

PSC 355/555 Democratic Political Processes

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Spring 2009

Tuesday 12:30-15:15. 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 of contemporary democracy, the nature of democratic transitions and the effect of social and economic context. We then look at the comparative study of individual citizens' attitudes and behavior (political culture, participation), and the shaping of party systems by rules and context. The second half of the course focuses on party competition and policymaking processes.

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. I 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%). The paper topic must be approved in advance. Papers are due on the last day of classes, April 29. 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 I have one suggestion for another topic that is of interest to me.). 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*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1998.

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.
- Anderson, Benedict. Imagined Communities. (2nd 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 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.
- 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. Forthcoming.
- 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 20th 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.
- Mueller, Wolfgang and Kaare Strom. Coalition Governments in Western Europe. 2000.
- Powell, G. Bingham. Contemporary Democracies, 1982.
- 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.
- 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.
- Tsebelis, George. Veto Players. 2002.
- 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; POQ=Public Opinion Quarterly; QJE=Quarterly Journal of Economics; WP=World Politics.

PSC 355/555 -		Syllabus	Spring 2009
Date	Discussion Theme	Collective Reading *-=Required	(Data Set Presentation Possibilities)
Jan 20	Course organization Democratic Concepts	Syllabus * Dahl, <u>Democracy & Critics</u> 1989 Esp. Ch. 4-12, 15 * Collier & Levitsky, "Dem" <i>WP</i> (49.3) 1997	-----
Jan 27	Democracy: Measure and Consequence	*Przeworski, et al. <u>Democracy and Development</u> , 2000, Ch.1-2 *Epstein et al., "Democratic Transitions," <i>AJPS</i> , July 2006. *Schedler, "Menu," <i>JoD</i> , Ap 2002 *Howard and Roessler, "Liberalizing..." <i>AJPS</i> 2006. Poe, Tate, Keith "Human Rights" <i>ISQ</i> 1999 Brownlee, <u>Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization</u> . 2007.	(*Freedom House: Rights, Liberties, Press)
Feb 3	Democratization & Development	*Przeworski, et al. 2000, ch. 2 *Rueschemeyer, et al, 1992 <u>Capitalist Development</u> , Pp. 75-121, (Ch 4) *Lipset, <i>APSR</i> 1959 *Geddes, "What Do We Know?" in <i>Ann. Rev Polit Sci</i> , 1999, Vol 2 *Acemoglu & Robinson, "Why Did the West?" <i>QJE</i> Nov. 2000. Acemoglu & Robinson, <u>Economic Origins</u> 2005. Boix and Stokes "Endog Dem" <i>WP</i> 2003 Huntington, <u>Third Wave</u> , 1991. Powell 1982, <u>Contemporary Dems</u> , Ch. 8, 10 McFaul, "4 th Wave" <i>WP</i> 2002	(*Polity IV Project: Regimes and Transitions)
Feb 10	Political Culture: Citizen Values (Procedural, Substantive)	*Norris & Inglehart; <i>Esmer</i> , CS 2002 *Bratton & Mattes, "Support for Dem in Africa" <i>BJPS</i> 2001 #3. *Inglehart, <u>Culture Shift</u> , 1990, Intro, Ch. 1-2 *Kitschelt, <u>Transformation of Social Democracy</u> , 1994, Ch. 1,2. <u>Bratton, Public Opinion...in Africa</u> . 2005. Canache, "Meaning..." <i>POQ</i> 2001 Putnam <u>Making Democracy Work</u> 1993	(*World Values) (*Afro-barometer, globalbarometers)

- Feb 17 Political Culture:
Cleavages and Voter
Alignments
- * Lipset & Rokkan, Party Systems & Voter Alignments 1967, 1-64
 - *Laitin, Hegemony & Culture, 1986 esp. Ch. 1, 4, 6, 8 & appendix
 - *Rogowski, Commerce & Coalitions, Ch.1
 - * Posner *APSR*, Oct. 2004. (*Minorities at Risk)
 - *Dahl, Ch. 14
 - Birner, 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 24 Shaping Party Systems
Features:
Number/majorities,
Polarization/Extremism
Volatility, Nationalization,
Personalism
- *Cox, Making Votes Count 1997, Esp. Ch 1-4,7-8,10-12,15 (*CSES)
 - *Powell, Cont Dem. Ch. 5
 - *Mainwaring and Scully, 1995, ch. 1
 - *Hicken, Building Party Systems, forthcoming, ch. 2,3
 - *Crisp, et al., "Vote-Seeking Incentives," JOP 2004
 - 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.
 - Rose & Munro, Elections & Parties in New Europe 2003.
 - Kitschelt, Radical Right, 1995.
 - Golder, "Explaining...Rad Right " CPS 2003
- Mar 3 Comparing
Citizen Behavior
(Partisanship,
Economic voting,
Cleavages/issues,
Participation)
- *Converse & Pierce, Repres in France, 1986, Ch. 3,4,7 (*Eurobarometers)
 - * Duch & Stevenson, The Economic Voter 2008.
 - * Inglehart "Changing", Dalton 1984, Ch. 2.
 - *Verba, Nie, Kim Participation & Equality. 1978, Ch. 3-4
 - Tucker, Comp. Eco Voting in EE, 2006.
 - Samuels, "Presidentialism & Eco Voting" *APSR*, Aug 2004.
 - Franklin, Voter Turnout & Dynamics 2004.
 - Lewis-Beck, "Econ Voting" *Ann Rev*, 2002

