

**HARVARD UNIVERSITY
GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT**

**Government 2105: Comparative Politics Field Seminar
Spring 2020, Wednesdays 3-5 pm
CGIS K108
Professors Melani Cammett and Torben Iversen**

This survey of major topics in comparative politics is designed for Ph.D. students wanting to familiarize themselves with the subfield, its evolution, and emerging research questions and controversies. It considers works of theoretical importance dealing with politics in the developed and developing world. Each week the course discusses a subsection of the pertinent scholarly literature, usually focusing on a major theoretical controversy. Key methodological issues in the study of comparative politics are addressed in the context of these substantive and theoretical works. Because this is a reading and discussion course, active student participation is essential.

Enrollment: The main audience is Ph.D. candidates in the Government Department. Enrollment is with consent of the instructors and limited to 16. There are no formal prerequisites.

Readings: We are distributing two lists of readings. One contains the assigned readings which will be discussed in class. The second, and far longer list, contains the recommended readings. Importantly, oral examinations in Comparative Politics range over both sets of readings. Required readings are available on the course [website](#).

Requirements: Each student is expected to complete all the required reading each week and to contribute to the collective discussion. In addition, each student will write six short papers during the semester; each paper should be no more than five double-spaced pages, 12 pt. Times New Roman font. Please make sure that you write half your papers for each instructor. Collaborative discussion is encouraged; collaborative paper writing is prohibited: you must be the sole author of each and every paper.

All papers must be submitted by email to *both* instructors *by Monday at noon* for the given seminar session. We will ask 2-3 paper writers each week to help us lead the discussion in class, and we will meet separately with the discussion leaders on **Tuesdays 10-11am in Prof. Iversen's office (CGIS K308)**.

Papers should be based on the required readings. Each paper should analyze one or more central issues that the assigned readings for the week addresses, locate the principal authors' positions regarding those issues, and comment critically on the state of the debate and the value of the individual contributions to it. Keep such questions in mind as:

- What are the central issues at stake in this literature?
- What are the principal 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 weakness of each?
- How valuable and viable is the theory or argument that each proposes?
- How effectively is evidence marshaled in support of the argument?
- Which scholarly disputes have been resolved?
- What good further work lies ahead?

The paper should not be a mere summary of the readings but a critical commentary and a discussion of the issues that arise in the works. Be focused, terse, and selective. They will be evaluated according to the effectiveness and insight with which they illuminate the principal debates and scholarly contributions to them in an independent and critically-minded way. They cannot cover all the conceivable issues and need not cover all the assigned readings, though broad coverage is desirable.

There are no other requirements for this course. Students should not plan to write long research seminar papers in this course. There are no exams.

Course materials: A set of all course reading materials is available on the course website.

Grading: Class participation will count for one fifth of the final grade. Each short paper will count for about 13 percent of the final grade.

Office Hours:

Professor Cammett's office is in the CGIS Knafel Building, 1737 Cambridge Street, room K213. Her office hours are Thursdays 3-5pm (sign-up slots are available [here](#)) or by appointment. Her email address is mcammett@g.harvard.edu.

Professor Iversen's office is in the in the CGIS Knafel Building, 1737 Cambridge Street, room K308. His office hours are Tuesdays 12-2pm. His email address is iversen@fas.harvard.edu. Please email in advance if you want to meet.

Class Schedule

1. Jan 29 Introduction (Cammett and Iversen)
2. Feb 5 Modernization Theory and Its Critics (Cammett)
3. Feb 12 Institutional Approaches (Iversen)
4. Feb 19 Political Economy of Development (Cammett)
5. Feb 26 Political Economy of Advanced Democracies (Iversen)
6. March 4 The State and State Building (Cammett)
7. March 11 Civil Society and Social Movements (Iversen)
8. March 25 Democratization (Cammett)
9. April 1 Voting and Elections (Iversen)
10. April 8 Political Parties and Party Systems (Iversen)
11. April 15 Authoritarianism (Cammett)
12. April 22 Ethnicity, Civil War, and Political Violence (Cammett)
13. April 29 The international context (Iversen)

Meetings and Topics

1. January 29: Introduction (Cammett & Iversen)

2. February 5: Modernization Theory and Its Critics (Cammett)

Lerner, Daniel, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: The Free Press, 1958), chs. 1-2 (pp. 19-75).

Deutsch, Karl, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," *American Political Science Review* 55 (1961).

Lipset, Seymour Martin, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960), ch. 2.

Huntington, Samuel, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 1-92.

Moore, Barrington, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), chs. 7-9 (pp. 413-483).]

Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chs. 1-2 (pp. 15-76).

3. February 12: Institutional approaches (Iversen)

North, Douglass C., and Barry R. Weingast, "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England," *Journal of Economic History* 49.4 (December 1989): 803-832.

Pincus, Steven C. A. and James A. Robinson, "What Really Happened in the Glorious Revolution?" *NBER Working Paper* 17206, July 2011.

