

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

P SC 77901 Basic Theories and Concepts in Comparative Politics

Fall Semester 2019

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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3:00 to 4:00
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Tuesdays, 4:15 – 6:15 p.m.
Seminar Room

This seminar is a graduate-level introduction to the literature in comparative politics. It can serve as a survey or review for advanced students as well. Because the key theories and concepts are also key *political science* concepts and theories, it is not exclusively intended for those majoring or minoring in comparative politics; all are welcome. It is not a course in methods or methodologies of research. The focus will be on research questions, concept formation, theoretical approaches, theory formulation, and competing theories on substantive questions, not on theory testing or verification.

Learning Goals

Students in this seminar will vary in their goals depending on the extent of their prior knowledge of the subject matter, their particular substantive interests, and their field specialization within the discipline. Overall, the course should prepare them (1) to think, articulate orally, and write theoretically: to identify a theory in a reading, define its key concepts, articulate its causal mechanisms, and evaluate its empirical demonstration; (2) to know the evolution of research questions, concepts, and theories within the discipline of comparative politics so as to understand those theories better, analyze their limitations and biases, and appreciate the cumulative nature of knowledge in the field; (3) to pass the first exam in comparative politics comfortably; and (4) to feel solidly grounded in the questions and literature of comparative politics so as to identify areas of further interest and specialization, especially to prepare a dissertation proposal. These goals are basic, foundational; many other benefits for critical thinking, analysis, and oral articulation of political science arguments will also result, but the foundation comes first.

Keep in mind, however, that this is an introduction – a great deal of material will be read and discussed, often with time only to skim the surface. It will seem overwhelming at times and students in past seminars have always found that weekly study groups help to share the burden of time, but rest assured that having this grounding will be of great use and you will return time and again to much of what you started in this seminar.

Outcomes Assessment

There are three requirements for this course; the course grade will weight each of these 3 equally (33 percent each), but with upward adjustment for improvement over the semester:

(1) Class participation in informed discussion of the readings. Be prepared each week to identify and analyze the research question, theories/arguments, key concepts, and empirical bases of the readings for that session. You will be challenged to do so if you do not volunteer. The better everyone is prepared to do this first cut, the more there will be time to do critical discussion of the readings as well. We want to get to that, but we cannot do so until we get the authors' arguments clear first.

(2) Three short papers (the length of an average answer to a first exam question), one for each third of the course readings/syllabus, as follows:

Take a topic of literature or a concept from each of three four-week segments of the syllabus that is of interest to you and write a critical review of the literature as if you were writing a book review essay. You may choose to focus on one of the week's readings or cross among readings for the four weeks in that segment. Length is entirely up to you, as you wish and need to make your argument. In principle, however, they should be a few pages, practicing succinctness. Because this assignment is intended as preparation for answering questions on the first exam, you may want to consider this as practice also for writing an essay that is well-enough crafted to be succinct but comprehensive in a 2-hour period. Be sure to include these elements:

- Identify the concept and/or research question(s) of the literature you are reviewing
- Summarize the arguments of the literature you are reviewing; take literature from the syllabus; you can stick with readings in the required list, but you may find it productive to add from the Further Readings (you may go beyond that list, if you wish, and I will be happy to assist with suggestions, but it is not necessary)
- Do a critical analysis
- Provide prime empirical examples (identify the empirical bases of the key texts and arguments or apply them to examples of your own)
- At the end of each paper, suggest a first exam question that you think would be a good way to capture that subject and test students' knowledge (this requirement is often neglected; please do not forget it).

You are free to choose the topics and dates of your essays, as long as you select one for each of three sub-periods in the syllabus, and deliver it on the week after that topic or that group of topics and their readings appear on the syllabus (e.g., for readings on September 10, your essay is due September 17; if you are doing an entire sub-period, then one week after it [e.g., for session 1, October 15; for session two, due Nov. 12; for session three due Dec. 17]). Choose:

1. First essay: sessions from September 3, 10, 17, and 24.
2. Second essay: sessions from October 15, 22, 29, and November 5.
3. Third essay: sessions from November 12, 19, and 26 and December 3 and 10.

NOTE: You will discover that I care a great deal about craftsmanship in writing, that is, correct punctuation and grammar and a minimum of typographical errors. It is your public face and a matter of courtesy to your reader, and it is better to begin now paying careful attention to the appearance of your work just as you would to your personal appearance, if you do not already do so; both leave lasting impressions, however unfair that may be. So, first, please, always proofread what you give me before you hand it in (we all make some mistakes, but the word processing programs we all use should save you from most mistakes; then, also give your paper/exam a good read before you send it off); and if you would like some guidance on punctuation and style, we use *The Chicago Manual of Style* in political science (though sometimes supplemented by the Harvard system for references); it is online and searchable, but I find a very handy reference manual to own is Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 8th edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) [Turabian is long deceased, but it is continually revised by the press and 3 authors]. It is \$18.00 in paperback or as an e-book; on Amazon, \$11.35 or less.

(3) **A final examination December 17:** we will decide between an in-class, 2-hour written exam on December 17 or a take-home final, based on questions I distribute December 10, due that same day, on December 17.

Readings:

The readings for this course will be largely articles or chapters from books, and, therefore, you will have to rely on Blackboard for articles and Mina Rees reserves for books. If a reading is in a journal to which you have online access through the GC system, it will not be, in most cases, on Blackboard; I leave it to you to access on your own.

There are no required texts for this course. Many will be worth purchasing for your personal library, but that should be an individual decision. Two examples of books you should, I believe, want to own, and which you will read most or all of, are:

Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*.

Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (VERSO: 1991)

I am happy to make further recommendations.

