POLI 220B - Graduate Course in Comparative Politics Winter 2008

Tuesday 6:00PM-8:50PM Social Sciences Building, Room 104

# Comparative Politics: Institutions

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Office Hours: Wednesday 10:00AM-12:00PM, office SSB #365.

# **Objectives**

This seminar is designed to help students prepare for the the comprehensive examination in comparative politics and to provide them with some of the concepts and tools necessary to carry out further research in this field, including doctoral dissertations. Though this seminar covers a wide range of topics, it is simply impossible to cover all the pertinent questions in comparative politics in a single class. Rather than superficially skim many topics, we shall examine a limited set of problems and focus on the research methodologies involved. The idea behind this choice is that it is better to develop speculations about how the world works in a scientific manner than it is to be able to recall what everyone has previously said on a topic. Nonetheless, students preparing for the comprehensive exam should seek additional opportunities to study some of the topics not covered in this class. These include political development, mass behavior, and public policy.

#### **Format**

Seminar meetings are scheduled for the ten teaching weeks of the quarter. Each week will introduce a new theme in the comparative study of political institutions. For each theme, the reading list distinguishes between different types of readings. Items under *Read* provide general introductions to particular topics and will form the basis of the general seminar discussions; those under *Study* will be explained in class: both types of readings are **required**. All students should read them carefully and critically before class. *Recommended* comprises additional readings of broad

theoretical importance, with which students preparing for the comprehensive exam should gain some familiarity. These readings are also suitable for literature review papers, though they are by no means an exhaustive list of such readings. *Background* includes some classical pieces and "contiguous" readings that you may find useful if you would like to learn more about a particular topic. If possible, you should approach the material in the order indicated. You may find it helpful to reread the material after it was discussed in class.

I have tried to limit the number of readings each week. I want us to focus on the key concepts of the arguments made, the logic used, the falsifiability of the argument and how the arguments are tested. There is a strong focus on articles by people at UCSD and the sort of topics they research. This is not an accident, nor a fake attempt to eulogize their work. First, I honestly believe that these are some of the most important developments in the field (as testified –and validated – by the Department's ranking). Second, it helps UCSD students identify the research interests of our faculty.

Class sessions will be conducted as seminars. Each week we will center our discussion around a particular model of interest. A brief comment regarding models is in order. As Henri Theil observed, "Models should be used, not believed" (cited in *Paper Stones* by Przeworski and Sprague). And, as these authors note, models "...are not simplified versions of a complex reality but instruments to be used in analyzing complex situations..." In fact, it will often be the case that a few simplistic assumptions will not be sufficient to reconstruct the complexity of some of the topics covered in this class. And, while we should not necessarily expect our models to fit each and every aspect of reality, we should revise or abandon a theory if it does not withstand a confrontation with our empirical observations. Therefore, it is very important that you learn how to evaluate a model, from its overall logic to its constituent assumptions. In other words, you should be able to "dismantle" a model and put it back together.

The pace of this course will be fast and some of the models will be quite complex. You should **not** be discouraged by this. In most cases, understanding these models will take patience more than anything else. Nonetheless, some basic knowledge of economics (with calculus), some game theory and some statistics (OLS) will come in handy.

# Assignments

Each week students are expected to read the materials, study a model, and take a look at the recommended literature (as indicated in this syllabus). Students will be assigned to lead the discussion of the readings. These presentations should center on a particular model of interest, including a brief characterization (causal mechanism, parameters, solution concept, etc.), a critical review (What assumptions does it make? Are they justified? What does it leave out or fail to explain?), and a general overview placing the model in the context of the other readings of the week. Students giving presentations should prepare a short outline for distribution to the other seminar participants. Further information will be given in class.

In addition, each student needs to write two short papers (1-3 pages) and take a final examination. The short papers should focus on any problems in logic or evidence in a particular week's reading(s). The emphasis should be on the way in which hypotheses are developed, the fundamental elements of research design, how the research question can be better examined. In addition, it should offer concrete and feasible ideas about how to improve on the research. These papers should not be summaries of the readings or other forms of surveys of the literature. I want you to think about how you would do research. You should do one of the papers on weeks 2-4, and the other one on weeks 5-7. The format of the final exam will be similar to the one of the comprehensive examination in comparative politics.

