

THE HISTORICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF BUREAUCRACY

Winter Semester 2022–2023, University of Konstanz

Seminar Time: Tuesday, 5.00–6.30 PM (17.00–18.30 Uhr)

Seminar Location: D247 (in-person seminar)

Instructor: Jan P. Vogler

Contact: jan.vogler@uni-konstanz.de

Course Abstract:

Modern bureaucratic systems are powerful tools that allow political leaders to implement policies, regulate economies, and manage social interaction. Given the capabilities of these administrative organizations, they can be used to promote sustained and inclusive economic growth as well as human development. Yet bureaucracies can also serve authoritarian purposes, which may include economically benefiting a small social group and suppressing political opposition. Finally, bureaucracies and bureaucrats can become politically influential actors themselves. Thus, the importance of modern bureaucracies for determining the fates of societies is difficult to overestimate. Given both the political and economic relevance of modern bureaucracies, this course focuses on the *historical political economy of bureaucracy*. The class is organized as follows: (1) It begins with an overview of what “modern bureaucracy” is and why we study it. Subsequently, we seek to answer a number of crucial questions: (2) How can we classify different bureaucratic systems and what are the key distinctions between them? (3) What were the broader causes of the historical emergence of modern bureaucracies (bureaucratization)? (4) Which factors explain variations the design and performance of these early administrative systems? (5) How did bureaucracies historically affect their socioeconomic and political environments? (6) What are global and international dynamics of long-term bureaucratic development? (7) Finally, can we apply what we have learned about bureaucratic history to the analysis of present-day administrative systems? Throughout the class, we will highlight the role that bureaucracies play in state-market interactions—the key subject of historical political economy.

Course Objectives:

By the end of the class, students will be able to:

- Describe (1) the key features that all modern public bureaucracies have in common as well as (2) the differences between them and other forms of administrative organization.

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- Understand the most important classification schemes that have been established to analyze various types of modern bureaucracies (and the specific institutional features they highlight).
- Elaborate on the historical conditions that led to the emergence of modern bureaucracies, including military pressure, increases in socioeconomic complexity, and imperialism.
- Provide an overview of the many different ways in which bureaucracies have influenced their environment throughout history, especially in terms of economic growth and development.
- Evaluate a variety of theoretical perspectives in terms of how international, global, and transnational developments affected modern bureaucracies at the domestic level.
- Critically reflect on what we can learn from the historical analysis of bureaucracy, especially against the background of scholarly contributions on present-day administrative systems.

Course Requirements:

Useful Background Knowledge

Basic knowledge of statistical research methods in political science will be very useful for this class. While students without prior training in such methods are equally encouraged to enroll in the course, the class might be more challenging for them. If many course attendees are unfamiliar with statistical research methods, we have the option of organizing an extra session at the beginning of the semester that will provide an introduction to regression analysis. Throughout the class, I will be available to give further advice and guidance to students who want to catch up on this subject.

Preparation for Class, Weekly Readings, and Participation

Students are asked to come to class well prepared and to have good knowledge of the required readings' contents. There will usually be 4-5 required readings per week. Participation in class that is based on doing these readings in advance is very important. Since this is a small, discussion-based course, I strongly encourage active participation and expect that every student will make at least 1 contribution per session. Participation will account for 10% of the overall grade.

In-Class Book Presentations

Students will sign up for in-class book presentations (15% of the grade). Currently, there are 13 slots for book presentations available (based on 13 sessions). Students will submit preferences for sessions in which they would like to present by the end of the first week of classes. I will then assign students to these sessions and propose one specific book from the respective week.

Ideally, we will be able to identify at least one volunteer per session. Each participant will give a 12- to 15-minute PowerPoint-based presentation that summarizes and critically discusses the book that was assigned to them. Students are expected to practice the presentation in advance to ensure that they can stay within this time limit. The presentation is meant to (1) summarize the book for other course participants and (2) briefly connect it to the overarching topic of the class. (In addition to the in-class presentation, students are expected to provide a written summary of the book in the form of

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a Word and PDF document. More details on this requirement are below.) Participants are expected to email me their preliminary PowerPoint slides on Friday (by 5.00 PM or 17.00 Uhr) before class for potential additional feedback.

Written Assignments

There are three written assignments in this class. Specifically, students are expected to write (1) one response paper, (2) one critical book summary, and (3) one research plan. These three papers are generally expected to be double spaced, using a font size of 12 points. Please make sure to properly format your papers: (1) give them a clear title, (2) make sure your name and further details on your program of studies are on the first page, (3) use a standard font type (12 point), and (4) indicate the total number of words written at the beginning of your contribution (excluding references).

