POL2702 Constituent Power in Comparative Perspective: Identity, Contention, and Mobilization

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January – April 2024 Tuesdays, 2 pm – 4 pm

Office Hours: 14:00-15:00 Thursdays

This seminar examines dimensions of comparative politics that are beyond or below the state. Asking how social and political power interact, it considers how preferences, identities, and subjectivities are formed, 2) how they are mobilized through contentious politics, and 3) how they relate to state power across a wide range of historical and contemporary contexts.

The seminar is reading and discussion intensive. Students must cover the required readings for each session. The recommended readings complement the required readings and are there for anyone considering a dissertation on the topic.

Readings

Main Readings: Weekly readings are available via the U of T Library website. Where that is not possible (e.g., books that do not have a digital version), pdfs will be uploaded to Quercus.

Assignments

Participation and Engagement (25%): Our seminar depends on your preparation. You will be rewarded for the quality rather than in the length or frequency of your interventions. That said, silence provides no indication of how you are engaging with the literatures.

As a part of the participation mark, students are expected to post brief thoughts, reflections, and questions to a Quercus discussion thread in response to the week's material. Please post by 11:59 pm on Monday, beginning with Week 2. Ask yourself: what are the major questions raised by the articles? What are the conclusions? Does the literature have any weaknesses? What's missing? One-two paragraphs is sufficient.

Critical Reaction Papers (25%). Choose 5 weeks in which you write a critical reaction to the day's material (avoiding summary). These should be 4 double-spaced pages, 12-point font, and 1-inch margins. If you exceed the length, I will send the paper back. The paper should be written in clear prose; strive for short sentences, eliminate adjectives, and use the active tense.

Critical reaction papers are due by 14:00 on Monday and must cover that week's readings.

Oral Presentation on Readings (10%): Offer a short (5-7 minute) presentation that provokes discussion on the day's topic. Do not read; instead, put together a talk that is organized and conceived as an oral presentation. You will be marked on the degree to which you: 1) provide stimulating questions/critiques

while minimizing summary; 2) consider interconnections among the assigned readings; 3) consider links to other days' readings; 4) integrate discussion of some additional readings into your presentation.

Please keep to your time. I will give you a two-minute warning and end the presentation when time is up, even if you are in the middle of a sentence.

Critical Book Reviews: Write two critical book reviews of 10 pages double-spaced. Analyze the books, which are (Marx excepted) historical and empirical in focus, in the light of at least one week's readings and theories. How well do these readings account for the material? Does anything need to be qualified or added? In the light of the existing theoretical literature, what are the strengths and weaknesses of the books? Does the empirical material necessitate revisions to theory?

Choose two of the following:

Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin* (Vintage, 2014).
Anthony W. Marx, *Making Race and Nation* (Cambridge, 1998).
Christopher Phillips, the *Syrian Civil War* (Yale, 2020).
Carrie Rofesky Wickham, *The Muslim Brotherhood: The Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Princeton, 2013).
Lane Windham, *Knocking on Labor's Economic Door: Union Organizing in the 1970s and the Roots of a New Economic Divide* (Chapel Hill, 2017).

Due dates: February 26, 11:59 pm and March 25, 11:59 pm. Submit to Quercus.

Course Policies

Email: Consult the syllabus and other course information before submitting inquiries by email and raise any issues of general concern – course requirements, intellectual content of the readings – in class.

Keep copies: Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their assignments before submitting them. Keep them until the marked assignments have been returned.

Plagiarism: Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on Plagiarism at http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html. This course uses anti-plagiarism software to deter plagiarism. Students agree that by taking this course all required papers may be subject to submission for textual similarity review to this software for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the digital reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers.

Extensions: On rare occasions, circumstances justify an extension. Requests are entertained up to 72 hours before the due date; after that, a doctors note is required.

Accessibility Needs: The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations or have any accessibility concerns, please visit <u>http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility</u> as soon as possible.

