

**The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies
Johns Hopkins University**

Course Syllabus: Comparative National Systems

Professor Kevin Croke
Contact: kevinjcroke@gmail.com
Website: <http://scholar.harvard.edu/kcroke>

Teaching assistant: Sabina Henneberg.
Contact: shenneb2@jhu.edu
TA sessions: Wednesday 4:45-5:45pm, Rome 533.
TA office hours: TBD.

Class time/location: Monday 6-8:30 pm; Rome 203.
Office hours: Mondays 5-6 pm, BOB 743a.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course is a graduate-level introduction to comparative politics. The class will emphasize both how political institutions work and how they differ across established democracies, as well as in developing societies. We will also address broad functional issues cutting across the politics of nations around the world. There will be a particular focus on the challenges facing political institutions and actors in developing countries.

Comparative politics is not just a matter of knowing something about more than one country or region of the world; it is the study of institutions, political culture, public policies, and development using as broad a base of experience from different societies as possible. Understanding causality in politics poses special problems because the underlying phenomena are inherently complex, and it is often not possible to run controlled experiments. Comparative politics seeks to get around this problem by using data from a variety of similarly-situated societies, seeking relationships that vary systematically between countries, statically and over time. You cannot understand any given society, including your own, unless you understand how it differs from others. A solid grounding in the core ideas, concepts, and methods of comparative politics will be an asset to students in virtually any career path that they choose to pursue in the foreign policy or international development world.

REQUIREMENTS:

There will be an in-class midterm exam on Monday, October 12th, based on the first five weeks of lectures and accompanying readings, and a final paper due by 6pm on the Friday, December 11th. All students are required to keep up with the readings

for each week's classes, and to participate actively in class discussions. Weightings for the final grade are: midterm 40%; final paper 50%; class participation 10%.

Auditors are welcome in this course, but are expected to keep up with the required readings and attend all classes in order to get official "audit" status for the course. Core exams for Comparative National Systems are scheduled for Thursday, December 10, 2015 and Friday, January 29, 2016.

BOOKS FOR PURCHASE:

- Gabriel Almond et. al., *Comparative Politics Today: A Theoretical Framework, Fifth Edition* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2008).
- Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, (eds.) *Electoral Systems and Democracy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 2006).

CLASS 1 (AUGUST 31):

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE: Comparing Institutions

- Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. 2, Part 3, Chapters 1-4.
- Jared Diamond, "Intra-Island and Inter-Island Comparisons." In Jared Diamond and James Robinson (eds.), *Natural Experiments in History*, (Boston MA: Belknap Press, 2010)
- Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, Ch. 1, *Why Nations Fail* (New York: Crown, 2012), 7-44.
- Gabriel A. Almond et al., *Comparative Politics Today: A Theoretical Framework* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2004), chapter 2
- Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder, *Passion, Craft, and Method in Comparative Politics*, chapter 2, Gerardo L. Munck, "The Past and Present of Comparative Politics," pp. 32-59

Suggested additional readings:

- Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, "Introduction," pp. 17-28.
- Henry E Brady, David Collier, and Jason Seawright, "Refocusing the Discussion of Methodology," pp. 15-31, in *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards*, 2nd edition (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010).

CLASS 2 (SEPTEMBER 14):

COMPARATIVE POLITICS: Approaches

- Atul Kohli, Peter Evans, Peter Katzenstein, et. al., "The Role of Theory in Comparative Politics: A Symposium," *World Politics* 48(1), 1996: 1-49.
- Nate Silver, "Chapter 2: Are You Smarter Than a Television Pundit?" *The Signal and the Noise: Why So Many Predictions Fail – But Some Don't.* New York: Penguin, 2012.
- Dan Slater and Daniel Ziblatt, "The Enduring Indispensability of the Controlled Comparison." *Comparative Political Studies*. 46(10) 1301–1327
- James C. Scott. Chapter 1, "Small Arms Fire in the Class War," pp. 1-27. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance.* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1985.)

Origins: Modernization and Political Development

- Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), chapter 1, pp. 32-59.
- Willa Friedman, Michael Kremer, Ted Miguel, and Rebecca Thornton "Education as Liberation?" NBER Working Paper 16939. April 2011.

Suggested additional readings:

- Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis.* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004). Introduction, pp. 1-16.
- Kevin Croke, Guy Grossman, Horacio Larreguy, and John Marshall. Afrobarometer WP156: "Deliberate disengagement: How education decreases political participation in electoral authoritarian regimes."
- Geertz, Clifford, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), Chapter 1, pp. 3-30.
- Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), chap. 1, "Modernization Theory and American Modernism."

