

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

**Fall 2025**

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

**Location: 711 International Affairs Building**

**Professor: John Marshall**

Office: 705 International Affairs Building

Office hours: Tuesdays, 3:30-5:30pm; [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 who intend to take comprehensive exams in and 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 and the institutions connecting them, while the Spring semester will focus on more macro-level institutions and applications of the building blocks covered in this course. Students are advised to take the classes in order, but 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, but capacity to interpret and critique statistical analyses is necessary and will be assumed. 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 arguments, methods, results, and implications of the readings.
  - *Submit one question or comment by Tuesday before class every week* about at least one reading of your choice via the “Discussions” tab on Courseworks. These questions/comments could relate to the specifics of papers, the relation between readings, or how papers fit 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 others to read and consider your questions ahead of class.
  - *Present a starred non-required reading to the class from the reading list.* Once class enrollment is finalized (likely in week 4), every student will be assigned (individually or jointly) to present for 10-15 minutes at the end of one class.
- **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 reflecting on the readings (e.g. critiquing theories or empirics) with a focus on their contribution – what can or 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, and 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 or issue 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 politics comprehensive exam, but answer 1 of 3 questions relating to different topics covered in this class. The exam date will (subject to confirmation) be at the usual class time during exam week; students must keep that time free. 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 as well. 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, our former colleague Macartan Humphreys has written helpful overviews at <https://macartan.github.io/teaching/how-to-critique> and <https://macartan.github.io/teaching/how-to-read>.

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Columbia University does not tolerate academic dishonesty. Students violating the code of academic and professional conduct will be subject to disciplinary procedures. Guidelines are available at [www.gsas.columbia.edu/content/academic-integrity-and-responsible-conduct-research](http://www.gsas.columbia.edu/content/academic-integrity-and-responsible-conduct-research), and all students are expected to be familiar with and abide by them.

Students may use AI tools to enhance their learning. However, students assume full responsibility for the accuracy and quality of their work; heavy reliance on AI-generated content could lead to inaccuracies or unintentional plagiarism, as well as limiting learning.

## 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 a suggested reading order (from first to last). For presentations, students should select from the readings marked with asterisks from the "Additional readings" list for their assigned presentation week.

### ***Week 1: Introduction and logistics, 9/3***

No assigned readings.

***Week 2: Analytical approaches to comparative politics, 9/10***

Munck, Gerardo L., and Richard Snyder. 2007. *Passion, Craft, and Method in Comparative Politics*. John Hopkins University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Lichbach, Mark Irving. 1997. "Social Theory and Comparative Politics." In *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*, edited by Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman, Cambridge University Press, Chapter 9.

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

Lichbach, Mark Irving. 2009. "Thinking and Working in the Midst of Things: Discovery, Explanation, and Evidence in Comparative Politics." In *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition*, edited by Mark Irving Lichbach and Alan S. Zuckerman, Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2.

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.

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

*Additional readings:*

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

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.

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

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.

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

### ***Week 3: Empirical methods in comparative politics, 9/17***

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

Gerber, Alan S., Donald H. Green, and Edward P. Kaplan. 2014. "The Illusion of Learning from Observational Research." In *Field Experiments and Their Critics: Essays on the Uses and Abuses of Experimentation in the Social Sciences*, edited by Dawn L. Teele, Yale University Press, Chapter 1.

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

Collier, David. 2011. "Understanding Process Tracing." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44(4):823-830.

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:***

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

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

Bennett, Andrew, and Colin Elman. 2006. "Qualitative Research: Recent Developments in Case Study Methods." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9:455-476.

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 *Advances in Comparative Historical Analysis*, edited by James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, Cambridge University Press.

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

George, Alexander L., and Andrew Bennett. 2005. *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*. MIT Press.

Goertz, Gary, and James Mahoney. 2012. *A Tale of Two Cultures: Qualitative and Quantitative Research in the Social Sciences*. Princeton University Press.

