

The University of Toronto
Department of Political Science
POL2701H Comparative Politics Core Course 2A: Comparative Institutional Politics
Winter Term 2022-24

Instructor:

Michael J. Donnelly (mj.donnelly@utoronto.ca)
Office location: 315 Bloor St. W., Room 213
Office hours: TBD

Lecture Time and Venue:

Time: Mondays, 2-4pm, SS3130.

Course Description and Format:

This is one of the two possible core courses designed for those specializing in comparative politics. Building on the required core course in the previous term, this course provides further coverage on areas that centre on institutions and a “top-down” approach to studying politics. This seminar is reading and discussion intensive. All students are expected to have covered the required readings for each session. The recommended readings complement the required readings and the expectation is that, together, they will provide a foundation for students preparing for field examination. While I have indicated specific chapters for the required books, that does not mean that the other chapters are unimportant.

| | <u>Requirements:</u> | Weight |
|---|--|---------------|
| 1 | Class Participation (12) Demonstrate knowledge of readings, ability to see the bigger picture, and how they all “fit together”. | 15% |
| 2 | Discussion Lead (4) Each week (weeks 2-11), 2 students will be assigned to lead the discussion. Working together, they should produce a set of discussion questions designed to hit the key theoretical, methodological, and empirical points of the week’s topic. Weeks to be assigned. | 10% |
| 3 | Reading Responses (2) 3 pages each addressing: what are the key questions, theoretical arguments and contribution, and evidence? How does it inform on the “big picture” in comparative politics? Offer your own critique. Weeks to be assigned. Electronic copy due 8pm the day before. | 25% |
| 4 | Mini essay: Application (1) 10-15 single-spaced pages: Identify a big debate in the field – a question on which prominent scholars disagree. Summarize at least | 35% |

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| | two positions and describe a research design that would let you adjudicate between them. A rough draft should be sent to your discussant before class on Week 11. Due on the final class. | |
| 5 | Presentation (1) In the final week, each student will present their final project. Format to be discussed in class. | 10% |
| 6 | Discussant (1) Each student presentation will be assigned a discussant. Written and oral comments will be graded. | 5% |

Week 1 (8 Jan): Researching Institutions

- Barbara Geddes, 2003. *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics*, University of Michigan Press. (Chs. 2 and 3)
- Ashworth, Scott, Christopher R. Berry, and Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2021. *Theory and Credibility: Integrating Theoretical and Empirical Social Science*. Princeton (N.J.): Princeton University press. (Ch. 1, 2, and 3).
- Capoccia, Giovanni, and R. Daniel Kelemen. 2007. “The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism.” *World Politics* 59(3): 341–69.

Recommended:

- Dunning, Thad et al., eds. 2019. *Information, accountability, and cumulative learning: lessons from Metaketa I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexander George and Andrew Bennett, 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. The MIT Press.

Week 2 (15 Jan): The State I: Public Goods, Embeddedness, and Reach

- Jeffry Herbst. 2000. *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press. (Ch. 1)
- Joel Migdal. 2001. *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2 (pp.3-57).
- Douglass North. 1986. “A Neoclassical Theory of the State,” in Jon Elster, ed. *Rational Choice*. New York University Press. (pp. 248-261).
- Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2023. “Tilly Goes to Church: The Religious and Medieval Roots of European State Fragmentation.” *American Political Science Review*. Online first.

Recommended:

- Matthias vom Hau, 2015. “State Theory: Four Analytical Traditions” in *The Oxford Handbook of Transformations of the State*, edited by Stephan Leibfried, Evelyne Huber, Matthew Lange, Jonah Levy, and John Stephens.
- Michael Mann 2008. “Infrastructural Power Revisited”, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 43: 355-365.
- Abramson, Scott F. 2017. “The Economic Origins of the Territorial State.” *International Organization* 71(1): 97–130.

Week 3 (22 Jan): The State II: State Power, Compliance, and Legitimation

- Margaret Levi, 1998. *Of Rule and Revenue*. University of California Press. Introduction (pp.1-9) and Chapter 3 (pp.48-70).
- James Scott, 1998. *Seeing like a State*. Yale University Press. Introduction (pp.1-8), Chapter 2 (pp.53-84) and Chapter 6 (pp.193-222).
- Lieberman, Victor. 2010. “A Zone of Refuge in Southeast Asia? Reconceptualizing Interior Spaces.” *Journal of Global History* 5(2): 333–46.

