

Reading List for POLS626, Comparative Political Institutions

Matt Malis

9 January 2025 (v4)

1 State Formation

- Wang, Y. (2022). **Blood is thicker than water: Elite kinship networks and state building in imperial China.** *American Political Science Review*, 116:896–910
- Garfias, F. and Sellars, E. A. (2024). **Fiscal legibility and state development: Theory and evidence from colonial Mexico.** *American Journal of Political Science*
- Grzymala-Busse, A. (2024). **Tilly goes to church: the religious and medieval roots of european state fragmentation.** *American Political Science Review*, 118(1):88–107
- Queralt, D. (2019). War, international finance, and fiscal capacity in the long run. *International Organization*, 73:713–753
- Paine, J., Qiu, X., and Ricart-Huguet, J. (2024). Endogenous colonial borders: Precolonial states and geography in the partition of Africa. *American Political Science Review*, pages 1–20
- Garfias, F. and Sellars, E. A. (2021). From conquest to centralization: Domestic conflict and the transition to direct rule. *Journal of Politics*, 83:992–1009
- Garfias, F. and Sellars, E. A. (2022). When state building backfires: Elite coordination and popular grievance in rebellion. *American Journal of Political Science*, 66:977–992
- Kenkel, B. and Paine, J. (2023). A theory of external wars and european parliaments. *International Organization*, 77:102–143
- Mayshar, J., Moav, O., and Pascali, L. (2022). The origin of the state: Land productivity or appropriability? *Journal of Political Economy*, 130:1091–1144
- Allen, R. C., Bertazzini, M. C., and Heldring, L. (2023). The economic origins of government. In *American Economic Review*, volume 113, pages 2507–2545. American Economic Association
- **ARPS:** Queralt, D. (Forthcoming). Revisiting historical and modern state development. *Annual Review of Political Science*

2 State Capacity

- Bowles, J. (2024). **Identifying the rich: registration, taxation, and access to the state in Tanzania.** *American Political Science Review*, 118(2):602–618 (JMP)
- Henn, S. J. (2023). **Complements or substitutes? how institutional arrangements bind traditional authorities and the state in Africa.** *American Political Science Review*, 117(3):871–890 (JMP)
- Dipoppa, G. (forthcoming). **How criminal organizations expand to strong states: Local agreements and migrant exploitation in northern Italy.** *Journal of Politics* (JMP)

- **Fergusson, L., Larreguy, H., and Riaño, J. F. (2022). Political competition and state capacity: evidence from a land allocation program in Mexico. *The Economic Journal*, 132(648):2815–2834**
- Chang, C. and Wang, Y. (2024). The reach of the state. *Comparative Political Studies*, 57(8):1243–1275
- Ferree, K. E., Honig, L., Lust, E., and Phillips, M. L. (2023). Land and legibility: when do citizens expect secure property rights in weak states? *American Political Science Review*, 117(1):42–58
- Cook, S. J. and Fortunato, D. (2023). The politics of police data: State legislative capacity and the transparency of state and substate agencies. *American political science review*, 117(1):280–295
- Baldwin, K. and Ricart-Huguet, J. (2023). Does land quality increase the power of traditional leaders in contemporary Africa? *The Journal of Politics*, 85(1):334–339
- Charnysh, V. (2022). Explaining out-group bias in weak states: Religion and legibility in the 1891/1892 Russian famine. *World Politics*, 74(2):205–248
- Auerbach, A., Singh, S., and Thachil, T. (Forthcoming). Who knows how to govern? procedural knowledge in India’s small town councils. *American Political Science Review*
- Lee, M. M. (2018). The international politics of incomplete sovereignty: How hostile neighbors weaken the state. *International Organization*, 72(2):283–315
- Lee, M. M. and Zhang, N. (2017). Legibility and the informational foundations of state capacity. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(1):118–132
- Zhang, N. and Lee, M. M. (2020). Literacy and state–society interactions in nineteenth-century france. *American Journal of Political Science*, 64(4):1001–1016
- **ARPS: Suryanarayan, P. (2024). Endogenous state capacity. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 27**

