

Introduction to Politics (POLS0006)

Department of Political Science,
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Contact Hours

Lectures:

1–2 hours per week.

Seminars:

1 hour per week.

See <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/timetable> for details of times/locations.

Office Hours:

See SPPBOOK Moodle module for office hour details/bookings for all instructors on this module.

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Course Description

The module covers concepts that are foundational for the scholarly study of political phenomena. Basic conceptual terms such as ‘the state’, ‘power’, ‘democracy’, and ‘collective action’ are presented. Further, the module draws out the distinction between positive theories, normative theories, and empirical evidence.

On successful completion of this module students should have an understanding of:

- core concepts for the study of politics;
- the distinction between positive theories, normative theories, and empirical evidence relating to the study of politics;
- how to critically evaluate theoretical arguments in the social sciences;
- how to critically evaluate empirical evidence in the social sciences.

Lectures and Seminars

Each week there will be a lecture followed by a seminar on the same topic. The lectures will run for between 1 and 2 hours, depending on the topic and the seminars will be for one hour. The lectures will be used to examine some parts of the material for the topic that week — either from the required material or beyond. **Lectures are *not* a substitute for you completing the readings.** They are a complement.

The seminars will provide a forum for more focussed discussion. In each seminar, you should expect to be ready to discuss all of the required readings. You are also very welcome to raise issues from the further readings. If you have not read the required material, you will not be prepared for the seminars.

There is good evidence that **using laptops to take notes in lectures is likely to *reduce* the amount of knowledge/understanding that you glean from them.** Consequently, I strongly suggest that you **reconsider any plans you may have to take notes other than using pen-and-paper.** For evidence in support of this advice, see:

- Mueller, Pam A. and Daniel M. Oppenheimer (2014). “The Pen Is Mightier Than the Keyboard: Advantages of Longhand Over Laptop Note Taking”. *Psychological Science* 25(6), pp. 1159–1168.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0956797614524581>
- Sovern, Jeff (2012). “Law Student Laptop Use During Class for Nonclass Purpose: Temptation v. Incentives”. *University of Louisville Law Review* 51(3), pp. 483–534.
URL: <http://www.louisvillelawreview.org/sites/louisvillelawreview.org/files/pdfs/printcontent/51/3/Sovern.pdf>
- Spitzer, Manfred (2014). “Information technology in education: Risks and side effects”. *Trends in Neuroscience and Education* 3(3–4), pp. 81–85.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.tine.2014.09.002>
- Kuznekoff, Jeffrey H. and Scott Titsworth (2013). “The Impact of Mobile Phone Usage on Student Learning”. *Communication Education* 62(3), pp. 233–252.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/03634523.2013.767917>

There is also evidence that these negative effects of computer use in lectures/classes are not only felt by the computer user, but also by those around them. Thus, **you are likely to harm the educational experience of your friends and peers by using computers in teaching environments.** Given this, I reserve the right to ban laptop use from all of my classes. For evidence, see:

- Sana, Faria, Tina Weston, and Nicholas J. Cepeda (2013). “Laptop multitasking hinders classroom learning for both users and nearby peers”. *Computers & Education* 62, pp. 24–31.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2012.10.003>

Assessment Information

In term 1, you must write two response papers, and an essay. You will receive feedback on the written work both from myself and each other. **Completion of all of the term 1 assignments is required. Failure to satisfactorily complete any of them will lead to you being barred from the end of year exam.** However, any grades that are given for them will not count towards the final module grade. That is, they are formative assessments; intended to help you to develop your written and analytical skills, and to ensure an appropriate level of engagement with the module material.

In term 2, you will write a third formative response paper. You will also write a second essay that will be assessed, and the grade for which will form 25% of your final module grade. Finally, at the end of the year, you will sit a 3 hour unseen written exam. This will be used to assess all parts of the module — i.e. material from both terms 1 and 2 — and will be worth 75% of your final module grade.

| Assignment | When? | Length | Weighting |
|--------------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Term 1 | | | |
| Reading response paper 1 | 1st half | <500 words | 0% |
| Reading response paper 2 | 2nd half | <500 words | 0% |
| Essay 1 | 2nd half | <1,500 words | 0% |
| Online quiz | End of term | N/A | 0% |
| Term 2 | | | |
| Reading response paper 3 | Either half term | <500 words | 0% |
| Essay 2 | 2nd half 2 | <1,500 words | 25% |
| Term 3 | | | |
| Exam | UCL Exam Period | 3 hours | 75% |

Table 1: An overview of assessments for the module.

You will find useful guidance for writing and presenting essays on the Department's student website. These guidelines are designed to help you, and you should read them carefully and do your best to follow them. Good essays give clear and focused answers to the question asked, they have clear structures, and they will be adequately and appropriately referenced. They do not provide a vague and unstructured discussion of the topic. Plagiarism is taken extremely seriously and can disqualify you from the course (for details of what constitutes plagiarism see <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/current-students/guidelines/plagiarism>). If you are in doubt about any of this, ask an instructor.

