

## 17.588. Field Seminar in Comparative Politics

Spring 2018

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Wednesday 1:30-3:30  
E53-485

Readings and discussion cover both classic works by authors such as Tocqueville, Weber, Moore, Huntington, Dahl, and Olson, as well as enduring themes in comparative politics such as classes and social groups, culture, social capital, authoritarianism, state building, nationalism, democratization, and collective action. Classic works are paired with illustrative recent publications that draw inspiration from, elaborate on, or contradict, the foundational works and/or survey the state of the literature. The last weeks of the course concentrate on some core contemporary debates in comparative politics and comparative political economy including regimes, democratization, distributional politics, and 'varieties of capitalism.'

Weekly discussions and short lectures are designed to facilitate comparisons across authors and approaches and to help situate each body of work in recent theoretical discussions in the field of comparative politics.

Course requirements: active participation in seminar discussions including weekly posts (30 percent); three 4-page, double-spaced analytical reviews of the weekly reading (30 percent); and a final exam or review paper (40 percent). The weekly reviews and online comments are due Wednesday morning by 9am to Stellar so others have a chance to read them.

Readings will be available on Stellar except for the required books. Students should arrange to buy, rent, or borrow copies of the following books:

Zunz, Olivier and Alan Kahan, eds. 2002. *The Tocqueville Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.

H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. 1958. *From Max Weber*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Cambridge: Blackwell.

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Dahl, Robert. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Week 1 (7 February). **Introduction and Organization**

Week 2 (14 February). **Civil Society and Social Capital**

Zunz and Kahan. *The Tocqueville Reader*. Introduction (pp. 1-37); chapter 3, volume I of *Democracy in America* (pp. 64-116); chapter 6, volume II of *Democracy in America* (pp. 161-212); chapter 11, volume I of *The Old Regime and the Revolution* (277-93).

Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 6, "Social Capital and Institutional Success," pp. 163-86.

Lily Tsai. 2007. "Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China." *American Political Science Review* 101, no.2 (May), pp. 355-372.

Sheri Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic", *World Politics* 49 (3): 401-429, 1997.

Further reading:

Edwards, Bob, and Michael Foley. 2001. "Civil Society and Social Capital." In *Beyond Tocqueville*, ed. Bob Edwards, Michael Foley, and Mario Diani. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.

Levy, Jonah. 1999. *Tocqueville's Revenge: State, Society, and Economy in Contemporary France*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Robert D. Putnam. 2001. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. Simon & Schuster.

Week 3 (21 February). **States and Bureaucracies**

Gerth and Mills. *From Max Weber*. Chapters I-IV, VII-X, XII, pp. 1-128, 180-266, 302-22 (page numbers differ across editions). Skim biographical sections.

Daniel Carpenter. 2001. *The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy: Reputations, Networks, and Policy Innovation in Executive Agencies, 1862-1928*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1, pp. 1-36.

Fukuyama, Francis. 2013. "What is Governance?" *Governance*, Vol. 26, No. 3, July 2013 (pp. 347-368).

Pepinsky, Thomas, Jan Pierskall, and Audrey Sacks, 2017. "Bureaucracy and service delivery" *Annual Reviews of Political Science*.  
<http://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev-polisci-051215-022705>

Further reading:

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2010. *Democracy, Agency, and the State*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 3, "The State: Definition, Dimensions, and Historical Emergence," pp. 51-71.

J. W. N. Watkins. "Ideal Types and Historical Explanation." *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, Vol. 3, No. 9 (May, 1952), pp. 22-43.

Week 4 (28 February). **Classes and Democracy**

Moore. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Chapters 1, pp. 3-39, and 7-9, pp. 413-83.

Evelyn Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John Stephens. 1993. "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* Vol. 7, No. 3 (Summer), pp. 71-86.

Kurtz, Marcus. 2009. "The Social Foundations of Institutional Order: Reconsidering War and the 'Resource Curse' in Third World State Building." *Politics & Society* 37(4, December): 479-520.

North, Douglass and Barry Weingast. "Constitutions and Commitment: the evolution of institutions governing public choice in seventeenth-century England." *Journal of Economic History* 49.04 (1989): 803-832.

Further reading

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyn Huber Stephens, and John Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity.

Mahoney, James. 2000. "Path Dependence in Historical Sociology." *Theory and Society* 29(4, August).

David Collier and Ruth Berins Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena* (Princeton University Press, 1991).

Week 5 (7 March). **State Formation and State Building**

Tilly. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. Chapters 1-4, pp. 1-126.

Desmond King and Robert Lieberman, "Ironies of State Building: A Comparative Perspective on the American State." *World Politics* 61, No. 3 (July 2009): 547-588.

Soifer, Hillel, and Matthias Vom Hau. 2008. "Unpacking the strength of the state: The utility of state infrastructural power." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43.3-4.

