

## **POLITICS 589. STATES, DEMOCRACIES, NATIONS**

Fall 2019, Thursdays, 1:30-4:20.

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### **Course Design and Objectives**

Why are there states? Do we need a common authority to cooperate with each other? Why do we grant our allegiance to a particular national community over others? Under what conditions do we govern ourselves democratically? This course surveys current theoretical and empirical contributions to these questions – with a major focus on national identity and nationalism. After spending one week on the causes and consequences of state formation, the course will explore: the canonical literature on national identity formation; potential microfoundations of national identity; empirical work on the particular paths taken by different countries; national identity and resentment; nationalism and revolutionary action in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The course will close with a discussion of the foundations of democratic institutions. With the explicit goal of exploring how research in comparative politics should be pursued in the future, the course assigns readings from both traditional macrohistorical and qualitative research and more recent analytical models.

### **Course Procedures and Evaluation**

Each student is expected to read (before class) the items listed as 'required readings' for each session.

In addition, students are expected to complete:

(1) Four short papers (around 3 pages) answering one of the week's discussion questions. Papers will be due by 4:30pm the day before class (with answers to the questions of that week's session). No exceptions will be made and no extensions will be granted. The answers should not just summarize readings, but show reflection on how the readings address important issues, are flawed in particular dimensions, or can be developed or improved in specific directions.

(2) A final take-home exam to be set by the instructor or a research paper with a topic to be determined in advance with the instructor. Due date: January 20, 2020.

Grades: 25% participation, 35% papers, 40% final exam (paper).

### **Readings**

Books marked with an (\*) have been ordered at the Labyrinth and put on reserve. All other readings have been put on electronic reserve.

## Week 1. The Construction of Political Order. (September 12)

### Required reading

Carles Boix. 2015. *Political Order and Inequality*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction and chapters 1-5.

Max Weber. *Economy and Society*. University of California Press. Volume 1, pages 3-56, 212-51.

### Further reading

James S. Coleman. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press. Pages 27-37, 45-90, 119-174.

Mancur Olson. 2000. *Power and Prosperity*. New York: Basic Books. Chapters 1-4.

Charles Tilly, “Reflections on the History of European State-Making,” in Tilly, ed., *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 3-83.

Douglas North. 1981. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton. Chap. 3.

Machiavelli. *Discourses*. Book I, discourse 2. Penguin.

William H. McNeil. 1982. *The Pursuit of Power*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1 and 3.

Joseph Strayer. 1970. *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

## **Week 2. Nations and National Identity: The Canonical Literature (I). (September 19)**

### Required reading

Ernest Gellner. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-6. (\*)

Keith Darden. 2011. *Resisting Occupation: Mass Literacy and the Creation of Durable National Loyalties*. Cambridge University Press. Read chapters 1-5; skim chapter 6.

### Further reading

Hobsbawm, E.. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (\*)

### **Week 3. Nations and National Identity: The Canonical Literature (II). (September 26)**

#### Required reading

Benedict Anderson. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. Chapter 1-6. (\*)

Thucydidies. “The Pericles’ Funeral Oration.” *History of the Peloponnesian War*. Volume 2, 34-46.

Alexander Motyl. 2002. “Inventing Invention: The Limits of National Identity Formation.” In Ronald Grigor Suny and Michael D. Kennedy, eds. *Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Pages 57-75.

Andrzej Walicki. 1997. “Intellectual Elites and the Vicissitudes of ‘Imagined Nation’ in Poland,” in *East European Politics and Society* 11 (3): 227-53.

#### Further reading

Hobsbawm, E.. 1990. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kedourie, Elie. 1960. *Nationalism*. London: Hutchinson.

H. Schulze. 1996. *States, Nations, and Nationalism: from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Simon Schama. *Citizens*.

Peter Sahlins. 1989. *Boundaries: the Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

David Laitin. 1998. *Identity in Formation: The Russian-Speaking Populations in the Near Abroad*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Chapters 1-3, 12-13.

