

# APSA-CP

Newsletter of the American  
Political Science Association's  
Organized Section in Comparative Politics

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University of California, Los Angeles

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## Letter from the President

Ronald Rogowski, University of California, Los Angeles

### The *Field* of Comparative Politics

In the course of writing some months ago a single-chapter survey of work in comparative politics since 1980, I had the chance to reflect on the extraordinary upheaval that has characterized our subject and our field in that time. We now attend much more than formerly, to the links between economics and politics and between international events and domestic politics; we employ more frequently, and I hope more sophisticatedly, the insights of formal and economic theory; we have rediscovered, and have begun to analyze more coherently, the importance of institutions—most prominently that elusive entity “the state,” but also cabinets, legislative committees, courts, parties, regulatory agencies, and much more. External events have hastened the revival of other interests: in nationalism and ethno-linguistic cleavages, in transitions from authoritarian rule, and in the connection between politics and markets.

Rapid change both stimulates and disorients. Hope of achieving major new insights merges with a nagging dread of never catching up with the literature, with events. Disciplinarily, within departments, and individually, we must break old barriers, learn from each other (perhaps especially from the Young), and continually retrain. Fortunately,  
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## Don't Miss the Annual Business Meeting!

The annual business meeting of the Organized Section in Comparative Politics is scheduled for Friday, September 4, at 12:30 p.m. in Burnham 5 of the Palmer House. All members and other interested persons are invited to attend.

# Letter from the President,

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the major funding agencies were among the first to see the urgency of the task (see below); and, within its very modest means, the Organized Section will do its part (see farther below).

The job market is hardly exempt from this turmoil, as young Sovietologists (Russologists?) know firsthand. Still, the news on that front is mostly good. As Michael Brintnall reported in the March issue of PS (pp. 100-105), 74 percent of all new Ph.D. or ABD candidates in comparative politics or area studies in academic year 1989-90 found jobs, and 28 percent of all placements in political science were in our field. (Unfortunately, these are the most recent data available.) That represented a sharp improvement over the recent past (e.g., in 1987-88, only 63 percent of candidates were successfully placed) and was almost identical to the average record of successful placement for political science candidates generally (72 percent). Lurking within these data is a sharp reminder that the battle against gender discrimination is especially far from being won in our field: 78 percent of male candidates in comparative politics, but only 62 percent of female candidates, were successfully placed. That disparity was worse than the average for political science as a whole (overall, 73 percent of men, 70 percent of women were successfully placed) and indeed was exceeded in only one other field, public administration (where 82 percent of males, but only 55 percent of females, found jobs).

## Changes at the National Science Foundation

Political Science generally, and comparative politics particularly, should be encouraged by recent changes in organization and orientation at the National Science Foundation. In October, a new Directorate for Social, Behavioral, and Economic Sciences was hived off from the old Directorate for Biological, Behavioral, and Social Sciences. In essence, this elevates to a somewhat higher status, immediately under the NSF Director, what had been the Division of Social and Economic Science.

At the time, those who deal with political science at NSF had turned their attention to the chronically low rate of applications from scholars in comparative politics. (All along, applications from comparativists have succeeded at roughly the same rate—about 20 percent—as ones from other fields; but we have not applied in proportion to our numbers.) While he was still acting head of the program, Bill Mishler (University of South Carolina) convened an advisory group (under the chairmanship of Bob Bates, of Duke University) to recommend remedies. While some helpful concrete measures were suggested, perhaps the most significant change was one of attitude, on both sides. I am personally convinced that comparativists will encounter at NSF a welcoming and helpful atmosphere. Work must, of course, be theoretically informed and empirically testable, but contrary to widespread impression it need not be quantitative. There is particular interest in research that addresses the questions of democratization and "marketization." For more information, contact Frank Scioli or Jim Campbell at NSF. Their BITNET addresses are: [fscioli@nsf](mailto:fscioli@nsf) and [jcampbel@nsf](mailto:jcampbel@nsf). If you are on INTERNET, add .bitnet to the above.

## The Work of the Organized Section

The other officers and I have considered how the Section can best help in meeting the new situation we all face. For good or ill, we remain at the "brainstorming" stage. Among the ideas one or another of us has tossed around are: radical revamping and expansion of the Newsletter, perhaps along the lines of the impressive product of the Legislative studies section: the offering of short courses on new methodologies at the APSA Annual Meetings; organizing "floating seminars" of some of our best colleagues in the field, who would stand ready to visit departments that could pay their way; capsule descriptions of important recent literature, either in the Newsletter or via e-mail, or both. Many of you will have better ideas, or will see fatal flaws in some of those I have just listed. We urgently need your views. Please e-mail them directly to me at: [rogowski@polisci.sscnet.ucla.edu](mailto:rogowski@polisci.sscnet.ucla.edu). Bear in mind, however, that our fiscal resources are extremely limited—our total budget is about \$2000 annually.

Meantime, the normal work of the Section continues. I am delighted to announce that Adam Przeworski has agreed to serve as Program Chair for our panels at the 1993 APSA meetings. Your suggestions for panels or for individual papers should be directed to him, c/o Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, 1234 E. Madison Park, Chicago, IL 60615.

