

POLI 7976
Comparative Political Economy

Thursday 9:00 am – 11:50 am, fall 2014

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OH: 2:00 – 3:00 pm on Tuesday, or by appointment
Stubbs 229, Department of Political Science

This seminar provides a critical evaluation (with some methodological comment) of the main theories and empirics in comparative political economy. This course is divided into three parts. The first part of the course examines main theoretical perspectives of complex relationships between state(s), market(s), and society(ies), and the dynamics of capitalism in historical perspective. The second part is a review of various approaches to the politics of socio-economic development. The third part of the course is devoted to the established literature on the welfare state, redistribution/representation, and globalization/neoliberalization.

While the purpose of this seminar is to actively engage in academic discussions, our ultimate goal is to search for a “better” political socio-economic organization in the real world. We proceed behind a veil of ignorance, amicable to various positions, methods, ideologies, cultures, religions, and cults. As such, the only approach is Bayesian – updating our existing beliefs.

This is an advanced graduate seminar. A “seminar” is a forum for a collaborative exploration of ideas, focusing on identifying what we do not know and on theoretical and empirical formulations for finding out. The pace of the course will depend on our understanding of topics; we will stop and think of new approaches if there is no satisfying answer given by existing scholars. Hence, this seminar will probably contribute little to your academic career if you already have a dogmatic faith in the same methods and same models safely used by everyone else. Class meetings will combine lectures, student presentations, and discussions.

REQUIREMENTS

- 1) Readings: Each student is expected to read (before class) the items under ‘required reading’ for each session. If possible, you should read the readings in the order listed. You may wish to reread the material after it was discussed in class.
- 2) Attendance and participation (1/3): Students are expected to make a brief presentation on that week’s assigned readings (at least once throughout the semester). This presentation should provide the necessary background for questions or points of discussion to be directed to your fellow seminar participants.
- 3) Final take-home exam (1/3): The exam provides an incentive device that forces you to review materials systematically, which may also help you to prepare for your comprehensive exam later on. The exam questions will be given out on Thursday, December 4, and you have one week to complete the exam. Your exam answers should be emailed to me by Sunday, December 7 at midnight.
- 4) Final paper (6,000 – 10,000 words) (1/3): Students are expected to write a term paper. The paper may take a variety of forms. It may be an empirically informed research paper in which a research question is posed, a hypothesized answer is advanced, and the plausibility of that answer is evaluated with some evidence (N.b.: theoretical discussions must be incorporated even in a heavily empirical paper). The paper may be a critical review essay in which some body of work is reviewed with avenues for future research identified. The paper

may also take the form of a research proposal in which the significance of a problem is explained, existing attempts to address it are reviewed, and a research design to address the problem is developed. A warning: The least satisfactory paper would be either the one that has little to do with the spirit/topics of the seminar or the one that tries to synthesize too much, too abstractly, and too pretentiously. Whatever format is chosen, students should frequently discuss their papers with me. The paper (a hard copy) is due in class on Tuesday, May 1. Late papers will not be accepted unless arrangements have been made in advance.

SCHEDULE/OUTLINE OF TOPICS

I. Capitalism and Political Socio-Economics		
1	August 28	Introduction and Analytical Framework
2	September 4	Trinity of State-Market-Society and Its Dynamics
3	September 11	Nature/Engines of Capitalism and Growth Models
4	September 18	Origins of Capitalism and the Great Divergence
5	September 25	Leviathan and the Spirit of Capitalism
II. Economic Development and Political Institutions		
6	October 9	Conception, Classification, and “Facts”
7	October 16	Economic Performances and Regime Transitions
8	October 23	Impacts of (Colonial) Institutions on Long-run Growth
9	October 30	Poverty Traps, Big Push, and State-Directed Development
III. The Politics of Social Welfare Provision		
10	November 6	Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism: How Many Worlds?
11	November 13	Dynamic Patterns of Global Inequality under Capitalism
12	November 20	The Politics of Inequality
13	December 4	Globalization/Neoliberalization and Conclusion

PART I. CAPITALISM AND POLITICAL SOCIO-ECONOMICS

1. INTRODUCTION AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

De-centralized and centralized allocation mechanisms. Objectives of rulers. Conflict of interests. Political socio-economic equilibria. Nested (linked) games. Heuristic map of the relationships. Approaches. Role of theory. Importance of history and empirics. Scope and roadmap of the course.

Reading concerning this week's topic:

Przeworski, Adam. 2003. *States and Markets: A Primer in Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Epilog (pp. 1-16, 213-215)

Drazen, Allan. 2000. *Political Economy in Macroeconomics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 3-19)

Persson, Torsten, and Guido Tabellini. 2003. *Political Economics: Explaining Economic Policy*. Cambridge: The MIT Press. Chapter 1 (pp.1-14)

Calvert, Randall. 1995. "The Rational Choice Theory of Social Institutions: Cooperation, Coordination, and Communication." In J. Banks and E. Hanushek, eds., *Modern Political Economy: Old Topics, New Directions*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Aoki, Misahiko. 2001. *Toward Comparative Institutional Analysis*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Remedy (general reading, book-length surveys, study materials):

For political economy and economic sociology, skim through Caporaso and Levine (1998). This book is a general introduction to various perspectives in the history of political economy (although some of their points are problematic). Read Trigilia's (2002) an excellent survey. If you still have energy and do not abhor formal modeling, tackle Przeworski (2003). This is a superb textbook that clarifies several convoluted issues in political economy. But before Przeworski, read non-naïve economists' text by Bowles, Edwards, and Roosevelt (2005). Cypher (2014) is also very useful. In addition, Hirschman's now classic (1970) provides an interesting unified theory of politico-economic behaviors. For non-technical intellectual history, read famous Heilbroner (1999) and Warsh (2006).

Bowles, Samuel, Richard Edwards, and Frank Roosevelt. 2005. *Understanding Capitalism: Competition, Command, and Change*. 3rd Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caporaso, James and David Levine. 1998. *Theories of Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cypher, James. 2014. *The Process of Economic Development*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hirschman, Albert. 1970. *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Trigilia, Carlo. 2002. *Economic Sociology: State, Market, and Society in Modern Capitalism*. London: Blackwell.

Heilbroner, Robert. 1999. *The Worldly Philosophers*. New York: Touchstone.

Warsh, David. 2006. *Knowledge and the Wealth of Nations*. New York: Norton.