MEETINGS AT A GLANCE

MEETING	DATE	TOPICS
1	January 9	Preferences, Interests, Identities
2	January 16	Gender
3	January 23	Sexuality
4	January 30	Ethnicity
5	February 6	Race
6	February 13	Class
7	February 27	Social Movements
8	March 5	Migrant Mobilization
9	March 12	Expulsion & Dispossession
10	March 19	Violence
11	March 26	State-Society 9Relations I
12	April 2	State-Society Relations II

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1 (January 9): Preferences, Interests, Identities

- Fraser, Nancy, "From Redistribution to Recognition: Dilemmas of Justice in a Post-Socialist Age," *New Left Review* 1/212 (1995).
- Smith, Rogers M. "Identities, interests, and the future of political science," *Perspectives on Politics* 2(2), 2004: 301-31V2.
- Wildavsky, Aaron. "Choosing preferences by constructing institutions: A cultural theory of preference formation," *The American political science review* 81(1), March 1987: 3-22.
- Bonilla, Tabitha and Alvin Tillery. "Which Identity Frames Boost Support for and Mobilization in the #BlackLivesMatter Movement? An Experimental Test," *American Political Science Review* 114 (4), 2020: 947–962
- Brubaker, Rogers and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond Identity," *Theory and Society* 29(1), 2000: 1-47.
- Abdewal, Rawi Yoshiko Herrera, Alistair Johnson and Rose McDermott. "Identity as a Variable," *Perspectives on Politics* 4(4), 2006: 695-711

- Druckman, James N., and Mary C. McGrath. "The evidence for motivated reasoning in climate change preference formation," *Science* (2019).
- Finnemore, Martha, and Kathryn Sikkink. "Taking stock: the constructivist research program in international relations and comparative politics," *Annual review of political science* 4(1), 2001: 391-416.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, and Philipp Rehm. "Occupations as a site of political preference formation," *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12), 2014: 1670-1706.
- Hindess, Barry. "'Interests' in political analysis," *The Sociological Review* 32 (1984): 112-131.

Week 2 (January 16): Gender

- Beckwith, Karen. 2010. "Comparative Politics and the Logics of a Comparative Politics of Gender," *Perspectives on Politics* 8(1): 159-168.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When multiplication doesn't equal quick addition: Examining intersectionality as a research paradigm," *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63-79.
- Sperling, Valerie. "Putin's macho personality cult," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 49(1), 2016: 13-23.
- Krook, Mona Lena, and Juliana Restrepo Sanín. "The cost of doing politics? Analyzing violence and harassment against female politicians," *Perspectives on Politics* 18(30, 2020: 740-755.
- Baldez, Lisa, "Women's movements and democratic transition in Chile, Brazil, East Germany, and Poland," *Comparative Politics* 35(3), 2003: 253-272.

- Sapiro, Virginia. "Research Frontier Essay: When Are Interests Interesting? The Problem of Political Representation of Women," *The American Political Science Review* 75(3), 1981: 701-716.
- Hawkesworth, M. "Sex, Gender, and Sexuality: From Naturalized Presumption to Analytical Categories." In Waylen, Georgina, Celis, Karen, Kantola, Johanna and Laurel Weldon (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2013
- Collins, Patricia., & Chepp, Valerie. "Intersectionality." In Waylen, Georgina, Celis, Karen, Kantola, Johanna and Laurel Weldon (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*.: Oxford University Press, 2013
- Inglehart, Ronald, and Pippa Norris. "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective." *International Political Science Review*, vol. 21(4), 2000: 441–463.
- Peter K. Hatemi, Rose McDermott, J. Michael Bailey, and Nicholas G. Martin. "The Different Effects of Gender and Sex on Vote Choice," *Political Research Quarterly* 65(1), 2011: 76-92.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. "Representing Women: The Adoption of Family Leave in Comparative Perspective." *The Journal of Politics* 70(2), 2008: 323-34
- Chattopadhyay, Raghabendra, and Esther Duflo. "Women as policy makers: Evidence from a randomized policy experiment in India," *Econometrica* 72(5), 2004: 1409-1443
- Lazarev, Egor. "Laws in Conflict: Legacies of War, Gender, and Legal Pluralism in Chechnya," *World Politics*, *71*(4), 2019: 667-709.
- Waylen, G. "Women and Democratization Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics. *World Politics*, 46(3), 1994: 327-354
- Tripp, Aili M. "Toward a comparative politics of gender research in which women matter," *Perspectives on Politics*, 8(1), 2010: 191-197.
- Htun, Mala. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(3), 2004: 439-458.
- Bouka, Yolande, "Researching Violence in Africa as a Black Woman: Notes from Rwanda," Working Paper, <u>http://conflictfieldresearch.colgate.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Bouka_WorkingPaper-May2015.pdf</u>.

