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M.A. Seminar 2019/2020 FOUNDATIONS OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS (Grundlegende Texte - Vergleichende Politik) 300.560 (2SSt PS, WS 2019/2020) 6 ECTS THURSDAYS 9h00-11h00 PR 115B (RU42OG1.115b)

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This is an introductory "core" course in comparative politics, intended for MA and PhD students in political science. This course will survey major topics and the most important theoretical and conceptual building blocks in the sub-field of comparative politics. In particular, this seminar will examine: the formation and development of the modern state; democracy; authoritarianism; revolution and political stability; nationalism; political culture; voters and parties; constitutional arrangements and their effects and macro theories of political change.

The course proceeds thematically, with participants discussing a subset of the pertinent scholarly literature every week. Discussion should focus on a major theoretical or empirical controversy. Key methodological issues are addressed in the context of each theme. The emphasis will be placed on causality and finding out what makes for good and convincing arguments.

The course is a graduate seminar, which means that class time will be devoted exclusively to the discussion of the assigned readings, rather than to lecturing. Participants should read the assigned material for the week *before* class. We will focus on certain key elements in conducting and evaluating social science analyses. In particular, we will consider:

- Identifying central issues and key debates;
- The importance of theory/model development based on clearly-drawn mechanisms;
- Generating testable implications;
- Linking hypotheses and theory;
- The importance of assumptions;
- Evaluating the main theoretical strengths and weaknesses of major studies;
- Effective approaches to presenting your work;

Class will meet every Thursday from 9h00 to 11h00 in PR 115B (RU42OG1.115b) starting October 3 2019 until 30.01.2020. This seminar and its evaluation will be conducted in English. I will make the additional materials you will need for this course available on the portal blackboard, within the limits of legality, of course. Since the recommended literature is large, the burden of procuring some of the readings will be on you.

COURSE SCHEDULE

- 1. 3 October: Organizational Session and Introduction
- 2. 10 October: The State
- 3. 17 October: Political Order and Regime Emergence
- 4. 24 October: Regimes and Democratization
- 5. 7 November: Political Instability, Violence, Revolutions
- 6. 14 November: Nationalism
- 7. 21 November: Political Culture

- 8. 28 November: Civil Society
- 9. 5 December: Institutions and Institutional Analysis
- 10. 12 December: Elections, Electoral Systems and Voting
- 11. 19 December: Political Parties and Party Systems
- 12. 9 January: Presidentialism and executives
- 13. 16 January: Parliamentary Systems and Legislatures
- 14. 23 January: Varieties of Democracies and Consequences
- 15. 30 January: Women and/in Politics

Sprechstunde:

By appointment

REQUIREMENTS:

The following is required of all students enrolled in this course:

- 1) To attend all class meetings;
- 2) To do all required readings;
- 3) To participate actively in the class discussions;
- 4) To prepare weekly short handouts;
- 5) To select by October 17 one of 2 tracks;

Grade breakdown:

-Participation: 30% -Weekly handouts: 10% -Track option total: 60%

Weekly Short Reviews

(MA Students one <u>each</u> week, BA students = 6)

These should be concise reviews of the current week's required readings. Keep them to one/two page, single-spaced maximum. Your short reviews do not need to be in a continuous text form, they can be a series of points. These are due in class each week, beginning on October 10. Because they are meant to encourage you to think about the readings before you come to class, no late reviews will be accepted. If you chose track 1, you do not have to submit a "weekly short review" if you submit a discussion paper.

In your reviews, you should:

- Summarize the main arguments of the readings for the week. What are the readings about? How do they relate to each other? (Keep this part short – half of the page, maximum)
- 2. Critique the readings consider methodology, logic, biases, omissions, etc. Do the authors prove what they propose convincingly? Why or why not?
- 3. Identify at least 3 questions that you would like to discuss in class.

TRACK 1: Series of discussion papers (60%) Master students with 6 ECTS: 5 Discussion Papers + Discussion leadership BA students: 4 Discussion Papers

Discussion Leadership

You will serve as the class discussion leader once during the semester. After I give a short, general overview of the week's topic, we will discuss the readings individually. You will briefly (in 2-3 minutes) introduce each reading by reminding the class of the author's main argument and the method(s) he/she uses to support that argument. Then you will lead the discussion by raising questions about the readings. Think of this as an extension of your one-page review – deal with the same issues, but in more detail.

