

Comparative Political Economy Seminar:

Representation and Redistribution

David Stasavage, Department of Politics, NYU

Wednesdays 12:00pm-2:00pm, Room 212

The goal of this seminar is to allow PhD students to explore a range of topics in comparative political economy, with a particular focus on issues related to state development and redistribution. The following syllabus should be seen as indicative rather than fixed, and the choice and number of readings, as well as the choice of topics, can evolve to meet the preferences of the group. Students will not be required to write a long, end of term paper for this class. The principal requirement will instead be to produce each week a very short (~1 page) paper reacting to the readings. These papers will be submitted in advance (by the Monday before each class), and we will use them as a launching point for discussion.

January 23rd - Organizational session

January 30th - The Extension of the Franchise and its Consequences

- Bendix, Reinhard and Stein Rokkan (1962) "The Extension of National Citizenship to the Lower Classes: A Comparative Perspective", paper presented to the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, Washington.
- Bartolini, Stefano (2000) *The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980*, Cambridge University Press, ch.5, pp.206-239.
- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson (2000) Why Did the West Extend the Franchise? Growth, Inequality, and Democracy in Historical Perspective, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol.115, pp.1167-1199.
- Przeworski, Adam (2007) "Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions".
- Lindert, Peter (2004) *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century*, ch.5 pp.87-128 (on the link between the suffrage and mass public schooling).
- Aidt, T.S., Jayasri Dutta, and Elena Loukoianova (2006) Democracy comes to Europe: Franchise extension and fiscal outcomes, 1830-1938, *European Economic Review*, vol.50, pp.249-283.

Selected Further Readings

- Piketty, Thomas, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal (2006) "Wealth Concentration in a Developing Economy: Paris and France, 1807-1994", *American Economic Review*, vol.96, no.1, pp.236-256. Note: This article does not consider the extension of the franchise, but its main conclusion raises an interesting puzzle for conventional accounts about franchise extensions and redistribution (remember that France adopted universal male suffrage in 1848).
- 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*, pp.707-764

February 6th - Democracy and the Poor in Contemporary Developing Countries

- Ross, Michael (2006) "Is Democracy Good for the Poor", *American Journal of Political Science*, vol.50, no.4, pp.860-874.
- Kudamatsu, Masayuki (2006) "Has Democratization Reduced Infant Mortality in Sub-Saharan Africa? Evidence from Micro Data", mimeo, IIES Stockholm.
- Keefer, Philip and Stuti Khemani (2005) "Democracy, Public Expenditures, and the Poor: Understanding Political Incentives for Providing Public Services", *World Bank Research Observer*.
- Stasavage, David (2005) "The Role of Democracy in Uganda's Move to Universal Primary Education", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol.43, no.1, pp.53-73.

Blaydes, Lisa and Mark Kayser (2007) "Counting Calories: Democracy and Distribution in the Developing World", mimeo Stanford University.

Selected Further Readings

Besley, Timothy and Masayuki Kudamatsu (2006) "Health and Democracy", mimeo STICERD, LSE.

Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow (2002) "Political Institutions, Policy Choice and the Survival Of Leaders, *British Journal of Political Science*, vol.32, pp.559-590.

February 13th - Income Inequality in the Long-Run

Kuznets, Simon (1955) "Economic Growth and Economic Inequality", *American Economic Review*, vol.45, no.1, pp.1-28.

Atkinson, A.B. (1999) "The Distribution of Income in the UK and OECD Countries in the Twentieth Century", *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, vol.15, no.4.

Piketty, Thomas and Emmanuel Saez (2006) "The Evolution of Top Incomes: A Historical and International Perspective" *American Economic Review, Papers and Proceedings*, vol.96, no.2, pp.200-205

Piketty, Thomas and Emmanuel Saez (2003) "Income Inequality in the United State, 1913-1998", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol.118, no.1, pp.1-39.

Moene, Karl Ove and Michael Wallerstein (2004) "Social Democracy as a Development Strategy", in Pranab Bardhan, Samuel Bowles, and Michael Wallerstein (eds.) *Globalization and Egalitarian Redistribution*.