Carrying out a resolution of last year's Section Business Meeting, I have appointed Margaret Levi (University of Washington) to head a select committee to consider prizes that the Section might award. That committee is to report to this year's Business Meeting in September, so I urge you to contact Professor Levi immediately with any thoughts you may want to express. She, too, can be reached conveniently by e-mail at [mlevi@u.washington.edu](mailto:mlevi@u.washington.edu).

I look forward to seeing as many of you as possible at the upcoming Section Business Meeting in Chicago. We need and value your input, there or more informally. Please let us hear from you.

**Business Meeting:** The annual business meeting of the section was held during the 1991 meetings of the American Political Science Association in Washington, D.C. The Section president, Ronald Rogowski, began by noting that we are now one of the largest sections within the APSA, with nearly 900 members. This reflects the broadening international interests of many political scientists and their perceived need for more exchange with their colleagues.

The selection committee of the section announced the nomination of Peter Lange and David Collier for the two vacant seats on the section's executive committee. They were approved by acclamation. In addition, it was announced that W. Phillips Shively had agreed to serve as the section's program coordinator for the 1992 APSA meeting. The executive committee also warmly acknowledged Bob Bates' excellent job in coordinating section panels for the 1991 meeting.

Under new business, the president and executive committee proposed the formation of a committee to develop section awards to recognize outstanding scholarship in the field of comparative politics. Margaret Levi agreed to chair the committee. After some discussion, the committee was charged to consider methods for recognizing outstanding books and articles in comparative politics, papers presented at the section's APSA panels, and graduate student scholarship.

The meeting also discussed the financial status of the section. The secretary-treasurer reported that with present membership levels we can afford to issue two newsletters a year, but this would leave us with only minimal funds for additional activities. A variety of fund-raising options were discussed, including accepting advertisements in the newsletter and other subventions to support section activities. The executive committee agreed to explore these options.

In a discussion of membership priorities, section members introduced three proposals concerning the section's relationship with the APSA and the funding of section and APSA activities:

- 1) We should express our conviction to the APSA that excessive resources are committed to non-peer reviewed articles in *PS*. These resources should be redirected to organized section activities.
- 2) The present \$3 (for the APSA) to \$2 (for the section) split of section dues should be reversed, with \$3 coming to the section and \$2 going to the APSA.
- 3) Graduate Student section dues should be reduced from \$5 to \$3, with \$1 of the dues coming to the section and \$2 going to the APSA.

Each of the proposals was unanimously supported by the members attending the meeting. The section president was directed to communicate these views to the APSA Council.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

**Constitutional Reform:** As the tide of democratization sweeps the world, the CP section moved to balance these currents. The 1991 business meeting passed a resolution calling for the selection committee to nominate a single candidate for vice president of the section, instead of proposing two names for competitive election as was the existing procedure. As required by section by-laws, this proposal was put to the members in a mail ballot.

The ballots were distributed with the 1991 newsletter and the votes were tabulated by the secretary-treasurer. Although suffering from a low turnout, the constitutional change was passed by the voting members.

**Adam Przeworski will serve as Program Chair for our panels at the 1993 APSA meetings. Your suggestions for panels or for individual papers should be directed to:**

Adam Przeworski  
Department of Political Science  
University of Chicago  
1234 E. Madison Park  
Chicago, IL 60615.

## Report on the 1991 Business Meeting

Russell Dalton  
UC, Irvine

**Secretary-  
Treasurer**

## Call for Papers

**The Organized  
Section at the  
1993 APSA  
Meeting**

## 1992 APSA Panels—

### Organized Section in Comparative Politics: Preliminary Program

#### Section 21. Comparative Politics

**Chair:** W. Phillips Shively, University of Minnesota

21-1	Political Economy of the State	Fri 3:30 pm
21-2	Issues in the Study of Political Change	Thu 3:30 pm
21-3	Comparative Analysis of Revolutions	Thu 8:45 am
21-4	Comparative Studies of Political Oppression	Sun 8:45 am
21-5	Comparative Analysis of Markets and Liberalization	Thurs 3:30 pm
21-6	Strategic Placement of Parties in Party Spaces	Thu 10:45 am
21-7	Implications of Democratization, and of Failure to Democratize	Fri 1:30 pm
21-8	Roundtable: Teaching Introductory Comparative Politics in an Age of Change	Sat 8:45 am
21-9	Lipset and Democracy: New Perspectives	Sat 10:45 am
21-10	Ideas and the Politics of Economic Policy Paradigm Shifts	Thu 1:30 pm
21-11	The Study of Transitions to Democracy and the Crisis, Choice and Change Model	Sat 8:45 am
21-12	European Social Democracy: Decline or Transition?	Fri 10:45 am
21-13	Approaching Democratization Through Political Culture/Approaching Political Culture Through Democratization	Fri 3:30 pm
21-14	Comparative Political Method and the Study of Women and Politics	Sun 8:45 pm
21-15	Federalism, Nationalism and Ethnicity	Fri 3:30 pm

