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UA 500 - Fall 2016 Introduction to Comparative Politics

This course will introduce students to the study of comparative politics, which is defined as the study of domestic politics anywhere in the world. As a way of cutting into this vast topic, we specifically focus on the process of democratic transition by analyzing the democratic revolution that has swept the globe during the last forty years. In turn we will explore the causes of democratization, threats to democratization, and factors that may aid in a successful consolidation of democracy. As part of this process, students will be exposed to a wide range of topics in comparative politics, including the politics of economic reform, party systems and voting, theories of ethnic politics, and social media and political protest.

Requirements

The course is taught in two lectures (M, W, 9:30 – 10:45 AM in Lecture Hall 101 in 19 West 4th Street) and one section each week. Grading is based on a final exam (50%, Monday, December 19th, 8:00 AM), a mid-term (20%, Monday, October 17), a 5-7 page paper (20%, due Monday, December 12th at the start of class), and section participation (10%). Note that the paper does *not* require outside research, so you can alternatively conceive of it as a take home midterm consisting of one essay question that you have a week to complete.

Office Hours

All TAs will hold office hours weekly. Students should always contact their TA first concerning any logistical questions regarding the course.

Professor Tucker will hold office hours on Wednesdays from 10:45 – 12:15 in his office in room 430 at 19 West 4th Street. If you need to schedule a time to meet outside of the scheduled office hours, please email Professor Tucker directly.

Readings

This course is *not* taught from a textbook. Students are welcome to purchase a comparative politics textbook if they like, but there is no particular text for this class. Instead, readings will be drawn from 2 books recommended for purchase and a collection of articles and book chapters which can be downloaded individually from the course website on NYU Classes. It is also suggested that students read the blog that Professor Tucker co-authors, "The Monkey Cage" at *The Washington* Post (http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/). You can follow The Monkey Cage on Twitter at @monkeycageblog, and Professor Tucker on Twitter at @j_a_tucker. Professor Tucker also tweets about Russia from @NYUJordanCenter.

All students are expected to have completed the relevant reading **before** the recitation meeting each week. There are approximately 100 - 150 pages of reading a week; some are more and some are less. In particular, the weeks on the moment of transition, economic reform, and voting have more reading. Others are shorter. Please plan ahead accordingly! Also, please note that

"recommended" readings are included only for students who want to know more about the topic; you will *not* be expected to have read these works, nor will you be tested on them.

The following books are recommended for purchase and are available for purchase at the NYU Book Store:

Timothy G. Ash, *The Magic Lantern*, (Vintage Books, 1993)

Larry Diamond et. al. (eds.) The Global Resurgence of Democracy 2nd Edition, (Johns Hopkins, 1996)

For a few of the reading, I have provided a link as to where you can find the material online. All other readings are posted on NYU Classes.

Class Schedule and Reading Assignments

I. Introduction to Comparative Politics: September 7, 12

Almond, Powell, Strom and Dalton, Comparative Politics Today (8th Edition), 31-45

Shepsle, Kenneth A. and Mark S. Bonchek, *Analyzing Politics*, Ch.9: 220-259

Hirshman, Albert (1970). *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Response to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press., Ch. 1-3, p.1-43

II. Regimes: September 14, 19

Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation, Juan Linz and Albert Stepan, Johns Hopkins University Press, Ch 3 (38-54)

Global Resurgence: Schmitter and Karl, "What Democracy is..." Ch.4, 49-62

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2002. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy*. 13 (2):51-65.

Hale, Henry, 2014. Patronal Politics, Cambrindge University Press, Ch.2, p.19-38.

Recommended:

Dahl, Robert, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition, Yale University Press, 1971, Ch.1-3, p.1-47

Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions", *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(5): 515-532: Note: you are only required to read the sections that define "hybrid regimes".

III: The Moment of Transition: September 21, 26

Ash, The Magic Lantern, all

Nikolay Marinov and Hein Goeman. "Coups and Democracy". *British Journal of Political Science*. 2013. p.1-27

Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul. 2013. Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective. Chapter 1: "Transitional Success and Failures: The International – Domestic Nexus" p.3-26.

