

Fall 2005
Political Science 201
Wednesday 7-9:45pm

Gary Marks

Comparative Political Research and Analysis

This course provides an overview of major topics in the comparative politics of western democracies. It has three themes. The first has to do with approaches to comparative politics. What are the strengths and weaknesses of deductive, statistical, and case study methods? Is there an overarching logic of explanation in comparative politics? Are the methods adopted by different schools of comparative politics mutually exclusive, or can they be fruitfully combined? The second part of the course discusses main theoretical approaches. What is the role of culture, structure, and human choice? What is the new institutionalism about, and what are its limits? The third part introduces substantive topics that examine basic similarities and differences in the political development of western societies. How do we explain the consolidation of European democracies, and how do we evaluate prospects for democracy in the rest of the world? What is the role of identity, and how do we study this? How has Europe's political economy changed, and do available theories capture change? What does comparative politics contribute to the study of the European Union, and how does the deepening of European integration affect the field of comparative politics? Are political parties still central aggregators in our democracies, and how does party competition in Central and Eastern Europe compare with that in the West? Is democracy stable and safe, or is support for democracy eroding?

Books available at Student Stores. All other readings will be made available on classroom blackboard.

Henry Brady and David Collier eds. Rethinking Social Inquiry. Diverse Tools, Shared Standards. Rowman and Littlefield, 2004.

Donald Green and Ian Shapiro, Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory, Yale University Press, 1994.

Barrington Moore Jr. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Beacon Press, 1966.

Douglas C. North, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Ian Shapiro, Rogers M. Smith, Tarek E. Masoud eds. Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics. Cambridge University, 2004.

Hendrik Spruyt, The Sovereign State and its Competitors: an Analysis of Systems Change, Princeton University Press, 1994.

Elinor Ostrom, Governing the Commons : The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Charles Tilly, Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1990, Blackwell, 1990.

Examinations and Assignments

- A. A total of **four short papers (20% each)** responding to the questions set out in the syllabus. Each paper is 1000 to 1200 words (please note the number of words on your paper). Papers should be handed in before class for that week's reading. Late papers will

be penalized one grade. There is no final examination. Papers should be written by individual authors, but they may be based on collective discussions and ideas.

- B. All students are expected to come to class fully prepared to discuss the readings for that week. You will be asked to lead the discussion on a reading two or three times during the semester. **Participation in class discussion will count for 20% percent** of your final grade. Please don't pursue the "rational" strategy of reading only for weeks when you write a paper or lead discussion. Past experience has shown that the quality of our discussion has been raised to the extent that you discuss the readings among yourselves prior to our meetings. You are encouraged to form study groups to do so – or just meet for informal coffees, etc.

COURSE READINGS

A. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

I. INTRODUCTION (August 31)

II. RESEARCH DESIGN: IS THERE AN OVERARCHING LOGIC OF INQUIRY? (Sept 7)

Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba, Designing Social Inquiry, especially chs. 1, 4, 5, and 6.

David Collier, Jason Seawright, and Gerardo Munck. "Ch.2: Quest for Standards: KKV Designing Social Inquiry" (21-49), Collier, Brady, Seawright "Ch. 12: Critiques, responses, and trade-offs" (195-228) and Collier, Brady, Seawright "Ch. 13: Sources of leverage in causal inference: Toward and alternative view of methodology" (228-265), in Henry E. Brady, and David Collier eds. 2004. Rethinking social inquiry: diverse tools, shared standards. Rowman and Littlefield.

Questions:

First, evaluate the KKV project for an overarching logic of inquiry. How convincing do you find their proposals and how useful is their advice for developing causal propositions in quantitative and qualitative social science? Now read now chs. 12 and 13 in "Rethinking Social Inquiry." Compare your own critique of Designing Social Inquiry with that summarized by David Collier et al. Did you hit on the same or different points, and why?

III. RESEARCH DESIGN: THE PROBLEM-METHOD DICHOTOMY IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS (Sept 14)

Imre Lakatos, "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes" in

Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave, eds., Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge Cambridge UP, 1970.