3 Bureaucratic Performance

- **Bellodi, L., Morelli, M., and Vannoni, M. (2024). A costly commitment: Populism, economic performance, and the quality of bureaucracy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68:193–209**
- **Aneja, A. and Xu, G. (2024). Strengthening state capacity: Civil service reform and public sector performance during the gilded age. *American Economic Review*, 114:2352–2387**
- **Slough, T. A. (2024). Bureaucratic quality and electoral accountability. *American Political Science Review***
- Toth, A. (2024). My way and the highway: How bureaucrats enable state-society bargaining over land for infrastructure. *Working paper* (JMP)
- Moreira, D. and Pérez, S. (2024). Civil service exams and organizational performance: Evidence from the pendleton act. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 16:250–291
- Best, M. C., Hjort, J., and Szakonyi, D. (2023). Individuals and organizations as sources of state effectiveness. *American Economic Review*, 113:2121–2167
- Axbard, S. and Deng, Z. (2024). Informed enforcement: Lessons from pollution monitoring in China. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 16:213–252
- Carcelli, S. P. (2024). Bureaucratic structure and compliance with international agreements. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68:177–192

- Queralt, D. (2024). Her majesty’s aid: A principal–agent analysis of development assistance in the late british empire. *Working paper*
- **ARPS:** Pepinsky, T. B., Pierskalla, J. H., and Sacks, A. (2017). Bureaucracy and service delivery. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20(1):249–268
- **ARPS:** Dahlström, C. and Lapuente, V. (2022). Comparative bureaucratic politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25(1):43–63

4 Bureaucratic Selection

- Hassan, M. A., Larreguy, H., and Russell, S. (2024). Who gets hired? political patronage and bureaucratic favoritism. *American Political Science Review*
- Riaño, J. F. (2024). Bureaucratic nepotism. *Working paper*
- Toral, G. (2024). How patronage delivers: Political appointments, bureaucratic accountability, and service delivery in Brazil. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68:797–815 (JMP)
- Scharpf, A. and Gläsel, C. (2020). Why underachievers dominate secret police organizations: Evidence from autocratic Argentina. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Jiang, J., Shao, Z., and Zhang, Z. (2022). The price of probity: anticorruption and adverse selection in the Chinese bureaucracy. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52(1):41–64
- Voth, J. and Xu, G. (2020). Discretion and destruction: promotions, performance, and patronage in the royal navy. Technical report, CEPR Discussion Paper No. DP13963
- Ashraf, N., Bandiera, O., Davenport, E., and Lee, S. S. (2020). Losing prosociality in the quest for talent? sorting, selection, and productivity in the delivery of public services. *American Economic Review*, 110(5):1355–1394
- Brierley, S. (2021). Combining patronage and merit in public sector recruitment. *The Journal of Politics*, 83(1):182–197
- **ARPS:** Brierley, S., Lowande, K., Potter, R. A., and Toral, G. (2023). Bureaucratic politics: Blind spots and opportunities in political science. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 26(1):271–290

5 Political Connections

- Earle, J. S., Shpak, S., Shirikov, A., and Gehlbach, S. (2022). The oligarch vanishes: Defensive ownership, property rights, and political connections. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 17:513–546
- Do, Q.-A., Nguyen, K.-T., and Tran, A. N. (2017). One mandarin benefits the whole clan: Hometown favoritism in an authoritarian regime. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 9:1–29
- Fisman, R., Shi, J., Wang, Y., and Wu, W. (2020). Social ties and the selection of China’s political elite. *American Economic Review*, 110:1752–1781
- Pulejo, M. (2024). Religious mobilization and the selection of political elites: Evidence from postwar Italy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68(4):1498–1513 (JMP)