Grades will be based on course assignments in the following way: short papers 20% each, final exam 40%, discussion and general participation 20%. Extensions, incompletes, etc. will be given in accordance with UCSD policy. Except under **very pressing circumstances**, they will be discouraged.

# **Course Policies**

Academic Integrity. Students in this course are expected to comply with UCSD's Policy on Integrity of Scholarship. In particular, plagiarism is considered a dishonest practice and a serious academic offense. Hence, there will be a zero tolerance policy with respect to these practices: any student violating the obligation of academic integrity during the term will automatically fail the class. Copies of the current version of the UCSD Policy on Integrity of Scholarship, also commonly referred to as the Academic Dishonesty Policy, may be found on the Academic Senate webpage: http://www-senate.ucsd.edu/AcademicIntegrity/AcademicIntegrity.htm

Disabilities. If you have a disability that requires special testing accommodations or other classroom modifications, you need to notify both me and the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD). You may be asked to provide documentation of your disability to determine the appropriateness of accommodations. To notify the OSD, call (858) 534-4382 to schedule an appointment.

### Course Materials

Most of the readings consist of articles that are available off the Web through the UCSD Library System. However, there are a few books containing course readings. I have not made arrangements for these books to be available in the bookstore, but they are easily available online. I suggest trying www.bestbookbuys.com to view most online book retailers with a comparison of prices and shipping options. Copies of other articles (i.e. book chapters, non-electronic journal articles) will be put in a designated folder in the graduate student lounge in the Department of Political Science, so that students can make their own copies.

# Course Outline and Readings

Week 1 (January 8): The Study of Institutions

# Study:

Daniel Diermeier and Keith Krehbiel, "Institutionalism as a Methodology," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 15: 123-144.

### Read:

Avner Greif. *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Chs. 1, 2, and 5.

Adam Przeworski, "Institutions Matter?," Government and Opposition 39: 527-540.

#### Recommended:

Eirik G. Furubotn and Rudolf Richter. *Institutions and Economic Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997, Chs. 1 and 2.

Kathleen Thelen, "Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Politics," Annual Review of Political Science, 2: :369404.

Gary Miller, "Rational Choice and Dysfunctional Institutions," *Governance*, Vol. 13: 535-547.

Scott Page, "Path Dependence," Quarterly Journal of Political Science, Vol. 1: 87-115.

# **Background:**

Charles A. Lave and James G. March. An Introduction to Models in the Social Sciences. New York: Harper & Row, 1975.

Andrew Schotter. The Economic Theory of Social Institutions Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Oliver E. Williamson. "Transaction Cost Economics," in Richard Schmalensee and Robert Willig (eds.) *Handbook of Industrial Organization*. New York: North Holland, 1989.

Douglass C. North, "Institutions," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 5: 97-112.

Thráin Eggertsson. *Economic Behavior and Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Jack Knight. *Institutions and Social Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell (eds.). The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

George Tsebelis. *Nested Games*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990, Chs. 2 and 4.

Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Studying Institutions: Some Lessons from the Rational Choice Approach," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 1: 131-147.

Terry Moe, "Political Institutions: The Neglected Side of the Story," *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, Vol. 6, Special Issue: 213-253 (and also comments by Oliver E. Williamson, pp. 263-266).

Robert H. Bates, and Barry R. Weingast, "A New Comparative Politics: Integrating Rational Choice and Interpretivists Perspectives," *Working Paper No. 95-3*, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.

James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, "Institutional Perspectives on Political Institutions," *Governance*, 9: 247-64.

David Austen-Smith and Jeffrey S. Banks, "Social Choice Theory, Game Theory, and Positive Political Theory," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 1: 259-287.

Robert Bates et al., *Analytical Narratives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Paul Pierson, "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 94: 251-67.

Barry R. Weingast, "Rational Choice Institutionalism," in Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, (eds.). *Political Science Discipline as Discipline: Reconsidering Power, Choice, and the State.* New York: Norton, 2002.

