**POLS 5403: Graduate Seminar on Comparative Politics** 

Spring 2019 4:30-7:10 pm Tuesdays Murray 227

Dr. Holley E. Hansen Murray Hall 203 Email: <u>holleyh@okstate.edu</u> Office Hours: 10:30-11:30 & 12:30-1:30 Th, 9:30-11:30 & 1:30-3:30 F, <sup>1</sup> or by appointment

#### **Course Description**

This course gives a survey of the Political Science subfield of Comparative Politics. During the semester, we will cover the common methodologies, theoretical approaches, and research questions that influence the field. We will read several seminal works in Comparative Politics and engage with more recent work.

#### **Required Reading**

The following six books are required for the course, and are available for purchase from the campus bookstore:

- Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. How Democracies Die. New York: Crown.
- Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman. 2009. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 2012. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Any readings NOT included in this list are posted on the course's Brightspace page.

#### **Requirements and Grading**

Our course work includes:

- **Participation (25%)**. This is a seminar class; you are expected to attend class regularly and engage with quality comments.
- Weekly Reading Summaries (20%). Over the course of the semester, you will write 5 short (3-page) discussion papers on the assigned reading for that week. You can either focus on doing an intense critique of one of the readings that week, or you can write an overview piece on how the different readings speak to one another.

While you are allowed to provide a short (1-2 paragraph) summary of your reading(s) the bulk of the paper should be dedicated to providing a critical assessment of that work. Some questions you might tackle:

- What does the reading (or readings) do really well, and where did it fall short (in your opinion)?
- Did you agree or disagree with the authors' main argument (and why)? If different readings disagree with one another, which one did you find most persuasive?
- Are there methodological problems with this paper? If so, what would you suggest to improve this paper / what would you differently if you were going to study this topic?
- Can you think of any spin-off research questions and projects that are inspired by the readings? How would you set up a research paper on this topic?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am one of the volunteers for the Pete's Pet Posse Therapy Dogs program along with my dog, Cooper. As part of my volunteer activities, Cooper will be present during my Friday office hours. If you need to meet during this time and would prefer not to have a dog around, just let me know and I will make alternative arrangements.

At the end of the paper, students should list 2-3 questions or ideas they had about the article that they can bring up during class discussion. These questions can include questions about the article itself (and its theory or methodology). Or, you could list ideas that you had for a new research project that could branch off this reading – something we could discuss and maybe brainstorm on how to do.

All reading response papers are due by 5pm the day before our class.

- **Cumulative Exam (25%)**. During the last week of class, I will distribute a list of final exam in a format similar to a field exam in the field of comparative politics. This exam will be take-home, open book, and open note, but you are not allowed to work in groups to complete this exam. Strong answers will make reference to many of the assigned readings from this course, and you are encouraged to conduct additional research on your topic to help improve your answers. You must upload the exam to the online dropbox before the end of our scheduled final exam time.
- **Research Design (30%).** During the course, we are reading *How Democracies Die*, a book that has gained substantial public popularity (it was on the *New York Times* Bestseller list) and written by Harvard political scientists Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt. For your final paper, you will write a research design that seeks to test their main research question: "What are the factors that lead to democratic decline and failure?"

While Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) will be the starting point for your analysis (and may play a large role in your paper's introduction!), I want you to also engage with other comparative work on democratic failure and regime transitions. Your final research proposal should be 10-15 pages (double-spaced), and include a title page and reference list in APSA format.

The basic format for a research design:

- 1) <u>Title Page</u>
- 2) <u>Introduction</u>: Why does this topic matter?
- 3) <u>Literature Review</u>: An overview of major past arguments/factors that lead to democratic failure
- 4) <u>Theory</u>: Identifies your main independent variables and explains *why* they increase or decrease democratic failure; must include a hypothesis for each variable.
- 5) <u>Methodology</u>: A "roadmap" of how you intend to test your hypotheses. Includes a discussion of case selection, how you are measuring your dependent variable (democratic decline), how you are measuring and assessing the impact of your independent variables, and how you are accounting for alternative explanations (aka control variables) to make sure your independent variable(s) is really causing your dependent variable.

