

## Political Science 220B

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Fall Quarter 2017

Wednesday 3:00 - 5:50 in SSB 104  
Office Hours: Mon and Tue 2-3 and by app't  
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# COMPARATIVE POLITICS: INSTITUTIONS

## Objectives

This seminar surveys the cross-national study of political institutions. It is open to students with a variety of backgrounds but has been designed primarily to help students prepare for the Ph.D. comprehensive examination in comparative politics and for research, including doctoral dissertations, in this field. The course has also been designed to complement POLI 220A: State and Society. Though it covers a wide range of political institutions and organizations, this seminar gives only limited coverage of subjects such as courts, bureaucracies, political development, mass behavior, interest groups, social movements, and public policy. Students preparing for the Ph.D. comprehensive exam should therefore seek other opportunities to study these topics.

The seminar is organized around ten themes:

1. Introduction: Institutions and Institutional Analysis
2. Democracy and Autocracy
3. Federalism, Consociationalism, and Power-sharing
4. Presidentialism and Executives
5. Parliamentary Democracy and Legislatures
6. Coalitions and Coalition Bargaining
7. Elections and Party Systems
8. Party Organization, Clientelism, and Development
9. Bureaucracy, Markets, and Law
10. The Social Consequences of Political Institutions

## Format

The seminar will meet Wednesdays 3-5:50 on a weekly basis, except for the first week of the quarter (see below). Each week will introduce a new theme in the comparative study of political institutions and provide a set of required and recommended readings. *Required* readings will form the basis of the seminar discussions, and all students should read them carefully and critically before class. *Recommended* readings are supplementary readings of theoretical or empirical importance. If you are preparing for the comprehensive exam, you should gain familiarity at least with those that match your own area of specialization. Many of these readings are also suitable for seminar presentations and literature review papers.

## Assignments

As a student in this seminar, you must do the assigned readings, write two discussion papers (6-8 pages in length), participate actively in seminar discussions, and give regular presentations on the readings. Each week, students will be assigned specific readings to review. These presentations (approx. 15 minutes each) should summarize a set of assigned readings and relate them to other relevant literature. The presentations should review and critique the arguments and analysis done in these pieces and comment critically on their assumptions, arguments, research designs, measures, results, and implications. Finally, presentations should raise questions for discussion and future research. When you give presentations, you should prepare a brief outline (electronic or hard copy) for distribution to the other seminar participants. NOTE: Be prepared to discuss *all* of the required reading, not just your own particular presentation assignments.

The discussion papers will be on your choice among a set of assigned topics. The papers should discuss relevant scholarship and, most importantly, *make an argument*. The argument should be stated clearly and concisely and guide the rest of the paper. Writing style matters! Be focused and succinct and avoid long quotations. Be sure to provide proper references and to respect the university's standards of academic integrity. The first of the discussion papers will be due on **October 27** and the second one on **December 8**. Grades will be based on course assignments in the following way: discussion papers 40% each, presentations and class participation 20%. Extensions, incompletes, etc. will be given in accordance with UCSD policy. Except under **very pressing circumstances**, however, I discourage such options.

## Readings

This seminar covers a large literature, much of which you may want to have at your disposal, but your

purchasing decisions should be guided by your professional judgment as well as by your budget constraint. Therefore, no books have been ordered by the UCSD Bookstore for this course, but I will be happy to provide suggestions.

## 1. INTRODUCTION: INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS (Sep 29)

**Note: This meeting will be on Friday, September 29, 12:00-2:00 in SSB 104.**

### Required:

John M. Carey, "Parchment, Equilibria, and Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies* 33, 6-7 (August-September 2000), 735-61.

Daniel Diermeier, "Formal Models of Legislatures." In Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld, and Kaare W. Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Sven Steinmo, Kathleen Thelen, and Frank Longstreth, eds., *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, chap. 1.

### Recommended:

Robert Bates, Avner Greif, Margaret Levy, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry Weingast. *Analytic Narratives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, eds., *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds., *Bringing the State Back In*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Avner Greif. *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Jack Knight, *Institutions and Social Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "Institutional Perspectives on Political Institutions." *Governance* 9, 3 (July 1996), 247-64.

Gary Miller, "Rational Choice and Dysfunctional Institutions," *Governance* 13 (2000): 535-547.

