

## MA Basic Seminar “Comparative Public Policy and Politics”

Adj. Prof. Dr. Michael Dobbins

WiSe 2022/23

Course A: Thursday, 10.00-11.30

Course B: Thursday, 13.30-15.00

This seminar is an advanced introduction into the field of comparative politics and policy analysis. The goal of the class is to provide students with a broad overview of the central themes and debates in this field. Therefore, students are expected to survey, read and critically discuss a significant amount of classical and contemporary readings. We first discuss theoretical and methodological preliminaries including core concepts of comparative politics and policy analysis, such as political parties, organized interests, institutions and institutional change, ideas and the process of political decision-making and implementation. In the second part of the class we cover three policy areas – the welfare state and social policy, education and environmental/energy policy by discussing cutting-edge qualitative and quantitative research from each policy area. The final part of the class focuses on the causes of and impact of socio-economic inequality. Students therefore gain a deep understanding of the dynamic of academic debates as well as on how scientific progress may (or may not) be achieved.

### Course Requirements

- 1) Presentation: PPT presentation (ca. 15 minutes)
- 2) Term papers /Hausarbeit (ca. 15 pages plus annex; **submission deadline 25 February 2025**)

OR

- 3) two research overview essays (approx. 8 pages each; **submission deadline 7 February 2025**)
- 4) Active participation

### Basic literature

Caramani, D. (ed.) (2014). *Comparative Politics*. Oxford University Press.

Moran, M., Rein, M. & Goodin, R. (ed.) (2008). *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford University Press.

Theodoulou, S. & Cahn, M. (ed.) (2013). *Public Policy: The Essential Readings*. 2nd edition, Pearson.

--- Texts with \*\* are intended for oral presentations ---

## **Oct. 24: Introduction**

## **October 31: Quantitative vs. Qualitative Method**

### Core readings

Hall, P. & Taylor, R. (1996). Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms. *Political Studies* 44(5): 936-957.

Lijphart, A. (1971). Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method. *American Political Science Review* 65(3): 682-693.

Mahoney, J. & Goertz G. (2006). A Tale of Two Cultures: Contrasting Quantitative and Qualitative Research. *Political Analysis* 14(3): 227-249.

Seawright, J. & Gerring, J. (2008). Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options. *Political Research Quarterly* 61(2): 294-308.

### Further Readings and/or other classics

Hall, P. (2003). Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Research. In: Mahoney & Rueschemeyer.

Przeworski, A. & Teune, H. (1970). The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry. Mallabar, Chapter 2.

## **November 7: Political parties: Historical foundations, theoretical consideration and forces of change I**

### Core readings

Schmidt, M. (1996). When parties matter: A review of the possibilities and limits of partisan influence on public policy. *European Journal of Political Research* 30(2): 155-183.

Adams, J., Haupt, A. & Stoll, H. (2009). What Moves Parties? The Role of Public Opinion and Global Economic Conditions in Western Europe. *Comparative Political Studies* 42(5): 611-639. \*\*

Vachudova, Milada (2011) Tempered by the EU? Political parties and party systems before and after accession *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:6, 861-879.\*\*

### Further readings and/or other classics

Duverger, M. (1954). Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State. New York, Wiley, pp. 203-255.

Downs, A. (1957). An Economic Theory of Democracy. *Stanford, Addison Wesley Pub*, Chapter 1,2,3,8.

Kirchheimer, O. (1966). Germany: The Vanishing Opposition. In: Dahl, R. (ed.): Political Oppositions in Western Democracies. *Yale University Press*, pp. 319-345.

## **November 14: Organized interests: Forms of interest intermediation and theoretical considerations**

### Core readings

Dür, Andreas / De Bièvre, Dirk (2007) The question of interest group influence, *Journal of Public Policy* 27(1), 1-12.

Lowery, David (2013) Lobbying influence: Meaning, measurement and missing, *Interest Groups and Advocacy* 2, 1-26.

Jahn, Detlev (2016) Changing of the guard: trends in corporatist arrangements in 42 highly industrialized societies from 1960 to 2010. *Socio-Economic Review* 14(1).\*\*

Dobbins, Michael / Labanino, Rafael (2023) The Macro-Political Context and Interest Groups' Access to Policy-Makers. *Government and Opposition* (online first).  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/gov.2023.17>

### Further readings and/or other classics

Olson, M. (1965). The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups. *Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press*, Chapter 1 & 2.

Beyers, Eising, Maloney (2008) Researching interest group politics in Europe and elsewhere: Much we study, little we know? *West European Politics* 31(6)

Brigitte Horváthová, Michael Dobbins und Rafael Pablo Labanino) Towards energy policy corporatism in Central and Eastern Europe? *Interest Groups and Advocacy* (online first).

## **November 21 Historical Institutions and institutional change**

### piers

Pierson, P. (2000). Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics. *American Political Science Review* 94(2): 251-267.\*\* (together with Pierson 1993)

Pierson, P. (1993). When Effect Becomes Cause: Policy Feedback and Political Change. *World Politics* 45(4): 595-628.\*\*

Busemeyer, M., Abrassart, A., Nezi, R. (2019) Beyond Positive and Negative: New Perspectives on Feedback Effects in Public Opinion on the Welfare State, *British Journal of Political Science* 51\*\*

Streeck, W. & Thelen, K. (2005). Introduction: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies. In: Streeck, W. & Thelen, K. (ed.): Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies. *Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press*, pp. 1-39.

