

Comparative Politics: DAK 3 – Lecture plan and syllabus

Course responsible: Jacob Gerner Hariri (jgh@ifs.ku.dk)

Lecturers and teachers: Stine Laursen, Jeppe Vierø, Christoffer Cappelen, Benjamin Carl Egerod, and Jacob Gerner Hariri.

Lectures: Monday 10-12 in CSS 35-01-05.

Course description

This BA-level course provides an introduction to the field of comparative politics, a subfield in political science. The course builds upon Introduction to Political Science (“PG”) and General Political Science (“Almen statskundskab”). Whereas these courses largely examined politics in established democracies, the course Comparative Politics examines the origins of democratic institutions, democratic regime change, politics in non-democratic systems, as well as politics across different varieties of democracies.

Assignments and Exams

Compulsory writing exercise for SS

As part of the course, all students must pass the compulsory writing exercise. The question(s) for the writing exercise will be made available on the course website in Absalon at 12:00 on October 11, 2019 (week 41). The writing exercise must be uploaded to the course website no later than 12:00 on Friday October 25 (week 43). Students who do not pass the writing exercise can resubmit. The deadline for resubmission is 12:00 on November 22 (week 47). Week 45 will be reserved for feedback on the writing exercise, and there will be no lectures or classes this week. Schedules for each class (“hold”) will follow.

Students are allowed to do the writing exercise in groups (up to three students per paper).

If you choose to do the writing exam in groups, all members of a group must belong to the same class (“hold”). The length of the writing exercise (excluding frontpage, table of contents, references) should not exceed 19.200 characters (8 “normalsider”). This holds whether the assignment is completed individually or in a group. Remember to include name and page number in your midterm.

Ordinary exam and resit exam

OBS. Preliminary dates: The exam is a three-day take home assignment. Students are allowed to do the examination in groups (up to three students). See ‘fagstudieordning’ for requirements. Questions will be issued 12:00 January 7, 2020. Deadline for submission is 12:00 January 10, 2020. Grades will be posted online no later than 16:00 January 21, 2020.

The resit examination will be uploaded 12:00 February 14, 2020. It must be submitted 12:00 February 17 2020. Results from the resit will be made available online no later than 16:00 March 2, 2019.

Course language

The official course language in E2019 is Danish. This means that the compulsory writing exercise, the exam, and the re-sit exam will be in Danish.

Course program and readings

With few exceptions, all readings are available through REX. The exceptions have been scanned and uploaded to the course's Absalon page in the folder for the relevant week.

Readings marked with an "L" are covered in the lecture. Readings marked with a "C" are covered in the classes.

Week 1 – Introduction to Comparative Politics & the Use of Concepts

Learning goals:

- Conceptual precision is of special importance in Comparative Politics where theories travel across regions and over time. Different approaches to concept formation (classical, family resemblance, radial concepts) are introduced (Collier & Mahon).
- Challenges in measuring a core concept in the social sciences – and in this course: Democracy (Munck & Verkuilen).

Required readings:

L Collier, D. & J. E. Mahon. 1993. "Conceptual 'Stretching' Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis", *American Political Science Review*, Vol 87(4), pp. 845-855.

C Munck, Gerardo L., and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and measuring democracy: evaluating alternative indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (1):5-33.

Further readings:

Møller, Jørgen and S.E. Skaaning (2010): "Beyond the Radial Delusion: Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy and Non-Democracy", *International Political Science Review* 31(3).

Cheibub, Jose Antonio, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice* 143.1-2 (2010): 67-101.

Goertz, Gary (2006): *Social Science Concepts: A User's Guide*. pp. 95-127 and 237-267.

Bloc I – Patterns of State and Regime Formation

Week 2 - State and Empire

Learning goals:

- What is a state? What is an empire? The classical theories of state formation (Fukuyama). For much of recorded history, empire was the dominant form of social organization, and in many regions they have continued to be so until recently. What are the characteristics of imperial rule -- and the consequences?
- The classical theories of state building are Eurocentric. What has held back the process of state formation in Africa, and why are African states weak (Herbst)?

Required readings

L Fukuyama, Francis .2011. *The origins of Political Order: From Prehuman Times to the French Revolution*, London: Profile Books, CH 2 (The coming of Leviathan, pp. 137-158).

L Tilly, Charles. 1997. "How Empires End", in Barkey & von Hagen *After Empire*. Colorado: Westview Press. pp. 1-11.

C Herbst, Jeffrey 2000. *States and Power in Africa*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapter 1: 11-31.

Further readings:

- Hui, Victoria Tin-bor (2004): "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe", *International Organization*.
- Nexon, D. H. and T. Wright. 2007. "What's at Stake in the American Empire Debate", *American Political Science Review*, 101(2): 253-271.
- Møller, Jørgen. 2014. "Why Europe Avoided Hegemony? A Historical Perspective on the Balance of Power", *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(4): 660-670.

Week 3 – Modernization Theory (and its Critics)

Required readings

- L Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy", *American Political Science Review*, 53: 69-86 (OBS! Uddrag).
- L Robinson, James. 2006. "Economic Development and Democracy", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9: 503-4 and 517-525. (OBS: Uddrag!).
- C Przeworski and Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts", *World Politics* 49(2): 155-178.