Discussion papers

<u>Discussion papers are about 7-8 pages</u> each, and <u>focus on at least 4</u> of the weekly readings (your pick among required or recommended). The papers should be literature reviews of the readings with a twist. That is, they present a sketch of the major theories (explanations) and the results of your own assessment, <u>focused around a question of your choice</u> (think about something to really unite the readings to a common theme, some time that could be asked at an MA exam, for example). Some of the best examples of this type of literature review of several books appear in *World Politics* and *The Annual Review of Political Science.* You may want to look at some of review essays in journals before you write your own. You should address the 3 following points.

1) What are the authors trying to demonstrate? Summarize the arguments using the following criteria:

- a. What are the main hypotheses defended by the authors? Are there sub-hypotheses?
- b. What are the main variables? What is the theoretical argument that links the variables?
- c. What level of analysis is used? (Micro or macro) Who performs the action: people, institutions, states?
- d. What is the type of analysis used (Deductive/inductive)
- e. What kind of method is the author employing? (Case studies, comparison of many cases, qualitative, quantitative, a mix of methods)

2) Evaluate the theory: are these pieces of literature convincing? Below are some examples of evaluation criteria to help you make your point. You do not need to deal with all these items at once, just those you feel are relevant to your argument.

- a. Originality: new findings? New theory?
- b. Simplicity/parsimony (uses many or few variables to make a point?)
- c. Coherent/internally consistent (no propositions that contradict each other)
- d. pertinent/useful (you can apply this to real world cases)
- e. Predictive (you can make predictions using this theory, and if the predictions coming from it are validated by facts)
- f. Is this generalizable to many cases/countries, or just applicable to a single/few cases?
- g. Does it seem normative or objective? (Do the authors speak about how things are in the real world, or how things should be?)
- h. Are the variables adequately conceptualized and operationalized? Are the concepts clear? Were the measures chosen to evaluate concepts adequate?
- i. Was the choice of design acceptable, or could you recommend a better way to test the theory?

3) What links the articles together? Which of the theories proposed is most adequate and why, at least with respect to the question you have posed. Keep in mind that mature scholarship asks not so much whether someone is right or wrong but under what kinds of circumstances a theory is useful... What do we know about a particular topic, what do we still need to find out?

<u>Papers are due no later than class time.</u> I cannot accept late papers because that would put those who complied with the deadline at a disadvantage (e.g. after the class discussion on the topic). If you think you will fail to meet the deadline, then you should plan to submit a later paper. You have the control over which papers you choose to write, and that flexibility should be sufficient to make sure you plan your schedule so that all your deadlines do not coincide. You should write at least one paper before October 24th

Note: This option makes most sense if you are not sure what you want to write your MA thesis on, but know that you will take the MA oral exam in comparative politics.

TRACK 2: Literature Review (60%) (Deadline February 24 2020) Master students with 6 ECTS: 20 pages + written proposal

BA students: 17-18 pages + written proposal

The literature review should be a synthesis on a topic you have negotiated with me, of course, related to this class (e.g. If you decide to write a literature review, you should meet with me to discuss the topic). Your paper should examine the relevant literature with a critical viewpoint regarding theoretical and empirical developments. You should discuss the strengths and limitations of methodological or conceptual conventions in that literature, as well as the importance and relevance of the questions around which it is organized. Your literature review should therefore have a *critical* core, and not just be descriptive. It goes without saying that I expect you to expand significantly on the required + recommended readings. Recommended readings may be a good start for further reading, but the review should not be limited to the readings in the syllabus. Be creative.

Note: This option makes most sense if you are thinking of writing a Master's thesis on one of the topics.

You should submit a written proposal of what you intend to work on by November 14th.

READINGS

The reading load for this course will seem heavy at first sight. I have selected sections from a various amount of articles and books to cover topics in order to permit interesting comparisons and some disagreement on certain issues. The secret to cope with a bulk of reading is to skim strategically: Knowing how to *skim* readings is an important professional skill for students (you cannot realistically be expected to read ALL the materials for each class you are taking, right?). In most cases, you can skim the empirical details, especially if they are buried in complex formulas. For this, you need to read purposefully, and look out for the important "stuff" in a text:

- The central question or puzzle the author seeks to answer or resolve;
- The definition of the dependent variable, or what the author wants to explain;
- The main independent variables the author(s) thinks are at work;
- The theory, or the rationale, that links independent to dependent variables; why should certain things be related?
- The author's research design: the types of evidence used to test hypotheses, where the evidence comes from, and if you are convinced by it all.

