POLS GR6411: Comparative Politics Survey I Department of Political Science, Columbia University

Fall 2022

Class meetings: Wednesdays, 4:10pm-6:00pm Location: 711 International Affairs Building

Professor: John Marshall

Office: 705 International Affairs Building Office hours: Thursdays, 1-3pm; signup

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COURSE OVERVIEW AND OBJECTIVES

This is the first course in the two-semester sequence surveying covering foundational research in comparative politics across the developed and developing world. The course is designed for Ph.D. students preparing for comprehensive exams and who intend to conduct research relating to comparative politics, and has two core objectives. The first objective is to expose students to a range of arguments organized around questions motivating major research agendas in comparative politics. The second objective is to expose students to processes of theorizing, hypothesis formation, and testing and to strengthen students' analytical skills in evaluating and critiquing political science research. It should go without saying that these two classes cannot exhaustively cover the many important works, topics, and methodologies in the field.

The Fall semester of this sequence will primarily focus on citizen-level and politician-level behaviors, while the Spring semester will focus on more macro-level institutions and applications of the building blocks covered in this course. While students are advised to the take the classes in order, it is not necessary to do so.

ADMISSION

Ph.D. students preparing for comprehensive exams and needing to complete their course requirements will be prioritized for this class, followed by M.A. students in Political Science. Students outside of these programs will only be admitted in exceptional cases. There are no formal prerequisites. The maximum enrollment of 18 students will be strictly adhered to, as it is necessary to sustain an effective seminar format.

COURSE STRUCTURE

The seminar will meet each week to discuss the designated topic. The week's discussion will aim to cement understanding of core arguments, critically engage with the readings, and start to stimulate ideas for future research.

REQUIREMENTS

Grades will be assigned according to the following components of the course:

- In-class participation (20%). All students are expected to *complete all required* readings in advance of class, and come prepared to actively participate in class discussion about the argument, methods, and implications of each reading. In addition, starting in week 4, each required paper will be assigned a student "discussion leader" who will in advance of class (by 12am before class) circulate two questions for us to discuss. These questions could relate to specifics of the paper, the relation between readings, or how the paper fits within the broader debate around the week's topic.
- * Response papers (40%). All students must write two responses papers reacting to not summarizing the readings (including non-required additional readings, if desired) from two weeks of their choice. A good response paper will develop an argument by critically engaging with the readings (e.g. critiquing theories or empiricals) with a focus on thinking about their contribution what can and cannot be learned about the week's topic and what the implications are for our understanding of these issues. Responses should focus on developing a cohesive argument relating to the readings, rather than covering every issue that the readings raise. Accordingly, your response should engage with at least two readings; most responses are better for engaging only with the readings that are germane, rather than trying to cover every reading from that week. Responses papers must not exceed 1,000 words, and be submitted by midnight before the corresponding class. Late assignments will be penalized by 1/3 of a grade for each day that they are late.
- Final exam (40%). Students will take an exam that is similar to the comparative comprehensive exam. You may choose to answer 1 question from a list of 3 questions relating to different topics covered in this class. The date and time of the exam (which will be within exam week) will be confirmed toward the end of the semester. The exam will be taken remotely, with all students having two hours to email back their answer.

APPROACHING THE READINGS

Given the goals of this class, you should take each week's readings seriously. You have only really completed the readings when you are able to succinctly restate the argument, describe the

methodology, and identify the work's strengths and weaknesses as well as its broader implications. Making detailed notes will help your preparation for comprehensive exams (and maybe future research too). It is important to remember that the readings have been selected because they make important contributions to our understanding of comparative politics, and as such you should beware of only looking to critique their arguments and methods.

To help you think about how to critically engage with papers, Macartan Humphreys has written a helpful overview available at macartan.nyc/teaching/how-to-critique and macartan.nyc/teaching/how-to-read.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Columbia University does not tolerate cheating or plagiarism in any form. Students violating the code of academic and professional conduct will be subject to disciplinary procedures. Guidelines on academic integrity are available at college.columbia.edu/academics/integrity, and all students are expected to be familiar with and abide by them.