Reading for the Module

The list that follows is organised by lecture topic. You are not expected to read everything on the list, but **you must read all of the readings in the 'Shorter/Popular Readings' and 'Required Readings' lists.** Each week you should come to your seminar class prepared to discuss what you have read with others. **Seminars are dedicated times when you and your peers discuss module material in a structured way. If you have not completed the required readings, neither you nor your seminar peers will get much value from the class.**

For several of the topics, we have indicated relevant reading from two textbooks that you may find it convenient to buy:

- Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press
- Wolff, Jonathan (2015). *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*. 3rd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

There are also other general textbook treatments that provide an introduction to the study of politics, and political science more specifically. Some that you may find useful to browse are:

- Heywood, Andrew (2000). *Key Concepts in Politics*. Palgrave MacMillan
- Heywood, Andrew (2013). *Politics*. 4th ed. Palgrave MacMillan

The reading list that follows is designed to be as easy to use as possible — in the sense of it being clear what you should read and clear how you can obtain it. Here are some general tips about the presentation of the reading list:

- The reading list (below) includes full bibliographic references to each article, chapter, book, or other reading. As such, you should be able to use the library services to find them yourself.
- Most of the reading is available in the UCL library, although you may find only limited copies. The Senate House and LSE libraries may also be of use to you.
- Where available, I have also included the URL based on the DOI (standing for Digital Object Identifier) of the reading. This will link you to *one* place where the reading is published online.
- The DOI links will only provide you with access when you are connected to the UCL network. If you are off-campus, you should use the Library’s off-campus facility by visiting <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/library/electronic-resources>.
- Note, however, that the DOI link may *not* be the place through which the UCL subscription provides access. (This is not in my control.) If this occurs, you will often find that <http://www.jstor.org/> will work for you, subject to you being on-campus or having explicitly signed-in to the Library’s off-campus service.
- Again, where available, I have also tried to provide URLs for readings that are not constrained by off-campus and/or login restrictions. This is often via the web sites of the authors of the readings and will tend to be the easiest way of retrieving items.
- Some readings may be available as e-books via the UCL library. These are marked with the * symbol in the reading list.
- Some readings may only be available in hard copy. In these cases, I will endeavour to make them available as scanned PDFs via the module’s Moodle site found via <http://moodle.ucl.ac.uk/>. These are marked with the ➡ symbol in the reading list.
- Some of the readings listed below are a little more challenging. I have marked these with the * symbol. They may be helpful to you for increasing your understanding of the intuition of arguments, but do not worry about difficulties that you may have understanding mathematical or statistical material in these papers.
- Some of the ‘readings’ may actually be podcasts or other types of audio or video. I have marked these with the “” symbol.

One potential downside to electronic journals is that they do not foster the browsing around issues and volumes that comes with the hard copies of journals. We very much encourage you to do this kind of browsing — via web sites or hard copies, as you prefer. This is likely to be particularly helpful when preparing for essays.

Acknowledgements

We are extremely grateful to the following for their help in preparing this module: Cécile Laborde, Lucas Leemann, Nick Martin, Neil Mitchell, Avia Pasternak, Christine Reh, and Sherrill Stroschein.

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I Introductions

1 Defining ‘Politics’, ‘Science’, and ‘Normative Political Theory’

What is ‘politics’? What is ‘science’? What is ‘political science’? What is the difference between empirical and normative questions? What can and should you expect from a lecturer in politics?

Textbook Reading

- ➡ Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 2

Required Readings

- Lasswell, Harold D. (1958). *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*. New York: Meridian Books.
URL: <http://www.policysciences.org/classics/politics.pdf> (Retrieved 09/01/2015), Chapter 1
- ➡ Wolff, Jonathan (2015). *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*. 3rd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Introduction
- Weber, Max (1917). *Science as a Vocation*. Originally delivered as a speech at Munich University.
URL: <http://www.wisdom.weizmann.ac.il/~oded/X/WeberScienceVocation.pdf> (Retrieved 03/29/2015)
- Stears, Marc (2005). “The Vocation of Political Theory: Principles, Empirical Inquiry and the Politics of Opportunity”. *European Journal of Political Theory* 4(4), pp. 325–350.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1474885105055981>

II The State

2 The Concept of the State

‘The state’ is one of the defining and most consequential political institutions in the modern world. In this week, we explore what exactly a state is at the conceptual level.

Textbook Reading

- Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 4
- Skinner, Quentin (2008). “A Genealogy of the State”. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 162, pp. 325–370.
URL: http://www.his.ncku.edu.tw/chinese/attachments/article/291/8Quentin_Skinner_A_Genealogy_of_the_Modern_State_.pdf (Retrieved 10/07/2016)

or

- “” Skinner, Quentin (2010). *The Idea of the State: a Genealogy*. The State of the State lecture series. University of Oxford.
URL: <https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/idea-state-genealogy> (Retrieved 10/07/2016)

Required Readings

- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels (1932). *The German Ideology*.
URL: https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_The_German_Ideology.pdf (Retrieved 09/25/2015), “The Real Basis of Ideology”
- Weber, Max (1919). *Politics as a Vocation*. Originally delivered as a speech at Munich University.
URL: <http://polisci2.ucsd.edu/foundation/documents/03Weber1918.pdf> (Retrieved 10/08/2015)