Hall, Peter A. 2003. "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics." In *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, edited by James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Cambridge University Press, pages 373-404.

Herrera, Yoshiko M., and Devesh Kapur. 2007. "Improving data quality: Actors, incentives, and capabilities." *Political Analysis* 15(4):365-386.

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.

Lundberg, Ian, Rebecca Johnson, and Brandon M. Stewart. 2021. "What is your estimand? Defining the target quantity connects statistical evidence to theory." *American Sociological Review* 86(3):532-565.

Pepinsky, Thomas B. 2019. "The return of the single-country study." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22(1):187-203.

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: Political culture, 9/24***

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.

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.

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.

#### ***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.

Bursztyn, Leonardo, Georgy Egorov, and Stefano Fiorin. 2020. "From Extreme to Mainstream: The Erosion of Social Norms." *American Economic Review* 110(11):3522-3548.

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

\*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 5: Economic policy preferences and coalitions, 10/1***

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.

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

Wiedemann, Andreas. 2024. "The Electoral Consequences of Household Indebtedness under Austerity." *American Journal of Political Science* 68(2):354-371.



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

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

*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.

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

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.

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.

Hall, Peter A., and David Soskice. 2001. "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism." In *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, edited by Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, Oxford University Press, pages 1-69.

\*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.

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

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 6: Identity politics and coalitions, 10/8***

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

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 4, and 10.

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.

Dancygier, Rafaela M. 2017. *Dilemmas of Inclusion: Muslims in European Politics*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 2 and 5.

Mousa, Salma. 2020. "Building social cohesion between Christians and Muslims through soccer in post-ISIS Iraq." *Science* 369(6505):866-870.

Tuñón, Guadalupe. Forthcoming. "When the Church Votes Left: How Progressive Bishops Supported the Workers' Party in Brazil." *American Political Science Review*.

### ***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.
- Berman, Sheri. 2021. "The Causes of Populism in the West." *Annual Review of Political Science* 24:71-88.
- 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.
- \*Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2000. "Violence and the social construction of ethnic identity." *International Organization* 54(4):845-877.
- \*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.
- Guriey, Sergei, and Elias Papaioannou. 2022. "The political economy of populism." *Journal of Economic Literature* 60(3):753-832.
- 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.
- Laitin, David D. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Cornell University Press.
- 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.
- Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, Seth A. Green, and Donald P. Green. 2018. "The contact hypothesis re-evaluated." *Behavioural Public Policy* 3(2):129-158.

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.

***Week 7: Collective action, 10/15***

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:*

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.

\*Kitschelt, Herbert P. 1986. "Political opportunity structures and political protest: Anti-nuclear movements in four democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 16(1):57-85.

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 8: Parties and democratic systems, 10/22***

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 *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, by Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, Free Press.

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

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

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.

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.

\*Brader, Ted, Joshua A. Tucker, and Dominik Duell. 2013. "Which parties can lead opinion? Experimental evidence on partisan cue taking in multiparty democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(11):1485-1517.

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.

\*Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(3):825-850.

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, 10/29***

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:*

\*Andrews, Josephine T., and Robert W. Jackman. 2005. "Strategic fools: electoral rule choice under extreme uncertainty." *Electoral Studies* 24(1):65-84.

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, 11/5***

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.

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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.

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### ***Week 11: Electoral accountability and government responsiveness, 11/12***

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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.

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### ***Week 12: Citizen-politician linkages, 11/19***

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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.

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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.

Amat, Francesc, and Pablo Beramendi. 2020. "Democracy under High Inequality: Capacity, Spending, and Participation." *Journal of Politics* 82(3):859-878.

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### ***Additional readings:***

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

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

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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.

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

\*Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2012. "What wins votes: Why some politicians opt out of clientelism." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3):568-583.

***Thanksgiving break: No class, 11/26***

***Week 13: Overview of exams and discussion of being a comparative political scientist, 12/3***

No assigned readings.