

**PSCI 6106 W**  
**Comparative Politics II**  
**Tuesday 2:35-5:25**

**Please confirm location on Carleton Central**

Professor Melissa Hausman

Office: Loeb A 623

Office Hours: Monday 9:30 am-11:30 and Tuesday 12:00-2:00 pm.

Phone: 613-520-2600 x2768

Melissa.hausman@carleton.ca

**Course description:**

This seminar, along with PSCI 6105, constitutes the core course in the subfield of comparative politics within the Political Science PhD program. Together with PSCI 6105, it provides the basis for the PhD comprehensive examinations in the subfield. MA students with a strong interest in comparative politics can also enrol in this course.

This course surveys contemporary debates and controversies, and assesses the subfields evolution over the last two decades. The course begins with an analysis of rival conceptual and methodological approaches, which continues throughout the course. As we continue our readings and discussions, we will examine selected issues in the comparative analysis of political regimes, institutions, actors, political behaviours and belief systems. We will constantly be considering the fundamental comparative politics question of whether a certain optimal combination of the previous items, taken in a particular causal order, exists. Some of the most important recent changes we will consider include, in the “reforms from above” section the attention paid to reconfiguring electoral systems around the world, including quotas and reserved seats for various social groups. In the “reforms from below” section we will consider the increased strength of social movement actors in countries such as Eastern Europe and Latin America.

Making comparative politics both complex and fascinating is the fact that there is no “easy” or “right” answer, just different types of evidence according to which theorists one finds most persuasive. You will notice that different theorists assign different emphases to independent variables as being able to “cause” (or intervening variables of accompanying) democratic stability or instability. Some theorists we will read hypothesize that certain structures of democratic governance including electoral systems (Lijphart), yield maximum economic performance. Others such as Seawright and Munck, writing about Latin America, refute this correlation. Some analysts look to the establishment of and adherence to the rule of law (Samuel

Huntington, Jan-Erik Lane). There is also the famous observation of scholar Barrington Moore that “no bourgeoisie means no democracy;” ie that a well-functioning middle class is necessary to bringing about or strengthening democratic institutions. Still other theorists look at whether people feel represented by elites and see a civic duty to participate (Dahl, Inglehart). We will consider representative texts from most regions to compare how the behavioural-institutional-historical nexus plays out in determining stability/instability, growth/stasis, democratic/insurgent participation, for example.

At the end of the course, students will not only possess a good knowledge of comparative politics and its development in recent decades, but they should also be able to formulate their own perspectives on the theoretical, empirical, and methodological debates examined. They will also have an excellent overview of the literature in various subfields and where to look for more information.

We will not necessarily restrict ourselves to one approach per week, because often different approaches speak to the same problematic (an optimal party system, electoral system, or level of participation, for example). The “schools” from which different authors come will be highlighted however. Similarly a division is not made between weeks of how to do comparative politics research and our case studies since both inform each other. We will be considering these questions simultaneously. Also, of necessity examples will often be drawn from the Global North and South in the same week.

### **Texts:**

Two books have been ordered (required texts) and will be available in the Haven bookstore; they are:

Mark Lichbach, *Democratic Theory and Causal Methodology in Comparative Politics* (Cambridge University, 2013)

Jan-Erik Lane and Svante Ersson, *The New Institutional Politics: Performance and Outcomes* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

**Also strongly suggested and in bookstore:** Pippa Norris, *Electoral Engineering* (Cambridge, 2004).

Other publications are on reserve (listed in no particular order, denoted with an “\*” in the course outline) for you to draw on as reference materials throughout the course and especially for comp preparation:

Carles Boix & Susan Stokes, eds. (2007), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*

Mark Lichbach and A.S. Zuckerman, eds, *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure* (Cambridge, 2009)

T. Landman and N. Robinson, eds., *The Sage Handbook of Comparative Politics* (2009)

Gerardo L. Munck, ed., *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods* (Oxford, 2007).

Merilee S. Grindle, *Jobs for the Boys: Patronage and the State in Comparative Perspective* (Harvard, 2012).