When you purchase books, the Graduate Center library receives a financial return if you order books from Amazon *through the GC library website* (you will see the “a” link on the right side of the library website). Of course, I hope you will use this option if you use Amazon.

It will also be worth your while to look regularly at the tables of contents of the major journals in the field; to look each year at the very useful essays in *Annual Review in Political Science*; and to read the book reviews for comparative politics in *Perspectives on Politics* and the review essays in *World Politics* – these habits will keep you in touch with theoretical trends and debates in the field of comparative politics.

Class Schedule and Readings

August 27 **Introduction: to what does comparative refer?**

1. September 3 **Scope of the Field and the Roles of Theory and Concepts**

This first session aims to give you a history of the field of comparative politics as a discipline. We will also pay particular attention to the idea of a concept and its important role in developing and testing theories of political phenomena. You may want to pay particular attention to the concept of “conceptual stretching.”

Required reading

- Harry Eckstein, “A Perspective on Comparative Politics: Past and Present,” in H. Eckstein and D. Apter, eds., *Comparative Politics: a Reader* (1963): 1-33.
- Peter Mair, “Comparative Politics: an Overview,” in Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, eds., *A New Handbook of Political Science* (1996): 309-335.
- Ronald Rogowski, “The Role of Theory and Anomaly in Social-Scientific Inference,” *American Political Science Review* (henceforth: *APSR*) 89 (1995): 467-70.
- Giovanni Sartori, “Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics,” *APSR* 64 (December 1970): 1033-1053.
- David Collier and James Mahon, Jr., “‘Conceptual Stretching’ Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis,” *APSR* 87 (1993): 845-55.
- David Collier (1993), “The Comparative Method,” in Ada W. Finifter, ed., *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, pp. 105-19 [on BB]

Further reading:

- John Gerring, “What Makes a Concept Good?” *Polity*, 31:3 (Spring 1999): 357-393.
- Arthur Stinchcombe, *Constructing Social Theories* (1968), ch. 3 (“Complex Causal Structures”): 57-129.
- Jon Elster, “Mechanisms,” *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences* (1989): 3-10.
- Charles Tilly, “Mechanisms in Political Processes,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 4 (2001): 21-41.
- Ronald Rogowski, “Comparative Politics,” in Ada Finifter, ed., *The State of the Discipline II* (1993): 431-449.
- David D. Laitin, “Comparative Politics: the State of the Subdiscipline,” in I. Katznelson and H. Milner, eds., *Political Science: State of the Discipline* (2002): 630-659.
- Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (2005).
- Barbara Geddes (1990), “How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias and Related Issues,” *Political Analysis* 2: 131-50, or also in Geddes (2003), *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics* (U Michigan Press), ch. 3.
- John Gerring, “What is a Case, and What is it Good for?” *APSR* 98 (2): 34-354.

- “The Qualitative-Quantitative Disputation [Symposium on King, Keohane, and Verba],” *APSR* 89 (June 1995): 454-481.
- David Collier and Steven Levitsky, “Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research,” *World Politics* 49:3 (April 1997): 430-51.
- Harry Eckstein, “Case Study and Theory in Political Science,” in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science*, vol. 7 (1975): 79-137.
- Pinar Bilgin and Adam David Morton, “Historicising representations of ‘failed states’: beyond the cold-war annexation of the social sciences?” *Third World Quarterly* vol. 23, no. 1 (2002), pp. 55-68 (if you want to learn about Gramsci’s arguments, read the rest of the article, too, 68-75).

2. September 10 Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

What is an “approach”? What is the difference between a theory, a research approach, and a research method? Does it matter what approach one uses? Identify four distinct approaches and their defining theoretical assumptions and concepts. We will not spend a lot of time on these issues during the semester, but it is very important to have them in mind as you read and, later, as you do your own research.

Required reading:

- Review H. Eckstein, “A Perspective” for approaches prior to 1963.
- Peter A. Hall, 2003, “Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics,” in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*: 373-406.
- Margaret Levi, “A Model, a Method, and a Map: Rational Choice in Comparative and Historical Analysis,” in Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman, eds., *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*: 19-41.
- Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol, “Historical Institutionalism in Contemporary Political Science,” in Katznelson and Milner, eds., 2002, *Political Science: State of the Discipline*.
- Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, “Political Science and the Three Institutionalisms,” *Political Studies*, 44 (1996): 936-957.

Further reading:

- Ellen M. Immergut, “The Theoretical Core of the New Institutionalism,” *Politics and Society* 26:1 (March 1998): 5-34.
- Kanchan Chandra, “Mechanisms vs. Outcomes,” *Qualitative Methods* (Spring 2006): 6-12.
(<http://www.maxwell.syr.edu/uploadedFiles/moynihan/cqrm/Newsletter4.1.pdf>)
- Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman, eds., *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure* (1997).
- Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, chapter 1: sections 1-5 (pages 1-31 in Roth and Wittich edition).
- Clifford Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System,” in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1964; 1973).

- David Laitin, "The Civic Culture at 30," *APSR* 89 (1995): 168-73.
- Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, "Taking Stock: The Constructivist Research Program in International Relations and Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 4 (2001): 391-416.
- T.S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970).
- Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro, *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory: A Critique of Applications in Political Science* (1994), chs. 1-3, 8 (pp. 1-46, 179-204).
- Paul Cammack, "Review Article: *Bringing the State Back In?*" *British Journal of Political Science*, 19:2 (April 1989): 261-290.
- Helen V. Milner, "Rationalizing Politics: The Emerging Synthesis Among International, American, and Comparative Politics," *International Organization* 52:4 (Autumn 1998): 759-786.
- Jon Elster, "Marxism, Functionalism, and Game Theory," *Theory and Society* 11:4 (July 1982): 453-482.
- Kathleen Thelen, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 369-404.
- Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904/1905), ch. 1.