To provide feedback on your projects, we'll be completing two draft assignments through the semester so I can provide you feedback, including:

A Literature Outline: Due March 5 (in-class)

A twist on the standard annotated bibliography assignment, you will find at least 10 academic sources, arrange them into major "schools of thought" (a factor that increases/decreases democratic failure), and then write a 1-2 paragraph summary of each school in which you cite all the appropriate sources. You are permitted – and encouraged – to re-use citations in multiple schools if appropriate. Arrange all sources alphabetically in a reference list at the end of your summaries.

Literature Review + Theory: Due 11:30pm on Friday, March 29

Expand your research outline into a full literature review. Write a theory that builds off the Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) book. Includes at least 2 hypotheses.

The final paper is due by class time on <u>Tuesday, April 30</u>.

**Remember!!!** Be sure to turn in all the required writing assignments on time. No extensions will be allowed without a <u>written notification justifying an extension</u>. If an assignment is turned in late, I deduct ½ a letter grade for each day an assignment is late, and do not accept any work 1 week after the original due date.

# ~ Class Topics and Readings ~

#### Week 1: An Introduction to the Comparative Subfield

<u>January 15</u>

First class; no reading summaries this week.

Required readings:

- Eckstein, Harry. 1998. Unfinished Business: Reflections on the Scope of Comparative Politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 31, 4, 505-534.
- Lichbach, Mark I. 1997. Social Theory and Comparative Politics. In Mark Irving Lichbach & Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.), *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure* (1<sup>st</sup> Edition...NOT the edition required for the course). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wantchekon, Leonard. 2015. Training Graduate Students in Comparative Politics. *APSA-CP Newsletter*, 25(2): 21-24.

Recommended (but not required):

• Loewenberg, Gerhard. 2006. The Influence of European Émigré Scholars on Comparative Politics, 1925-1965. *American Political Science Review*, 100, 4, 597-604.

#### Week 2: Historical Institutionalism & State Development

If you are writing your response paper on the Fukuyama book, I would suggest narrowing your focus to one of the following options: life "before the state" (chapters 1, 2 and 5), the readings on China's state development (chapters 6-9), or the ones on India's state development (10-12).

Required readings:

- Katznelson, Ira. 2009. Strong Theory, Complex History: Structure and Configuration in Comparative Politics Revisited. In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure, 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution. Chapters 1-2, 4-12.

Recommended (but not required):

- Migdal, Joel S. 2009. Researching the State. In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thelen, Kathleen. 1999. Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2: 369-404.

#### January 22

#### Week 3: State Development Outcomes: Rule of Law & Political Accountability

Again, if doing a response paper on Fukuyama's book, I'd suggest narrowing your focus to chapters 17-20, 22 and 23, or 26-28.

**January 29** 

February 12

Required readings:

• Fukuyama, Francis. 2011. *The Origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*. Chapters 17-20, 22-23, 26-30

Recommended (but not required):

- Olson, Mancur. 1993. Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development. *American Political Science Review*, 87(3): 567–576.
- Ginsburg, Tom. 2011. Pitfalls of Measuring the Rule of Law. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, 3(2): 269-280.

# Week 4: Research Design Basics: Definitions, Measurement, and Levels of AnalysisFebruary 5Required readings:

- Collier, David and James E. Mahon. 1993. Conceptual 'Stretching' Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis. *American Political Science Review*, 87, 4, 845-855.
- Huckfeldt, Robert. 2009. Citizenship in Democratic Politics: Density Dependence and the Micro-Macro Divide. In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2009. Making Causal Claims About the Effect of "Ethnicity." In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lindberg, Staffan I., Michael Coppedge, John Gerring, and Jan Teorell. 2014. V-Dem: A New Way To Measure Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 25(3): 159-169

Recommended (but not required):

- Schedler, Andreas. 2012. The Measurer's Dilemma: Coordination Failures in Cross-National Political Data Collection. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45, 2, 237-266.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1970. Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 64, 4, 1033-1053.

