic regime change, but it does significantly impact the state

3. How states are responding to political violence?
   a. In responding to political violence, states might consider using repression or reform
   b. For democracies, counterterrorism policies may present a tradeoff between security and freedom

(5) Second Assignment

Week 11: Advanced Democracies

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to describe the major characteristics of developed democracies and to analyze how political, economic, and social institutions differ among them. Students also need to acknowledge what challenges the advanced democracies have been facing and what solutions are available with them.

1. State and civil society in advanced democracies
2. Challenges and transformation of the welfare state

(2) Session Outline

1. What is civil society?
   a. Generally refers to the intermediary space between the state and private life
   b. Civil society organizations
      i. Non-governmental organizations
      ii. Non-profit organizations
      iii. Public interest groups
      iv. Voluntary groups

2. Roles of civil society
   a. Consolidating democratic practices
      i. Advocacy
      ii. Watchdog
      iii. Participation
   b. Providing services
      i. Expert
      ii. Welfare
      iii. Government partnership
   c. Contributing to socioeconomic development
      i. Spreading the idea of social equality
ii. Solidarity and citizenship

3. Vibrant civil society can...
   a. Stimulate political participation
   b. Develop democratic attitudes
   c. Channel social interests to the state
   d. Recruit and train political leaders
   e. Effectively deliver information and services to the public
   f. Eventually, legitimate and strengthen the state

4. Advanced democracies today
   a. Dwindling participation
      i. Decline in associational life
      ii. Growing de-politicization
   b. Mounting dissatisfaction
      i. Inefficient response to economic difficulties
      ii. Declining confidence
   c. Unaccountable and unresponsive politics
      i. Crisis of representative democracy
      ii. Legitimation crisis

5. Non-competitive party politics
   a. Diminishing competition among major parties
      i. Median-voter oriented pledges
      ii. National-level ideological motivation without local interests
      iii. Gerrymandering and patronage politics
      iv. Spoiling voters through pork-barreling and clientellism
   b. Non-competitive party politics makes politics less responsive and accountable to people’s voice
   c. Shrinking political participation of civil society might have contributed to the declining party identification and voter turnout
      i. Politically empowering civil society as a cure for the crisis of representative democracy in advanced democratic countries
   d. How to do that?
      i. Revamping associational life
      ii. Improving social capital
      iii. Encouraging local participation

6. Problems of advanced democracies
   a. Dwindling political participation in tandem with declining people’s confidence in democratic institutions, i.e., governments, parliaments, and political parties
   b. Anemic democracy
      i. Civil society does not effectively influence political parties
      ii. Party politics become less and less accountable to people
      iii. Politics become less and less competitive

7. Economic changes in the advanced countries in the 1980s
   a. Neoliberalism and income polarization
      i. Politics became relying more and more on contribution from big donors
      ii. Political contributions are partisan and purposeful
      iii. Government’s policy for the public suffers
      iv. Tax-cuts and budget deficits
      v. Degenerating public services
   b. Dwindling confidence in government

8. Performance of advanced democracies
a. In responsive democracies, political forces compete for political power to better serve the people
b. Are, then, advanced democracies today serving their people well?
c. How can we measure the performance of advanced democracies?
   i. Quality and efficiency of welfare provisions
9. Determinants of welfare regimes
   a. Types of welfare states are largely determined by types of political regimes
   b. Political power of leftist political parties and trade unions that has determined set of policy preferences
   c. Changes of policy preferences, overtime, transforms the characteristics of welfare regimes
   d. Welfare regimes are the products of labor politics and democracy
10. General retrenchment of welfare provisions
   a. Growing demand
   b. Declining supply
   c. Gradual retrenchment of welfare provisions
11. Challenges to welfare states
   a. Economic challenge
      i. Economic recession
      ii. Growing unemployment
      iii. Income polarization
   b. Social challenge
      i. Aging of society
      ii. Growing old-age population
      iii. Declining fertility ratio
   c. Political challenge
      i. Incapable government
      ii. Fiscal crisis
      iii. Mounting dissatisfaction
      iv. Legitimation crisis
   d. Are they responding well?
      i. If not, what is the problem?
12. Achieving national integration
   a. National integration is the most critical element of modern nation-state
      i. State’s welfare provision as the critical component of achieving national integration
      ii. Economic inequality undermines political integration among citizens
   b. However, economic and social challenges to welfare state
      i. Economic recession and aging society
      ii. Growing welfare demands in tandem with dissipating resources
   c. Modern welfare states need to maintain a balance between its economic goals (market efficiency) and political goals (national integration)