LATE PAPER POLICY

I understand that printers break, dogs/uncles/grandmas sometimes die, and hard drives often fail around final paper due dates. I will accept track 2 papers late, but each late day will cost you 5% of your grade. (Weekly review papers and discussion papers cannot be handed in late for the above cited reasons).

PLAGIARISM

A note on plagiarism. Full citations must be included for every source you utilize, including those you paraphrase even loosely. Citations must be included if you paraphrase another author, or if you use another's ideas, even if not the exact words. You should select a standard citation style and stick to it. Lifting papers from the internet will be punished by a failing grade and reported to the appropriate authorities.

COURSE READINGS AND CONTENT:

WEEK 1 (3 October): Organizational Session and Introduction

Required Reading

• King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp. 3-114.

• Laitin, David D. 2002. Comparative Politics: The State of the Subdiscipline", in Katznelson, Ira., Milner, Helen (eds.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*. New York: WW Norton.

WEEK 2 (10 October): The State

Required readings

- Olson, Mancur. 2000. "The Criminal Metaphor," in *Power and Prosperity*. NY: Basic Books, pp. 3-24.
- Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States AD 990-1992*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, Chapter 1 (Chapter 3 also recommended).
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 1990. "War and the State in Africa," International Security 14 (Spring): 117-39.
- Michael Mann. 1984. "The autonomous power of the state: its origins, mechanisms and results." *European Journal of Sociology* 25(2): 185-213.

Readings to go further

- Anderson, Lisa. 1986. *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya 1830-1980.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Anderson, Perry. 1979. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: Verso Editions.
- Almond, Gabriel A. 1988. "The Return of the State," and replies by Eric A. Nordlinger, Theodore J. Lowi and Sergio Fabbrini, *American Political Science Review*, 82 (September): 875-901.
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. 1997. "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America." *American Journal of Sociology* 102, no. 6: 1565–605.
- Evans, Peter B. et al. 1985. *Bringing the State Back*. NY: Cambridge University Press, pp. 3-77.
- Hintze, Otto. 1975. *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. Edited by Felix Gilbert, with the assistance of Robert M. Berdahl. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jackson, Robert H. and Carl G. Rosberg. 1982. "Why Africa's weak states persist: the empirical and juridical in statehood", *World Politics* 35: 1-24.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1984. "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," *Comparative Politics* 16 (1): 223-246.
- Levi, Margaret. 2002. "The state of the study of the state" in Katznelson, Ira, Milner, Helen (eds.). *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*. New York: WW Norton.
- Migdal, Joel. 1997. "Studying the State" in Mark Irving Lichbach, and Alan S. Zuckerman. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Chapter 8.
- North, Douglass. 1981. Structure and Change in Economic History. NY: WW Norton. Chapter 3.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1985. "Bringing the State Back In," in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.) *Bringing the State Back In.* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Spruyt, Hendrick. 1994. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-2, 9.
- Spruyt, Hendrick. 2002. "The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State." In Nelson Polsby (ed.), *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 5, Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, pp. 127-149.
- Tilly, Charles. 1986. "Reflections on the History of European State-Making," in Tilly (ed.), *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 3-83.
- Vu, Tuong. 2010. "Studying the State through State Formation," *World Politics* 62, 1 (January): 148-75.

WEEK 3 (17 October): Political Orders and Regime Emergence

Required readings

• Moore Barrington. 1966. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World. Boston: Beacon Press. Chapters 1-3, Chapters 7-9 and epilogue.

- Lipset, Seymour M. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53: 69-105.
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49 (January).
- Boix, Carles and S. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." World Politics 55 (July): 517-49.

Readings to go further (see also next week)

- Ishiyama, John T. 2012. *Comparative Politics. Principles of Democracy and Democratization*. Chapters 2-3.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1973. "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins," *Politics and Society* 4 (Fall): 1-34.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2.
- Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3.

WEEK 4 (24 October): Regimes & Democratization

Required readings

- Dahl, Robert. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1 + 3-7.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. Chapters 1-2.
- Haggard, S. Kaufman, R. 2016. "Democratization during the Third Wave." Annual Review of *Political Science* 19: 125-144.