Anthony D. Smith. 1989. “The Origins of Nations,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12 (July): 340-367.

Alberto Alesina. 2002. “The Size of Countries: Does It Matter?” Harvard University.

## **Week 4. A Theoretical Foundation of Sorts: The Problem of Recognition, Emancipation, and the Liberal Deal. (October 3)**

### Required reading

Kojève, A. 1969. *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel*. Chapter 1: “In Place of an Introduction”. Basic Books.

Fukuyama, Francis. 1992. *The end of history and the last man*. New York: Free Press. Chapter 19 (“The Universal and Homogeneous State”), pages 199-208.

David Laitin. 1998. *Identity in Formation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. Pages 10-21.

Scheff, Thomas. 1990. *Microsociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7.

### Further reading

Smith, Steven. 1999. *Hegel's Critique of Liberalism*. University of Chicago Press. Chapter 4 (pages 98-131).

Tajfel, Henri, ed. 2010. *Social identity and intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Abrams, Dominic, and Michael A. Hogg. 2006. *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. Routledge.

Rousseau. *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality*.

## Week 5. Bourgeois Revolution and National Identity. (October 10)

### Required reading

Furet, François. 1981. *Interpreting the French Revolution*. Cambridge University Press. Part II, chapter 3 (“Augustin Cochin: the theory of Jacobinism”).

Weber, Eugen. 1977. *Peasants into Frenchmen. The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford University Press. Chapters 1, 4, 6, 7, 15, 17, 18 and 29 (\*).

Hroch, Miroslav. 2000. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press. (First edition in English was published by Cambridge University Press in 1985.) Pages 3-17, 22-30, 127-191. (\*)

Pierre Birnbaum and Ira Katznelson, eds. 1995. *Paths of emancipation: Jews, states, and citizenship*. Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, 1995. Chapters 1, 4, 6 and 9. Available through Firestone: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zvptv>

### Further readings

Clermont-Tonnerre. 1789. *Discourse on the Assimilation of the Jewish People*.

Lacqueur, Walter. 1972. *A History of Zionism*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Chapters 1-3. Pages 3-135.

Eisenstadt, S. N. 1992. *Jewish Civilization: The Jewish Historical Experience in a Comparative Perspective*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. Pages 95-159.

Avineri, Shlomo. 1981. *The making of modern Zionism: intellectual origins of the Jewish state*. Pages TBA.

Gelvin, James L. 1999. *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire*. Univ of California Press.

Gelvin, J.L., 1994. The social origins of popular nationalism in Syria: evidence for a new framework. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 26(04): 645-661.

J. Reinhartz & A. Shapira (Eds.) *Essential Paper on Zionism* (pp. 63-93). New York: New York University Press.

Halpern, B. & J. Reinhartz. (1998). *Zionism and the Creation of a New Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hertzberg, A. (1997) *The Zionist Idea: A Historical Analysis and Reader*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society.

Schwartz, D. (2003). *Religious Zionism: History and Ideology*. Jerusalem: Ministry of Defense.

Shavit, Y. (1988). *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement 1925-1948*. London: Frank Cass.

## **Week 6. Reactionary Nationalism. The Problem of “Ressentiment.” (October 17)**

### Required reading

Liah Greenfeld. 1992. *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Chapters 3 and 4.

Alvrez-Junco, Jose. 1996. “The Nation-Building Process in Nineteenth-Century Spain.” In *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian Peninsula : competing and conflicting identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith. Washington, DC: Berg. Chapter 5, pages 89-106.

Krause, Javier. 2013. “Fin-de-Siècle Imperial Melancholia: Angel Ganivet’s Idearium español”. In *Imperial Emotions: Cultural Responses to Myths of Empire in Fin-de-Siècle Spain*. Chapter 3. Liverpool University Press.