- Chu, J., Fisman, R., Tan, S., and Wang, Y. (2021). Hometown ties and the quality of government monitoring: Evidence from rotation of Chinese auditors. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 13:176–201
- Chang, Q. et al. (2024). Good friends versus best friends: How different types of political connection work in China. *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, 4(2):259–285
- Bai, Y., Jia, R., and Yang, J. (2023). Web of power: How elite networks shaped war and politics in China. In *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, volume 138, pages 1067–1108. Oxford University Press

6 Corruption

- Guajardo, G. and Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2024a). **Women’s representation and corruption: Evidence from local audits in Mexico.** *Comparative Political Studies*, 57:1411–1440
- Guajardo, G. A. and Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2024b). The gendered impact of corruption revelations: Unveiling the role of parties and voters in Mexico. *American Political Science Review*
- Christensen, H. B., Maffett, M., and Rauter, T. (2024). **Reversing the resource curse: Foreign corruption regulation and the local economic benefits of resource extraction.** *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 16:90–120
- Szakonyi, D. (2024). **Corruption and co-optation in autocracy: Evidence from Russia.** *American Political Science Review*
- Li, Z. (2024). Subsidies for sale: Postgovernment career concerns, revolving-door channels, and public resource misallocation in China. *Journal of Politics*, 86:704–719 (JMP)
- Andersen, J. J., Johannesen, N., and Rijkers, B. (2022). Elite capture of foreign aid: Evidence from offshore bank accounts. *Journal of Political Economy*, 130:388–425
- Weschle, S. (2024). Politicians’ private sector jobs and parliamentary behavior. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Daniele, G., Aassve, A., and Moglie, M. L. (2023). Never forget the first time: The persistent effects of corruption and the rise of populism in Italy. *Journal of Politics*, 85:468–483

7 Information & Transparency

- Szakonyi, D. (2023). **Indecent disclosures: Anticorruption reforms and political selection.** *American Journal of Political Science*
- Nalepa, M. and Sonin, K. (2023). **How does kompromat affect politics? a model of transparency regimes.** *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 18:365–402
- Liu, G. et al. (2023). **Where are the missing dead? how metrics management mitigates official data misreporting in China.** *Journal of Political Institutions and Political Economy*, 4(2):231–258 (JMP)
- Grossman, G., Michelitch, K., and Prato, C. (2024). The effect of sustained transparency on electoral accountability. *American Journal of Political Science*, 68:1022–1040
- Honig, D., William, B. C. P., Berliner, D., nifer Brass, J., Evans, A., Feinstein, O., Fox, J., Hertel-Fernandez, A., Kilby, C., Marshall, J., and Oliveira, L. (2023). When does transparency improve institutional performance? evidence from 20,000 projects in 183 countries. *American Journal of Political Science*, 67:1096–1116

- Gerardino, M. P., Litschig, S., and Pomeranz, D. (2024). Distortion by audit: Evidence from public procurement. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 16:71–108

