

Political Science 7200: Theories of Comparative Politics  
Autumn 2016

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Derby Hall 0038  
Th 11:30am – 2:15pm  
OH: Thu 9-10, and by appointment

### **Course Description**

The idea behind this course is to provide an overview of some of some of the major theoretical perspectives on the “big questions” in comparative politics scholarship. Of course, delimiting what the big questions are is a difficult task, and no warrant is given here that the selections made for this course are entirely unbiased. While I have tried to cover many bases, the course naturally reflects my tendency to think of comparative politics from a historical perspective – especially in terms of the origins of many of the institutional arrangements that form the central backdrop of most contemporary scholarship. Thus, the course begins with an examination of accounts of the formation of first the market and then the modern bureaucratic state. Subsequent sessions examine aspects of the linkage between state and society – from the extractive (taxation), to the origins of alternative political regimes, to the relationship between economic modernization and democracy and the meaning of democratic politics in a market economic context. From there we move to a discussion of the origin of two critical species of political parties (Christian- and Social-Democratic), and the party systems within which they operate. Next comes the question of violence, both in terms of the creation of order out of violence and the dynamics of violence in civil wars. And finally we end with an examination of alternative approaches to the political economy of economic development.

### **Responsibilities**

This class meets once a week for almost three hours, which gives us sufficient time to read and think about the issues at hand. Vigorous classroom participation will be essential to making the course a success, as will timely completion of the readings. This is a seminar, not a lecture, class, and as such discussion and debate will be essential. Always bring the readings to class, as we will make frequent reference to them.

### **Requirements**

Every week each student will write a roughly one page “reaction” to that week’s readings. These reaction papers should be emailed to everyone in the class no later than 5:00PM on the evening before the class session. The point of these reactions papers is NOT TO SUMMARIZE the reading, but rather to raise a question or discussion point for us to think about during the seminar. This is a seminar, and thus what we cover will in part be governed by what you find perplexing. This is a great venue to make such a point. Note also, that the comment can be about a small point, a big theoretical issue, a methodological consideration, or the treatment of empirical evidence, *inter alia*. The idea is to raise a topic you think worth considering.

In addition, once during the course, each student will write a five-page paper discussing one of the important works we are covering. It will be due, as above, the day before the date in which it is to be discussed in class. Who is responsible for what set of readings will be determined during the first class. The basic point in this paper will be to examine how or whether the work in question advances our knowledge on a particular subject (set in the context of the state of knowledge in a particular topic area).

This will in part require a “reverse engineering” of the research design that supported the work in question, and will address such issues as: What theoretical question frames the work? What categories of evidence are brought to bear? Were the causal variables appropriately conceptualized and measured? Were the tests of hypotheses appropriate to the theories under examination? What alternative approaches were not discussed? What other data would be required to make the argument more compelling? How does the work fit into ongoing debates in the area? What do alternative approaches to evidence tell us for the robustness of the findings? It will not be a summary or a literature review. More elaboration on this assignment will be forthcoming later.

The principal written assignment for the class will be a substantial paper (which may be an extension of the 5-page paper) that is: (1) a research paper that departs from where the readings for one of our topics leaves off (i.e., tries to take the “next step”), (2) or a re-analysis of one of the topics considered in the course with different data/methods (e.g., using new cases; from a distinct methodological perspective or approach; with a re-conceptualization of key variables, etc.), or (3) a traditional research paper on the topic of your choice (with approval). Typically, such papers are on the order of 20-30 pages, though there is no strict upper or lower limit.

A brief presentation of your final paper will take place on the last class session (time/place TBD).

Grades will be assigned on the following basis: class participation and reaction papers (15%), five-page paper (20%), presentation (10%), final paper (55%).

*Deadlines:* Reaction papers are to be distributed to the entire class by email by 5:00PM the night before class. Five page papers must be emailed to all class members by the same (5:00PM) deadline. The final version of the major paper is due at **12:00pm on Wednesday, December 14<sup>th</sup>, 2016.**

*A Warning.* This is a foundation class in comparative politics. Since we have a large amount of ground to cover, there is no way to keep the amount of reading small. As a consequence, you should understand that this course will tend to be time consuming. Coming to class unprepared, however, is not acceptable. All reading should be done in a timely fashion.

## **A Note**

The syllabus for this course may be updated from time to time as we move along through the course. The most-current (and binding) version will be found on the carmen website. I will announce any changes by email as well.

## **Readings**

There are eleven books that you will need for this course, as well as quite a few articles. The articles are generally available electronically through the library. A few readings (principally selections from books not included in the list below) are not available electronically and will be made available on the carmen website for this course. From time to time readings may be moved from “required” to “recommended” depending on whether we are successfully getting through all the material each week and if we are getting behind. I’ll let you know by email if the readings in any week are to be reduced.