Recommended:

- Lukes, Steven. 2005. *Power: A Radical View*, 2nd edition. Palgrave.
- Wedeen, Lisa. 1999. *Ambiguities of Domination: Politics, Rhetoric, and Symbols in Contemporary Syria*. University of Chicago Press.
- John Gaventa. 1982. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. University of Illinois Press. Chapters 1 and 2 (pp.3-46).
- James Scott, 2009. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. Yale University Press.

Week 4 (29 Jan): Political Economy

- Stephan Haggard, 2018. *Developmental States*, Cambridge University Press. (Section 4).
- Ross, Michael L. 1999. “The Political Economy of the Resource Curse.” *World Politics* 51(2): 297–322.

- Thelen, Kathleen. 2012. "Varieties of Capitalism: Trajectories of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15(1): 137–59.
- Culpepper, Pepper D. 2010. *Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and Japan*. Cambridge University Press. (Chs. 1 and 2)
- Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2012. "Democracy, War, and Wealth: Lessons from Two Centuries of Inheritance Taxation." *American Political Science Review* 106(1): 81–102.

Recommended:

- Miguel Centeno, Atul Kohli, and Deborah Yashar with Dinish Mistree, eds., 2017. *States in the Developing World*. Cambridge University Press.
- Evans, Peter. 1989. Predatory, developmental, and other apparatuses: a comparative political economy perspective on the Third World state. *Sociological Forum* 4(4): 561–587.
- Atul Kohli, 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge University Press.
- Beramendi, Pablo, Silja Häusermann, Herbert Kitschelt, and Hanspeter Kriesi, eds. 2015. *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press. (Chs. 2, 11, and 12)

Week 5 (5 Feb): Regimes I: Origins

- Theda Skocpol, 1973. "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy", *Politics & Society*, 4(1): 1-34.
- Daron Acemoglu, and James A. Robinson, 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press. (Chs. 2-3)
- Carles Boix and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics*. 55(4).

Recommended:

- Barrington Moore. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Berman, Sheri, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic", *World Politics* 49 (1997), pp. 401-439.
- Gregory M. Luebbert. 1987. "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe," *World Politics*. 39(4): 449-478.

Week 6 (12 Feb): Regimes II: Stability and Transition

- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman. 2012. "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule", *American Political Science Review*, 106 (3): 495-516.
- Linz, Juan. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1(1): 51–69.
- Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Ziblatt. 2010. "The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda for Europe and Beyond", *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(8/9): 931-968.
- Barbara Geddes, 1999. "What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-144.

Recommended:

- Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. 2010. "Inequality and Democratization: A Contrarian Approach." *Comparative Political Studies*, 43 (12): 1543–74.
- Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Reading Week (19 Feb)

Week 7 (26 Feb): Authoritarianism

- Milan Svolik, 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge University Press. (Ch. 1s and 4)
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press. (Ch. 2)
- Beatriz Magaloni, 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press. (Introduction)

Recommended:

- Bueno de Mesquita B, Smith A, Siverson RM, Morrow JD. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. MIT Press.
- Mary Gallagher and Jonathan Hanson, 2015. "Power Tool or Dull Blade? Selectorate Theory for Autocracies", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18:367–85.

- Blaydes, Lisa. 2010. *Elections and Distributive Politics in Mubarak's Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 8 (4 March): Democratic Regimes

- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Chs. 1-3, 5, and 14).
- Cheibub, José Antonio. 2007. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Ch. 5)
- Money, Jeannette, and George Tsebelis. 1992. "Cicero's Puzzle: Upper House Power in Comparative Perspective." *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique* 13(1): 25–43.