- Barry Weingast and Donald A. Wittman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy* (Oxford, 2006).
- Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, eds., *Political Science: State of the Discipline* (Norton, 2003)
- Gerardo L. Munck and Richard Snyder, eds., *Passion, Craft and Method in Comparative Politics* (Johns Hopkins U, 2007)
- Andrea Chandler, *Democracy, Gender and Social Policy in Russia* (Palgrave, 2014)
- Gary Goertz and Amy Mazur, *Politics, Gender and Concepts* (Cambridge, 2005)
- Henry Brady and David Collier, eds., *Rethinking Social Inquiry* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2010)
- Herbert Kitschelt, ed., *Post-Communist Party Systems* (Cambridge, 1999)
- James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, eds., *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis* (Cambridge, 2015)
- Michael Coppedge, *Democratization and Research Methods* (Cambridge, 2012)
- Samuel Huntington and Clement Moore, eds., *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society: the Dynamics of Established One-Party Systems* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1991)
- Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism* (U Cal Press, 1973)
- Hisham Sharabi, *Neo-Patriarchy* (Oxford, 1988)
- Ghassan Salame, ed, *Democracy without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World* (London: Tauris, 2001)
- Nazih Ayubi, *Over-stating the Arab State? Politics and Society in the Middle East* (Tauris, 2001)
- Adeed Dawisha and I. William Zartman, *Beyond Coercion: the Durability of the Arab State* (Croom Helm, 1988)
- Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, updated ed (Yale University, 2010)
- Emanuela Lombardo, Petra Meier, and Mieke Verloo, eds., *The Discursive Politics of Gender Equality* (Routledge, 2009)
- Herbert Kitschelt and S. Wilkinson, Eds., *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition* (Cambridge, 2006)
- Lane and Ersson, *Culture and Politics*, 2d ed., 2005
- Cameron Ross, *Systemic and Non-Party Systemic Opposition in the Russian Federation* (Ashgate 2015)
- Richard Stahler-Sholk, *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2014)
- Kerstin Jacobsson, ed., *Urban Grassroots Movements in Central and Eastern Europe* (Ashgate, 2015)
- Krook and Mackay, eds.
- Andrea Kriszan, ed.
- Paul Almeida and Ulate, *Handbook of Social Movements Across Latin America* (Springer, 2015)
- Federico Rossi, *Social Movement Dynamics* (Ashgate, 2015)
- Ronald Inglehart and Christopher Welzel, *Modernization, Democracy and Cultural Change* (Cambridge, 2005)
- Russell Dalton and Christopher Welzel, eds., *The Civic Culture Transformed* (Cambridge, 2014).

**Evaluation:**

Participation in class discussions 10%

Critical Comment on literature 20%

In-class mini-exam 20% (March 1)

Paper proposal 10% (Mar. 8)

Final version of paper 40% (April 8)

**Participation in Class Discussion**

The course follows a seminar format, with students expected to come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Students will occasionally be asked to initiate discussion of one or more of these readings, identifying the key issues for discussion and reflecting on the arguments made in ways that bring out the connection to readings and themes discussed in previous classes as well as those assigned for that week.

**Critical Comment on literature**

Each student will be asked to write a short paper (no more than 2000 words) and make a 15-minute presentation on the readings for one class. The student should identify and answer one key question inspired from the readings. The paper is not a summary of the readings but a critical analysis.

**In-class mid-term-mini-exam**

There will be one comp-style mini-exam in class that allows students to become familiar with the comprehensive exam's type of examination. The mini-exams will be held during the first hour of class time on March 1st and would cover the material of the previous sections. Students will have no access to the readings during the exam, so it is essential that you come well-prepared. Students can use their laptop computers for writing the examinations, but they are not allowed to access any of their personal files or to use the Internet.

**Paper proposal and final paper**

Students are required to write an essay of about 5000 words on an issue of their interest in the area of comparative politics. The essay must identify a specific research question (usually one) associated with the issue/topic and a central argument. The paper must identify at least two credible competing explanations and identify an appropriate theory and methodology to develop your argument. I expect you to identify the theoretical approach from among the approaches studied in the seminar. Using secondary information analyze the information/data supporting/contradicting your argument.

A paper proposal of about 1500 words must be presented to me in the class of March 8th. The final paper should be presented at the seminar week of classes- April 8.

## **Course Outline**

### **Part I-Causal Inferences-What Causes What and How to Select Case Studies?**

#### **Week 1 (Jan. 12) Introduction**

Philippe Schmitter, "The Nature and Future of Comparative Politics." *European Political Science Review* (2009): 1,1, 33-61.

Further reading: \*Lichbach, Chs. 1 and 2 in Lichbach and Zuckerman, eds. (2009).

\*Boix and Stokes, 2007, Part II

#### **Week 2 (Jan. 19) Continued**

\*Brady and Collier, 2d ed., 2010, all

\*Lichbach 2013 all

Further reading:

\*Munck and Snyder, eds., *Passion, Craft and Method*, especially Chs. 1-5, 6, 8, 9, 12 (this week and next)

\*Lichbach and Zuckerman, eds., (2009) Chs. 3-5, 8

\*Also relevant chapters of Katznelson and Milner, Boix and Stokes; Landman and Robinson and Weingast and Wittman throughout

\*Migdal, Ch. 7 in Boix and Stokes

\*Levi in Katznelson and Milner, Part I

#### **Week 3 (Jan. 26) Continued**

\*Munck, *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America* (2007), Chs. 1-6, 8

\*Michael Coppedge, chs. 2-7, 9

Further reading:

\*Stepan, Ch. 12, in Munck and Snyder, eds.