Further Readings

- Maclellan, Gregor, Stuart Hall, and David Held, eds. (1984). *The Idea of the Modern State*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press
- Carnoy, Martin (1984). *The State and Political Theory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Elster, Jon (1985). *Making Sense of Marx*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 7
- Vincent, Andrew (1987). *Theories of the State*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell
- Harding, A. (1994). “The origins of the concept of the state”. *History of Political Thought* 15(1), pp. 57–72.
URL: <http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/imp/hpt/1994/00000015/00000001/203>

- Keating, Michael (1999). “Politics and the State in Western Europe: Conceptions of the State”. In: *The Politics of Modern Europe*. Ed. by Michael Keating. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Skinner, Quentin (2005). “The State”. In: *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 1
- Hay, Colin, Michael Lister, and David Marsh, eds. (2005). *The State: Theories and Issues*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan
- Dunleavy, Patrick (2017). “The State”. In: *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin, Philip Pettit, and Thomas W. Pogge. 3rd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 49

3 Normative Theories of the State

The state claims the right to force citizens to comply with its laws – disobey and you can end up in prison. Can that claim be justified? Are citizens obliged to obey the state that claims the right to coerce them? We look at various attempts to justify the state as a coercive institution and consider their implications for citizens today.

Required Readings

- Wolff, Jonathan (2015). *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*. 3rd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Chapters 1 and 2
- Hyams, Keith (2019). “Political Authority and Obligation”. In: *Issues in Political Theory*. Ed. by Catriona McKinnon, Robert Jubb, and Patrick Tomlin. 4th ed. Oxford University Press. Chap. 1
- Horton, John (2010). *Political Obligation*. 2nd ed. Palgrave, Chapters 1, 4, and 5

Further Readings

- Dagger, Richard and David Lefkowitz. “Political Obligation”. In:
- Hampton, Jean (1996). *Political Philosophy*. Westview Press, Part One – ‘The Nature of Political Authority’
- Klosko, George (1987). “The Principle of Fairness and Political Obligation”. *Ethics* 97(2), pp. 353–362.
URL: <http://www.people.virginia.edu/~gk/publications.html/principle%20of%20fairness.pdf>
- Klosko, George (2014). “Fairness Obligations and Non-Acceptance of Benefits”. *Political Studies* 62(1), pp. 159–171.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12024>
- Schmidtz, David (1990). “Justifying the State”. *Ethics* 101(1), pp. 89–102.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/293261>.
URL: <http://davidschmidtz.com/sites/default/files/research-paper/3/Justifying%20the%20State.pdf> (Retrieved 06/12/2019)
- Pateman, Carole (1988). *The Sexual Contract*. Polity Press.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/978-0745604329>, Chapter 1
- Raz, Joseph (1979). *The Authority of Law: Essays on Law and Morality*. Oxford University Press, Chapters 12 and 13
- Simmons, A. John (2001). *Justification and Legitimacy: Essays on Rights and Obligations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, ‘Justification and Legitimacy’
- Simmons, A. John (2007). *Political Philosophy*. Oxford University Press, Chapters 1 and 2
- Wellman, Christopher Heath and A. John Simmons (2005). *Is There a Duty to Obey the Law? (For and Against)*. Cambridge University Press

- Stilz, Anna (2013). “Why Does the State Matter Morally? Political Obligation and Particularity”. In: *Varieties of Sovereignty and Citizenship*. Ed. by Sigal R. Ben-Porath and Rogers M. Smith. University of Pennsylvania Press
- Wolff, Robert Paul (1970). *In Defense of Anarchism*. New York, NY: Harper & Row

4 Empirical Explanations of the State

Political theorists may have justifications for why states exist, but it does not follow that they also lead to *empirical* explanations for that existence. In this week, we explore positive, rather than normative, theories of how states came to exist and evolve.

Shorter/Popular Readings

- Farrell, Henry (2015a). *Dark Leviathan*. Aeon Magazine.
URL: <http://aeon.co/magazine/technology/on-the-high-seas-of-the-hidden-internet/> (Retrieved 03/27/2015)

Required Readings

- ➔ Tilly, Charles (1992). *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990–1992*. Blackwell, Chapter 1
- Spruyt, Hendrik (2002). “The Origins, Development, and Possible Decline of the Modern State”. *Annual Review of Political Science* 5(1), pp. 127–149.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.5.101501.145837>
- North, Douglass C. and Barry R. Weingast (1989). “Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England”. *Journal of Economic History* 49 (04), pp. 803–832.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0022050700009451>.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/lky76kr>

Further Readings

- Strayer, Joseph R. (1970). *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*. Princeton University Press
- Ertman, Thomas (1997). *Birth of Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Tilly, Charles (1992). *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990–1992*. Blackwell, Chapter 3
- * Stasavage, David (2002). “Credible Commitment in Early Modern Europe: North and Weingast Revisited”. *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 18(1), pp. 155–186.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/jleo/18.1.155>.
URL: <http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/I0/5395/JLE02002.pdf>
- * Stasavage, David (2010). “When Distance Mattered: Geographic Scale and the Development of European Representative Assemblies”. *American Political Science Review* 104(4), pp. 625–643.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000444>.
URL: http://politics.as.nyu.edu/docs/I0/5395/when_distanced_mattered.pdf
- Boix, Carles (2015). *Political Order and Inequality: Their Foundations and Their Consequences for Human Welfare*. Cambridge University Press

III Power, Coercion, and Violence

5 The Concept of Power

What is power? How can we define it? What are the sources of power? How can we know who is powerful? This week, we explore what power is at the conceptual level, and then study different types of power that can exist.