8 Censorship & Propaganda

- Paglayan, A. S. (2022). Education or indoctrination? the violent origins of public school systems in an era of state-building. *American Political Science Review*, 116:1242–1257
- Rozenas, A. and Stukal, D. (2019). How autocrats manipulate economic news: Evidence from Russia’s state-controlled television. *Journal of Politics*, 81:982–996
- King, G., Pan, J., and Roberts, M. E. (2017). How the Chinese government fabricates social media posts for strategic distraction, not engaged argument. *American Political Science Review*, 111:484–501
- Guriev, S. and Treisman, D. (2019). Informational autocrats. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 33:100–127
- Skoglund, L. (2024). The revolution will not be telegraphed. *Working paper* (JMP)
- Esberg, J. (2020). Censorship as reward: evidence from pop culture censorship in Chile. *American Political Science Review*, 114(3):821–836
- Adena, M., Enikolopov, R., Petrova, M., Santarosa, V., and Zhuravskaya, E. (2015). Radio and the rise of the nazis in prewar Germany. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 130:1885–1939
- Carter, E. B. and Carter, B. L. (2021). Propaganda and protest in autocracies. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 65:919–949
- Chen, Y. and Yang, D. Y. (2019). The impact of media censorship: 1984 or brave new world? *American Economic Review*, 109:2294–2332
- Chester, P. and Wong, A. (forthcoming). Divide to conquer: Using wedge narratives to influence diaspora communities. *Security Studies*
- Guriev, S. and Treisman, D. (2020). A theory of informational autocracy. *Journal of Public Economics*, 186
- Hobbs, W. R. and Roberts, M. E. (2018). How sudden censorship can increase access to information. *American Political Science Review*, 112:621–636
- Lutscher, P. M. (2023). When censorship works: Exploring the resilience of news websites to online censorship. *British Journal of Political Science*, 53:1342–1350
- Stukal, D., Sanovich, S., Bonneau, R., and Tucker, J. A. (2022). Why botter: How pro-government bots fight opposition in Russia. *American Political Science Review*, 116:843–857
- Yanagizawa-Drott, D. (2014). Propaganda and conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan genocide. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 129:1947–1994
- Yang, E. (2024). The limits of AI for authoritarian control
- de Juan, A., Haass, F., and Pierskalla, J. (2021). The partial effectiveness of indoctrination in autocracies: evidence from the German Democratic Republic. *World Politics*, 73(4):593–628
- **ARPS**: Rosenfeld, B. and Wallace, J. (2024). Information politics and propaganda in authoritarian societies. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 27

9 Repression

- Xu, X. (2021). To repress or to co-opt? authoritarian control in the age of digital surveillance. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65:309–325 (JMP)
- Esberg, J. (2021). Anticipating dissent: The repression of politicians in pinochet’s Chile. *Journal of Politics*, 83:689–705
- Shen-Bayh, F. (2018). Strategies of repression: Judicial and extrajudicial methods of autocratic survival. *World Politics*, 70(3):321–357 (JMP)
- Amat, C. (2024). State repression and opposition survival in pinochet’s Chile. *Comparative Political Studies*, 57:506–545
- Berlin, M. S. (2023). Does criminalizing torture deter police torture? *American Journal of Political Science*
- Dukalskis, A., Furstenberg, S., Hellmeier, S., and Scales, R. (2024). The long arm and the iron fist: Authoritarian crackdowns and transnational repression. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 68:1051–1079
- Peisakhin, L. and Queralt, D. (2024). The political legacy of elite repression. *Working paper*
- Hager, A. and Krakowski, K. (2022). Does state repression spark protests? evidence from secret police surveillance in communist Poland. *American Political Science Review*, 116:564–579
- Scharpf, A., Gläbel, C., and Edwards, P. (2023). International sports events and repression in autocracies: Evidence from the 1978 fifa world cup. *American Political Science Review*, 117:909–926
- Khani, S. and Kadivar, M. A. (2024). Sanctuaries or battlegrounds? state penetration in places of worship, university campuses, and state bureaucracy for pro-government mobilization: Evidence from iran (2015–2019). *Comparative Political Studies*, 57:1668–1702
- Grewal, S. (2024). Military repression and restraint in Algeria. *American Political Science Review*, 118:671–686
- Pan, J., Xu, X., and Xu, Y. (2024). Disguised repression: Targeting opponents with non-political crimes to undermine dissent. *Working paper*

10 Political Violence

- Acemoglu, D., Fergusson, L., Robinson, J., Romero, D., and Vargas, J. F. (2020). The perils of high-powered incentives: evidence from colombia’s false positives. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 12(3):1–43
- Pulejo, M. and Querubín, P. (2023). Plata y plomo: How higher wages expose politicians to criminal violence. *Working paper*
- Harsch, M. F. and Troy, K. K. (2024). Bounded rule and regional stability in fragile states. *Journal of Politics*, 86:321–336
- Enríquez, J. R. (2024). Democracy under assault: Electoral reform and political violence. *Working paper* (JMP)
- Heldring, L. (2021). The origins of violence in Rwanda. *The Review of economic studies*, 88(2):730–763
- Daniele, G., Dipoppa, G., and Pulejo, M. (2024). Violence against women in politics. *Working paper*
- Rogall, T. (2021). Mobilizing the masses for genocide. *American economic review*, 111(1):41–72
- Brooke, S., Buckley, D., David, C., and Mendoza, R. (2023). Religious protection from populist violence: The catholic church and the Philippine drug war. *American Journal of Political Science*