2. TRINITY OF STATE-MARKET-SOCIETY AND ITS DYNAMICS

Miracle of the market. Fundamental theorems of welfare economics. Market failures. Government failures. Self-regulating market and self-preserving society. Modes of integration. Embeddedness. Moral economy. Fictitiousness. Shifting place of the economy in human society. *Haute finance*. Double movement. Disruptive strains. Liberal dilemma. Trinity of market-society-state; of capital-nation-state.

Required reading:

Polanyi, Karl. 2001[1944]. *The Great Transformation*. Second Edition. Boston: Beacon Press.

Recommended reading:

If you have time, also read: Polanyi, Karl. 1957. "The Economy as Instituted Process." In *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, Karl Polanyi et al. (eds.). Glencoe: The Free Press.

Karatani, Kojin. 2014. *The Structure of World History: From Modes of Production to Modes of Exchange*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. See also his *Transcritique: On Kant and Marx*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press. His works are heavily philosophical (his conception of "parallax" has influenced many scholars including Žižek), but some of Karatani's analysis on the history of the capitalist state is brilliant ("trinity of capital-nation-state" is taken from him).

For the fundamental theorems of welfare economics, read: Stiglitz, Joseph. 1997. *Welfare Socialism?* Cambridge: The MIT Press, Chapter 3-4.

Further reading on *The Great Transformation*:

Birchfield, Vicki. 1999. "Contesting the Hegemony of Market Ideology: Gramsci's 'Good Sense' and Polanyi's 'Double Movement.'" *Review of International Political Economy* 6(1): 27-54.

Block, Fred, and Margaret Somers. 2014. *The Power of Market Fundamentalism: Karl Polanyi's Critique*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Block, Fred. 2007. "Understanding the Diverging Trajectories of the United States and Western Europe: A Neo-Polanyian Analysis." *Politics & Society* 35(1): 3-33.

Block, Fred and Margaret Somers. 2003. "In the Shadow of Speenhamland: Social Policy and the Old Poor Law." *Politics & Society* 31(2): 283-323.

Block, Fred. 2003. "Karl Polanyi and the Writing of 'The Great Transformation.'" *Theory and Society* 32(3): 275-306.

Blyth, Mark. 2002. *Great Transformations: Economic Ideas and Institutional Change in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Buğra, Ayşe, and Kaan Ağartan. 2007. *Reading Karl Polanyi for the Twenty-First Century: Market Economy as Political Project*. New York: Palgrave.

Burawoy, Michael. 2003. "For a Sociological Marxism: The Complementary Convergence of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi." *Politics & Society* 31(2): 193-261.

Caporaso, James, and Sidney Tarrow. 2009. "Polanyi in Brussels: Supranational Institutions and the Transnational Embedding of Markets." *International Organization* 63(4): 593-620.

- Dale, Gareth. 2010. *Karl Polanyi: The Limits of the Market*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Dale, Gareth. 2010. "Social Democracy, Embeddedness and Decommodification: On the Conceptual Innovations and Intellectual Affiliations of Karl Polanyi." *New Political Economy* 15(3): 369-383.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1985. "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness." *American Journal of Sociology* 91(3): 481-510.
- Gemici, Kurtuluş. 2008. "Karl Polanyi and the Antinomies of Embeddedness." *Socio-Economic Review* 6: 5-33.
- Harvey, Mark, Ronnie Ramlogan, and Sally Randles. 2007. *Karl Polanyi: New Perspectives on the Place of the Economy in Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Holmwood, John. 2000. "Three Pillars of Welfare State Theory: T. H. Marshall, Karl Polanyi and Alva Myrdal in Defense of the National Welfare State." *European Journal of Social Theory* 3(1): 23-50.
- Kim, Wonik. 2010. "Polanyi's Double Movement and Neoliberalization in Korea and Japan." *Social Movement Studies* 9(4): 373-392.
- McRobbie, Kenneth, and Kari Polanyi-Levitt. 2005. *Karl Polanyi in Vienna: The Contemporary Significance of The Great Transformation*. 2nd edition. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- North, Douglass. 1977. "Markets and Other Allocations Systems in History: The Challenge of Karl Polanyi." *Journal of European Economic History* 6: 703-716.
- Piore, Michael. 2009. "Second Thoughts: On Economics, Sociology, Neoliberalism: Polanyi's Double Movement and Intellectual Vacuums." *Socio-Economic Review* 7(1): 161-175.
- Riain, Sean. 2006. "Time-Space Intensification: Karl Polanyi, the Double Movement, and Global Information Capitalism." *Theory and Society* 35(5/6): 507-528.
- Rodrigues, João. 2004. "Endogenous Preferences and Embeddedness: A Reappraisal of Karl Polanyi." *Journal of Economic Issues* 38(1): 189-200.
- Ruggie, John. 1982. "International Regimes, Transactions, and Changes: Embedded Liberalism in the Post-War Economic Order." *International Organization* 36(2): 379-415.
- Scott, James. 1977. *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Shaniel, William, and Walter Neale. 2000. "Karl Polanyi's Forms of Integration as Ways of Mapping." *Journal of Economic Issues* 34(1): 89-104.
- Silver, Beverly and Giovanni Arrighi. 2003. "Polanyi's "Double Movement": The Bell Époques of British and U.S. Hegemony Compared." *Politics and Society* 31: 325-355.
- Krippner, Greta. 2001. "The Elusive Market: Embeddedness and the Paradigm of Economic Sociology." *Theory and Society* 30(6): 775-810.
- Krippner, Greta, et al. 2004. "Polanyi Symposium: A Conversation on Embeddedness." *Socio-Economic Review* 2: 109-35.

3. NATURE/ENGINES OF CAPITALISM AND GROWTH MODELS

Mechanics of growth. Cambridge controversies. Increasing return. Entrepreneurs. Capitalism as exploitative system. Capitalism as anti-market. Capitalism as civilization. Static and dynamic models. M-C-M'. "Passion for destruction = creative passion." Alternative political socio-economic systems. Polanyi's vision revisited. Blueprints: desirability, feasibility, transformability, and sustainability. Blueprints and actual conditions.

Required reading:

None. Lecture.

