

POS550, Fall 2004

## Comparative Politics

Prof. Warner

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Office Hours: Thursdays 1-3

course meets Coor Hall Seminar Room, 6<sup>th</sup> Floor, Thursdays 2:30-5:30 pm

This graduate seminar is designed to convey a sense of what scholars in comparative politics do, how they do it, and where the field is headed. The emphasis is thematic, not regional. You will leave this course with an understanding of major topics, theories and intellectual disputes in comparative politics. This seminar does not cover the entire, vast field of Comparative Politics. In order to retain some thematic consistency and deal with directions in which the discipline is moving, we are not covering post-modernism, participation (save via civil society; you may want to consider taking Prof. Kittilson's course), behavioral approaches, or comparative public policy, to name a few. For those of you writing an MA thesis in Comparative politics, or who will be taking comps (major or minor) in comparative, I strongly recommend that you browse [Comparative Politics](#), [Comparative Political Studies](#), [World Politics](#), [Politics and Society](#) to acquaint yourself with current work in the field.

### Requirements:

- attend class and participate in discussions (20% of final grade)
- lead one seminar meetings (20% of final grade)
- Write three short papers (20% each)

**Participation.** Because this is a seminar, you cannot get an A without verbal participation in class, accompanied by intelligent comments. You are expected to have done the readings and to have some commentary of your own to offer on them. I encourage you to think critically, and, as part of that, to think of some of the positive aspects of the works we are reading.

**Leading a seminar.** The seminar discussion leader is expected to identify the main issues and questions (methodological, empirical, theoretical) in the readings. The discussion leader is not expected to answer those questions alone—that is the task of the entire class. In leading a discussion, you should expect to spend NO MORE than 15 minutes at the beginning of the seminar presenting the readings in a **critical** fashion. I will stop you at 15 minutes, whether you are done or not. Do not summarize the author's argument except to the extent necessary for making your critical points. Assume everyone has read the materials. Deal with the following types of questions: what are the main questions arising from the articles/books, what are the main problems, how do the works contrast with or complement each other? You must also prepare a list of 5-6 questions which the entire class may discuss. It is imperative that you post that list on the course blackboard by the Wednesday before the seminar, no later than 5pm. Please also write up short (1-2 paragraphs at

most) abstracts of each of the readings, for distribution in class. Since the abstracts are the summaries of the readings, **DO NOT READ** from them when giving your presentation. In your presentation, I look not just for content (critical analysis, well-organized, short introduction of theme, conclusion) but also for how you present (audible, not reading from a script the entire time, confident presence, good eye contact).

**The Papers.** The three papers should be, each, between 5-7 pages double-spaced, 12 point font, 1 inch margins. I will ask you to choose the weeks; you must do at least one of the papers in the first 7 weeks of the semester. **You will get an E for the entire course if you do not turn in at least one paper by the due date of the 7<sup>th</sup> week of the semester.** You may not do the remaining two papers only in the last two weeks of the course. The papers are due the day of the seminar, no later noon in my office mailbox (give to receptionist if it won't fit in the mailbox). The object of the papers is for you to identify the central issues that the assigned readings of the week address, to locate the authors' positions vis-à-vis those issues, and to comment critically on the state of the debate and the value of the individual contributions to it. You should keep the following questions in mind: What are the central issues at stake in this literature? What are the important arguments of the works under study? How does each relate to the debates in the field? What are the main theoretical or empirical strengths or weaknesses of the major studies? How valuable and viable is the theory that each proposes? Is the empirical evidence appropriate and convincing? What were the methodological issues? Your paper should go beyond summary of the readings toward being a critical commentary and analysis. **The paper need not answer every single one of the above questions.** Those are guidelines. **Prose and style matter.** Be focused, terse and selective, and **USE SPELL CHECK and do your own, non-computer dependent PROOFREADING.**

**Incompletes: Granted only in extreme circumstances (severe illness, family emergency) AND if your participation and written work have been satisfactory (B or above) during the course.**

### **Books and Articles**

A variety of books are available at the ASU bookstore; buy which ever ones you do not want to read by way of Sheryl's office. The readings are subject to change. This syllabus is not the last word.