• Cohn, Carol, "Motives and Methods: Using Multi-Sited Ethnography to Study US National Security Discourses," in *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*, eds, Brooke A. Ackerly, Maria Stern and Jacqui True (Cambridge, 2006), 91–107

Week 3 (January 23): Sexuality

- Kollman, Kelly and Matthew Waites. "The Global Politics of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Human Rights: An Introduction," in *Contemporary Politics* 15(1), 2009: 1-17
- Reynolds, Andrew. "Representation and rights: The impact of LGBT legislators in comparative perspective," *American Political Science Review*, *107*(2), 2013: 259-274.
- Wilkinson, Cai, Evren M. Eken, Laura Mills, Roxanne Krystalli, Harry D. Gould, Jesse Crane-Seeber, and Paul Kirby. "Responding to #AllMalePanels: A Collage." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18(3), July 2, 2016: 477–91.
- Awondo, Patrick, Peter Geschiere, and Graeme Reid. "Homophobic Africa? Toward a More Nuanced View." *African Studies Review* 55(3), 2012: 145-168.
- Ayoub, Phillip M. "With Arms Wide Shut: Threat Perception, Norm Reception, and Mobilized Resistance to LGBT Rights." *Journal of Human Rights* 13(3), 2014: 337-362.
- Delatolla, Andrew. "Sexuality as a Standard of Civilization: Historicizing (Homo) Colonial Intersections of Race, Gender, and Class," *International Studies Quarterly* 64(1), 2020: 148-158.

Recommended

- Canaday, Margot. *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009
- Paternotte, David. "Coming Out of the Political Science Closet: The Study of LGBT politics in Europe." *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 1 (1-2), 2018: 55-74.
- Cohen, Cathy J. "Bulldaggers, Punks, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*. 3(4), 1997: 437-485.
- Bernstein, Mary. "Celebration and suppression: The strategic uses of identity by the lesbian and gay movement." *American Journal of Sociology* 103(3), 1997: 531-565.

Week 4 (January 30): Ethnicity

- Horowitz, Donald. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, Chapter 1, 3-54.
- Chandra, Kanchan. "What is ethnic identity and does it matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9 (2006): 397-424.
- Posner, Daniel N. "The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98(4), 2004: 529-545.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. "Ethnic conflict and civil society: India and beyond," *World politics*, *53*(3), 2001: 362-398.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin, "Explaining interethnic co-operation," *The American Political Science Review* Vol. 90(4): Dec 1996: 715-735
- Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity Without Groups*, Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004: Chaps 1,
 2.

Recommended

- Ezeibe, Christian Chukwuebuka, and Okey Marcellus Ikeanyibe. "Ethnic politics, hate speech, and access to political power in Nigeria.," *Africa Today* 63(4), 2017: 65-83.
- Yuan, Zhenjie. "The Daily Politics of Inter-ethnic Mingling in the Xinjiangban," *Asian Studies Review* 43(1), 2019: 36-55.
- Chandra, Kanchan. "Ethnic parties and democratic stability." *Perspectives on politics* 3(2), 2005: 235-252.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict," in Charles Boix and Susan C Stokes (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Prescls, 2007, 274-294
- Mamdani, Mahmood. *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism and the Genocide in Rwanda*, Princeton University Press, 2001: 76-102.