Centeno, Miguel Angel. 2002. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. Chapter 1, pp. 1-32.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2013. "States of war: how the nation-state made modern conflict." *Foreign Affairs*.

Further reading:

Mann, Michael. "The autonomous power of the state: its origins, mechanisms and results." *European Journal of Sociology/Archives européennes de sociologie* 25.2 (1984): 185-213.

Herbst, Jeffrey. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Soifer, Hillel. 2015. *State Building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Ethnic boundary making: Institutions, power, networks*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Bates, Robert. *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Daniel Ziblatt, *Structuring the State: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism* (Princeton University Press, 2006)

**No class 14 March**

Week 6 (21 March). **Modernization and Political Order**

Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Chapter 1, "Political Order and Political Decay," pp. 1-92.

Zakaria, Fareed. 2004. *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. New York: Norton. Introduction and Conclusion, pp. 13-28, 239-56

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. "Modernization: Theories and facts." *World Politics* 49.02 (1997): 155-183.

Slater, Dan. 2013. "Democratic Careening." *World Politics*, 65(4), 729–763.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887113000233>.

Further reading

Boix, Carles, and Susan C. Stokes. "Endogenous democratization." *World politics* 55.04 (2003): 517-549.

Levitsky, Steven and Murillo, Maria Victoria. 2009. "Variation in Institutional Strength." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12, pp. 115-33.

Remmer, Karen. 1997. "Theoretical Decay and Theoretical Development: The Resurgence of Institutional Analysis." *World Politics* 50 (October) pp. 34-61.

Domínguez, Jorge. 2001. "Samuel Huntington and the Latin American State." In Miguel Centeno and Fernando Lopez-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

**29 March. Spring break**

Week 7 (4 April). **Collective Action, Corporatism, and Interest Groups**

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Schmitter, Philippe. 1974. "Still the Century of Corporatism?" *Review of Politics* 36, no. 1 (January) pp. 85-121.

Elinor Ostrom. 2009. "Collective Action Theory." *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Edited by Carles Boix and Susan Stokes. New York.

Further reading

Ostrom, Elinor. 1991. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters tbd.

Etchemendy, Sebastian. 2011. *Models of Economic Liberalization: Regime, Power and Compensation in Ibero-America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schamis, Hector. 1999. "Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America." *World Politics* 51(2): 236-68.

Week 8 (11 April). **Nationalism, Identity, and Culture**

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso. Chapters 1-6, pp. 1-112.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Chapters 1-4, pp. 1-52.

Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse. "The great divide: literacy, nationalism, and the Communist collapse." *World Politics*, 59(01):83-115, 2006.

Lisa Wedeen, "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 96, no. 4 (Dec. 2002).

Economist. "Vladimir's choice: Whither nationalism? December 2017.

Further reading

Beissinger, Mark, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Weber, Max. 1958. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Peter Hall. 1993. "Policy Paradigms, Social Learning and the State." *Comparative Politics* 25.3, pp. 275-296.

Varshney, Ashutosh, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality." *Perspectives on Politics*, 1(1), 2003, pp. 85-99.

Stathis N. Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 9 (18 April). **Political Regimes and Regime Change**

Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Chapter 4. "Praetorianism and Political Decay," pp. 192-263.

Cheibub, Jose Antonio, *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-48.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2, pp. 1-83.

Dan Slater, "Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia," *American Journal of Sociology* 115:1 (July 2009).

Further reading

Mainwaring, Scott, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2014. *Democracies and dictatorships in Latin America: emergence, survival, and fall*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cheibub, Jose Antonio, and Fernando Limongi, "Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002): 151-79.

Linz, Juan. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000.

Gandhi, Jennifer. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Linz, Juan. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 1, Number 1, Winter, pp. 51-69.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1988. *Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Argentina, 1966-1973, in Comparative Perspective*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems." *World Development* 21(8): 1355-69.

Week 10 (25 April). **Democratization and Inequality**

Dahl, Robert. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1, 3-6, and 10, pp. 1-16, 33-104, 202-6.

Meltzer, Allan, and Scott Richard. "A Rational Theory of the Size of Government." *Journal of Political Economy* (1981): 914-927. Read first 3 pages.

Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. *Inequality and democratization: an elite-competition approach*. Cambridge University Press, 2014. Chapters 1-3, pp. 1-60.

Teele, Dawn. "Ordinary democratization: The electoral strategy that won British women the vote." *Politics & Society* 42.4 (2014): 537-561.

Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge. Introduction, pp. 1-18.

### Further reading

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert Kaufman. 2016. *Dictators and democrats: masses, elites, and regime change*. Princeton University Press.

Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Albertus, Michael. 2015. *Autocracy and redistribution*. Cambridge University Press.