Further readings:

- Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development, and the International System", *American Political Science Review*, 105(4): 809-828.
- Robinson, James A., Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and Pierre Yared. 2008. "Income and Democracy" *American Economic Review* 93(3).

Week 4 - From Early Regimes to Modern Democracy

Learning goals:

- What are the origins of early representative institutions (Ertman)?
- And how did modern democracy arise from that (Przeworski)?
- Early representative institutions are an institutionalization of privileges to certain groups in society; modern democracy is the removal of said privileges. How can we understand that dynamic?

Required readings

- L Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan. Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-34.
- C Przeworski, Adam. 2009. "Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions." *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(2): 291–321.
- C Ziblatt, Daniel. 2017. *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Side: 1-23.

Further readings:

- Bates, Robert H. and Donald Lien. 1985.: "A Note on Taxation, Development, and Representative Government", *Politics and Society* 14: 53-70.
- North, Douglass and Barry Weingast. 1989.: "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England", *The Journal of Economic History*, XLIX(4).
- Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1992*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

Week 5 - How does democracy spread (or not). Colonization and the case of the Middle East.

Learning goals:

- Now that we understand the origins of representative democracy in Europe -- how did it spread outside the continent (Hariri)? How did the pattern of European colonization shape subsequent regime developments and what are the causes and consequences of different forms of colonization (Lange).
- Cases covered: the Middle East.
- The Middle East also opens the discussion of varieties of authoritarianism that follows in the coming two weeks.

Required readings:

L Lange, Matthew. 2009. *Lineages of Despotism and Development*. University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2, pp. 21-43.

L Hariri, J. G. 2015. "A contribution to the understanding of Muslim and Middle Eastern Exceptionalism", *Journal of Politics* 77(2): 477-490.

C Herb, Michael. 1999. *All in the Family: Absolutism, Revolution, and Democracy in the Middle Eastern Monarchies*. Albany: State University of New York Press. Side 1-20.

Further readings:

Hariri, J. G. 2012. "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood", *American Political Science Review*, 106(3): 471-494.

Englebort et al. 2002: "Dismemberment and Suffocation. A Contribution to the Debate on African Boundaries", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(10): 1093-1118.

Bloc II – Authoritarian Institutions and Regime Transitions

Week 6- Authoritarian institutions / elections and parliaments in authoritarian regimes

Learning goals:

- The concept of institutions under authoritarian rule: different function of institutions, but self-enforcing institutions do play role in information sharing (establish credible commitments) as well as in terms of coordination.
- Explaining legislatures, elections and parties in terms of credible commitment mechanisms (Magaloni) or as co-optation mechanisms (Gandhi).
- Cases covered: China

Required readings

L Svobik, M. 2012. *The politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (ch. 1), s. 1-13.

L Magaloni, B. 2008. "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule", *Comparative Political Studies*, 41:4-5, pp. 715-727. (Obs! Uddrag).

L Gandhi, J. & E. Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under Authoritarianism", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12, 403-414. (OBS! Uddrag!)

C Guo, Sujian. 1998.: "Democratic Transition: A Comparative Study of China and the Former Soviet Union", *Issues & Studies* 34(8): 63-101.

Further readings:

Week 7 - Regime types, levels of democracy, varieties of authoritarian regimes, hybrid regimes

Learning goals:

- Have a fundamental overview of political regimes: what are the constitutive characteristics of subtypes of democracy (Møller and Skaaning) and of subtypes of autocracies (Seeberg). Understand the relationship (causally and temporally) between the different regime attributes -- historically and today (Møller and Skaaning).
- Understanding the rise and the function of competitive authoritarian regimes.

Required readings:

L Møller, Jørgen & Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2013. "Regime Types and Democratic Sequencing", *Journal of Democracy*, 24(1): 142-155.

L Bech Seeberg, M. 2013. "Authoritarianism and Elections during the Third Wave." *Statsvetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 115 (4): 313-337

L Pepinsky, Tom. 2014. "The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism", *British Journal of Political Science*, s. 631-653.

Further readings:

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2):51-65.

Hadenius, Axel and Jan Teorell, 2007. "Pathways from Authoritarianism", *Journal of Democracy* 18(1): 143-156.

Week 8 - Revolutions

Learning goals:

- What constitute a revolution? How have they been studied?
- The underlying dynamics of revolutions: revolutionary thresholds, equilibria and spiralling effects (Kuran).
- How collective action problems seriously impede revolutions (Kuran)
- Cases covered: The revolutionary dynamics during the Arab Spring (Bellin)

Required readings

L Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44:7-48.

C Bellin, Eva. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East- Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44 (2):127-49.

Further readings:

Granovetter, M. 1978. "Threshold Models of Collective Behavior." *American Journal of Sociology*, 83 (6): 1420-1443.