Requirement for the response paper (30% of the grade): For the response paper, students can freely choose any reading on the syllabus (including book presentation readings) as of week 3 (topic: “What is “Bureaucracy?” And Why is It Relevant? Part II”). There are two limitations in terms of readings that can be used: (1) Articles that are literature reviews cannot be discussed in response papers. (If there is any ambiguity regarding whether or not a reading is a literature review, please consult me.) (2) Your book presentation and response paper cannot cover the same reading and they also cannot cover readings from the same week.

The goal of the response paper is to (1) write a summary of the reading (~ 500 words), (2) either relate its content to historical events or identify the reading’s possible shortcomings (of any kind) (~ 500 words), and (3) identify an additional reading that is not on the syllabus, but that is relevant to the topic, and briefly describe how it relates to the article/book that you have summarized (~ 500 words). If there is any doubt regarding whether or not an article is a literature review, please contact me first. The expected total length of the response paper is 6-7 pages or 1,500 words (excluding references). The deadline of the response paper is the beginning of the class (5.00 PM) (17.00 Uhr) in which the reading is covered (please send it to me by email in Word and PDF format).

Requirements for the critical book summary (20% of the grade): In addition to the book presentation outlined above, students are expected to prepare a written summary of the book for the entire class. The summary is meant to (1) provide an overview of the book’s key arguments and insights (~ 850 words) and (2) critically discuss possible shortcomings/omissions of the book (~ 400 words). The expected total length of the book summary is 5-6 pages or 1,250 words (excluding references). The deadline of the critical book summary is the beginning of the class (5.00 PM) (17.00 Uhr) in which the reading is covered (please send it to me by email in Word and PDF format).

Requirements for the research plan (30% of the grade): As the final assignment of the class, students are expected to (1) identify a research question that interests them and that is related to the “historical political economy of bureaucracy” and (2) write a short research plan on how to pursue this research question. This plan is meant to include: (1) The specific question, its connection to the class, and relevance (~ 500 words), (2) an outline of your own argument or theory that addresses the research question (~ 500 words), and (3) a description of an empirical case (or cases) that allow you to evaluate your theory/argument (~ 500 words). The expected total length of the research plan is 6-7 pages or

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1,500 words (excluding references). The deadline of the research plan is Tuesday, March 7, 2023 (please send it to me by email in Word and PDF format).

Late Assignment Policy

If you cannot finish an assignment on time for a legitimate reason, including, for example, emergencies and illness, please contact me. Please do so ideally before the assignment is due, but at most seven days after the deadline. In case of illness, a statement by your doctor is needed. Depending on the situation, I will provide you with an alternative assignment and/or deadline. If no legitimate reason is provided for late assignments, 10% of the point total for the assignment are subtracted for every day that the assignment is late, and a point total of 0 is awarded if the assignment is more than seven days late.

Please note that, if you attend a session in which we discuss a reading, you can no longer write your response paper on that reading. Therefore, if you cannot finish a response paper prior to class, please write your response paper on a reading from another session.

Attendance Policy

You can miss a maximum of three classes. Out of those three, you can miss one class without the necessity to provide a reason. If you miss more than one class, I expect you to inform me about this in advance. If you miss more than three classes (for any reason), you will automatically fail the class.

Grading:

Based on the above requirements, the course grade will consist of the following elements:

- 10%: Participation
- 25%: Response paper (~1500 words, ~6-7 pages)
- 30%: Research plan (~1500 words, ~6-7 pages)
- 35%: Book presentation (~12-15 minutes) (15%)
and critical book summary (~1250 words, ~5-6 pages) (20%)

Inclusion:

An essential goal of the class is to create an open and welcoming discussion atmosphere. Diversity of opinions, constructive discussion, and mutual respect are at the core of academic discourse and will be key elements of this class. A heterogeneity in backgrounds, experiences, and identities will greatly benefit us by allowing us to learn from each other and expand our thinking. All students are encouraged to voice their opinions and to do so in a way that displays respect for the opinions of other students in the class. Students who believe that these goals are inhibited in any way should contact me so that we can discuss their concerns.

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Academic Integrity:

A second essential goal of mine is to uphold the standards of academic integrity in this class. It is expected that all work submitted is entirely done by the person who submits it. All literature used in writing a paper must be referenced. Students are expected to always use quotation marks when they directly quote the words or statements of others. We will discuss best practices for citation during the first session of class. Students are also expected to turn in a full bibliography listing works consulted during their research for each written assignment. If you have any questions about academic integrity, please contact me so that we can discuss them.

