

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

**Fall 2024**

**Class meetings: Wednesdays, 2:10pm-4:00pm**

**Location: 711 International Affairs Building**

**Professor: John Marshall**

Office: 705 International Affairs Building

Office hours: Thursdays, 2-4pm; [signup](#)

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**COURSE OVERVIEW AND OBJECTIVES**

This is the first course in the two-semester sequence surveying foundational research in comparative politics across the 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 familiarize students with 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 topics, works, 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 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 20 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. Each week's discussion will aim to cement understanding of core arguments and methods, 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 (30%).** Participation comprises three components:
  - *Complete all required readings in advance of class*, and come prepared to actively participate in class discussion about the argument, methods, and implications of the readings.
  - *Submit one question or comment in advance of class every week* for discussion about a reading of your choice via the “Discussions” tab on Courseworks. These questions/comments 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. They must be submitted by the end of the Tuesday before class to allow time for to others to read and consider your questions ahead of class.
  - After the first few weeks of class, the last 15-20 minutes of class will involve *student presentations of a non-required reading from reading list*. Once class enrollment is finalized, every student will be assigned to present in one week.
- **Response papers (30%).** All students must write two response papers reacting to – *not summarizing* – the readings (including non-required additional readings, if desired) from different two weeks of their choice. A good response paper will develop an argument by critically engaging with the readings (e.g. critiquing theories or empirics) 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. Response 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 will 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 every week's readings seriously. You have only fully completed the readings when you are able to succinctly restate the argument, describe the methodology, identify the work's strengths and weaknesses, and gauge its broader implications. Making detailed notes will help you prepare 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](http://macartan.nyc/teaching/how-to-critique) and [macartan.nyc/teaching/how-to-read](http://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](http://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 Courseworks: 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, 9/4***

No assigned readings.

### ***Week 2: Core approaches to analyzing comparative politics, 9/11***

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.

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

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.

Ashworth, Scott, Christopher R. Berry, and Ethan Bueno de Mesquita. 2021. *Theory and Credibility: Integrating Theoretical and Empirical Social Science*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 2, and 4.

*Additional readings:*

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

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.

Lichbach, Mark Irving, and Alan S. Zuckerman. 1997. *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

North, Douglass C. 1991. "Institutions." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5(1):97-112.

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, 9/18***

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

Gerring, John. 2004. "What is a Case Study and What is it Good For?" *American Political Science Review* 98(2):341-354.

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

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

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

Egami, Naoki, and Erin Hartman. 2023. "Elements of External Validity: Framework, Design, and Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 117(3):1070-1088.

*Additional readings:*

Bates, Robert H., Avner Greif, Margaret Levi, Jean-Laurent Rosenthal, Barry R. Weingast. 1998. *Analytic Narratives*. Princeton University Press.

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.

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

#### ***Week 4: Policy preferences and coalitions, 9/25***

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

Rogowski, Ronald. 1987. "Political cleavages and changing exposure to trade." *American Political Science Review* 81(4):1121-1137.

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 5: Collective action, 10/2***

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

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

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.

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. Goldthorpe, editor, *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*, Clarendon Press. Pages 143–178.

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

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.

Tarrow, Sidney. 2011. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge University Press.

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.

### ***Week 6: Political culture, 10/9***

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.

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

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.

*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.

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

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 7: Identity politics, 10/16**

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

Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Seth A. Green, and Donald P. Green. 2018. "The contact hypothesis re-evaluated." *Behavioural Public Policy* 3(2):129-158.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *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.

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.

Berman, Sheri. 2021. "The Causes of Populism in the West." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24:71-88.

*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.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What is ethnic identity and does it matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1):397-424.

Gidron, Noam, and Peter A. Hall. 2017. "The politics of social status: Economic and cultural roots of the populist right." *British Journal of Sociology* 68:S57-S84.

Guriev, Sergei, and Elias Papaioannou. 2022. "The political economy of populism." *Journal of Economic Literature* 60(3):753-832.

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.

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

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: Parties and democratic systems, 10/23***

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.

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. 2014. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America." *World Politics* 66(4):561-602.

Riedl, Rachel Beatty. 2014. *Authoritarian origins of democratic party systems in Africa*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

*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.

Arriola, Leonardo, Danny Choi, Justine Davis, Melanie Phillips, and Lise Rakner. 2021. "Paying to Party: Candidate Resources and Party Switching in New Democracies." *Party Politics* 28(3):507-520.

Amorim Neto, Octavio, and Gary W. Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(1):149-174.

Bratton, Michael, and Nicolas van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transition in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

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.

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

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.

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.

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

***Week 9: Electoral systems, 10/30***

Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2-5 and 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: Electoral participation, 11/6***

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. 2020. "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 11: Electoral accountability and government responsiveness, 11/13***

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.

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

Guriev, Sergei, Nikita Melnikov, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2021. "3G Internet and Confidence in Government." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 136(4):2533-2613.

Grossman, Guy, Kristin Michelitch, and Carlo Prato. 2024. "The effect of sustained transparency on electoral accountability." *American Journal of Political Science* 68(3):1022-1040.

*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. 2023. "Able and mostly willing: An empirical anatomy of information's effect on voter-driven accountability in Senegal." *American Journal of Political Science* 67(4):1040-1066.

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

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

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



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### ***Week 12: Citizen-politician linkages, 11/20***

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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.

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*Additional readings:*

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Mares, Isabela, and Lauren Young. 2016. "Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19:267-288.

Robinson, James, and Thierry Verdier. 2013. "The Political Economy of Clientelism." *Scandinavian Journal of Economics* 115(2):260-291.

Schaffer, Joby, and Andy Baker. 2015. "Clientelism as persuasion-buying: Evidence from Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(9):1093-1126.

Shefter, Martin. 1977. "Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy." *Politics and Society* 7:403-451.

Wantchekon, Leonard. 2003. "Clientelism and voting behavior: Evidence from a field experiment in Benin." *World Politics* 55(3):399-422.

***Thanksgiving break: No class, 11/27***

***Week 13: Overview of exams and discussion of being a comparative political scientist, 12/4***

No assigned readings.