Ian Shapiro. "Ch.2: Problems, methods, and theories." (19-41), Rogers M. Smith "Ch.3: The politics of identities and the tasks of political science." (42-65) in Ian Shapiro, Rogers M. Smith, and Tarek E. Masoud, eds. Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics. Cambridge.

Questions:

How does Lakatos' conception of scientific progress compare to that of KKV? What are the implications of Lakatos' notion of scientific methodology for the social sciences?

What do Shapiro et al. mean by the problem-method dichotomy? Evaluate the arguments made by Shapiro/Smith.

IV. RATIONAL CHOICE AND ITS CRITICS (Sept 21)

Donald P. Green and Ian Shapiro, Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory, Yale University Press, 1994, chs. 1, 2, 3 (1-46)

Gary W. Cox "Ch. 8: Lies, damned lies, and rational choice analyses." (167-185), Alan Ryan "Ch. 9: Problems and methods in political science: rational explanation and its limits" (186-200) , in Ian Shapiro, Rogers M. Smith, and Tarek E. Masoud eds. Problems and Methods in the Study of Politics. Cambridge.

Questions:

Have Green and Shapiro undermined rational choice theory? Evaluate their attempt critically, and then discuss what rational choice may contribute to comparative politics.

What does Cox mean when he says that the most vocal critics of rational choice are critics of an outmoded brand of RC?

Evaluate the challenge by Douglas Massey to rational choice.

Additional reading on the methodology of comparative politics

Robert Bates. "Comparative Politics and Rational Choice: A Review Essay." American Political Science Review 91, 3 (1997): 699-704.

Dexter Boniface and J.C. Sharman. "An analytic revolution in comparative politics?" Comparative Politics 33, 4, (2001): 475-493.

Mattei Dogan and Dominique Pelassy, How To Compare Nations: Strategies in Comparative

- Politics, Chatham House, 1984.
- Harry Eckstein, "Case Study and Theory in Political Science," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby, eds., Handbook of Political Science 7, Addison-Wesley, 1975.
- John Goldthorpe, "The Uses of History in Sociology: Reflections on Some Recent Tendencies," British Journal of Sociology 42, 2, 1991.
- Steven Jay Gould, Bully for Brontosaurus, New York, Norton, 1989, chs. 34 and 35.
- Peter A. Hall (Aligning ontology and methodology in comparative politics, 373-404), in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences. Cambridge: CUP, 2003.
- Robert Holt and John Turner, eds., The Methodology of Comparative Research, Free Press, 1970.
- Gary King, Unifying Political Methodology: The Likelihood Theory of Statistical Inference, Cambridge UP, 1989.
- Gary King, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. Designing Social Inquiry, Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Review symposium: "The qualitative-quantitative disputation." American Political Science Review, 89, 2 (June 1995), 454-481.
- Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, 1962.
- Imre Lakatos, "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes" in Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave, eds., Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge Cambridge UP, 1970.
- Stanley Lieberman, "Small N's and Big Conclusions: an Examination of the Reasoning in Comparative Studies Based on a Small Number of Cases," Social Forces 70, 2, 1991.
- Arend Lijphart, "Comparative Politics and Comparative Method" APSR 65, 3, 1971.
- Arend Lijphart, "The Comparable Case Study and Comparative Method," Comparative Political Studies 8, 1975.
- James Mahoney, "Strategies of Causal Assessment in Comparative Historical Analysis." James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Comparative Historical Analysis in Social Sciences, Cambridge University Press, 2003, 337-372.
- Adam Przeworski and Henry Teune, The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry, New York: John Wiley, 1970.
- Charles Ragin, The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John Stephens, "Comparing Historical Sequences--A Powerful Tool for Causal Analysis," Comparative Social Research 16, 1997.
- Giovanni Sartori, Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics, APSR 64, 4, 1970.
- Giovanni Sartori, "Comparing and Miscomparing", Journal of Theoretical Politics 3 (1991): 243-257.
- Neil Smelser, "The Methodology of Comparative Analysis," in Donald Warwick and Samuel Osherson, eds., Comparative Research Methods, Prentice Hall, 1973.