Important Dates and Deadlines:

- First class: Tuesday, October 25, 2022
- Holiday break day I (no class): Tuesday, November 1, 2022
- Double session (5.00–7.15 PM): Tuesday, November 8, 2022
- Online class: Tuesday, December 20, 2022
- Holiday break day II (no class): Tuesday, December 27, 2022
- Holiday break day III (no class): Tuesday, January 3, 2022
- Response paper due: Individually assigned, at the beginning of class
- Critical book summary: Individually assigned, at the beginning of class
- Book presentation: Individually assigned, at the end of class
- Last class: Tuesday, February 8, 2023
- Research plan due: Tuesday, March 7, 2023

Office Hours:

Instead of traditional office hours, please simply email me at jan.vogler@uni-konstanz.de to set up a virtual (or in-person) appointment. Please do so *at least* 2–3 days before you would like to meet. In your initial email to request an appointment, please provide me with several days and time frames that would work for you.

Course Schedule Begins on the Following Page.

COURSE SCHEDULE:

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO THE CLASS AND TO THE HISTORICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF BUREAUCRACY

The first part of the class introduces the students to the course structure and provides an overview of the historical political economy of bureaucracy. Because we will spend an entire semester dealing with this topic, it is important to first figure out *what* we study and *why* we study it. Therefore, in the first part of the class, we focus on the definition and relevance of bureaucracy: (1) Which features or characteristics define a modern bureaucracy? (2) How are bureaucracies different from other forms of administrative organization? (3) And what makes bureaucracies a subject worthy of scholarly investigation?

1. Introduction and Course Overview:

(October 25, 2022)

The Historical Political Economy of Bureaucracy

Required Reading:

- Vogler, J.P., 2022/2023. “Bureaucracies in Historical Political Economy.” In: *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy* (expected in 2023). Edited by Jeffery A. Jenkins and Jared Rubin. Oxford University Press. [\[Link to PDF Copy\]](#)

— NO CLASS ON NOVEMBER 1, 2022 (HOLIDAY BREAK)! —

Extended (Double) Class on November 8, 2022 (5.00 PM to 7.15 PM)

2. What is “Bureaucracy?” And Why is It Relevant? Part I

(November 8, 2022)

Required Readings:

- Weber, M., 1978. “Bureaucracy.” In *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology (Vol. 2)*. University of California Press, pp. 956-1005.
- Sager, F. and Rosser, C. (2021). Weberian bureaucracy. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.166>. Oxford University Press.

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- Vogler, J.P., 2019. “The Entanglement of Public Bureaucratic Institutions: Their Interactions with Society, Politics, Culture, and the Economy.” In *Interdisciplinary Studies of the Political Order: New Applications of Public Choice Theory*, eds., Donald J. Boudreaux, Christopher J. Coyne, Bobbi Herzberg, pp.99-129. [\[Link to PDF Copy\]](#)
- Fukuyama, F. (2014). *Political order and political decay: From the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. **[Only Chapter 3: “Bureaucracy”]**
- Gailmard, S. and Patty, J.W., 2012. Formal models of bureaucracy. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 15, pp.353-377.

Recommendation to Revisit (from a Previous Class):

- Vogler, J.P., 2022/2023. “Bureaucracies in Historical Political Economy.” In: *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Political Economy* (expected in 2023). Edited by Jeffery A. Jenkins and Jared Rubin. Oxford University Press. [\[Link to PDF Copy\]](#)

Additional Readings:

- Lee, M.M. and Zhang, N., 2017. Legibility and the informational foundations of state capacity. *The Journal of Politics*, 79(1), pp.118-132.

Book Presentation Options:

- Strayer, J.R., 1970. *On the medieval origins of the modern state*. Princeton University Press.

3. What is “Bureaucracy?” And Why is It Relevant? Part II

(November 8, 2022)

Required Readings:

- Mann, M., 2012. *The sources of social power: volume 2, the rise of classes and nation-states, 1760-1914* (Vol. 2). Cambridge University Press. **[Only Chapter 13: “The rise of the modern state: III. Bureaucratization”, pp. 444-478]**
- Sasaki, Y. (2021). The Royal Consultants: The Intendants of France and the Bureaucratic Transition in Pre-modern Europe. *Journal of Historical Political Economy*, 1(2), 259-289.
- Vogler, J.P. (2022): Bureaucracy and Democracy: The Importance of Public Services to Citizens’ Lives and Trust in Government. *Working Paper*.
- Kiser, E., & Schneider, J. (1994). Bureaucracy and efficiency: an analysis of taxation in early modern Prussia. *American Sociological Review*, 187-204.