Randall Calvert, "The rational choice theory of social institutions: cooperation, coordination, and communication," in Jeffrey Banks and Eric Hanushek (eds.). *Modern Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

David D. Laitin, "The Perestroikan Challenge to Social Science," *Politics & Society*, 3: 163-184.

Week 2 (January 15): Public and Private Orderings

# Study:

Paul Milgrom, Douglass C. North, and Barry Weingast, "The Role of Institutions in the Revival of Trade", *Economics and Politics*, Vol. 2: 1-23.

Stergios Skaperdas, "Restraining the Genuine *Homo Economicus*: Why the Economy Cannot Be Divorced from Its Governance," *Economic & Politics*, 15: 135-162.

#### Read:

Elinor Ostrom, "Collective Action Theory," in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Russell Hardin, "Economic Theories of the State," in Dennis C. Mueller (ed.). *Perspectives on Public Choice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Andrew Schotter. The Economic Theory of Social Institutions Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, Chs. 1, and 5.

Gary Cox and Mathew McCubbins. *Legislative Leviathan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Ch. 4.

#### Recommended:

Jon Elster. Nuts and Bolts for the Social Sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, Chs. 2, 11, 12, 13, and 15.

Avner Greif. *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Chs. 3, 4, and Appendixes A, B, and C.

Eirik G. Furubotn and Rudolf Richter. *Institutions and Economic Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997, Ch. 9.

### **Background:**

Ronald H. Coase, "The Problem of Social Cost," *Journal of Law and Economics*, 3: 1-44.

Mancur Olson. The Logic of Collective Action. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Oliver E. Williamson. Markets and Hierarchies. New York: Free Press, 1975.

Oliver E. Williamson, "Why Law, Economics, and Organization?", Annual Review of Law and Social Science, Volume 1: 369-396.

Douglass C. North. Structure and Change in Economic History. New York: Norton, 1981.

Douglass C. North. *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Robert Sugden, "Spontaneous Order," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, Vol. 3: 85-97.

Bruce Benson, "The Spontaneous Evolution of Commercial Law," *Southern Economic Journal*, 55: 644-661.

Thráin Eggertsson. *Economic Behavior and Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, Ch. 9.

Avner Greif, Paul Milgrom, and Barry Weingast, "Coordination, Commitment, and Enforcement," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 102: 745-776.

Avner Greif, "Contract Enforceability and Economic Institutions in Early Trade," *American Economic Review*, 83: 525-548.

Frederic C. Lane, "Consequences of Organized Violence," *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 18, 4: 401-417.

Lucy Mair. An Introduction to Social Anthropology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972, Chs. 7, 10, and 11.

Gianfranco Poggi. The Development of the Modern State. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978.

Rusell Hardin, "Hobbesian Political Order," *Political Theory*, Vol. 19:156-180.

Yoram Barzel. 2002. A Theory of the State. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chs. 2, and 11.

Week 3 (January 22): Institutions and Collective Decision Making

# Study:

Allan H. Meltzer, and Scott F. Richard, "A Rational Theory of the Size of Government," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 89: 914-927.

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Ch. 4.

### Read:

Adam Przeworski. *States and Markets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, Chs. 1 and 5.

Torsten Persson and Guido Tabellini. *Political Economics*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000, Ch. 2.

Allan Drazen. *Political Economy in Macroeconomics* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000, Ch. 3.

#### Recommended:

Peter Ordeshook, "The Spatial Analysis of Elections and Committees: Four Decades of Research," in Dennis Mueller (ed.). *Perspectives on Public Choice:* A Handbook. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

David Austen-Smith and Jeffrey Banks. *Positive Political Theory I.* Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1999.

Thomas Schwartz, "Votes, strategies, and institutions: an introduction to the theory of collective choice," in Mathew McCubbins and Terry Sullivan (eds.). Congress: Structure and Policy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Daron Acemoglu, "Why not a political Coase theorem? Social conflict, commitment, and politics," *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 31: 620-652.

# **Background:**

Duncan Black. The Theory of Committees and Elections. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.

Anthony Downs. An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper and Row, 1957.

Kenneth J. Arrow. Social Choice and Individual Values Yale: Yale University Press, 1963.