Textbook Readings

- ➔ Lovett, Frank (2017). “Power”. In: *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin, Philip Pettit, and Thomas W. Pogge. 3rd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 41

Shorter/Popular Readings

- “” Lukes, Steven (2015). *Steven Lukes on Power*. Ed. by David Edmonds and Nigel Warburton. Philosophy Bites.
URL: <http://philosophybites.com/2015/06/steven-lukes-on-power.html> (Retrieved 09/01/2015)

Required Readings

- Dahl, Robert A. (1957). “The concept of power”. *Behavioral Science* 2(3), pp. 201–215.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1002/bs.3830020303>.
URL: http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/teaching/articles/Dahl_Power_1957.pdf (Retrieved 10/28/2016)
- Bachrach, Peter and Morton S. Baratz (1962). “Two Faces of Power”. *American Political Science Review* 56(4), pp. 947–952.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1952796>.
URL: http://ftp.columbia.edu/itc/sipa/U6800/readings-sm/american_bachrach.pdf
- ➔ Lukes, Steven (2004). *Power: A Radical View*. 2nd ed. Palgrave MacMillan, Chapter 1
- Dowding, Keith (2006). “Three-Dimensional Power: A Discussion of Steven Lukes’ Power: A Radical View”. *Political Studies Review* 4(2), pp. 136–145.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1478-9299.2006.000100.x>

Further Readings

- Lukes, Steven (2004). *Power: A Radical View*. 2nd ed. Palgrave MacMillan, Introduction
- Wright Mills, C. (1956). *The Power Elite*. Oxford University Press
- Wright Mills, C. (1958). “The Structure of Power in American Society”. *British Journal of Sociology* 9(1), pp. 29–41.
URL: <http://www.csub.edu/~akebede/SOC502Mills2.pdf>
- Dahl, Robert A. (1961). *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. Yale University Press
- Dowding, Keith M. (1991). *Rational Choice and Political Power*. Edward Elgar

6 Political Violence

Weber argued that the state has a monopoly of the legitimate use of force. If that is the case, even in stable states, violence and its threat underpins political life. However, in less stable contexts, violence is an even more present phenomenon as rival groups fight for control of resources and/or the polity — and even stable states engage in political violence against each other.

This is a huge topic of research, making it impossible to do justice to it all in only one introductory week. Instead, we will focus on ‘protection’ and ‘violence’ and study whether and why it might be possible to draw a comparison between the state and organized crime. In doing so, we will highlight how (the threat of) violence can be used to structure social interactions.

Shorter/Popular Readings

- Farrell, Henry (2015b). *Ferguson’s government was run like a racket*. The Monkey Cage. URL: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/03/04/fergusons-government-was-run-like-a-racket/> (Retrieved 03/27/2015)
- “” Skarbek, David (2015). *How Gangs Keep You Safe*. TEDx Warwick. URL: <http://tedxtalks.ted.com/video/How-Gangs-Keep-You-Safe-David-S> (Retrieved 09/02/2015)

Required Readings

- Tilly, Charles (1985). “War Making and State Making as Organized Crime”. In: *Bringing the State Back In*. Ed. by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge University Press. Chap. 5, pp. 169–191. URL: http://www.homeworkmarket.com/sites/default/files/q3/28/02/reading_response_4_2.pdf (Retrieved 12/23/2014)
- ➡ Gambetta, Diego (1996). *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1
- Skarbek, David (2011). “Governance and Prison Gangs”. *American Political Science Review* 105 (4), pp. 702–716. DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055411000335>

Further Readings

- Skaperdas, Stergios (2001). “The political economy of organized crime: providing protection when the state does not”. *Economics of Governance* 2(3), pp. 173–202. DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/PL00011026>
- Tilly, Charles (2003). *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge University Press
- Leeson, Peter T. (2007). “An-arrgh-chy: The Law and Economics of Pirate Organization”. *Journal of Political Economy* 115(6), pp. 1049–1094. URL: <http://www.peterleeson.com/an-arrgh-chy.pdf> (Retrieved 11/14/2015)
- Skarbek, David (2014). *The Social Order of the Underworld: How Prison Gangs Govern the American Penal System*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

7 International Order and War

When considering interactions between states, war is the ultimate manifestation of the projection of power, coercion, and violence. Which states go to war with each other, and why? These questions have been at the core of the study of international relations for centuries. This week, we consider one particular aspect of the scholarly debate relating to the so-called ‘Democratic Peace’. Do democracies go to war less than non-democracies? If so, why?