Recommended reading:

Schumpeter, Joseph. 2007[1911]. *The Theory of Economic Development*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Schumpeter, Joseph. 2008[1942]. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper Perennial

McGraw, Thomas. 2007. *Prophet of Innovation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Wright, Erik. 2010. *Envisioning Real Utopias*. London and New York: Verso.

Background and further reading on this week's issues:

*Growth models and empirics:

Cohen, Av J., and G.C. Harcourt. "Whatever Happened to the Cambridge Capital Theory Controversies?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 17(1): 199-214.

Helpman, Elhanan. 2004. *The Mystery of Economic Growth*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.

Lucas, Robert. 2001. *Lectures on Economic Growth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mankiw, N. G., P. Romer, and D. Weil. 1992. "A Contribution to the Empirics of Economic Growth." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 107: 407-438.

Jones, Charles. 2002. *Introduction to Economic Growth*. Second edition. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Pritchett, Lant. 2000. "Understanding Patterns of Economic Growth: Search for Hills among Plateaus, Mountains, and Plains." *World Bank Economic Review* 14: 221-250.

Sraffa, Piero. 1960. *Production of Commodities by Means of Commodities: Prelude to a Critique of Economic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Other issues:

Archer, Robin. 1998. *Economic Democracy: The Politics of Feasible Socialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bellamy, Richard. 1991. "Schumpeter and the Transformation of Capitalism, Liberalism and Democracy." *Government and Opposition* 26: 500-519.

Elliott, John. 1980. "Marx and Schumpeter on Capitalism's Creative Destruction: a Comparative Restatement." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 95: 45-68.

Foster, John. 1983. "Theories of Capitalist Transformation: Critical Notes on the Comparison of Marx and Schumpeter." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 98(2): 327-331.

Nicholas, Tom. 2003. "Why Schumpeter Was Right: Innovation Market Power and Creative Destruction in 1920s America." *Journal of Economic History* 63(4): 1023-1058.

Swedberg, Richard. 1991. *Joseph A. Schumpeter: The Economics and Sociology of Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Witt, Ulrich. 2002. "How Evolutionary is Schumpeter's Theory of Economic Development?" *Industry and Innovation* 9(1/2): 7-22.

*Some reading on classical theories of capitalism:

Aron, Raymond. 2003[1968]. *Main Currents in Sociological Thought*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publisher.

Cohen, G. A. 2000[1978]. *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Elster, Jon. 1994[1985]. *Making Sense of Marx*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Freedman, Milton. 2002[1962]. *Capitalism and Freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hayek, F. A. 1994[1944]. *The Road to Serfdom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Heilbroner, Robert. 1986. *The Nature and Logic of Capitalism*. New York: Norton.

Ingham, Geoffrey. 2008. *Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Przeworski, Adam. 1991. "Could We Feed Everyone? The Irrationality of Capitalism and the Infeasibility of Socialism." *Politics and Society* 19(1): 1-29.

Roemer, John. 2008. "Socialism: A Modern Perspective." In *New Palgrave Dictionary of Economics* (eds. L. Blume and S. Durlauf).

If you are interested in major classical perspectives of capitalism, it is essential to read the following original texts (at some point in your life, read at least Smith and Marx). Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776); Karl Marx's *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), *The Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), and, above all, *Capital, Vol. I* (1867); Vladimir Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) and *State and Revolution* (1917); Max Weber's *Economy and Society* (posthumous, 1922) and *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905); Rosa Luxemburg's *The Accumulation of Capital* (1913); Nikolai Bukharin's *Imperialism and World Economy* (1929).

4. ORIGINS OF CAPITALISM AND THE GREAT DIVERGENCE

Eurocentric vs. Sinocentric vs. polycentric views. World systems. "Global" history. The Brenner debate. Braudel's commercialization model. Agrarian capitalism. Primitive accumulation. Industrial and industrious revolution. Property relations. Role of institutions. Ecological constraints. Malthusian constraint. Turning point. Ghost acreage. Internal vs. external, gradual vs. rapid processes. Reciprocal comparisons. Quantifying human histories. Metamorphosis model. Is the 20th century long or short?

Required reading:

North, Douglass, and Robert Thomas. 1999[1973]. *The Rise of the Western World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-18. *You're strongly encouraged to read the entire book.

Arrighi, Giovanni, Po-Keung Hui, Ho-fung Hung, and Mark Sheldon. 2003. "Historical Capitalism, East and West." In *The Resurgence of East Asia: 500, 150, and 50 Year Perspective*, edited by Giovanni Arrighi, Takeshi Hamashita, and Mark Sheldon. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 259-333.

Recommended reading:

Arrighi, Giovanni. 2010. *The Long Twentieth Century: Money, Power and the Origins of Our Times*. London and New York: Verso. New and updated edition.

Arrighi, Giovanni. 2007. *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the Twenty-First Century*. London and New York: Verso.

Brenner, Robert. 1976. "Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe." *Past & Present* 70: 30-75.

Braudel, Fernand. 1977. *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

Morris, Ian. 2011. *Why the West Rule - for Now*. New York: Picador.

Pomeranz, Kenneth. 2000. *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wong, R. Bin. 1997. *China Transformed*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Wood, Ellen. 2002. *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*. New York: Verso.

Further reading on the history of capitalism and "great divergence":

Abu-Lughod, Janet. 1989. *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. 2005. "The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change, and Economic Growth." *American Economic Review* 95(3): 546-579.

Alexander Field. 1981. "The Problem with Neoclassical Institutional Economics: A Critique with Special Reference to the North/Thomas model of pre-1500 Europe." *Explorations in Economic History* 18: 174-98.