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

March 10 SPRING BREAK**NO CLASS**

March 17 Citizens, Groups, Action
(civil society)

* Tarrow, Power in Movement, 1998 (*World Values)
(*Minorities at Risk)
*Howard, Weakness of Civil Society in EE 2003, Ch. 4
*Verba, Nie, Kim 1978 Ch. 5-7
*Putnam, "Concl." In Dem in Flux 2002
*Keck & Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders 1998,
Ch. 1,3
Della Porta, Social Movements 1995.
Gurr, Minorities at Risk 1993

March 24 Interest Group
Lange
& Policymaking
Systems

*Lehmbruch, "Concertation" (*Golden-Wallerstein-
in Goldthorpe 1984 data on unions)
*Wallerstein & Western, "Unions"
Ann Rev 2000
*Molina & Rhodes "Corporatism"
Ann Rev 2002
*Hellman, "Winners...." *WP* 1998
Siaroff "Corporatism" *EJPR* 1999

March 31 Party Competition
& Party Systems
expert
studies)

*Downs, Economic Theory, Ch. 7-8. (*Manifesto
*Grossman, "Downs." *Ann Rev* 2004. Data;
*Sartori, Parties & Party Systems, 1976, Ch. 6.
* Meguid, "Competition...." *APSR* Aug 2005
*Schofield & Sened, Multiparty Dem. 2006, Ch. 1,2,9.
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

April 7 Executive-Legislative
Relations (Presidential)
and other decision rules

*Dahl, Ch. 10-11 (*Frye, Presidential
*Shugart & Carey, Pres & Ass powers)
1991 Ch. 1-3, 7, 8, 13
*Morgenstern & Nacif,

- Leg. Politics in LA, 2001, Ch. 1, 14,15
- *Tsebelis, “Decision-Making, Veto Points” *BJPS* 1995.
 Tsebelis & Aleman, “Presidential...” *WP* forthcoming.
 Tsebelis, Veto Players, 2002.
 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.
- April 14 Government Formation
 and Stability
 (Parliamentary)
 set)
- *Laver and Schofield,
Multiparty Government
 esp. Ch. 2,4,5
 *Martin & Stevenson, “Gov Form,” (Martin data
AJPS, 2001
 *Laver “Government Termination,” *Ann Rev* 2003
 *Warwick/Laver-Shepsle. “Gov Survival” *BJPS* Apr1999.
 Mueller & Strom, Coalition Govs 2000.
 Huber, “Vote of Confidence,” *APSR* 1996.
 Volder & Carrubba, “Oversize Coalitions” *AJPS* 2004
- April 21 Legislative and Executive
 Processes
- *Huber, Rationalizing Parl., (Inter-Parliamentary Union)
 Intro, Ch. 5- 7 (*Doering)
 *Laver & Shepsle, Cab. Ministers, Ch. 1, 10, 17
 *Strom, Minority Government, Ch. 6, 7
 * Bowler, Pty Discipline, Ch. 1,2
 * 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
 Huber & Shipan, Deliberate Discretion 2002 Gov.)
- April 28 Responsiveness
 and Representation
- *Powell, Elections as
 Instruments..., 2000, Esp.
 Ch. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10.
 *Cox, Making Votes Count, Ch. 12
 *Powell, “Democratic Representation” *Ann Rev* 2004
 * Stokes, Mandates & Democracy, 2001, Ch. 1.
 Vowles, “Introducing PR in New Zealand,” *PA* 2000

Papers are due on April 29 (last day of classes in the college.)

Substitution topic – for one of above:

April 19 Coercive Processes

- *Birner, Ethnicity & Electoral Politics 2007, esp. ch.7.
- *Wilkinson, Votes & Violence, 2004.
- * Fearon & Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency..." *APSR* 2003.
- * Poe, Tate, Keith "Human Rights" *ISQ* 1999 (Human Rights)
- * "Elections w/o Dem," *JoD*, Ap 2002
- * Huntington, Third Wave, 1991, Ch. 5.
- "Quality of Democracy," *JoD*, Oct 2004
- Linz "Perils of Pres" *JoD* 1990
- 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.
- Kalyvas, Logic of Violence in Civil War. 2006.