

**PSC 355/555 Democratic Political Processes**

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Spring 2013

Tuesday 9:30-12:15. Harkness 329

Objective. This course is designed primarily as a graduate seminar in comparative politics. Its object is to introduce the participants to the comparative study of democratic political processes. The course meets preparation requirements for this substantive subfield of the Ph.D. comprehensive examination in comparative politics. No background in comparative politics is assumed. It is appropriate as an introduction for students new to the field or as an "outside" course.

Approach. The comparative democratic political processes subfield focuses on choosing political leaders and making political decisions in the context of competitive elections and relative freedom of political action. We begin by discussing the meaning and measure of contemporary democracy and the nature of democratic transitions. We then turn to political parties, as key institutions linking citizens and policymakers, and policymaking institutions. The second half of the course focuses on the comparative study of individual citizens' attitudes and behavior (political culture, participation, interest groups.)

Many seminar sessions will be divided into two main parts. In one of these, we shall discuss the **starred** collective readings shown in Column 3 of the syllabus. Our discussion is designed to accomplish both substantive and methodological objectives. On one hand, we want to understand how to explain the particular substantive theme, addressing the concepts, theories and evidence presented. The readings are designed to introduce a variety of substantive topics, not to be definitive on any of them. (The unstarred readings are recommended for those interested in following up some additional aspects of these topics.) On the other hand, we want to understand strengths and limitations of various approaches to comparative analysis--cross-sectional or longitudinal comparisons, sample of countries or units, quantitative versus qualitative measurement of variables, specification issues, and so forth.

In the other part of the session, we shall have presentations by seminar members. These presentations are of two types, exemplifying two of the major approaches to the study of democratic processes in comparative politics. **Each seminar participant is responsible for one presentation of each type.** One presentation will be on a particular **comparative quantitative data set**, as suggested in Column 4. The student is responsible for examining the appropriate website and related material, downloading the data (or a subset of it), doing some simple analysis to show that the data are accessible, describing to the class the unit basis of the data, the types of variables and their measurement, and identifying some publications or papers using these data. Any special problems or limitations of the data should be noted. The other presentation will **focus on a specific country** and application of the general theme of the week to the politics of that country and vice versa. We would hope for a presentation that would focus on a theoretical issue and demonstrate the importance of context, or trace some particular institution or process in a case-study approach. Each type of presentations should be about 20 minutes long, followed by another 10 minutes of discussion. A written outline, summary, or annotated bibliography is to be handed out.

Grades and Responsibilities of Seminar Participants. Seminar participants are responsible for two presentations and associated written summaries/annotated bibliographies. There will also be a midterm examination. Grades will be based on the seminar presentations and the associated written summaries (15% each), the midterm (15%), class discussion (10%) and a research paper on some aspect or problem of democratic processes (45%). Individual meetings with the instructor about the paper topic early in the semester are mandatory, no later than the midterm. The paper topic must be approved in advance. Papers are due on the last day of classes, Wednesday, May 1 . In exceptional cases, a take-home final exam may be substituted for the research paper, in which case the midterm is worth 30% and the final is worth 30%.

Additional or Alternative Topics. In a small seminar it is easy to alter the topics for later weeks in response to class interest or to avoid overlap with work previously taken. If you find that your favorite theme or work is missing from the following syllabus, don't hesitate to raise the possibility of making a change to incorporate it. (Note that at the end we have one suggestion for another topic that is might be of interest to some.). If you find we're reading something you've done to death in another seminar, we can switch. Moreover, while the starred items are the ones that seemed to me more interesting, it's easy to switch to some of the recommended items if the class would rather discuss these.

Availability of Materials. The following books are available for purchase in the bookstore. (However, they may be available more cheaply as used copies on line.):

- Cox, Gary. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge, 1997.
- Dahl, Robert. *Democracy and Its Critics*. Yale, 1989.
- Duch and Stevenson. *The Economic Voter*. Cambridge. 2008.
- Laitin, David. *Hegemony and Culture*. Chicago, 1986.
- Laver and Schofield. *Multiparty Government*. Michigan. 1998.
- Powell, G. Bingham. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. Yale, 2000.
- Tarrow, Sidney. *Power in Movement*. 3rd ed. Cambridge, 2011.

Other book references in syllabus follow. Required assigned chapters will be available in a box in the political science lounge (Harkness 314.)

- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. 2005.
- Adams, James, Samuel Merrill, Bernard Grofman. A Unified Theory of Party Competition. 2005.
- APSA Presidential Task Force. "Electoral Rules and Democratic Governance." 2012.
- Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) 1991.
- Birnir, Johanna K. Ethnicity and Electoral Politics. 2007.
- Bowler, Shaun, et al. Party Discipline and Parliamentary Government. 1999.
- Bratton, Michael, et al., Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Reform in Africa. 2005.
- Brownlee, Jason. Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization. 2007.
- Budge, Ian. et al. Mapping Policy Preferences. 2001.
- Carey, John. Legislative Voting and Accountability. Cambridge 2009.
- Carey, John and Matthew Shugart. Executive Decree Authority.

- Chandra, Kanchan. Why Ethnic Parties Succeed. 2004.
- Cheibub, Jose Antonio. Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy. 2006.
- Converse, Philip and Roy Pierce. Political Representation in France. 1986.
- Dalton, Russell, et al. Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies. 1984.
- Dalton, Russell and Christopher Anderson. Citizens, Context, Choice. Oxford 2011.
- Doering, Herbert. ed. Parliaments & Majority Rule in WE, 1995.
- Della Porta, Donatella. Social Movements, Political Violence & the State. 1995.
- Downs, Anthony. Economic Theory of Democracy. 1957.
- Duch, Raymond and Randy Stevenson. The Economic Vote. 2008.
- Enders, Walter and Todd Sandler. Political Economy of Terrorism. 2005.
- Franklin, Mark. Voter Turnout and Dynamics of Electoral Competition. 2004.
- Goldthorpe, John. Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism. 1984.
- Gurr, Ted Robert, ed. Minorities at Risk. 1993.
- Hicken, Alan. Building Party Systems. Cambridge 2009.
- Howard, Marc. The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe. 2003.
- Huber, John. Rationalizing Parliament, 1996.
- Huber, John and Charles Shipan. Deliberate Discretion? Institutional Foundations of Bureaucratic Autonomy. 2002.
- Samuel P. Huntington. The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century. 1991.
- Inglehart, Ronald. Culture Shift. 1990.
- Keck, Margaret. & Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders, 1998.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. Radical Right in Western Europe. 1995.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, et al. Post-Communist Party Systems. 1999.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. Transformation of Social Democracy. 1994.
- Laver, Michael and Kenneth Shepsle. Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government. 1994.
- Lijphart, Arend, et al. Electoral Systems and Party Systems. 1994.
- Lijphart, Arend. Patterns of Democracy. 1999.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin & Stein Rokkan. Party Systems and Voter Alignments. 1967.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully. Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America, 1995.
- Morgenstern, Scott and Benito Nacif, Legislative Politics in Latin America, 2001.
- Moser, Robert and Ethan Scheiner. Electoral Systems and Political Context, Cambridge 2012
- Mueller, Wolfgang and Kaare Strom. Coalition Governments in Western Europe. 2000.
- Powell, G. Bingham. Contemporary Democracies, 1982.
- Przeworski, Adam, et al. Democracy and Development. 2000.
- Putnam, Robert. Ed. Democracies in Flux: Evolution of Social Capital. 2002.
- Putnam, Robert. Making Democracy Work. 1994.
- Rogowski, Ronald. Commerce and Coalitions, 1989.
- Rose, Richard and Munro. Elections and Parties in the New Europe. 2003.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, et al. Capitalist Development and Democracy, 1992.
- Samuels, David and Matt Shugart, Presidents, Prime Ministers & Political Parties. 2010.
- Sartori, Giovanni. Parties and Party Systems. 1976.
- Schofield, Norman and Itai Sened. Multiparty Democracy. 2006.
- Shugart, Matthew S. and John Carey, Presidents and Assemblies, 1992.

- Stokes, Susan. Mandates & Democracy, 2001.
- Strom, Kaare. Minority Government and Majority Rule.
- Strom, Kaare, *et al.* Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining. Oxford, 2008.
- Tucker, Joshua. Regional Economic Voting. 2006.
- Vanberg, Georg. Politics of Constitutional Review. 2005.
- Verba, Sidney, Norman Nie & Jae-on Kim, Participation and Equality, 1978.
- Webb, Paul, et al. Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies. 2002.
- Wilkinson, Steven. Votes and Violence. 2004.