Further reading and/or other classics:

Mahoney, J. & Thelen, K. (2015). Comparative-historical analysis in contemporary political science. In: Mahoney, J. & Thelen, K. (ed.): Advances in Comparative-Historical Analysis. *Cambridge University Press*.

Fioretos, O. (2011). Historical Institutionalism in International Relations. *International Organization* 65: 367-399.

## **November 28 Norms and ideas in policy-making**

Core readings

Béland, D. (2009). Ideas, institutions, and policy change. *Journal of European Public Policy* 16(5): 701-718.\*\*

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

Hall, P. (1993). Policy Paradigms, Social Learning, and the State: The Case of Economic Policymaking in Britain. *Comparative Politics* 25(3): 275-296.

DiMaggio P and Powell W (eds) (1991) The iron cage revisited: Institutionalised isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 63–82.

Further readings and/or other classics

Lindvall, J. (2009). The Real but Limited Influence of Expert Ideas. *World Politics* 61(4): 703-730.

Baumgartner, F. (2013). Ideas and Policy Change. *Governance* 26(2): 239-258.

Culpepper, P. (2008). The Politics of Common Knowledge: Ideas and Institutional Change in Wage Bargaining. *International Organization* 62(Winter 2008): 1-33.

## **December 5: Theoretical approaches in dialogue with one another and the world around them: Social Welfare Policies I (qualitative research)**

Core readings

Scruggs, L. & Allan, J. (2008). Social stratification and welfare regimes for the twenty-first century: Revisiting 'The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism'. *World Politics* 60

Pierson, Paul. 1996. The New Politics of the Welfare State. *World Politics* 48(2): 143 – 179. \*\*  
(focus welfare state regimes, historical institutions)

Jacobs, Alan & Weaver, Kent (2015) When Policies Undo Themselves: Self-Undermining Feedback as a Source of Policy Change. *Governance* 28(4).\*\*  
(focus historical institutions, rational institutions)

#### Further readings and/or other classics

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. *Cambridge, Polity Press*, pp. 9-34.

Hacker, J. (2004). Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States. *American Political Science Review* 98(2): 243-260.

Clayton, R. & Pontusson, J. (1998). Welfare-State Retrenchment Revisited: Entitlement Cuts, Public Sector Restructuring, and Inegalitarian Trends in Advanced Capitalist Societies. *World Politics* 51(1): 67-98.

Emmenegger, P., Kvist, J. & Marx, P. (2015). Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism: The making of a classic. *Journal of European Social Policy* 25(1): 3-13.

### **December 12: Theoretical Approaches in dialogue with one another and the world around them: Social Welfare Policies II (quantitative studies)**

#### Core readings

Peter Starke, Herbert Obinger, Francis G. Castles (2008): 'Convergence Towards Where: In What Ways, If Any, Are Welfare States Becoming More Similar?', *Journal of European Public Policy* 15 (7): 975-1000.

(Focus: globalization, welfare state regimes)

Kittel, B. & Obinger, H. (2003). Political parties, institutions, and the dynamics of social expenditure in times of austerity. *Journal of European Public Policy* 10: 20-45.\*\*

(Focus: political parties)

Busemeyer, M. & Seitzl, L. (2018) The partisan politics of early childhood education in the German Länder. *Journal of Public Policy*\*\*

(Focus: political parties, socio-economic determinants)

#### Further readings and/or other classics

Schmitt, C. (2016). Panel data analysis and partisan variables: how periodization does influence partisan effects. *Journal of European Public Policy* 23(10): 1442-1459.

Kwon, H. & Pontusson, J. (2010). Globalization, labour power and partisan politics revisited. *Socio-Economic Review* 8(2): 251-281.

**December 19 (Perhaps online or with presentations “to go” because of Christmas holiday!)  
Theoretical Approaches in dialogue with one another and the world around them:  
Education policies II (qualitative studies)**

Dobbins, Michael / Christoph Knill (2009) Higher Education Policies in Central and Eastern Europe: Convergence towards a Common Model? *Governance* 22(3), 397-430

(Focus: *Historical institutions, ideas, globalization, administrative traditions*)

Dobbins, Michael (2014) Explaining change and inertia in Swedish and French education: a tale of two corporatisms. *Policy Studies* 35(3).

(Focus: *organized interests, administrative traditions, ideas*)

Ansell, Ben W. 2008. University Challenges: Explaining Institutional Change in Higher Education. *World Politics* 60(January 2008): 189 – 230.

(Focus: *political parties, political economy*)

Further readings and/or other classics

Heidenheimer, Arnold J., ‘Education and Social Security Entitlements in Europe and America’, in Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, eds, *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1981), pp. 269–304

Klitgaard, Michael B. 2008. School Vouchers and the New Politics of the Welfare State. *Governance* 21(4): 479 – 498.