The following are available at the ASU bookstore. Prices are approximate. ISBN are listed first.

0521545250 Atul KOHLI State Directed Development 2004, paperbk, Cambridge, \$25

0521 016452 James MAHONEY Comparative Historical Analysis 2003, paperbk, Cambridge \$25

0521 01686x Michael COX Empires, Systems and States 2002, paperbk, Cambridge, \$25

10987654321 Andrew MACINTYRE Power of Institutions 2003, paperbk, Cornell, \$20

0199247757 Peter HALL Varieties of Capitalism 2001, paperbk, Oxford, \$33

0521 29499 1 Theda SKOCPOL States and Social Revolutions 1979, paperbk, Cambridge, \$20

0807050733 Barrington MOORE Social Origins of Dictatorship 1966, paperbk, Beacon, \$20

0691103738 8 Robert PUTNAM, Making Democracy Work 1993, paperbk, Princeton, \$21

0691010285 Jeffrey HERBST States and Power 2000, paperbk , Princeton, \$24

0691 02775 7 Stephan HAGGARD, Political Economy of Democratic Transitions, 1995, paperbk, Princeton, \$??

08014 84308, Kiren Aziz CHAUDHRY The Price of Wealth 1997, paperbk, Cornell, \$24

0691010269 Carolyn WARNER Confessions of an Interest Group 2000, paper, Princeton, \$19

0691 02910 5 Hendrik SPRUYT Sovereign State and Its Competitors 1996, paper, Princeton, \$25

0521484278 Thomas ERTMAN Birth of the Leviathan 1997, paper, Cambridge, \$25

**Week 1: (26 Aug.) Organization and Introduction: Comparative Politics Overview and methods**

Ian Lustick, "History, Historiography, and Political Science: Multiple Historical Records and the Problem of Selection Bias" American Political Science Review 90/3 (Sept. 1996).

David Laitin, "Comparative Politics: The State of the Subdiscipline" Political Science: The State of the Discipline New York: Norton, 2002, pp. 630-659.

Peter A. Hall, "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics" in James Mahoney and Dietrich Reuschmeyer, eds. Comparative Historical Analysis Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 373-404.

*recommended:* Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, path dependence, and the study of politics" American Political Science Review 94/2 (June 2000): 251-267. available on-line at ASU through an aggravating, convoluted process. Ask a reference librarian.

Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S Zuckerman (eds) ,Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure chs. 1, 10.

David Laitin, "Comparative Politics: The State of the Subdiscipline" on his web site

**Week 2: NO CLASS--American Political Science Association Convention, Chicago IL**

**Week 3 (9 Sept.): Political Parties**

John Aldrich, Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Party Politics in America (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1995), chs 1-2

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

Steven Levitsky "Organization and Labor-Based Party Adaptation. The transformation of Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective" World Politics 54 (Oct. 2001): 27-56. available on ASU e-journals.

Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party," Party Politics, 1 (January, 1995), 5-28.

*recommended/ of interest*

Carolyn M. Warner, Confessions of An Interest Group (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

George Tsebelis, Veto Players

Kachan Chandra, Why Ethnic Parties Succeed Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Simona Piattoni, "Clientelism in Historical and Comparative Perspective" In Simona Piattoni, ed. Clientelism, interests, and democratic representation: the European experience in historical and comparative perspective New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 1-30.

Michael Jones-Correa "Different Paths: Gender, Immigration and Political Participation" International Migration Review (Summer 1998) 32/2: 326-

Edward L. Gibson, "The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina" World Politics 49/3 (April 1997). Available via JSTOR

Roger Karapin, "Radical-Right and Neo-Fascist Political Parties in Western Europe" Comparative Politics 30/2 (Jan 1998): 213-234.