#### 21-1 Political Economy of the State

**Chair/Discussant:** David R. Cameron, Yale University

**Papers** "Why Governments Grow? A Comparative Analysis  
Gawad Bahgat, Florida State University

"Foreign Debt and the Politics of State Reorganization in Australia, New Zealand, and Denmark in the 1980s"  
Herman Schwartz, University of Virginia

"The Rentier State and Pressure Groups"  
Hootan Shambayati, University of Utah

#### 21-2 Issues in the Study of Political Change

**Chair/Discussant:** James Caporaso, University of Washington

**Papers** "Development Praxis in a Theory-Oriented Discipline:  
We Talk the Talk, but Can We Walk the Walk?"  
Stephen Chilton, University of Minnesota, Duluth

"The Myth of Democracy: Europe Reflected in the Mirror of the Third World"  
Sandra Halperin, University of Pittsburgh

"Rem to Sartorial Eloquence? Lipset, Dahl, Huntington and Skocpol and Redemocratization in Argentina and Brazil"  
Anthony O'Regan, University of California, Santa Barbara

#### 21-3 Comparative Analysis of Revolutions

**Chair/Discussant:** Mark Lichbach, University of Colorado

**Papers** "Crisis in the Study of Revolution"

Scott Corey, University of California, Berkeley

"Revolution by the Weak: Discursive Warfare. Symbolic Conflict and the Palestinian Intifada"

Deborah L. Wheeler, University of Chicago

"Rationality, Revolution and Reassurance"

Mark Wickham-Jones, University of Bristol

#### 21-4 Comparative Studies of Political Oppression

**Chair** Robert Melson, Purdue University

**Papers** "Liberalism and Its Limits: State Formation and State Control in the Middle East"

Jill Crystal, University of Michigan

"Explaining Human Rights Violations"

James M. McCormick, Iowa State University

Neil J. Mitchell, University of New Mexico

"Repression and Freedom in the Eighties: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Test of Contending Theories"

Steven C. Poe, University of North Texas

C. Neal Tate, University of North Texas

**Disc** Conway Henderson, University of South Carolina, Spartanburg

#### 21-5 Comparative Analysis of Markets and Liberalization

**Chair/Discussant:** Henry Bienen, Princeton

**Papers** "The Dilemmas of Social Policy Reform in Czechoslovakia and Hungary"

Erich G. Frankland, University of Oklahoma

Robert H. Cox, University of Oklahoma

"Market Attitudes in East and West"

David S. Mason, Butler University

"The Politics of Economic Liberalization: Argentina and Brazil in Comparative Perspective"

Robert A. Packenham, Stanford University

#### 21-6 Strategic Placement of Parties in Party Spaces

**Chair/Discussant:** Herbert Kitschelt, Duke University

**Papers** "To Moderate or to Polarize: Center Parties and Center Tendencies in Denmark and the Netherlands"

Reuven Y. Hazan, Columbia University

"Military Parties in Post-Authoritarian Regimes"

Deborah Norden, University of California, Berkeley

"Party-Government, Party Systems, Macroeconomic Policy and Economic Performance"

Salvatore Pitruzello, Columbia University

#### 21-7 Implications of Democratization, and of a Failure to Democratize

**Chair/Discussant:** Thomas D. Lancaster, Emory University

**Papers** "Democracy and Human Rights in Less Developed Countries"

David Louis Cingranelli, SUNY, Binghamton

"Distorted Politics: The Failure to Democratize"

Manus Midlarsky, Rutgers University

## 21-8 Roundtable: Teaching Introductory Comparative Politics in an Age of Change

**Chair** Joseph L. Klesner, Kenyon College  
 Chii Hauss, Colby College  
 John McCormick, University of Chicago  
 Michael Mitchell, Arizona State University  
 Jennifer Widner, Harvard University  
 David Wilsford, Georgia Institute of Technology  
 Frank L. Wilson, Purdue University

## 21-9 Roundtable: Lipset and Democracy: New Perspectives

**Chair** Gary Marks, University of North Carolina  
 Larry Diamond, Hoover Institution  
 Juan Linz, Yale University  
 Philippe Schmitter, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences  
 William Schneider, American Enterprise Institute  
 Kaare Strom, University of California, San Diego

## 21-10 Ideas and the Politics of Economic Policy Paradigm Shifts

**Chair** Peter Johnson, McGill University  
**Papers** "Policy Change in Chile and Great Britain"  
 Hector Schamis, CIEPLAN  
 "Constraints on the Role of Ideas in Policy Making in Germany and the United States"  
 Peter Johnson, McGill University  
 "Ideas and Economic Policy Change in Latin America"  
 Kathryn Sikkink, University of Minnesota

**Disc** Peter Hall, Harvard University

## 21-11 The Study of Transitions to Democracy and the Crisis, Choice and Change Model

**Chair** Ray Taras, Tulane University  
**Papers** "The Crisis, Choice and Change Model from the Perspective of the Intellectual Development of the Comparative Field and Theories of Democratic Transition"  
 Gabriel A. Almond, Stanford University  
 "Adapting the Crisis, Choice and Change Model to the Study of Democratic Transitions"  
 Scott C. Flanagan, Florida State University

"Requisites for Successful Democratization: Nineteenth Century British and French Cases"  
 Robert J. Mundt, University of North Carolina, Charlotte

**Disc** Thomas Remington, Emory University

## 21-12 European Social Democracy: Define or Transition?

**Chair/Discussant:** Peter Hall, Harvard University

**Papers** "Class Structure and Social Democratic Party Strategy"  
 Herbert Kitschelt, Duke University  
 "Fordism and Social Democracy in Comparative Perspective"  
 Jonas Pontusson, Cornell University  
 "Social Democracy and the Welfare State"  
 John Stephens and Evelyn Huber Stephens,

Northwestern University

"What's Wrong with Social Democracy?"