Aston, T.H., and C.H.E. Philpin. 1985[1976]. *The Brenner Debate: Agrarian Class Structure and Economic Development in Pre-Industrial Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bairoch, Paul. 1993. *Economics and World History: Myths and Paradoxes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bayly, C.A. 2004. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Beaud, Michel. 2001[1981]. *A History of Capitalism, 1500-2000*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Bloch, Marc. 1961. *Feudal Society, Volume 1: The Growth of Ties of Dependence; Volume 2: Social Class and Political Organization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Brenner, Robert. 1977. "The Origins of Capitalist Development: A Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism." *New Left Review* 1/104: 25-92.
- Braudel, Fernand. 1992[1972]. *Civilization & Capitalism 15th-18th Century*. Three volumes. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Clark, Gregory. 2007. *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chaudhuri, K.N. 2005[1985]. *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Darwin, John. 2008. *After Tamberlane*. New York: Bloomsbury Press.
- Diamond, Jared. 1999. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fate of Human Societies*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Findlay, Ronald, and Kevin O'Rourke. 2007. *Power and Plenty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Frank, Andre Gunder. 1998. *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Goldstone, Jack. 2008. *Why Europe? The Rise of the West in World History, 1500-1850*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Heller, Henry. 2011. *The Birth of Capitalism: A 21st Century Perspective*. London: Pluto Press.
- Hilton, Rodney. 1978. *The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism*. London and New York: Verso.
- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1968. *Industry and Empire*. New York: The New Press.
- Jones, Eric. 2003. *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maddison, Angus. 2007. *Contours of the World Economy, 1-2030 AD*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Maddison, Angus. 2005. *Growth and Interaction in World Economy: The Roots of Modernity*. Washington, D.C.: The AEI Press.
- Marks, Robert. 2007. *The Origins of the Modern World: A Global and Ecological Narrative from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth-first Century*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher.
- Mielants, Erik. 2008. *The Origins of Capitalism and the "Rise of the West"*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Mokyr, Joel. 1990. *The Lever of Riches: Technological Creativity and Economic Progress*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- North, Douglass. 1981. *Structure and Change in Economic History*. New York: Norton.
- Parthasarathi, Prsannan. 2011. *Why Europe Grew Rich and Asia Did Not: Global Economic Divergence, 1600-1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ringmar, Erik. 2007. *Why Europe Was First: Social Change and Economic Growth in Europe and East Asia, 1500-2050*. London: Anthem Press.

Toynbee, Arnold. 1956[1884]. *The Industrial Revolution*. Beacon Press.

Voigtlaender, Nico and Hans Joachim Voth. 2010. "The Three Horsemen of Growth: Plague, War and Urbanization in Early Modern Europe." Ms.

Vries, Peer. 2003. *Via Peking to Manchester: Britain, the Industrial Revolution, and China*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School CNWS.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2006. *World-Systems Analysis*. Durham: Duke University Press. [Here Wallerstein provides a succinct account of his famous three volumes of *The Modern World-System*; the fourth volume has been published recently in 2011]

Wrigley, E. A. 2010. *Energy and the English Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

5. LEVIATHAN AND THE SPIRIT OF CAPITALISM

Trinity of capital-nation-state revisited. Modern nation-state building and inter-states system. Hinze thesis. Role of war. Nationalism as the spirit of capitalism. "Do nations have navels?" Print-capitalism. Conception of "meanwhile." Imagining, re-imagining, and re-presenting. Centrist liberalism triumphant. Universalism as ideology.

Required reading:

Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Reuschmeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 169-191.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006[1983]. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. New York: Verso, Introduction – Chapter 4.

Background & further reading:

Anderson, Perry. 1974. *Lineages of the Absolute State*. New York: Verso.

Brewer, John. 1988. *The Sinews of Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Breuilly, John. 1985. *Nationalism and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *The Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Gellner, Ernest and Anthony Smith. 1996. "The Nation: Real or Imagined?: The Warwick Debates on Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 2(3): 357-370.

Green, Liah. 2001. *The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Hintze, Otto. 1977. *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Hobsbawm, Eric. 1992. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, and Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrence Ranger. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kratochwil, Frederick. 1986. "Of Systems, Boundary, and Territoriality: An Inquiry into the Formation of the State System." *World Politics* 39(1): 27-52.
- Levi, Margaret. 1988. *Of Rule and Revenue*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Mann, Michael. 1993. *The Source of Social Power, Vol. II: The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 1991. "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and their Critics." *American Political Science Review* 85(1): 77-96.
- Poggi, Gianfranco. 1978. *The Development of the Modern State: A Sociological Introduction*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Smith, Anthony. 2009. *Ethno-Symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*. London: Routledge.
- Spruyt, Hendrik. 1996. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1992*. London: Blackwell.
- Vu, Tong. 2010. "Studying the State through State Formation." *World Politics* 62(1): 148-75.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. 2011. *The Modern World-System IV: Centrist Liberalism Triumphant, 1789-1914*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

PART II. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

6. CONCEPTION, CLASSIFICATION, AND "FACTS"

GDP as the measure of output. Capability approach. HDI. Two peaks. Long-term trends of development. Regimes. Classical doctrine of democracy. Democracy as a method. Manufactured will. Condorcet's paradox. Democracy as an equilibrium. Classifying regimes.

Required reading:

Ray, Debraj. 1998. *Development Economics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 7-44).

Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 10-50).

Recommended reading:

Bobbio, Norberto. 1987. *Democracy and Dictatorship*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Boix, Carles, Michael K. Miller and Sebastian Rosato. Forthcoming. "A Complete Dataset of Political Regimes, 1800-2007." *Comparative Political Studies*.

Milanovic, Branko. 2005. *Worlds Apart: Measuring International and Global Inequality*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. *He has World Bank web-site, "Inequality around the World," that contains many useful information and data <http://go.worldbank.org/C2D1X3LWJ0>

Morgan, Edmund. 1988. *Inventing the People*. New York: W.W. Norton.

Sen, Amartya. 2000. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Anchor Books.

Schumpeter, Joseph. 2008[1942]. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper. Part IV.

Przeworski, Adam. 2010. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Background & further reading:

Cheibub, Jose, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice* 143 (1-2):67-101.

Dahl, Robert. 1972. *Poliarhly*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Fearon, James. 2006. "Self-Enforcing Democracy." Ms. Stanford University.

Firebaugh, Glenn. 2003. *The New Geography of Global Income Inequality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What do We Know about Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-144.

Mainwaring, Scott, Daniel Brinks and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2001. "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36(1):37-65.

Maloy, J.S. 2008. "A Genealogy of Rational Choice: Rationalism, Elitism and Democracy." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 749-771.

Markoff, John. 1999. "Where and When Was Democracy Invented?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41: 660-90.

Medearis, John. 2001. *Schumpeter's Two Theories of Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Mueller, Dennis, and Uwe Canter. 2000. *Capitalism and Democracy in the 21st Century: Proceedings of the International Joseph A. Schumpeter Society Conference, Vienna 1998 Capitalism and Socialism in the 21st Century*. New York: Springer.

Munck, Gerardo and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35, 1: 5-34.

O'Donnell, Guillermo.1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5(1):55-69.