(3) Required Readings

*Essentials of Comparative Politics*, Ch. 8.


(4) Discussion

1. How to overcome the crisis of representative democracy in advanced democracies?
   a. Concurrent decline of confidence in democratic institutions and democratic participation
   b. Calling out voters who have been disenchanted with democracy
   c. Revamping civil society

2. How to overcome the crisis of welfare state in advanced democracies?
   a. Growing economic inequality in aging societies
   b. Hammering out deals between market efficiency and political integration through democratic means
   c. It’s not only an economic, fiscal matter but also, in a sense more significantly, a political one

Week 12: Communism and Post-Communism

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand the foundations of communist ideology and to describe how communist systems worked. Students also need to understand the effects of state control over markets and property and how post-communist states have transformed their economic and political institutions.

1. Rise and fall of communist regimes
2. Transition to capitalism and its aftermaths

(2) Session Outline

1. Cold War begins
   a. Truman Doctrine (1947)
   b. Marshall Plan (1947-51)
2. The Socialist world
   a. Soviet Union expands its influence over Eastern Europe
   b. Berlin Blockade (1948-1949)
   c. Warsaw Pact (1955)
   d. Invasion of Hungary (1956)
3. Brezhnev Doctrine (1968)
   a. Justified Soviet’s military interventions in neighboring socialist country
      i. Invasion of Czechoslovakia (1968)
      ii. Invasion of Afghanistan (1979)
      iii. Intervention in Poland (1981)
   a. Rollback policy against the Communist expansion
      i. Iranian revolution, collapse of Somoza regime in Nicaragua, etc.
   b. U.S. turned to an explicit support to anti-communist authoritarianism
   c. Declaring a “crusade” against the Soviet Union
5. From MAD to SDI
   a. Mutual Assured Destruction
      i. Developing a capability to launch a devastating attack even after sustaining a full assault from the other side (“second-strike capability”)
      i. Space-based anti-ballistic missile system
      ii. An unrealizable wild plan which was, however, effective enough to threaten the Soviets
   c. Forced Soviet Union to produce more nuclear stockpiles
6. Gorbachev era
   a. Initiated massive reform in political and economic system
   b. Perestroika (restructuring)
      i. Autonomy of bureaus and local governments
      ii. Introduction of market elements
   c. Glasnost (openness)
      i. Freedom of speech and debate
      ii. Transparency in the state system
   d. Denouncing Brezhnev Doctrine
      i. Withdrawal from Afghanistan
      ii. Cutting military spending
7. Changes in Eastern Europe
   a. Waning Soviet’s influence
      i. Waning authoritarian leadership in the satellite states
      ii. Gorbachev declined to give military support to those communist regimes
   b. Growing popular opposition
      i. Walesa and the Solidarity movement in Poland
      ii. Rising nationalism in Eastern Germany
      iii. Widespread corruption among state leaders
   c. Economic stagnation
      i. Diminishing economic support from the Soviet Union
      ii. Widening gap with the capitalist west
8. Fall of the Soviet Union
   a. Gorbachev’s reforms undermined the CPSU’s control over the Soviet Union
      i. Free elections to form legislatures
      ii. Federal entities carried out a series of referendum to decide whether to remain in the Union or not
   b. August coup by the conservatives in the CPSU was suppressed by the people in 1991
      i. Gorbachev resigned
      ii. CPSU’s activities were suspended
   c. End of communist rule
9. Democratic transition
   a. Free elections after the transition
i. Democratic governments established in most Eastern European countries
ii. Former Soviet Union republics voted for their independence

b. How was the transition?
   i. Mostly successful in institutional transitions
   ii. Problems of anti-politics

c. Ethnic conflicts in some countries
   i. Yugoslavia and former Soviet Union republics