Terry M. Moe, "Political Institutions: The Neglected Side of the Story," *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 6 (1990), Special Issue: pp. 213-253 (and comments by Oliver Williamson, pp. 263-266).

Douglass C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Douglass C. North, "Institutions," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5 (1991): 97-112.

Peter C. Ordeshook and Kenneth A. Shepsle (eds.), *Political Equilibrium*. Boston: Kluwer, 1982.

Scott Page, "Path Dependence," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 1 (2006): 87-115.

Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94 (June 2000), 251-67.

Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Studying Institutions: Some Lessons from the Rational Choice Approach," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, 2 (April 1989), 131-147.

Kathleen Thelen, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 369-404.

Barry R. Weingast, "Rational Choice Institutionalism," in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, (eds.). *Political Science Discipline as Discipline: Reconsidering Power, Choice, and the State*. New York: Norton, 2002.

Oliver E. Williamson. "Transaction Cost Economics," in Richard Schmalensee and Robert Willig (eds.). *Handbook of Industrial Organization*. New York: North Holland, 1989.

## 2. DEMOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY (October 11)

### Required:

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow, *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003, chap. 2.

Barbara Geddes, "What do we know about democratization after twenty years?," *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115-144.

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012, chaps. 1-3.

Adam Przeworski et al., *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, chap. 1.

Milan Svoblik, *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, chaps. 1, and 3-4.

Robert Woodberry, "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106 (May 2012): 244-74.

**Recommended:**

- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Carles Boix. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- James DeNardo, *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. New York: Praeger, 1956.
- Francis Fukuyama, *Political Order and Political Decay*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.
- Albert O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Robert H. Jackson and Carl G. Rosberg, *Personal Rule in Black Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Margaret Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988.
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- John B. Londregan and Keith T. Poole, "Does High Income Promote Democracy?" *World Politics*, 49: 1-30.
- Roger Myerson, "The Autocrat's Credibility Problem and Foundations of the Constitutional State," *American Political Science Review*, 102, 1 (March 2008): 125-139.
- Douglas C. North, John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. *Violence and Social Orders*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Guillermo O'Donnell. "Reflections on the Patterns of Change in the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State." *Latin American Research Review*, 13(1), 1978: 3-38.
- Mancur Olson, *Power and Prosperity*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- Amos Perlmutter, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Adam Przeworski, "Democracy as an Equilibrium," *Public Choice*, 123: 253-273.
- Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Gordon Tullock, *Autocracy*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1987.
- Barry R. Weingast, "Political foundations of democracy and the rule of law," *American Political Science Review*, 91 (2), June 1997: 245-263.
- Ronald Wintrobe, "The Tinpot and the Totalitarian: An Economic Theory of Dictatorship." *American Political Science Review* 84, 3 (September 1990), 850-72.

3. **FEDERALISM, CONSOCIATIONALISM, AND POWER-SHARING (October 18)****Required:**

- Jenna Bednar, *The Robust Federation: Principles of Design*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, chaps. 3-4 (excl. appendices).
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chap. 10.
- Jonathan Rodden, *Hamilton's Paradox*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, chaps. 1, 3-4, and 11.
- Philip G. Roeder and Donald Rothchild, eds. *Sustainable Peace: Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005, chaps. 2-3.
- Richard Rose, "The End of Consensus in Austria and Switzerland." *Journal of Democracy* 11 (April 2000), 26-40.
- Alfred Stepan, Juan J. Linz, and Yogendra Yadav, *Crafting State-Nations: India and Other Multinational Democracies*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011, chap. 2.

**Recommended:**

- Alberto Alesina and Enrico Spolaore, *The Size of Nations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.
- Pablo Beramendi, "Federalism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, eds. Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Albert Breton, *Competitive Governments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hongbin Cai and Daniel Treisman. "State Corroding Federalism." *Journal of Public Economics*, 88, 3-4 (March 2004): 819-843.
- William M. Chandler, "Federalism and Political Parties," in *Federalism and the Role of the State*, eds. Herman Bakvis and William M. Chandler, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.
- Jacques Cremer and Thomas Palfrey. "Political Confederation." *American Political Science Review* 93, 1999: 69-93.
- Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad, *Constitutionalism and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