James M. Buchanan and Gordon Tullock. *The Calculus of Consent.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.

Charles R. Plott, "A Notion of Equilibrium and Its Possibility Under Majority Rule," *American Economic Review*, 57: 787-806.

Allan Gibbard, "Manipulation of Voting Schemes: A General Result," *Econometrica*, 41: 587-600.

Mark A. Satterthwaite, "Strategy-Proofness and Arrow's Conditions: Existence and Correspondence Theorems for Voting Procedures and Social Welfare Functions," *Journal of Economic Theory*, 10: 198-217.

Richard D. McKelvey, "General Conditions for Global Intransitivities in Formal Voting Models," *Econometrica*, 47: 1085-1112.

Thomas Romer and Howard Rosenthal, "Bureaucrats versus Voters: On the Political Economy of Resource Allocation by Direct Democracy," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 93: 563-587.

Kenneth A. Shepsle, "Institutional Arrangements and Equilibrium in Multidimensional Voting Models," *American Journal of Political Science*, 23: 27-59.

William H. Riker. *Liberalism against Populism*. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1982.

Norman Schofield. Social choice and democracy. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985.

Andrew Caplin and Barry Nalebuff, "Aggregation and Social Choice: A Mean Voter Theorem," *Econometrica*, 59: 1-24.

Adam Przeworski. The State and the Economy Under Capitalism. Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1990.

Kenneth A. Shepsle and Mark S. Bonchek. *Analyzing Politics* New York: Norton, 1997, Chs. 3, 4, and 5.

Week 4 (January 29): Democracy and Dictatorship

### Study:

Adam Przeworski, "Democracy as an Equilibrium," *Public Choice*, 123: 253-273.

Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski, "Cooperation, Cooptation, and Rebellion Under Dictatorships,"  $Economics\ \mathcal{E}\ Politics,\ 18:\ 1-26.$ 

### Read:

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Chs. 3, 5, 6.

John B. Londregan and Keith T. Poole, "Does High Income Promote Democracy?," World Politics, 49: 1-30.

Barry R. Weingast, "Political foundations of democracy and the rule of law," *American Political Science Review*, 91: 245263.

#### Recommended:

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, Chs. 6.

Adam Przeworski et. al. *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, Chs. 1, and 2.

Bueno de Mesquita et. al. *The logic of political survival*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003.

Carles Boix. *Democracy and redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Leonard Wantchekon. "The Paradox of 'Warlord' Democracy: A Theoretical Investigation", American Political Science Review, 98: 17-33.

### **Background:**

Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy*. New York: Praeger, 1956.

Seymour Martin Lipset. *Political Man; The Social Bases of Politics*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1960.

Barrington Moore Jr. Social origins of dictatorship and democracy; lord and peasant in the making of the modern world. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Samuel P. Huntington. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

Albert O. Hirschman. *Exit*, *Voice and Loyalty*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Robert A Dahl. *Polyarchy: participation and opposition*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale university press, 1975.

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Barry Ames. Political Survival: Politicians and Public Policy in Latin America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.

Margaret Levi. Of Rule and Revenue. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Adam Przeworski. *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Philip G. Roeder. Red Sunset. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," American Political Science Review 87: 567-76.

Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle. Democratic Experiments in Africa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Barbara Geddes, "What do we know about democratization after twenty years?," Annual Review of Political Science, Vol. 2: 115-144.

Ronald Wintrobe. The political economy of dictatorship. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Week 5 (February 5): Electoral Institutions and Political Competition

# Study:

Martin J. Osborne and Al Slivinski, "A Model of Political Competition with Citizen-Candidates," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 111: 65-96.

Roger Myerson. "Incentives to Cultivate Favored Minorities under Alternative Electoral Systems," *American Political Science Review* 87: 856-869.

### Read:

Rein Taagepera, "Electoral Systems," in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Gary W. Cox. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, Chs. 2, 3, 4, and 8.

Adam Przeworski and John Sprague. *Paper Stones*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986, Chs. 3, and 4.

#### Recommended:

John Roemer. *Political Competition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001, Chs. 1, 2, and 3.

Timothy Besley and Stephen Coate, "An Economic Model of Representative Democracy," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 112: 85-114.