Richards, Michael. 1996. “Constructing the Nationalist State: Self-Sufficiency and Regeneration in the Early Franco Years.” In *Nationalism and the nation in the Iberian Peninsula : competing and conflicting identities*, edited by Clare Mar-Molinero and Angel Smith. Washington, DC: Berg. Chapter 9, pages 149-167..

## **Week 7. Nationalism and Colonialism. (October 24)**

### Required reading

Marx, Karl. 1843. *On the Jewish Question*.

J. V. Stalin. 1913. *Marxism and the National Question*.

Benedict Anderson. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso. Chapters 7-11.

Lawrence, Adria. 2013. *Imperial rule and the politics of nationalism: anti-colonial protest in the French empire*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (\*)

### Further reading

Fanon, Frantz. 1963 . *The wretched of the earth*. New York, Grove Press

Césaire, Aimé. *Discourse on Colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000.

## **Week 8. Nationalism and Postcolonialism.** (November 7)

### Required reading

Ajami, Fouad. 1992. *The Arab predicament : Arab political thought and practice since 1967.* Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.

Dawisha, Adeed. Arab Nationalism in the Twentieth Century: From Triumph to Despair. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Pages 14-48, 64-106, 107-134, 152-159.

Lynch, Marc. 2007. "Anti-Americanisms in the Arab World." In *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*, edited by Katzenstein Peter J. and Robert O. Keohane. Cornell University Press. Chapter 7, pages 196-224.

### Further Readings

Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, eds. 2007. *Anti-Americanisms in world politics*. Cornell University Press.

## **Week 9. Understanding Oneself as a Nation.** (November 14)

### Required reading

Michael C. Dawson. 2001. *Black visions: the roots of contemporary African-American political ideologies*. The University of Chicago Press. Chapters 1-3, 5-7.

## **Week 10. Democracy as an Equilibrium. (November 21)**

### Required Reading

Carles Boix. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge Univ. Press. Chapters 1-4. (\*)

Carles Boix. 2015. *Political Order and Inequality*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

Margaret Levi. 1997. *Consent, Dissent, and Patriotism*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3-6. (\*)

### Further reading

Jurgen Habermas. 1975. *Legitimation Crisis*. Boston: Beacon Press. Pages 95-117.

Seymour M. Lipset. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53: 69-105.

Barrington Moore. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston : Beacon Press. Chapters 1-3, one chapter in Part II, chapters 7-9 and epilogue.

Theda Skocpol. 1973. "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins," *Politics and Society* 4 (Fall), pages 1-34.

Alex Inkeles. 1966. "The Modernization of Man," in Myron Weiner, ed. *Modernization*. New York: Basic Books. Pages 138-150.

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyn Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2.

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49 (January).

Luebbert, Gregory M. 1991. *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Stanley Rothman, "Barrington Moore and the Dialectics of Revolution," *American Political Science Review* 64 (March 1970): 61-85; 182-83. (Include Moore's reply and Rothman's rejoinder.)

Adam Przeworski, "Institutionalization of Voting Patterns, or is Mobilization the Source of Decay," *American Political Science Review* 69 (March 1975): 49-67.

Lee Sigelman, "Understanding Political Instability: An Evaluation of the Mobilization-

Institutionalization Approach," *Comparative Political Studies* 12 (July 1979) 205-228.

Samuel P. Huntington, "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" *Political Science Quarterly*, 99 (Summer 1984): 193-218.

David Laitin and James Fearon. 1996. "Explaining Ethnic Cooperation," *American Political Science Review* 90: 715-35.

Dankwart A. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics*, vol. 2 (April 1970): 337-364.

Sidney Verba, Norman Nie, and Jae-On Kim, *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison* (1978), chs. 1-7, (pp. 1-142), 13-14 (pp.. 269-309).

Sidney Verba, Norman Nie, *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality* (1972).

Peter Bachrach. *The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique* (1967).

Carol Pateman. *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970).

Samuel Huntington and Joan Nelson, *No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries* (1976).