Przworski, Adam. 2005. "Democracy as an Equilibrium." *Public Choice* 123: 253-273.

Quah, Danny T. 1996. "Twin Peaks: Growth and Convergence in Models of Distribution Dynamics." *Economic Journal* 106: 1045-1055.

- Rosanvallon, Pierre. 1995. "The History of the Word 'Democracy' in France." *Journal of Democracy* 5(4): 140-54.
- Sen, Amartya. 1985. *Commodities and Capabilities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmitter, Philippe. 2004. "The Ambiguous Virtues of Accountability." *Journal of Democracy* 15 (4): 47-60.
- Schmitter, Philippe, and Terry Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is...and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2: 75-88.
- The World Bank. 2006. *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank and Oxford University Press.

7. ECONOMIC PERFORMANCES AND REGIME TRANSITIONS

Economic prerequisites. Modernization theory. BA model. Role of economic crises. Modes of transition. Endogenous vs. exogenous democratization. Strategic interactions. Opening game. Mistakes. Information. Inequality and democratization. Suffrage extensions. Threat of revolution vs. voice. Commitment. Cooptation. Problems with the simultaneous transitions.

Required reading:

Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Material Well-being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 (pp.78-141). *If possible, read also Przeworski and Limongi's 1997 *World Politics* piece.

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

Recommended reading:

Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson. 2000. "Why Did the West Extend the Franchise? Democracy, Inequality, and Growth in Historical Perspective." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115(4): 1167-1199.

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

Haggard, Stephan and Robert Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44, 1: 7-48.

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

Background & further reading:

The literature on political regime transitions is huge (probably the largest in comparative politics). The following are only some of them.

**Economic performances/modernization/culture/modes of transition/international dimensions:

- Boix, Carles, and Susan Stoke. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55: 517-549.
- Collier, Ruth. 1999. *Paths toward Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Collier, Ruth, and David Collier. 2002. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Transitions in Latin America*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Epstein, David et al. 2006. "Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 551-569.
- Gandhi, Jennifer. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gleditsch, Kristian, and Michael D. Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization* 60(4): 911-933
- Hadinius, Alex, and Jan Teorell. 2005. "Cultural and Economic Prerequisites of Democracy: Reassessing Recent Evidence." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 39(4): 87-106.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Culture, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 23, 1: 1-21.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53, 1: 69-105.
- Moore, Barrington. 1965. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. The John Hopkins University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Therborn, Göran. 1977. "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy." *New Left Review* 103: 113-114.
- Tilly, Charles. 2005. *Contention and Democracy, 1650-2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Strategic interactions/transition games:

- Boix, Carlos. 2002. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski. 2006. "Cooperation, Cooptation, and Rebellion under Dictatorship." *Economics and Politics* 18 (1): 1-26.
- Gates, Scott, and Brian D. Humes. 1997. "Information and Transitions to Democracy: An Examination of Przeworski's Democracy and the Market." Chapter 5 in Scott Gates and Brian D. Humes, *Games, Information, and Politics*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Kuran, Timur. 1989. "Sparks and Prairie Fires: A Theory of Unanticipated Political Revolution." *Public Choice* 61: 41-74.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. (1970) "Transitions to Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 2(3): 337-363.
- Przeworski, Adam (1986) "Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy." In *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspective*, edited by Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead. The John Hopkins University Press, pp. 47-63.
- Zielinski, Jakub. 1995. "The Polish Transition to Democracy: a Game-Theoretic Approach." *European Archives of Sociology* 36: 135-158.
- ***Recently revived interests on enfranchisement:
- Aidt, T.S., and Peter Jensen. 2010. "Workers of the World, United! Franchise Extensions and the Threat of Revolution in Europe, 1820-1938." Ms. University of Cambridge.
- Engerman, Stanley, and Kenneth Sokoloff. 2005. "The Evolution of Suffrage in the New World." *The Journal of Economic History* 65: 891-921.
- Justman, Moshe, and Mark Gradstein. 1999. "The Industrial Revolution, Political Transition, and the Subsequent Decline in Inequality in 19th Century Britain." *Explorations in Economic History* 36: 109-127.
- Kim, Wonik, 2007. "Social Insurance Expansion and Political Regime Dynamics in Europe, 1880-1945." *Social Science Quarterly* 88(2): 494-514.
- Lindert, Peter. 2004. *Growing Public*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lizzeri, Alessandro, and Nicola Persico. 2004. "Why Did the Elites Extend the Suffrage? Democracy and the Scope of Government with an Application to Britain's Age of Reform." *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, May: 707-765.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2009. "Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extension." *British Journal of Political Science* 39: 291-321.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2006. "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58(2): 311-38.

8. IMPACTS OF (COLONIAL) INSTITUTIONS ON LONG-RUN GROWTH

New institutionalism. Geography. Shock. History and path (in)dependency. Contingency. Critical (con)juncture. Institutions as congealed tastes. Causality and counterfactual. Selection bias. Best of all possible worlds. Role of history and institutions revisited. Critical juncture revisited. Type of colonialism. Mercantilist vs. liberal forms. Direct rule and indirect rule. Precolonial and postcolonial development. Historical-institutional framework. Do institutions matter?

Required reading:

Mahoney, James. 2010. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended reading on institutions:

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2012. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. New York: Crown.

Engerman, Stanley, and Kenneth Sokoloff. 2002. "Factor Endowments, Inequality, and Paths of Development among New World Economies." *Economia* 3: 41-109.

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

North, Douglass and Barry Weingast. 1989. "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in 17th Century England." *Journal of Economic History* 49: 803-832.

Przeworski, Adam. 2004. "The Last Instance" Are Institutions the Primary Cause of Economic Development?" *Journal of European Sociology* XLV(2): 165-188.

Further reading on institutions:

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. 2002. "Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 117: 1231-1294.

Aoki, Masahiko. 2007. "Endogenizing Institutions and Institutional Change." *Journal of Institutional Economics* 3(1): 1-31.

Aron, Janine. 2000. "Growth and Institutions: A Review of the Evidence." *The World Bank Research Observer* 15: 99-135.

Arthur, Brian. 1994. *Increasing Returns and Path Dependency in the Economy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bardhan, Pranab. 2005. *Scarcity, Conflicts, and Cooperation*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Bockstette, Valerie, Areendam Chanda, and Louis Putterman. 2002. "States and Markets: The Advantage of an Early Start." *Journal of Economic Growth* 7: 347-369.