- Geddes, Barbara. 2009. "What Causes Democratization," in Charles Boix, and Susan C. Stokes. Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics. Chapter 14.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.). 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives. Volume 4: Tentative Conclusions and Uncertain Democracies.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 1-72.
- Shapiro, Ian. 2002. "The State of Democratic Theory" in Katznelson, Ira., Milner, Helen (eds.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, New York, WW Norton.
- Rustow, Dankwart. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2: 337-364.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1-2, pp. 13-141.
- Hellman, Joel. 1998. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* 50 (January).
- North, Douglass. 1990. Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Part 2.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 1987. "Redemocratization and Transition Elections: A Comparison of Spain and Portugal," *Comparative Politics* 19 (2): 213-232.
- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Democracy.* Cambridge University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1984. "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" *Political Science Quarterly*, 99 (Summer): 193-218.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich. 1991., "Different Methods, Contradictory Results? Research on Development and Democracy," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 32(1-2): 9-38.

- Burkhart, Ross E. and Michael Lewis-Beck. 1994. "Comparative Democracy: The Economic Development Thesis." *APSR*, 88 (4): 903-910.
- Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman. 1995. The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. 2007., "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (11): 1279-1301.

WEEK 5 (7 November): Political Instability, Violence, Revolutions

Required readings

- Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1, 3 & 7.
- Scott, James C. 1976. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. Yale. Chapters 1-2.
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989 (in Liberalization and Democratization in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe)," *World Politics* 44 (October): 7-48.

Readings to go further

- Kalyvas, Stathis. 2007. "Civil Wars." In Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds. Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics. Oxford University Press. Chapter 18.
- Laitin, David and James D. Fearon. 1996. "Explaining Ethnic Cooperation," American Political Science Review 90: 715-35.
- Fearon, James D. and David Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," American Political Science Review 97 (February): 75-90.
- Londregan, John and Keith Poole. 1990. "Poverty, the Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power," *World Politics*, 1-19.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 1970. Why Men Rebel.
- Gurr, Ted Robert. 1973. "The Revolution-Social Change Nexus," *Comparative Politics*, 5 (April): 359-392.
- Migdal, Joel. 1974. *Peasants, Politics and Revolution: Pressures Towards Political and Social Change in the Third World*, pp. 226-256.
- Tilly, Charles. 1975. "Revolution and Collective Violence," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science* 3: 483-547.
- Schulze, H. 1996. *States, Nations, and Nationalism: from the Middle Ages to the Present.* Oxford: Blackwell
- Laitin, David. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Laitin, David. 1985. "Hegemony and Religious Conflict," in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (eds.), *Bringing the State Back In.* New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 285-316.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-2.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 3-42, 161-171.

WEEK 6 (14 November): Nationalism

Required readings

- Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. pp. 1-7 and 141-154.
- Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1, 4-5, 7-10.

• Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics*. 59: 1, 83-115.

<u>Readings to go further</u>

- Hobsbawn, E. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'leary, Brendan. 1997. "On the Nature of Nationalism: An Appraisal of Ernest Gellner's Writings on Nationalism." British Journal of Political Science. Vol 27(191-222).

WEEK 7 (21 November): Political Culture

Required readings

- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "Thick Description: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, New York: Basic Book, pp.3-30.
- Posner, Daniel. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Differences: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98:529-46.
- Ross, Marc Howard. 1997. "Culture in Comparative Political Analysis," in Mark Irving Lichbach, and Alan S. Zuckerman. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Chapter 3.

Readings to go further

- Dalton, Russell J. 2014. "Political Culture and Value Change," (with Christian Welzel), in Russell Dalton and Christian Welzel (eds.). *The Civic Culture Transformed*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Almond, Gabriel, and Sydney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture. Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP. Chapters 1, 5 and 13.
- Jackman, Robert W. and Ross A. Miller. 1996. A Renaissance of Political Culture? *American Journal of Political Science* 40(3): 632-659.
- Eckstein, Harry. 1988. "A Culturalist Theory of Political Change." APSR 82(3): 787-804.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1993. "The Clash of Civilizations?" Foreign Affairs. 72(3): 22-49.
- Lane, Ruth. 1992. "Political Culture: Residual Category or General Theory?" *Comparative Political Studies* 25(3): 362 ff.
- Laitin, David. 1995. "Political Culture at 30" American Political Science Review. 89(1):168-73.
- Muller, Edward N. and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1994. "Civic culture and democracy: The question of causal relationships" *The American Political Science Review* 88(3): 635-652.
- Seligson, Mitchell. A. 2002. 'The renaissance of political culture or the renaissance of the ecological fallacy?' *Comparative Politics.* 34 (3): 273.
- Swedlow, Brendon. 2011. "A Cultural theory of Politics," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44 (4): 703-710.
- Elkins, David J. and Richard E.B. Simeon. 1979. "A Cause in Search of Its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics* 11: 127-146.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 2002. "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science." APSR 96(4): 713-728.
- Wildavsky, Aaron. 1987. "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation." *The American Political Science Review* 81(1): 3-22.