Journal references: AJPS=American Journal of Political Science; APSA-CP=American Political Science Association—Comparative Politics Section; APSR=American Political Science Review; AnnRev = Annual Review of Political Science; BJPS=British Journal of Political Science; CP=Comparative Politics; CPS=Comparative Political Studies; CS=Comparative Sociology; EJPR=European Journal of Political Research; ISQ=International Studies Quarterly, JoD= Journal of Democracy; JOP= Journal of Politics; JPE=Journal of Public Economics; PA=Parliamentary Affairs; POP=Perspectives on Politics; POQ=Public Opinion Quarterly; QJE=Quarterly Journal of Economics; WP=World Politics.

**PSC 355/555 -**Date    Discussion Theme**Syllabus**Collective Reading

\* = Required

**Spring 2013****(Data Set Presentation****Possibilities)**Jan. 22    Course organization  
Democratic Concepts

Syllabus

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\* Dahl, Democracy & Critics 1989

Esp. Ch. 4-12, 15

\* Collier & Levitsky, "Dem" *WP* (49.3) 1997Jan. 29    Democracy: Measure  
and Consequence\* Przeworski, et al. Democracy  
and Development, 2000, Ch.1-2

(\*Freedom House)

(\*CIRI Human Rights)

\* Epstein et al., "Democratic Transitions,"

*AJPS*, July 2006.\* Schedler, "Menu," *JoD*, Ap 2002\* Howard and Roessler, "Liberalizing..." *AJPS* 2006.Poe, Tate, Keith "Human Rights" *ISQ* 1999Brownlee, Authoritarianism in an Age  
of Democratization. 2007.Feb. 5    Democratization  
& Development\* Lipset, *APSR* 1959.

(\*Polity IV Project: Regimes

and Transitions)

\* Rueschemeyer, et al, 1992

Capitalist Development,

Pp. 75-121, (Ch 4 )

\* Geddes, "What Do We Know?" in *Ann. Rev**Polit Sci*, 1999, Vol 2

\* Acemoglu &amp; Robinson, "Why Did the West?"

*QJE* Nov. 2000.Acemoglu, et al., "Income & Democracy, *AER* 2008 98:3Acemoglu & Robinson, Economic Origins 2005.Boix and Stokes "Endog Dem" *WP* 2003

Houle, "Inequality, Dev, Dem." 2010 Rochester thesis.

Houle "Ineq & Dem." *World Politics* Oct. 2009Huntington, Third Wave, 1991.McFaul, "4<sup>th</sup> Wave" *WP* 2002

Przeworski, "Conquered or Granted" nd.

Feb. 12    Shaping Party Systems:  
Cleavages and Voter  
Alignments\* Lipset & Rokkan, Party Systems &  
Voter Alignments 1967, 1-64

(\*Alesina:

fractionalization)

\* Laitin, Hegemony & Culture, 1986

(\*Minorities at Risk)

esp. Ch. 1, 4, 6, 8 &amp; appendix

\* Rogowski, Commerce & Coalitions, Ch.1\* Posner *APSR*, "Cultural Differences," Oct. 2004.\* Shayo, *APSR*, "Social Identity" May 2009Birnie, Ethnicity & Electoral Politics 2007, esp. ch.7.Wilkinson, Votes & Violence, 2004.

Varshney, "...Ethnic Conflict," CP 1997  
 Anderson, Imagined Communities 1991  
 Chandra, "Cumulative" APSA-CP 2001  
 Kitschelt, Post-Communist Party Systems, Ch. 3.