10. Diverging outcomes
   a. All have adopted representative democratic institution including free election, parliament, and independent judiciary
   b. However some achieved well-functioning democracy relative to the others

11. Explanations?
   a. Ethnicity?
      i. Ethnic tension that had been suppressed by the communist regimes
   b. Authoritarian culture?
      i. Long history of communist-totalitarian rule
      ii. Short history of democratic practices
   c. Weak civil society?
      i. Anti-politics
      ii. Legacy of totalitarian control
   d. Economic reasons?

12. Problem of socialist economy
   a. “Soft-budget constraint syndrome”
      i. Budget constraints are not “hard” but “soft”
      ii. Budget of producers are negotiated with the planner, i.e., the state, after production
      iii. State planning gives producers “subjective expectations concerning external assistance and the enforcement of financial discipline”
      iv. Tendency of over-investment, price-fixing, and insensitive to deficit
   b. Shortage economy
      i. Low or fixed-price system creates higher consumer demands
      ii. Supply always falls behind demand
      iii. Routinized queuing and wait-listing
      iv. Forced substitution or savings
   c. Demands are not met, resources are not fully utilized

13. Privatization
   a. Privatization was regarded as the only answer to the fundamental problems of socialist economy
   b. The only concern was the “speed”
   c. Shock therapy vs. gradualism

14. Advocates of the shock therapy
   a. Price reforms not enough to improve efficiency of SOEs
      i. State likely to continue to meddle in SOEs
      ii. Managers would de-capitalize SOEs
      iii. Political need to forestall return of communists
   b. Privatizing thousands of firms while ensuring equity and political viability is technically impossible
c. “Massive privatization”

15. Different outcomes
   a. “Big Bang” of economic liberalization, privatization and opening to international trade produced
      i. Declining growth in real GDP in many post-communist countries
      ii. Rising unemployment, poverty, inequality, and crime
      iii. Corruption in fire-sale of state assets to private investors
   b. “A shock without the therapy”
   c. Resurgence of communists and dictatorial strongmen

16. A gradual alternative
   a. China’s “growing out of plan” approach
      i. Dual track reform strategy: production and price planning in tandem with market-based incentive and industrial quota system
      ii. Gradually infuse market elements into socialist economic system
   b. Unable to compare systematically because only China has adopted gradualist transition strategy

(3) Required Readings

   Essentials of Comparative Politics, Ch. 9.

(4) Discussion

1. What explain the diverging paths of post-communist transition?
   a. Some had violent transition while others had peaceful transition
   b. Some ended up with violent ethnic conflicts while others enjoy national prosperity
   c. Economic performances also vary greatly

2. How to evaluate the transition?
   a. Degenerating democratic performances
   b. Growing economic and social problems, especially in former Soviet Union including Russia itself

Week 13: Less-developed Countries

(1) Learning Objectives

Students should be able to understand the characteristics of underdeveloped countries and how imperialism and colonialism have affected their state, societal, and economic institutions. Students also need to understand how post-colonial
countries have suffered from ethnic and national division, limited economic growth, and weak states. In doing so, students are expected to understand the institutional determinants of poverty and wealth.