Christopher Walker, "Dealing with the Authoritarian Resurgence", p.216-233, in *Authoritarianism Goes Global*. 2016 (eds. Larry Diamond, Marc Plattner, Christopher Walker)

Recommended:

Global Resurgence: Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave", Ch.1, p.3-25

Global Studies: Russia, "Central-Eastern Europe: From Dictatorship to Democracy", p.97-115

Nalepa, Monika. 2009. *Skeletons in the closet: transitional justice in post-Communist Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mapping the Fall of Communism: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7972232.stm

Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions", *American Journal of Political Science*, 53(5): 515-532:

V: Forms of Government after Transition: Presidential vs. Parliamentary Systems: Sept 28, Oct. 3

September 28th

Global Resurgence, Ch. 8 –10, 12 (p.111-149, 154-161)

John Gerring, Strom Thacker, and Carola Moreno. "Are Parliamentary Systems Better?". 2008. *Comparative Political Studies*.

Recommended:

Tavits, Margit. 2008. *Presidents with Prime Ministers: Do Direct Elections Matter?* Oxford University Press 2008

Baylis, Thomas A. 1996. "Presidents Versus Prime Ministers." World Politics 48:297-323.

Siaroff, Alan. 2003. "Comparative presidencies: The inadequacy of the presidential, semi-presidential and parliamentary distinction." *European Journal of Political Research*. 42:285-312.

Cheibub et al. 2014. "Beyond Presidentialism and Parliamentarism"

Robert Eglie. "From Linz to Tsebelis: three waves of parliamentary studies

V: Electoral Systems: Oct 5, Oct 12

Norris, Pippa, 2004, ch.2, "Classifying Electoral Systems" p.39-65.

Carles Boix. 1999. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies". *American Political Science Review*.

Benoit, Ken, and Jacqueline Hayden. 2004. "Institutional Change and Persistence: The Evolution of Poland's Electoral System, 1989–2001". *The Journal of Politics* 66(2): 396-427.

http://www.nationalpopularvote.com/ (just poke around the site – I'll refer to it in class. Useful for impressing your relatives when you go home for break.)

Recommended:

Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Mark S. Bonchek. 1997. *Analyzing Politics: Rationality, Behavior and Institutions*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Chapter 7, p.166-191.

Tucker, Joshua A. "Why Egypt Needs a Two Round Presidential Election", *The Wall Street Journal*, Ideas Market Blog, February 18, 2011. (http://blogs.wsj.com/ideas-market/2011/02/18/why-egypt-needs-a-two-round-presidential-election)

Monkey Cage Blog: "2012 Egyptian Presidential Post-Election Report: President Asterisk" (http://themonkeycage.org/blog/2012/06/25/2012-egyptian-presidential-post-election-report-president-asterisk/)

NOTE: No class on Monday, October 10 for Fall Recess

MID TERM EXAMINATION: Monday, October 17

Note: There will be no recitations the week of October 17 due to the midterm

VI: Four Approaches to Voting and Elections (Oct 19, 26, 31, Nov 2)

October 19: Sociological Approach to Voting

Dalton, 2014, Citizen Politics, CQ Press, Chapter 8 "The Social Bases of Party Support", p.155-182,

O, Ana De La and Jonathan Rodden. 2008. Does Religion Distract the Poor?: Income and Issue Voting Around the World." *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4/5): 43-76.

Recommended:

Jeff Manza, Michael Hout, and Clem Brooks. 1995. "Class Voting in Capitalist Democracies Since World War II: Dealignment, Realignment, or Trendless Fluctuation?" *Annual Review of Sociology* Vol. 21:137-162.

Flanigan, William H., and Nancy H. Zingale. 1998. *Political behavior of the American electorate*. 10th ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press., Chapter 5 "Social Characteristics of Partisans and Independents", p.99-116.

[INTERLUDE: A Brief Guide to Reading Quantitative Work, Monday, October 24]

Gonick, Larry, and Woollcott Smith, *The Cartoon Guide to Statistics*, Chapter 11 "Regression," p.187-210.