- Feb. 19 Shaping Party Systems: \*Cox, Making Votes (\***Matt Golder's Dataverse, Elec Systems**)  
 Election Rules Count 1997, Esp.  
 Number/majorities, Ch 1-4,7-8,10-12,15  
 Polarization/Extremism \*Forum of Kreuzer,Cusak, Boix "PR" APSR May 2010.  
 Volatility, Nationalization, \*Crisp, et al., "Vote-Seeking Incentives," JOP 2004  
 Personalism \*Hicken, Building Party Systems, 2009, ch. 2,3  
 APSA Presidential Task Force, 2012.  
 Moser & Scheiner, Electoral Systems, 2012.  
 Boix "Setting the Rules" APSR, 1999  
 Lijphart et al Electoral Systems....1994  
 Chhibber & Ken Kollman, "Party Agg." APSR 1998  
 Chandra, Why Ethnic Parties Succeed. 2004.  
 Mainwaring and Scully, 1995, ch. 1  
 Powell, Cont Dem. Ch. 5  
 Rose & Munro, Elections & Parties in New Europe 2003.  
 Kitschelt, Radical Right, 1995.  
 Golder, "Explaining...Rad Right " CPS 2003
- Feb. 26 Party Competition \*Downs, Economic Theory, Ch. 7-8. (\***Manifesto Data**)  
 & Party Systems \*Sartori, Parties & Party Systems, 1976, Ch. 6.  
 \* Meguid, "Competition...." APSR Aug 2005  
 \*Schofield & Sened, Multiparty Dem. 2006, Ch. 1,2,4, 9.  
 Schofield et al "Multipty Compet" Public Choice 1998  
 Groffman, "Downs." Ann Rev 2004  
 Webb in Webb, Farrell & Holiday 2002.  
 Cox, "Centripetal" AJPS 1990  
 Adams, et al, Unified Theory 2005.  
 Powell & Vanberg BJPS 2000  
 Budge et al, Mapping Policy Pref, 2001
- Mar. 5 Executive-Legislative \*Tsebelis, "Veto Points" BJPS 1995 (\***Frye, Presidential**  
 Relations (Presidential) \*Shugart & Carey, Pres & Ass **powers**)  
 and other decision rules 1991 Ch. 1-3, 7, 8, 13  
 \*Morgenstern & Nacif,  
Leg. Politics in LA, 2001, Ch. 1, 14,15  
 Samuels & Shugart, Presidents,PMs Parties 2010.  
 Dahl, ch. 10-11.  
 Tsebelis, Veto Players 2002.

Tsebelis & Aleman, "Presidential...." *WP* forthcoming.  
 Linz "Perils of Pres" *JoD* 1990  
 Lijphart, Patterns of Democracy, 1999.  
 Carey & Shugart, Exec Decree Authority, Ch 1,10  
 Vanberg, Politics of Constitutional Review, 2005.

**March 12 - NO CLASSES SPRING BREAK**

Mar 19 Government Formation  
 and Stability  
 (Parliamentary)

\*Laver and Schofield,  
Multiparty Government  
 esp. Ch. 2,4,5  
 \*Martin & Stevenson, "Gov Form," (\***Martin data set**)  
*AJPS*, 2001  
 \*Warwick/Laver-Shepsle. "Gov Survival" *BJPS* Apr1999.  
 \*Baron "Spatial Bargaining Theory" *APSR* March 1991.  
 \* Diermeir & Stevenson, "Cab terminations" *APSR* 3

2000

Strom, *et al.* Cabinets and Coalition Bargaining, 2008.  
 Tsebelis, *Veto Players*, Ch. 9.  
 Diermeir & Merlo, "Coalition Barg." *JPubE* 2004 783-797  
 Diermeir et al "Structural model gov form" *Econometrica* 2003  
 Laver "Government Termination," *Ann Rev* 2003  
 Mueller & Strom, Coalition Govs 2000.  
 Huber, "Vote of Confidence," *APSR* 1996.  
 Volder & Carrubba, "Oversize Coalitions" *AJPS* 2004

Mar. 26 Legislative and Executive  
 Processes

\*Huber, Rationalizing Parl., (\***Transparency Int.**)  
 Intro, Ch. 5- 7 (\***World Bank Govern.**)  
 \*Strom, Minority Government, Ch. 6, 7  
 \* Bowler, Pty Discipline, Ch. 1,2  
 \*Diermeir & Feddersen, "Cohesion" *APSR* sept 1998  
 Laver & Shepsle, Cab. Ministers, Ch. 1, 10, 17  
 Tsebelis, *Veto Players*, Ch. 4, 7  
 Carey Legislative Voting & Accountability 2009  
 Tsebelis, *Veto Players & Law Prod.*" *APSR* 1999.  
 Martin "Gov Agenda" *AJPS* July 2004  
 Mattson & Strom "Committees" in Doering, 1994.  
 Triesman, "Corruption," *JPE* 2000. (\*World Bank Gov)  
 Huber & Shipan, Deliberate Discretion 2002

