

Political Science 440A: Theories of Comparative Politics
Political Science Department, Stanford University
Instructors: Lisa Blaydes and David Laitin
Fall 2013
Seminar Meetings: Tuesdays 2:15 to 5:05PM

I. Course Purposes

This seminar is designed to serve these goals:

(1) To acquaint students with many the leading theories within the field of comparative politics. PS440A focuses on the state, the nation, the regime, and the quality of government. PS440B addresses political economy. In both quarters, students will be made aware of the relevant literatures so that they will be able to connect their own research work to broad disciplinary concerns. For PS440A, the weekly themes center on dependent variables, and the readings are oriented toward leading theories (or proposed independent variables) that account for inter-polity or inter-temporal variations on the values of those dependent variables. This course seeks to balance traditional macro sociological and contemporary microanalytic approaches to explain variation. Students will be exposed both to classic texts and to the state-of-the-art books and articles. There are, however, some major areas of comparative politics that will be largely ignored, *viz.* comparative electoral behavior, voting rules, and legislatures. Students should be aware that these topics, though fundamental to comparative politics, are not systematically addressed in this sequence.

(2) To provide examples of how best to prepare papers for their future submissions to field journals. Papers from the leading journals in the field, including World Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, and the American Political Science Review will be included in the readings. Students will be expected to peruse these journals on a regular basis not only to keep up with trends in the field, but also to learn the styles and forms of contributions to comparative politics.

(3) To sensitize students to the question of research strategies. The seminar will expose students to diverse methodological tools, in preparation for PS440C in which students will be asked to use a diverse set of tools to answer a well-specified and theoretically interesting question whose answer is worth knowing.

(4) To develop among students seminar skills. Students will be asked to write short papers to be delivered to the seminar group, and to engage in critical discussions of the presented papers. Much of the time within the seminar will be devoted to the presentation and defense of these papers.

II. Course Requirements

(1) Reading:¹

(a) Common Reading: students are expected to read all items listed for common reading that immediately follow the topic of the week, and are marked with an asterisk. Auxiliary readings (without asterisk) will be suggested. For books, specific pages will rarely be assigned. But students should attempt to extract as much as possible from the book in a few hours of reading. The purpose is to capture the broad contribution of these works rather than their specifics;

(b) Auxiliary Reading: students are expected to read beyond the common readings for their papers, if they are writing one for that week. Here the reading should be more careful, with specifics provided on data and arguments; if they are not writing a paper, they should read selectively through the auxiliary readings.

(c) Reading Fellow Students' Papers: All students should read the papers of the other students before the seminar meets (this means that students ought not have any obligations from 11PM through 2PM on Tuesdays)

(2) Writing: For four of the weekly sessions (any two from weeks 2-6; and any two from weeks 7-10), students will write a paper, to be completed by 5PM on the Monday before the seminar, with copies posted on the class website. These papers should be from 1,000 to 1,500 words. The criteria for an exemplary paper are ones that:

- a. Propose and defend a thesis that relates to the topic of the week;
- b. Address anticipated objections to the thesis; and
- c. Synthesize, in the course of the thesis defense, some of the relevant literature for that week such that students who read the paper but who have not read the pieces under discussion would be able to grasp their principal arguments and data employed in supporting them.

(3) Exam: In the 10th week, a take-home exam will be handed out, and the answers should be posted by Thursday of exam week, at 5PM.

III. Seminar Agenda

- 2:15-3:45 -- Open discussion of required readings
- 3:45-4:00 -- Break
- 4:00-4:50 -- Discussion of selected papers
- 4:50-5:05-- Literature Review for Subsequent Session

IV. Topics and Weekly Readings

A. The State

Week 1: The Modern State

¹ . Books placed on reserve are noted with an ®; this implies that the instructor holds the book to be of special importance. Older journal articles are available through JSTOR and need not be put on reserve.

i. Emergence of the State

- a) * Charles Tilly Coercion, Capital, and European States: AD 990-1990 ® Chs 1-4, 7
- b) * Douglass C. North Structure and Change in Economic History ® Chs. 3, 6, 15
- c) * Mancur Olson “Democracy, Dictatorship and Development” 1993 APSR
- d) * David Skarbak “Governance and Prison Gangs” APSR (November 2011)