COURSE OUTLINE

All required readings are available on Coursworks: journal articles and some e-book chapters can be downloaded via the Columbia Library Research services through the "Library Reserves" tab; for other book chapters and working papers, pdfs can be downloaded from the "Files" tab. Required readings are listed in the order suggested for reading (from first to last).

Week 1: Introduction and logistics, 9/7

No assigned readings

Week 2: Core approaches to analyzing comparative politics, 9/14

Munck, Gerardo L., and Richard Snyder. 2007. *Passion, craft, and method in comparative politics*. John Hopkins University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Arrow, Kenneth J. 1994. "Methodological Individualism and Social Knowledge." *American Economic Review* 84(2):1-9.

Hall, Peter A., and Rosemary C.R. Taylor. 1996. "Political science and the three new institutionalisms." *Political Studies* 44(5):936-957.

Streeck, Wolfgang, and Kathleen Thelen. 2005. *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.

Clarke, Kevin A., and David M. Primo. 2007. "Modernizing Political Science: A Model-Based Approach." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(4):741-753.

Tversky, Amos, and Daniel Kahneman. 1986. "Rational Choice and the Framing of Decisions." *Journal of Business* 59(4):S251-S278.

Additional readings:

Diermeier, Daniel, and Keith Krehbiel. 2003. "Institutionalism as a methodology." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15(2):123-144.

Fowler, James H., and Darren Schreiber. 2008. "Biology, Politics, and the Emerging Science of Human Nature." *Science* 322(5903):912-914.

Page, Scott E. 2006. "Path dependence." Quarterly Journal of Political Science 1(1):87-115.

Pierson, Paul. 2000. "Increasing returns, path dependence, and the study of politics." *American Political Science Review* 94(2):251-267.

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2006. "Of Course Generalize, But How? Returning to Middle Range Theory in Comparative Politics." *American Political Science Association-Comparative Politics Newsletter* 17(2):8-11.

Week 3: Empirical methods in comparative politics, 9/21

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.

Adcock, Robert, and David Collier. 2001. "Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research." *American Political Science Review* 95(3):529-546.

Bennett, Andrew, and Colin Elman. 2006. "Complex Causal Relations and Case Study Methods: The Example of Path Dependency." *Political Analysis* 15(3):250-267.

Wedeen, Lisa. 2010. "Reflections on ethnographic work in political science." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13:255-272.

Humphreys, Macartan, and Alan Jacobs. 2015. "Mixing Methods: A Bayesian Approach." *American Political Science Review* 109(4):653-673.

Egami, Naoki, and Erin Hartman. Forthcoming. "Elements of External Validity: Framework, Design, and Analysis." *American Political Science Review*.

Additional readings:

Bennett, Andrew, and Colin Elman. 2006. "Qualitative research: Recent developments in case study methods." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:455-476.

Clark, William Roberts, and Matt Golder. 2015. "Big Data, Causal Inference, and Formal Theory: Contradictory Trends in Political Science? Introduction." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 48(1):65-70.

Dunning, Thad. 2008. "Improving causal inference: Strengths and limitations of natural experiments." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2):282-293.

Falleti, Tulia, and James Mahoney. 2015. "The Comparative Sequential Method." In James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen (eds), *Advances in Comparative Historical Analysis*, Cambridge University Press.

Gerber, Alan S., and Donald P. Green. 2012. *Field Experiments: Design, Analysis, and Interpretation*. W. W. Norton & Company Incorporated. Chapter 2.

Huber, John D. 2017. *Exclusion by Elections: Inequality, Ethnic Identity, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

Lieberman, Evan S. 2005. "Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research." *American Political Science Review* 99(3):435-452.

Simmons, Erika, and Nicholas Rush Smith. 2019. "The Case for Comparative Ethnography." *Comparative Politics* 51(3):341-359.

Week 4: Collective action, 9/28

Ostrom, Eleanor. 1990. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44(1):7-48.

Cantoni, Davide, David Y. Yang, Noam Yuchtman, and Y. Jane Zhang. 2019. "Protests as Strategic Games: Experimental Evidence from Hong Kong's Antiauthoritarian Movement." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134(2):1021-1077.

Wood, Elisabeth J. 2003. *Insurgent collective action and civil war in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 7, and 8.

