

**POLS 510**  
**Comparative Politics**  
**Spring 2024**

Dr. Ozge Kemahlioglu

email: [ozgekemah@sabanciuniv.edu](mailto:ozgekemah@sabanciuniv.edu)

Course schedule:

Wednesday 8:40-11:30, FASS 1099

Office Hours:

Monday 11:00 – 12:00

**Course Description and Objectives:**

The goal of this class is to familiarize you with the key approaches, issues and readings in the comparative politics field.

We will start the course with a discussion on the state, institutional approach to studying comparative politics and works that focus on political culture. Then, we will examine political regimes, their definitions and transitions between them. The next section will study political institutions: presidential and parliamentary systems, parties and electoral systems, and federalism. The final part of the course is on political economy where we will first discuss development with a focus on both earlier approaches such as modernization and recent works that examine the institutional framework of economic policies. We will then cover some important topics and readings from the political economy literature on “developed” countries.

The course is not organized in a way to make you read all the important and recent works in the comparative politics field, but the purpose is to give an overview of the field with the “classical” readings as well as few new and innovative studies.

**Responsibilities and Grading:**

There will be four components:

**Participation (10%):** All students are expected to contribute to the class discussion in every meeting. You need to read the assigned works carefully in order to contribute meaningfully to the class discussions. The weekly readings are kept short so that you will have no problems to keep up with them. I will be very careful to observe everyone’s participation in every meeting.

**Discussion leading (10%):** Students will be assigned to prepare questions about the assigned readings and lead the class discussion for two weeks.

**Response papers (40%):** You need to write four two-page response papers. You need to choose different weeks than the ones in which you are going to lead the class discussion. The paper should briefly summarize the main questions of the readings and their arguments. (This part should be less than a page.) The remaining part of the paper should include your critique of the works and suggestions for future research.

Final exam (% 40): It will be take-home and you will be asked to answer two questions out of three that are prepared. Due date: to be announced

### Course Calendar and Required Readings:

Section I INTRODUCTION

Feb 21 State

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States*. Cambridge, Blackwell, 1992. Chapters 1 and 3

Miguel Angel Centeno, "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America", *American Journal of Sociology*, 102, 6, 1565-1605.

Karaman, Kivanc and Sevket Pamuk. "Different Paths to the Modern State in Europe: The Interaction between Warfare, Economic Structure , and Political Regime", *American Political Science Review*, 2013, Vol. 107, 3, 603-626

Joel S. Migdal, *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*, 2001. Chapters 1 and 3

Recommended Reading:

Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000.

Cameron G. Thies, "The Political Economy of State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa", *Journal of Politics*, 69, 3, 716-731.

Cameron G. Thies, "War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America", *American Journal of Political Science*, 49, 3, 451-465.

Schenoni, Luis L. "Bringing War Back in: Victory and State Formation in Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 2020.

Thies, Cameron G. "Domestic Processes, External Threats, and Latin American State-Building: From Comparative Historical Analysis to Comparative Hypothesis Testing", *Journal of Historical Political Economy*: Vol. 2: No. 1, pp 135-157. 2022

Andreas Wimmer and Yuval Feinstein. "The rise of the nation-state across the world, 1816 to 2001", in *American Sociological Review* 75(5):764-790, 2010.

Feb 28 Institutional Approach

Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, "Political science and the three new institutionalisms", *Political Studies* 44 (1996), pp. 936-957.

Barry Weingast, Rational Choice Institutionalism. In *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, edited by I. Katznelson and H. Milner. New York: Norton, 2002.

David, Paul A., "Clio and the Economics of QWERTY" (in Economic History: A Necessary Though Not Sufficient Condition for an Economist), *American Economic Review*, Vol. 75, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Ninety-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association. (May, 1985), pp. 332-337.

Greif, Avner, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Chapter 6 and 7

Recommended reading:

Invernizzi, G.M. and Ting, M.M., "Institutions and Political Restraint." *American Journal of Political Science*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12771>. 2023.

Gerschewski, J. "Explanations of Institutional Change: Reflecting on a "Missing Diagonal". *American Political Science Review*, 115(1), 218-233. 2021.

Mar 6

Political Culture

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, Chapter 1 and 11-13.

Robert D. Putnam. 1993. *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 4 and 6.

Christian Welzel and Ronald Inglehart. 2007. "Mass Beliefs and Democratic Institutions." In Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds. *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 13.

Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2019. *Cultural Backlash Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*, Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2 and 8

Recommended reading:

Posner, Daniel. 2004. "The Political Salience of Cultural Differences: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review*. 98:529-46.

Steenvoorden, Eefje and Harteveld, Eelco. 2018. 'The appeal of nostalgia: the influence of societal pessimism on support for populist radical right parties.' *West European Politics*, 41(1): 28-52.

Van Ditmars, M.M. "Political socialization, political gender gaps and the intergenerational transmission of left-right ideology." *European Journal of Political Research*, 62: 3-24. 2023.

Section II POLITICAL REGIMES

Mar 13 Democratic Regimes

Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, 1942 Chapters 21 and 22.

Dahl, Robert A, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971. Chapter 1.

Schmitter, Philippe, and Terry Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is ... And Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2(3): 75-88.

Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices," *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2002): 5-34

Recommended reading:

Coppedge, M., Lindberg, S., Skaaning, S.-E., & Teorell, J. "Measuring high level democratic principles using the V-Dem data." *International Political Science Review*, 37(5), 580–593. 2016

Mar 20 Authoritarian Regimes

Linz, Juan. 2000. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner. Chapters 2 and 4.

Steven Levitsky and Lucian A. Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* (April 2002), 51-65.

Magalone, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction, Chapters 1 and 9.

Barbara Geddes, "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115–44.