- e) R. Bates Prosperity and Violence (Norton) ®
- f) C. Tilly “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime” in P. Evans et al., Bringing the State Back In ®
- g) H. Spruyt The Sovereign State and its Competitors (Princeton)
- h) M. Olson The Rise and Decline of Nations ®
- i) Karen Barkey Bandits and Bureaucrats (Cornell) ®
- j) G. Poggi The Development of the Modern State ®, Chs 2-5
- k) D.S. North, J.J. Wallace and B. R. Weingast (2009) Violence and Social Orders (Cambridge)

ii. Strength of the State

- a) * Alexander Gerschenkron Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective (Chs 1, 6 and Postscript) ®
- b) * Jeffrey Herbst States and Power in Africa (2000) ®
- c) * M. Levi Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism, Ch. 2 ®
- d) Kiren Aziz Chaudhry, “The Price of Wealth” International Organization 43(1) (Winter 1989)
- e) P. Schmitter, “Still the Century of Corporatism” in F. Pike and T. Storch, eds. The New Corporatism
- f) J. Migdal Strong Societies and Weak States ®
- g) G. O'Donnell Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism
- h) Thelen, Kathleen and Sven Steinmo (1992) “Historical Institutionalism in comparative politics” in Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen and Frank Longstreth Structuring Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1-32 ®

Week 2: Dynamics of State Institutions

- a) *S. Huntington. Political Order in Changing Societies ® Chs 1, 4-5
- b) * T. Skocpol States and Social Revolutions ® Chs 1-3
- c) L. Blaydes and E. Chaney “The Feudal Revolution and Europe’s Rise” APSR (February 2013)
- d) * Timur Kuran “Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989” World Politics (October 1991)
- e) * J. Scott Weapons of the Weak Ch 8 ®
- f) * A. Grief and D. Laitin (2004) “A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change” APSR 98(4)

- g) * Olsson, O. and C. Paik, "A Western Reversal Since the Neolithic?"
http://www.economics.handels.gu.se/digitalAssets/1439/1439753_reversal_final.pdf
- h) S. Solnick Stealing the State, ® Chs. 1-3
- i) Jack A. Goldstone Revolution and rebellion in the early modern world (California, 1991) ®
- j) Susanne Lohmann "Dynamics of Informational Cascades: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91" in World Politics (October 1994)
- k) T.R. Gurr Why Men Rebel?
- l) R. Petersen Resistance and Rebellion
- m) D. Hibbs Mass Political Violence

B. The Nation

Week 3: The Structure of Cleavages in the Polity

- a) * M. Weber "Class, Status, Party" in H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills From Max Weber ®
- b) * S.M. Lipset and S. Rokkan Party Systems and Voter Alignments (1967) [Introduction, pp 1-64] ®
- c) * D. Laitin "Hegemony and Religious Conflict", in Peter Evans et al Bringing the State Back In ®
- d) * R. Rogowski Commerce and Coalitions ® Ch. 1
- e) * D. Posner Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa ® Ch. 5
- f) * Avner Greif "Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies" Journal of Political Economy (1994, vol 102, no. 3, pp. 912-950)
- g) * R. Inglehart Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Countries (1990) ®, Ch 2
- h) * G. Akerlof and R. Kranton "Economics and Identity" QJE (August 2000)
- i) * D. Laitin "Marginality" (1995) Rationality and Society
- j) D. Kreps, "Corporate Culture and Economic Theory", in James Alt and Kenneth Shepsle, eds. Perspectives on Positive Political Economy ®
- k) Herbert Kitschelt The Radical Right in Western Europe Ch 1
- l) J. Wittenberg Crucibles of Political Loyalty, Introduction and Ch 1, pp. 1-54
- m) A. Przeworski and J. Sprague Paper Stones ®
- n) S. Kalyvas The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe ®
- o) D. Laitin Identity in Formation
- p) I. Katznelson and A. Zolberg Working Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and United States ®
- q) Ronald Suny Revenge of the Past
- r) K. Chandra Why Ethnic Parties Succeed ® Chap. 4

Week 4: Explaining Nationalism

- a) * E. Gellner Nations and Nationalism ® Chs 1-6
- b) * Robert Axelrod "Disseminating Culture" in The Complexity of Cooperation ®
- c) * P. Gourevitch "Political Leadership, Economic Growth and the Reemergence of Peripheral Nationalisms" in CSSH (1979)
- d) * D. Laitin Nations, States and Violence, ® Ch. 2

- e) Benedict Anderson Imagined Communities ®, Chs 1-7
- f) Anthony Smith Theories of Nationalism
- g) Elie Kedourie Nationalism
- h) John Armstrong Nations before Nationalism
- i) Karl Deutsch "The Trend of European Nationalism--the Language Aspect" APSR 36, 3 (June 1942), pp. 533-41.
- j) Eric Hobsbawm Nations and Nationalism Since 1780 ®
- k) R. Brubaker Nationalism Reframed (Cambridge) ®
- l) E.B. Haas Nationalism, Liberalism and Progress
- m) Eugen Weber Peasants into Frenchmen ®
- n) Michael Hechter Containing Nationalism