1. Rise and fall of communist regimes
2. Transition to capitalism and its aftermaths

(2) Session Outline

1. Imperialism
   a. Western countries’ competition over trade and resources
   b. “A system in which a state extend its power beyond its borders to control other territories and peoples”
      i. Driven by religious, political (strategic), and religious motives
      ii. Resulted in colonialism, the “physical occupation of foreign territories”

2. Colonialism
   a. Physical occupation of a foreign territory through military force, businesses, or settlers
      i. Means for consolidating an empire
   b. Extensive changes during colonial rule
      i. Imperial forces extrapolate “modern” institutions
      ii. Industrial infrastructure, capitalist market economy, mass education, modern state apparatus, etc.
   c. Colonial societies undergo extensive social changes

3. Intention and modernization
   a. Colonial exploitation
      i. Imperial powers devastated resource-rich territories by forcibly extracting natural resources
      ii. Companies of imperial powers monopolized trade with the support of colonial authorities
   b. Colonial modernization
      i. Modern institutions were “selectively” introduced for the sake of imperial interests, mostly economic
      ii. Uneven and distorted modernization of society

4. Overdeveloped state
   a. To achieve the goal of the imperial powers, strong and repressive colonial state apparatus were established
      i. Unlike Western-European experience, the modern state apparatus of colonial states is not the outcome of political process between the state and society
      ii. Modern state system with elaborated mechanism of social control and resource extraction was extrapolated into traditional society
   b. Development of modern “society” was impeded
      i. Associations, media, political activities, etc. were prohibited
      ii. Traditional organizations were reinforced

5. Social consequences
   a. Conflict between traditional and modern identities
      i. Colonial authority utilizes traditional identities to maintain control
ii. Anti-colonial forces also utilize traditional identities to mobilize oppositions
iii. Persistence of traditional identities despite the diffusion of modern behaviors and institutions

b. Disruptive split of society
i. Pro-colonial vs. anti-colonial forces
ii. Schism generally develops along the traditional identities
iii. Crucial hindrance to achieving national integration after independence

6. Post-colonial state
a. State-building prior to nation-building
i. State territories demarcated by colonizers for the sake of their own interests
ii. Newly established regimes take over the colonial state apparatus after independence

b. Difficulty in achieving national integration
i. Persistence of traditional identities
ii. Legacy of colonial strategies: divide and rule
iii. Issue of colonial collaborators

7. Political decay
a. Explosion of politics
i. Freedom of associations
ii. Violent conflict of interests
iii. Rise of political groups based on traditional identity
iv. Problems in maintaining social order

b. Post-colonial states tend to rely on despotic power with clientelistic support to control society

8. Colonial legacy and development
a. Colonialism triggered modernization
i. Colonial authority introduced modern institutions
ii. Colonial exploitation invoked anti-colonial nationalism

b. However, colonial experience makes mostly detrimental impact on postcolonial development
i. Growing conflict of political interest among traditional identities after independence
ii. Post-colonial nation-building is suppressed by the early state-building under the colonial rule
iii. Defunct institution of economic development after the withdrawal of colonizers

b. Repressive state and fragmented society with the remnants of exploitative state-society relations

9. Colonial modernization?
 a. Uneven development across the segments of society
i. Modernization occurred during colonial period is mostly an isolated event in limited sectors for the sake of imperial interests
ii. Modern institutions and practices are rarely complementary or mutually reinforcing

b. Modernization is a multi-faceted phenomenon
i. Need for a holistic evaluation on the legacy of colonialism in postcolonial states and societies

10. Problems of weak state
a. Compromised sovereignty
i. Ideological competition during the Cold War era
b. Conflicts with neighboring states
   i. Multinational corporations
c. International organizations
   i. Absence of capable, professional bureaucracy
d. Departure of colonial technocrats
   i. Purge on pro-imperial collaborators
e. Limited state autonomy
   i. Narrow scope of support
f. Clientelism and corruption
   i. Ethnicity and religion based support

(3) Required Readings

*Essentials of Comparative Politics*, Ch. 10.