Samuel Barnes, "Electoral Behavior and Comparative Politics" in Lichbach and Zuckerman, eds. Comparative Politics ch. 5

Kalyvas, Stathis, The Rise of Christian Democracy in Western Europe (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 1996).

Susanne Lohmann, David W. Brady and Douglas Rivers, "Party Identification, Retrospective Voting, and Moderating Elections in a Federal System" Comparative Political Studies 30/4 (August 1997): 420-449.

#### **Week 4 (16 Sept.): Explaining the Origins of States**

Thomas Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, chs tba

Hendrik Spruyt, Sovereign State and Its Competitors. Princeton University Press, 1994.

*recommended:*

Lichbach & Zuckerman, Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure ch. 8

#### **Week 5 (23 Sept.): Explaining Regime Type**

Barrington Moore, Jr, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy

James Mahoney, "Knowledge Accumulation in Comparative Historical Research: The Case of Democracy and Authoritarianism" in James Mahoney and Dietrich Reuschmeyer, eds.

Comparative Historical Analysis Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 131-174.

*Recommended:*

John D. Stephens, "Democratic Transition and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939: A Test of the Moore Thesis" American Journal of Sociology 94/5 (March 1989), 1019-1077. ASU e journals.

Eva Bellin "Contingent Democrats: Industrialist, Labor, and Democratization in Late Developing Countries" World Politics 52 January 2000 pp175-205

Thomas Ertman, "Democracy and Dictatorship in Interwar Western Europe Revisited" World Politics, 50/3 (April 1998): 475-505

Douglass C. North, The Rise of the Western World

Gregory M. Luebbert, Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy New York: Oxford Univ. Press 1991.

#### **Week 6 (30 Sept.): State Building and Consolidation**

Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968): preface, pp 1-8, and pp. 32-71

Anthony Gill and Arang Keshavarzian, "State Building and Religious Resources: An Institutional Theory of Church-State Relations in Iran and Mexico" Politics & Society 27/3 (Sept. 1999): 431-465. Via ASU electronic journals.

Jeffrey Herbst, States and Power: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). All, but skim Parts III & IV

*recommended/ of interest:*

### Bureaucrats and Bandits

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: theories and facts" World Politics 49 (Jan 1997): 155-183.

James C. Scott, Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed, (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1998).

Karen L. Remmer, "Theoretical Decay and Theoretical Development" World Politics 50/1 (Oct. 1997): 34-61.

Daniel Chirot, "The Rise of the West" American Sociological Review (April, 1985) v 50: 181-195.

William Reno, "War, Markets and the Reconfiguration of West Africa's Weak States" Comparative Politics 29 (July 1997), 493-510. Available via ASU on line catalogue.

Riva Kastoryano, Negotiating Identities. Princeton University Press, 2002.

Michael Cox, ed. Empires, Systems and States Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002

### **Week 7 (7 Oct.): : Revolution and Civil War**

\*\*last week to turn in first paper.

Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions. A Comparative analysis of France, Russia & China (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1979)

Stathis N. Kalyvas, "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': action and identity in Civil Wars" Perspectives on Politics 1 (2003): 475-494.

*recommended/ of interest:*

Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S Zuckerman (eds) ,Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture and Structure ch. 6

David Laitin and Carolyn Warner, "Structure and Irony in History" Political Theory 20/1 (February 1992): 147-151.

Stephen M. Walt, "Revolution and War" World Politics 44 (April 1992): 321-68.

John Dunn, "Understanding Revolutions" in John Dunn, Rethinking Modern Political Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 1985), pp. 68-208

**Week 8 (14 Oct.): Ethno-Nationalism**

James Fearon and David Laitin, "Explaining Inter-Ethnic Cooperation" American Political Science Association Dec 1996, 90/4 pp 715-

Phil Roeder "Soviet Federalism and Ethnic Mobilization" World Politics 43/2 (Jan 1991) pp 196-

David Laitin, Hegemony and Culture (Chicago: Univ Chicago Press, 1986), chs 1-3, 6-7, skim 8.