- Mikhail Filippov, Peter C. Ordeshook, and Olga Shvetsova, *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Self-Sustaining Federal Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Benjamin A. T. Graham, Michael K. Miller, and Kaare W. Strøm, "Safeguarding Democracy: Powersharing and Democratic Survival." *American Political Science Review* 111 (November 2017), forthcoming.
- Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*.
- W. Arthur Lewis, *Politics in West Africa*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1965.
- Arend Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Arend Lijphart, *Power-Sharing in South Africa*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1985.
- Pippa Norris, *Driving Democracy: Do Power-Sharing Institutions Work?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *Contemporary Democracies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Alvin Rabushka and Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill, 1972.
- Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- William H. Riker, *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1964.
- Jürg Steiner, *Amicable Agreement versus Majority Rule: Conflict Resolution in Switzerland*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974.
- Charles Tiebout. "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures." *Journal of Political Economy* 64, 1956: 416-24.
- Daniel Treisman, *After the Deluge: Regional Crises and Political Consolidation in Russia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- George Tsebelis, *Nested Games: Rational Choice in Comparative Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, chap. 6.
- Barry R. Weingast, "The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development," *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization* 11(1995), 1: 1-32.
- Erik Wibbels, "Madison in Baghdad? Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 9 (2006): 165-188.

#### 4. **PRESIDENTIALISM AND EXECUTIVES** (October 25)

##### **Required:**

- Jose Antonio Cheibub, *Presidentialism Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chaps. 1-2, 5-7.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chap. 7.
- Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994, chap. 1(Linz).
- David J. Samuels and Matthew S. Shugart, *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, chaps. 1-2, 5, and 9.
- Matthew S. Shugart and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, chaps. 2-3.
- George Tsebelis, *Veto Players: How Political Institutions Work*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, Introduction and chaps. 1 and 3.

##### **Recommended:**

- Joel D. Aberbach, Robert D. Putnam, and Bert A. Rockman, *Bureaucrats and Politicians in Western Democracies*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Albert Breton, "The Organization of Competition in Congressional and Parliamentary Governments." In *The Competitive State*, ed. Albert Breton, Gianluigi Galeotti, Pierre Salmon, and Ronald Wintrobe. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1991.
- John M. Carey and Matthew S. Shugart, eds., *Executive Decree Authority*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- José Cheibub, Adam Przeworski, and Sebastian Saiegh, "Government Coalitions and Legislative Success Under Presidentialism and Parliamentarism," *British Journal of Political Science*, 34, 4 (2004): 565-587.
- Maurice Duverger, "A New Political System Model: Semi-Presidential Government," *European Journal of Political Research* 8, 2 (June 1980), 165-87.
- Donald L. Horowitz, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Juan J. Linz, "Debate--Presidents vs. Parliaments," *Journal of Democracy* 1, 4 (Fall 1990), 73-91.
- Arend Lijphart, ed., *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination." *Comparative Political Studies* 26, 2 (July 1993), 198-228.

Scott Mainwaring and Matthew S. Shugart, eds., *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

G. Bingham Powell, Jr., "Constitutional Design and Citizen Electoral Control," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 1, 2 (April 1989), 107-30.

Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin, eds., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Jonathan Slapin, *Veto Power: Institutional Design in the European Union*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2011.

## 5. LEGISLATURES AND PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY (November 1)

### Required:

Gary W. Cox, *The Efficient Secret*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, chap. 6.

Gary W. Cox, "Reluctant Democrats and Their Legislatures." In Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld, and Kaare W. Strøm (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

John D. Huber, "The Vote of Confidence in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 90, 2 (June 1996), 269-82.

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chap. 11.

Kaare Strøm, "Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 37 (2000), 261-89.

George Tsebelis, *Veto Players*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002; chap. 4.

### Recommended:

David P. Baron and John A. Ferejohn, "Bargaining in Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 83, 4 (December 1989), 1181-1206.

Sean Bowler, David M. Farrell, and Richard S. Katz, eds., *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1999.

Bruce Cain, John Ferejohn, and Morris Fiorina, *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Roger D. Congleton, *Perfecting Parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Herbert Döring, ed., *Parliaments and Majority Rule in Western Europe*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Thomas T. Hammond, "Formal Theory and the Institutions of Governance." *Governance* 9, 2 (April 1996), 107-85.

John D. Huber, "Restrictive Legislative Procedures in France and the United States." *American Political Science Review* 86, 3 (September 1992), 675-687.

John D. Huber, *Rationalizing Parliament*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Christopher J. Kam, *Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Michael J. Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, eds., *Cabinet Members and Parliamentary Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Gregory M. Luebbert, *Comparative Democracy: Policymaking and Governing Coalitions in Europe and Israel*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.