The books for purchase or other form of acquisition are:

1. Karl Polanyi. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1944). ISBN: 080705643X

2. Douglass C. North. *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982). ISBN: 039395241X
3. Avner Greif. 2006. *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press). ISBN. 0521671345.
4. Thomas Ertman. *Birth of Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). ISBN: 0521484278.
5. Barrington Moore. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966). ISBN: 0807050733
6. Carles Boix. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).
7. Margaret Levi. *Of Rule and Revenue*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
8. Stathis Kalyvas. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), ISBN. 0801483204.
9. Adam Przeworski. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).
10. Douglass North, John Wallis, and Barry Weingast. 2009. *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).
11. Stathis Kalyvas. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. (New York: Cambridge University Press).

### **Academic Honesty**

All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own. Absolutely no cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation) will be tolerated. Any cases of cheating or plagiarism will be reported to the committee on academic misconduct and handled according to university policy. If you have any question about the University's Code of Student Conduct, please see the web site: [http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/pdfs/csc\\_7-13-06.pdf](http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/pdfs/csc_7-13-06.pdf).

### **Students with Disabilities**

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disability Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs. The Office for Disability Services is located in 150 Pomerene Hall, 1760 Neil Avenue; telephone 292-3307, TDD 292-0901; <http://www.ods.ohio-state.edu/>.

## Schedule of Readings

### **August 25. Introduction**

### **September 1. Capitalism, the Market, and Market Society.**

North, Douglass C. 1982. *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 3-89, 143-186.

Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston: Beacon Press), 3-134.

Greif, Avner. 2006. *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1-53 (skim), 91-123.

Brenner, Robert. 1976. "Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe" *Past & Present* No.70 (February), 30-75.

### **September 8. NO CLASS. APSA.**

### **September 15. NO CLASS. MAKE-UP DATE IN LAST WEEK FOR PRESENTATIONS.**

### **September 22. The Birth of the Modern State in Europe.**

Soifer, Hillel. 2008. "State Infrastructural Power: Approaches to Conceptualization and Measurement" *Studies in Comparative International Development*. Vol. 48:3/4 (September):231-251.

Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of Leviathan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1-34, 90-263.

Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States* (Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell), 67-95.

Cohen, Youssef, Brian R. Brown, and A. F. K. Organski. 1981. "The Paradoxical Nature of State Making: The Violent Creation of Order" *American Political Science Review* Vol. 75:4 (December):901-910.

Greif, Avner. 2006. *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 153-304.

Sharma, Vivek Swaroop. 2015. "Kinship, Property, and Authority: European Territorial Consolidation Reconsidered" *Politics & Society*, Vol. 43:2 (pp. 151-180).

### **September 29. State Building in the Developing World.**

Centeno, Miguel Angel. 1997. "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America" *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 102:6 (pp. 1565-1605).

- Herbst, Jeffrey. 1990. "War and the State in Africa" *International Security*, Vol. 14:4 (pp. 117-139).
- Rodríguez-Franco, Diana. 2016. "Internal Wars, Taxation, and State Building" *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 81:1 (pp.190-213).
- Kurtz, Marcus. 2009. "The Social Foundations of Institutional Order: Reconsidering War and the 'Resource Curse' in Third World State Building" *Politics & Society*, Vol. 37:4 (pp. 479-520).
- Soifer, Hillel. TBD.
- Saylor, Ryan. 2014. *State Building in Boom Times: Commodities and Coalitions in Latin America and Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 1-58.
- Hui, Victoria Tin-Bor. 2004. "Toward a Dynamic Theory of International Politics: Insights from Comparing Ancient China and Early Modern Europe" *International Organization*, Vol. 58:1 (pp. 175-205).
- Robinson, Amanda Lea. 2014. "National Versus Ethnic Identification in Africa: Modernization, Colonial Legacy, and the Origins of territorial Nationalism" *World Politics*, Vol. 66:4 (pp 709-746).

**October 6. Taxation and Fiscal Sociology.**

- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1954. "The Crisis of the Tax State," translated from the German by W. F. Stolper and R. A. Musgrave, and published in Alan Peacock, Wolfgang Stolper, Ralph Turvey, and Elizabeth Henderson, eds., *International Economic Papers*, No. 4. London: MacMillan and Company Limited.
- Margaret Levi. *Of Rule and Revenue*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 1-144, 175-84.
- Einhorn, Robin. 2000. "Slavery and the Politics of Taxation in the Early United States" *Studies in American Political Development*. Vol. 14 (Fall):156-183.
- Ross, Michael. 2004. "Does Taxation Lead to Representation" *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 34:2 (April):229-249.
- Boucoyannis, Deborah. 2015. "No Taxation of Elites, No Representation: State Capacity and the Origins of Representation" *Politics & Society*, Vol. 43:3 (pp. 303-332).
- Robert H. Bates and Da-Hsiang Donald Lien. 1985. "A Note on Taxation, Development, and Representative Government," *Politics & Society*, Vol.14, no. 1 (pp. 53-70).
- Scheve, Kenneth and David Stasavage. 2010. "The Conscription of Wealth: Mass Warfare and the Demand for Progressive Taxation" *International Organization*, Vol. 64:4 (pp. 529-61).

