

PAL-110C: Comparative Political Institutions and Public Policy
Professor Pepper D. Culpepper
Spring, 2009

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Course Description

This is a course about fundamental problems of participation, democratic governance and conflict in contemporary political systems. It will provide you with an analytical toolkit for understanding the ways in which domestic politics varies across the globe and the problems and possibilities that different settings create for political actors and other policy entrepreneurs. The class develops the skills for effective political analysis and advocacy, including memo and op-ed writing, as well as the skills to brief actors who need to know everything about the politics of a situation in a short period of time.

We are interested in both the systematic variation among institutions and the effects these institutions have on governance and conflict resolution. Do presidential democracies fail more often than parliamentary ones? Why does Switzerland have so many more major political parties than the United States, and what does that mean for the functioning of democracy in those two countries? Does getting rich inevitably make a country democratic? Why do some multi-ethnic democracies flourish while others flounder? These are the sorts of questions we ask in this course. Being able to answer them is a prerequisite to thinking critically, whether as a policy advocate or a decision-maker, about the implications of a given political strategy in different institutional environments.

Assignments and Grading

Attendance at all lectures is mandatory. The class combines lectures and discussion, and students should expect to be cold-called. The class is graded using the professional scale we also use for spring exercise, which varies between 1 and 6. Your final grade is determined by performance on the following assignments, whose due dates are indicated in the appropriate place on the syllabus:

Memo 1:	15%
Op-ed:	15%
Memo 2:	20%
Briefing:	20% (10% for oral presentation and slides; 10% for group memo)
Final Exam:	20%
Participation:	10%

On the graded exercises, we will be using the Kennedy School's performance index rather than the traditional A, B, C, D, F grade system. The index is basically a point scale that is tied to performance standards:

- 6 = Distinction even by the standards expected of a professional practitioner
- 5 = Fully meets the standards expected of a professional practitioner
- 4 = Distinction by the standards expected of a professional school graduate student
- 3 = Average by the standards expected of a professional school graduate student
- 2 = Below average by the standards expected of a professional school graduate student
- 1 = Unacceptable by the standards expected of a professional school graduate student

We use this grading method for PAL-110 because most of the grades are based on practical exercises, and the index scores provide students with a clearer sense of their performance level than do traditional letter grades. A “6” is almost never awarded (less than 1 percent) and that a “5” is seldom awarded (less than 10 percent). These numbers are reserved for performance levels that equal or exceed what would be expected of individuals who already hold the types of job positions that most of you aspire to hold.

In any event, your absolute score on any graded exercise is much less significant than your score relative to that of the other students. We are required in large Kennedy School courses to assign final letter grades on the basis of a curve—students’ relative ranking in the class. Because PAL-110 is one of your first KSG courses, we apply the most liberal curve allowable by KSG guidelines, which means that the grade distribution for this course will fall roughly within the following ranges: A (top 15-20%), A- (next 20-30%), B+ (next 20-30%), B (next 20-25%), B- or lower (lowest 5-10%). As a faculty member, I do not control the curve. However, I do have a responsibility to ensure that no one in the class receives a higher grade than another student who has performed as well or better. If you take responsibility for your performance, I assure you that it will be evaluated fairly relative to all others in the class.

Academic Integrity and Writing

This course includes a lot of writing. It is appropriate to remind you of the practice of citation at the Kennedy School (the following quotes directly from the Kennedy School academic code, which you should read in full: http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/registrar/acad_code.htm).

“Using someone else's words or concepts without citation is a serious violation of the Academic Code. The following are guidelines for determining when to document sources in written material:

Facts: If you assert a fact, you should be able to document it with reliable sources.

Quotes: If you use text that someone else has written, put it in quotes and credit the original author.

Ideas: If you use ideas that reflect someone else’s original insight, acknowledge their contribution (even if you don’t use their exact words.).”

When in doubt, please cite! Ignorance of the rules of academic honesty is not an acceptable excuse. If you have any question as to whether or not you have indeed used citation correctly, please speak with one of the course assistants. This course has a no tolerance policy when it comes to plagiarism. If you cheat, you will fail the class and be referred to the Kennedy’s School’s formal disciplinary board.