\*Geddes in Katznelson and Milner, eds., 342

## **Part II Democracy and Change from Above**

### **Week 4 (Feb. 2) Role of Institutions**

\*Lane and Ersson, *The New Institutional Politics*, all

\*Norris, *Electoral Engineering*, Part I

\*Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, Chs. 4, 14-17

\*Cutrone and McCarthy, Ch. 10, in Weingast and Wittman, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*

\*Keefer, Ch. 36, in Boix and Stokes

\*Seawright, Ch. 7, in Munck (2009)

Further reading:

\*Krehbiel, "Pivots," in W and W, Ch. 12

\*Cox, Ch. 8 in W and W

### **Week 5 (Feb. 9) Institutionalisms and Study of the State**

\*Mahoney and Thelen, eds., *Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis*, 2015, Chs. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7

\*Mackay and Krook, TBA

\*Rebecca Surrender (feminist critiques of welfare state typologies, Ch. 3 in Mahoney and Thelen)

\*V. A. Schmidt, "Discursive Institutionalism: the Explanatory Power of Ideas and Discourse," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2008): 11, 303-326.

\*Emanuela Lombardo, Petra Meier and Mieke Verloo, eds., 2009, chs. TBA

\*Weingast in Katznelson and Milner (Part 4)

Further reading:

\*Mares, Ch. 14 in Lichbach and Zuckerman

\*Risse in “ ”, Part 3

\*Collier in Munck and Snyder, Ch. 15

\*James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, eds., *Explaining Institutional Change* (Cambridge, 2010), esp. Chs. 1, 3-5, 7

\*Rodden, Ch. 13 in Lichbach and Zuckerman

\*W. Streeck & K. Thelen, eds. (2005), *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Industrial Economies* (Oxford: Oxford UP).

J. G. March & J. P. Olsen (1989) *Rediscovering Institutions: The Organizational Basis of Politics* (New York: Free Press), 159-172.

J. G. March & J. P. Olsen (1998), The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders, *International Organization* 52:4, 943-969.

William Walters and Jens Henrik Haahr, “Governmentality and Political Studies,” *European Political Science* (2005): 4, 288-300.

### **Week 6 (Feb. 23) Party Systems, Quotas, Reserved Seats**

\*Samuel Huntington, “Social and Institutional Dynamics of One-party Systems,” in Huntington and Moore, eds., 1970, pp. 3-47

\*Frances Hagopian, “Parties and Voters in Emerging Democracies,” in Boix and Stokes, eds., Ch. 24

\*Norris, Parts 2, 3

William Cross article, TBA

\*H. Hale in Kitschelt and Wilkinson, eds., 2006, “Correlates of Clientelism.”

\*H. Kitschelt, ed., *Party Systems in Post-Communist Democracies* (Cambridge, 2006), Parts I-III

K. Strom, “A Behavioural Theory of Competitive Political Parties,” *American Journal of Political Science* (1990): 34, 565-98

\*Turovksy and Kynev, Chs. 6 and 7, in C. Ross, ed., *Systemic and Non-Party Opposition in the Russian Federation* (Ashgate, 2015).

Anne Marie Goetz, "No Shortcuts to Power: Constraints on Women's Political Effectiveness in Uganda," *Journal of Modern African Studies* (December 2002): 40, 4, 549-575.

\*A. Dawisha and I.W. Zartman, *Beyond Coercion*, Ch. 2

\*Diana O'Brien, "Rising to the Top," *American Journal of Political Science* (2015), 59, 4, 1022-1039.

Further reading:

R. Taagepera and B. Grofman, "Rethinking Duverger's Law," *European Journal of Political Research* (1985): 13, 341-53.

MP Jones, S Saiegh, PT Spiller, M Tommasi, "Amateur Legislators--Professional Politicians: The Consequences of Party-Centered Electoral Rules in a Federal System," *American Journal of Political Science*, 2002, 656-669.

Mark Jones, "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws and Lessons from the Argentine Provinces," *Comparative Political Studies* (1998), 31, 1, 3-21.

M. Tavits, "The Development of Stable Party Support," *American Journal of Political Science* (2005): 49, 2, 283-98.

P. Ordeshook, "The Spatial Analysis of Elections and Committees," in D. C. Mueller, ed., *Four Decades of Public Choice* (Cambridge University Press, 1997).

G. Marks and M. Steenburgen, *Dimensions of Contestation in the European Union* (Cambridge, 2004).

G. Tsebelis, *Veto Players* (Princeton, 2002).

## **Week 7 March 1 Political Culture, Identities and Democratic Performance**

### **Mini exam first hour**

\*Lane and Ersson, *Culture and Politics*, 2d. Ed, 2005, all.