Assar Lindbec and Jorgen W. Weibull, "Balanced-budget redistribution as the outcome of political competition," *Public Choice*, 52: 273-297.

Carles Boix, "The Emergence of Parties and Party Systems," in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

### **Background:**

Donald A. Wittman, "Parties as Utility Maximizers," American Political Science Review, Vol. 67: 490-498.

Alberto Alesina, "Credibility and Policy Convergence in a Two-Party System with Rational Voters," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 78: 796-805.

Bernard Grofman, "Downs and Two-Party Convergence," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 7: 25-46.

Avinash Dixit and John Londregan, "The Determinants of Success of Special Interests in Redistributive Politics," Journal of Politics, Vol. 58: 1132-1155.

Susan C. Stokes, "Political Parties and Democracy," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2: 243-267.

Kathleen Bawn and Frances Rosenbluth, "Short versus Long Coalition: Electoral Accountability and the Size of the Public Sector," *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol 50: 251-265.

Robert Michels. Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy. New York: Collier Books, 1962; or any other edition.

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

Douglas W. Rae. *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, eds. Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives. New York: Free Press, 1967.

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

Richard S. Katz. A Theory of Parties and Electoral Systems. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.

Leon D. Epstein. *Political Parties in Western Democracies*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1980.

Rein Taagepera and Matthew S. Shugart. Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Gregory Luebbert. *Liberalism*, *Fascism*, or *Social Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Arend Lijphart. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Herbert Kitschelt. The Transformation of European Social Democracy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Stathis Kalyvas. The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Kaare Strom and Lars Svasand, eds. Challenges to Political Parties: The Case of Norway. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

Bernard Grofman and Samuel Merrill III. A unified theory of voting: directional and proximity spatial models. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Stefano Bartolini. The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Angelo Panebianco. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Alan Ware. Political Parties and Party Systems. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Matthew Soberg Shugart and Martin P. Wattenberg, eds. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems: The Best of Both Worlds?* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Week 6 (February 12): "Horizontal" Separation of Powers

### Study:

Torsten Persson, Gerard Roland, and Guido Tabellini, "Comparative Politics and Public Finance," *Journal of Political Economy*, 108: 1121-1161.

Thomas H. Hammond and Christopher K. Butler, "Some Complex Answers to the Simple Question Do Institutions Matter?: Policy Choice and Policy Change in Presidential and Parliamentary Systems," *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 15: 145 - 200.

#### Read:

George Tsebelis. Veto Players. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

John M. Carey, "Presidential versus Parliamentary Government," in Claude Menard and Mary M. Shirley (eds.) *Handbook of New Institutional Economics*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2005.

José Cheibub. *Presidentialism*, *Parliamentarism*, and *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

#### Recommended:

Kaare Strom. *Minority Governments and Majority Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Matthew S. Shugart and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, chs. 1-2, 5, and 13.

Daniel Diermeier and Antonio Merlo, "An empirical investigation of coalitional bargaining procedures," *Journal of Public Economics*, Vol. 88: 783-797.

Tasos Kalandrakis, "A Theory of Minority and Majority Governments," unpublished manuscript, Department of Political Science, *University of Rochester*.

Charles Cameron. *Veto Bargaining*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

#### **Background:**

William Riker. The Theory of Political Coalitions. New haven: Yale University Press, 1962.

Abram De Swaan. Coalition Theories and Cabinet Formations: A Study of Formal Theories of Coalition Formation Applied to Nine European Parliaments after 1918. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1973.

Lawrence C. Dodd. *Coalitions in Parliamentary Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976, esp. chs. 1-3, 10-11.

Herbert Döring. Parliaments and Majority Rule in Western Europe. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Wolfgang C. Müller and Kaare Strom, eds. Coalition Governments in Western Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Arend Lijphart. Patterns of Democracy - Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Jean Blondel and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, eds. *Governing Together*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.

John M. Carey and Matthew S. Shugart, eds. *Executive Decree Authority*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Matthew Soberg Shugart, "Presidentialism, Parliamentarism and the Provision of Collective Goods in Less-Developed Countries," Constitutional Political Economy, 10: 5388.