B. SUBSTANTIVE TOPICS

V. INSTITUTIONS, AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE (Sept 28)

Douglas North, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance, especially Parts I and II.

Questions:

Write a conceptual and theoretical critique of North's book.

What hypotheses can one draw from North's theory of institutional change? How might one test their validity?

Additional reading on institutional approaches

- Peter A. Hall and Rosemary C. R. Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," Political Studies 44: 936-57.
- Paul Pierson on "Big, Slow-Moving and ... Invisible" (177-207), in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer eds. 2003. Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paul Pierson and Theda Skocpol. 2004. "Historical Institutionalism In Contemporary Political Science" in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner eds. Political Science: State of the Discipline, APSA.
- Kenneth Shepsle. 1989. "Studying Institutions: Some Lessons from the Rational Choice Approach", Journal of Theoretical Politics: 131-147.
- Barry Weingast. 2004. "Rational Choice Institutionalism" Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner eds. Political Science: State of the Discipline, APSA.
- Robert Bates et. al., Analytic Narratives, Princeton UP, 1998.
- Dennis Chong. Rational Lives: Norms and Values in Politics and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Jonathan Cohn, "When did political science forget about politics?" New Republic, 1999: www.thenewrepublic.com.
- Jon Elster, Nuts and Bolts, Cambridge UP, 1989
- Jon Elster, The Cement of Society, Cambridge UP, 1989
- Jon Elster, "Rational Choice History: A Case of Excessive Ambition," American Political Science Review, 94 (3): 685-695 and response by Bates et. al. 696-702.
- Jeffrey Friedman ed. The Rational Choice Controversy. New Haven: Yale University press, 1996.
- Melvin J. Hinich and Michael C. Munger, Ideology and the theory of political choice, University of Michigan Press, 1994.
- Liesbet Hooghe. The European Commission and the Integration of Europe, CUP, 2002, chs. 1 and 8.
- Junko Kato, "Review Article: Institutions and Rationality in Politics—Three Varieties of Neo-Institutionalism." British Journal of Political Science 26 (1996): 553-582.

- Jack Knight, Institutions and Social Conflict, Cambridge UP, 1992.
- Jack Knight and Itai Sened, eds., Explaining Social Institutions, University of Michigan Press, 1995.
- Stephen Krasner, "Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics." Comparative Politics 16 (1984): 223-246.
- Kristian Lindgren, "Evolutionary Phenomena in Simple Dynamics," in G.G. Langton, et. al., eds., Artificial Life II, SFI Studies in the Sciences of Complexity, vol. X.
- Douglass North, Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Elinor Ostrom, "An Agenda for the Study of Institutions." Public Choice 48 (1986): 3-25.
- Elinor Ostrom, Governing the Commons. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Elinor Ostrom, "Rational Choice Theory and Institutional Analysis." American Political Science Review 85 (1991): 237-43.
- Jonas Pontusson, "From Comparative Public Policy to Political Economy: Putting Political Institutions in their Place and Taking Interests Seriously, Comparative Political Studies 28, 1 (1995): 117-148.
- Fritz Scharpf, Games Real Actors Play: Actor-Centered Institutionalism in Policy Research, Boulder: Westview Press, 1997.
- Thomas. C. Schelling, Micromotives and Macrobehavior, W.W. Norton, 1978
- Donald Searing, "Roles, Rules and Rationality in the New Institutionalism." American Political Science Review 32, (1991): 47-68.
- Kathleen Thelen and Sven Steinmo, eds., Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics, Cambridge UP, 1992.
- Michael Taylor, The Possibility of Cooperation, Cambridge UP, 1987.
- George Tsebelis, Nested Games, California UP, 1990.
- George Tsebelis, Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism," BJPS 25, 1995.
- Albert Yee. "Thick Rationality and the Missing 'Brute Fact': The Limits of Rationalist Incorporations of Norms and Ideas." Journal of Politics (1997) 59: 1001-39.

VI. COALITIONS AND STATE BUILDING (Oct 5)

Charles Tilly, Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1990, Blackwell, 1990.