\*Inglehart and Wenzel, 2005, Chs. 1, 2, 4-8, 11

\*Chandra, Ch. 15 in Lichbach and Zuckerman

\*Benhabib in Katznelson and Milner, eds., Part 3

Gutmann and Calvert in “ “, Part 3

Further reading:

\*Dalton and Welzel, eds., 2014.

\*Huckfeldt and Anderson, Chs. 11-12, in Lichbach and Zuckerman

### **Week 8 March 8 States, State Capacity and Modernization**

\*Haggard, Levitsky, chs 2, 4 in Mahoney and Thelen, eds. (2015)

\*Merilee Grindle, *Jobs for the Boys*, all

\*Sharabi, *Neo-Patriarchy*, all

\*Munck, ed. (2007), Ch. 9 (Gould)

\*A. Dawisha and I. Zartman, eds., *Beyond Coercion*, Intro, Ch. 1

Further readings:

A.K. Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Knopf, 1999), 35-110.

\*Chs. 7, 14, 17 in Munck and Snyder (Huntington, Bates, Skocpol).

\*S. Levitsky and L. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism* (Cambridge, 2010).

### **Section III Change and Reform from Below: Democratic and non-Democratic**

#### **Week 9 March 15 Democratic Social Movements-Central and Eastern Europe**

\*Ch. 10, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly in Lichbach and Zuckerman

\*Chapters from Chandler, TBA

\*Jacobsson, Chs. 1, 4-7, 9

\*Cameron Ross, ed., Chs. 2-4 (Volkov, Smyth et al., Ross)

Further reading:

\*Kriszan, TBA

## **Week 10 March 22 Democratic Social Movements in Latin America**

\*Stahler-Sholk, ed., Chs. 2-5, 8, 9

\*Rossi, ed., Parts 1, 2

\*Almeida and Ulate, eds, Chs. 1, 3-5, 6, 8-11

## **Weeks 11 & 12- March 29, April 5 Democratic Change in the Arab World and Africa?**

\*Ayubi, *Over-Stating the Arab State*, Chs. 2, 3, 5-9, 11

Raymond Hinnebusch, "Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East: an Overview and Critique," *Democratization* (2006): 13, 3, 373-395.

## **Week 12-April 5 Democratic Change in the Arab World, continued, and Africa?**

\*G. Salame, ed., *Democracy without Democrats?* Chs. 1-3, 4, 6, 7-10

\*A. Dawisha and Zartman, eds., Chs. 3, 5-8

Terra Manca, "Innocent Murderers? Abducted Children in the LRA," *Cultic Studies Review* (2008): 7, 2 129-166.

\*Robert Bates, "The Logic of State Failure," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2008): 25, 4, 297-314.

Further reading:

Jason Brownlee, "And Yet They Persist," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2002), 37, 3 35-63.

\*Robert Bates, "The Logic of State Failure," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2008): 25, 4, 297-314.

\*P. Collier, "The Political Economy of State Failure," *Oxford Review of Economic Policy* (2009): 25, 2, 219-240.

T. Hagmann and M.V. Hoehne, "Failures of the State Failure Debate: Evidence from the Somali Territories," *Journal of International Development* (2009): 21, 1, 42-57.

## **Academic Accommodations**

---

The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your **Letter of Accommodation** at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (*if applicable*). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (*if applicable*).

**For Religious Observance:** Students requesting accommodation for religious observances should apply in writing to their instructor for alternate dates and/or means of satisfying academic requirements. Such requests should be made during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist, but no later than two weeks before the compulsory academic event. Accommodation is to be worked out directly and on an individual basis between the student and the instructor(s) involved. Instructors will make accommodations in a way that avoids academic disadvantage to the student. Instructors and students may contact an Equity Services Advisor for assistance ([www.carleton.ca/equity](http://www.carleton.ca/equity)).

**For Pregnancy:** Pregnant students requiring academic accommodations are encouraged to contact an Equity Advisor in Equity Services to complete a *letter of accommodation*. Then, make an appointment to discuss your needs with the instructor at least two weeks prior to the first academic event in which it is anticipated the accommodation will be required.

**Plagiarism:** The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in “substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course.

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

**Submission and Return of Term Work:** Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

**Grading:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

**Approval of final grades:** Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

**Carleton E-mail Accounts:** All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

**Carleton Political Science Society:** The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. Holding social events, debates, and panel discussions, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through numerous opportunities which will complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit <https://www.facebook.com/groups/politicalsciencesociety/>

or come to our office in Loeb D688.

**Official Course Outline:** The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.