

# COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

MICHAEL HAAS  
Stanford University

SINCE PUBLICATION of Murdock's *Social Structure* and of Almond's and Coleman's *The Politics of the Developing Areas*,<sup>1</sup> it has become clear that "global" comparison is coming of age. Contrary to the expectations of early comparative anthropologists and political scientists, the recent advances are not due to a slow, painstaking accumulation of volumes of data; rather, they are the result of the rich theoretical and methodological developments of recent decades.

However, with the exception of fugitive insights in brief surveys of the literature of large-scale comparison,<sup>2</sup> no formal statement has been made hitherto on the methodology of the comparative method itself. What follows is an attempt to outline some of the key problems of "evidence and inference" inherent in comparative analysis.<sup>3</sup>

## COMPARISON AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE<sup>4</sup>

The controversy over comparative *versus* case analysis is actually of only recent vintage. Just as in everyday speech the individual discovers that to communicate with others he must be willing to stereotype reality — if only for the sake of brevity — the Greek approach to knowledge (herein defined as the set of tested propositions) was based on the premise that there are certain recurrent patterns in nature. In medicine this meant that diseases could be classified and treated as a group. To Plato there are "ideal types," or forms, which only the very gifted can intuit. To Aristotle, who demanded more rigorous standards of proof, there are comparabilities, or regularities, in phenomena which those who are talented and "immersed" in the data can abstract.

By the seventeenth century, when the canons of modern scientific inquiry were being developed, the Judaeo-Christian influence had discarded the Greek

<sup>1</sup> George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan, 1949); Gabriel A. Almond and James S. Coleman (eds.), *The Politics of the Developing Areas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960). See also seminal attempts by Seymour M. Lipset, *Political Man* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), chap. ii; and by Karl W. Deutsch, "Toward an Inventory of Basic Trends and Patterns in Comparative and International Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 54 (March 1960), 34-57.

<sup>2</sup> Gunnar Heckscher, *The Study of Comparative Government and Politics* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1957); Sigmund Neumann, "Comparative Politics: A Half-century Appraisal," *Journal of Politics*, 19 (August 1957), 369-90; Sigmund Neumann, "The Comparative Study of Politics," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1 (January 1959), 105-12; Oscar Lewis, "Comparisons in Cultural Anthropology," *Yearbook of Anthropology*, 1955, ed. W. L. Thomas, Jr. (New York: Wenner-Gren, 1955), pp. 259-92.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Daniel Lerner (ed.), *Evidence and Inference* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1959), esp. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Evidence and Inference in Social Research," pp. 107-38. For a collection of essays on problems of evidence and inference in other modes of analysis, see Heinz Eulau (ed.), "Some Modes of Analysis in the Social Sciences" (unpublished Ms, multigraphed, Stanford University, April 1961).

<sup>4</sup> This section is based in part on Frederick J. Teggart, *Theory and Processes of History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, paperbound ed., 1960), pp. 82-98.

# Social Structure And Selfdirection A Comparative Analysis Of The United

**Shasha Hu**



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