Ashutosh Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society" World Politics 53/3 (April 2001): 362-98. Available on line at ASU.

Deborah Yashar, "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America" World Politics 52 (Oct. 1999), 76-104, available via ASU on line catalogue

*Recommended:*

Jack Snyder, From Voting to Violence New York: W.W. Norton, 2000

David Laitin, "The National Uprisings in the Soviet Union" World Politics 44/1 (Oct. 1991): 139-177.

David Laitin, Identity in Formation Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press

**Week 9 (21 Oct.): NO CLASS Conference**

**Week 10 (28 Oct.) Political Culture**

David Laitin, Hegemony and Culture, chs 1-3, 6-7

Lisa Wedeen, "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science" American Political Science Review 96/4 (Dec. 2002): 713-728.

Avner Greif, "Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies" the Journal of Political Economy 102/5 (Oct. 1994): 912-950. Available on JSTOR.

*recommended:*

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture

David Laitin, "The Civic Culture at 30" APSR 89/1 (March 1995): 168-173.

## **Week 11 (4 Nov): Social Capital**

Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993)

Frederick Solt, "Civics or Structure? Revisiting the Origins of Democratic Quality in the Italian Regions" British Journal of Political Science 34/1 (2004): 123-135. Available via ASU electronic journals.

Sheri Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" World Politics, v 49/3 (April 1997): 401-429. ASU via e-journals or JSTOR.

*recommended / of interest:*

Margaret Levi, "Social and Unsocial Capital" Politics and Society 24/1 (March 1996): 45-55.

Richard M Locke and Wade Jacoby, "The dilemmas of Diffusion: social embeddedness and the problems of institutional change in Eastern Germany" Politics and Society, 25/1 (March 1997): 34-65

Marc Howard Ross, "Culture and Identity in Comparative Political Analysis" in Lichbach and Zuckerman, eds. Comparative Politics, pp. 42-80.

Ronald Inglehart, "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational Change in Post-industrial Societies" APSR 65 (1971): 991-1017

Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital" Journal of Democracy (Jan. 1995): 65-78.

## **Week 12 (11 Nov.): NO CLASS Veterans' Day**

## **Week 13 (18 Nov.): State Breakdown, Transitions to/from Democracy**

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, "Autocracy by Democratic Rule: The Dynamics of Competitive Authoritarianism in the Post-Cold War Era" Paper prepared for the annual meeting of the APSA, Boston 28-31 Aug. 2002. in Sheryl's office.

Steven Solnick, "The Breakdown of Hierarchies in the Soviet Union and China: a neoinstitutional perspective" World Politics 48/2 (Jan. 1996): 209-238. JSTOR or ASU e journals

Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization" World Politics 55/4 (July 2003): 517-549. ASU E journals

*recommended:*

Eva Bellin, "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East" Comparative Politics.

Jonathan Fox, "The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico" World politics 46/2 (Jan 1994): 151-184

Ruth Collier, Pathways Toward Democracy Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999, pp. 166-197.

Göran Therborn, "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy" New Left Review, 3-41

Nancy Bermeo, "Myths of Moderation" Comparative Politics, 29/3 (April, 1997): 305-322.

Gerardo L. Munck and Carol Skalnik Leff, "Modes of Transition and Democratization: south America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective" Comparative Politics 29/3 (April 1997): 343-362.

Juan Linz & Alfred B. Stepan, the Breakdown of Democratic Regimes Europe Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University press, 1978.

Jorge Domínguez, "Free Politics and Free Markets in Latin America" Journal of Democracy 9/4 (Oct. 1998): 70-84.