Shane Martin, Thomas Saalfeld and Kaare W. Strøm, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Legislative Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Terry M. Moe and Michael Caldwell, "The Institutional Foundations of Democratic Government: A Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Systems," and comments by Gebhard Kirchgässner and Arthur Lupia. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 150/1, 171-210.

Pippa Norris, ed., *Passages to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Matthew S. Palmer, "The Economics of Organization and Ministerial Responsibility." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 11, 1 (1995), 165-88.

Bjørn Erik Rasch and George Tsebelis (eds.), *The Role of Governments in Legislative Agenda Setting*. London: Routledge, 2011.

R. A. W. Rhodes, John Wanna, and Patrick Weller, *Comparing Westminster*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Nils Ringe, *Who Decides, and How? Preferences, Uncertainty, and Policy Choice in the European Parliament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Sebastian M. Saiegh, *Ruling by Statute: How Uncertainty and Vote Buying Shape Lawmaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman, eds., *Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

George Tsebelis and Jeannette Money. *Bicameralism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

6. **COALITIONS AND COALITION BARGAINING** (November 8)**Required:**

- David Austen-Smith and Jeffrey S. Banks, "Elections, Coalitions, and Legislative Outcomes," *American Political Science Review* 82, 2 (June 1988), 405-422.
- Michael Laver and Kenneth Benoit, "The Basic Arithmetic of Legislative Decisions," *American Journal of Political Science* 59, 2 (April 2015): 275-91.
- Michael J. Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Coalitions and Cabinet Government," *American Political Science Review* 84, 3 (September 1990), 873-90.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chap. 6.
- Lanny W. Martin and Georg Vanberg, *Parliaments and Coalitions: The Role of Legislative Institutions in Multiparty Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, chaps. 2-3.
- Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Daniel Markham Smith, "Parliamentary Control of Coalition Governments," *Annual Review of Political Science* 13 (2010): 517-35.
- George Tsebelis, *Veto Players*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002; chap. 9.

**Recommended:**

- David P. Baron and John A. Ferejohn, "Bargaining in Legislatures." *American Political Science Review* 83, 4 (December 1989), 1181-1206.
- Royce Carroll and Gary W. Cox, "The Logic of Gamson's Law: Pre-election Coalitions and Portfolio Allocations." *American Journal of Political Science* 51, 2 (April 2007), 251-65.
- Abram De Swaan, *Coalition Theories and Cabinet Formations: A Study of Formal Theories of Coalition Formation Applied to Nine European Parliaments after 1918*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1973.
- Daniel Diermeier and Randolph T. Stevenson, Coalition Terminations and Critical Events. *American Political Science Review* 94, 3 (September 2000), 627-40.
- Lawrence C. Dodd, *Coalitions in Parliamentary Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- John D. Huber and Cecilia Martinez-Gallardo, "Replacing Cabinet Ministers: Patterns of Ministerial Stability in Parliamentary Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 102 (May 2008), 169-80.
- Michael J. Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle, *Making and Breaking Governments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Gregory M. Luebbert, *Comparative Democracy: Policymaking and Governing Coalitions in Europe and Israel*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Arthur W. Lupia and Kaare Strøm, "Coalition Termination and the Strategic Timing of Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 89, 3 (September 1995), 648-65.
- Carol Mershon, *The Costs of Coalition*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002.
- William H. Riker, *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.
- Petra Schleiter and Edward Morgan-Jones, "Constitutional Power and Competing Risks." *American Political Science Review* 103, 3 (August 2009), 496-512.
- Kaare Strøm, *Minority Government and Majority Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Kaare Strøm, Wolfgang C. Müller, and Torbjörn Bergman, eds., *Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Paul Warwick, *Government Survival in Parliamentary Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

7. **ELECTIONS AND PARTY SYSTEMS** (November 15)**Required:**

- Carles Boix, "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93, 3 (September 1999), 609-24.
- Gary W. Cox, *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, chaps. 1-4, 8, 10, 12, and 15.
- Pradeep Chhibber and Ken Kollman, *The Formation of National Party Systems*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004, chaps 1, 3-4.
- Thomas R. Cusack, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice, "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *American Political Science Review* 101, 3 (August 2007), 373-91.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chaps. 5 and 8.
- Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press, 1967, pp. 1-64.