Week 5 (February 6): Race

- Marx, Anthony. "Race Making and the Nation-State," *World Politics* 48(2), January 1996: 180-208
- Thompson, Debra. The Schematic State. Cambridge University Press, 2016, Chapters 1-2, 1-49
- Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks,* Grove Press, 1952 (reissued 2008): Foreword by Kwame Anthony Appiah and Chaps 1, 7, 8.
- Mills, Charles W. *The Racial Contract,* Cornell University Press, 1997, Introduction and Overview, 1-40.
- Roediger, David. *The Wages of Whiteness*, London: Verso, 1991: Chapters 1,2.

Recommended

- Soss, Joe, and Vesla Weaver. "Police are our government: Politics, political science, and the policing of race–class subjugated communities." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20 (2017).
- Frankenberg, Ruth. *White Women, Race Matters: The social construction of whiteness*. University of Minnesota Press, 1993
- Sen, Maya, and Omar Wasow. "Race as a bundle of sticks: Designs that estimate effects of seemingly immutable characteristics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 19, 2016: 499-522
- Comaroff, John L. "Reflections on the colonial state, in South Africa and elsewhere: factions, fragments, facts and fictions." *Social Identities* 4(3), 1998: 321-361.
- Mahmood Mamdani, 1996. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: Chaps 1-3 (especially chapter 1) pp 3-108.
- Jung, Courtney. *The Moral Force of Indigenous Politics: Critical Liberalism and the Zapatistas*, Cambridge University Press, 2008: Introduction and Chapter 1.

Week 6 (February 13): Class

- Barrie, Christopher, and Neil Ketchley. "Opportunity without organization: Labor mobilization in Egypt after the 25th January revolution." *Mobilization* 23(2), 2018: 181-202.
- Bottero, Wendy. "Class identities and the identity of class," *Sociology* 38(5), 2004: 985-1003.
- Hansen, Randall, War, Work and Want: How the OPEC Oil Crisis Generated Mass Migration and Revolution (OUP, 2023), chapter 13.
- Walsh, Katherine Cramer. "Putting inequality in its place: Rural consciousness and the power of perspective," *American Political Science Review* 106(3), 2012: 517-532.

- Maharawal, Manissa McCleave. "Occupy Wall Street and a Radical Politics of Inclusion." *The Sociological Quarterly* 54(2), 2013: 177-181.
- Mondon, Aurelien, and Aaron Winter. "Whiteness, populism and the racialisation of the working class in the United Kingdom and the United States." *Identities* 26(5), 2019: 510-528.

Recommended

- Chen, Calvin, and Rudra Sil. "Communist legacies, postcommunist transformations, and the fate of organized labor in Russia and China." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41(2), 2006: 62-87.
- Collier, Ruth Berins, and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the political arena: critical junctures, the labor movement, and regime dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard A. Cloward. *Poor people's movements: Why they succeed, how they fail.* Vol. 697. Vintage, 1979.

Week 7 (February 27): Social Movements

- Tarrow, Sidney. *Power in Movement: social movements, collective action and politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Introduction and Chapter 1.
- McAdam, Doug. *Political Processes and the Development of Black Supremacy*, 1939-1970. University of Chicago Press, 1982. Introduction to the Second Edition, vii-xlii
- Simmons, Erica S. "Market Reforms and Water Wars," World Politics 68(1), 2016: 37-73.
- Yashar, Deborah J. "Contesting citizenship: Indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America." *Comparative politics* 1998: 23-42.
- Lohmann, Susanne. "The dynamics of informational cascades: The Monday demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989–91." *World politics* 47(1), 1994: 42-101.
- Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, 1-47

- Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow. *Contentious Politics (2nd Edition)*, Oxford University Press, 2015. Chapters 1 and 2
- Kitschelt, Herbert P. "Political opportunity structures and political protest: Anti-nuclear movements in four democracies." *British journal of political science* 16(1), 1986: 57-85.
- Roger Gould. "Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871," in the *American Sociological Review* 56(6), 1991: 716-729
- Pearlman, Wendy. *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Yashar, Deborah J. Contesting citizenship in Latin America: The rise of indigenous movements and the postliberal challenge. Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Simmons, Erica S. *Meaningful resistance: Market reforms and the roots of social protest in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Chenoweth, Erica, Evan Perkoski, and Sooyeon Kang. "State repression and nonviolent resistance." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(9), 2017: 1950-1969.

Week 8 (March 5): Migrant Mobilization

- Balaguera, Martha, "Trans-migrations: Agency and Confinement and the Limits of Sovereignty," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 43(3): 641-666.
- Chimienti, Milena, "Mobilization of irregular migrants in Europe: a comparative analysis," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(8): 1338-1356.
- Eberle, Meghan & Holliday, Ian, "Precarity and Political Immobilisation: Migrants from Burma in Chiang Mai, Thailand," *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 41(3): 371-392.
- Adamson, Fiona, "Sending States and the Making of Intra-Diasporic Politics: Turkey and its Diaspora," *International Migration Review* 53(1): 210-236.
- Apostolidis, Paul, *The Fight for Time: Migrant Day Laborers and the Politics of Precarity* (OUP, 2019), chapter 6.
- Norman, Kelsey, "Migration and refugee mobilization in North African host states: Egypt and Morocco in comparison," *The Journal of North African Studies* 26(4) (2021), 679-708.

Week 9 (March 12): Expulsion & dispossession

- Chatty, Dawn *Displacement and Dispossession in the Modern Middle East* (CUP, 2010), Chapter 5 (Palestinians).
- Garrity, Meghan M., "What Enables or Constrains Mass Expulsion? A New Decision-Making Framework," *Security Studies* 32(3) (2023): 537-567.
- Kopstein, Jeffrey S., and Jason Wittenberg. *Intimate violence: Anti-Jewish pogroms on the eve of the Holocaust*. Cornell University Press, 2018, pp. 1-21, pp. 127-136 (indigenous peoples).
- Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Cambridge, 2005), chapters 1, 4, 6, and 11.
 Service, Hugo, "Reinterpreting the Expulsion of Germans from Poland, 1945-9," *Journal of Contemporary History* 47(3) (2012): 528-550.

- Ahonen, Pertti et al., *People on the Move* (Berg, 2008)
- Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al, *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee & Forced Migration Studies* (OUP, 2014).
- Bessel, Richard and Claudia B. Haake, *Removing Peoples* (OUP, 2009).
- Fiddian, Elena, "Relocating: The Asylum Experience in Cairo," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies*, 8(2), 2006: 295-318.
- Landau, Loren, "The dual imperative in refugee research: some methodological and ethical considerations in social science research on forced migration," *Disasters* 27 (2).
- Landau, Loren, "Governing Displaced Cities: Calibrating reconstruction amidst instability," *Urban Recovery* (2021): 90-107.
- Mylonas, Harris, *The Politics of Nation-Building: Making Co-Nationals, Refugees, and Minorities* (CUP, 2012).
- Straus, Scot, *Making and Unmaking Nations: War, Leadership, and Genocide in Modern Africa* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

Week 10 (March 19): Violence

- Fujii, Lee Ann. *Killing neighbors: Webs of violence in Rwanda*. Cornell University Press, 2011, pp. 1-22, pp. 180-189
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. "Variation in Sexual Violence during War." *Politics & Society* 34(3), 2006: 307-341.
- David Marybury-Lewis, "Genocide against Indigenous Peoples," in Alexander Laban Hinton, *Annihilating Difference: the Anthropology of Genocide* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2002).
- Kalyvas, Stathis. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 1-31, pp. 146-209
- Shesterinina, Anastasia. "Collective Threat Framing and Mobilization in Civil War." *American Political Science Review* 110(3), 2016: 411-427.
- Cohen, Dara Kay. Rape During Civil War. Cornell University Press, 2016, chapters 1-2.