11 Authoritarian Stability

- Meng, A. and Paine, J. (2022). Power sharing and authoritarian stability: How rebel regimes solve the guardianship dilemma. *American Political Science Review*, 116:1208–1225
- Liu, H. (2023). Meritocracy as authoritarian co-optation: Political selection and upward mobility in China. *American Political Science Review* (JMP)
- Baturo, A., Khokhlov, N., and Tolstrup, J. (2024). Playing the sycophant card: The logic and consequences of professing loyalty to the autocrat. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Carter, B. L. and Hassan, M. (2021). Regional governance in divided societies: evidence from the republic of congo and kenya. *The Journal of Politics*, 83(1):40–57
- Goldring, E. and Matthews, A. S. (2023). To purge or not to purge? an individual-level quantitative analysis of elite purges in dictatorships. *British Journal of Political Science*, 53:575–593
- Beiser-McGrath, J. and Metternich, N. W. (2021). Ethnic coalitions and the logic of political survival in authoritarian regimes. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54:144–178
- Chen, L. and Zhang, H. (2021). Strategic authoritarianism: The political cycles and selectivity of China’s tax-break policy. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65:845–861
- Gerzso, T. and van de Walle, N. (2022). The politics of legislative expansion in Africa. *Comparative Political Studies*, 55:2315–2348
- Horz, C. M., Marbach, M., and Steinert, C. V. (2023). Environmental pollution and authoritarian politics. *Journal of Politics*, 85:524–536
- Meng, A. (2021a). Ruling parties in authoritarian regimes: Rethinking institutional strength. In *British Journal of Political Science*, volume 51, pages 526–540. Cambridge University Press
- Meng, A. (2021b). Winning the game of thrones: Leadership succession in modern autocracies. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 65:950–981
- Mattingly, D. C. (2024). How the party commands the gun: The foreign-domestic threat dilemma in China. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Reuter, O. J. and Szakonyi, D. (2019). Elite defection under autocracy: Evidence from Russia. *American Political Science Review*, 113(2):552–568
- **ARPS**: Hassan, M., Mattingly, D., and Nugent, E. R. (2022). Political control. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25(1):155–174

12 Democratic Imitation

- Martinez-Bravo, M., i Miquel, G. P., Qian, N., and Yao, Y. (2022). The rise and fall of local elections in China. *American Economic Review*, 112:2921–2958
- Schuler, P. (2020). Position taking or position ducking? a theory of public debate in single-party legislatures. *Comparative Political Studies*, 53(9):1493–1524
- Liu, H., Su, C.-H., and Wang, Y.-T. (2024). The law or the career? autocratic judiciaries, strategic sentencing, and political repression. *Comparative Political Studies*
- Szakonyi, D. (2022). Candidate filtering: The strategic use of electoral manipulations in Russia. *British Journal of Political Science*, 52:649–670
- Xu, J. (2020). The role of corporate political connections in commercial lawsuits: Evidence from Chinese courts. *Comparative Political Studies*, 53(14):2321–2358 (JMP)

- Szakonyi, D. (Forthcoming). Opposition rule under autocracy: Evidence from Russia. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Lü, X., Liu, M., and Li, F. (2020). Policy coalition building in an authoritarian legislature: Evidence from China’s national assemblies (1983-2007). *Comparative Political Studies*, 53:1380–1416
- Grasse, D., Sexton, R., and Wright, A. (2024). Courting civilians during conflict: Evidence from taliban judges in Afghanistan. *International Organization*, 78(1):134–169