3. September 17 The State and State Formation

Why is the "state" the primary unit of analysis in comparative politics? Or is it not? What are the main theories on the origins of the modern state? What is the debate about the western (or European) bias of the concept of the state? What is the difference between state and nation, and why does it matter?

Required reading:

- Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, Vol. 1, Part I, chapter 1, sections 12, 16-17 and chapter 3, sections 1-5, 13, and Part II, chapter 5 (pp. 48-50, 53-56, 212-226, 262-265, and 385-398 in Roth and Wittich edition). [recommended: Vol. 2, chapter 9, sections 1 and 6 and chapter 11, section 1, pp. 901-905, 926-939, and 956-958].
- Gianfranco Poggi, *The Development of the Modern State* (1978), ch.1 (pp. 1-15).
- Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State," *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 25 (19) (1984): 185-213.
- Joel Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*, chapters 1 and 3 (pp. 3-38 and 58-94).
- Charles Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (1975), ch. 1 (you will find the chapters by Finer and Ardant especially good, too).
- Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (1985): chs. 5: 169-191, **OR** *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1992* (1993), chs. 1, 2.
- Thomas Ertman, *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (1997), ch. 1 (pp. 1-34).

Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (1996), chapters 1 and 8, pages 3-34 and 285-301; read chs. 3 and 4 if you have an interest in continuing.

Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (1994): chs. 8-9.

Further reading:

Margaret Levi, "The State of the Study of the State," in Katznelson and Milner, eds., *Political Science: State of the Discipline*: 33-55.

George Steinmetz, ed., *State/Culture: State-Formation after the Cultural Turn* (1999), Introduction (on the role of political discourse and ideology in variation).

Michel Foucault (1991), "Governmentality," in G. Burchell, C. Gordon and P. Miller (eds), *The Foucault Effect*, pp. 87-104.

Pierre Bourdieu (1994), "Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field," *Sociological Theory* 12:1, pp. 1-18.

Robert Jackson, "Quasi-States, dual regimes, and neo-classical theory: international jurisprudence and the Third World," *International Organization* 41 (1987): 519-49.

Kenneth Menkhaus, "Governance without Government in Somalia: Spoilers, State Building and the Politics of Coping," *International Security* 31: 3 (Winter 2006/2007): 74-106.

Hendryk Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (1994), chs. 3, 6, 8.

Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, volumes I (1986) and II (1993).

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (1979): chs. 1, 4, conclusion (pp. 3-43, 161-173, 284-293).

Michael Doyle, *Empires* (1986), part I (pp. 19-138).

Abdul Raufu Mustapha, "Rethinking Africanist Political Science," in Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, ed., *The Study of Africa: Volume 1: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encounters* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 2006), 187-202.

Atul Kohli, "State, Society, and Development," in Katznelson and Milner, eds., *Political Science: State of the Discipline*.

Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (1994).

Giacomo Luciani, ed., *The Arab State* (1990).

Lisa Anderson, "The State in the Middle East and North Africa," *Comparative Politics* 20:1 (October 1987): 1-18.

Laurence Whitehead, "State Organization in Latin America since 1930," *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. VI: Part 2 (1994), chapter 1 (abridged version available in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Latin America: Economy and Society since 1930* [1998]).

Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (2002).

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (2000).

- John Lonsdale, "States and Social Processes in Africa," *African Studies Review* 24/2-3 (1981): 139-225.
- Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (1974): 361-394 (The House of Islam), 435-461 (Japanese Feudalism), and 462-549 (The "Asiatic Mode of Production").
- J. P. Nettl, "The State as a Conceptual Variable," *World Politics* 20 (July 1968): 539-592.
- Ralph Miliband, *The State in Capitalist Society* (1968) or "Marx and the State," in T. Bottomore, ed., *Karl Marx* (1973).
- Reinhard Bendix, *Nation-Building and Citizenship* (1964).
- Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (1988).
- James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1998): chs. 1-2.

4. September 24 Political Regimes: Concepts and Classifications

What is a regime in comparative politics (NB: it is distinct from international relations theory)? What is the difference between state and regime? What are the standard typologies of regimes? What is the purpose of such a typology? What are the characteristics of democracy, as a regime type? This is a vital new question for political scientists in confronting the Trump Administration. Of non-democratic regimes? What is the difference between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes? What is dictatorship? Why is the concept hybrid regime gaining currency?

Required reading:

- Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (1971): chs. 1, 2, and 10 (pp. 1-32, 202-07).
- Ronald Wintrobe, "Dictatorship: Analytical Approaches," in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, chapter 16 (pp. 363-394).
- Juan Linz, "An Authoritarian Regime: Spain," in Erik Allardt, ed., *Cleavages, Ideologies, and Party Systems* (1964): 251-83 and 374-381.
- Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy is ... and is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2:3 (Summer 1991): 75-88.
- Milan W. Svoblik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*, introduction (1-18).
- Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (1997), first part of ch. 2, pp. 61-82.

Further Reading:

- Terry Lynn Karl, "The Hybrid Regimes of Central America," *Journal of Democracy* 6 (July 1995): 72-86.
- Mikael Wigell, "Mapping 'Hybrid Regimes': Regime Types and Concepts in Comparative Politics," *Democratization* 15:2 (April 2008): 230-250.
- Michael Coppedge and John Gerring, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach," *Perspectives on Politics* 9:2 (June 2011): 247-68.
- Juan Linz, "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes," in Greenstein and Polsby, *Handbook of Political Science* (1975), vol. 3: 191-357.