Bussemeyer, Marius R., and Rita Nikolai, ‘Education’, in Francis G. Castles, Jane Lewis, Herbert Obinger, Chris Pierson and Stephan Leibfried, eds, *The Oxford Handbook on Welfare State Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 494–508

Bussemeyer, Marius R. / Trampusch, Christine (2011) Comparative Political Science and the Study of Education (Review Article), in *British Journal of Political Science*, 41/2: 413-443.

**January 9 Theoretical Approaches in dialogue with one another and the world around them: Education policies I (quantitative studies)**

Core readings

Moe, Terry (2009) Collective Bargaining and the Performance of Public Schools, in *American Journal of Political Science* 53(1), 156–174. \*\*

(Focus: *Organized interests, administrative traditions*)

Bussemeyer, Marius Educational Spending Social democrats and the new partisan politics of public investment in education \*\*

(Focus: *Parties, historical institutions, socio-economic determinants, globalization*)

McLendon, M. K. et al. (2009). Partisans, Professionals, and Power: The Role of Political Factors in State Higher Education Funding. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 80(6), 686-713.

(Focus: *Parties, organized interests, historical institutions, socio-economic determinants, administrative traditions*)

#### Further readings and/or other classics

Castles, F. (1982). The Impact of Parties on Public Expenditure. In: Castles, F. (ed.): The Impact of Parties: Politics and Policies in Democratic Capitalist States. *Sage London*, pp. 21-96.

Boix, C. (1997) 'Political Parties and the Supply Side of the Economy: The Provision of Physical and Human Capital in Advanced Economies, 1960–1990', *American Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 814–45.

Bussemeyer, Marius (2012) Inequality and the political economy of education: An analysis of individual preferences in OECD countries, *Journal of European Social Policy* 22(3) 219–240

#### **January 16: Theoretical Approaches in dialogue with one another and the world around them: Environmental and energy policies (quantitative & qualitative studies)**

Detlef Jahn (1996) Environmental performance and policy regimes: Explaining variations in 18 OECD-countries. *Policy Sciences* 31: 107 – 131.

(Focus: *Organized Interests, Policy Regimes, Parties*)

Kitschelt, Herbert (1986) Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies, *British Journal of Political Science* 16(1). \*\*

(Focus: *Organized interests, political configurations*)

Knill, Christoph; Debus, Marc; Heichel, Stephan (2010) Do parties matter in internationalised policy areas? : The impact of political parties on environmental policy outputs in 18 OECD countries, 1970–2000. *European Journal of Political Research* 49(3), S. 301-336.\*\*

(Focus: *Parties, Administrative Configurations, Veto Players, Globalization, Internationalization*)

#### Further readings and other classics

Anwar Hussain and David N. Laband (2005) 'The Tragedy of the Political Commons: Evidence from U.S. Senate Roll Call Votes on Environmental Legislation' in *Public Choice*, Vol. 124, No. 3/4 (Sep., 2005), pp. 353-364

Chandler, Jess (2009) Trendy solutions: Why do states adopt Sustainable Energy Portfolio Standards? In *Energy Policy* 37: 3274–3281.

Hermwille, Lukas (2016) The role of narratives in socio-technical transitions—Fukushima and the energy regimes of Japan, Germany, and the United Kingdom, *Energy Research and Social Science* 11, January 2016.

(Focus: *discursive institutionalism*)

### **January 23: Politics of Inequality (inequality = dependent variable)**

Emmenegger, P., Häusermann, S., Palier, B. & Seeleib-Kaiser, M. (2012). How we grow unequal. In: Emmenegger, P., Häusermann, S., Palier, B. & Seeleib-Kaiser, M. (ed.): *The Age of Dualization: The Changing Face of Inequality in Deindustrializing Societies. Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press*: 3-26.

Solga, H. (2014). Education, economic inequality and the promises of the social investment state. *Socio-Economic Review* 12(2): 269-297.\*\*

Huber, E. & Stephens, J. (2014). Income inequality and redistribution in post-industrial democracies: Demographic, economic and political determinants. *Socio-Economic Review* 12(2): 245-267. \*\*

#### Further reading and other classics

Palier, B. & Thelen, K. (2010). Institutionalizing Dualism: Complementarities and Change in France and Germany. *Politics and Society* 38(1): 119-148.

Bussemeyer, M. (2015). Skills and Inequality: The Political Economy of Education and Training Reforms in Western Welfare States. *Cambridge University Press*, Chapter 4.

### **January 30: Inequality and political participation (inequality = independent variable)**

Brady, H., Verba, S. & Schlozman, K. (1995). A Resource Model of Political Participation. *American Political Science Review* 89(2): 271-294.

Rosset, J., Giger, N. & Bernauer, J. (2013). More Money, Fewer Problems? Cross-level Effects of Economic Deprivation on Political Representation. *West European Politics* 36(4): 817-835.\*\*

Armingeon, K. & Schädel, L. (2015). Social Inequality in Political Participation: The Dark Side of Individualisation. *West European Politics* 38(1): 1-27.\*\*

### **February 6: discussion of term papers**