



Political Science  
**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO**

**Pol 219 H1: INSTITUTIONS AND BEHAVIOR  
IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE**

**Thursdays, 11-1  
Autumn term 2022**

Professor Randall Hansen  
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 4:00-6:00 pm  
Sidney Smith 3064

**Description**

Since its establishment in the late nineteenth century, the discipline of Political Science has defined itself through the study of institutions. This course will explore the effect of institutions on power, coups and attempted coups, segregation and racial discrimination, gender and sexuality, economic reform and inequality, immigration and immigration policy, and the segregation and sterilization of people with mental disabilities, among other topics. Institutions examined will include traditional formal institutions (electoral systems, constitutions, courts, executives, legislatures, party systems), intermediate institutions (trade unions and interest groups), and sub-rosa institutions (homes for the people with disabilities, residential schools). It will examine these issues by analyzing countries in both the global north (Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and the global south (Brazil, Iran, India, Libya, and South Africa).

**Learning Outcomes:**

This course will aid students in:

1. Understanding the basic institutions that collectively constitute the state: the executive, legislature, courts, bureaucracy, the police, and the army.
2. Deepening their understanding of a broad range of countries in the Americas, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.
3. Exploring how different institutional arrangements encourage or inhibit political stability, breakdown, and violence; economic equality/inequality; and the rights of women, racialized minorities (and, in some cases, racialized majorities), and LGBTQ+ people.
4. Theorizing the relationship between national institutions, on the one hand, and intermediate and sub-rosa institutions, on the other.

## **Requirements and Grade Breakdown**

**1. Essay outline (10%): A 500-word outline of your essay**

**Due date: October 5, 11:59 pm. Submit to Quercus.**

Instructions: Write an outline of your essay. Specify ten sources. At least five of them must be peer-reviewed: university press books and/or journal articles [NB: not book chapters]. The other five must be reputable sources such as book chapters (ideally from books published with university presses) and articles from the *Financial Times*, *New York Times*, *Economist*, *New Republic*, *New York Review of Books*, and similar. The *Wall Street Journal* and the *National Review* are fine. Be very wary of *FOX News* and *Breitbart*. There might be a reason to engage them but do so critically and discuss them with your TAs or me. *Guardian* investigative pieces are fine but avoid commentaries. Above all from non-staff columnists. Readings assigned or recommended on the syllabus *do not* count toward this requirement; the point of research is to go beyond that which is available in class.

The outline should summarize your argument, which you should be able to state in at most three sentences, as well as the evidence you will cite. Foreign language citations are fine. Indeed, they are to be encouraged but translate them into English. The same scholarly standards of course apply.

**2. Response Paper (20%) to *Financial Times* podcast, “Whatever happened to Mandela’s dream for South Africa?” Link: <https://www.ft.com/content/5e7c59c2-5b1b-4167-b3b0-197983cafc13>**

**Due date: October 26, 11:59 pm. Submit to Quercus.**

Instructions: Write a 750-word paper on the following question: *South Africa’s problems are at base institutional. Discuss.* Political activist and intellectual Songezo Zibi argues that the country’s problems are at base political. What does he mean? Do you agree?

**3. Essay (35%): 2,000 words.**

**Due Date: November 16, 11:59 pm. Submit to Quercus**

See Quercus for instructions.

**4. Final On-Line Test (25%): December 1, 11:00-14:00 [NOTE TIME]**

### *Structure*

1. Section 1: 20%. Factual questions.
2. Short answers: 50%. Complete five out of seven.
3. Essay questions: 30% Complete two out of four.

### **5. Tutorial Participation (10%)**

Students will be graded on their tutorial attendance as well as their participation in tutorials (e.g., asking and answering questions and engaging in class discussion).

**Course Drop Date:** November 16, 2022

### **Late Penalties & Extensions**

The penalty for late submission is a modest **3% per day** (*including weekends*), to a maximum of two weeks.

