

# POLS 421 – Comparative State and Bureaucracy

Spring 2022

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## Course Description

This course explores the evolution of the modern state in Western Europe. From a historical and theoretical perspective, we will discuss the questions of why the modern state emerged and has become the dominant form, how it relates to the rule of law and democracy, and how it has performed in the face of societal demands for rights and freedom. The first part uses political science theories to clarify the state's relationship to political regime, democracy, and democratization. The second part focuses on the modern state. Specifically, we will discuss what separates the modern state from other state types and whether this political form was inevitable. In the final part of the course, we will explore how the modern state evolved with respect to changing societal demands over time. We will focus on the cases of social democracy, Christian democracy, and the far right.

The course has no prerequisites. Although I will be lecturing, the course will essentially be run as a discussion seminar, where students will be taking on progressively greater responsibility as the semester proceeds for structuring the discussion and initiating debate. By the end of the semester, each student will be familiar with major works of political science research in European politics. Additionally, students will have developed a sense of the (a) what makes a state a modern state, (b) why the modern state looks different across European societies, and (c) how the modern state in Europe changed as a result of interactions between governments and society.

## Course Requirements

- Midterm exam: 35%
- Final: 35%
- Class participation: 30%

*Exams:* Both midterm and final will be 75-minute take home exams. They will consist of short essays, which will require students to have digested the material –pulling an all-nighter to cram all the material will only get you a poor grade.

*Class participation:* Informed, active participation is a requirement of the course. Each week, some of you will explain important points of required readings, while others will post critical questions on each assigned reading on the Moodle's discussion forum by 12am the day before the class. These questions and summaries will be graded on both the quality and quantity.

## Required books

Tilly, Charles. 2007. *Democracy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Berman, Sheri. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## Academic integrity

Cheating and plagiarism during the midterm and the final exam will not be tolerated. Students should work on their exams independently. The Department of Political Science and International Relations at Bogazici University has the following rules and regulations regarding academic honesty.

1. Copying work from others or giving and receiving answers/information during exams either in written or oral form constitutes cheating.

2. Submitting take-home exams and papers of others as your own, using sentences or paragraphs from another author without the proper acknowledgement of the original author, insufficient acknowledgement of the consulted works in the bibliography, all constitute plagiarism. For further guidelines, you can consult.

<http://www.buowl.boun.edu.tr/students/favoidingplagiarism.htm>

3. Plagiarism and cheating are serious offenses and will result in:

- a) an automatic F for the assignment or the exam
- b) an oral explanation before the Departmental Ethics Committee
- c) losing the opportunity to request and receive any references from the entire faculty
- d) losing the opportunity to apply in exchange programs
- e) losing the prospects of becoming a student assistant or a graduate assistant in the department

The students may further be sent to the University Ethics committee or be subject to disciplinary action.

## Schedule of Topics, Readings, and Assignments

### *Part I: Nuts and bolts of studying political processes*

#### **Week 1: Introduction & concepts**

- What is a state? political regime?
- Methods: Studying political processes

#### **Week 2: Democracy & the state**

- Democracy, democratization, and de-democratization
- Trust networks
- Inequality

*Required reading*

Tilly, Charles. 2007. *Democracy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press). pp. 51-161.

Bernard Manin, Adam Przeworski, and Susan C. Stokes, "Elections and Representation," in ed. Bernard Manin, Adam Przeworski, and Susan C. Stokes, *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016), pp.29-55.

**Week 3: Early democratic transitions**

- Patterns of democratic transition in the pre-modern era
- Cases of Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan, and the United States

*Required reading*

John T. Ishiyama, *Comparative Politics: Principles of Democracy and Democratization*, Principles of Political Science Series (Chichester, West Sussex, U.K.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 30-59.

North, Douglass C., William Summerhill, and Barry Weingast. "Order, Disorder, and Economic Change: Latin America versus North America." In *Governing for Prosperity*. Yale University Press, 2000.

**Week 4: Recent democratic transitions**

- Patterns of recent waves of democratization
- What are the differences between the early and recent democratic transitions?

*Required reading*

Michael McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 54, no. 2 (January 1, 2002): 212-44.

Valerie Bunce, "Comparative Democratization : Big and Bounded Generalizations," *Comparative Political Studies*, 33, 6-7: 703-734.

**Part III: Causes of democratization**

**Week 5: Democracy: An end or a means?**

- Prerequisites for democracy
- Democracy & classes
- Democracy as a bargain

*Required reading*

Rustow, Dankwart A. 1970. Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model. *Comparative Politics* 2 (3): 337-363.

Przeworski, Adam. "Democracy as an Equilibrium." *Public Choice* 123 (2005): 253-73.

## ***Part II: Foundations of the modern state***

### **Week 6: Monopoly of Violence**

- State as a socially optimal outcome
- State as domination by a group

#### *Required reading*

Charles Tilly. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Cambridge, Mass.: B. Blackwell. Chapters 1 and 3.

Douglass C. North, Barry Weingast, and Joseph Wallis *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. (Cambridge University Press, 2009), introduction & pp. 148-190.

### **Week 7: The Rise of the modern state in Europe**

#### *Required reading*

Spruyt, H. (1994) *The Sovereign state and its competitors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp.130-150; 151-181.

### **Week 8: Midterm**

### **Week 9: Government by consent**

#### *Required reading*

Stasavage, David. "Credible Commitment in Early Modern Europe: North and Weingast Revisited." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 18, no. 1 (April 2002): 155-86

Barry R. Weingast, *The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law*, *The American Political Science Review* 91, no. 2 (June 1, 1997): 245-63, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2952354>.

### **Week 10: Fin de siècle in Europe**

- German and Italian unifications
- Social question, new demands

#### *Required reading*

Polanyi, K. (1944) *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* Beacon Press.

Berman, Sheri. *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Regime to the Present Day*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019, pp.106-125.

### **Week 11: Christian democracy**

#### *Required reading*

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

## **Week 12: Social democracy & Interwar Europe**

### *Required reading*

Berman, Sheri. 2006. *The Primacy of Politics: Social Democracy and the Making of Europe's Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2-3.

## **Week 13: European integration & European nation states**

### *Required reading*

Alan Milward, *The Rescue of the Nation State*. Routledge; 2 edition (February 2, 2000), Chapters 2 and 4.