**TAKE-HOME MIDTERM EXAMINATION ABOUT HERE. EXACT DATE BY  
 NEGOTIATION**

Apr 2 Political Culture:

\*Norris & Inglehart; Esmer, *CS* 2002 (\***World Values Studies**)

- Citizen Values  
(Procedural,  
Substantive)
- \*Dalton, et al. "Understanding Democracy"  
*Journal of Democracy* Oct 2007
- \*Inglehart, Culture Shift, 1990, Intro, Ch. 1-2
- \*Kitschelt, Transformation of  
Social Democracy, 1994, Ch. 1,2.  
Bratton, Public Opinion...in Africa. 2005.  
Canache, "Meaning..." *POQ* 2001  
Putnam Making Democracy Work 1993
- Apr. 9 Comparing  
Citizen Behavior  
(Partisanship,  
Economic voting,  
Cleavages/issues,  
Participation)
- \*Converse & Pierce, Repres in France, 1986, Ch. 3,4,7  
(\*CSES Studies)
- \* Duch & Stevenson, The Economic Voter 2008.  
Inglehart "Changing", Dalton 1984, Ch. 2.  
\*Verba, Nie, Kim Participation & Equality. 1978, Ch. 3-4  
\*Quinn, "Voter choice," *AJPS* 1999 43:4  
Dalton and Anderson, Citizens, Context Choice, 2011.  
Samuels, "Presidentialism & Eco Voting" *APSR*, Aug 2004.  
Franklin, Voter Turnout & Dynamics 2004.  
Lewis-Beck, "Econ Voting" *Ann Rev*, 2002
- Apr 16 Citizens, Groups, Action  
(civil society)
- \* Tarrow, Power in  
Movement, 1998
- \*Verba, Nie, Kim 1978 Ch. 5-7
- \*Lohmann, "Signaling Model," *APSR* (2) 1993.
- \*Keck & Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders 1998,  
Ch. 1,3  
Putnam, "Concl." In Dem in Flux 2002  
Howard, Weakness of Civil Society in EE 2003, Ch. 4  
Della Porta, Social Movements .... 1995.  
Gurr, Minorities at Risk 1993
- Apr. 23 Interest Group  
& Policymaking  
Systems
- \*Lehmbruch, "Concertation"  
in Goldthorpe 1984
- \*Wallerstein & Western, "Unions"  
*Ann Rev* 2000
- \*Molina & Rhodes "Corporatism"  
*Ann Rev* 2002
- \*Hellman, "Winners...." *WP* 1998  
Siaroff "Corporatism" *EJPR* 1999
- Apr. 30 Responsiveness  
and Representation
- \*Powell, Elections as  
Instruments..., 2000, Esp.  
Ch. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10.



- \*Cox, *Making Votes Count*, Ch. 12
- \* Stokes, *Mandates & Democracy*, 2001, Ch. 1.
- Samuels & Shugart, *Presidents....* 2010, Ch. 8
- Powell, "Representation in Context: Election Laws and Ideological Congruence" *POP* March 2013
- Vowles, "Introducing PR in New Zealand," *PA* 2000

**Papers are due on May 1 (last day of classes in the college.)**

**Substitution topic – for one of above:**

Coercive Processes

- \* Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*. 2006.
- \*Cederman, et al. "Why Ethnic Groups Rebel" *WP* Jan 2010
- \*Wilkinson, *Votes & Violence*, 2004, Ch. 1.
- \*Fearon & Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency..." *APSR* 2003.
- Poe, Tate, Keith "Human Rights" *ISQ* 1999
- Birner, *Ethnicity & Electoral Politics* 2007, esp. ch.7.
- "Elections w/o Dem," *JoD*, Ap 2002
- Huntington, *Third Wave*, 1991, Ch. 5.
- "Quality of Democracy," *JoD*, Oct 2004
- Cheibub, *Presidentialism....* 2006, Ch. TBA.
- Londregan & Poole, "Poverty, Coup Trap..." *WP*, Jan 1990.
- McGowan, "African Mil. Coups," *J Mod African Studies*, 2003.
- "Coups" in Acemoglu & Robinson, *Economic Origins* 2006, Ch.
- Enders & Sandler, *Political Economy of Terrorism*. 2005.