Crouch, Colin, and Henry Farrell. 2004. "Breaking the Path of Institutional Development? Alternatives to the New Determinism." *Rationality and Society* 16(1): 5-43

Diermeier, Daniel, and Keith Krehbiel. 2003. "Institutions as a Methodology." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 15(2): 123-144.

Gerring, John et al. 2005. "Democracy and Economic Growth: A Historical Perspective." *World Politics* 57(3): 323-64.

Greif, Avner, and David Laitin. 2004. "A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change." *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 633-652.

Glaeser, Edward, Rafael La Porta, Florence Lopez-de-Silanes, and Andrei Shleifer. 2004. "Do Institutions Cause Growth?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 9: 271-303.

Hall, Robert, and Charles Jones. 1999. "Why Do Some Countries Produce So Much More Output Per Worker Than Others?" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114(1): 83-116.

Kuran, Timur. 2004. "Why the Middle East is Economically Underdeveloped: Historical Mechanisms of Institutional Stagnation." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(3): 71-90.

Leftwich, Adrian. 2002. "A Debate: Democracy and Development: A Contradiction in the Politics of Economics." *New Political Economy* 7(2): 269-281.

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

Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87:567-576

Page, Scott. 2006. "Path Dependence." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1(1): 87-115.

Portes, Alejandro, Lori Smith. 2010. "Institutions and National Development in Latin America: A Comparative Study." *Socio-Economic Review* 8(4): 585-621.

Riker, William. 1980. "Implications from the Disequilibrium of Majority Rule for the Study of Institutions." *American Political Science Review* 74(2): 432-446.

Rodrik, Dani et al. 2004. "Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development." *Journal of Economic Growth* 9(2): 131-165.

Sachs, Jeffrey. 2003. "Institutions Don't Rule: Direct Effects of Geography on Per Capita Income." NBER Working Paper 9490.

Thelen, Kathleen. 2003. "How Institutions Evolve." *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*, James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Identification issue and causality

Capoccia, Giovanni, and Daniel Kelemen. 2007. "The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative, and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism." *World Politics* 59(3): 341-369.

Carr, E.H. 1961. *What Is History?* New York: Vintage.

Fearon, James. 1996. "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science." *World Politics* 43: 169-195.

Hawthorn, Geoffrey. 1995. *Plausible Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, David. 1986. *On the Plurality of Worlds*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Morgan, Stephen, and Christopher Winship. 2007. *Counterfactuals and Causal Inference*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Slater, Dan, and Erica Simmons. 2010. Informative Regress: Critical Antecedents in Comparative Politics. *Comparative Political Studies* 43(7): 886-917.

Pearl, Judea. 2000. "The Art and Science of Cause and Effect." In *Causality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pierson, Paul. 2004. *Politics in Time: History, Institutions, and Social Analysis*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Przeworski, Adam. 2005. "Is the Science of Comparative Politics Possible?" *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, edited by Carles Boix and Susan Stokes.

Woodward, James. 2003. *Making Things Happen: A Theory of Causal Explanation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Recommended reading on colonialism:

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91(5): 1369-1401.

Banerjee, Abhijit, and Lakshmi Iyer. 2005. "History, Institutions and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India." *American Economic Review* 95(4): 1190-1213.

Gerring, Joh, Daniel Ziblatt, Johan Van Gorp, and Julian Arevalo. 2011. "An Institutional Theory of Direct and Indirect Rule." *World Politics* 63(3):377-433.

Kaniyathu, Sunny. 2007. "The Balance Sheet of Colonialism: Economic Development in the Colonial Period." Ph. D. Dissertation. Department of Politics, New York University.

Kim, Wonik. 2009. "Rethinking Colonialism and the Origins of the Developmental State in East Asia." *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 39(3): 382-399.

Nunn, Nathan. 2009. "The Importance of History for Economic Development." *The Annual Review of Economics* 1: 65-92.

Background & further reading on colonialism:

Abernethy, David. 2000. *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415-1980*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Alam, M. S. 2000. *Poverty from the Wealth of Nations*. London: Macmillan.

Alam, M. S. 1994. "Colonialism, Decolonialism and Growth Rates: Theory and Empirical Evidence." *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 18: 235-57.

Benton, Lauren. 2010. *A Search for Sovereignty: Law and Geography in European Empires, 1400-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blaut, J. M. 2000. 1993. *The Colonizer's Model of the World*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Booth, Anne. 2007. *Colonial Legacies: Economic and Social Development in East and Southeast Asia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Burbank, Jane, and Frederick Cooper. 2010. *Empires in World History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Curtin, Philip. 2008. *The World and the West: The European Challenge and the Overseas Response in the Age of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Doyle, Michael. 1986. *Empires*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Engerman, Stanley, and Kenneth Sokoloff. 2005. "Colonialism, Inequality, and Long-run Paths of Development." NBER Working Paper 1157.

Englebert, Pierre. 2000. "Pre-Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa." *Political Research Quarterly* 53(1): 7-36.

Etemad, Bouda. 2007. *Possessing the World: Taking the Measurements of Colonisation from the 18th Century to the 20th Century*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Fieldhouse, David. 1981. *Colonialism 1870-1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Grier, Robin. 1999. "Colonial Legacies and Economic Growth." *Public Choice* 98: 317-335.

Hobson, J. A. 2005[1902]. *Imperialism: A Study*. New York: Cosimo.

Iyer, Lakshmi. 2010. "Direct versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-Term Consequences." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 92(4): 693-713.

Lange, Matthew. 2009. *Lineage of Despotism and Development: British Colonialism and State Power*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Nunn, Nathan. 2008. "The Long-Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trade." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(1): 139-176.

Osterhammel, Jurgen. 2005. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Princeton: Markus Weiner.

Robinson, Ronald. 1976. "Non-European Foundations of European Imperialism," in Roger Owen and Bob Sutcliffe (eds.), *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism*, London: Longman, pp. 117-42.

Wesseling, H. L. 2004. *The European Colonial Empires, 1815-1919*. New York: Pearson.

9. POVERTY TRAPS, BIG PUSH, AND STATE-DIRECTED DEVELOPMENT

History vs. expectations. Trap and miracle. Multiple equilibria. Development state. State autonomy and "embeddedness." Industrial policy. War and development. Incentive for rulers. Idiosyncratic factors? Selection bias and case study. Can the East Asia's success be emulated in other countries?