Trejo, Guillermo. 2009. "Religious competition and ethnic mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church promotes indigenous movements in Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 103(8):323-342.

Wasow, Omar. 2020. "Agenda Seeding: How 1960s Black Protests Moved Elites, Public Opinion and Voting." *American Political Science Review* 114(3):638-659.

Additional readings:

Bjorkman, Martina, and Jakob Svensson. 2009. "Power to the people: Evidence from a randomized field experiment on community-based monitoring in Uganda." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124(2):735-769.

Cameron, David. 1984. "Social Democracy, Corporatism, Labor Quiescence, and the Representation of Economic Interest in Advanced Capitalist Society." In John H. Goldethorpe, editor, *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*, Clarendon Press. Pages 143–178.

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

Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. Exit, Voice and Loyalty. Harvard University Press. Pages 1-20.

Iversen, Torben. 1996. "Power, Flexibility, and the Breakdown of Centralized Wage Bargaining: Denmark and Sweden in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 28(4):399-436.

McAdam, Douglas, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 1997. "Toward an integrated perspective on social movements and revolutions." In *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, Cambridge University Press.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Popkin, Samuel L. 1979. *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam*. University of California Press.

Scott, James C. 1977. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*. Yale University Press. Chapters 1 and 7.

Scott, James C. 1985. Weapons of the Weak. Yale University Press. Pages 1-47.

Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Mark S. Bonchek. 1996. *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior, and Institutions*. W. W. Norton. Chapter 9.

Siegel, David A. 2009. "Social networks and collective action." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(1):122-138.

Week 5: Political culture, 10/5

Swidler, Ann. 1986. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review* 51(2):273-286.

Wedeen, Lisa. 2002. "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 96(4):713-728.

Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press. Pages 63-185.

Nunn, Nathan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2011. "The slave trade and the origins of mistrust in Africa." *American Economic Review* 101(7):3221-3252.

Darden, Keith, and Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2006. "The great divide: literacy, nationalism, and the Communist collapse." *World Politics* 59(1):83-115.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Christopher Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Additional readings:

Alesina, Alberto, Paolo Giuliano, and Nathan Nunn. 2013. "On the origins of gender roles: women and the plough." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 128(2):469-530.

Berman, Sheri. 1997. "Civil society and the collapse of the Weimar Republic." *World Politics* 49(3):401-429.

Fouka, Vasiliki. 2020. "Backlash: The unintended effects of language prohibition in US schools after World War I." *Review of Economic Studies* 87(1):204-239.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1988. "The renaissance of political culture." *American Political Science Review* 82(4):1203-1230.

Satyanath, Shanker, Nico Voigtländer, and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2017. "Bowling for fascism: Social capital and the rise of the Nazi Party." *Journal of Political Economy* 125(2):478-526.

Verba, Sidney, and Gabriel Almond. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy*. Sage.

Voigtländer, Nico, and Hans-Joachim Voth. 2012. "Persecution Perpetuated: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Semitic Violence in Nazi Germany." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 127(3):1339-1392.

Week 6: Economically-derived policy preferences and coalitions, 10/12

Collier, Ruth Berins, and David Collier. 1979. "Inducements versus constraints: Disaggregating corporatism." *American Political Science Review* 73(4):967-986.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2001. "An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95(4):875-893.

Iversen, Torben, and Max Goplerud. 2018. "Redistribution without a median voter: Models of multidimensional politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21:295-317. [Pages 295-307 only]

Lupu, Noam, and Jonas Pontusson. 2011. "The structure of inequality and the politics of redistribution." *American Political Science Review* 105(2):316-336.

Murillo, Maria Victoria. 2000. "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America." *World Politics* 52:135-174.

Hiscox, Michael J. 2001. "Class versus industry cleavages: inter-industry factor mobility and the politics of trade." *International Organization* 55(1):1-46.

Additional readings:

Benabou, Roland, and Efe A. Ok. 2001. "Social mobility and the demand for redistribution: the POUM hypothesis." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116(2):447-487.

Denisova, Irina, Marcus Eller, Timothy Frye, and Ekaterina Zhuraskaya. 2009. "Who Wants To Revise Privatization? The Complementarity of Market Skills and Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 103(2):284-304.

Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Gingerich, Jane, and Ben Ansell. 2012. "Preferences in Context: Micro Preferences, Macro Context and the Demand for Social Policy." *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (12):1624-1654.

Holland, Alisha. 2018. "Diminished Expectations: Redistributive Preferences in Truncated Welfare States." *World Politics* 70(2):555-594.

Huber, Evelyn, Charles Ragin, and John D. Stephens. 1993. "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure, and the Welfare State." *American Journal of Sociology* 99(3):711-749.

Iversen, Torben, and Frances Rosenbluth. 2006. "The Political Economy of Gender: Explaining Cross-National Variation in the Gender Division of Labor and the Gender Voting Gap." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(1):1-19.

Kedar, Orit. 2005. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections." *American Political Science Review* 99:185-199.

Roemer, John. 1998. "Why the poor do not expropriate the rich: an old argument in new garb." *Journal of Public Economics* 70:399-424

Rueda, David. 2005. "Insider-outsider politics in industrialized democracies: The challenge to social democratic parties." *American Political Science Review* 99(1):61-74.

Sears, David O., and Carolyn L. Funk. 1991. "The role of self-interest in social and political attitudes." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 24:1-91.

Week 7: Identity politics, 10/19

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso Books. Pages 1-65.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2007. Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India. Cambridge University Press. Introduction.

Posner, Daniel. 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.

Huber, John D. 2012. "Measuring ethnic voting: Do proportional electoral laws politicize ethnicity?" *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4):986-1001.

Shayo, Moses. 2009. "A Model of Social Identity with an Application to Political Economy: Nation, Class, and Redistribution." *American Political Science Review* 103(2):147-174.

Charnysh, Volha. 2019. "Diversity, Institutions, and Economic Outcomes: Post WWII Displacement in Poland." *American Political Science Review* 113(2):423-441.

Additional readings:

Alesina, Alberto, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly. 1999. "Public goods and ethnic divisions." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114(4):1243-1284.

Arriola, Leonardo. 2013. "Capital and Opposition in Africa: Coalition Building in Multi-ethnic Societies." *World Politics* 65(2):233-272.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2002. "Ethnicity without groups." *European Journal of Sociology* 43(2):163-189.

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining interethnic cooperation." *American Political Science Review* 90(4):715-735.

Gidron, Noam, and Peter A. Hall. "The politics of social status: Economic and cultural roots of the populist right." *British Journal of Sociology* 68:S57-S84.

Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. "Why does ethnic diversity undermine public goods provision?" *American Political Science Review* 101(4):709-725.

Horowitz, Donald. 1985. Ethnic Groups in Conflict. University of California Press.

Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(3):439-458.

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Governments Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. Yale University Press. Chapters 15 and 16.

Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation-Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania." *World Politics* 56:327-362.

Week 8: Electoral participation, 10/26

Aldrich, John H. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1):246-278.

Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. 2008. "Social pressure and voter turnout: Evidence from a large-scale field experiment." *American Political Science Review* 102(1):33-48.

Kasara, Kimuli, and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2015. "When do the rich vote less than the poor and why? Explaining turnout inequality across the world." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3):613-627.

Amat, Francesc, and Pablo Beramendi. 2019. "Democracy under High Inequality: Capacity, Spending, and Participation." *Journal of Politics* 82(3):859-878.

Croke, Kevin, Guy Grossman, Horacio Larreguy, and John Marshall. 2016. "Deliberate Disengagement: How Education Can Decrease Political Participation in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes." *American Political Science Review* 110(3):579-600.

Fujiwara, Thomas. 2015. "Voting technology, political responsiveness, and infant health: Evidence from Brazil." *Econometrica* 83(2):423-464.

Additional readings:

Bechtel, Michael M., Dominik Hangartner, and Lukas Schmid. 2016. "Does compulsory voting increase support for leftist policy?" *American Journal of Political Science* 60(3):752-767.

Braconnier, Céline, Jean-Yves Dormagen, and Vincent Pons. 2017. "Voter Registration Costs and Disenfranchisement: Experimental Evidence from France." *American Political Science Review* 111(3):584-604.