Michael Wallerstein, University of California, Los Angeles  
 Karl Ove Moene, University of Oslo

## 21-13 Approaching Democratization Through Political Culture/Approaching Political Culture Through Democratization

**Chair** Peter McDonough, Arizona State University

**Papers** "Democratization and Political Culture in Central and Eastern Europe"  
 Laszlo Bruszt and Janos Simon, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

"Democratization and Political Culture in Brazil"  
 Jose Alvaro Moises, University of Sao Paulo

"Democratization and Political Culture in Korea"  
 Doh C. Shii Sangamon State University  
 Myung Chey, Seoul National University  
 Kwang-Woong Kim, Seoul National University

**Disc** Russell J. Dalton, University of California, Irvine

## 21-14 Comparative Political Method and the Study of Women and Politics

*Cosponsored with Women and Politics section*

**Chair** Karen Beckwith, College of Wooster  
**Papers** "Comparing Citizenship: Women in Post-1945 Canada, France, and the United Kingdom"  
 Jane Jenson, Carleton University

"Theories and Methods of Comparative Studies of Women and Politics: Evidence from Women and Politics Worldwide Project."

Barbara J. Nelson, Hubert Humphrey Inst. of Pub. Affairs

"The Challenge of Developing the Comparative study of Western and Third World Women"  
 Mervat Hatem, Howard University

"Comparative study of Women and Politics—Compared to what?"

Michelle St.-Germain, University of Arizona

**Disc** Mary Katzenstein, Cornell University  
 Amal Kavar, Utah State University

## 21-15 Federalism, Nationalism and Ethnicity

*Cosponsored with Federalism section*

**Chair** Stephen L. Schechter, Russell Sage College

**Papers** "Soviet Federalism after the Coup: Can Federalism Cope with Rampant Nationalism"  
 Sue Davis, Emory University

"American and Soviet Perspectives on Federalism: A Cross-National Analysis"

Sarah F. Liebschutz, SUNY, Brockport  
 Barbara Jancar-Webster, SUNY, Brockport

"Non-ethnic Separatism in Federal Systems: An Australian Case"

Dean E. McHenry, Jr., Claremont Graduate School

**Disc** Paul T. Neil, Eastern College

## Announcements:

### Three Younger Scholars Selected for Research in Germany

Three young social scientists have been awarded the German Marshall Fund of the United States Fellowships for the study of Germany by Younger U.S. Scholars. These fellowships encourage scholarly interest in, and research on, Germany by exceptional young social scientists.

Three Fellows were selected by Suzanne Berger, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Peter Katzenstein, Department of Government, Cornell University; and Wolfgang Streeck, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

### Ten Scholars Awarded Support for U.S.—European Research

Ten American scholars have been awarded grants to support their research on economic, political, and social developments involving the United States and Europe. The Research Fellowships provide up to \$30,000, plus travel expenses, for full-time research projects of up to one year's duration.

The Research Fellows were selected from a pool of 83 applicants by a panel composed of Russell Dalton, Department of Politics and Society, University of California at Irvine; Charles Maier, Center for European Studies, Harvard University; and Richard Newlon, School of International and Public Affairs, Columbia University.

## The German Marshall Fund of the United States

**Richard Biernacki, Department of Sociology, University of California, San Diego.** *A Topography of the Imagination: The Symbolic Foundations of State and Nation in Germany.* The study will examine the German public's use of political ritual and symbolism in conceiving their attachment to a national community since reunification. It will compare memorials to the past and annual local celebrations of unity in eastern and western Germany.

**Ted Perlmutter, Department of Politics, New York University.** *Immigrants, Refugees, and Political Reaction: National Policy and Anti-Immigrant Violence in Germany, 1982-1992.* This project will study the reciprocal relationship between governmental policy and political violence in Germany surrounding the issues of immigration and refugees. Part of a broader European study, this project will focus on how Germany responds to these challenges to national identity and political stability.

**Kurt von Mettenheim, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh.** *Dealignment and Reunification: Trends toward Direct Democracy among German Voters?* This project will examine the implications of rapidly shifting public opinion and the swift predominance of party elites over social movements during "reunification-through-elections" in 1990, both for prevailing views of German public opinion and broader theories of electoral representation and democratic theory.

**Thomas Childers, Department of History, University of Pennsylvania.** The project will analyze political identity and political mobilization in the age of mass politics in Germany, 1890-1990. It will seek to determine how class, religion, region, generation, and gender have been politically constructed over time, with special focus on the social language of politics.