- Jason Brownlee, *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization* (2007).
- Jeffrey A. Winters, *Oligarchy* (2011).
- Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (1947).
- Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1973).
- Merle Fainsod and Jerry Hough, *How the Soviet Union is Governed* (1979): esp. 277-319, 518-555.
- Mark Field, ed., *Social Consequences of Modernization in Communist Societies* (1976): 50-59 (Alex Inkeles, "The Modernization of Man in Socialist and Nonsocialist Countries") and 81-113 (Richard Lowenthal, "The Ruling Party in a Mature Society").
- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (1991), esp. ch. 1.
- Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7: 2 (April 1996): 34-51.
- Larry Diamond, "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13:2 (April 2002).
- William Reno, *Warlord Politics and African States* (1998).
- Alfred Stepan, *Rethinking Military Regimes* (1988).
- Perry Anderson, *Lineages of the Absolutist State* (1974): 7-11, 15-59, 195-235, 397-431 (Foreword, The Absolutist State in the East, Class and State: Problems of Periodization, The Absolutist State in the East, Nobility and Monarchy: The Eastern Variant, Conclusions).
- Ted R. Gurr, et al. "The Transformation of the Western State: The Growth of Democracy, Autocracy, and State Power since 1800," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25: 1 (Spring 1990): 73-108.

NO CLASSES October 1 and 8

5. October 15 Explanations of regime type: class, modernization, global order

Comparative politics is primarily a study of variation – e.g., why do regimes differ? why do governments or their policies differ? Does it matter? Why are some countries democracies, others authoritarian regimes? What explains these differences? Think about countries you are interested in; how would you classify their regime? Do you think it matters?

Required Reading:

- Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (1944): read as much as you can; be sure to understand his concept and theory of the double movement. (Not on BB; is on Reserves at circulation desk.)
- Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (1966): chs 7-9 (413-483).
- Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *APSR*, 53 (1959): 69-105. [also: S.M. Lipset, *Political Man*, ch. 2].

- Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49:2 (January 1997): 155-83.
- Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* 55 (July 2003): 517-49.
- Renske Doorenspleet, "Research Note: Reassessing the Three Waves of Democratization," *World Politics*, 52:3 (April 2000): 384-401.
- David Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (1979), chapters 1 & 2 (Collier, 19-32 and Cardoso, 33-58).

Further reading:

- Thomas Ertman, "Democracy and Dictatorship in Interwar Western Europe Revisited," *World Politics* 50:3 (1998), pp. 475-505. (Review of R. Collier and J. Mahoney, G. Luebbert, M. Mann, and Rueschemeyer, et al.)
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (2010).
- Critical Dialogue in Perspectives on Politics* on (and between) Levitsky and Way and Slater, 9: 2 (June 2011): 385-88.
- Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (1973): chs. 1-2 (pp. 1-111).
- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (2005): 1-87.
- Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *American Political Science Review* 55 (September 1961): 493-514.
- Adam Przeworski, et al, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (2000).
- Ruth Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America* (1999).
- David Collier and Ruth Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena* (1991), overview, introduction, and conclusion (pp. 1-55, 745-774).
- Gregory Luebbert, *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe* (1991).
- Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (1992).
- Kenneth Jowitt, *The Leninist Response to National Dependency* (1978): 34-73.
- Samuel P. Huntington and Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Political Power: USA/USSR* (1963): 3-14, 409-436.
- Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (2003).
- Evelyne Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John D. Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7 (1993): 71-85.
- Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East," *Comparative Politics* 36 (January 2004): 139-157.
- Daniel Ziblatt, "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58:2 (January 2006): 311-38 (review of D. Acemoglu and J Robinson, C. Boix, R. Collier, and C. Tilly)

6. October 22 Regime Transition

What causes regimes to break down (notice that I am saying regimes, not states)? This question is raised perennially in response to actual events: most important was the collapse of interwar democracies and subsequent rise of fascism in the 1930s; the return to democracy in Latin America after military regimes in the 1980s, which provoked a literature on “democratization,” or “transitions to democracy”; the collapse of the Soviet system in eastern Europe in 1989-91, on the one hand, and what Huntington erroneously called the “third wave” of democratization in southern Europe and Africa, on the other. The events of 2010-2011 in North Africa and the Middle East are now provoking another round. The literature on civil wars also asks this question.

Required Reading:

- Lisa Anderson, ed., *Transitions to Democracy* (1999), articles by Dankwart Rustow and by Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman [OR, access the originals in *Comparative Politics* 29: 3 (April 1997)].
- Barbara Geddes, “What Causes Democratization?” in Boix and Stokes, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*: 317-339.
- Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (1991): 1-72.
- Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective* (1997): preface, introduction, chs. 2, 3, 6, and conclusion (pp. xiii-xvi, 1-18, [61-81 (see above), 82-127, 194-232, 268-279).
- Nancy Bermeo, *Ordinary Citizens in Extraordinary Times: Citizens in the Breakdown of Democracy* (2003), chapters 1 and 7 (7-20, 221-56)
- Stathis N. Kalyvas, “The Decay and Breakdown of Communist One-Party Systems,” *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 2 (1999): 323-43.
- Valerie Bunce, “Should Transitologists Be Grounded?” *Slavic Review* 54 (Spring 1995), 111-127 (this is the second in a series of four articles on their debate).
- Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz, “Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set,” *Perspectives on Politics* 12:2 (June 2014); read pages 313-317 and the conclusion on pages 327-8. (Not on BB)

Further Reading:

- Killian Clarke, “Social Forces and Regime Change: Beyond Class Analysis,” *World Politics* 69: 3 (July 2017): 569-602.
- “Varieties of Authoritarianism,” *APSA – Comparative Politics Newsletter*, 24:1 (Spring 2014), articles by T. Pepinsky and J. Wright: 1-8.
- Eva Bellin, “Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring,” *Comparative Politics* (January 2012): 127-149.
- Michael Coppedge, *Democratization and Research Methods* (Cambridge UP 2012).
- William Sheridan Allen, *The Nazi Seizure of Power: the experience of a single German town, 1922-1945* (1965) [compare to Truman and Lijphart], chs. 2, 14, conclusion (12-22, 218-232, 294-303).