Required Reading

Course Packet — Available for purchase at the CMO. [In order to reduce the cost of packets for students, all materials that are available without cost electronically to Harvard students have been omitted from the packet. This does not mean they are optional—they should be read online or printed out.]

I. DEMOCRACY [CLASSES 1-4]

Wednesday, January 28

Conceptions of Democracy

Joseph Schumpeter, excerpt from *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* in *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 2003, MIT Press, pp. 5-11. [in CMO packet]

Adam Przeworski, “Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense,” in *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 2003, MIT Press, pp. 12-17. [in CMO packet]

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy*, 1971, Yale University Press, pp. 1-16. [in CMO packet]

Monday, February 2

[DISTRIBUTE MEMO ASSIGNMENT 1]

Democracy and Development

Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. *Democracy and Development*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 78-106. [in CMO packet]

Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, “Endogenous Democratization,” *World Politics* 55(4), July 2003, pp. 517-45. [free through Hollis online]

Wednesday, February 4

Transitions to Democracy

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, (chs. 1, 4), pp. 1-15, 55-65. [in CMO packet]

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism: Elections without Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy* 13(2), April 2002, pp. 51-65. [free through Hollis online]

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George W. Downs, “Development and Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs*, 84(5), 2005, pp. 77-86. [free through Hollis online]

Monday, February 9

Case Study: Will China Democratize?

Bruce Gilley, "Resources for Change," Chapter 4 of Bruce Gilley, *China's Democratic Future*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2004, pp. 60-94. [in CMO packet]

Mary Gallagher, "'Reform and Openness': Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy." *World Politics* 54 (April 2002), pp. 338-72. [free through Hollis online]

Tony Saich, "China: Socio-Political Issues," in Hoffmann and Enright (eds), *China Into the Future*, Wiley and Sons, 2008, pp. 137-62. [in CMO packet]

II. COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONS AND POLICY [CLASSES 5-8]

Wednesday, February 11

MEMO 1 DUE

Institutions and the Diffusion or Concentration of Power

Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," excerpted in *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 2003, MIT Press, pp. 258-265. [in CMO packet]

Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," excerpted in *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 2003, MIT Press, pp. 266-271. [in CMO packet]

Alfred Stepan, "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model," *Journal of Democracy* 10: 4 (October 1999), p. 19-33. [free through Hollis online]

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries*, 1999, Yale University Press, pp. 185-199. [in CMO packet]

Monday, February 16

PRESIDENTS' DAY—NO CLASS

Wednesday, February 18

Party and Electoral Systems: the Social and Strategic Bases of Politics

[DISTRIBUTE OP-ED ASSIGNMENT: 600 WORD MAXIMUM]

Herbert Kitschelt, *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, University of Michigan Press, 1995, pp. 1-28. [in CMO packet]

Pippa Norris, *The Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*, 2005, Cambridge University Press, pp. 263-272. [in CMO packet]

Monday, February 23

Contingency and Structure in Politics and Policy-Making

John W. Kingdon, *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies [2nd edition]*, (Glenview: Longman Classics in Political Science 2003), "The Policy Window, and Joining the Streams," pp. 166-183, 191-195.

Geoffrey Garrett, "The Politics of Structural Change," in *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 25, no. 4 (1993). 521-47.

Wednesday, February 25

Case Study: Rise—and Fall?—of the National Front in France

Richard Balme, "The Pluralist and Divisible Republic: Convergence, Fragmentation and Majority-Cycling in French Public Opinion, in Culpepper, Hall and Palier, eds., *Changing France: The Politics that Markets Make*, Palgrave 2006. [posted on class website]

III. POLITICAL CHANGE, COORDINATION, AND COLLECTIVE ACTION [CLASSES 9-11]

Monday, March 2

Social Dilemmas and Their Impact on Politics

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, Princeton University Press, 1993, pp. 163-185. [in CMO packet]