Required reading:

Chibber, Vivek. 2003. *Locked in Place: State-Building and Late Industrialization in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 1-2.

Recommended reading:

Bardhan, Pranab. 2010. *Awakening Giants, Feet of Clay: Assessing the Economic Rise of China and India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bowles, Samuel, Steven Durlauf, and Karla Hoff. 2006. *Poverty Traps*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Doner, Richard, et al. 2005. "Systemic Vulnerability and the Origins of Developmental State." *International Organization* 59(2): 473-494.

Evans, Peter. 1989. "Predatory, Developmental, and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State." *Sociological Forum*. 4(1): 561-587.

Evans, Peter. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy: State and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Krugman, Paul. 1991. "History versus Expectations." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 105: 651-667.

Matsuyama, Kiminori. 1991. "Increasing Returns, Industrialization, and Indeterminacy of Equilibrium." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 106(2): 617-650.

Further reading:

Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson. 2006. "Economic Backwardness in Political Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 100(1): 115-131.

Amsden, Alice. 1989. *Asia's Next Giant: South Korea and Late Industrialization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bates, Robert. 1981. *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*. University of California Press.

Bates, Robert, John Coatsworth, and Jeffrey Williamson. 2005. "Lost Decades: Lessons from Post-Independence Latin America for Today's Africa." Ms. Harvard University.

Collier, Paul, and Jan Gunning. 1999. "Explaining African Economic Performance." *Journal of Economic Literature* 37(1): 64-111.

Deyo, Frederic. 1987. *The Political Economy of the New Asian Industrialism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Gershenkron, Alexander. 1969. "Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective." In *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays*. Frederick A. Praeger Publisher, pp. 5-30.

Grabowski, Richard. 1994. "The Successful Development State: Where Does It Come From?" *World Development* 22(3): 413-422.

Haggard, Stephen. 2004. "Institutions and Growth in East Asia." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38(4): 53-81.

Haggard, Stephen. 1990. *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hsiao, Frank, and Mei-chu Hsiao. 2003. "Miracle Growth in the Twentieth Century – International Comparisons of East Asian Development." *World Development* 31(2): 227-257.

Huff, W.G., G. Dewit, and C. Oughton. 2001. "Credibility and Reputation Building in the Developmental State: A Model with East Asian Applications." *World Development* 29(4): 711-724.

Johnson, Chalmers. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kholi, Atul. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lange, Matthew, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. 2005. *States and Development*. New York: Palgrave.

Murphy, Kevin, Andrei Shleifer, and Robert Visny. 1989. "Industrialization and the Big Push." *Journal of Political Economy* 97(5): 1003-1026.

Stubbs, Richard. 1999. "War and Economic Development: Export-Oriented Industrialization in East and Southeast Asia." *Comparative Politics* 31(3): 337-355.

Wade, Robert. 1992. "East Asia's Economic Success: Conflicting Perspectives, Partial Insights, Shaky Evidence." *World Politics* 44: 270-320.

Wade, Robert. 1990. *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Waldner, David. 1999. *State Building and Late Development*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Woo-Cumings, Meredith. 1999. *The Developmental State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

PART III. THE POLITICS OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROVISION

10. WELFARE STATES AND VARIETIES OF CAPITALISM: HOW MANY WORLDS?

Justifications of the welfare state. Moral hazard and adverse selection. Risk pooling and social insurance. Asymmetric information. Logic of industrialism. Power-resources theory. Democratic class struggle. De-commodification and stratification. Regime clusters and application problems. Preferences of firms. Cross-class alliance. Social systems of production. Production regimes. LMEs and CMEs. Complementarity and correspondence. Skill formation. Linkage between capitalism and representation system.

Required reading:

Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1990. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 1.

Scruggs, Lyle, and James Allan. 2008. "Social Stratification and Welfare Regimes for the Twenty-first Century: Revisiting *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*." *World Politics* 60(4): 642-664.

Huber, Evelyne, and John D. Stephens. 2001. *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapter 1-3.

Hall, Peter, and David Soskice. 2001. "An Introduction to Varieties of Capitalism." In *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, Peter Hall and David Soskice (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-68.

Estevez-Abe, Margarita, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2001. "Social Protection and the Formation of Skills: A Reinterpretation of the Welfare State." In *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, Peter Hall and David Soskice (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.145-183.

Recommended reading:

Barr, Nicholas. 1992. "Economic Theory and the Welfare State." *Journal of Economic Literature* 30 (June): 741-804.

Baldwin, Peter. 1990. *The Politics of Social Solidarity: Class Bases of the European Welfare State 1975-1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert Kaufman. 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hicks, Alexander. 1999. *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism: A Century of Income Security Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Background & further reading:

Amenta, Edwin. 1998. *Bold Relief: Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Allan, P. and L. Scruggs. 2004. "Political Partisanship and Welfare State Reform in Advanced Industrial Societies." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(3): 496-512.

Banoli, Cuiiano. 1997. "Classifying Welfare States: A Two-dimension Approach." *Journal of Social Policy* 26(3): 351-372.

Barr, Nicholas. 1998. *The Economics of the Welfare State*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Beveridge, William. 1942. *Social Insurance and Allied Services*. New York: The MacMillan Company.

Briggs, Asa. 1961. "The Welfare State in Historical Perspective." *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 2(1): 221-258.

Esping-Andersen, Gösta. 1999. *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Esping-Andersen, Gösta, and Walter Korpi. 1984. "Social Policy as Class Politics in Post-War Capitalism: The Development of Scandinavian Social Policy." In *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 179-206.

Ewald, François. 1991. "Insurance and Risk." In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, G. Burchell et al. (eds.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 197-210.

Flora, Peter, and Arnold J. Heidenheimer. 1981. *The Development of Welfare States in Europe and America*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books.

Hicks, Alexander, and Lane Kenworthy. 2003. "Varieties of Welfare Capitalism." *Socio-Economic Review* 1: 27-61.