**Ralph Della Cava, Department of History, Queens College, City University of New York.** The Roman Catholic Church has been engaging in the rebuilding of its churches, institutions, and millennial presence throughout Central and Eastern Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall. The project focuses on this complex process of "Reincorporation" of some 70 million nominal believers, and its effect on the re-making of contemporary Europe.

**Janet Geile, Heller Graduate School of Social Welfare, Brandeis University.** This study compares West and East German women's lives with women's changing life patterns in the United States. If the American trend toward multiple roles is also found among younger German women, the shift may indicate an adaptation to increasing uncertainty in modern industrial societies.

**Peter Haas, Department of Political Science, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.** A study of the evolution of international efforts to control European acid rain, the project focuses on the patterns by which international environmental policy coordination occurs, the factors which influence national choices for foreign environmental policy, and the broader socioeconomic and structural parameters within which such patterns persist.

**Herbert Kitschelt, Department of Political Science, Duke University.** Kitschelt will examine the political alternatives that party elites in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland present to their electorates and the consequences of such appeals for political cleavages and party organizations. The project employs elite interviews and questionnaires to test theories of party system formation.

**Michele Lamont, Department of Sociology, Princeton University.** Drawing on 320 interviews with working and upper-middle class men living in the New York and the Paris suburbs, this study explores working class cultural resistance and distinctiveness, as well as the salience of class, race, ethnic, and religious boundaries for white and minority working class men.

**Vedat Milor, Department of Sociology, Brown University.** The research examines why Eastern European countries follow radically different paths to privatization of large-scale enterprises. Through case study analyses of significant privatization episodes it identifies (a) the socio-political bases of privatization coalitions; (b) the role of the state in privatizations; and (c) the socio-economic consequences of different privatization strategies.

**Ann Orloff, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison.** Systems of public social provision (the "welfare state") shape gender interests, identities and relationships, and affect the resources available to women and men. Using a conceptual framework drawing on mainstream and feminist scholarship, the project will systematically compare the gender content of social provision in Britain, the United States, Canada and Australia since 1900.

**Wayne Sandholtz, Department of Political Science, Scripps College.** With the 1991 treaty on monetary union, European Community governments agreed to give up national currencies and monetary policies. The EC will create instead one currency and a common central bank. This project will discover the political choices and bargains behind this unprecedented sacrifice of sovereignty.

**Lowell Turner, Industrial and Labor Relations School, Cornell University.** The widely recognized and successful (West) German industrial relations model has come under intense new stress. This is a study of contemporary German unions and works councils as they grapple with the twin challenges of German unification and European economic integration.

## Course Syllabi

### Democratization in Europe

Political Science 229E

Hans-Dieter Klingemann and

Russell Dalton, University of California, Irvine

*This course examines the process of democratization in Europe during this century, starting with the first democratic transitions following World War II, and the focusing on the recent transitions to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe.*

*We examine several alternative theoretical models of the democratization process, and then apply these models to the European experience. Special interest is devoted to the cultural foundations of democracy, the role of political parties and party systems in facilitating the transition, and the factors affecting the choice of constitutional structures. Students in the course are also invited to participate in a research workshop on "Institutions and the Democratic Process."*

*This is primarily a readings and discussion course, thus we will cover a large amount of literature at each weekly session. There are two required texts for the course:*

Geoffrey Hosking, *The Awakening of the Soviet Union* (1990).

Ash, *The Magic Lantern* (1990).

*In addition, a core packet of assigned readings from the journal articles and single book chapters is available at the Clone Factory. Also, a set of books with longer readings (e.g., several chapters) are on reserve in the UCI Main Library. There is a lot to read; but consider this your good fortune to experience so much of the literature in a single term.*

*There are two basic requirements for the seminar: First, you are expected to read all of the assigned readings and participate in a critical discussion of the readings in the weekly meetings. Second, you are expected to write an original article-length research paper on some aspect of the democratization process in Europe. Individual consultations will be arranged to discuss the paper topics and possible research resources. The final grade in the seminar will give equal weight to these two components of the course. There are no written exams.*

### Week One: Course Introduction and Planning Session

Tam Vanhanen, *The Emergence of Democracy* (Helsinki: Finish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1984). part I.

J. Roland Pennock, *Democratic Political Theory*, ch. 1.

Samuel Huntington, "Will more countries become democratic?" *Political Science Quarterly* 1984: 193-218.

### Week Two: Postwar Democratic Transitions in Western Europe

John Herz, *From Dictatorship to Democracies* (JN 94 A3 1982). ch. 1, conclusion, and one national chapter.

Enrique Baloyra, ed. *Comparing New Democracies: Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone* (JC 423 C665 1987), ch. 1.

#### Additional Readings:

Frederick Weil, "The Sources and Structure of Legitimation in Western Democracies," *American Sociological Review* 54 (1989), 682-706.

Peter McDonough, Samuel Barnes, Antonio Lopez Pina, "Authority and Association: Spanish Democracy in Comparative Perspective," *Journal of Politics* 46 (1984), 652-688.

Geoffrey Pridham, "Southern European Models of Democratic Transition and Inter-regional Comparisons," paper presented at the annual meetings of the ECPR, 1991.