- Rudolf Heberle, *From Democracy to Nazism: a regional case study on political parties in Germany* (1945; 1970), chapters 4-5 (90-127).
- Jon Elster, *Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences*: chs. 11 (Equilibrium), 12 (Social Norms), and 16 (Social Change) (101-123, 159-171).
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (1996), Part I: Theoretical Overview: 3-86.
- Adam Przeworski, "Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives* vol. III (1986).
- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (1990).
- Adam Przeworski, *Sustainable Democracy* (1995).
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (1978).
- Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* (2000).
- Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (1995).
- Youssef Cohen, *Radicals, Reformers, and Reactionaries: The Prisoner's Dilemma and the Collapse of Democracy in Latin America* (1994).
- Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (2000): ch. 1 (15-43).
- Valerie Bunce, "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience," *World Politics* 55:2 (January 2003).
- Charles Tilly, "Mechanisms in Political Processes," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 4, 2001: 21-41.
- Suisheng Zhao, *Debating Political Reform in China: Rule of Law vs. Democratization* (2006).

7. October 29 Comparative Political Institutions

The comparative study of institutions is both an approach (institutionalism) and a body of empirical research and theory. What is a political institution? What is path dependence? Identify some empirical theories where institutions are independent (causal/explanatory) variables. Identify some explanations for variation in the choice of political institutions (that is, as a dependent variable).

Required reading:

- Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, "Political Science and the Three Institutionalisms," *Political Studies*, 44 (1996): 936-957 (re-read from September 12).
- Sven Steinmo and Kathleen Thelen, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Perspective," in Steinmo, Thelen, and Longstreth, eds., *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Perspective*: 1-32.
- Paul Pierson, "Path Dependence, Increasing Returns, and the Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review* 94:2 (June 2000): 251-267.

- Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (1968): chapter 1 (pp. 1-92), or Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay," *World Politics* (1965): 386-430.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries* (1999), chapters 1-4, 16-17 (1-61 and 275-309). (Read the other chapters if you wish detail on different institutions of democratic government.)
- Rudy B. Andeweg, "Consociational Democracy," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 509-536.
- Ellen Immergut, "The Rules of the Game: The Logic of Health Policy-Making in France, Switzerland, and Sweden," in Steinmo and Thelen, eds., *Structuring Politics*, chapter 3.
- Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics," *Perspectives on Politics* (December 2004): 725-740.

Further reading:

- Terry Moe, "Power and Political Institutions," *Perspectives on Politics*, 3 (January 2005): 215-233.
- Erik Wibbels, "Madison in Baghdad: Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 9 (2006): 165-188.
- Elinor Ostrom, "A Long Polycentric Journey," *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 13 (2010): 1-23.
- Jack Knight, *Institutions and Social Conflict* (1992), chs. 1-3.
- Daniel Ziblatt, "Rethinking the Origins of Federalism: Puzzle, Theory, and Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Europe," *World Politics* 57: 1 (October 2004).
- Jose Antonio Cheibub, *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy* (2007), chs. 1-2, 6-7 (1-48, 136-74).
- Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, "Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002): 151-179.
- John Gerring, Daniel Ziblatt, Johan van Gorp, and Julián Arévalo, "An Institutional Theory of Direct and Indirect Rule," *World Politics*, 63: 3 (April 2011): 377-433.
- Nicolas van de Walle, "The Institutional Origins of Inequality in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 12 (2009): 307-27.
- Philip Selznik, *The Organizational Weapon: a study of Bolshevik strategy and tactics* (1960).
- R. Kent Weaver and Bertram A. Rockman, eds., *Do Institutions Matter? Government Capabilities in the United States and Abroad* (1993).
- James March and Johan Olsen, *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics* (1989).
- James March and Johan Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life," *APSR* 78 (September 1984): 734-749.
- Johan P. Olsen, "The Ups and Downs of Bureaucratic Organization," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 11 (2008): 13-37.
- George Tsebelis, "Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism," *British Journal of Political Science* 25 (July 1995): 289-325.

- Kathleen Thelen, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan* (2004).
- Daniel Treisman, *The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization* (2007).
- G. Bingham Powell, *Contemporary Democracies: participation, stability, and violence* (1982), introduction, ch. 4, and conclusion (pp. 1-11, 54-73, 201-228).
- William Riker, "Federalism," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Hand book of Political Science* vol. 5.
- Alfred Stepan, Juan J. Linz, and Yogendra Yadav, *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies* (2011).
- Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (1991), chapters 3 and 4 (63-107).
- Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration* (1977).
- Michael Bratton, "Formal vs. Informal Institutions in Africa," *Journal of Democracy* (July 2007): 96-110.
- "Symposium: A Fresh Look at Semipresidentialism," *Journal of Democracy* 16:3 (July 2005).

8. November 5 Institutionalized Modes of Political Participation

The essence of democracy as a political regime is political representation of the interests and demands of citizens. The channels of their representation and the predictable outcomes vary, however, depending on electoral systems, organizations of representation such as political parties, interest groups, and client-patronage networks, and the historical trajectory of these channels, including moments of transition to democracy. Also critical to this discussion is the definition of citizenship.