Extensions must be requested for legitimate reasons (illness, family tragedy) at least full three days before the essay is due (for instance, by 11:59 pm on October 2 for the first assignment). After that, no extensions are given. **Extensions are in all cases for a maximum of two weeks; after that, no work will be accepted.** This policy may appear firm, however, there is no ill-will implied by it; on the contrary, managing deadlines is an essential life skill, and private sector employers take an uncompromising view of deadlines. We are not doing you any favors with an overly generous extension policy. Start your work early, and you will have no difficulty meeting deadlines. Good luck!

### **Email Communication**

Students are encouraged to raise questions not answered by the syllabus in class, tutorial, and office hours. **Email should be a last, not a first, resort.** Asking questions in class and tutorial will benefit other students, and it will increase your confidence in public speaking (another essential life skill). For matters that cannot be raised in class, TA and instructor emails are:

### **Teaching Assistants:**

[jessica.neaime@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:jessica.neaime@mail.utoronto.ca) [Email hours: 9am-5pm].

[lily.nellans@mail.utoronto.ca](mailto:lily.nellans@mail.utoronto.ca) [Email hours: 9am-5pm].

### **Instructor:**

[r.hansen@utoronto.ca](mailto:r.hansen@utoronto.ca) [Email hours: 9am-5pm].

### **Essay Submission**

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq> ([Links to an external site.](#)))

## **Course Materials**

There is one required text for the course: Patrick H. O’Neil, Karl Fields, and Don Share, *Cases and Concepts in Comparative Politics 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2021). Hereafter: ‘O’Neil et al.’

You may purchase an e-copy for \$55.95 here:

<https://www.campusebookstore.com/integration/AccessCodes/default.aspx?permalinkId=b9f33f8f-0327-41c3-9089-19552585be01&frame=YES&t=permalink>

Hard copies are available at the University of Toronto bookstore or on amazon.ca

## **Academic misconduct**

Cheating and plagiarism are serious academic offenses and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto’s policy on plagiarism at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>

## **COURSE OUTLINE**

### **1. September 8: Introduction**

*Economist*, “Why did they take a pass?” October 7, 2014.

<https://www.economist.com/democracy-in-america/2014/10/07/why-did-they-take-a-pass> (Quercus).

Megan Murphy, “Justices shape US Direction for Decades,” *Financial Times*, June 26, 2015.

<https://www.ft.com/content/495101e4-1c18-11e5-8201-cbdb03d71480> (Quercus).

### **2. September 15: Political Science and the Study of Institutions**

O’Neil et al., Chapters 1-2: “Introduction” and “States.”

*Recommended reading*

Bevir, Mark. “Foucault, Power, and Institutions.” *Political Studies* 47.2 (1999): 345-359.

<https://journals-sagepub-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/doi/abs/10.1111/1467-9248.00204>

Goodin, Robert E. “The State of the Discipline, the Discipline of the State.” *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2009, 1-83. (Quercus)

### 3. September 22: The State

O'Neil, Chapter 6, "Democratic Regimes."

Weber, Max. "Politics as a Vocation," Lecture, Munich, January 1919. (Quercus)

#### *Recommended reading*

Skocpol, Theda. "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research." Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds. *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1985, 3-38.

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

Zolberg, Aristide R. "The formation of new states as a refugee-generating process." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 467.1 (1983): 24-38.  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0002716283467001003>

Migdal, Joel S., and Klaus Schlichte. "Rethinking the state." In *The dynamics of states*. Routledge, 2005. 11-50.  
<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315240183-7/rethinking-state-joel-migdal-klaus-schlichte>

Conor O'Dwyer. "Runaway State-Building: How Political Parties Shape States in Postcommunist Eastern Europe," *World Politics* 56.4 (July 2004): 520-53.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25054274>

### 4. September 29: Failed Coups

O'Neil et al., "The United States."