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*, chs. 1-4, 14, 15.

Kendall Baker et al., *Germany Transformed* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981). ch. 2-3.

Peter McDonough, Samuel Barnes and Antonio Lopez Pina, "The Growth of Democratic Legitimacy in Spain," *American Political Science Review* 80 (1986), 735-760.

Samuel Barnes, Peter McDonough and Antonio Lopez Pina, "The Development of Partisanship in New Democracies," *American Journal of Political Science* 29 (1985), 695-721.

Peter McDonough, Samuel Barnes and Antonio Lopez Pina, "Economic Policy and Public Opinion in Spain," *American Journal of Political Science* 30 (1986), 446-479.

**Week Three: The Winds of Change in the Soviet Union**  
(Sergei Plekanov lecture)

Geoffrey Hosking, *The Awakening Of the soviet Union* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), all chapters.

Stephen White, *Gorbachev and After* (Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 1991).

**Additional Readings:**

Moshe Lewin, *The Gorbachev Phenomenon*, expanded edition, 1991.

Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988).

Alexandr Shtromas, *Political Change and Social Development: The case of the soviet Union* (Frankfurt, 1990).

Anders Aslund, *Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reform* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

**Week Four: Revolutionary Change in Eastern Europe**

Tiiy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern* (Boston: Beacon, 1990), all chapters.

Jeff Goodwin and Valerie Bunce, "Eastern Europe's 'Revolutions' in Comparative and Theoretical Perspective."

**Additional Readings:**

Gyorgy Szoboszalai, ed. *Democracy and Political Transformation* (1991).

John Clark and Aaron Wildavsky, *The Moral Collapse of Communism: Poland as a Cautionary Tale* (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary studies, 1990).

Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Failure: The Rise and Fall of Communism in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Scribner, 1989).

Jan Trapan, *Toward Independence: The Baltic Popular Movements* (Boulder: Westview, 1991).

Elisabeth Pond, *After the Wall* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1990).

Ralf Dahrendorf, *Reflections on the Revolution in Europe*.

Theories of the Authoritarian/Democratic Transition

**Week Five: The Social-Structural Model**

Barrington Mot, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*,

Tam Vanhanen, "The Level of Democratization Related to Socioeconomic Variables in 147 States in 1980-1985," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 1989: 95-

**Additional Readings:**

Tatu Vanhanen, *The Emergence of Democracy* (Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1984).

Kenneth Bollen, "Political Democracy and the Timing of Development," *American Sociological Review* 44 (1979): 572-587.

Gregory Brunk, et al. "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy," *European Journal of Political Research* (1987): 459-470.

Zehra Arat, "Democracy and Economic Development," *Comparative Politics* (1988): 21-36.

SM .Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 53 (1959), 69-105.

**Week Six: The Actor-Centered Model**

Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Lawrence Whitehead, eds. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives*, vol 3, chap. 1-3.

Michael Waller, "Making Sense of Change in Eastern Europe: The Aggregation of Interest and Political Preferences from 1975," *ECPR paper*, 1991.

Giuseppe Di Palma, *To Craft Democracies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 1-108.

**Additional Readings:**

Voytek Zubek, "Walesa's Leadership and Poland's Transition," *Problems of Communism* 1991: 69-83.

Lazlo Bruszt and David Start, "Remaking the Political Field in Hungary," unpublished paper, 1991.

Building Democracies

**Week Seven: Developing a Democratic Political Culture**

Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), ch.

Ronald Inglehart and Renata Siemienka, "A Long Term Trend toward Democratization? Global and East European Perspectives," Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, 1990, pp 9-18.

James Gibson, "The Origins of a Democratic Culture in the Soviet Union: Models of the Acquisition of Democratic Values," Houston: University of Houston, 1991.

Russell Dalton, "Communists and Democrats: Support for Democracy in the Two Germanies," Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, 1991.

### Additional Readings:

J. Roland Pennock, *Democratic Political Theory*, pp. 236-259.  
 Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*, ch. 2 and 8.

Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Dieter Fuchs, "Perspektiven der politischen Kultur im vereinigten Deutschland," *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* (July 11, 1991).

James Gibson, Raymond Duch and Kent Tedin, "Democratic Values and the Transformation of the Soviet Union." *Journal of Politics* (May 1992).

John Keane, ed. *Civil Society and the State* (London: Verso, 1988).

Russell Dalton, *Politics and Culture in West Germany* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1988).

### Week Eight: Institutions and the Democratization Process (Conference)

Lijphart, *Democracies* (New Haven: Yale University Press) JC 421 L537 1984, ch. 1-6.

### Additional Readings:

Arend Lijphart, "Democratization and Constitutional Choices in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland," *WZB Paper*, 1991.

Giuseppe Di Palma, *Crafting Democracies*, chaps. 6 and 7.

### Week Nine: The Construction of Party Systems

Sten Berglund and Jan Ake Dellenbrant, eds. *The New Democracies in Eastern Europe: Party Systems and Political Cleavages* (Hants: Elgar, 1991). ch. 1, 2, and one country chapter.

Robert Furtak, ed. *Elections in Socialist States* (New York: St Matins, 1990).