Dennis F. Thompson. *The Democratic Citizen: Social Science and Democratic Theory in the Twentieth Century* (1970).

Jack L. Walker, "A Critique of the Elitist Theory of Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 60 (1966): 285-295.

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (1978).

Woodberry, Robert D. "The missionary roots of liberal democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106.02 (2012): 244-274.

## **Week 10. Democratic Transitions. (December 5)**

### Required Readings

Miller, Michael K. 2019. "Shock to the System Coups, Elections, and War on the Road to Democratization, 1800–2014." Book manuscript. George Washington University.

Graham, Matthew and Milan W. Svolik. 2019. "Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States." Unpublished manuscript. Yale University.

Treisman, Daniel. 2017. "Democracy by Mistake." NBER Working Paper No. w23944.

### Further Readings

Ansell, Ben and David Samuels. 2014. *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development and the International System." *American Political Science Review*. 105 (November): 809-828.

Treisman, Daniel. 2018. "Is Democracy in Danger? A Quick Look at the Data." Unpublished manuscript. UCLA.

## **Week 12. Representative Democracy. (December 12)**

### Required Readings

Dahl, Robert. 2005. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. Yale University Press. Second edition. Skim chapters 1-5, read chapters 6-10, 12-26, skim chapters 27-28. (\*)

Achen, Christopher H and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists. Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1-7. (\*)

### Further Readings

Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes and Bernard Manin, eds. 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1, pages 29-54.

Adam Przeworski. 2010. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (3): 564-581.

Gilens, Martin. 2014. *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press. Read chapters 1-4, 8. (\*)

Przeworski, Adam and Covadonga Meseguer. 2006. "Globalization and Democracy." In Pranab Bardhan, Samuel Bowles and Michael Wallerstein, eds. 2006. *Globalization and Egalitarian Redistribution*. Princeton University and Russell Sage Foundation. Chapter 7.

Bartels, Larry. 2010. *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the New Gilded Age*. Princeton University Press.

Persson, Torsten, and Guido Enrico Tabellini. *The economic effects of constitutions*. MIT press, 2005.

Tsebelis, George. 2002. *Veto Players*. Princeton University Press. Read chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6.

Besley, Timothy. "Political selection." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19.3 (2005): 43-60.  
Horiuchi, Y. 2004. "Malapportionment and Income Inequality: A Cross-National Analysis," *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (01), 179-183.

José Cheibub. 2007. *Presidentialism, parliamentarism, and democracy*. Chapter 6.

Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. The rise of illiberal democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, 76(6):22–43.

Manin, Bernard. 1997. *The Principles of Representative Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters TBA.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1942. Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy. Chapters 21 and 22.

Schattschneider, E. E. 1975. *The Semi-Sovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America*. Wadsworth.

Dahl, Robert. 2005. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. Yale University Press. Second edition.

#### Further reading on accountability

Gentzkow, Matthew, Edward L. Glaeser, and Claudia Goldin. "The rise of the fourth estate. How newspapers became informative and why it mattered." *Corruption and Reform: Lessons from America's Economic History*. University of Chicago Press, 2006. 187-230.

Eggers, Andrew C., and Jens Hainmueller. "MPs for sale? Returns to office in postwar British politics." *American Political Science Review* 103.04 (2009): 513-533.

Susan C. Stokes. 2007. Political Clientelism. In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 25.

Ernesto Calvo and Victoria Murillo. 2004. "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market," *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 48 (October): 742-757.

Michael Ross. 2006. "Is Democracy Good for the Poor?" *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (October): 861-874.

Herbert Kitschelt & Steven I. Wilkinson. 2007. *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 14.

Philip Keefer. 2007. "Clientelism, Credibility, and the Policy Choices of Young Democracies," *American Journal of Political Science*. 51 (October): 804–821

Jessica L. Trounstine. 2008. *Political Monopolies in American Cities: The Rise and Fall of Bosses and Reformers*. University of Chicago Press.

Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. The rise of illiberal democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, 76(6):22–43.