CLASS 3 (SEPTEMBER 21):

INSTITUTIONS: The State and State Formation

- Douglass North, John Joseph Wallis, Barry R. Weingast, *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. Chapter 2, p. 30-77. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
- Francis Fukuyama, *The Origins of Political Order*, Chapter 5: The Coming of the Leviathan, pp. 80-97. (New York: Farrar Straus and Giroux, 2011).
- Jeffrey Herbst, *States and Power in Africa*, chap. 1, "The Challenge of State-Building in Africa."
- Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" in *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

Suggested additional readings:

- World Bank, *World Development Report, 1997: The State in a Changing World*, chaps. 1-3, pp. 19-60.
- Kenneth Lieberthal, *Governing China*, Chapter 1. (New York, WW Norton, 2003).
- Dan Slater, *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Chapter 2: pp. 33-52.

CLASS 4 (SEPTEMBER 28):

INSTITUTIONS: Presidents, Prime Ministers, Political Parties and Electoral Systems

- Juan J. Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds. (1996).
- Scott Mainwaring and Matthew S. Shugart, *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chapter 1, pp. 12-54.
- Matthew S. Shugart and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), chaps. 1-2, pp. 1-27.
- Gabriel Almond et al, *Comparative Politics Today*, chap. 5, "Interest Aggregation and Political Parties."
- Arend Lijphart, "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies," in Diamond and Plattner (2006).

CLASS 5 (OCTOBER 5):

INSTITUTIONS: Political Parties, Federalism, and Case Studies of Institutional Design Theory

- Donald L. Horowitz, "A Primer for Decision-makers" in Diamond and Plattner (2006).
- Francis Fukuyama, "Development and the Limits of Institutional Design," Global Development Network, Jan. 2006.
- Gary W. Cox and Mathew McCubbins, "The Institutional Determinants of Economic Policy Outcomes," in Stephan Haggard and Mathew D. McCubbins, eds., *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press 2001), pp. 21-64.
- Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), chapter 4, "Size and Democracy: The Case for Decentralization," pp. 117-160.
- Arend Lijphart. "Constitutions: Amendment Procedures and Judicial Review" in *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries*. (Yale University Press, 2012).

Suggested additional readings: (Applications of theory to cases):

- Maina Kiai, "The Crisis in Kenya," in *Democratization in Africa: Progress and Retreat*, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (Baltimore, MD: JHU Press, 2010).
- Adeed Dawisha and Larry Diamond, "Iraq's Year of Voting Dangerously," in Diamond and Plattner (2006).
- Barak Hoffman and Lindsay Robinson, "Tanzania's Missing Opposition," in *Democratization in Africa: Progress and Retreat*, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (Baltimore, MD: JHU Press, 2010).
- Scott Mainwaring, "Multipartyism, Robust Federalism, and Presidentialism in Brazil" in Shugart and Mainwaring (1997), *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*.

CLASS 6 (OCTOBER 12): MIDTERM EXAM:

CLASS 7 (OCTOBER 19):

Civil Society, Political Participation, Interest Associations, and Social Movements

- Gabriel Almond et al., *Comparative Politics Today*, chap. 4, "Interest Articulation."
- Albert Hirschman, *Exit, Voice and Loyalty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 1-43
- Larry Diamond, "Rethinking Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (3), 1994, pp. 5-17
- Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Second Edition (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 290-306.
- Kenneth Shepsle and Mark Boncheck. "Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions. 1st edition. New York: WW Norton, 1996). Chapters 8 and 9.

Suggested additional readings:

- Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), chapters 1, 4 and 5
- Ruud Koopmans, "Social Movements," in Russell J. Dalton and Hans Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 693-707.
- Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. George Lawrence (New York: HarperPerennial, 1988), vol. 2, part 2, chapters. 5-8, pp. 513-528.

CLASS 8 (OCTOBER 26): GUEST LECTURER PROF. DAN HONIG

Bureaucracy and State Capacity

- Max Weber, *Economy and Society Vol. 1* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), Chap. 3, "The Types of Legitimate Domination," parts 1-5, pp. 212-254.