**October 13. NO CLASS. AUTUMN BREAK.**

**October 20. Regimes and Nations**

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press). Read the theory chapters at the end, as well as at least the chapters on France and England.

Luebbert, Gregory. 1987. "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe" *World Politics* 39:4 (July), pp. 449-478.

Carles Boix. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1-129.

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2001. "A Theory of Political Transitions" *American Economic Review* Vol. 91:4 (September), 938-63.

Recommended:

Weber, Eugen. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The modernization of rural France, 1870-1914*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

### **October 27. The Modernization Debates.**

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy" *American Political Science Review* 53:1 (March), pp. 69-105.

Barro, Robert J. 1999. "Determinants of Democracy" *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 107:S6 (pp. S158-S183).

Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theory and Facts" *World Politics* Vol. 49:2 (January), 155-183.

Boix, Carles and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization" *World Politics* Vol. 55:4 (July).

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared. 2009. "Reevaluating the Modernization Hypothesis" *Journal of Monetary Economics* Vol. 69, 1043–1058.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 1-154 (skim).

Richard Hamilton. 1986. "Hitler's Electoral Support: Recent Findings and Theoretical Implications" *Canadian Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 11:1 (pp. 1-34).

David Abraham. 1980. "Conflicts within German Industry and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" *Past and Present*, Vol. 88:1 (pp. 88-128).

Sheri Berman. 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" *World Politics*, Vol. 49:3 (pp. 401-429).

King, Gary, Ori Rosen, Martin Tanner, and Alexander Wagner. 2008. "Ordinary Economic Voting Behavior in the Extraordinary Election of Adolf Hitler" *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 68:4 (pp. 951-996).

### **November 3. Markets and Democracy.**

- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development" *American Political Science Review* Vol. 87:3 (September), 567-576.
- Przeworski, Adam. *Capitalism and Social Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 133-169.
- Lindblom, Charles. 1982. "The Market as Prison" *Journal of Politics* Vol. 44:2 (May), 324-336.
- Przeworski, Adam and Michael Wallerstein. 1988. "Structural Dependence of the State on Capital" *American Political Science Review* Vol. 82:1 (March), 11-29.
- Mueller, John. 1992. "Democracy and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery: Elections, Equality and the Minimal Human Being," *American Journal of Political Science* 983-1003 (November 1992)
- Simmons, Beth A. and Zachary Elkins. 2004. "The Globalization of Liberalization: Policy Diffusion in the International Political Economy" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 98:1.
- Kurtz, Marcus. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America" *World Politics* Vol. 56:2 (January).
- Mosley, Layna. 2000. "Room to Move: International Financial Markets and National Welfare States" *International Organization*, Vol. 54:4 (pp. 737-773).

### **November 10. Political Parties and Party Systems.**

- Stathis Kalyvas. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press), 1-113, 167-221.
- Adam Przeworski. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1-132.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (New York: The Free Press), pp. 1-64.
- Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies" *American Political Science Review* 93:3 (September), pp. 609-624.
- Cusack, Thomas, Torben Iverson, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Organization of Electoral Systems" *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 101:3 (August).
- Shefter, Martin. 1977 "Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy" *Politics & Society*. Vol. 7:4 (December):403-451.

### **November 17. Violence and Order**

Huntington, Samuel. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), pp. 1-92.

North, Douglass, John Wallis, and Barry Weingast. *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1-76, 110-147, 190-250.

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2006. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1-52, 87-245. Skim chapter on micro-comparative evidence if you have time.

**November 24. NO CLASS. Thanksgiving**

**December 1. The Politics of Development**

Gershenkron, Alexander. 1962. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Chaudhry, Kiren. 1993. "The Myth of the Market and the Common History of the Late Developers" *Politics & Society* Vol. 21:3 (September).

Mahoney, James. 2003. "Long-Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America" *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 109:1 (July):50-106.

Olson, Mancur. 1982. *The Rise and Decline of Nations* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press), pp. 1-117.

Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 171-233.

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2006. "Economic Backwardness in Political Perspective" *American Political Science Review* Vol. 100:1 (February), 115-131.

**December 8 or 9. Make-Up class session for presentations.**

**FINAL PAPER DUE (by upload to carmen) at 12:00pm on Wednesday, December 14<sup>th</sup>, 2016.**