Elinor Ostrom, "A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (Mar., 1998), pp. 1-22. [free through Hollis online]

Wednesday, March 4

OP-ED DUE

[DISTRIBUTE MEMO ASSIGNMENT 2]

Nationalism: Origins and Contemporary Political Relevance

Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Cornell University Press, 1983, chs. 1 and 4 (pp. 1-7, 43-52). [in CMO packet]

Keith Darden and Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Great Divide: Literacy, Nationalism, and the Communist Collapse," *World Politics* 59 (October 2006), pp. 83-115. [free through Hollis online]

Monday, March 9

Case Study: Nationalism, Collective Action, and the Fall of the Soviet Union

Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*, 2002, Cambridge University Press, pp. 150-199. [in CMO packet]

IV. DIVIDED SOCIETIES AND THEIR POLITICS [CLASSES 12-15]

Wednesday, March 11

Ethnic Conflict and Constitutional Engineering

Steven Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, ch. 5, pp. 137-71. [in CMO packet]

Donald L. Horowitz, "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers," *Journal of Democracy*, 14:4, October 2003, pp. 115-27. [free through Hollis online]

Monday, March 16

Diversity and the Role of Civil Society

Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India*, Yale University Press, 2002, pp. 3-18, 119-31, 239-61. [in CMO packet]

Robert D. Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century," *Scandinavian Political Studies* 30:2, pp. 137-174. [free through Hollis online]

Wednesday, March 18

MEMO 2 DUE

[DISTRIBUTE MATERIALS FOR BRIEFING]

Case Study: Can Iraq become a Functioning Democracy?

Adeed Dawisha and Larry Diamond, "Iraq's Year of Voting Dangerously," *Journal of Democracy*, 17:2, April 2006, pp. 89-103. [free through Hollis online]

Chappell Lawson and Strom C. Thacker, "Democracy? In Iraq?" available online at <http://www.hoover.org/publications/digest/3057371.html>.

Eric Davis, "History Matters: Past as Prologue in Building Democracy in Iraq," *Orbis* 49(2), (Spring 2005) pp. 229-244. [free through Hollis online]

* * * * * SPRING BREAK, MARCH 21-29 * * * * *

Monday, March 30

Accountability, Corruption, and Democracy

Anna Grzymala-Busse, "The Discreet Charm of Formal Institutions: Postcommunist Party Competition and State Oversight," *Comparative Political Studies* 39(3), 2006, pp. 271-300. [free through Hollis online]

Odd-Helge Fjeldstad and Bertil Tungodden, "Fiscal Corruption: A Vice or a Virtue?," *World Development*, Elsevier, vol. 31(8), pages 1459-1467, August 2003. [free through Hollis online]

V. DOMESTIC POLITICS AND GLOBAL SOCIETY [CLASSES 16-19]

Wednesday, April 1

Faces of Power and the New International System

Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Two Faces of Power." *American Political Science Review* 1962, pp. 947-52. [in CMO packet]

John G. Ruggie, "Reconstituting the Global Public Domain: Issues, Actors, and Practices," *European Journal of International Relations*, (2004), Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 499-531. [free through Hollis online]

Monday, April 6

Interest Coalitions and the Rise of Transnational Lobbying

Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. 1-38. [in CMO packet]

Clifford Bob, "Marketing Rebellion: Insurgent Groups, International Media, and NGO Support," *International Politics* vol 38, no 3, September 2001, pp. 311-334. [in CMO packet]

Wednesday, April 8

**BRIEFING: TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED TODAY AND TOMORROW, 4:00-6:30 PM;
LOCATION AND DEFINITIVE TIME TBA**

Case Study: Narmada Valley Dams in India

Sanjeev Khagram, "Restructuring the Global Politics of Development: The Case of India's Narmada Valley Dams," in Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink, eds, *Restructuring World Politics*, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 206-230. [in CMO packet]

Read "Need for Sardar Sarovar Project" at this website: <http://www.sardarsarovardam.org/>

Monday, April 13

Concluding Lecture

No Assigned Reading.

Wednesday, April 15

FINAL EXAM IN CLASS