**Week 14:** (25 Nov.) **NO CLASS Thanksgiving**

**Week 15:** (2 Dec.) **Political Economy**

Peter Gourevitch, "The Second image reversed: the international sources of domestic politics" International Organization, 32/4 (Autumn, 1978): 881-911. On JSTOR

Peter Hall and David Soskice, Varieties of Capitalism, ch. 1

Andrew MacIntyre, The Power of Institutions Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003

Kiren Aziz Chaudhry, The Price of Wealth, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

*recommended:*

Peter A. Hall, "The Role of Interests, Institutions, and Ideas in the Comparative Political Economy of the Industrialized Nations" in Lichbach and Zuckerman, eds., Comparative Politics, ch. 7.

Michael J. Hiscox International Finance & Political Conflict. Commerce, Coalitions and Mobility. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Andrew Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht (Ithaca: Cornell Univ Press, 1999), ch 1

Jeffrey A. Frieden, Debt, Development and Democracy, (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991): 15-41.

Sofia A. Perez “Systemic Explanations, Divergent Outcomes: The Politics of Financial Liberalization in France and Spain” International Studies Quarterly 42/4 (Dec. 1998)

Peter Gourevitch, Politics in Hard Times Cornell Univ. Press, 1986

Peter Hall, Governing The Economy, Oxford Univ Press 1986

Peter Hall, ed., the Political Power of Economic Ideas (Princeton Univ Press 1989).

Thomas Risse-Kappen, “Exploring the Nature of the Beast: International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union” Journal of Common Market Studies 34/1 (March 1996): 53-80.

Stanley Engerman and Kenneth Sokoloff, "Factor Endowments, Institutions, and Differential Paths of Growth Among New World Economies," in Stephen Haber, *How Latin America Fell Behind* (Stanford University Press, 1997), ch. 10.

**Miscellaneous worth reading, but not required for this seminar:**

Adam Przeworski, “Could We Feed Everyone? The Irrationality of Capitalism and the Infeasibility of Socialism” Politics and Society, 19/1 (1991): 1-38.

Margaret Levi and Douglass C. North, “Toward a Property-Rights Theory of Exploitation” Politics and Society, 11/3 (1982): 315-320

Richard M. Locke, and Kathleen Thelen (1995) “Apples and Oranges Revisited: Contextualized Comparisons and the Study of Comparative Labor Politics”, Politics and Society, 23: 337-367.

Barbara Geddes, “A Game Theoretic Model of Reform in Latin America” American Political Science Review, (June 1991) 85/2: 371-

Bliss, Christopher and Rafael Di Tella (1997). “Does Competition Kill Corruption?” Journal of Political Economy 105/5: 1001-1023

Theda Skocpol, “ Political Response to Capitalist Crisis: Neo-Marxist Theories of the State and the Case of the New Deal” Politics and Society, 10/2 (1980): 155-201.

Andrew Moravcsik, “Taking Preferences Seriously: a liberal theory of international politics” International Organization 51/4 (Autumn, 1997): 513-553.

Margaret Levi, “The Predatory Theory of Rule” Politics and Society 10/4 (1981): 431-465.

Miriam Golden, Heroic Defeats

Nicholas Barr, "Economic Theory and the Welfare State: a survey & Interpretation" Journal of Economic Literature v. XXX (June 1992): 741-803.

Paul Pierson, Dismantling the Welfare State? (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press)

Ades, Alberto and Rafael Di Tella (1997) "National Champions and Corruption: some unpleasant interventionist arithmetic" The Economic Journal 107 (July): 1023-1042.

Fred Block, "the Ruling Class does not rule: notes on the Marxist theory of the state" Social Revolution 33 (May/June 1977): 6-28

Anthony Gill, Rendering Unto Caesar (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1997).

Rodney Stark and Laurence R. Iannaccone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the 'Secularization' of Europe" Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion v. 33 , n. 2 (1994): 230-252.

Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France & Germany