Recommended

- Valentino, Benjamin. "Why We Kill: The Political Science of Political Violence against Civilians," *Annual Review of Political Science* 17, 2014: 89-103.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2003. *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*, Ch. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8.
- Fearon, James and David Laitin. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97(1), 2003: 75-90.
- Braun, Robert. "Religious Minorities and Resistance to Genocide: The Collective Rescue of Jews in the Netherlands during the Holocaust." *American Political Science Review* 110(1), 2016: 127-147.
- Brass, Paul. *Theft of an Idol*. Princeton University Press, 1997
- Kalyvas, Stathis. "The Ontology of "Political Violence: Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1(3), 2003: 475-494.

Week 11 (March 26): State-Society Relations I

- Scott, James. C. *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia.* Yale University Press, 2010: 1-39; 178-282
- Herbst, Jeffrey Ira. *States and power in Africa: comparative lessons in authority and control.* Princeton University Press, 2000, excerpt TBA
- Risse, Thomas, and Eric Stollenwerk. "Legitimacy in areas of limited statehood." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 403-418.
- Adams, Julia. "The Puzzle of the American State... and Its Historians." *The American Historical Review* 115(3), 2010: 786-91.
- Jennifer Brick Murtazashvili, *Informal order and the state in Afghanistan*. Cambridge University Press, 2016, chapter 2
- Joel Migdal. *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World.* Princeton University Press, 1988, chapters 1, 8.

Recommended

• MacKay, Joseph, Jamie Levin, Gustavo de Carvalho, Kristin Cavoukian, and Ross Cuthbert. "Before and after borders: The nomadic challenge to sovereign territoriality." *International Politics* 51(1), 2014: 101-123.

- Noah Coburn, *Bazaar politics: power and pottery in an Afghan market town*. Stanford University Press, 2011
- E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*. Oxford, 1940
- Skowronek, Stephen. "Present at the Creation: The State in Early American Political History," *Journal of the Early Republic* 38(1), Spring 2018: 95-103

Week 12 (April 2): State-Society Relations II

- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky. 2004. "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics* Vol. 2, no. 4: pp 725-740.
- Stokes, Susan, C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, Chapters 1-3, 9
- Darden, Keith. "The integrity of corrupt states: Graft as an informal state institution." *Politics & society* 36(1), 2008: 35-59.
- Cammett, Melani, and Sukriti Issar. "Bricks and mortar clientelism: sectarianism and the logics of welfare allocation in Lebanon." *World Politics* 62 (3), 2010: 381-421.
- Thachil, Tariq. "Embedded Mobilization: Nonstate Service Provision as Electoral Strategy in India." *World Politics* 63(3), 2011: 434-69.
- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. "What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt out of Clientelism." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3), 2013: 563-83.

- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson. "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction," in *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, eds. Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson. Cambridge UP, 2007, 1-49
- Wantchekon, Leonard. "Clientelism and voting behavior: Evidence from a field experiment in Benin." *World Politics* 55(3), 2003: 399-422.
- Golden, Miriam, and Brian Min. "Distributive politics around the world." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16, 2013: 73-99.
- Scheiner, Ethan. "Pipelines of Pork: Japanese Politics and a Model of Local Opposition Party Failure." *Comparative Political Studies* 38(7), 2005: 799-823
- Levitsky, Steven. "From Populism to Clientelism? The transformation of labor-based party linkages in Latin America" in *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, eds. Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson. Cambridge University Press, 2007, 206-226.