This syllabus will start this course on January 29, 2019. It is very important to me, however, to design this course according to the theoretical and research interests of students who enroll in it. Thus, while this syllabus reflects how we will proceed, at an early stage in the semester we will have a conversation among seminar members about their own research interests and how I might alter parts of the syllabus (but not in the first weeks) to address those interests. Thus, depending on students’ decisions in the seminar, some of the later part of the syllabus might change in order to accommodate their immediate interests.

Ph.D. /M.A. Program in Political Science
The Graduate Center of the City University of New York

P SC 87601  Comparative Political Orders

Spring Semester 2019

Professor Susan L. Woodward  Tuesdays, 4:15 to 6:15
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3 to 4  Seminar Room: BTC

Course Description

The empirically dominant and normatively preferred form of contemporary political order is based on the historical model of west European state formation and theorists, above all Max Weber, of the modern state. The primary reason for this, however, is international order: sovereignty as defined and consolidated after 1945 and the requirements of participating in the current international system. Once we look to domestic political order, we not only see a historically rich literature on alternatives that tends to be ignored to our detriment, but also a vast variety of domestic political orders, the challenges and tasks they address politically, and ways of analyzing contemporary political orders that are not driven by comparison with this dominant model. In addition, to the extent that historical legacies matter for political order, understanding the way empires (e.g., the Ottomans, colonial powers) organized political life also informs current countries that succeeded them.

The seminar will be organized around a set of theoretical questions to escape that “western state” straightjacket and a literature on alternatives. It also, however, aims to provide an opportunity to students to pose their own question for the group and for thinking creatively through their research project and paper. The focus of all the readings and discussion will be comparative, primarily but not entirely outside Europe. The topics should be clear from the syllabus below.
Requirements and Grading

There are four requirements for this seminar:
(1) participation in class on the readings for the week, actively and critically;
(2) a one-page, typed summary of the issues/theories of the readings for each week and at least one critical question you have of the readings or that you think the readings raise, due in class on the day of those readings;
(3) an outline of your eventual research paper, with its components identified (to be discussed further in class), due in class on March 12; and
(4) the eventual research paper, typed, double-spaced, and due, in my mailbox, either physically at the GC or electronically in my email, on May 14, at 5:00 p.m.

The final grade will be a composite of these four: 25% for each of (1) and (2); 10% for (3); and 40% for (4), with due attention to progress over the semester.

It is important for you to know that I do not accept late writing assignments. Clearly there are some legitimate excuses – medical or family emergency – but they must be documented. This is a very difficult requirement for some, not to speak of for me to enforce, but part of graduate education is socialization, and the world out there professionally does not accept late submissions, so it is very important for you to learn how to deal with this psychologically (that you want to keep working on something to make it “better”) as well as administratively (that to meet deadlines, one has to plan).

Reading Assignments and Books

The readings for this course will be largely journal articles or book chapters that you will find through the online journals of the library or on Blackboard. A hard copy of each book is on reserve at the library. This system applies only to the required readings, except for a few recommended readings that might be difficult to find and, thus, are also placed on Blackboard. Course documents in Blackboard are organized into folders by weeks in the syllabus. Where portions of a book are assigned, but the library does not yet own the book (it will have been ordered), those pages will also be placed on Blackboard.

We will not read very large parts of books, so their assigned pages will be on BlackBoard and/or on Reserves, but you may wish to purchase Karen Barkey, Empire of Difference and Stephen van Evera (1997), Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science (Cornell University Press). I always recommend using the Amazon link on the Mina Rees Library page because purchase through Amazon on that link contributes a portion of the sale to our library, but you should choose a local bookstore if you prefer.
Seminar Schedule

January 29   Introduction

February 5  An entrée into thinking about a different reality


Karen Barkey (1994), Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization, chs. 1 and 7 (pp. 1-23; 229-42).

Recommended:

Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse, “Governance without a state: Can it work?” Regulation and Governance (2010), 4: 113-134.


Quentin Skinner, “How we acquired the concept of the state (and what concept(s) we acquired),” unpub. ms. [n.d.] (available from Prof. Woodward).

Ernst Kantorowicz (1957), The King’s Two Bodies.