- Chalmers Johnson. "The Developmental State: Odyssey of a Concept" in Meredith Woo-Cumings (ed). *The Developmental State* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 32-60.
- Francis Fukuyama, *State-Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century* (Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 1-23.
- World Bank, *World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People*, Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2003, pp. 46-110
- James Q. Wilson, *Bureaucracy: What Government Agencies Do and Why They Do It* (New York: Basic Books, 1989). pp. 3-28, 113-136, 158-171.

CLASS 9 (NOVEMBER 2)

AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

- Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson, *Winner Take All Politics*, pp. 1-41. (New York, Simon and Schuster, 2010).
- Sven Steinmo and Jon Watts, "It's the Institutions Stupid! Why Comprehensive Health Reform Always Fails in the US." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law*, 20:2, 329-372.
- John Sides and Lynn Vavreck, *The Gamble*, chapter 1. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).
- Larry Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*, pp.64-98 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

POLITICAL CULTURE

- Marc Howard Ross, "Culture in Comparative Political Analysis," Ch. 6, pp. 134-161, in *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman (eds.), New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel. *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Introduction, pp. 1-15.

Suggested additional readings:

- Amenta, Edwin and Skocpol, Theda, "Taking Exception: Explaining the Distinctiveness of American Public Policies in the Last Century," in Castles,

Francis G., *The Comparative History of Public Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

- Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, Introduction, pp. 17-31.

CLASS 10 (NOVEMBER 9):

DEMOCRATIZATION

- Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, Diamond and Plattner (eds.), (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1993).
- Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), pp. 3-14, 65-72.
- Fareed Zakaria (1997). "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76(6): 22-43.
- Thomas Carothers (2002). "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13(1): 5-21.
- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 48-87.

Suggested additional readings:

- Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz, "Democratization Theory and the 'Arab Spring,'" *Journal of Democracy*, April 2013.

CLASS 11 (NOVEMBER 16):

NON-DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS

- Susan Stokes, Thad Dunning, Marcela Navareno, and Valeria Brusco. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Chapter 1.
- Andreas Schedler, "The Menu of Manipulation," *Journal of Democracy* 13(2) 2002, 36-50.
- Lucan Way and Steven Levitsky, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13(2), 2002: 51-65.
- Beatriz Magaloni, *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. Chapter 1. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Recommended:

- Jennifer Gandhi, *Political Institutions Under Dictatorship*, chapter 1. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Hodler, Roland, and Raschky, Paul. 2014. "Regional Favoritism." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 995-1033.
- James Scott. 1972. "Patron Client Politics and Political Change in Southeast Asia." *American Political Science Review*, 66(1).

CLASS 12 (NOVEMBER 30):

CONTENTIOUS DIVIDES: NATIONALISM, ETHNICITY, CLASS, AND CONFLICT

- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *American Political Science Review*. 97(1), 2003, pp. 75-90.
- James Habyarimana, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel Posner, and Jeremy Weinstein, "Is Ethnic Conflict Inevitable?" *Foreign Affairs*, July/August 2008, pp. 138-141.
- Chris Blattman and Ted Miguel. "Civil War." *Journal of Economic Literature* 2010, 48:1, 3-57
- "Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics" APSA-CP Newsletter, 12:1, Winter 2001, pp. 7 - 25

Suggested additional readings:

- Anthony Marx, *Making Race and Nation*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 1- 25.
- Benedict G. Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 1-46.

CLASS 13 (DECEMBER 7):

New Directions in Comparative Politics: From Theory to Practice

Field experiments:

- James Druckman and Arthur Lupia, "Experimenting With Politics." *Science* (2012), Vol 335, March 9 2012, pp. 1177-1179.
- Leonard Wantchekon, "Clientelism and Voting Behavior: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin." *World Politics*. (55)3: 399-422

- Rohini Pande, “Can Informed Voters Enforce Better Governance? Experiments in Low Income Democracies,” Forthcoming, *Annual Review of Economics* (2011), Vol. 3.
- Macartan Humphreys, Raul Sanchez de la Sierra, and Peter van der Windt. “Social Engineering in the Tropics: Case Study Evidence from East Congo.” Working paper.

Applied political economy analysis for development:

- Brian Levy, Verena Fritz, and Rachel Ort. *Problem-Driven Political Economy: The World Bank’s Experience*. pp. 1-27. Washington DC: World Bank, 2014).
- Booth, David, Brian Cooksey, Frederick Golooba-Mutebi, and Karuti Kanyinga. “East African Prospects: An Update on the Political Economy of Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda.” London: Overseas Development Institute, 2014