Mar 27 Democratic Transitions – Structural explanations

Seymour M. Lipset. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53: 69-105.

Barrington Moore. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy : Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston : Beacon Press. Chapters 7-9 and Epilogue.

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapter 3.

Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development. Political Institutions and Well--Being in the World, 1950--1990*: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 and 2.

Recommended reading:

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

Haber, Stephen and Victor Menaldo. 2011. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse," *American Political Science Review* 105 (1).

Apr 3

Democratic Transitions – Other approaches

Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives. Volume 4: Tentative Conclusions and Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Chapter 1

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 6

Haggard Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman. "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule". 2012. *American Political Science Review*. 106, 3, 495-516.

Mainwaring, Scott and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2013. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America Emergence, Survival and Fall*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Recommended reading:

Haggard Stephen and Kaufman Robert R., *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995)

Thomas Carothers, "The end of the transition paradigm" *Journal of Democracy*

Treisman, D. "Democracy by Mistake: How the Errors of Autocrats Trigger Transitions to Freer Government." *American Political Science Review*, 114(3), 792-810. 2020

Apr 17 Breakdown of Regimes

Bermeo, Nancy. 2016. "On Democratic Backsliding" *Journal of Democracy* Volume 27, Number 1.

Svolik, Milan. 2015. "Which Democracies Will Last? Coups, Incumbent Takeovers, and the Dynamic of Democratic Consolidation," *British Journal of Political Science* Volume 45 / Issue 04 / October 2015, pp 715 - 738

Schedler, Andreas. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" 1998. *Journal of Democracy*. 9, 2, 91-107.

Juan J. Linz, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, 50-74.

Recommended reading:

Skocpol, Theda. 1979. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 1.

Section III POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Apr 24 Executive Legislature Relations

Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies. Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, chapters 1-4.

Cheibub, Jose Antonio. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism and Democracy* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Chapters 1 and 6

Cheibub, Jose and Zachary Elkins, and Tom Ginsburg. 2013. "Beyond Presidentialism and Parliamentarism" *British Journal of Political Science*.

Laver, Michael & Kenneth A. Shepsle. 1996. *Making and Breaking Governments: Cabinets and Legislatures in Parliamentary Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3, 4 and 7

Recommended reading:

Juan J. Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner.(eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, 124-142.

May 8

Elections, Political Parties and Party Systems

Seymour Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," pp. 1-64 in Lipset and Rokkan (eds.), *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, 1967

Gary Cox, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, Chapters 1-5 and 10.

Powell, Bingham. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, Part I

Golder, Matt and Gabriella Llyod, "Re-evaluating the relationship between electoral rules and ideological congruence." 2014. *European Journal of Political Research*. 53, 1, 200-212

Recommended reading:

Duverger, Maurice. (1959) Political parties, their organization and activity in the modern state. Trans. by Barbara and Robert North. Introduction, pp. 40 – 60, 90 – 116, 135 – 157, 206 – 255, 391 – 412

Stokes, Susan. (1999) "Political Parties and Democracy," *Annual Review of Political Science* vol. 2, 1999

Schattschneider, E. E. (1960) *The semisovereign people: a realist's view of democracy in America*. Chapters 2 and 4.

Downs, Anthony (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Chapters 2, 3, 7 and 8.

John H. Aldrich. 1995. *Why Parties?* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1

Lupu, Noam. "Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina," *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1): 49-64 (2013)

Chong, De La O, Karlan, and Wantchekon, 2015, "Does Corruption Information Inspire the Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field Experiment in Mexico on Voter Turnout, Choice, and Party Identification," *Journal of Politics*

May 15

Federalism and Decentralization

Brancati, Dawn. 2006. "Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism?" *International Organization* 60: 651-685.

Rodden, Jonathan. 2006. *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*. Cambridge UP Chapter 4.

Conclusion to institutions discussion:  
Arendt Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999 Chapters 1-3 and Conclusion

George Tsebelis. 2002. *Veto Players*. Princeton University Press. Chapter 1

Recommended reading:

León, Sandra (2012), "How Do Citizens Attribute Responsibility in Multilevel States? Learning, Biases, and Asymmetric Federalism. Evidence from Spain," *Electoral Studies* 31: 120-30, pp. 120-124, 128-129.

Section IV POLITICAL ECONOMY

May 22 Development

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. *Why Nations Fail The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. Crown Business 2012. Chapters 2, 3, 13 and 15

Bates, Robert. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Economic Policy* Berkeley: University of California Press, Introduction, Chapter 5 and the Conclusion

Kasara, Kimuli. 2007. Tax Me If You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa. *American Political Science Review* 101 (1).

Recommended Reading:

Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, 1962, Chapters 1 and 2

Bates, Robert. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Economic Policy* Berkeley: University of California Press, rest of the book

Bates, Robert. 2020. *Political Economy of Development*. Cambridge University Press.

May 29 Political Economy of "Developed" Countries



Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism," in Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, pp. 1-68, 2002.

Mares, Isabella, "The Sources of Business Interest in Social Insurance..." *World Politics*, Jan 2003, p. 229

Górecki, M. A., & Pierzgalski, M. (2023). Electoral Systems, Partisan Politics, and Income Redistribution: A Critical Quasi-Experiment. *Comparative Political Studies*, 56(14), 2165-2200.

Conclusion to political economy section:

Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge University Press, Chapter 5.

Recommended readings:

Esping-Andersen, Gósta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP.

Scheve, Kenneth & David Stasavage (2009) "Institutions, Partisanship, and Inequality in the Long Run." *World Politics* 61(2): 215-253.

Christoph Arndt (2013), *The Electoral Consequences of Third Way Welfare State Reforms: Social Democracy's Transformation and its Political Costs*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.