WEEK 8 (28 November): Civil Society and Social Capital

Required readings

- Putnam, Robert D. 1993. Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapters 1, 3, 4 and 6.
- Berman, Sheri. 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49: 401-439.

- Levi, Margaret. 1996. "Social and Unsocial Capital: A Review Essay of Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work." *Politics & Society* 24(1): 45-55.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1996. "Making Social Science Work across Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work". *APSR* 90(2): 389-397.

Readings to go further

- Banfield, Edward C. 1958. *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press and the critique in Alessandro Pizzorno, "Amoral Familism and Historical Marginality," in Mattei Dogan and Richard Rose (eds.). 1971. *European Politics: A Reader*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Coleman, James. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 95-120.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78: 1360-1380.
- Harris, Hose. 2008. "Development of Civil Society" in Rhodes, R. A. W., Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Chapter 8.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1990. Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP. Introduction and Chapters 1-4 + 13.
- Skocpol, Theda, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson. 2000. "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 94(3): 527-546.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." Journal of Democracy 6(1): 65-78.
- Sander, T. and Putnam, R. 2010. "Still Bowling alone? The post-9/11 split." *Journal of Democracy* 21(1): 9-16.
- Verba, Sidney. 2006. "The Origins and Political Consequences of Social Capital." *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

WEEK 9 (5 December): Institutions and Institutional Analysis

Required readings

- Hall, Peter and Rosemary Taylor. 1996. 'Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms." *Political Studies* 44: 936-957.
- Pierson, Paul and Theda Skocpol. 2002. "Historical institutionalism in contemporary political science", in Katznelson, Ira, Milner, Helen (eds.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, New York, WW Norton.
- Mackay, F., Kenny, M., and Chappell. 2010. "New Institutionalism through a Gender Lens: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism." *International Political Science Review* 31(5): 573-588.

- March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen. 2008. Elaborating the "New Institutionalism" in Rhodes, R. A. W., Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Chapter 1 (pp.3-22).
- Riker, William. 1980. "Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions." *The American Political Science Review* 74(2): 432-446.
- Ordeshook, Peter C. 1980. "Political Disequilibrium and Scientific Inquiry: A Comment on William Riker's 'Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions'," *The American Political Science Review* 74(2): 447-450.
- Ordeshook, Peter C. 1990. "The Emerging Discipline of Political Economy," in James E. Alt and Kenneth A. Shepsle, eds., *Perspectives on Positive Political Economy*, pp. 9-30.
- Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1989. "Studying Institutions: Some Lessons from the Rational Choice Approach," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1(2): 131-147.

- Diermeier, Daniel, Keith Krehbiel. 2003. "Institutionalism as a Methodology," J Theoretical Politics 15(2): 123-44.
- North, Douglass. 1981. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. NY: WW Norton. Chapter 4 ("A Framework for Analyzing Economic Organization in History," pp. 33-44).
- North, Douglass and Barry Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England," *Journal of Economic History* 49(4): 803-832.
- Williamson, Oliver E. 2000. "The New Institutional Economics: Taking Stock, Looking Ahead," *Journal of Economic Literature* 38 (September): 595-613.
- Pierson, Paul. 2004. Politics in Time: History, Institutions and Social Analysis. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press. Chapters 1-3.
- Weingast, Barry R. 2002. "Rational-choice institutionalism", in Katznelson, Ira, Milner, Helen (eds.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline*, New York, WW Norton.
- March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen. 1996. "Institutional Perspectives on Political Institutions." *Governance* 9(3): 247-64.
- Greif, Avner and David Laitin. 2004. A theory of endogenous institutional change", *APSR*: 633-652.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. 2008. "Rational Choice Institutionalism" in Rhodes, R. A. W., Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Chapter 2 (pp.23-38).

WEEK 10 (12 December): Elections, Electoral Systems and Voting

Required readings

- Farrell, David M. 2011. *Electoral systems: a comparative introduction*. Palgrave, chapters 1, 7-10.
- Riker, William H. 1982, "The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law." *American Political Science Review* 76(4): 753-766.
- Grofman, Bernard. 2016. "Perspectives on the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems" *Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol. 19:523-540.