# Week 5: Political Culture

Required readings:

- Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1.
- Ross, Marc Howard. 2009. Culture in Comparative Political Analysis. In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexander, Amy C. 2018. A multilevel study of gender egalitarian values across Muslim-majority provinces: the role of women and urban spaces. *International Review of Sociology*, 28(3): 474-491.

Recommended (but not required):

- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1997. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London: Simon & Schuster.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2003. The True Clash of Civilizations. *Foreign Policy*, 135, 62-70.

For the response papers this week, students CAN NOT do the solely on the Pye chapter, though you can contrast what Pye describes with the other readings.

Required readings:

- Pye, Lucian. 2006. The Behavioral Revolution and the Remaking of Comparative Politics. In Robert E. Goodin and Charles Tilly (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Analysis*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 797-805.
- Converse, Philip E. 2006. Researching Electoral Politics. *American Political Science Review*, 100, 4, 605-612.
- Anderson, Christopher J. 2009. Nested Citizens: Macropolitics and Microbehavior in Comparative Politics. In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Werner, Annika. 2019. What voters want from their parties: Testing the promise-keeping assumption. *Electoral Studies*, 57(Feb): 186-195

Recommended (but not required):

- Barnes, Samuel H. 1997. Electoral Behavior and Comparative Politics. In Mark Irving Lichbach & Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.), *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 1<sup>st</sup> Edition (this is an earlier edition, NOT the one required for class). New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 115-141.
- Bond, Jon R. 2007. The Scientification of the Study of Politics: Some Observations on the Behavioral Evolution in Political Science. *Journal of Politics*, 69, 4, 897-907.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2007. Research Resources in Comparative Political Behavior. In Russell, J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 865-895.
- Curtice, John. 2007. Comparative Opinion Surveys. In Russell, J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 896-909.
- van der Brug, Wouter, Cees van der Eijk, and Mark N. Franklin. 2007. *The Economy and the Vote: Economic Conditions and Elections in Fifteen Countries*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## Week 7: Rational Choice & Institutionalism

#### February 26

Required readings:

- Levi, Margaret. 2009. Reconsiderations of Rational Choice in Comparative and Historical Analysis. In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chapter 1: A Theory of Groups and Organizations.
- Fish, Steven M. 2006. Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies. Journal of Democracy, 17, 1, 5-20.
- Lijphart, Arend. 2012. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-3, 15 & 16

Recommended (but not required):

- The rest of Lijphart (2012)
- Shepsle, Kenneth A. 2008. Rational Choice Institutionalism. In R.A.W. Rhodes, Sarah A. Binder and Bert A. Rockman (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Manuscript available at:

http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/kshepsle/files/rational\_choice\_institutionalism\_4.5.05.pdf

• Munck, Gerardo L. 2001. Game Theory and Comparative Politics: New Perspectives and Old Concerns. *World Politics*, 53, 2, 173-204.

- Taagepera, Rein. 2007. Electoral Systems. In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 678-702.
- Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering: Voting Rules and Political Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hassan, Mazen. 2012. Institutional Factors Affecting Party Systems in New Democracies: Endogenous or Exogenous Predictors? *Democratization* (April), 1-25.

#### Week 8: Topics: Regime Change & Democratization

No reading response papers; Literature Outline due today

Required readings:

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Chapter 2.
- Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapters 2 & 7.

Recommended (but not required):

- Moore, Barrington. 1966. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1991. Democracy and Its Critics. New Haven: Yale University Press.

# Week 9: Topics: Democratic Decline & Failure Part I March 12

Required readings:

• Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. How Democracies Die. New York: Crown. Chapters 1-5.

Recommended (but not required):

• Zakaria, Fareed. 2007. *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Spring Break	March 19
No class	

#### Week 10: Topics: Democratic Decline & Failure Part I

*Literature Review* + *Theory due by Friday*. No class this week and no reading response papers; instead, work on filling out your literature review and completing a first draft of your theory section. Upload to online Dropbox by 11:30pm on Friday, March 29.