### Week Ten: Electoral Alignments

Herbert Kitschelt, "The Formation of Party Systems in Eastern Europe," Paper presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, 1991.

Maurizio Cotta "Transitions to Democracy and the Building of New Party Systems," Paper presented at the ECPR sessions, 1991.

Toka, "Voting Behavior in Hungary," Paper presented at the IPSA sessions, 1991.

### Week Eleven: Economics and Markets

Adam Przeworski, "Economic Reforms in New Democracies," *East/South systems Transformation paper*, 1991.

Ray Duch, "Free Market Reform and Soviet Political and Economic Values." unpublished paper University of Houston.

### Additional Readings:

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Robert Dahl, "Why All Democratic Countries have Mixed Economies" *Nomos*, 1992.

### Supplemental Sources

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

Alan Day, ed. *Political Parties of the World*, 3rd ed. (Harlow, UK: Longman, 1988).

Dennis Dunn, ed. *Religion and Nationalism in Eastern Europe* (Boulder: Lynn Reimer Press).

Lubomyr Hajda and Mark Beissinger, *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).

John Higley and Richard Gunther, eds. *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*.

Gerd Meyra and Franciszek Ryszka, eds. *Political Participation and Democracy in Poland and West Germany* (Warsaw, 1991).

Minority Rights Group, ed. *World Dictionary of Minorities* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 1989).

Tatu Vanhanen, *The Process of Democratization* (1990).

Stephen White, ed. *Political and Economic Encyclopedia of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 1990).

## The Concept of Power

Political Science 273

Professor Margaret Levi, University of Washington

*The focus of this course is on the concept of power. We shall investigate several different perspectives on what power is. Our aim, however, is to learn how to analyze relationships of power within actual historical and contemporary settings. To that end several of the books offer empirical problems for us to consider.*

*It is expected that students will keep up with the reading and participate in the discussion. The course will be run according to a form of the Socratic method. This means that the professor will often act a devil's advocate in order to encourage thoughtful, well-reasoned student arguments. It also means that students can be expected to be called upon from time to time if they are not already participating.*

*The written requirements of the course are two short papers (3-5 pages) and one long paper (10-15 pages).*

Week One: **Friedrich Engels**, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*

This is one of the principal statements of the classical Marxist theory of power. Even though the Soviet Union is changing its ideology and even though communists throughout the world are beginning to revise or even reject communism, Marxism survives as a social science. Engels, and Lenin raised issues and developed approaches that remain crucial tools for social science research.

Week Two: **C. Wright Mills**, *The Power Elite*

C. Wright Mills is a famous American sociologist of the 1950s and 1960s. Building on certain Marxist insights, he developed an analysis of power in America. He claimed that the United States was dominated by a "military industrial complex." His view was the centerpiece of considerable subsequent research as scholars tried to support Mills' perspective or offer alternatives.

Week Three: **Steven Lukes**, *Power: A Radical View*

Steven Lukes is an important English social theorist. In this short book, he outlines the two major perspectives that were offered as critiques and alternatives to Mills. He then offers a further alternative that is influenced by Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist theorist who developed the notion of hegemony.

## Weeks Four and Five: Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment*

On the continent of Europe, a different analytical tradition developed. The writers in this tradition, e.g., Althusser, Poulantzas, and Habermas, also offered perspectives on power. The most important of these is that in the work of Michel Foucault a French philosopher. Foucault is less concerned with the powerful than with how the nonpowerful are affected and might affect the nature of power.

Weeks Six and Seven: **James C. Scott**, *Weapons of the Weak*

Scott, a contemporary political scientist, shares the concerns of Lukes and Foucault with the power (or powerlessness) of the weak person. He rejects, however, the notion of hegemony as a useful tool. Moreover, his approach is inductive and comparative. He develops his ideas only after investigating concrete instances.

Weeks Eight and Nine: **Kristin Luker**, *Abortion: The Politics of Motherhood*

We end the readings with a book that permits us to apply the concepts developed earlier in the course. Luker, a sociologist explores the transformation of abortion from a medical to a political issue with consequences for power over the decision to abort, on the one hand, and over policy formation, on the other.

## Comparative Welfare States

PS 2373/PIA 2581/HIST 2049

Professor Douglas Ashford, University of Pittsburgh

*The seminar is an historical and political introduction to the internal dynamics of the modern state since approximate of the century. The sessions are roughly divided into thirds: conceptual and theoretical approaches to the comparison of welfare states; historical and political foundations of the welfare states; and the development of five or six major social policy areas since the war.*

*Students will be asked to make short, critical presentations of the materials and to write a term paper. The paper should be genuinely comparative in at least one of three ways: Two time periods for one country; two countries at similar time periods (defined in suitable terms); or two policy areas (suitable defined) across two or more countries. A one page summary of the paper and major readings to be used will be required at mid-term.*

### Required books:

Douglas E. Ashford, *The Emergence of the Welfare States*, 1986.

Hugh Heclo and Henrik Madsen, *Policy and Politics in Sweden*, 1987.

Martha Derthick, *Policymaking for Social Security*, 1979.