Tepperman, Jonathan. "Why This Wasn't a Coup," *Foreign Policy*, January 6, 2021. (Quercus)

Chaffin, Joshua et al., "A coup d'état attempted by Trump: America's failed insurrection," *Financial Times*, January 8, 2021. (Quercus)

Downing, Joseph. "What France's civil war warning told us about the French military, Islam, and the far-right." *LSE Blogs*, June 2, 2021. (Quercus)

Luttwak, Edward. "Why Turkey's Coup d'État Failed," *Foreign Policy*, July 16, 2016.  
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/07/16/why-turkeys-coup-detat-failed-erdogan/> (Quercus)

*Recommended reading*

Singh, Naunihal. *Seizing Power: The Strategic Logic of Military Coups*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014. (Chapter 2, Theory).

<https://jhupbooks.press.jhu.edu/title/seizing-power>

Casey, Adam E. "The Durability of Client Regimes: Foreign Sponsorship and Military Loyalty, 1946–2010." *World Politics* 72.3 (2020): 411-447.

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/world-politics/article/abs/durability-of-client-regimes/31F49E30D8296C453A0181A3B4D3F002>

Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, and John Polga-Hecimovich. "Explaining military coups and impeachments in Latin America." *Democratization* 24.5 (2017): 839-858.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13510347.2016.1251905>

## **5. October 6: Successful Coups**

O'Neil et al., "Brazil."

Unger, Mark. "Coups," in James Ciment, ed. *Encyclopedia of Conflicts since World War II*. Second Edition. New York: Routledge, 2015, 29-36. (Quercus)

David, MacMichael "Brazil: Generals' Coup, 1964," in James Ciment and Kenneth Hill, eds. *Encyclopedia of Conflicts since World War II*. Second Edition. New York: Routledge, 2006: 358-363. (Quercus)

*Economist*, "Introducing the non-coup," May 20, 2014.

<https://www.economist.com/banyan/2014/05/20/introducing-the-non-coup> (Quercus)

*Recommended reading*

Pereira, Anthony W. "The US Role in the 1964 Coup in Brazil: A Reassessment." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 37.1 (2018): 5-17.

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/blar.12518>

Baker, Chris. "The 2014 Thai coup and some roots of authoritarianism." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 46.3 (2016): 388-404.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00472336.2016.1150500>

Ciment, James. "Chile : Coup against Allende 1973," in James Ciment and Kenneth Hill, eds. *Encyclopedia of Conflicts since World War II*. First Edition. New York: Routledge, 2015, 329-335. (Quercus)

Devine, Jack. "What Really Happened in Chile: The CIA, the Coup Against Allende, and the Rise of Pinochet." *Foreign Affairs* 93.4 (2014): 26-35.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24483554>

Holmes, Jennifer. "Political Violence and Regime Change in Argentina: 1965-1976." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 13.1 (2001): 134-154.  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09546550109609673>

*Economist*. "The Darkened Horizon (Military coup in Thailand)," May 25, 2014.  
<https://www.economist.com/banyan/2014/05/25/the-darkened-horizon> (Quercus)

*Economist*. "Come on, get happy (Thailand's military coup)," June 7, 2014.

## 6. October 13: Making Democracy Work: Electoral Systems

**NB: this class will be online.**

O'Neil et al. "The United Kingdom."

Shugart, Matthew. "The Electoral System of Israel," Hazan, Reuven Y., Alan Dowty and Menachem Hofnung eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Israeli Politics and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021, 331-350. (Quercus)

Durovic, Anja. "The French elections of 2017: shaking the disease?" *West European Politics* 42. 7. (2019): 1487-1503.  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402382.2019.1591043>

*Recommended reading*

Liphardt, Arendt. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012, Chapter 8. (Quercus)

Baumgart-Ochse, Claudia. "Democratization in Israel, politicized religion and the failure of the Oslo peace process." *Democratization* 16, no. 6 (2009): 1115-1142.  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13510340903271761>

Küchler, Manfred. "The NSDAP Vote in the Weimar Republic: An Assessment of the State-of-the-Art in View of Modern Electoral Research." *Historical Social Research/ Historische Sozialforschung* (1992): 22-52.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/20755627>

Baldini, Gianfranco. "The different trajectories of Italian electoral reforms." *West European Politics* 34, no. 3 (2011): 644-663.  
<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01402382.2011.555988>

## 7. October 20: Apartheid and Segregation

**NB: this class will be online.**

O'Neil et al. "South Africa."