Required Readings

- Doyle, Michael W. (1986). “Liberalism and World Politics”. *American Political Science Review* 80 (4), pp. 1151–1169.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055400185041>.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/p7zkddm>
- Russett, Bruce M. (1993). *Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
URL: <http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic248058.files/March%2017%20readings/Russett.pdf>, Chapters 1 and 2
- Rosato, Sebastian (2003). “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory”. *American Political Science Review* 97 (4), pp. 585–602.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055403000893>.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/ocjdl5>

Further Readings

- * Maoz, Zeev and Bruce Russett (1993). “Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946–1986.” *American Political Science Review* 87 (3), pp. 624–638.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2938740>.
URL: http://www.uky.edu/~clthyn2/PS671/MaozRussett_1993APSR.pdf
- Layne, Christopher (1994). “Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace”. *International Security* 19(2), pp. 5–49.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539195>.
URL: <http://web.stanford.edu/class/polisci243b/readings/v0002542.pdf>
- Owen, John M. (1994). “How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace”. *International Security* 19(2), pp. 87–125.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2539197>.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/pk5nfjb>
- Doyle, Michael W. (2005). “Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace”. *American Political Science Review* 99 (3), pp. 463–466.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055405051798>
- * Gartzke, Erik (2007). “The Capitalist Peace”. *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1), pp. 166–191.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00244.x>

8 Justifying State Punishment

In the previous week, we studied how power, violence, and coercion is intertwined with political life in various ways. This week, we focus on the normative issue of when and why the state may justifiably punish its citizens.

Required Readings

- ➡ Renzo, Massimo (2019). “Crime and Punishment”. In: *Issues in Political Theory*. Ed. by Catriona McKinnon, Robert Jubb, and Patrick Tomlin. 4th ed. Oxford University Press. Chap. 3
- ➡ Duff, R.A. (2003). *Punishment, Communication and Community*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Introduction and Chapter 1

Further Readings

- General
 - Lacey, Nicola (2017). “Criminal Justice”. In: *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*. Ed. by Robert E. Goodin, Philip Pettit, and Thomas W. Pogge. 3rd ed. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell. Chap. 24
 - Boonin, David (2008). *The Problem of Punishment*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Retributivism
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 - ★ Hampton, Jean (2009). “A New Theory of Retribution”. In: *Liability and Responsibility*. Ed. by R.G. Frey and Christopher Morris. Cambridge University Press. Chap. 11
- Communicative/Expressive Theories
 - Duff, R.A. (2003). *Punishment, Communication and Community*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, Chapter 3
 - Feinberg, Joel (1965). “The Expressive Function of Punishment”. *The Monist* 49(3), pp. 397–423.
URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27901603>
- Deterrent Theories
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- Howard, Jeffrey W. (2017). “Punishment as Moral Fortification”. *Law and Philosophy* 36(1), pp. 45–75.
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IV Social Cooperation and Political Groups

9 The Logic of Collective Action

Much or even most political activity occurs via the ‘collective actions’ of groups. What is it that leads people to choose to join or not join groups that have political goals? Do all people that support the goals of an organization join it? Is it irrational not to do so? Do groups of individuals necessarily make decisions that are in their collective best interests?

Our theoretical focus this week will be on Olson, (1971). Many applications of this theory are possible — including a sweeping treatment of ‘The Rise and Decline of Nations’ by Olson, (1982), himself. Our applied focus will be on the problems and possibilities of slowing climate change through cross-national collective action.

Required Readings

- ➔ Olson, Mancur (1971). *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, Chapter 1
N.B. Section E of this chapter provides a non-technical/non-mathematical summary of Section D, the latter of which you are free to skip.
- McLean, Iain (2000). “Review Article: The Divided Legacy of Mancur Olson”. *British Journal of Political Science* 30 (4), pp. 651–668.
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Further Readings

- Olson, Mancur (1982). *The Rise and Decline of Nations: Economic Growth, Stagflation, and Social Rigidities*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Hardin, Russell (1982). *Collective Action*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Oliver, Pamela (1980). “Rewards and Punishments as Selective Incentives for Collective Action: Theoretical Investigations”. *American Journal of Sociology* 85(6), pp. 1356–1375.
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- Tarrow, Sidney G. (1994). *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

10 Cooperation and the Commons

The Olsonian logic is but one way of thinking about how groups arise. Cooperation amongst people (and groups) may emerge for reasons that are not well captured by his logic — and that are not so clearly grounded in considerations of power and violence that we discussed in the previous part of the module. Indeed, ‘cooperation’ between individuals and groups is a basic feature of our socio-political experiences and institutions. How can it actually arise, though? Will it always be possible, simply because it is desirable?