Required Reading:

- T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Part I, pp. 3-51 [and recommended: Part II, by Tom Bottomore, pp. 55-91].
- Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (1967): introduction (pp. 1-64).
- Herbert Kitschelt, et al., *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*, chapter 1 (pp. 1-16).
- David R. Cusack, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice, "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems," *American Political Science Review*, 101:3 (August 2007): 373-391 (or read Boix in the further reading below).
- Philippe C. Schmitter and Gerhard Lehmbruch, eds., *Trends toward Corporatist Intermediation* (1979): Schmitter, ch. 3 (6-67, 91; rec. 77-90); Jessop: 63-94, 185-212; recommended, ch. 9 (pp. 231-270).
- Robert E. Putnam, with Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (1992), chs. 1, 4-6, and the reviews by: (1) Ellis Goldberg, "Thinking about How Democracy Works," pp. 7-18 and (2) Margaret Levi, "Social and Unsocial Capital," pp. 45-55, in *Politics and Society* 24 (1996), and (3) Sidney Tarrow, "Making Social Science Work Across

Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*," *APSR* 90 (1996): 389-97.

Nicolas van de Walle, "Meet the New Boss, Same as the Old Boss? The Evolution of Political Clientelism in Africa," in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson, eds., *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition* (2006).

Look again at Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

Further Reading:

David R. Cameron, "Social Democracy, Corporatism, Labour Quiescence, and Representation of Economic Interest in Advanced Capitalist Society," in John Goldthorpe, ed., *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism* (1984): 143-178.

Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties* (1954).

G. Bingham Powell, Jr., "Political Representation in Comparative Perspective," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 7 (2004): 273-96.

A. O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (1970), chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-43).

Carles Boix, "The Emergence of Parties and Party Systems," in Boix and Stokes, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, chapter 21: 499-521.

Herbert Kitschelt, "Party Systems," in *Ibid.*, chapter 22: 522-554.

Gary Cox, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems* (1997), chapters 1-3 (pp. 3-68).

Gary Cox, "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems," *American Journal of Political Science* 34 (1990).

Scott Morgenstern and Javier Vazquez-D'Elia, "Electoral Laws, Parties, and Party Systems in Latin America," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 10 (2007): 143-68.

Mala Htun, "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups," *Perspectives on Politics* 2:3 (September 2004): 439-458.

Geoffrey Evans, "The Continued Significance of Class Voting," *Annual Review of Political Science* 3 (2000): 401-17.

Samuel H. Barnes, "Electoral Behavior and Comparative Politics," in Lichbach and Zuckerman, eds., *Comparative Politics*: 115-141.

Suzanne Berger, ed., *Organizing Interests in Western Europe: Pluralism, Corporatism, and the Transformation of Politics* (1981), Berger's introduction and ch. 10.

Sidney Verba, Norman Nie, and Jae-on Kim, *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven Nation Comparison* (1978).

Tianjian Shi, *Political Participation in Beijing* (1997), chs. 1-2.

Adam Przeworski and John Sprague, *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism* (1986).

Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David E. Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (1964): 206-61.

Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin, eds., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation* (1999), chapter 1.

Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracies* (1959).

Torben Iversen, "The Logics of Electoral Politics: Spatial, Directional, and Mobilizational Effects," *Comparative Political Studies* 27:2 (July 1994): 155-189.
William Nylen, "Participatory Institutions in Latin America: The Next Generation of Scholarship," *Comparative Politics* (July 2011) 479-497.

9. November 12 Collective Action, Contentious Politics

The "problem" of collective action; collective choice; organized interests; coordination failure; social capital; social movements; contentious politics; mass politics; protest movements; class conflict; state-society relations; civil society.

Required reading:

Mancur Olson, Jr., *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (1965), ch. 1.
Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 3rd ed. (2011), Introduction and ch. 1 (1-36).
Vincent Boudreau, *Resisting Dictatorship: Repression and Protest in Southeast Asia* (2004), chs. 1-2.
Rasma Karklins and Roger Petersen, "Decision Calculus of Protesters and Regimes: Eastern Europe 1989," *Journal of Politics* 55:3 (1993): 588-614.
Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (1985), ch. 2, "Proletariat into a Class" (47-98).

Further reading:

Joel Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue, eds., *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (1994).
Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (2011).
Claus Offe, *Disorganized Capitalism: Contemporary Transformations of Work and Politics* (1985), ch. 7.
Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (1985), chs. 3 and 4.
Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly, *Contentious Politics* (2007).
Russell Hardin, *One for All* (1995), chs. 1 and 8.
Kevin O'Brien, "Rightful Resistance," *World Politics* 49: 1 (1996): 31-55.
Amaney A. Jamal, *Barriers to Democracy* (2007).
Elinor Ostrom, "Collective Action Theory," in Boix and Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*: 186-208.

10. November 19 Politics of Identity

It is said that politics in the 1980s-90s became driven by identity. What does that mean? How is identity defined? Ethnicity, language, religion, gender, race – how are they defined theoretically and how are they systematically related to political action and outcomes?

Required Reading:

- Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991): read the entire book, including the Preface to the 1991 (2nd) edition; if you are pressed, read at least the Preface and chs. 1-4.
- Ronald Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society* (1990): intro. (3-14). [You may find it interesting to look at his article with Pippa Norris on the reversal of this trend in the recent rise of support for populist authoritarianism among younger voters, in *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2017: 443-454.]
- Deborah Yashar, "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America," *World Politics* 52 (October 1999): 76-104.
- Daniel N. Posner, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *APSR* 98:4 (November 2004): 529-545.
- David D. Laitin, "Hegemony and Religious Conflict: British Imperial Control and Political Cleavages in Yorubaland," in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In* (1985), ch. 9: 285-316.
- Morten Bøås and Kevin Dunn, *Politics of Origin in Africa: Autochthony, citizenship and conflict* (2013), chs. 1-2 (1-33).
- Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1-47.
- Lynne Haney, "'But We Are Still Mothers': Gender, the State, and the Construction of Need in Postsocialist Hungary," in Michael Burawoy and Katherine Verdery, eds., *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World* (1999): 151-188.