Recommended

- Cheibub, José Antonio. 2007. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tsebelis, George. 1995. "Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism." *British Journal of Political Science* 25(03): 289–325.
- Laver, Michael, and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1994. *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government*. Cambridge University Press.
- Herron, Erik S., Robert Pekkanen, and Matthew Soberg Shugart, eds. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Katzenstein, Peter J. 1985. *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Week 9 (11 March): Democratic Institutions (I)

- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press. (pp. 1-34)

- Vries, Catherine E De, and Sara B Hobolt. 2020. *Political Entrepreneurs*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Introduction and Ch. 1)
- Norris, Pippa. 1997. "Choosing Electoral Systems: Proportional, Majoritarian and Mixed Systems." *International Political Science Review* 18(3): 297–312.
- Taagepera, Rein, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1993. "Predicting the Number of Parties: A Quantitative Model of Duverger's Mechanical Effect." *American Political Science Review* 87(2): 455–64.
- Herron, Erik S., Robert Pekkanen, and Matthew Soberg Shugart, eds. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. (Chs. 1 and 2)

Recommended

- Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2006. "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Distribute More than Others." *American Political Science Review* 100(2).
- Laver, Michael, and Norman Schofield. 1998. *Multiparty Government: The Politics of Coalition in Europe*. University of Michigan Press.
- Laver, Michael, and Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1990. "Coalitions and Cabinet Government." *American Political Science Review* 84(3): 873–90.
- Strøm, Kaare. 2000. "Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 37(3): 261–90.
- Warwick, Paul V., and James N. Druckman. 2006. "The Portfolio Allocation Paradox: An Investigation into the Nature of a Very Strong but Puzzling Relationship." *European Journal of Political Research* 45(4): 635–65.
- Mair, Peter. 2013. *Ruling the Void*. London: Verso Books.

Week 10 (18 March): Democratic Institutions (II)

- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Chs. 10 and 12).
- Hirschl, Ran. 2011. "The Judicialization of Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science*, ed. Robert Goodin. Oxford University Press, Ch. 13.
- Rodden, Jonathan. 2004. "Comparative Federalism and Decentralization: On Meaning and Measurement." *Comparative Politics* 36(4): 481–500.

- Hooghe, Liesbet, Gary Marks, Arjan H. Schakel, and Liesbet Hooghe. 2016. *Community, Scale, and Regional Governance*. First edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Chs. 1 and 3, skim Ch. 2).

Recommended

- Gidron, Noam. 2023. "Why Israeli Democracy Is in Crisis." *Journal of Democracy* 34(4): 33–45.
- Holland, Alisha C. 2016. "Forbearance." *American Political Science Review* 110(2): 232–46.
- Dixit, Avinash, and John Londregan. 1998. "Fiscal Federalism and Redistributive Politics." *Journal of Public Economics* 68(2): 153–80.
- Brancati, Dawn. 2009. *Peace by Design*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hooghe, Liesbet et al. 2016. *Measuring Regional Authority: A Postfunctional Theory of Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beramendi, Pablo. 2012. *The Political Geography of Inequality: Regions and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Tillin, Louise. 2016. "Asymmetric Federalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of the Indian Constitution*, eds. Sujit Choudhry, Madhav Khosla, and Pratap Bhanu Mehta. Oxford University Press, Ch. 30
- Wibbels, Erik. 2006. "Madison in Baghdad?: Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics." *Political Science* 9(1): 165.

Week 11 (25 March): Voting, Elections and Clientelism

- Przeworski, Adam, and John Sprague. 1986. *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago press. (Chs. 2 and 4)
- Fearon, James D. 1999. "Electoral Accountability and the Control of Politicians: Selecting Good Types versus Sanctioning Poor Performance." In *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, eds. Adam Przeworski, Susan Stokes, and Bernard Manin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Susan Stokes, 2007. Political Clientelism. *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford University Press.
- Tariq Thachil. 2011. "Embedded Mobilization: Nonstate Service Provision as Electoral Strategy in India." *World Politics* 63 (3): 434-69.

Recommended:

- Cammett, Melani, and Sukriti Issar. 2010. "Bricks and mortar clientelism: sectarianism and the logics of welfare allocation in Lebanon." *World Politics* 62 (3): 381-421.
- Stokes, Susan, C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, Sue Stokes, and Bernard Manin, eds. 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Week 12 (1 April): Paper Discussions