King, Desmond. "Forceful federalism against American racial inequality." *Government and Opposition* 52.2 (2017): 356-382.

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/government-and-opposition/article/abs/forceful-federalism-against-american-racial-inequality/3CE2FC4991F07F9F515243F89B7EE0B1>

Grigoriadis, Ioannis N., and Z. Aslı Elitsoy. "Inside Outsiders: Comparing State Policies Towards Citizens of Palestinian and Kurdish Descent in Israel and Turkey." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* (2021): 1-18.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19448953.2021.1935073>

### *Recommended reading*

Richardson, Heather Cox. *How the South Won the Civil War: Oligarchy, Democracy, and the Continuing Fight for the Soul of America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. [on how appeals to 'freedom' and above all "states' rights" are smokescreens for entrenching racial privilege and how the westward expansion of the Union, after 1865 and 1964, magnified white supremacist power]

King, Desmond. *Separate and Unequal: Black Americans and the US Federal Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. (Chapter 1 on post-reconstruction segregation). (Quercus)

## 8. October 27: Institutions and Political Economy

O'Neil et. al. Chapter 4, "Political Economy."

O'Neil et al. "Germany"

*Financial Times*. "German steps up hunt for migrant workers amid fears for economy," December 19, 2019.

<https://www.ft.com/content/e59457d4-2002-11ea-b8a1-584213ee7b2b> (Quercus)

*Economist*. "How Germany's guestworkers become guest entrepreneurs" November 19, 2020.

<https://www.economist.com/business/2020/11/19/how-germanys-guest-workers-become-guest-entrepreneurs> (Quercus)



*Recommended reading*

Hall, Peter and Soskice, David. *Varieties of Capitalism: the Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, Chapter 1. (Quercus)

O'Neil et al. Political Economy sections of chapters on France, Japan, Russia, China, Mexico, and Nigeria.

Thelen, Kathleen. *Varieties of Liberalization: The New Politics of Social Solidarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, Chapters 1 and 6. (Quercus)

**9. November 3: Eugenics, Sterilization, & People with Mental Disabilities**

Hansen, Randall and King, Desmond. *Sterilized by the State: Eugenics, Race, and the Population Scare in 20<sup>th</sup> Century North America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, "Introduction", Chapter 13, "Welfare, African Americans, and Coerced Sterilization," and "Conclusion: A Century of Coerced Sterilization." (Quercus)

Cecco, Leyland. "Canada must reveal "undiscovered truths" of residential schools to heal," *Guardian*, June 27, 2021: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2021/jun/27/canada-must-reveal-undiscovered-truths-of-residential-schools-to-heal> (Quercus)

Hopper, Tristin. "Why so many sexual predators at Indian Residential Schools Escaped Punishment," *The National Post*, June 10, 2021: <https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/why-so-many-sexual-predators-at-indian-residential-schools-escaped-punishment> (Quercus)

Financial Times. "Irish victim of school sex abuse wins Strasbourg case" <https://www.ft.com/content/583fba7e-883a-11e3-8afa-00144feab7de>, January 28, 2014 (Quercus)

*Recommended reading*

Stern, Alexandra Minna. *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015. ("Introduction," plus a chapter of choice)

Paul, Diane. *The Politics of Heredity: Essays on Eugenics, Biometrics, and the Nature-Nurture Debate*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Trent Jr., James W. *Inventing the Feeble-minded: A History of Mental Retardation in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. ("Introduction," plus a chapter of choice)

**10. November 7-11:** Reading Week. No classes.

**11. November 17: Gender, Identity, and Sexuality**

Encarnación, Omar G. "Gay rights: Why democracy matters." *Journal of Democracy* 25.3 (2014): 90-104. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/549501/summary>