October 26: A Rational Approach to Voting

Downs, Anthony (1957). An Economic Theory of Democracy. Chapters 3, (p36-50)

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

Orit Kedar. "When Moderate Voters Prefer Extreme Parties: Policy Balancing in Parliamentary Elections". 2005. *American Political Science Review*. P.185-99. (skim the results)

Recommended:

Tomz, Michael, and Robert P Van Houweling. 2009. "Candidate Positioning and Voter Choice." *American Political Science Review.* 102:303-18.

October 31: Economic Voting

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

Marko Klašnja and Joshua Tucker. 2013. "The Economy, Corruption, and the Vote: Evidence from Experiments in Sweden and Moldova", Electoral Studies. 32(3): 536-43.

Achim Goerres & Stefanie Walter (2016) The Political Consequences of National Crisis Management: Micro-Level Evidence from German Voters during the 2008/09 Global Economic Crisis, *German Politics*, 25:1, 131-153,

Recommended:

Kinder, Donald R. and D. Roderik Kiewiet (1981). "Sociotropic Politics: The American Case." *British Journal of Political Science* 11(1): 129-61.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, et al. (1992). "Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the U.S. Economy." *American Political Science Review* 86(3): 597-611.

Anderson, Christopher J. 2007. "THE END OF ECONOMIC VOTING? Contingency Dilemmas and the Limits of Democratic Accountability", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10:271-96

Tucker, Joshua A. 2006. *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic, 1990-99*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Owen, Andrew, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2010. "Past is Still Present: Micro-level Comparisons of Conventional vs. Transitional Economic Voting in Three Polish Elections." *Electoral Studies*. 29 (1):235-67.

Klasnja, Marko, Joshua A. Tucker, and Kevin Deegan-Krause. 2016. "Pocketbook vs. Sociotropic Corruption Voting," British Journal of Political Science. 46(1): 67-94.

Nov 2nd: Strategic Voting

Cox, Gary W., (1997) *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems*, Chapters 2 & 4 (p.13-36, 69-98)

Recommended:

Meirowitz, Adam, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2007. "Run Boris Run: Strategic Voting and Information Transmission in Sequential Elections" *The Journal of Politics* 69 (1):88-99.

Alesina, Alberto, and Howard Rosenthal. 2000. "Polarized Platforms and Moderate Policies with Checks and Balance," *Journal of Public Economics*, 75(1): 1-20

VII. Parties and Party Systems: Nov 7, 9

Mair, Peter. 2002. "Comparing Party Systems," (Chapter 4) in *Comparing democracies 2 : new challenges in the study of elections and voting*. Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, eds. London: Sage: 88-107.

Noam Lupu and Rachel Riedl, "Political Parties and Uncertainty in Developing Democracies". *Comparative Political Studies*. 2013 vol. 46 no. 11 1339-1365

Recommended:

Mair, Peter, ed. *The West European Party System*, Oxford Press 1990: Ch. 3 (37-45) 5 (50-60) 20, 21, 22 (285-310)

Kitschelt, Herbert. 1992. "The Formation of Party Systems in East Central Europe." *Politics and Society* 20 (1):7-50.

Pop-Eleches, Grigore, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2015. "After the Party: After the Party: Legacies and Left-Right Ideology in Post-Communist Countries" *Working Paper*.

VIII. Partisan Identification: Nov 14, 16

Dalton 2014, Citizen Politics, Chapter 9 "Partisanship and Electoral Behavior", p.183-205.

Brader, Ted, Joshua Tucker, and Dominik Duell. 2013. "Which Parties Can Lead Opinion? Experimental Evidence on Partisan Cue Taking in Multiparty Democracies" *Comparative Political Studies*. 46: 1485-1517.

Petersen MB, Giessing A, Nielsen J (2015) Physiological Responses and Partisan Bias: Beyond Self-Reported Measures of Party Identification. *PLoS ONE 10*(5): e0126922. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0126922

Recommended:

The Michigan School

Campbell et al. 1960, Chapters 6-7

Converse, Philip. 1969. "Of Time and Partisan Stability." Comparative Political Studies 2: 139-71.