Hendrik Spruyt, The Sovereign State and its Competitors: an Analysis of Systems Change, Princeton University Press, 1994, chs. 1 to 4, 8, and 9.

Questions:

Compare and evaluate the explanations put forward by Tilly and Spruyt for the development of national states.

How does Spruyt explain the development of the national state in Europe? Explain the chief

causal mechanisms that Spruyt invokes?

Additional Reading on Political Development and State Formation

- Gabriel Almond, Scott Flanagan, and Robert Mundt, Crisis, Choice, and Change, Little Brown, 1973.
- Reinhard Bendix, Nation Building and Citizenship, Wiley, 1964.
- Robert Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition, Yale UP, 1971.
- Brian M. Downing, The Military Revolution and Political Change, Princeton UP, 1992.
- Thomas Ertman, Birth of the Leviathan: Building states and regimes in medieval and early modern Europe, Cambridge UP, 1997.
- Arendt Lijphart, The Politics of Accommodation, California UP, 1975.
- Gregory M. Luebbert, Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy, Oxford UP, 1991.
- Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John Stephens, Capitalist Development and Democracy, Chicago UP, 1992.
- Theda Skocpol, States and Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China, Cambridge UP, 1979.
- Hendrik Spruyt, The Sovereign State and its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution, Addison-Wesley, 1978.
- Charles Tilly, European Revolutions, 1492-1992, Blackwell, 1995.
- Charles Tilly. 2004. Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000, Cambridge University Press.
- Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World-System, 3 Vols., Academic Press, 1974, 1980, 1988.

VII. DEMOCRACY AND ITS ALTERNATIVES (Oct 12)

Barrington Moore Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Beacon Press, 1966, chs. 1, 2, 7, 8 (3-110, 413-452).

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John Stephens, Capitalist Development and Democracy, Chicago UP, 1992, ch.4 (79-154).

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," World Politics 49, 2 (1997): 155-183.

Questions:

Compare and contrast the substantive hypotheses put forward by Moore and Rueschemeyer, et al. Which do you find more compelling, and why?

Is it possible to have an overarching theory of democratization? Can we usefully compare the factors determining the timing and outcome of democratization in Western, Southern and finally

Eastern Europe over the last 250 years?

Additional Reading on Democratization

- Nancy Bermeo, "Redemocratization and Transition Elections: A Comparison of Spain and Portugal," Comparative Politics 19, 2 (1987): 213-32.
- Nancy Bermeo, Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times. The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy, Princeton, 2003.
- Boix, Carles, Democracy and Redistribution, Cambridge, CUP, 2003.
- Valerie Bunce, Subversive Institutions: The Design and Destruction of Socialism and the State, CUP, 1999.
- Valerie Bunce, "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations," in Comparative Political Studies 33, 6-7, 2000. Special Double Issue: Comparative Politics in the Year 2000: Unity Within Diversity.
- Valerie Bunce, "Should Transitologists Be Grounded?" Slavic Review 54 (1995): 111-127.
- Larry Diamond. "Consolidating Democracies." in Lawrence Leduc, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris eds. Comparing Democracies 2, London: Sage, 2002, 210-227.
- Renske Doorenspleet, "Reassessing the Three Waves of Democratization," World Politics 52 (April 2000): 384-406.
- M. Steven Fish, "The Determinants of Economic Reform in the Post-Communist World," East European Politics and Societies 12, 1 (1998): 31-78.
- Joel S. Hellman, "Winners Take All: the Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," World Politics 50 (January 1998): 203-34.
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe, Johns Hopkins UP, 1996. chs. 1-4.
- Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies, Johns Hopkins UP, 1986.
- Adam Przeworski et. al., Sustainable Democracy, Cambridge UP, 1995.
- Adam Przeworski, Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America, Cambridge UP, 1991.
- Robert Putnam. Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy, Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Doh Chull Shin, "On the Third Wave of Democratization," World Politics 47 (1994): 135-170.
- Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is...and Is Not," and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Dangers and Dilemmas of Democracy," in Larry J. Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., The Global Resurgence of Democracy, Johns Hopkins UP, 1996.
- Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should they Attempt to Go?" Slavic Review 53 (1994).
- Theda Skocpol. "A critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy," in her book: Social Revolutions in the Modern World, Cambridge: CUP, 1994, 25-54.