Brady, Henry E., and John E. McNulty. 2011. "Turning out to vote: The costs of finding and getting to the polling place." *American Political Science Review* 105(1):115-134.

Lijphart, Arend. 1997. "Unequal participation: Democracy's unresolved dilemma." *American Political Science Review* 91(1):1-14.

Verba, Sidney, Norman H. Nie, and Jae-on Kim. 1978. *Participation and political equality: A seven-nation comparison*. University of Chicago Press.

Week 9: Electoral systems, 11/2

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2-5, 10.

Carey, John M., and Simon Hix. 2012. "The Electoral Sweet Spot: Low-Magnitude Proportional Electoral Systems." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(2):383-397.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2006. "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others." *American Political Science Review* 100(2):165-181.

Boix, Carles. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93(3):609-624.

Cusack, Thomas R., Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic interests and the origins of electoral systems." *American Political Science Review* 101(3):373-391.

Martinez-Bravo, Monica, Gerard Padró i Miquel, Nancy Qian and Yang Yao. 2022. "The Rise and Fall of Local Elections in China." *American Economic Review* 112(9):2921-2958.

Additional readings:

Cusack, Thomas R., Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2010. "A Response to Kreuzer." *American Political Science Review* 104(2):392-410.

Calvo, Ernesto. 2009. "The competitive road to proportional representation: partisan biases and electoral regime change under increasing party competition." *World Politics* 61(2):254-295.

Catalinac, Amy. 2018. "Positioning Under Alternative Electoral Systems: Evidence From Japanese Candidate Election Manifestos." *American Political Science Review* 112(1):31-48.

Kreuzer, Marcus. 2010. "Historical knowledge and quantitative analysis: The case of the origins of proportional representation." *American Political Science Review* 104(2):369-392.

Leemann, Lucas, and Isabela Mares. 2014. "The adoption of proportional representation." *Journal of Politics* 76(2):461-478.

Persson, Torsten, and Guido Tabellini. 2003. *The Economic Effects of Constitutions*. MIT Press. Chapters 2, 6-8.

Week 10: Parties and democratic systems, 11/9

Aldrich, John H. 1995. Why Parties? The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America. University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Lipset, Seymour M., and Stein Rokkan. 1967. "Cleavage structures, party systems, and voter alignments: an introduction." In Lipset, Seymour and Rokkan, Stein, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. Free Press.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 1998. "From pulpit to party: Party formation and the Christian Democratic phenomenon." *Comparative Politics* 30(3):293-312.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. HarperCollins. Chapters 7 and 8.

Meguid, Bonnie M. 2005. "Competition between unequals: The role of mainstream party strategy in niche party success." *American Political Science Review* 99(3):347-359.

Lupu, Noam. 2013. "Party brands and partisanship: Theory with evidence from a survey experiment in Argentina." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(1):49-64.

Additional readings:

Adams, James. 2012. "Causes and Electoral Consequences of Party Policy Shifts in Multiparty Elections: Theoretical Results and Empirical Evidence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 15:401-419.

Cox, Gary. 1987. The Efficient Secret: The Cabinet and the Development of Political Parties in Victorian England. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3.

Grofman, Bernard. 2004. "Downs and two-party convergence." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7:25-46.

Katz, Richard S., and Peter Mair. 1994. *How parties organize: change and adaptation in party organizations in Western democracies*. Sage.

Kirchheimer, Otto. 1966. "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems." In Joseph LaPalombara and Myron Weiner, eds., *Political Parties and Political Development*, Princeton University Press. Pages 177-200.

Rabinowitz, George, and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83(1):93-121.

Week 11: Electoral accountability and government responsiveness, 11/16

Fearon, James. 1999. "Electoral Accountability and the Control of Politicians: Selecting Good Types versus Sanctioning Poor Performance." In Bernard Manin, Adam Przeworski, and Susan Stokes, eds., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge University Press.

Duch, Raymond, and Randolph Stevenson. 2008. *The Economic Vote: How Political and Economic Institutions Condition Election Results*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3, 6, and 7.

Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2008. "Exposing corrupt politicians: The effects of Brazil's publicly released audits on electoral outcomes." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(2):703-745.