Shorter/Popular Readings

- “” Planet Money (2015). *The Bottom Of The Well*. National Public Radio.
URL: <http://www.npr.org/sections/money/2015/07/22/425392169/episode-640-the-bottom-of-the-well> (Retrieved 09/07/2015)

Required Readings

- Hardin, Garrett (1968). “The Tragedy of the Commons”. *Science* 162(3859), pp. 1243–1248.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/nla6q9z> (Retrieved 09/04/2015)
- Axelrod, Robert (1980). “More Effective Choice in the Prisoner’s Dilemma”. *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 24(3), pp. 379–403.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002200278002400301>.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/p6at95t> (Retrieved 09/04/2015)
- ➔ Ostrom, Elinor (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1 and 2
- Carter, John R. and Michael D. Irons (1991). “Are Economists Different, and If So, Why?” *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 5(2), pp. 171–177

Further Readings

- Axelrod, Robert (1984). *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York, NY: Basic Books
- * Ostrom, Elinor, James Walker, and Roy Gardner (1992). “Covenants with and without a Sword: Self-Governance Is Possible.” *American Political Science Review* 86 (02), pp. 404–417.
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11 Nationalism and Immigration

Nations are ‘groups’ that are of undeniable salience in modern politics. What is a ‘nation’? What is ‘nationalism’? What are the origins of these concepts? This week, we explore a particular set of answers to these questions, and then seek to apply what we have learned to the issue of immigration — a process through which a ‘national group’ can admit outsiders to it.

Shorter/Popular Readings

- Collier, Paul (2015). *Good And Bad Nationalism*. Social Europe.
URL: <http://www.socialeurope.eu/2015/03/nationalism/> (Retrieved 03/27/2015)

Required Readings

- Gellner, Ernest (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, Chapters 1 and 3
- Freeman, Gary P. (1995). “Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States”. *International Migration Review* 29(4), pp. 881–902.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2547729>
- Joppke, Christian (1998). “Why Liberal States Accept Unwanted Immigration”. *World Politics* 50 (2), pp. 266–293.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S004388710000811X>.
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Further Readings

- Anderson, Benedict (1983). *Imagined Communities*. Verso Books
- Breuilly, John (1994). *Nationalism and the State*. 2nd ed. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press
- Freeman, Gary P. (1994). “Can Liberal States Control Unwanted Migration?” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 534, pp. 17–30
- Cornelius, Wayne A. and Marc R. Rosenblum (2005). “Immigration and Politics”. *Annual Review of Political Science* 8(1), pp. 99–119.
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- * Sides, John and Jack Citrin (2007). “European Opinion About Immigration: The Role of Identities, Interests and Information”. *British Journal of Political Science* 37 (03), pp. 477–504.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0007123407000257>.
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- Ellermann, Antje (2014). “The Rule of Law and the Right to Stay: The Moral Claims of Undocumented Migrants”. *Politics & Society* 42(3), pp. 293–308.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0032329214543255>.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/o83qn4u>

12 Social Justice and Global Justice

We consider the relation between justice within states and justice between them. Are cosmopolitans right to think that the same principles should govern all human beings, irrespective of state or nation? Or may compatriots legitimately favour one another over foreigners? If the latter, is that because of shared national identity or common citizenship? We look at a broad range of questions including global distributive justice and what might justify states' claim that they have the right to exclude would-be immigrants.

Required Readings

- Smits, Katherine (2009). *Applying Political Theory: Issues and Debates*. Palgrave Macmillan, Chapter 10 – ‘Should Rich Countries Give More Foreign Aid?’
- Miller, David (1999). “Justice and Global Inequality”. In: *Inequality, Globalization, and World Politics*. Ed. by Andrew Hurrell and Ngaire Woods. Oxford University Press. Chap. 7. URL: <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/oso/public/content/politicalscience/0198295669/toc.html>
- Miller, David (2016). *Strangers in our Midst: The Political Philosophy of Immigration*. Harvard University Press, Chapter 2 – ‘Cosmopolitanism, Compatriot Partiality, and Human Rights’

Further Readings

- Abizadeh, Arash (2004). “Historical Truth, National Myths and Liberal Democracy: On the Coherence of Liberal Nationalism”. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12(3), pp. 291–313. DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2004.00201.x>. URL: https://cridaq.uqam.ca/IMG/pdf/Abizadeh_-_Historical_truth.pdf (Retrieved 06/12/2019)
- Abizadeh, Arash (2008). “Democratic Theory and Border Coercion: No Right to Unilaterally Control Your Own Borders”. *Political Theory* 36(1), pp. 37–65. DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0090591707310090>
- Carens, Joseph (2013). *The Ethics of Immigration*. Oxford University Press
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- Goodin, Robert E. (1988). “What is So Special about Our Fellow Countrymen?” *Ethics* 98(4), pp. 663–686
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- Moore, Margaret (2001). “Normative Justifications for Liberal Nationalism: Justice, Democracy and National Identity”. *Nations and Nationalism* 7(1), pp. 1–20. DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1469-8219.00001>

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- Tamir, Yael (1993). *Liberal Nationalism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

V Democracy

13 Conceptual Features of Democracy

Democracy is one of the most prominent concepts in the study of politics, but what exactly is it? Is it simply the practice of popular voting, or something more complex and variegated than that?