Scheve, Kenneth and David Stasavage (2007) "Institutions, Partisanship, and Inequality in the Long Run", mimeo NYU and Yale.

Selected Further Readings

Atkinson, Anthony B. "Distribution and Growth in Europe – the Empirical Picture: A Long-Run View of the Distribution of Income, mimeo, Nuffield College, Oxford.

Piketty, Thomas, Gilles Postel-Vinay, and Jean-Laurent Rosenthal (2006) "Wealth Concentration in a Developing Economy: Paris and France, 1807-1994", *American Economic Review*, vol.96, no.1, pp.236-256.

Iversen, Torben and David Soskice (2006) "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: Why Some Democracies Redistribute More than Others", *American Political Science Review* vol.100, no.2, pp.165-181.

Rueda, David and Jonas Pontusson (2000) "Wage Inequality and Varieties of Capitalism", *World Politics*, vol.52, pp.350-383.

February 20th - Beliefs about Redistribution

- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Reinhard Bendix (1959) *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*, University of California Press, ch.III pp.76-111 “Ideological Equalitarianism and Social Mobility in the United States”.
- Piketty, Thomas (1995) “Social Mobility and Redistributive Politics”, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol.110, no.3, pp.551-584.
- Benabou, Roland and Jean Tirole (2006) “Belief in a Just World and Redistributive Politics” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol.121, no.2, pp.699-746.
- Luttmer, Erzo F.P. (2001) “Group Loyalty and the Taste for Redistribution”, *Journal of Political Economy*, vol.109, no.3, pp.6-34.
- Klor, Esteban and Moses Shayo (2007) “Social Identity and Preferences over Redistribution”, mimeo Hebrew University.

Selected Further Readings

- Roberts, Michael, Peggy Hite, and Cassie Bradley (1994) “Understanding Attitudes Toward Progressive Taxation”, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol.58, no.2, pp.165-190.
- Shayo, Moses (2007) “A Theory of Social Identity with an Application to Redistribution”, mimeo, Hebrew University.
- Roemer, John (1994) “The Strategic Role of Party Ideology When Voters are Uncertain about How the Economy Works”, *American Political Science Review*, vol.88, pp.327-355.

February 27th – Partisanship and Redistribution

- Castles, Francis G. and Robert D. McKinlay. 1979. “Does politics matter? An analysis of public welfare commitment in advanced democratic states.” *European Journal of Political Research* 7(2):169–186.
- McCarty, Nolan, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal (2006) *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*, MIT Press, chapters 1 and 3.
- Allan, James P. and Lyle Scruggs. 2004. "Political partisanship and welfare state reform in advanced industrial societies." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(3):496–512.
- Lee, D.S., Moretti, E. and Butler, M.J. 2004. Do Voters Affect or Elect Policies? Evidence from the U.S. House, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119, 807-859.
- Pettersson-Lidbom, P. 2003. Do Parties Matter for Fiscal Policy Choices? A Regression-Discontinuity Approach, Research Papers in Economics No. 2003: 15. Department of Economics, Stockholm University.

Selected Further Readings

- Huber, Evelyne and John Stephens (2001) *Development and Crisis of the Welfare State: Parties and Policies in Global Markets*, ch.3.

March 5th – Social Insurance

- Wright, Randall (1986) “The Redistributive Roles of Unemployment Insurance and the Dynamics of Voting”, *Journal of Public Economics*, vol.31, pp.377-399.
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta and Walter Korpi (1985) “From Poor Relief towards Institutional Welfare States: The Development of Scandinavian Social Policy,” in Robert Eriksson, ed., *The Scandinavian Model: Welfare States and Welfare Research* New York: Sharpe.
- Moene, Karl Ove and Michael Wallerstein (2001) “Inequality, Social Insurance, and Redistribution”, *American Political Science Review*, vol.95, no.4, pp.859-874.
- Iversen, Torben and David Soskice (2001) “An Asset Theory of Social Policy Preferences”, *American Political Science Review*, vol.95 pp.875-893.
- Mares, Isabela (2003) “The Sources of Business Interest in Social Insurance: Sectoral versus National Differences”, *World Politics*, vol.55 pp.229-258.
- Scheve, Kenneth and David Stasavage (2006) “Religion and Preferences for Social Insurance”, *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, vol.1, no.3, pp.255-286.