Bates, Robert H. "The New Institutionalism," in Sabastian Galiani and Itai Senet, eds., *Institutions, Property Rights, and Economic Growth: The Legacy of Douglass North* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Pierson, Paul, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics". *American Political Science Review* 94.2 (2000): 254-67.

Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," *Political Studies* 44 (December 1996).

Mahoney, James, and Kathleen Thelen, "A Theory of Gradual Institutional Change," in Mahoney and Thelen, eds. *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-37.

Shugart, Matthew S., and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), chs. 1-3 (pp. 1-54).

Tsebelis, George. "Decision making in political systems: Veto players in presidentialism, parliamentarism, multicameralism and multipartyism." *British journal of political science* 25.3 (1995): 289-325.

4. February 19: Political Economy of Development (Cammett)

Gerschenkron, Alexander, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp.5-30.

Haggard, Stephan. *Developmental States* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

Ang, Yuen Yuen. "Do Weberian Bureaucracies Lead to Markets or Vice Versa? A Coevolutionary Approach to Development" in Miguel Centeno et al. eds., *States in the Developing World* (New York: Cambridge U. Press, 2017), ch. 10 (pp. 280-305).

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91.5 (2001): 1369-1401.

Mahoney, James. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 1 (pp. 1-34) and ch. 8 (pp. 253-270).

Dell, Melissa. "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita." *Econometrica* 78.6 (2010): 1863-1903.

Glaeser, E. L., R. La Porta, et al. "Do Institutions Cause Growth?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 8(2004): 271-303.

5. February 26: Political Economy of Advanced Democracies (Iversen)

Meltzer, Allan H., and Scott F. Richard, "A Rational Theory of the Size of Government," *Journal of Political Economy* 89 (1981): 914-17. [Read only first 3 pages.]

Karl Ove Moene and Michael Wallerstein, "Earnings Inequality and Welfare Spending: A Disaggregated Analysis." *World Politics* 55.4 (2003): 485-516. [Read only pp. 485-495.]

Rehm, Philipp, "Social Policy by Popular Demand." *World Politics* 63.2 (2011): 271-299.

Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice, *Varieties of Capitalism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1-68.

Esping-Andersen, Gösta, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Princeton University Press, 1990), chs. 1-2.

Pierson, Paul, "The New Politics of the Welfare State," *World Politics* (1996): 143-179.

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

Persson, Torsten and Guido Tabellini, "Constitutions and Economic Policy." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18.1 (2004):75-98.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice, "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others," *American Political Science Review* 100:2 (2006):165-181.

Rueda, David. "Insider-Outsider Politics in Industrialized Democracies: The Challenge to Social Democratic Parties." *American Political Science Review* 99.1 (2005): 61-74.

6. March 4: The State and State-Building (Cammett)

Weber, Max, "Politics as a Vocation," in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. *Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 1-15.

Douglas North. "A Neoclassical Theory of the State," in Jon Elster, ed. *Rational Choice* (New York University Press, 1986), pp. 248-261.

Tilly, Charles, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 169-191.

Centeno, Miguel, "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth Century Latin America," *American Journal of Sociology* 102.6 (1997): 1565-1605.

Herbst, Jeffrey, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), Chapters 1 and 5 (pp. 12-31 and 139-172).

Boone, Catherine. *Political Topographies of the African State: Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chs. 1-2.

Dincecco, Mark, and Yuhua Wang. "Violent Conflict and Political Development Over the Long Run: China Versus Europe." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 341-358.

7. March 11: Civil Society and Collective Action (Iversen)

Olson, Mancur. *The Rise and Decline of Nations*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), chs. 2-3.

Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 9-27, 62-78.

Kitschelt, Herbert, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest," *British Journal of Political Science*, 16 (1986): 57-85.

Lohmann, Susanne. "The dynamics of informational cascades: the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91." *World politics* 47 (1994): 42-101.

Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 9-27, 62-78.

King, Gary, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. "How censorship in China allows government criticism but silences collective expression." *American Political Science Review* 107.2 (2013): 326-343.

Putnam, Robert, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 63-185.

Levi, Margaret, "Social and Unsocial Capital: A Review Essay of Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*." *Politics and Society* 24 (March 1996): 45-55.

Berman, Sheri, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" *World Politics* 49 (1997): 401-439.

8. March 25: Democratization (Cammett)

Dahl, Robert, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), ch. 1 (pp. 1-16), chs. 3-6 (pp. 33-104).

Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49 (January 1997): 155-183.

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

[For elaboration of argument, see Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), chs. 1-2.]

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), chapters 2-3 (pp. 15-87).

Iversen, Torben and David Soskice, *Advanced Capitalist Democracies* (Princeton University Press, forthcoming), Ch. 2 ("Two Paths to Democracy").

Teele, Dawn Langan. *Forging the Franchise: The Political Origins of the Women's Vote*. (Princeton University Press, 2018), chs. 1-2.