Textbook Reading

- Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 5

Required Readings

- Schumpeter, Joseph A. (1942). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Harper and Brothers, Chapters 21 and 22
N.b. There are copies in the library, but also very cheap ebooks available for purchase from a number of online sellers.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry Lynn Karl (1991). “What Democracy Is... and Is Not”. *Journal of Democracy* 2(3), pp. 75–88.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/jod.1991.0033>.
URL: <http://tinyurl.com/o58rlm6>
- Coppedge, Michael et al. (2011). “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach”. *Perspectives on Politics* 9(2), pp. 247–267.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1537592711000880>

Further Readings

- Dahl, Robert A. (1956). *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. University of Chicago Press
- Bobbio, Norberto (1987). *The Future of Democracy: A Defence of the Rules of the Game*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press
- Collier, David and Steven Levitsky (1997). “Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research”. *World Politics* 49 (3), pp. 430–451.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wp.1997.0009>
- Lijphart, Arend (1999). *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Held, David (2006). *Models of Democracy*. Polity Press
- Dunn, John (2005). *Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy*. London, UK: Atlantic Books
- Powell, G. Bingham (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press
- Munck, Gerardo L. and Jay Verkuilen (2002). “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices”. *Comparative Political Studies* 35(1), pp. 5–34.
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DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11127-009-9491-2>

14 Normative Theories of Democracy

Democracy is the ‘motherhood and apple pie’ of modern politics. But why exactly is democratic government better than other ways of making political decisions? Some argue that what matters is that all have an equal say, others that procedures for making decisions must be assessed in terms of their outputs. We consider the main theories that seek to justify a democratic form of state, and consider their implications for kind of democracy we should be aiming to achieve.

Required Readings

- ➔ Weale, Albert (2007). *Democracy*. 2nd ed. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, Chapter 3 – ‘The Justification of Democracy’
- Cohen, Joshua (2002). “Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy”. In: *Democracy*. Ed. by David Estlund. Blackwell
- Pitkin, Hanna Fenichel (2004). “Representation and Democracy: Uneasy Alliance”. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 27(3), pp. 335–342.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2004.00109.x>

Further Readings

- Arneson, Richard J. (2003). “Democratic Rights at the National Level”. In: *Philosophy and Democracy*. Ed. by Thomas Christiano. Oxford University Press
- Christiano, Thomas (2006). “Democracy”. In: *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Ed. by Edward N. Zalta. Fall 2014. Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University
- Christiano, Thomas (2004). “The Authority of Democracy*”. *Journal of Political Philosophy* 12(3), pp. 266–290.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9760.2004.00200.x>
- Estlund, David (2003). “Beyond Fairness and Deliberation: The Epistemic Dimension of Democratic Authority”. In: *Philosophy and Democracy*. Ed. by Thomas Christiano. Oxford University Press
- Estlund, David (2000). “Political Quality”. *Social Philosophy and Policy* 17(1), pp. 127–160.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0265052500002569>
- Mansbridge, Jane (1999). “Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent ”Yes””. *Journal of Politics* 61(3), pp. 628–657.
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- Phillips, Anne (1998). “Democracy and Representation: Or, Why Should it Matter Who our Representatives Are?” In: *Feminism and Politics*. Ed. by Anne Phillips. Oxford University Press
- Swift, Adam (2013). *Political Philosophy: A Beginner’s Guide for Students and Politicians*. 3rd ed. Polity Press, Part 5 – ‘Democracy’
- Viehoff, Daniel (2014). “Democratic Equality and Political Authority”. *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 42(4), pp. 337–375.
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- Weale, Albert (2018). *The Will of the People: A Modern Myth*. Polity Press
- Young, Iris Marion (2002). “Difference as a Resource for Democratic Deliberation”. In: *Democracy*. Ed. by David Estlund. Blackwell

15 Societal Prerequisites of Democracy

Can democracy exist anywhere? To create it, do we simply need to create the appropriate institutions, or are there prerequisites that are more rooted in the society in which we are seeking to embed it?

Textbook Reading

- Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 7

Required Readings

- Lipset, Seymour Martin (1959). “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy”. *American Political Science Review* 53(1), 69–105.
URL: <http://homepages.wmich.edu/~plambert/comp/lipset.pdf>
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi (1997). “Modernization: Theories and Facts”. *World Politics* 49 (2), pp. 155–183.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/wp.1997.0004>.
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- ➡ Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton University Press, Chapter 13

Further Readings

- Moore Jr., Barrington (1966). *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Cambridge, MA: Beacon Press
- Luebbert, Gregory M. (1987). “Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe”. *World Politics* 39 (4), pp. 449–478.
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- Luebbert, Gregory M. (1991). *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press
- Weigle, Marcia and Jim Butterfield (1992). “Civil Society in Reforming Communist Regimes: The Logic of Emergence”. *Comparative Politics* 25(1), pp. 1–24
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- Putnam, Robert D. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press
- Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

16 Explaining Democratic Transitions

While we have studied the features that are necessary for democracy to exist, conceptually and empirically, we have yet to consider how states may transition from authoritarian to more democratic systems. When and how do democratic institutions get created? Who are the important actors?