Janoski, Thomas, and Alexander Hicks. 1996. *The Comparative Political Economy of the Welfare State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Kasza, Gregory. 2002. "The Illusion of Welfare Regimes." *Journal of Social Policy* 31(2): 271-287.
- Korpi, Walter. 1983. *The Democratic Class Struggle*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Marshall, T. H. 1964. *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company.
- Moss, David A. 2002. *When All Else Fails: Government as the Ultimate Risk Manager*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Offe, Claus. 1993. *Contradictions of the Welfare State*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- O'Connor, Julia S., and Gregg M. Olsen. 1998. *Power Resources Theory and the Welfare State: A Critical Approach*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Pierson, Christopher. 2007. *Beyond the Welfare State: The New Political Economy of Welfare*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Piven, Frances, and Richard Cloward. 1993[1971]. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Rosanvallon, Pierre. 2000. *The New Social Question: Rethinking the Welfare State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rothstein, Bo. 2001. "The Universal Welfare State as a Social Dilemma." *Rationality and Society* 12(2): 213-233.
- Sasson, Donald. 1996. *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century*. New York: The New Press.
- Stephens, John. 1980. *The Transition from Capitalism to Socialism*. Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press.
- Titmuss, Richard. 1974. *Social Policy: An Introduction*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Western, Bruce. 1997. *Between Class and Market*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wilensky, Harold. 1975. *The Welfare State and Equality: Structural and Ideological Roots of Public Expenditures*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 1-14.

Recommended reading on VoC:

- Cusak, Thomas, Torben Iversen, and David Soskice. 2007. "Economic Interests and the Origins of Electoral Systems." *American Political Science Review* 101(3): 373-391.
- Kreuzer, Marcus. 2010. "Historical Knowledge and Quantitative Analysis: The Case of the Origins of Proportional Representation." *American Political Science Review* 104(2): 369-392.
- Hall, Peter, and Kathleen Thelen. 2009. "Institutional Change in Varieties of Capitalism." *Socio-Economic Review* 71(1): 7-34.
- Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2009. "Distribution and Redistribution: The Shadow of the Nineteenth Century." *World Politics* 61(3): 438-86.

Iversen, Torben. 2005. *Capitalism, Democracy, and Welfare*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Korpi, Walter. 2006. "Power Resources and Employer-Centered Approaches in Explanations of Welfare States and Varieties of Capitalism: Protagonists, Consenters, and Antagonists." *World Politics* 58(2): 167-206.

Mares, Isabela. 2003. *The Politics of Social Risk: Business and Welfare State Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Further reading on VoC:

Albert, Michel. 1993. *Capitalism vs. Capitalism*. New York: Basic Books.

Amable, Bruno. 2003. *The Diversity of Modern Capitalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Crouch, Colin. 2005. *Capitalist Diversity and Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Streeck, Wolfgang. 2011. "Taking Capitalism Seriously: Towards an Institutional Approach to Contemporary Political Economy." *Socio-Economic Review* 9(1): 137-167.

Swenson, Peter A. 2002. *Capitalists against Markets: The Making of Labor Markets and Welfare States in the United States and Sweden*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thelen, Kathleen. 2004. *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

11-12. GLOBAL INEQUALITY AND THE POLITICS OF REDISTRIBUTION

Measurement issues. Data quality. Piketty's thesis – capitalism revisited. Median voter theorem. Demands for redistribution. Risk inequality and income inequality. Multidimensionality. Partisan effects. Organized interests. Special interest politics. Structural power of capital. Sociological origins of the capitalist state. Class compromise vs. class conflict. Class-in-itself and class-for-itself. Representativeness. Principal-agent problem. Hegemony. *The 18th Brumaire* effect. Democratic incapacity? Three faces of power.

Required reading:

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Gourevitch, Peter, and James Shinn. 2005. *Political Power and Corporate Control*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

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Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2001. "An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 875-893.

Lindblom, Charles. 1977. *Politics and Markets*. New York: Basic Books.

Kim, Wonik. 2007. "Social Risk and Social Insurance." *Rationality and Society* 19(2): 229-254.

Moene, Karl, and Michael Wallerstein. 2003. "Earning Inequality and Welfare Spending: A Disaggregated Analysis." *World Politics* 55 (July): 485-516.

Milanovic, Branko. 2000. "The Median-voter Theorem, Income Inequality, and Income Redistribution: An Empirical Test with the Required Data." *European Journal of Political Economy* 16: 367-410.

Przeworski, Adam. 1985. *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Przeworski, Adam, Susan Stokes, and Bernard Manin. 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rehm, Philippe. 2011. "Social Policy by Popular Demand." *World Politics* 63(2): 271-99.

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**I think that Miliband-Poulantzas debates almost forty years ago are still fascinating, although some of their discussions are eccentrically and unnecessarily convoluted. The following is a short list of some of the essential readings on the capitalist state and ideology.

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***Further reading on social cleavages, class politics, and representation:

Clark, Terry, and Seymour M. Lipset, S.M. 2001. *The Breakdown of Class Politics*. Boulder: Westview.

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14. GLOBALIZATION/NEOLIBERALIZATION and COCLUSION

Origins and consequences of current globalization. Embedded liberalism. Partisan model vs. electoralist model. Compensation thesis vs. efficiency thesis. Calmfors-Driffill model revisited. Globalization = neoliberalization? *Dependencia* again? Policy shift. Logic of retrenchment. Irony of labor power. State-society dynamic in an open economy. Trilemma of the world economy. Conclusion: capital, social force, and political power (the trinity revisited).

Required reading:

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Recommended reading:

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Singer, Peter. 2004. *One World: The Ethics of Globalization*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

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- Eichengreen, Barry. 2008. *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
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- Frieden, Jeffrey. 1991. "Invested Interests: The Politics of National Economic Policies in a World of Global Finance." *International Organization* 45(4): 426-451.
- Garrett, Geoffrey, and Deborah Mitchell. 1998. "Globalization, Government Spending, and Taxation in the OECD." *European Journal of Political Research* 39: 145-177.
- Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Helleiner, Eric. 1994. *States and the Reemergence of Global Finance: From the Bretton Woods to the 1990s*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hicks, Alexander, and Christopher Zorn. 2005. "Economic Globalization, the Macro Economy, and Reversals of Welfare: Expansion in Affluent Democracies, 1978-94." *International Organization* 59: 631-662.
- Iversen, Torben, and Thomas Cusack. 2000. "The Causes of Welfare State Expansion: Deindustrialization or Globalization?" *World Politics* 52(April): 313-349.
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- Katzenstein, Peter. 1985. *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kaufman, Robert, and Alex Segura-Ubierno. 2001. "Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis." *World Politics* 53 (July): 553-587.
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