The Rational Revisionists

Franklin, Charles, and John Jackson. 1983. "The Dynamics of Party Identification." *American Political Science Review* 77: 957-73.

Achen, Christopher. 2002. "Parental Socialization and Rational Party Identification." *Political Behavior* 24(2): 151-70.

Social Identity Theory

Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. Partisan Hearts and Minds. Yale University Press. (Ch $1\ \&\ 2$).

IX: Politics of Economic Reform: Nov 21, 28

Hellman, Joel, "Winners Take All: The politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions" *World Politics*, vol.50 (January 1998) p.203-34

Denisova, Ivana et al. 2012. "Everyone hates privatization, but why?" *Journal of Comparative Economics*

Daniel Treisman (2010) "Loans for Shares Revisited", Post-Soviet Affairs, 26:3, 207-227

Recommended:

Sachs, Jeffrey, *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy* – all

Frye, Timothy. 2002. "The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Post-Communist World." *World Politics*. 54 (3):308-37.

Chu, Yun-han, Michael Bratton, Marta Lagos, Sandeep Shastri, and Mark Tessler. 2008. "Public Opinion and Democratic Legitimacy." *Journal of Democracy*. 19 (2):74-87.

Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, Economic Reform and Democracy, chapters 2 & 6 p.13-27, 74-85

Gould, John A. 2011. *The Politics of Privatization: Wealth and Power in Postcommunist Europe.* Lynn Rienner Publishers.

Orenstein, Mitchell A. 2001. *Out of the Red : Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press., Intro, Ch1, 4 (p.1-24, 96-127)

Murrell, Peter, "What is Shock Therapy? What Did it do in Poland and Russia?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 9 (2) (1993) p.111-140.

Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, ch.4 (p.136-87)

Steven Fish, "The Determinants of Economic Reform in the Post-Communist World," East European Politics and Societies, v. 12, no 1 (Winter 1997), pp. 31-78 (skim all of the first part until he gets to the argument)

Gould, John, 2011. The Politics of Privatization: Wealth and Power in Postcommunist Europe

X: Ethnic Conflict: Nov 30, Dec 5 NOTE: PAPER ASSIGNED IN CLASS ON MONDAY, DEC 5TH. DUE MONDAY, DECEMBER 12TH.

Horowitz, Donald, "Democracy in Divided Societies", *Journal of Democracy*, vol.4, no.4, (Oct 1993), p.18-38

Kanchan Chandra, "What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2006, Vol. 9, p.397-424.

Global Studies: Russia, The Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe "The Republics of the Former Yugoslavia", p.169-187

Three quick Monkey Cage posts on Ukraine:

Frye, Timothy: http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/08/27/for-ukrainian-voters-key-is-policy-preferences-not-native-language-or-ethnicity-of-candidates/

Clem, Ralph: http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2014/03/07/why-eastern-ukraine-is-an-integral-part-of-ukraine/

Toal and O'Loughlin: http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/01/22/how-popular-are-putin-and-obama-in-crimea-and-eastern-ukraine/

To skim:

Noel Malcolm, Bosnia: A Short History (New York: NYU Press, 1996), pp. 213-71.

Noel Malcolm, Kosovo: A Short History (New York: NYU Press, 1998), p.334-56

XI. Protest and Social Media: Dec 7, 12

Note: PAPER DUE BEFORE CLASS, Monday, December 12

Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(3): 537-553.

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

Tucker, Joshua A., Jonathan Nagler, Megan Metzger, Pablo Barberá, Duncan Penfold-Brown, and Richard Bonneau. 2016: Big Data, Social Media, and Protest: Foundations for a Research Agenda, p.199-224.

Recommended:

Lotan, G., (2011). The revolutions were tweeted: Information Flows during the 2011 Tunisian and Egyptian Revolutions. *International Journal of Communication*, 5:1375-1405.

Aday, Sean et al. 2010. "Blogs and Bullets: New Media in Contentious Politics", United States Institute of Peace.

Dec 13: Documentary: The Square

Dec 14: Review and Democratic Consolidation

No Readings Assigned

Dec 19: Final Exam, 8:00 AM