(4) Discussion

1. Why less developed countries are less developed?
   a. Post-colonial predicament
   b. Political, economic, and social challenges to the less developed countries
2. Why poverty is persistent?
   a. Internal causes
   b. External causes

Week 14: Newly-developed Countries

(1) Learning Objectives

In continuation with the previous week’s topic, students should be able understand the institutional foundations and determinants of poverty and wealth, as well as democracy. Students are expected to evaluate and critique societal, economic, and political institutions and policies as pathways to development and democracy.

1. State-led economic development
2. Democracy in new democracies

(2) Session Outline

1. Newly industrialized countries
   a. Four Asian Tigers
      i. Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea
ii. Post-war high performing economies
b. All are post-colonial countries
   i. BRIC, MINT, etc.
c. Emerging markets
   i. Many of them (Brazil, India, Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria) were former colonies of imperial powers

2. Common characteristics
   a. Commonalities of the newly industrialized countries
      i. High state autonomy and capacity
      ii. Transition from import-substitution
   b. The Asian NICs
      i. Export-oriented growth strategy
      ii. Trade surplus through high tariff and undervalued currencies
      iii. State-led industrial promotion
      iv. Government subsidizes target industry: low-interest lending, government’s payment guarantee, protection of business sector
   c. Nationalistic mobilization
      i. High savings rate, long working hours, educational zeal, cheap compensation, etc.
   d. Authoritarian regime

3. Explanations?
   a. Market?
      i. Free international market
      ii. Distorted domestic market
   b. State (policies)?
      i. State’s rational planning
      ii. State’s irrational intervention
   c. Society?
      i. Nationalism
      ii. Social division (e.g., strong landed class)
   d. International environment?
      i. Cold War competition
      ii. Dependent development (legacy of imperialism)

4. Differences
   a. Economic performances
      i. Time for takeoff
      ii. Speed of growth
      iii. External vulnerability
      iv. Domestic stability
   b. Political differences
      i. Degree of state autonomy and capacity
      ii. Regime types
      iii. Democracy

5. Diverging performances
   a. Laying ground for economic takeoff is one thing, and maintaining growth after the takeoff is another
      i. Growing economic imbalance between the North and the South as well as among emerging economies
   b. The ways in which each economy has achieved takeoff and has maintained growth differ across countries
i. Since the 1990s, developing countries have adopted policies of liberalization, or Washington Consensus, as a way to boost their economy
ii. Some have become more vulnerable to external shocks and domestic instability than others

c. Debates on re-regulation
   i. Can the liberalized states reclaim their authority over the market?

6. Post-colonial Developmental States
   a. States in many emerging economies have enjoyed capacity and autonomy from society inherited from their colonial experience
   b. Many Latin American countries have failed to establish strong states due to the persistence of strong landed class linked to external forces, i.e., foreign governments and MNCs
   c. Many factors including political leadership, nationalism, international environment, etc., have enabled the strong states to work for economic development together with societies

7. Strong state and underdevelopment
   a. In many underdeveloped postcolonial states, however, political elites appropriated the strong state power for the sake of their own political and economic interests
      i. The state has become isolated from society
      ii. Growth of “informal economy,” which is not regulated, protected, or taxed by the state
   b. The overdeveloped state has failed to build infrastructural power
      i. Weak states and the rise of non-state social forces

8. Changing state-society relations
   a. Economic growth however changes the state-society relationship, which has gradually undermined the autonomy of the state, i.e., one of the fundamental sources of state capacity
   b. Troubled economies
      i. A variety of solutions ranging from further liberalization to extensive re-regulation
      ii. Issue of priority across industrial sectors and particular segments in society
      iii. Policy preferences are hinged on politics

9. The price of wealth
   a. The success stories of East Asian NICs and BRICs builds on the exposure to international capitalist market in the postwar era
      i. The degree of exposure, however, determines a political economy’s vulnerability
      ii. Recurring exogenous crises
   b. The success stories also canvass the strength and capability of the state
      i. Strong state means state collects resources and distributes, or spends them
      ii. Government deficit, which can only be mitigated by incessant expansion of economy or trade surplus

(3) Required Readings

Essentials of Comparative Politics, Ch. 10.