Required readings:

• Levitsky, Steven and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. How Democracies Die. New York: Crown. Chapters 6-9.

March 26

March 5

#### Week 11: Research Design Basics: Qualitative and Quantitative Research

April 16

Required readings:

- King, Gary; Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp. 3-33.
- Caparaso, J.A. 1995. Research Design, Falsification, and the Qualitative-Quantitative Debate. *American Political Science Review*, 89, 2, 457-460.
- Bennet, Andrew and Colin Elman. 2006. Qualitative Research: Recent Developments in Case Study Methods. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9, 455-76.
- Lieberman, Evan S. 2010. Bridging the Qualitative-Quantitative Divide: Best Practices in the Development of Historically Oriented Replication Databases. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13, 37-59.

Recommended (but not required):

The rest of the APSR debate from 1995 (Volume 89, Issue 2...same volume as Caparaso article):

- Laitin: "Disciplining Political Science"
- Collier: "Translating Quantitative Methods for Qualitative Researchers: The Case of Selection Bias"
- Rogowsky: "The Role of Theory and Anomaly in Social Scientific Inference"
- Tarrow: "Bridging the Qualitative-Quantitative Divide in Political Science"
- King, Keohane, & Verba: "The Importance of Research Design in Political Science"

## Week 12: Research Design Basics: The Comparative Method April 9

Required readings:

- Lijphart, Arend. 1971. Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *American Political Science Review*, 65, 3, 682-693.
- Gerring, John. 2007. The Case Study: What It Is and What It Does. In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (Eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 90-122.
- Prezeworski, Adam and Henry Teune. 1970. *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*. New York: Wiley. Chapter 2: Research Designs.

Recommended (but not required):

- Tarrow, Sidney. 2010. The Strategy of Paired Comparison: Toward a Theory of Practice. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43, 2, 230-259.
- Collier, David. 1993. The Comparative Method. In Ada W. Finifter (Ed.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*. Washington, DC: American Political Science Association. pp. 105-119.
- Dion, Douglas. 1998. Evidence and Inference in Comparative Case Studies. *Comparative Politics*, 30, 2, 127-145.

# Week 13: Topics: Contentious Politics & Political Violence

Required readings:

- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2009. Comparative Perspectives on Contentious Politics. In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp.260-290.
- Brancati, Dawn. 2016. *Democracy Protests: Origins, Features, and Significance*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2 & 3.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2008. The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11: 539-61.

Recommended (but not required):

• McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2003. The Ontology of "Political Violence": Action and Identity in Civil Wars. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1(3): 475-494.
- Collier, Paul and Anke Hoeffler. 2004. Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4): 563-595.

#### Week 14: Topics: Comparative Political Economy

April 23

Required readings:

- Blyth, Mark. 2009. An Approach to Comparative Analysis or a Subfield within a Subfield? In Lichbach, Mark Irving and Alan S. Zuckerman (Eds.) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, 2nd Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 193-219.
- Collier, Paul. 2007. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It.* New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 & 5
- Diamond, Larry. 2010. Why Are There No Arab Democracies? *Journal of Democracy*, 21, 1, 93-104.
- Estevez-Abe, Margarita. 2006. Gendering the Varieties of Capitalism: A Study of Occupational Segregation by Sex in Advanced Industrial Societies. *World Politics*, 59: 142-175.

Recommended (but not required):

- Hall, Peter A. and Soskice David (Eds.). 2001. Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ross, Michael L. 2013. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton University Press.
- Ross, Michael L. 2015. What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18: 239-259.
- Moene, Karl O. and Michael Wallerstein. 2001. Inequality, Social Insurance, and Redistribution. *American Political Science Review*, 95(4): 859-874.

## Week 15: What Makes for Quality Comparative Research?

April 30 (Last Day of Class)

No reading response papers; **Final Research Design** due today Required reading:

• Verba, Sidney. 2011. A Life in Political Science. Annual Review of Political Science, 14, 1, i-xv.

#### <u>Final Exam Week</u>

"Comprehensive Exam" Due by 7:50 pm on Tuesday, May 7