- 2013. "Symposium: Between Science and Engineering: Reflections of the APSA Presidential Task Force on Political Science, Electoral Rules, and Democratic Governance." *Perspectives on Politics* 11(3): 808-840 (all contributions).
- Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93(3): 609-24.
- Bowler, Shaun. 2008. "Electoral Systems". in Rhodes, R. A. W., Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Chapter 1 (pp.3-22).
- Cox, Gary and Amorim Neto, Octavio. 1997. "Electoral institutions, cleavage structures, and the number of parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1): 149-174.
- Cusack, Thomas R., Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 373-91.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1951/1959. *Political Parties*. New York: Wiley.
- Golder, Matt. 2005. "Democratic Electoral Systems around the World, 1946-2000." *Electoral Studies* 24: 103-121.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1990. "The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws, 1945-1985". American Political Science Review 84: 481-496.
- Lijphart, Arend. *Patterns of Democracy*. Chapters 5 and 8.
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering. Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-5.
- Powell, G. Bingham Jr. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-2, and 10

- Rae, Douglas W. 1967. The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Rokkan, Stein. 1970. Citizens, Elections, Parties. New York: David McKay.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shugart, Matthew S. 2004. "Comparative Electoral Systems Research: The Maturation of a Field and New Challenges Ahead." In Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell (Eds.) *The Politics of Electoral Systems* Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2 (pp.27-56).

WEEK 11 (19 December): Political Parties and party systems

Required readings

- Mair, Peter (ed.). 1990. *The West European Party System*. New York: Oxford University Press.
 - Ch. 9 (Lipset & Rokkan) pp. 91-138,
 - Ch. 24 (Sartori) pp. 316-49.
- Katz, Richard S. and Peter Mair. 1995. "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1(1): 5-28.
- Dalton, Russell J. and Martin P. Wattenberg (eds.). 2000. *Parties without Partisans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 2 and 3.

- Aldrich, John H. 1995. *Why Parties? The Origins and Transformation of Party Politics in America* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 3-61.
- Aldrich, John H. 2008. "Political Parties In and Out of Legislatures." In R.A.W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, Bert A. Rockman (eds), The *Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 28.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. and Kaare Strom (eds.). 1999. *Policy, Office, or Votes: How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.
- Panebianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Epstein, Leon D. 1980. *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Kitschelt, Herbert P. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation: Ecological Politics in Belgium and West Germany.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert P. 1995. The Radical Right in Western Europe. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert P. 1994. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 30-149, 198-232, 280-301.
- Kitschelt, Herbert P. 2008, "Party Systems" In R.A.W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder, Bert A. Rockman (eds), The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2
- Kitschelt, H. et al., Post-Communist Party Systems. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven I. Wilkinson. 2007. "Citizen-politician linkages: an introduction." In Patrons, Clients, and Politics: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition, edited by Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper.
- Müller, Wolfgang C. 2003. Political parties in parliamentary democracies: Making delegation and accountability work" *European Journal of Political Research*. 37(3):309-333.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy R. Scully (eds.). 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapter 1.

• Sartori, Giovanni. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

WEEK 12 (9 January): Presidentialism and executives

Required readings

- Shugart, Matthew and John Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2.
- Linz, Juan J. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." Journal of Democracy, Vol 1(1): 51-69.
- Cheibub, Jose Antonio, Zachary Elkins and tom Ginsburg. 2014. "Beyond Presidentialism and Parliamentarism." *British Journal of Political Science*. Vol 44 (3): 515-544.
- Siaroff, Alan. 2003. "Comparative presidencies: The inadequacy of the presidential, semipresidential and parliamentary distinction." *European Journal of Political Research*. 42: 285-312.