VIII. THE DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION OF PARTY SYSTEMS AND POLITICAL CONFLICT IN EAST AND WEST (Oct 26)

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments," in Peter Mair, ed. The West European Party System, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 91-138.

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

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Radicalism or Reformism: The Sources of Working-Class Politics" American Political Science Review 77:1-18, 1983.

Questions:

Evaluate Lipset and Rokkan's explanation of party system development. What are its strengths and weaknesses?

How does Kitschelt's model build upon Lipset/Rokkan, and where does it depart? Critically evaluate Kitschelt's transposition to Central and Eastern Europe.

Additional Reading on Social Class and Political Parties

Jakub Zielinski. 2002. "Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems: The Significance of New Democracies." World Politics 54: 184-211.

Carles Boix, Political Parties, Growth, and Equality: Conservative and Social Democratic Economic Strategies in the World Economy, Cambridge, 1998.

Maurice Duverger, Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State, John Wiley, 1954.

Mark Franklin and Cees van der Eijk, eds., Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union, University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Simon Hix and Christopher Lord, Political Parties in the European Union, St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Ira Katznelson and Aristide Zolberg, eds., Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States, Princeton UP, 1986.

Herbert Kitschelt, The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge UP, 1994.

Peter Mair, Party system change : approaches and interpretations, Oxford UP, 1997.

Peter Mair and Gordon Smith, eds., Understanding Party System Change in Western Europe, Sage, 1990.

Gary Marks, Unions in Politics: Germany, Britain, and the United States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, Princeton UP, 1989.

Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, Erica Edwards and Moira Nelson. 2004. "Party Competition and European Integration in East and West: Different Structure, Same Causality." Comparative Political Studies, forthcoming.

Gary Marks. 2004. "Conclusion" in Gary Marks and Marco Steenbergen eds. 2004. Political Conflict and European Integration. Cambridge: CUP, 2004.

Adam Przeworski, Capitalism and Social Democracy, Cambridge UP, 1985

Adam Przeworski and John Sprague, Paper Stones, University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Stein Rokkan, Citizens, Elections, Parties, David McKay, 1970.

Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis, Cambridge UP, 1976.

Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strøm, eds., Policy, Office, or votes? : how political parties in Western Europe make hard decisions, Cambridge UP, 1999.

IX. CONCEPTUALIZING THE EUROPEAN UNION (Nov 2)

[Background reading:

John McCormick. 1999. Understanding the European Union. A Concise Introduction. MacMillan, ch 3 (57-86).

Donald Hancock and Guy Peters, The European Union, Chatham House, 2003, ch. 31, 32, and 33.]

Stanley Hoffmann. 1966. "Obstinate or Obsolete? The Fate of the Nation State and the Case of Western Europe." *Daedalus* 95: 892-908.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 1996/2001. Multi-Level Governance and European Integration, Rowman and Littlefield, 2001, ch. 2.

James Caporaso. 1996. "The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory or Post-Modern?" *Journal of Common Market Studies* 34, 1: 29-52.

Questions:

How might one conceive European integration from the standpoint of the development of national states in Western Europe?

To what degree, if at all, is the European Union an international organization; to what degree, if at all, is the European Union a polity?

X. COMPARATIVE POLITICS MEETS THE EUROPEAN UNION (Nov 9)

Andrew Moravcsik. 1998. The Choice for Europe: Social Purpose and State Power from Messina to Maastricht. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, Introduction and ch.1).

Alec Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz. 1997. "European Integration and Supranational Governance." Journal of European Public Policy 4: 297-317.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. 1996/2001. Multi-Level Governance and European Integration, Rowman and Littlefield, 2001, ch. 1.

Paul Pierson. 1996. "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis." Comparative Political Studies 29:123-62.

Questions:

Why does characterizing the European Union as a system of multi-level governance lead one to approach the EU through the lens of comparative politics?