**Recommended:**

- Michel L. Balinski and H. Peyton Young, *Fair Representation: Meeting the Ideal of One Man, One Vote*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Kathleen Bawn, "The Logic of Institutional Preferences: German Electoral Law as a Social Choice Outcome." *American Journal of Political Science* 37, 4 (November 1993), 965-89.

- Gary W. Cox, "Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems," *American Journal of Political Science* 34, 4 (November 1990), 903-935.
- Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.
- Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*. New York: Wiley, 1954.
- John Ferejohn. "Incumbent Performance and Electoral Control." *Public Choice* 30, Fall 1986: 5-25.
- Robert W. Jackman, "Political Institutions and Voter Turnout in the Industrial Democracies," *American Political Science Review* 81, 2 (June 1987), 405-23.
- Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1963.
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr., "American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective," *American Political Science Review* 80, 1 (March 1986), 17-43.
- G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Adam Przeworski and John Sprague, *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Douglas W. Rae, *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.
- William H. Riker, "The Two-Party System and Duverger's Law." *American Political Science Review* 76, 4 (December 1982), 753-766.
- Stein Rokkan, *Citizens, Elections, Parties*. New York: David McKay, 1970.
- Jennifer Rosen, "The Effects of Political Institutions on Women's Political Representation: A Comparative Analysis of 168 Countries from 1992 to 2010." *Political Research Quarterly* 66, 2 (2013): 306-21.
- Giovanni Sartori, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- Matthew Singer, "Was Duverger Correct? Single-Member District Election Outcomes in Fifty-three Countries." *British Journal of Political Science* 43, 1 (2013), 201-20.
- Alastair Smith, *Election Timing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Rein Taagepera and Matthew S. Shugart, *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

## 8. PARTY ORGANIZATION, CLIENTELISM, AND DEVELOPMENT (November 22)

### Required:

- John Carey and Matthew Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote." *Electoral Studies* 14(4): 417-39.
- Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair, "Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy: The Emergence of the Cartel Party." *Party Politics* 1, 1 (January 1995), 5-28.
- Beatriz Magaloni, *Voting for Autocracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Introduction and chap. 1.
- Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strøm, eds., *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political Parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, chap. 1.
- Susan C. Stokes, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chaps. 1, 3-4, and 8.

### Recommended:

- John Aldrich, *Why Parties? A Second Look*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.
- Leonardo R. Arriola, *Multiethnic Coalitions in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, chaps. 1-3.
- Kenneth Benoit and Michael Laver, *Party Policy in Modern Democracies*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Carles Boix, *Political Parties, Growth and Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Thomas Carothers, *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2006.
- Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds., *Parties without Partisans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties*. London: Methuen, 1954.
- Leon D. Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1980.
- Barbara Geddes, *Politician's Dilemma*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Herbert P. Kitschelt et al., *Post-Communist Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Herbert P. Kitschelt, *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Herbert Kitschelt, "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Politics." *Comparative Political Studies* 33, 6/7 (2000).
- Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson. eds., *Patrons, Clients, and Politics: Patterns of Democratic*

- Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chap. 1.
- Michael Laver and Ernest Sergenti, *Party Competition: An Agent-Based Model*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Fred S. McChesney, *Money for Nothing: Politicians, Rent Extraction, and Political Extortion*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Bonnie M. Meguid, *Party Competition between Unequals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Robert Michels, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*. New York: Collier Books, 1962.
- Wolfgang C. Müller, Political Parties in Parliamentary Democracies: Making Delegation and Accountability Work. *European Journal of Political Research* 37, 3 (May 2000), 309-33.
- Angelo Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- David Robertson, *A Theory of Party Competition*. London: John Wiley, 1976.
- Stein Rokkan, *State Formation, Nation-Building and Mass Politics in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999.
- Joseph A. Schlesinger, *Political Parties and the Winning of Office*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- Steven Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

## 9. BUREAUCRACY, MARKETS, AND LAW (November 29)

### Required:

- Scott Desposato, Matt Ingram, and Osmar Lannes, "Power, Composition, and Decision Making: The Behavioral Consequences of Institutional Reform on Brazil's Supremo Tribunal Federal." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, 31, 3 (2014): 534-567.
- Gunnar Grendstad, William R. Shaffer, and Eric Waltenburg, *Policy Making in an Independent Judiciary: The Norwegian Supreme Court*. Colchester: ECPR Press, 2015, chaps. 1 and 8.
- John D. Huber and Charles Shipan, *Deliberate Discretion*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ Press, 2002, chaps. 2 and 4.
- J. Mark Ramseyer and Frances M. Rosenbluth, *Japan's Political Marketplace*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997, chaps. 1, 6, and 8.
- George Tsebelis. *Veto Players*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, chap. 10.