Further Reading:

- Nicholas Sambanis and Moses Shayo, "Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict," *APSR*, 107:2 (May 2013): 294-325.
- David Laitin, *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad* (1998).
- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97:1 (2003): 91-106.
- Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (1994), introduction and conclusion.
- Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, chs 7-10.
- Kanchan Chandra, "What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 9 (2006): 397-424.
- Ian Lustick, "Agent-Based Modeling of Collective Identity: Testing Constructivist Theory," *Journal of Artificial Societies and Social Simulations* 3:1 (2000).
- Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (1983).
- Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (1976).
- Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civil Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (2001).

Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in C. Geertz, ed., *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa* (1963): 105-157.

Paul Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison* (1991).

11. November 26 **Abnormal Politics: Revolution, Civil War**

The study of revolution is as old as the field of comparative politics. Has there been change over time in its analysis? If so, what? What categories of political violence should be distinguished – revolution, civil war, riots, now criminal activity, for example, and why? How does the study of revolution and civil war differ from that of social movements and collective action, if at all, and if so, why? Are there some basic theories of the causes of revolution and the causes of civil war that have stood the test of time?

Required Reading:

John Foran, *Taking Power: on the origins of Third-World revolutions* (2005): chapters 1 and 6 (5-29 and 247-278). (You will find his discussion of Skocpol here, but it is also important to read her original, so think of "skimming.")

Theda Skocpol, *States and Social Revolutions* (1979), ch. 1/ introduction (3-5, 18-42).

James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1983), chs. 1 (at least pages 22-27, but preferably all), 2 and 8 (28-47 and 304-350).

Samuel Popkin, "Political Entrepreneurs and Peasant Movements in Vietnam," in Michael Taylor, ed., *Rationality and Revolution* (1988).

Mark R. Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State* (2002), chs. 1, 7, 9 (1-46, 320-384, 443-459).

Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (2006), Introduction and chapters 11 and conclusion (1-15, 364-392); you may also want to read chapter one on concepts (which is also on BB) and his theory of selective violence.

Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* (2003), chapters 1 and 8 (1-30 and 226-256).

Further reading:

Jack A. Goldstone, "Toward a Fourth Generation of Revolutionary Theory," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 4 (2001): 139-187, or his new assessment, *Revolutions: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford UP 2014).

Peter Uvin.1998. *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda*.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution* (various editions).

Nicholas Sambanis, "What is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48: 6 (December 2004): 814-858.

Mark Beissinger, "The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution," *American Political Science Review* 107:3 (August 2013): 574-592.

Paul Staniland, "Cities on Fire: Social Mobilization, State Policy, and Urban Insurgency," *Comparative Political Studies* 43:12 (2010): 1623-1649.

- James Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (1976), chs. 1 and 2
- Steven Pincus, "Rethinking Revolutions: a Neo-Tocquevillian Perspective," in Boix and Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*: 397-415.
- Ashutosh Varshney, "Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict, and Rationality," *Perspectives on Politics* vol. 1, no. 1 (March 2003): 85-99. [also, if you wish: "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics* 53:3 (April 2001): 362-98.]
- Harry Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal War" and James C. Davies, "Toward a Theory of Revolution," in Ivo K. Feierabend, Rosalind L. Feierabend, and Ted Robert Gurr, eds., *Anger, Violence, and Politics: Theories and Research* (1972): 9-30 and 67-84.
- Timothy Wickham-Crowley, *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956* (1992).
- Jeff Goodwin, *No Other Way Out* (2001).
- Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (1985)
- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *APSR* 97:1 (February 2003): 75-90.
- Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civil Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (2001).
- Ted R. Gurr, "Why Minorities Rebel," in *Minorities at Risk* (1993): 123-138.
- Mark Lichbach, "What Makes Rational Peasants Revolutionary?" *World Politics* 46:3 (1994): 383-418.
- Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (1970).
- Jason Wittenberg and Jeffrey Kopstein, "Deadly Communities," *Comparative Political Studies*, 44:5 (May 2011).
- Stathis N. Kalyvas and Matthew Adam Kocher, "How 'Free' is Free Riding in Civil Wars? Violence, Insurgency, and the Collective Action Problem," *World Politics* 59 (January 2007): 177-216.
- Charles King, "The Benefits of Ethnic War: Understanding Eurasia's Unrecognized States," *World Politics* 53 (July 2001): 524-552.
- William Sewell, "Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille," *Theory and Society* 25: 6 (December 1996): 841-81.
- Roger Petersen, *Resistance and Rebellion: Lessons from Eastern Europe* (2001).
- John Foran, ed., *Theorizing Revolutions* (1997).

12. December 3 Comparative Political Economy: Advanced Industrial Economies

How can one explain the variation in economic development, growth, and inequality among countries? Most answers focus on the role of the state and state policy (pace economists!). This begins with the early industrializers in Europe and then with the original welfare states and policies and the class politics and alliances that industrialization engendered. The challenges of neoliberalism, liberalization of the state in the economy, and participation in open economies ("globalization") to social movements, political alliances, and policy raise new questions, too.