(4) Discussion

1. How newly developed countries have achieved economic growth?
   a. Post-colonial takeoff
   b. Political, economic, and social challenges to the newly developed countries

2. Why the post-takeoff performance varies across countries?
   a. Some are more vulnerable to external shocks than others
   b. Recurring global-scale economic crises

Week 15: Globalization and Comparative Area Studies

(1) Learning Objectives

In the final week, students should be able to describe and understand (1) how political globalization challenges sovereignty; (2) how economic globalization transforms markets and property within and between countries; and (3) how societal globalization underpins old identities and creates new ones. Students are also expected to evaluate and critique globalization and its aftermaths. Finally, students discuss what comparative area studies mean in this globalized world. The sessions in this week will be mostly spared for students discussion and feedbacks.

1. Globalization and domestic changes
2. Theories and comparative area studies

(2) Session Outline

1. Globalization
   a. What is globalization?
      i. “A process that creates intensive and extensive international connections, changing traditional relationships of time and space”
   b. Converging impetus in politics, economy, and society
      i. Political Democratization
      ii. Economic liberalization
      iii. Social homogenization
   c. Heading to a borderless world?

2. Converging World, Diverging Outcomes
   a. Economic globalization
      i. Collapse of non-capitalist economy system
ii. Neoliberal reforms across the world since 1990s
iii. Growing international trade and money transactions
iv. However, between-country inequality has been growing

b. Political globalization
   i. The third-wave democratization since the late 1970s
   ii. Democratic transitions in the Middle East
   iii. Growing number of politically-free countries
   iv. However, politically partly-free and not-free countries are persistent

3. Growing gaps
   a. Global inequalities between individuals is increasing due to differences between countries
   b. Non-democratic and Partially-democratic Countries Persist

4. Comparative Study in a Globalized World
   a. The world has become increasingly homogeneous over the past century at global level
      i. Similar political institutions
      ii. Similar economic system
      iii. International economy and globalized culture
   b. However, national system of politics, economy, and society are still diverse at great degrees
      i. Modus operandi of institutions
      ii. Economic, political and social outcomes

5. Comparative Perspectives can
   a. Help us understand and sympathize with other communities beyond territorial boundaries
      i. In doing so, help us identify not only the problems of the other countries and the world but also of our own by objectifying them
      ii. In other words, help us critically reflect upon our conventional wisdoms, that have generated detrimental prejudices, misunderstandings, discriminations, etc., based on the hasty generalizations
   b. Ultimately, help us think of better yet feasible solutions to the problems

(3) Required Readings

*Essentials of Comparative Politics*, Ch. 11.
(4) Discussion

1. What Comparative Area Studies asks in the globalized world?
   a. What’s converging and what not, and why?
      i. Can same institutions bring about same outcomes?
   b. How to understand the world that converges and diverges concurrently?
      i. Is it possible to find “universal” solutions to our problems?

(5) Final Assignment

Week 16: Final Exam

A comprehensive test to the students’ level of understanding on the major topics and issues addressed in the course. It is suggested to give a choice of multiple countries in order to test how well the students can apply the major terms and concepts in comparative area studies from a comparativist angle. A sample essay exam question is:

Write a concise essay discussing why poor countries are still poor despite international efforts. Your essay should entertain theories of economic development and contemplate COMMON political, economic, and social conditions of those poor countries. Be sure to clearly indicate your take on the issue and support your argument with TWO or more country cases. Be advised that a simple presentation of your impression is not an argument. Your argument should be supported by empirical evidences AND convincing logic. Your argument should be presented in a complete essay format, meaning in an academically organized fashion, in around 500-600 words (2-3 pages).