### Recommended:

- Robert H. Bates. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Robert Bates, Avner Greif, Margaret Levy, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, and Barry Weingast. *Analytic Narratives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Charles Cameron. *Veto Bargaining*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins. "The Institutional Determinants of Economic Policy Outcomes." In *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy*, edited by Stephan Haggard and Mathew McCubbins, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- John Ferejohn, Frances Rosenbluth, and Charles Shipan, "Comparative Judicial Politics." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, ed. Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Gretchen Helmke. *Courts under Constraints: Judges, Generals, and Presidents in Argentina*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Gillian Hadfield and Barry R. Weingast, "Microfoundations of the Rule of Law." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17 (2014): 21-42.
- Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chap. 13.
- Andrew MacIntyre, "Institutions and Investors: The Politics of the Economic Crisis in Southeast Asia." *International Organization* 55 (2001): 81-122.
- Amos Perlmutter, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- Susan Rose-Ackerman and Bonnie J. Palifka, *Corruption and Government*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Andrei Shleifer and Robert W. Vishny, *The Grabbing Hand: Government Pathologies and their Cures*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Matthew S. Shugart and Stephan Haggard, "Institutions and Public Policy in Presidential Systems." In *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy*, eds. Stephan Haggard and Mathew McCubbins, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.



**10. THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS (December 6)****Required:**

- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. *Why Nations Fail*. New York: Crown Publishers, 2012, esp. chaps. 2-5, 7, and 15.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, Randolph Siverson, and Alastair Smith. "Political Competition and Economic Growth." *Journal of Democracy* 12(1), January 2001.
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chaps. 15-16.
- Torsten Persson and Guido Tabellini. *The Economic Effect of Constitutions*. MIT Press, 2003, chaps. 2 and 6.
- Adam Przeworski, "Institutions Matter?" *Government and Opposition* 39, 2004: 527-540.
- Adam Przeworski et al., *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, chap. 3.

**Recommended:**

- Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. "Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117 : 1231-94.
- Alberto Alesina and Dani Rodrik, "Distributive Politics and Economic Growth," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 109: 465-490.
- Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer, "History, Institutions, and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India," *American Economic Review*, 94: 1190-1212.
- Hernando De Soto. *The Mystery of Capital*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- Simeon Djankov, Edward Glaeser, Rafael La Porta, Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes, and Andrei Shleifer, "The new comparative economics," *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 31: 595-619.
- William Easterly. *The Elusive Quest for Growth*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002.
- Edward Glaeser, Rafael La Porta, Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes, and Andrei Shleifer, "Do Institutions Cause Growth?," *Journal of Economic Growth*, 9: 271-303.
- Avner Greif. *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Philip Keefer, "What Does Political Economy Tell Us About Economic Development -- and Vice Versa?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7: 247-272.
- Douglass C. North. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton, 1981.
- Douglass C. North. *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Douglass C. North and Thomas, Robert Paul. *The Rise of the Western World: A New Economic History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.
- Douglass C. North and Barry Weingast, "Constitutions and Commitment: Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. XLIX, No.4.
- Mancur Olson, *The Rise and Decline of Nations*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Mancur Olson, *Power and Prosperity*. New York: Basic Books, 2000, chaps. 5-6, 8-10.
- Dani Rodrik, Arvind Subramanian, and Francesco Trebbi, "Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions Over Geography and Integration in Economic Development," *Journal of Economic Growth*, 9: 131-165.
- Hilton L. Root, "Tying the King's Hands: Credible Commitments and Royal Fiscal Policy during the Old Regime," *Rationality and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 2: 240-258.
- Nathan Rosenberg, and L. E. Birdzell. *How the West grew rich: the economic transformation of the industrial world*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.
- Jeffrey D. Sachs, *The End of Poverty*. London: Penguin Books, 2005.
- Kenneth L. Sokoloff and Stanley L. Engerman, "History Lessons: Institutions, Factor Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14: 217-232.
- David Stasavage. *Public Debt and the Birth of the Democratic State*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.