13 Democratic Transitions

- Bandiera, A., Larreguy, H., and Mangonnet, J. (2024). Family ties, social control, and authoritarian distribution to elites
- Ang, M. and Nalepa, M. (2019). Can transitional justice improve the quality of representation in new democracies? *World Politics*, 71:631–666
- Treisman, D. (2020). Democracy by mistake: How the errors of autocrats trigger transitions to freer government. *American Political Science Review*, 114:792–810
- Gonzalez, F., Muñoz, P., and Prem, M. (2021). Lost in transition? the persistence of dictatorship mayors. *Journal of Development Economics*, 151
- Bautista, M. A., González, F., Martínez, L. R., Muñoz, P., and Prem, M. (2023). The geography of repression and opposition to autocracy. *American Journal of Political Science*
- Nalepa, M. and Powell, E. J. (2016). The role of domestic opposition and international justice regimes in peaceful transitions of power. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 60:1191–1218
- Djuve, V. L. and Knutsen, C. H. (2024). Economic crisis and regime transitions from within. *Journal of Peace Research*, 61(3):446–461
- Pierskalla, J. H., Lauretig, A., Rosenberg, A. S., and Sacks, A. (2021). Democratization and representative bureaucracy: an analysis of promotion patterns in indonesia’s civil service, 1980–2015. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2):261–277

14 Democratic Backsliding

- Arriola, L. R., Devaro, J. E., and Meng, A. N. (2021). Democratic subversion: Elite cooptation and opposition fragmentation. *American Political Science Review*, pages 1–15
- Grumbach, J. M. (2023). Laboratories of democratic backsliding. *American Political Science Review*, 117:967–984
- Braley, A., Lenz, G. S., Adjodah, D., Rahnama, H., and Pentland, A. (2023). Why voters who value democracy participate in democratic backsliding. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 7:1282–1293
- Treisman, D. (2023). How great is the current danger to democracy? assessing the risk with historical data. *Comparative Political Studies*, 56:1924–1952
- Das, S. (2024). Democratic backsliding in the world’s largest democracy. *Working paper*
- Frederiksen, K. V. S. (2024). Do two-party systems hamper defection from undemocratic candidates? *Party Politics*

- **ARPS:** Grillo, E., Luo, Z., Nalepa, M., and Prato, C. (2023). Theories of democratic backsliding. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 27
- **Little, A. T. and Meng, A. (2024a).** Measuring democratic backsliding. *PS - Political Science and Politics*, 57:149–161
- PS Symposium in response to Little & Meng:
 - Baron, H., Blair, R. A., Gottlieb, J., and Paler, L. (2024). An events-based approach to understanding democratic erosion. *PS - Political Science and Politics*, 57:208–215
 - Knutsen, C. H., Marquardt, K. L., Seim, B., Coppedge, M., Edgell, A. B., Medzihorsky, J., Pemstein, D., Teorell, J., Gerring, J., and Lindberg, S. I. (2024). Conceptual and measurement issues in assessing democratic backsliding. *PS - Political Science and Politics*, 57:162–177
 - Gorokhovskaia, Y. (2024). Difficult to count, important to measure: Assessing democratic backsliding
 - Bergeron-Boutin, O., Carey, J. M., Helmke, G., and Rau, E. (2024). Expert bias and democratic erosion: Assessing expert perceptions of contemporary american democracy. *PS - Political Science and Politics*, 57:184–193
 - Miller, M. K. (2024). How little and meng’s objective approach fails in democracies
 - Weitzel, D., Gerring, J., Pemstein, D., and Skaaning, S. E. (2024). Measuring backsliding with observables: Observable-to-subjective score mapping. *PS - Political Science and Politics*, 57:216–223
 - Treisman, D. (2024). Psychological biases and democratic anxiety: A comment on little and meng (2023)
 - Levitsky, S. and Way, L. (2024). The resilience of democracy’s third wave
 - Little, A. T. and Meng, A. (2024b). What we do and do not know about democratic backsliding