March 12th - Clientelism in Comparative Perspective

- Key V.O. (1942) *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, New York, Thomas Crowell, pp.375-399 “Party Machine as Interest Group”.
- Lemarchand, René (1972) “Political Clientelism and Ethnicity in Tropical Africa: Competing Solidarities in Nation-Building”, *American Political Science Review*, vol.66, no.1, pp.68-90.
- Shefter, Martin (1977) “Party and Patronage: Germany, England, and Italy, *Politics and Society* vol.7, no.4, pp.403-451.
- Robinson, James and Thierry Verdier (2003) “The Political Economy of Clientelism”
- Stokes, Susan (2007) “Political Clientelism” in *Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Carles Boix and Susan Stokes (eds.), Oxford University Press.
- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca (2007) “Clientelism and Social Welfare Policy in Argentine Municipalities”, mimeo, Columbia University.

Selected Further Readings

- Miguel, Edward and Farhan Zaidi (2003) “Do Politicians Reward their Supporters? Regression Discontinuity Evidence from Ghana”, mimeo.
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven I. Wilkinson (2006) *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*, Cambridge University Press.
- Wantchekon, Leonard (2003) “Clientelism and Voting Behavior Evidence from a Field Experiment in Benin”, *World Politics*, vol.55, pp.399-422. (Placed here because prior knowledge of this paper is assumed.
- Keefer, Philip and Razvan Vlaicu (2007) “Democracy, Credibility, and Clientelism”, *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization*.

March 26th - Redistribution and Representation at the Local Level

- Ghatak, Maitreya and Maitreesh Ghatak (2002) "Recent Reforms in the Panchayat System in West Bengal: Toward Greater Participatory Governance", *Economic and Political Weekly of India*, vol.37, no.1, pp.45-58.
- Besley, Timothy, Rohini Pande, and Vijayendra Rao (2007) "Political Economy of Panchayats in South India", *Economic and Political Weekly of India*, pp.661-666.
- Bardhan, Pranab and Dilip Mookherjee (2000) "Capture and Governance at Local and National Levels", *American Economic Review*, vol.90, no.2 pp.135-139.
- Humphreys, Macartan, William Masters, and Martin Sandbu (2006) "The Role of Leaders in Democratic Deliberations: Results from a Field Experiment in São Tomé and Príncipe", *World Politics*, vol.58, pp.583-622.
- Duflo, Esther, Greg Fischer, and Raghavendra Chattopadhyay (2005) "Efficiency and Rent Seeking in Local Government: Evidence from Randomized Policy Experiments in India", mimeo MIT.

Selected Further Readings

- Besley, Timothy, Rohini Pande, Lupin Rahman, and Vijayendra Rao (2004) "The Politics of Public Good Provision: Evidence from Indian Local Governments", *Journal of the European Economic Association*, vol.2, no.2-3, pp.416-426.

April 2nd - Accountability in Autocratic Systems

- Linz, Juan (1975[2000]) *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*, Lynne Rienner Publishers. Originally published in the *Handbook of Political Science*.
- Tsai, Lily (2007) "Solidarity Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China", *American Political Science Review*, vol.101, no.2, pp.355-372.
- Magaloni, Beatriz (2006) *Voting For Autocracy: Hegemonic Survival and its Demise in Mexico*, Cambridge University Press, ch.1, pp.1-44.
- Besley, Timothy and Masayuki Kudamatsu (2007) "Making Autocracy Work", LSE.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski (2007) "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats", *Comparative Political Studies*, vol.40 no.11, pp.1279-1301.

Selected Further Readings

- Jackson, Robert and Carl Rosberg (1982) *Personal Rule in Black Africa: Prince, Autocrat, Prophet, Tyrant*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Haber, Stephen (2005) "The Logic of Authoritarian Government" in Barry Weingast and Donald Wittman (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Economy*.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way (2002) "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism", *Journal of Democracy*, vol.13, no.2, pp.51-65.