Ansell, Ben and David Samuels, "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach." *Comparative Political Studies* 43, No. 12 (2010): 1543-1574.

Ziblatt, Daniel, *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), chs. 1, 2, 10, 11 (pp. 1-53; 334-368).

9. April 1: Voting and Elections (Iversen)

Aldrich, John. "Rational Choice and Turnout," *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1993): 246-78.

Kasara, Kimuli, and Pavithra Suryanarayan. "When do the rich vote less than the poor and why? Explaining turnout inequality across the world." *American Journal of Political Science* (2015): 613-627.

Hirschman, Albert. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (Harvard University Press, 1970): 1-43.

Kitschelt, Herbert, and Steven I. Wilkinson, "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction," in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson, eds. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1-46.

Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estévez, and Beatriz Magaloni. *The Political Logic of Poverty Relief. Electoral Strategies and Social Policy in Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. TBD.

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

Svolik, M.W. "Learning to love democracy: electoral accountability and the success of democracy". *American Journal of Political Science*, 57.3 (2013): 685-702.

Powell, Bingham G., and Guy Whitten. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context," *American Journal of Political Science*, 37 (1993). [For a broad review of the economic voting literature see Michael Lewis-Beck and Mary Stegmaier. "Economic models of voting." *The Oxford handbook of political behavior* (2007).

Gidron, Noam and Peter Hall, "The politics of social status: economic and cultural roots of the populist right." *British Journal of Sociology* 68 (2017): S57-84.

10. April 8: Political Parties and Party Systems (Iversen)

Downs, Anthony, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper Collins, 1957), chs. 7-8 (pp. 96-141).

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," in Peter Mair, ed. *The West European Party System* (Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 91-138. [From Lipset and Rokkan, eds. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (New York: The Free Press, 1967).]

Aldrich, John, *Why Parties? The Origins and Transformation of Party Politics in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 3-61.

Lupu, Noam. "Brand dilution and the breakdown of political parties in Latin America." *World Politics* 66.4 (2014): 561-602.

Levitsky, Steven, James Loxton, Brandon Van Dyck, and Jorge I. Domínguez, eds. *Challenges of party-building in Latin America*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), ch 1.

Kitschelt, Herbert, "The Formation of Party Systems in East-Central Europe," *Politics and Society* 20, No. 1 (1992): 7-50.

Cox, Gary W., *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 181-221.

11. April 15: Authoritarianism (Cammett)

Geddes, Barbara, "What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115-144.

Svolik, Milan *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), Chapters 1 and 3 (pp. 1-18 and 53-81).

Magaloni, Beatriz. "Credible Power Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule." *Comparative Political Studies* 41. 4/5 (2008): 715-741.

Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski, "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies*, 40.11 (2007).

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Chapters 1-2 (pp. 3-83).

Slater, Dan, *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-27.

Ross, Michael. *The Oil Curse* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 63-110.

Waldner, David and Benjamin Smith. "Rentier States and State Transformations." In *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 1-13.

12. April 22: Ethnicity and Political Violence (Cammett)

Horowitz, Donald L. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 3-89.

Posner, Daniel, "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi," *American Political Science Review* 98.4 (November 2004): 529-545.

Chandra, Kanchan. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1-98.

Cammett, Melani. *Compassionate Communalism: Welfare and Sectarianism in Lebanon* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), Introduction (pp. 1-6), ch. 1 (pp. 7-37) and ch. 4 (pp. 85-114).

Varshney, Ashutosh, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." *World Politics* 53 (April 2001): 362-98.

Wilkinson, Steven, *Votes and Violence* (Cambridge University Press), ch. 1 (pp. 1-18).

Fearon, James, and David Laitin, "Explaining Interethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 90.4 (December 1996): 715-735.

Fearon, James, and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 97.1 (2003): 75-90.

13. April 29: The International Context (Iversen)

Gourevitch, Peter, "The Second Image Reversed," *International Organization*, 32 (Autumn 1978), pp. 881-900.

James Alt, Jeffrey Frieden, Michael J. Gilligan, Dani Rodrik and Ronald Rogowski, "The Political Economy of International Trade - Enduring Puzzles and an Agenda for Inquiry." *Comparative Political Studies* 29 (6) (1996).

Katzenstein, Peter, *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), chapters 1 (pp. 17-38) and 5 (pp. 191-211).

Simmons, Beth and Zachary Elkins, "The Globalization of Liberalization: Policy Diffusion in the International Political Economy." *American Political Science Review* 98 (February 2004), 171-189.

Rudra, Nita, "Globalization and the decline of the welfare state in less-developed countries." *International Organization* 56.2 (2002): 411-44.

Rodrik, Dani, *The globalization paradox. Democracy and the future of the world economy* (2011): chapter 11 ("The political trilemma of the world economy"): 184-207.

Iversen, Torben and David Soskice, *Democracy and Prosperity: The Reinvention of Capitalism in a Turbulent Century* (Princeton University Press 2018), Ch. 1 ("Introduction").