### 1. Introduction:

Douglas E. Ashford, "Bringing the Welfare State Back In," *Comparative Politics*, 22 (1991): 351-375.

Ashford, *The Emergence of the Welfare State*, pp. 1-29.

Charles Lockhardt, "Explaining Social Policy Differences Among Advanced Industrial Societies," *Comparative Politics*, April 1984, pp. 335-350.

### 2. Push Theories of the Welfare State

Peter Flora and Jens Alber, "Modernization, Democratization and the Development of the Welfare States in Western Europe," in Flora and Heidenheimer, eds., *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*, 1981, pp. 37-80.

Ashford, *The Emergence of the Welfare State*, pp. 30-105.

Michael K. Brown, *Remaking the Welfare State*, 1988, pp. 3-28.

### 3. Pull Theories of the Welfare State:

Mancur Olson, *Rise and Decline of Nations*, 1982, pp. 17-117.

Michael K. Brown, *Remaking the Welfare State*, 1988, pp. 29-56.

Stanley Diviney, "Characteristics of the State and Expansion of Public Expenditure, 1883-1983," in R. Thomasson, ed., *The Welfare State 1883-1983*, 1983, pp. 151-174.

### 4. British Origins:

Douglas E. Ashford, *The Emergence of the Welfare State*, pp. 106-185.

E.P. Hennock, from old section 4.

R. Davidson and R. Lowe, "Bureaucracy and Innovation in British Welfare Policy, 1870-1945," in W. Mommsen, eds., *The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany*, 1981, pp. 263-293.

### 5. French Origins:

Douglas E. Ashford, *The Emergence of the Welfare State*, pp. 186-239.

Judith Stone, in *Search of Social Peace*, 1983, 151-204.

Carl Landauer, "The Origins of Socialist Reformism in France," *International Review of Social History*, 12:81-107, 1967.

### 6. German Origins:

W. J. Mommsen, ed., *The Emergence of the Welfare State in Britain and Germany*, 1981, pp. 32-49, 71-83 and 133-163.

R. F. Tomasson, ed., *Comparative Social Research: The Welfare State*, pp. 67-86 (Levine essay).

P. Nettl, "The Social Democratic Party 1890-1914 as a Political Model," *Past and Present*, April 1965, pp. 56-95.

### 7. Swedish Origins:

Hugh Heclo and Henrik Madsen, *Policy and Politics in Sweden*, 1988, pp. 5-109.

G. Esping-Andersen, *Politics Against Markets: The Social Democratic Road to Power*, 1985, pp. 71-113 and 145-178.

S. Kuhlne, "The Growth of Social Insurance Program in Scandinavia," in P. Flora and A. Heidenheimer, eds., *The Development of Welfare States*, pp. 125-150.

## 9. Wartime Foundations:

J. Harris, *Beveridge*, 1977. pp. 378-431.

A. Booth, "The Keynesian Revolution in Economic Policymaking," *Economic History Review*, 36:103-123, February 1983.

R. Titmuss, "Welfare Rights and Discretion," *Political Quarterly*, 42:113-132, April-June 1971.

H. Heclö, *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden*, 1974, pp. 227-283.

Douglas E. Ashford, *The Emergence of the Welfare States*, pp. 240-299.

## 10. Pensions:

Heclö and Madsen, *Policy and Politics in Sweden* pp. 155-207.

H. Heclö, *Modern Social Politics*, chs. 4 and 5.

D. Ashford, *Policy and Politics in Britain*, 1981, ch. 5.

D. Ashford, *Policy and Politics in France*, 1982, ch. 5.

T. Wilson, *Pensions, Inflation and Growth*, 1974, chs. 2, 4 and 6.

## 11. Health:

Ashford, *Social Democratic Visions*, ms., ch. 5.

R. Klein, *The Politics of the National Health Service*, 1983.

Ruth Leavitt, "Illusion of Change in the National Health Service," *Policy and Politics*, 8:205-216, 1980.

Deborah Stone, *The Limits of Professional Power: National Health Care in the Federal Republic of Germany*, 1980. *passim*.

Daniel M. Fox, *Health Policies. Health Politics: The British and American Experience, 1911-1965*, 1986, *passim*.

## 12. Unemployment:

Leon Lindberg, *Stress and Contradiction in Modern Capitalism*, 1975, chs. 1, 2, and 3.

Jens Alber, "Government Responses to Unemployment," in P. Flora and A. Heidenheimer, eds., 1981, pp. 151-186.

Gosta Edgren, et al., *Wage Formation and the Economy*, 1973, pp. 1-78.

Peter Lange, et al., eds., *Unions, Crisis and Change*.

## 13. Poverty:

Ashford, *Social Democratic Visions*, ms., ch. 6.

David Donnison, *The Politics of Poverty*, 1982 *passim*.

Frank Field, *Poverty and Politics*, 1982 *passim*.

Michael Adler and Stewart Asquith, *Discretion of Welfare*, 1981, pp. 82-134 (Winkler essay).

Sven E. Olsson, "Towards a Transformation of the Swedish Welfare State," reprint from Friedmann et al., *Modern Welfare States*, 1987.

## APSA-CP

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