April 9th – Representation and Commitment

- North, Douglass and Barry Weingast (1989), "Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England", *Journal of Economic History*, vol.49 no.4, pp.803-832.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson (2003) "The Rise of Europe: Atlantic Trade, Institutional Change and Economic Growth", *American Economic Review*, vol.95, no.3, pp.546-579.
- Stasavage, David (2008) *The Rise of Political Representation and the Problem of Public Credit in Europe: 1250-1750*, ch.1.
- Clark, Gregory (2007) *A Farewell to Alms: A Brief Economic History of the Western World*, Princeton University Press, ch.8 pp.145-166.

Selected Further Readings

- DeLong, J. Bradford and Andrei Shleifer (1993) "Princes and Merchants: European City Growth Before the Industrial Revolution", *Journal of Law and Economics*, vol.36, no.2, pp.671-702.
- Mokyr, Joel (2007) "The Institutional Origins of the Industrial Revolution", mimeo, Northwestern University.

April 16th – War as a Source of State Development -

- Tilly, Charles (1990) *Coercion, Capital, and European States*, Basil Blackwell, ch.3, "How War Made States and Vice Versa."
- Ferejohn, John and Frances Rosenbluth (2007) "War and State Building: Lessons from Medieval Japan", mimeo,
- Herbst, Jeffrey (2000) *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*, Princeton University Press, chs.1 and 4, "The Challenge of State-Building in Africa", and "The Political Kingdom in Independent Africa".
- Besley, Timothy and Torsten Persson (2007) "The Origins of State Capacity: Property Rights, Taxation, and Politics", mimeo LSE and IIES Stockholm.
- Ticchi, Davide and Andrea Vindigni (2006) "On Wars and Political Development: The Role of International Conflicts in the Democratization of the West", mimeo Princeton.

Selected Further Readings

- Hintze, Otto (1906[1975]) "Military Organization and State Organization" in *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Besley, Timothy and Torsten Persson (2007) "Wars and State Capacity"

April 23rd - Comparative Colonialism

- Crowder, Michael (1964) Indirect Rule: French and British Style, *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, vol.34, no.3, pp.197-205.
- Young, Crawford (1997) *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective*, Yale University Press, ch.8
- Wilkinson, Stephen and Massimiliano Onorato (2007) “Colonial Legacies and Democratic Outcomes after Independence”, APSA paper.
- Englebert, Pierre (2000) “Pre-Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States and Economic Development in Tropical Africa”, *Political Research Quarterly*, vol.53, no.1, pp.7-36.
- Berger, Daniel (2007) “Imposed Institutions Versus Native Institutions: Why Indirect Rule Matters”, mimeo, NYU.
- Iyer, Lakshmi (2007) “Direct versus Indirect Colonial Rule in India: Long-Term Consequences”, mimeo, Harvard Business School.

Selected Further Readings

- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James Robinson (2001) “The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development”, *American Economic Review*, vol.91, no.5, pp.1369-1401. Placed in this category because prior knowledge is assumed.
- Nunn, Nathan and Leonard Wantchekon (2008) paper on the slave trade and its effect on trust
- Posner, Daniel (2006) “African Borders as Sources of Natural Experiments”, mimeo, LSE

April 30th – Resources, Representation, and the Tax Base

- Bates, Robert and Da-Hsiang Donald Lien (1985) “A Note on Taxation, Development, and Representative Government”, *Politics and Society*, vol.14 no.1, pp.53-70.
- Kasara, Kimuli (2007) “Tax Me if You Can: Ethnic Geography, Democracy, and the Taxation of Agriculture in Africa”, *American Political Science Review*, vol.101 no.1, pp.159-172.
- Gehlbach, Scott (2007) *Representation Through Taxation: The Political Economy of Postcommunism*, Cambridge University Press, ch.1.
- Herb, Michael (2003) “Taxation and Representation”, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol.38, no.3., pp.3-31. An interesting twist on the established argument using evidence from early modern Europe. Like Kasara he emphasizes the importance of intermediaries.