Week 9 - Feedback week

Week 10 - Coups

Learning goals:

- When does the military intervene in politics? What impedes / facilitates coups?
- Guardianship dilemma and the military as a unique actor when violence is ever present.
- Recap on weeks on transitions: Does revolutions and coups lead to democratization or just another authoritarian regime? Important for democratization: negotiation, pacts, credible commitments, future payoffs. With the readings to this module in mind, how could one expect transitional outcomes of revolutions vs. coups?

Required readings

- L Svobik, M. (2013). "Contracting on Violence: The Moral Hazard in Authoritarian Repression and Military Intervention in Politics", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 57(5): 765-794.
- L Powell, J. (2012). "Determinants of the Attempting and Outcome of Coups d'état", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 56(6): 1017-1040.
- C Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press. (pp. 3-15 and pp. 151-165)
- C O'Donnell, G. & Schmitter, P. (1986) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule – Tentative Conclusions*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press (pp.42-55).

Further readings:

- De Bruin, E. (2017). "Preventing Coups d'état: How Counterbalancing Works", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*: 1-26.
- Goemans, H. & Marinov, N.(2014). "Coups and Democracy". *British Journal of Political Science* 44(4): 799-825.
- Munck, G. & Leff, C. (1997). "Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective". *Comparative Politics* 29(3): 343-362.
- Thyne, C. & Powell, J. (2016): "Coup d'état or Coup d'Autocracy? How Coups Impact Democratization", *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12(2): 192-213.

Bloc III – Varieties of Democracy

Week 11 – Patterns of Democracy & Democratic Institutions

Learning goals:

- Institutions and political effects
- Introduction into dimensions of democratic institutions: consensus-majoritarian
- Consensus-majoritarian as a type of democracy: Germany and UK
- Presidentialism and semi-presidentialism.

Required readings

- L Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*, New Haven, Yale University Press, pp.9-47
- L Linz, Juan J. 1990. "The perils of presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1 (1):51-69.

C Colomer, Josep M., ed. 2008. *Comparative European Politics*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 70-84, 112-126 (Government and Parliament in Germany and France).

Further readings:

Hendriks, Frank 2010. *Vital Democracy. A Theory of Democracy in Action*. Oxford U Press.

Humphreys, M. (2008). Coalitions. *Annual Review of Political Science* 11: 351-386.

Siaroff, Alan 2003. Varieties of parliamentarism in the advanced industrial democracies, *International Political Science Review* 24, 4: 445-464.

Week 12 - Federalism and Unitary States

Learning goals:

- What is federalism? Federalism vs. unitary states, federalism vs. decentralisation
- Territorial autonomy/self-rule vs. shared rule
- Why federalism? Endogenous federalism
- Federalism and ethnic conflict: The paradox of federalism

Required readings

L Beramendi, P. (2007). Federalism. In C. Boix & S. C. Stokes (Eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (pp. 752–781). Oxford University Press.

C Erk, Jan, and Lawrence Anderson. 2009. “The Paradox of Federalism: Does Self-Rule Accommodate or Exacerbate Ethnic Divisions?” *Regional & Federal Studies* 19(2): 191–202.

C Cederman, L.-E., Hug, S., Schädel, A., & Wucherpfennig, J. (2015). Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late? *American Political Science Review*, 109(2), 354–370.

Further readings:

Rodden, Jonathan (2004): *Comparative Federalism and Decentralization: On Meaning and Measurement*. *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 36(4), pp. 481-500.

Riker, William (1964): *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Elazar, David (1997): *Contrasting Unitary and Federal Systems*. *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 18(3), pp. 237-251

Week 13 - Social Cleavages and Institutions

Learning goals:

- Definition of cleavages
- Institutions for divided societies: Consociational and integrationist approaches
- Endogeneity of social cleavages
- Comparative case study design (Posner)
- Cases covered: Bosnia and Herzegovina

Required readings

L Posner, D. N. (2004). “The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi”, *American Political Science Review*, 98(4): 529-545.

L Lijphart, A. (2004). "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies", *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 96-109.

C Jung, Courtney, and Ian Shapiro. 1995. "South Africa's Negotiated Transition: Democracy, Opposition, and the New Constitutional Order." *Politics and Society* 23(3): 269-308

Further readings:

Lijphart, A. (1969). "Consociational Democracy", *World Politics* 21(2): 207-225.

Bartolini, S. (2000). *The Political Mobilization of the European Left. 1860-1980. The Class Cleavage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caramani, D. (2004). *The Nationalization of Politics. The Formation of National Electorates and Party Systems in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chandra, K. (2006). "What is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 397-424.

Week 14 - Democracies and their citizens: direct democracy; civil society/ social movements

Learning goals:

- Get familiar with institutions that allow for direct participation of citizens
- Spread of institutions of direct democracy
- A vetoplayer model of direct democracy
- The role of civil society in democracies
- Cases covered: United Kingdom, United States

Required readings

L Diamond, Larry Jay. 1999. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp.218-260.

C Matsusaka, J. G. (2005). "Direct Democracy Works", *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19(2): 185-206.

C Parthasarathy, R., Rao, V. and Palaniswamy, N. (2019): "Deliberative Democracy in an Unequal World: A Text-As-Data Study of South India's Village Assemblies." *American Political Science Review*, 113(3), 623-640.