Ziblatt, Daniel, "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58:2 (January 2006), 311-38.

Boix, Carles, and Susan Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* 55 (July 2003): 517-549.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead, eds. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Slater, Dan, and Erica Simmons. "Informative Regress: Critical Antecedents in Comparative Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 43.7 (2010): 886-917.

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and post-communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Huntington, Samuel P., *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

### Week 11 (2 May). **Parties, Elections, and Clientelism**

Duverger, Maurice. 1959. *Political parties, their organization and activity in the modern state*. New York; Wiley, Book II Chapter 1, pp. 206-55.

Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. Chapter 7. "Parties and Political Stability," pp. 397-461.

Donald E. Stokes, "Spatial Models of Party Competition," *American Political Science Review*, 1963 (57): 368-377.

Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson. 2007. "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction." In Kitschelt and Wilkinson, eds., *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp 1-49.

Baldwin, Kate. "Why vote with the chief? Political connections and public goods provision in Zambia." *American Journal of Political Science* 57.4 (2013): 794-809.

### Further reading

Bermeo, Nancy, and Deborah Yashar, eds. *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Shefter, Martin. 1994. *Political parties and the state: the American historical experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," in Lipset and Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (New York: Free Press, 1967): 1-64.

Michels, Robert. *Political parties; a sociological study of the oligarchical tendencies of modern democracy*. New York, Free Press [1966, c1961]

Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estevez, and Beatriz Magaloni. 2016. *The political logic of poverty relief: Electoral strategies and social policy in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press.

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of democracy : government forms and performance in thirty-six countries*. New Haven : Yale University Press

John Aldrich, *Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An economic theory of democracy*. New York, Harper.

### Week 12 (9 May). **Comparative Capitalism**

Hall, Peter, and David Soskice. 2001. "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism." In *Varieties of Capitalism*, ed. Hall and Soskice. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-68.

Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *American Political Science Review* 101(3, August): 373-91.

Baccaro, Lucio, and Jonas Pontusson. "Rethinking Comparative Political Economy The Growth Model Perspective." *Politics & Society* 44.2 (2016): 175-207.

Nölke, Andreas, and Arjan Vliegenthart. 2009. "Enlarging the Varieties of Capitalism: The Emergence of Dependent Market Economies in East Central Europe." *World Politics* 61(4, October): 670-702.

### Further reading

Hancké, Bob, Martin Rhodes, and Mark Thatcher. 2007. "Introduction: Beyond Varieties of Capitalism." In *Beyond Varieties of Capitalism*, ed. Hancké, Rhodes, and Thatcher. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

David Hope, David Soskice. 2016. "Growth Models, Varieties of Capitalism, and Macroeconomics." *Politics and Society*.

Hall, Peter, and Daniel Gingerich. 2009. "Varieties of Capitalism and Institutional Complementarities in the Political Economy: An Empirical Analysis." *British Journal of Political Science*, v. 39, 3, July, pp 449-482.

Boyer, Robert. 2005. "How and Why Capitalisms Differ." *Economy and Society* 34(4): 509–57.

Amable, Bruno. 2000. "Institutional Complementarity and Diversity of Social Systems of Innovation and Production." *Review of International Political Economy* 7(4, Winter): 645-87.

Schneider, Ben Ross. 2013. *Hierarchical Capitalism in Latin America: Business, Labor, and the Challenges of Equitable Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### Week 13 (16 May). **Welfare States and Distributional Politics**

Esping-Anderson, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 & 2, pp. 1-54.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2009. "Distribution and Redistribution: The Shadow of the Nineteenth Century." *World Politics* 61(3, July): 438-86.

Cammett, Melani, and Aytug Sasmaz. 2016. "Social Policy in Developing Countries." In Orfeo Fioretos, Tullia Falletti, and Adam Sheingate, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2015. "Democratic Limits to Redistribution: Inclusionary versus Exclusionary Coalitions in the Knowledge Economy." *World Politics*, 67, no. 2, pp. 185-225.

Further reading

Iversen, Torben, and John Stephens. 2008. "Partisan Politics, the Welfare State, and Three Worlds of Human Capital Formation." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert Kaufman. 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction, pp. 1-26.

Estevez-Abe, Margarita, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2001. "Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State." In *Varieties of Capitalism*.

Rueda, David. 2005. "Insider-Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties." *American Political Science Review* 99(1, February): 61-74.

Rudra, Nita. 2008. *Globalization and the race to the bottom in developing countries :who really gets hurt?* New York : Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, Ben Ross, and David Soskice. 2009. "Inequality in Developed Countries and Latin America: Coordinated, Liberal, and Hierarchical Systems." *Economy and Society* 38(1, February): 17-52.

Kurtz, M. and S. Brooks (2008). "Embedding Neoliberal Reform in Latin America", *World Politics* 60 (2): 231-80.