Htun, Mala. "Is gender like ethnicity? The political representation of identity groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2.3 (2004) : 439-458.  
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/perspectives-on-politics/article/is-gender-like-ethnicity-the-political-representation-of-identity-groups/CBBB1B43A6441578C39472B485BFCD38>

Pelz, Michael. *EU Expansion and LGBT Rights: Explaining Variation in State Responses to LGBT Rights in Central and Eastern Europe* (Toronto: University of Toronto PhD in Political Science, 2015), overview chapters. (Quercus)

Economist. *Skirting Pain: Thailand's transvestites and transexuals*, June 14, 2003.  
<https://www.economist.com/books-and-arts/2003/06/12/skirting-pain> (Quercus)

*Recommended reading*

West, Candace and Don H. Zimmerman. "Doing gender." *Gender & society* 1.2 (1987): 125-151: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0891243287001002002>

Paxton, Pamela, Sheri Kunovich, and Melanie M. Hughes. "Gender in politics." *Annu. Rev. Sociol.* 33 (2007): 263-284.  
<https://www.annualreviews.org/doi/abs/10.1146/annurev.soc.33.040406.131651>

Celis, Karen, Kantola, Johanna, Wylen, Georgina and S. Laurel Weldon. 2013. "Introduction: Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline." in *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, eds. Celis, Karen, Kantola, Johanna, Wylen, Georgina, and S. Laurel Weldon. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1-26.  
<https://www-oxfordhandbooks-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199751457.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199751457-e-34>

*Guardian*. "I am not here to entertain: meet Thailand's first transgender MP," April 8, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/06/i-am-not-here-to-entertain-meet-thailands-first-transgender-mp>

Moghadam, Valentine M. "Patriarchy and the politics of gender in modernising societies: Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan." *International Sociology* 7.1 (1992): 35-53.  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/026858092007001002>

Najmabadi, Afsaneh. "Transing and transpassing across sex-gender walls in Iran." *Women's Studies Quarterly* 36.3/4 (2008): 23-42.  
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27649782>

Parla, Ayse. "The" honor" of the state: Virginity examinations in Turkey." *Feminist studies* 27.1 (2001): 65-88. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3178449>

Purkayastha, Bandana, et al. "The study of gender in India: A partial review." *Gender & Society* 17.4 (2003): 503-524.  
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0891243203253793>

Mir-Hosseini, Ziba. "Criminalizing sexuality: zina laws as violence against women in Muslim contexts." *SUR-Int'l J. on Hum Rts.* 15 (2011): 7.  
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/surij15&div=6&id=&page=>

Sherifa Zuhur. "Criminal Law, Women and Sexuality in the Middle East 1." *Deconstructing sexuality in the Middle East*. Routledge, 2016. 17-40.  
<https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315576213-2/criminal-law-women-sexuality-middle-east-1-sherifa-zuhur>

## **12. November 24: Political Violence, Terrorism, and Forced Migration**

O'Neil et al. Chapter 5, "Political Violence" and "Iran."

*Economist*. (Podcast, listen until 08:30min)  
<https://www.economist.com/podcasts/2020/06/10/libyas-neighbours-are-afraid-of-a-complete-breakdown-of-order-a-warlord-flees-the-balance-shifts>

"Migrants and refugees in detention centres: the humanitarian consequences of Libya's governance breakdown" <https://www.refworld.org/docid/583c0d874.html>

"Libya and its migrants confront new threats:" <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2020/05/20/libya-and-its-migrants-confront-new-threats/>

### *Recommended reading*

Gerges, Fawaz A. "ISIS and the Third Wave of Jihadism." *Current History* 113.767 (2014): 339-343.

<https://www.proquest.com/openview/4801ccbdabc5df1da849eeee74aa59a0/1.pdf?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=41559>

Jones, Seth G. "The rise of Afghanistan's insurgency: State failure and Jihad." *International Security* 32.4 (2008): 7-40.

<https://direct.mit.edu/isec/article/32/4/7/11920/The-Rise-of-Afghanistan-s-Insurgency-State-Failure>

**13. December 1: Final online test: 11:00-14:00 [NOTE TIME]**

TBA.