Is the European Union unique or can we usefully compare it to other regional integration efforts?

Additional Reading on European Integration

James A. Caporaso, "The European Union and Forms of State: Westphalian, Regulatory, or Post-Modern?" Journal of Common Market Studies, 34 (1996), 29-51.

Karl Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, 2nd. ed., Harvard UP, 1966.

Juan Diez Medrano, Framing Europe: Attitudes to European Integration in Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom, (Princeton University Press, 2003).

Matthew Gabel, 1998. Interests and Integration. Market Liberalization, Public Opinion, and European Union. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Geoffrey Garrett and George Tsebelis. 2001. "An Institutional Critique of Intergovernmentalism." Intergovernmental Organization 55: 357-390.

Ernst Haas, The Uniting of Europe, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.

Ernst Haas, Beyond the Nation-State: Functionalism and International Organization, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.

Simon Hix, The political system of the European Union, St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Simon Hix, "The study of the European Community: The Challenge to Comparative Politics." West European Politics 17 (1994): 1-30.

Liesbet Hooghe, ed., Cohesion policy and European integration: building multi-level governance, Oxford UP, 1996.

Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks. "Unraveling the Central State: Types of Multi-Level Governance." American Political Science Review 97:2, (2003), 233-43.

Amie Kreppel, The European Parliament and Supranational Party System. A Study in Institutional Development, Cambridge: CUP, 2002.

Leon N. Lindberg and Stuart A. Scheingold, Europe's Would-Be Polity: Patterns of Change in the European Community. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Gary Marks, Liesbet Hooghe, and Kermit Blank, "European Integration since the 1980s: State-centric Versus Multi-Level Governance." Journal of Common Market Studies, 34 (1996): 341-378.

Gary Marks, Fritz Scharpf, Philippe Schmitter, and Wolfgang Streeck, Governance in the

- European Union, Sage, 1996.
- Walter Mattli, The Logic of Regional Integration. Europe and Beyond. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Andrew Moravcsik, The Choice for Europe. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Preferences and Power in the European Community: a Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach" Journal of Common Market Studies 31 (1993): 473-524.
- Brent Nelsen and Richard Stubbs, The European Union: Readings on the Theory and Practice of European Integration. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2002.
- Neill Nugent, The Government and Politics of the European Community, 3rd Ed., Duke UP, 1994.
- John Peterson and Elizabeth Bomberg, Decision-making in the European Union, St. Martin's Press, 1999.
- Paul Pierson, "The Path to European Integration: A Historical Institutional Analysis," Comparative Political Studies 29, 2 (1996): 123-163.
- Mark Pollack, The engines of European Integration: Delegation, Agency, and Agenda Setting in the European Union, Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Alec Stone Sweet and James Caporaso. "From Free Trade to Supranational Polity: The European Court and Integration." In Alec Stone Sweet and Wayne Sandholtz, European integration and Supranational Governance, Oxford: OUP, 1998, 92-133.
- The State of the European Union, 4 volumes, Lynne Rienner, 1991-98.
- Ben Rosamond, Theories of European Integration, MacMillan Press, 2000.
- George Tsebelis and Geoffrey Garrett, "Legislative Politics in the European Union," European Union Politics, 1 (2000), 9-36.
- Helen Wallace and William Wallace, eds., Policy-making in the European Union, Oxford UP, 1996, 2000.

Additional Reading on Comparative Politics and International Relations

- Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," International Organization 32 (1978): 881-912.
- Joseph Grieco, "The Maastricht Treaty, Economic and Monetary Union and the neo-realist research program," Review of International Studies 21, 1 (1995): 21-40.
- David Lake and Miles Kahler, eds. 2003. Governance in a Global Economy: Political Authority in Transition, Princeton.
- Edward D. Mansfield and Helen V. Milner, "The New Wave of Regionalism," International Organization 53, 3 (1999): 589-627.
- Mark Pollack, "International Relations Theory and European Integration," Journal of Common Market Studies, 39 (2001), 221-244
- Robert D. Putnam, "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games," International Organization 42, 3 (1988): 427-460.