Readings to go further

- Samuels, David J. and Matthew S. Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3.
- Carey, John M. and Matthew S. Shugart (eds.). 1998. *Executive Decree Authority*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cheibub, Jose Antonio. 2007. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cheibub, José, Adam Przeworski, and Sebastian Saiegh. 2004. "Government Coalitions and Legislative Success Under Presidentialism and Parliamentarism," *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 565-587.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1980 "A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government," *European Journal of Political Research* 8(2): 165-87
- Frye, Timothy. 1997. "A Politics of Institutional Choice: Post-Communist Presidencies." *Comparative Political Studies* 30(5): 523-552.
- Horowitz, Donald L. Seymour Martin Lipset, and Juan J. Linz. 1996. "Debate--Presidents vs. Parliaments," *Journal of Democracy* 1(4): 73-91.
- Lijphart, Arend ed. 1992. *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. Oxford: Oxford UP. Introduction, pp. 1-27.
- Linz, Juan J. "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does it Make a Difference?" from *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-75.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1993. "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination." *Comparative Political Studies* 26(2): 198-228.
- Shugart, Matthew and Scott Mainwaring. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Chapters 1 and 11; pp. 12-54, 440-60.
- Shugart, Matthew S. 2008. "Comparative Executive Legislative Relations" in Rhodes, R. A. W., Sarah A. Binder, and Bert A. Rockman (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Chapter 1 (pp.3-22).
- Stepan, Alfred, and Cindy Skach. "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Presidentialism versus Parliamentarism," *World Politics*, 46 October 1993, pp. 1-22.

WEEK 13 (16 January): Parliamentary Systems and Legislatures

Required readings

- Strøm, Kaare. 2000. "Delegation and accountability in Parliamentary Democracies." *European Journal of Political Science* 37(3): 261-289.
- Huber, John. 1996. "The Vote of Confidence in Parliamentary Democracies," *American Political Science Review.*
- Cox, Gary W. 1987. *The Efficient Secret*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

• Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Chapter 6 (pp.90-115).

Readings to go further

- Müller, Wolfgang C. and Strøm, Kaare. 2000. "Coalition Governance in Western Europe. An Introduction." In *Coalition Governments in Western Europe*, Müller, Wolfgang C. and Strøm, Kaare (ed.). Oxford University Press, pp.1-31.
- Bowler, Sean, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz (eds.). 1999. *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Cox, Gary W. and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative Leviathan: Party Government in the House*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Fearon, James. 1999. "Electoral Accountability and the Control of Politicians" in *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*, ed. by Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, Bernard Manin, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Laver, Michael J. and Kenneth A. Shepsle (eds.). 1994. *Cabinet Members and Parliamentary Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle. 1999. "Government Accountability in Parliamentary Democracy, in Manin, Przeworski, and Stokes (eds.) *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 279-96.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Manin, Bernard and Adam Przeworski and Susan Stokes. 1999. "Introduction" + "Elections and Representation" in *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*, ed. by Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, Bernard Manin, New York: Cambridge University Press. C.
- Samuels, David J. and Matthew S. Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, Chapters 1-3, 5, and 9.
- Strøm, Kaare & Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman (eds.). 2003. *Delegation and Accountability Parliamentary Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 3 and 22.
- Tsebelis, George. 2002. *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction and Chapters 1-3.

WEEK 14 (23 January): Varieties of Democracies and Consequences

Required readings

- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-3 (pp.9-47) and Chapters 14-17 (pp.243-308).
- Fortin, Jessica. 2008. "Patterns of Democracy? Counterevidence from Nineteen Post-Communist Countries." *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* (Comparative Governance and Politics) 2(1): 198-220.
- Iversen, Torben and David Soskice. 2006. Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More than Others." American Political Science Review 100(2): 165-181.

<u>Readings to go further</u>

- Riker, William H. 1982. *Liberalism against Populism* Prospect Heights: Waveland Press. Chapter 1.
- Schmidt, Manfred G. 2002. Political performance and types of democracy: Findings from comparative studies. *European Journal of Political Research*. 41(1): 147-163.
- Anderson, Christopher J. and Christine A. Guillory. 1997. "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: A Cross-National Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems." *APSR* 91(1): 66-81.