Week 5: Explaining Ethnic Cooperation and Violence

- a) * R. Bates "Modernization, Ethnic Competition and the Rationality of Politics in Contemporary Africa" in D. Rothchild and V. Olorunsola, eds., State versus Ethnic Claims ®
- b) * P. Brass "Theft of an Idol" in Theft of an Idol ®
- c) * James Fearon and David Laitin "Explaining Ethnic Cooperation" APSR (December 1996).
- d) * James Fearon and David Laitin "Ethnicity, Insurgency and Civil War" APSR (February 2003)
- e) * D. Horowitz Ethnic Groups in Conflict ® Chs 1-6
- f) * S. Wilkinson Votes and Violence (Cambridge), ® Chs 1-2, 6
- g) * S. Jha "Trade, Institutions and Religious Tolerance: Evidence from India" (http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=948734)
- h) J. Hainmueller and D. Hangartner "Who Gets a Swiss Passport?" APSR (February 2013)

- i) Stathis Kalyvas The Logic of Violence in Civil War ® Chs 7-9
- j) Jeremy Weinstein Inside Rebellion ® Ch 1
- k) Barry Posen, "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict" Survival 35, 1 (Spring 1993), pp. 27-47

- l) James Fearon (1998) "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict," in David A. Lake and Donald S. Rothchild, eds. The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict (Princeton: Princeton University Press)
- m) David Laitin "National Revivals and Violence" in European Journal of Sociology (Spring 1995)
- n) S. G. Vincentnathan "Caste Politics, Violence, and the Panchayat in a South Indian Community" CSSH 1996:484-509
- o) Stathis Kalyvas "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria," Rationality and Society, 1999
- p) Stephen Ellis The Mask of Anarchy ®
- q) Varshney, Ashutosh (2001) Ethnic Conflict and Civil Life: Hindus and Muslims in India ®
- r) L-E Cederman, N.B. Weidmann, and K.S. Gleditsch "Horizontal Inequalities and Ethnonationalist Civil War: A Global Comparison" APSR (August 2011)

C. The Regime

Week 6: The Historical Foundations of Regime Type

- a) * B. Moore, Jr. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy Chs 1-3, 6, and 7-9
- b) * R. Woodberry "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy" APSR (May 2012)
- c) * D. Stasavage "When Distance Mattered" Geographic Scale and the Development of European Representative Assemblies" APSR (November 2010)
- d) * C. Boix "Democracy, Development, and the International System" APSR (2011)
- e) * D. Acemoglu, S. Johnson, and J. Robinson "Reversal of Fortune" Quarterly Journal of Economics, 117, November 2002: pp. 1231-1294
- f) * J.G. Hariri "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood" APSR (November 2012)
- g) D. Ziblatt "How did Europe Democratize?" World Politics (January 2006)5
- h) N. Nunn "The Importance of History for Economic Development," Annual Review of Economics, Vol. 1, No. 1, September 2009, pp. 65-92.

Week 7: The Economic and Sociological Foundations of Regime Type

- a) * G. Almond and S. Verba The Civic Culture Chs 1, 12, 13
- b) * S.M. Lipset Political Man chs. 2-3
- c) *G. Luebbert "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe" World Politics (July 1987)

- d) * A. Przeworski et al Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990 (Cambridge Studies in the Theory of Democracy) ® Introduction, Chs 1-2, 5
- e) * D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy chaps. 1-3 ®
- f) * B. Ansell and D. Samuels “Inequality and Democracy: An Elite-Competition Approach”, Chaps. 1-2
- g) C. Boix Democracy and Redistribution (Cambridge) Introduction, Chs 1-2

Week 8: The Political and Strategic Sources of Regime Type

i. Theoretical Frameworks

- a) * A. Przeworski Democracy and the Market ®, chap., chap. 1
- b) * B. Weingast "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law" APSR (June 1997)

ii. Empirical Investigations

- a) * Ellen Lust-Okar Structuring Conflict in the Arab World (2005) Chap. 2
- b) * Beatriz Magaloni “Credible Power-sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule” Comparative Political Studies
- c) * Beatriz Magaloni Voting for Autocracy (2006) ® Introduction, Chap. 1
- d) * Jennifer Gandhi Political Institutions Under Dictatorship, Chaps. 3-5
- e) * Lisa Blaydes Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt, chap. 3
- f) R. Dahl Polyarchy ®
- g) Elizabeth J. Wood Forging Democracy from Below
- h) B. Magaloni "The Game of Electoral Fraud and the Ousting of Authoritarian Rule" (2010) *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 54. No. 3
- i) Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski “Cooperation, Cooptation, and Rebellion under Dictatorships” Economics and Politics. 18(1).
- j) C. Boix and S. Stokes “Endogenous Democratization” World Politics 55 (2003)
- k) A. Díaz Cayeros and B. Magaloni "From Authoritarianism to Democracy: the Gradual Transition in Mexico” Journal of Theoretical Politics 13 (3) July 2001, pp. 271-94
- l) O'Donnell, G, Schmitter, P and Whitehead L. Transitions From Authoritarian Rule
- m) Barbara Geddes “Why Parties and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes?” Available at [www.yale.edu/leitner/Authoritarian%20Elections.doc]