Dunning, Thad, Guy Grossman, Macartan Humphreys, Susan Hyde, Craig McIntosh, Gareth Nellis, Claire L. Adida, Eric Arias, Clara Bicalho, Taylor C. Boas, Mark T. Buntaine, Simon Chauchard, Anirvan Chowdhury, Jessica Gottlieb, F. Daniel Hidalgo, Marcus Holmlund, Ryan Jablonski, Eric Kramon, Horacio Larreguy, Malte Lierl, John Marshall, Gwyneth McClendon, Marcus A. Melo, Daniel L. Nielson, Paula M. Pickering, Melina R. Platas, Pablo Querubín, Pia Raffler, and Neelanjan Sircar. 2019. "Voter information campaigns and political accountability: Cumulative findings from a preregistered meta-analysis of coordinated trials." *Science Advances* 5(7):eaaw2612. [Note: read the appendix to get more background information about the treatment content.]

Achen, Christopher, and Larry Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Governments*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4-6.

Chattopadhyay, Raghabendra, and Esther Duflo. 2004. "Women as policy makers: Evidence from a randomized policy experiment in India." *Econometrica* 72(5)1409-1443.

Additional readings:

Besley, Timothy, and Robin Burgess. 2002. "The political economy of government responsiveness: Theory and evidence from India." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117(4):1415-1451.

Bhandari, Abhit, Horacio Larreguy, and John Marshall. Forthcoming. "Able and mostly willing: An empirical anatomy of information's effect on voter-driven accountability in Senegal." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Campello, Daniela, and Cesar Zucco. 2020. *The Volatility Curse*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 7.

Downs, Anthony. 1957. An Economic Theory of Democracy. HarperCollins. Chapters 11 and 12.

Powell, Bingham G., and Guy Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(2):391-414.

Snyder, Jr, James M., and David Strömberg. 2010. "Press Coverage and Political Accountability." *Journal of Political Economy* 118(2):355-408.

Suryanarayan, Pavithra. 2019. "When do the Poor Vote for Right-Wing and Why: Status Hierarchy and Vote Choice in the Indian States." *Comparative Political Studies* 52(2):209-245.

Weldon, S. Laurel. 2002. "Beyond Bodies: Institutional Sources of Representation for Women." *Journal of Politics* 64(4):1153-1174.

Thanksgiving break: No class, 11/23

Week 12: Citizen-politician linkages, 11/30

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between citizens and politicians in democratic polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6):845-879.

Gans-Morse, Jordan, Sebastián Mazzuca, and Simeon Nichter. 2014. "Varieties of Clientelism: Machine Politics during Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2):415-432.

Stokes, Susan C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.

Auerbach, Adam, and Tariq Thachil. 2018. "How Clients Select Brokers: Competition and Choice in India's Slums?" *American Political Science Review* 112(4):775-791.

Calvo, Ernesto, and Maria Victoria Murillo. 2019. *Non-Policy Politics: Richer Voters, Poorer Voters, and the Diversification of Electoral Strategies*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 7.

Holland, Alisha. 2016. "Forbearance." American Political Science Review 110(2):232-246.

Additional readings:

Dixit, Avinash, and John Londregan. 1996. "The Determinants of Success of Special Interests in Redistributive Politics." *Journal of Politics* 58(4):1132-1155.

Finan, Frederico, and Laura Schechter. 2012. "Vote-Buying and Reciprocity." *Econometrica* 80(2):863-881.

Frye, Timothy, John Reuter, and David Szakonyi. 2014. "Political Machines at Work: Workplace Mobilization and Electoral Subversion." *World Politics* 66(2):195-228.

Hicken, Allen, and Noah L. Nathan. 2020. "Clientelism's red herrings: Dead ends and new directions in the study of nonprogrammatic politics." *Annual Review of Political Science* 23(16):1-18.

Magaloni, Beatriz, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, and Federico Estevez. 2007. "Clientelism and portfolio diversification: a model of electoral investment with applications to Mexico." In Herbert Kitschelt and Steve Wilkinson (eds.), *Patrons or Policies? Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, Cambridge University Press, pages 182-205.

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Week 13: Overview of exams and discussion of being a comparative political scientist, 12/7

No assigned readings