February 12  Alternative conceptual and/or theoretical approaches


Recommended:
February 19  Studying variation


Stephen Van Evera (1997), Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science (Cornell), ch 1 and the Appendix; read the rest of the book if you are thinking about your dissertation.

Charles Tilly (1984), Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons, chs. 7-9 (pp. 116-47).


Recommended:


John Gerring (2001), Social Science Methodology: Tasks, Strategies, Criteria.

Alexander George and Andrew Bennett (2005), Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences.

February 26  Empire

Karen Barkey (2008), *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, Part I (pp. 1-191) and introduction to Part II (pp.193-6).


Recommended:


S.N. Eisenstadt (1963), *The Political System of Empires*.

Michael Doyle (1986), *Empires*.


Mahmood Mamdani (1996), *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. 
March 5   Frontiers/Borderlands

James C. Scott (2009), The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia, preface and chs. 1, 2, and conclusion (1-63, 324-338).

Recommended Readings:
James Ron (2003), Frontiers and Ghettos: State Violence in Serbia and Israel.
Jeffrey Herbst (2000), States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control, chs. 1 and 9 (pp. 11-31, 251-272); recommend: ch. 2 (35-57).
Justin V. Hastings (2010), No Man’s Land: Globalization, Territory, and Clandestine Groups in Southeast Asia.
Alternatives to the modern state

Hendrik Spruyt (1996), *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*, introduction, chs. 3 and 6 (pp. 3-8; 34-57; and 109-129).


Recommended Readings:

Karen Guttierrei and Jessica Piombo, eds. (2007), *Interim Governments: Institutional Bridges to Peace and Democracy?*


I may find some good readings on one-party states/ regimes; stay tuned.

March 19: Hand-in your proposed research question for your term paper.
March 19  Authoritarian (including Military) Regimes


Mary Callahan (2003), *Making Enemies: War and State Building in Burma*, preface (xi-xvi); introduction (1-20); epilogue (207-228), and if at all possible, chapters 5-7 (pp. 145-206).


Steven Heydemann, ed. (2000), *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East*, chapter 1 (pp. 1-30).

Recommended:


March 26 and April 2  
Relation between Political Order and the Economy


Catherine Boone (2014). *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics*, chs. 1, 2, and 11 (pp. 1-51, 309-332).


Mushtaq Khan (2010), *Political Settlements and the Governance of Growth-Enhancing Institutions* (read as much of the case studies – Thailand, Maharashatra, West Bengal, Bangladesh, and Tanzania – as you can and are interested).


Jeffrey A. Winters (2011), *Oligarchy*, preface, chapters 1, 4-6 (pp. 1-39, 135-285), and pp. 67-72 in ch. 3.


**Recommended Readings:**


James Mahoney (2010), *Colonialism and Post-Colonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*, at a minimum, read chapters 1 and 8 (pp. 1-34; 253-70).


Karl Polanyi (1944), *The Great Transformation*.


Margaret Levi (1989), *Of Rule and Revenue*.


April 9  Political order in civil war contexts

Zachariah Cherian Mampilly (2011), Rebel Rulers: Insurgent Governance and Civilian Life during War, chapters 1-3, 7 (pp. 1-92, 209-230)
Ashley Jackson (June 2018), Taliban Shadow Government (Overseas Development Institute [ODI] Report) [this is 25 pages]

Recommended Readings:
Alex Strick van Linschoten and Felix Kuehn (2018), The Taliban Reader: War, Islam, and Politics. The entire volume is useful, but if you want to look at how the Taliban is currently governing, see pp. 343-532.
Tony Judt (2006), Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945, Part One, 1945-53, is all about what it means to restart, transition, rebuild politically, socially, psychologically, etc., after WWII, which may have more parallels with other political transitional moments and contexts that might appear.
April 16     International Governance


Michael Hechter (2013), Alien Rule, ch. 1, 2, and 5 (1-45, 96-118).


Recommended Readings:

Bertrand Badie, 2000 (French original 1992), The Imported State: The Westernization of the Political Order.


SPRING RECESS (April 19-28)

April 30     I am saving this day for topics that people in the seminar want to talk about, and if not, I will propose something with plenty of time to read and discuss.

May 7     Class Presentations

May 14     Research Paper due, 5:00 p.m.