XI. ETHNICITY, IDENTITY, NATIONALISM, AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION (Nov 16)

Brendan O’Leary, “On the nature of nationalism: an appraisal of Ernest Gellner’s writings on nationalism.” British Journal of Political Science 27 (1997): 191-222.

James Fearon and David Laitin, “Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity.” International Organization 54, 4 (2000), 53-75.

Douglas S. Massey. “A brief history of human society: the origin and role of emotion in social life.” American Sociological Review, 67, (2002): 1-29.

Sniderman, Paul M., Louk Hagendoorn, and Markus Prior. 2004. “Predisposing Factors and Situational Triggers: Exclusionary Reactions to Immigrant Minorities.” American Political Science Review 98: 35-49.

Questions:

Discuss primordial, economic-instrumentalist and constructivist views of ethnicity and ethnic conflict. Which of these do you find most persuasive? Why?

What are the underlying assumptions of Fearon/Laitin’s views on ethnic conflict resolution? Can a rational choice perspective credibly deal with identity?

Evaluate the contribution of Douglas Massey and Sniderman et al. to the study of identity politics. What implications might you draw for European politics?

Additional Reading on Nationalism/Ethnicity and Conflict Resolution

James Fearon and David Laitin, “Explaining Interethnic Cooperation.” American Political Science Review (December 1996), 715-735.

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, epilogue to 1991 edition.

Robert Bates, Bui J.P. de Figueiredo, and Barry Weingast, “The Politics of Interpretation: Rationality, Culture and Transition.” Politics and Society, 26, 2 (1998), 221-256.

Nancy Bermeo and Ugo Amoretti eds., Does Federalism Matter? Political Institutions and the Management of Territorial Cleavages (2 volumes), Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2004.

Rogers Brubaker, Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the national question in the New Europe, (Cambridge: CUP, 1996).

Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, Cornell UP, 1994, chs. 1, 2.

Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, Cornell UP, 1994.

Leah Greenfeld, Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity, Harvard UP, 1992, intro, ch. 1 or 2.

Donald Horowitz, “Democracy in Divided Societies,” Journal of Democracy 4, 4, (1993):18-37.

Donald Horowitz, Ethnic Groups in Conflict, University of California Press, 1990.

David Laitin, Identity in Formation, Cornell UP, 1998.

Anthony Smith, Ethnic Origins of Nations, Basil Blackwell, 1986, intro, ch. 1 and 7.
Anthony Smith, Nations and Nationalism in A Global Era, Polity Press, 1995, chs. 4, 5 and 6.

XII. THE CHANGING POLITICAL ECONOMY OF EUROPE: FROM NEOCORPORATISM TO VARIETIES OF CAPITALISM (Nov 30)

Wolfgang Streeck. 2004. "The Study of Interest Groups: Before "The Century" and After." Unpublished paper.

Hall, Peter A. and David Soskice eds, Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Ch. 1.

Questions:

Streeck's intellectual history of the concept and the field of political economy.

What is the core argument for persistent divergence of varieties of capitalism? How could you criticize this view?

Additional Reading on Comparative Political Economy and the Welfare State

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- Dani Rodrik, Has Globalization Gone Too Far? Institute for International Economics, 1997.
- Ronald Rogowski, Commerce and coalitions : how trade affects domestic political alignments, Princeton UP, 1989.
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- John D. Stephens, The transition from capitalism to socialism, Macmillan, 1979.
- Kathy Thelen. 2004. Kathleen Thelen. 2004. How institutions Evolve: the political economy of skills in Germany, Britain, the United States and Japan. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Bruce Western, Between class and market : postwar unionization in the capitalist democracies, Princeton UP, 1997.

XIV. THE SOCIAL BASES OF COOPERATION (Dec 7)

Elinor Ostrom, Governing the Commons, especially chs 1-3 and 6.

Questions:

"Ostrom's book is a fine example of how to employ game theory in a comparative politics context. She does not present the reader with a deductive theory. Rather, she uses rational choice to focus empirical inquiry in an interesting and fruitful direction." Discuss.