- Taagepera, Rein. 2003. "Arend Lijphart's Dimensions of Democracy: Logical Connections and Institutional Design." *Political Studies* 51: 1-19.
- Siaroff, Alan. 2003. "Varieties of Parliamentarianism in the Advanced Industrial Democracies." *International Political Science Review/ Revue internationale de science politique* 24: 445-464.
- Roberts, Andrew. 2006. "What Type of Democracy is Emerging in Eastern Europe?" *Post-Soviet Affairs* 22(1): 37-64.
- Roller, Edeltraud. 2005. *The Performance of Democracies. Political Institutions and Public Policy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Armingeon, Klaus. 2002. The Effects of Negotiation Democracy: A Comparative Analysis. *European Journal of Political Research* 1: 81-125.
- Aghion, Philippe, Alberto Alesina, and Francesco Trebbi. 2002. Endogenous Political Institutions. In *NBER Working Papers 9006*: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2000. "The Uneasy Relationship between Empirical and Normative Types of Consociational Theory." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12: 395-424.
- Crepaz, Markus, T. Koelble, and D. Wilsford, eds. 2000. *Democracy and Institutions The Life Work of Arend Lijphart*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Kaiser, André, Matthias Lehnert, Bernhard Miller, and Ulrich Sieberer. 2002. The Democratic Quality of Institutional Regimes: a Conceptual Framework. *Political Studies* 50: 313-331.
- Bingham Powell Jr. G. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 3 (pp.47-68), 6-9 (pp.122-232).
- Golder, Matt. 2003. Explaining Variation in the Success of Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 36(4): 432-466.
- Crepaz, Markus, M.L. 1996. Consensus versus Majoritarian Democracy. Political Institutions and their Impact on Macroeconomic Performance and Industrial Disputes. *Comparative Political Studies* 29(1): 4-26.
- Schmidt, Manfred G. 2002. Political performance and types of democracy: Findings from comparative studies. *European Journal of Political Research* 41(1): 147-163.

WEEK 15 (30 January): Special topic: women and politics

Required readings

- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." American Journal of Political Science 46(1): 20–34.
- Burns, Schlozman, Verba. 2001. *Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapters 1, 3.
- Alexander, Amy C. 2012. "Change in Women's Descriptive Representation and the Belief in Women's Ability to Govern: A Virtuous Cycle." *Politics & Gender*, 8(4): 437-464.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. and Kathryn Pearson. 2008. "The Primary Reason for Women's Underrepresentation? Reevaluating the Conventional Wisdom." *Journal of Politics*, 70(1): 67-82.

- Winter, Nicholas J.G. 2008. *Dangerous Frames: How Ideas About Race and Gender Shape Public Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1, 3 (pp. 33-37; 41-46).
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2005. "How the Public Views Women Candidates." In *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future* eds. Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer Lawless. 2004. "Entering the Arena: Gender and the Decision to Run for Office." *American Journal of Political Science* 48: 264-280.
- Niven, David. 1998. "Party Elites and Women Candidates: The Shape of Bias." *Women & Politics* 19 (2): 57-80.
- Falk, Erika and Kate Kenski. 2006. "Issue Saliency and Gender Stereotypes: Support for

Women as Presidents in Times of War and Terrorism." Social Science Quarterly 87: 1-18.

- Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2000. "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women"s and Men"s Voting Behavior in Global Perspective," *International Political Science Review* 21(4): 441-63.
- Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups," *Perspectives on Politics* 2(3): 439-58.
- Weldon, Laurel S. 2002. "Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women in Democratic Policymaking," *Journal of Politics* 64(4): 1153-74.
- Beckwith, Karen and Kimberly Cowell-Meyers. 2007. "Sheer Numbers: Critical Representation Thresholds and Women's Political Representation," *Perspectives on Politics* 5(3): 555-67.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes,"" *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628-57.
- Dahlerup, Drude and Lenita Freidenvall. 2005. "Quotas as a "Fast Track" to Equal Political Representation for Women: Why Scandinavia is No Longer the Model," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7(1): 26-48.
- Krook, Mona Lena. 2006. "Reforming Representation: The Diffusion of Candidate Gender Quotas Worldwide," *Politics and Gender 2(3):* 303-27.
- Jenkins, Laura Dudley. 1999. "Competing Inequalities: The Struggle over Reserved Legislative Seats for Women in India," *International Review of Social History* 44(supplement): 53-75.
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8.
- Matland, Richard E. and Donley T. Studlar. 1996. "The Contagion of Women Candidates in Single-Member District and Proportional Representation Electoral Systems: Canada and Norway," *Journal of Politics* 58(3): 707-33.
- Caul, Miki. 1999. "Women's Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties," *Party Politics 5(1):* 79-98.
- Levin, Leah Simmons. 1999. "Setting the Agenda: The Success of the 1977 Israel Women's Party," *Israel Studies 4(2):* 40-63.
- Sainsbury, Diane. 2004. "Women's Political Representation in Sweden: Discursive Politics and Institutional Presence," *Scandinavian Political Studies 21(1):* 65-87.
- Wiliarty, Sarah Elise. 2008. "Angela Merkel's Path to Power: The Role of Internal Party Dynamics and Leadership," *German Politics* 17(1): 81-96.
 Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2005. "The Incumbency Disadvantage and Women's Election to Legislative Office," *Electoral Studies* 24(2): 227-44.