Textbook Reading

- Clark, William Roberts, Matthew R. Golder, and Sona N. Golder (2012). *Principles of Comparative Politics*. 2nd ed. CQ Press, Chapter 8

Required Readings

- ➔ Przeworski, Adam (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp.37–40 and 51–66
- ➔ Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson (2006). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 2
- Ansell, Ben and David Samuels (2010). “Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach”. *Comparative Political Studies* 43(12), pp. 1543–1574.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0010414010376915>.
URL: <http://recursos.march.es/web/ceacs/actividades/pdf/Ansell.pdf>

Further Readings

- Huntington, Samuel (1993). “Democracy’s Third Wave”. In: *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Ed. by Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
- ➔ O’Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter (1993). *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 6–11 and Chapters 3–4
- Olson, Mancur (1993). “Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development.” *American Political Science Review* 87 (3), pp. 567–576.
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- Kaldor, Mary and Ivan Vejvoda (1997). “Democratization in East and Central European Countries”. *Internatioanal Affairs* 73(1), pp. 59–83
- Ansell, Ben W. and David J. Samuels (2014). *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*. Cambridge University Press
- Boix, Carles (2015). *Political Order and Inequality: Their Foundations and Their Consequences for Human Welfare*. Cambridge University Press

VI Socio-Economic Inequality and Democracy

Lasswell's definition of politics was the study of who gets what, when, and how. In that light, the distribution of economic resources across people and groups is of direct importance for political analysts. In this section, we explore empirical and normative features of this terrain as it relates to democratic processes and public policy. Is democracy – in the form of formal political equality – compatible with economic inequality?

17 Socio-Economic Inequality and the Vote

Democracy provides, for the most part, that all citizens are politically equal in the sense that the primary political act of voting is conducted such that all votes are counted equally. For the most part, though, voting is not compulsory, and this can lead to discrepancies such that voting turnout rates vary systematically across groups of citizens characterized by different socio-economic categories. Are voters equally likely to vote at different levels of individual income and/or education? Does it matter if they are not so equally likely?

Required Readings

- Lijphart, Arend (1997). “Unequal Participation: Democracy’s Unresolved Dilemma”. *American Political Science Review* 91(1), pp. 1–14.
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- Leighley, Jan E. and Jonathan Nagler (2013). *Who Votes Now? Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3
- * Lindgren, Karl-Oskar, Sven Oskarsson, and Mikael Persson (2019). “Enhancing Electoral Equality: Can Education Compensate for Family Background Differences in Voting Participation?” *American Political Science Review* 113(1), pp. 108–122.
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- Burden, Barry C. (2009). “The dynamic effects of education on voter turnout”. *Electoral Studies* 28(4). Special issue on The American Voter Revisited, pp. 540–549.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2009.05.027>
- * Sondheimer, Rachel Milstein and Donald P. Green (2010). “Using Experiments to Estimate the Effects of Education on Voter Turnout”. *American Journal of Political Science* 54(1), pp. 174–189.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2009.00425.x>
- * Gallego, Aina (2010). “Understanding unequal turnout: Education and voting in comparative perspective”. *Electoral Studies* 29(2), pp. 239–248.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2009.11.002>
- Berinsky, Adam J. and Gabriel S. Lenz (2011). “Education and Political Participation: Exploring the Causal Link”. *Political Behavior* 33(3), pp. 357–373.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11109-010-9134-9>

- Gallego, Aina (2014). *Unequal Political Participation Worldwide*. Cambridge University Press.
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- * Croke, Keven et al. (2016). “Deliberate Disengagement: How Education Can Decrease Political Participation in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes”. *American Political Science Review* 110(3), pp. 579–600.
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- * Larreguy, Horacio and John Marshall (2017). “The Effect of Education on Civic and Political Engagement in Nonconsolidated Democracies: Evidence from Nigeria”. *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 99(3), pp. 387–401.
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- * Hansford, Thomas G. and Brad T. Gomez (2010). “Estimating the Electoral Effects of Voter Turnout”. *American Political Science Review* 104(02), pp. 268–288.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0003055410000109>
- * Artés, Joaquin (2014). “The rain in Spain: Turnout and partisan voting in Spanish elections”. *European Journal of Political Economy* 34, pp. 126–141.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2014.01.005>
- * Finseraas, Henning and Kåre Vernby (2014). “A mixed blessing for the left? Early voting, turnout and election outcomes in Norway”. *Electoral Studies* 33, pp. 278–291.
DOI-URL: <http://dx.doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2013.07.003>.
URL: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0261379413000954>
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URL: https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/files/westminster_model_democracy/files/fowler_compulsoryvoting.pdf (Retrieved 08/26/2019)
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18 Justice and Democracy

What is the relation between political justice and social justice? A democratic decision can be unjust if it violates individual's rights, yet democratic rights are themselves a key element of a just society. We explore the overlaps and divergences between these two core values, paying particular attention both to the difference between social justice and democratic legitimacy and to the way in which economic structures, and economic inequality, threaten to undermine democratic politics.

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19 The Median Voter Theory and the Puzzle of Redistribution

We might expect that the poorer sections of society would be more in favour of redistribution than the richer. A famous theory, commonly attributed Meltzer and Richard, (1981), formalises this insight into predictions about when and why state redistribution will occur/increase/decrease. This week, we discuss this theory, and then examine some of the empirical evidence that has been brought forth to test it.

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20 “Winner-Take-All Politics”

The median voter theory of redistribution does not seem to accord well with the empirical record. Are there other approaches that can explain how democracy can be consistent with high and rising economic inequality? Are there theoretical accounts that are consistent with the particular pattern of top-income inequality that we have seen emerge in several societies?

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