Required reading:

- Alexander Gerschenkron, "Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective," in *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (1962), ch. 1 (5-30).
- Adam Przeworski and Michael Wallerstein, "The Structure of Class Conflicts under Democratic Capitalism," *APSR* 76: 2 (1982): 215-238.
- Peter J. Katzenstein, *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe* (1985), chs. 1-2, 5 (17-79, 191-211).
- Walter Korpi and Joakim Palme, "New Politics and Class Politics in a Context of Austerity and Globalization," *APSR* 97 (2003): 425-446. (Not on BB)
- Suzanne Berger and Ronald Dore, eds., *National Diversity and Global Capitalism* (1996), introduction and chs. 1-2 (Berger, Boyer, and Wade).
- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, chapters 1 and 2, pp. 9-54 (read the entire book if you can).
- Ann Shola Orloff, "Gender and the Social Rights of Citizenship: The Comparative Analysis of Gender Relations and Welfare States," *American Sociological Review* 58 (June 1993): 303–28. (Not on BB)
- Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement*, 3rd ed. (2011), ch. 12, "Transnational Contention": 234-258.
- John Zysman, review of Iversen and Pontusson in *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 5, no. 1 (March 2007), pp. 215-217.
- [Review Polanyi]

Further reading:

- John R. Bowman, *Capitalisms Compared* (2014); reading the introduction will benefit you a lot in thinking clearly about political economy; and, the rest of it, too.
- Peter Gourevitch, "The Role of Politics in Economic Development," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 11 (2008): 137-59.
- John Braithwaite, "The Regulatory State?" in Rhodes, Binder, and Rockman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*: 407-430.
- Torben Iversen and Thomas R. Cusack, "The Causes of Welfare State Expansion: Deindustrialization or Globalization?" *World Politics* 52:3 (April 2000): 313-49.
- Ronald Rogowski, "Political Cleavages and Changing Exposure to Trade," *APSR* 81 (December 1987): 1121-1137 [or: *Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments* (Princeton UP: 1989)]
- Jeffrey Frieden and Ronald Rogowski, "The Impact of the International Economy on National Politics: An Analytic Overview," in Robert Keohane and Helen Milner, eds., *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (1996): 25-47.
- David Cameron, "The Expansion of the Public Economy," *APSR* 72 (December 1978): 1243-61.
- Peter A. Gourevitch, *Politics in Hard Times: Comparative Responses to Economic Crises* (1986). [and see his reflection in *APSA Newsletter on Comparative Politics* 20:1 (Winter 2009), "The Great Meltdown of '08: Six Variables in Search of an Outcome": 1-7]
- Helen V. Milner, *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations* (1997), chs. 1, 9.

- Robert J. Flanagan, "Macroeconomic Performance and Collective Bargaining: An International Perspective," *Journal of Economic Literature* 37:3 (September 1999): 1150-75.
- Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration: a historical institutionalist approach," *Comparative Political Studies* 29:2 (1996): 123-63.
- Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (1999).
- Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism* (2005), chs. 1, 2, 8, and 9 (1-34, 143-182).
- Torben Iversen and David Soskice, "New Macroeconomics and Political Science," *Annual Review in Political Science* 2006 (volume 9): 425-53.
- Torben Iversen and David Soskice, "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others," *APSR*, 100:2 (May 2006): 165-181.
- Vivien A. Schmidt, "Putting the Political Back into Political Economy by Bringing the State Back in Yet Again," *World Politics* 61:3 (July 2009): 516-46.
- Douglas Hibbs, "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy," *APSR*, 71 (1977): 1467-87.
- Walter Korpi, "Power Resources and Employer Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism," *World Politics* 58 (2006): 167-206.
- Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *Politics against Markets* (1985).
- Peter Hall, *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France* (1986)
- Peter Hall and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage* (2002).
- Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State?* (1994).
- John Zysman, *Governments, Markets, and Growth: Financial Systems and the Politics of Industrial Change* (1983).
- James E. Alt, et al. 1996. "The Political Economy of International Trade: Enduring Puzzles and an Agenda for Inquiry," *Comparative Political Studies* 29(6): 689–717.

13. December 10 Comparative Political Economy: The Politics of Development and Distribution

The role of the state in development and distribution has been even greater in the later round of industrializers, mainly post-colonial (independent states only in the 1950s), and poorer, entering a world economy already defined by the interests and policies of "developed" countries. Did they have Gerschenkronian advantages as "latecomers" also or were their conditions different and, if so, to what effect? What is dependency theory, why was it created, and is it still relevant? What is the developmental state, how does it vary, and why? How do theories developed for the early industrializers and welfare states translate in these different conditions? What are they?

Required reading:

- Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Falletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (1979), preface to English edition, introduction, ch. 6, conclusion, and postscriptum (preface and 1-7, 149-216). (You would be well rewarded by reading the entire book; it is not long.)
- Peter Evans, *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation* (1995), chs. 1-3 and 10 (3-73 and 227-250).
- Patrick Heller, *The Labor of Development: Workers and the Transformation of Capitalism in Kerala, India* (1999), Introduction, ch. 1, and conclusion (1-50, 237-248).
- Robert Bates, *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies* (1981): 1-44 and 81-95. (The book is short; you could read the entire book.)
- Evelyn Huber, Francois Nielsen, Jenny Pribble, and John Stephens, "Politics and Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 71, No. 6 (December 2006): 943-963.
- Dani Rodrik, "Why Do More Open Economies Have Bigger Governments?" *Journal of Political Economy* 106 (1998).

Further reading:

- Peter Alexis Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization* 32:9 (Autumn 1978): 881-912.
- Robert Wade, *Governing the Market*, ch. 1 (8-33).
- Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy* (1982), chs. 1 and 9 (3-34 and 305-324).
- Stephan Haggard, *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in Newly Industrializing Countries* (1990): 9-22.
- David Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (1979): chs. 1 and 9 (19-32 and 363-97).
- Douglass North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance* (1991).
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