Matthew Soberg Shugart, "Semi-Presidential Systems: Dual Executive and Mixed Authority Patterns," French Politics Vol. 3: 323-51.

Arend Lijphart, ed., *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 26: 198-228.

Gary W. Cox. *The Efficient Secret*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

David Austen-Smith and Jeffrey S. Banks, "Elections, Coalitions, and Legislative Outcomes," *American Political Science Review*, 82: 405-422.

Michael J. Laver and Kenneth A. Shepsle. *Making and Breaking Governments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Lanny W. Martin and Randolph T. Stevenson, "Government Formation in Parliamentary Democracies," *American Journal of Political Science*, 45: 33-50

Terry M. Moe and Michael Caldwell, "The Institutional Foundations of Democratic Government," and comments by Gebhard Kirchgssner and Arthur Lupia. *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics*, 150/1, 171-210.

Kaare Strom, Ian Budge, and Michael J. Laver, "Constraints on Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies," *American Journal of Political Science*, 38: 303-35.

Daniel Diermeier and Timothy Feddersen, "Choesion in Legislatures and the Vote of Confidence Procedure," *American Political Science Review*, 92: 611-621.

John D. Huber, "The Vote of Confidence in Parliamentary Democracies," *American Political Science Review*, 90: 269-82.

Torsten Persson and Guido Tabellini. *Political Economics: Explaining Economic Policy*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000.

Torsten Persson and Guido Tabellini. The Economic Effects of Constitutions. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003.

José Cheibub, Adam Przeworski, and Sebastian Saiegh, "Government Coalitions and Legislative Success Under Presidentialism and Parliamentarism," *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 34: 565-587.

Week 7 (February 19): "Vertical" Separation of Powers

### Study:

Rui J. P. de Figueiredo, Jr. and Barry R. Weingast, "Self-Enforcing Federalism," in *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*, 2005 21:103-135.

Barry R. Weingast, Kenneth A. Shepsle, and Christopher Johnsen, "The Political Economy of Benefits and Costs: A Neoclassical Approach to Distributive Politics," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 89: 642-664.

### Read:

Barry R. Weingast, "The Performance and Stability of Federalism: An Institutional Perspective," in Claude Menard and Mary M. Shirley (eds.) *Handbook of New Institutional Economics*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2005.

Alfred Stepan, "Toward a New Comparative Politics of Federalism, Multinationalism, and Democracy," in Edward Gibson (ed.). Federalism and Democracy in Latin America. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Erik Wibbels, "Madison in Baghdad?: Decentralization and Federalism in Comparative Politics," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 9: 165-188.

Robert Inman and Daniel Rubinfeld, "The Political Economy of Federalism" in Dennis Mueller (ed.). *Perspectives on Public Choice: A Handbook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

### Recommended:

Mikhail Filippov, Peter C. Ordeshook, and Olga Shvetsova. *Designing federalism: a theory of self-sustainable federal institutions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Jonathan A. Rodden. *Hamilton's Paradox: The Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Erik Wibbels. Federalism and the Market Intergovernmental Conflict and Economic Reform in the Developing World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Jessica S. Wallack and T.N. Srinivasan (eds.) Federalism and Economic Reform: International Perspectives. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Alberto Diaz-Cayeros. Federalism, Fiscal Authority, and Centralization in Latin America. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

#### **Background:**

Ronald Watts. Comparing Federal Systems. Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999

Wallace Oates, "An Essay on Fiscal Federalism," *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 37: 1120-1149.

Hayek, Friedrich A. Hayek, "The Use of Knowledge in Society," *American Economic Review*, Vol. 35: 519-530.

Charles Tiebout, "A Pure Theory of Local Expenditures," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 64: 416-424.

Richard Musgrave. Theory of Public Finance: A Study in Public Economy. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959.

Wallace Oates. Fiscal Federalism. New York: Hartcourt Brace, 1972.

Paul Milgrom and John Roberts, "Bargaining costs, influence costs and the organization of economic activity," in James Alt and Kenneth Shepsle (Eds.). *Perspectives on Positive Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

William H. Riker. Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance. Boston: Little, Brown, 1964.

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