D. The Quality of Government

Week 9: Motivation and the Problems of Agency

i. Motivation

- a) * Rose-Ackerman, S. *Corruption and Government* chaps. 2-3
- b) * Rothstein, B. *The Quality of Government* chaps. 2-3
- c) Quality of Government Institute Dataset
(<http://www.qog.pol.gu.se/data/datadownloads/qogstandarddata/>)

ii. Executives vs. Legislatures (the problem of moral hazard)

- a) * North, D. and B. Weingast (1989) "Constitutions and Commitment" *The Journal of Economic History* 49 (4): 803-32
- b) * Stasavage, D. *Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State* chaps. 1, 5
- c) * Rodden, J. *Hamilton's Paradox* chap. 3
- d) Cox, G. (2011) "War, Moral Hazard, and Ministerial Responsibility: England after the Glorious Revolution" *Journal of Economic History* 71 (1): 133-61

iii. Voters and Executives (the problem of adverse selection)

- a) * Besley, T. *Principled Agents?* ® chap. 3 (98-123; 165-66)
- b) * Fearon, J. "Electoral Accountability and the Control of Politicians". In Przeworski, A., S. Stokes and B. Manin *Democracy Accountability and Representation* pp. 55-97
- c) Ferejohn, J. "Accountability and Authority". In Przeworski, A., S. Stokes and B. Manin *Democracy Accountability and Representation* pp. 131-53

Week 10: Sources of Corruption and Inefficiency

i. Bureaucracies and their Clients (the problem of corruption)

- a) * Diaz-Cayeros, A., F. Estévez and B. Magaloni. *Strategies of Vote Buying: Poverty, Democracy and Social Transfers in Mexico* Chapters 6 and 7
- b) * Geddes, B. "A Game Theoretic Model of Reform in Latin American Democracies," *American Political Science Review* 85:2 (1991), 371-92.
- c) * Finan, F. and C. Ferraz (2011) "Electoral Accountability and Corruption in Local Governments: Evidence from Audit Reports" *American Economic Review*, 101: 1274-1311.
- d) * Ichino, N. and M. Schuendeln (2012) "Deterring or Displacing Electoral Irregularities? Spillover Effects of Observers in a Randomized Field Experiment in Ghana." *Journal of Politics* 74(1): 292-307.
- e) Rose-Ackerman, S. *Corruption and Government* chaps.7-8

ii. Diversity

- a) * Alesina, A., R. Baqir, and W. Easterly (1999) "Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions". *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 114(4):1243-84.
- b) * Wantchekon, L. (2004) "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence From a Field Experiment in Benin". *World Politics*. 55(3):399-422.
- c) * Habyarimana, J., M. Humphreys, D. Posner, and J. Weinstein (2007) "Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?" *APSR*.

iii. Political Institutions

- a) * Przeworski, A, M. Alvarez, J-A. Cheibub, and F. Limongi *Democracy and Development* Chap. 4
- b) * Magaloni, B. *Voting for Autocracy*, chap. 4
- c) * Olken, B. 2008. "Direct Democracy and Local Public goods: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia" *APSR*, May 2010
- d) * Gary Cox "The power of the purse and the budgetary reversion"
- e) * Keefer, P. "Collective Action, Political Parties and Pro-development Public Policy" World Bank Policy Research Working paper 5676 The World Bank Development Research Group June 2011
- f) Chhibber, P. and I. Nooruddin 2004. "Do Party Systems Count? The Number of Parties and Government Performance in the Indian States", *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(2):152-187.
- g) Besley, T. and M. Kudamatsu "Making Autocracy Work" May 2007 The Suntory Centre Suntory and Toyota International Centres for Economics and Related Disciplines London School of Economics and Political Science Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE

iv. Civil Society

- a) * Putnam, R. *Making Democracy Work* (Princeton, 1993)
- b) * Berman, S. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" *World Politics* (April 1997)
- c) * Tsai, L. 2007. "Solidarity Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China" *APSR* 101(2).

v. Leadership

- a) * Olken, B. and B. Jones (2005) "Do Leaders Matter? National Leadership and Growth since World War II" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 120 (3): 835-864

V. Students with Disabilities

Students who may need an academic accommodation based on the impact of a disability must initiate the request with the Office of Accessible Education (OAE). Professional staff will evaluate the request with required documentation, recommend reasonable accommodations, and prepare an Accommodation Letter for faculty dated in the current quarter in which the request is being made. Students should contact the OAE as soon as possible since timely notice is needed to coordinate accommodations. The OAE is located at 563 Salvatierra Walk (phone: 723-1066, URL: <http://studentaffairs.stanford.edu/oe>).