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Additional Readings:

- McCubbins, M.D., Noll, R.G. and Weingast, B.R., 1987. Administrative procedures as instruments of political control. *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 3(2), pp.243-277.

Book Presentation Options:

- Spruyt, H., 1996. *The sovereign state and its competitors: an analysis of systems change*. Princeton University Press.

PART II: CLASSIFICATIONS AND TYPOLOGIES OF BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMS

After the first part of the class has given us an overview of what a “modern public bureaucracy” is and what constitutes the relevance of these organizations, the second part introduces a large number of classification schemes and typologies of bureaucratic systems. Scholars of public administration have identified a number of dimensions along which bureaucratic systems exhibit substantial divergence. This variation impacts (a) policy implementation, (b) the character of state-market as well as state-society interactions, and (c) the quality of public services. Thus, in this part of the class, we ask: (1) What are the key typologies developed to compare bureaucratic systems? (2) Which organizational dimensions have been identified as most relevant by scholars of public bureaucracy?

4. Classifications and Typologies of Bureaucratic Systems, Part I (November 15, 2022)

Required Readings:

- Silberman, B.S., 1993. *Cages of reason: the rise of the rational state in France, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain*. University of Chicago Press. [Only Chapter 2, “Political Uncertainty, Leadership Succession, and the Modes of Administration”, & Chapter 3, “The Strategies of Uncertainty”]
- Dahlström, C. and Lapuente, V., 2017. *Organizing leviathan: Politicians, bureaucrats, and the making of good government*. Cambridge University Press. [Only Chapter 2, “Theory”]
- Vogler, J.P., 2019. *The Political Economy of Public Bureaucracy: The Emergence of Modern Administrative Organizations*. Dissertation, Duke University. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/10161/19818>. [Only Chapter 2, “The Emergence of Modern Administrative Organizations: How Socio-Economic Classes Shaped Early Bureaucracies”]
- Brierley, S. (2021). Combining patronage and merit in public sector recruitment. *The Journal of Politics*, 83(1), 182-197.

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Book Presentation Options:

- Ertman, T., 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building states and regimes in medieval and early modern Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

5. Classifications and Typologies of Bureaucratic Systems, Part II

(November 22, 2022)

Required Readings:

- Painter, M., and Peters, B.G. 2010. *Tradition and public administration*. Springer. [Only Chapter 1, “The Analysis of Administrative Traditions”, & Chapter 2, “Administrative Traditions in Comparative Perspective: Families, Groups and Hybrids”]
- Raadschelders, J., & Vigoda-Gadot, E. (2015). *Global dimensions of public administration and governance: A comparative voyage*. John Wiley & Sons. [Only pp. 432-435]
- Bustikova, L. and Corduneanu-Huci, C., 2017. “Patronage, trust, and state capacity: The historical trajectories of clientelism.” *World Politics*, Vol. 69, No. 2, pp. 277-326.
- Huber, J.D. and Shipan, C.R., 2002. *Deliberate discretion?: The institutional foundations of bureaucratic autonomy*. Cambridge University Press. [Only Chapter 1, “Laws, Bureaucratic Autonomy, and the Comparative Study of Delegation”, & Chapter 2, “Rational Delegation or Helpless Abdication? The Relationship Between Bureaucrats and Politicians”]

Book Presentation Options:

- Peters, B. G. (2021). *Administrative traditions: Understanding the roots of contemporary administrative behavior*. Oxford University Press.
- McDonnell, E. M. (2020). *Patchwork Leviathan: Pockets of Bureaucratic Effectiveness in Developing States*. Princeton University Press.

PART III: THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN BUREAUCRACIES

Two central questions that scholars of historical political economy have to ask are the following: First, why did modern bureaucracies emerge? Second, how did they become the dominant form of administrative organization? Therefore, the third part of the class focuses on the major historical processes that initially led to the creation of bureaucracies. We will focus on three crucial factors: (1) how military conflict shaped the structures of the state and particularly the modern bureaucracy, (2) the role of (domestic) socioeconomic developments, and (3) the impact of (global/transnational) imperialism on the creation and sustenance of modern bureaucratic systems.

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6. The Emergence of Modern Bureaucracies, Part I

(November 29, 2022)

Required Reading:

- Mann, M., 2012. *The sources of social power: volume 2, the rise of classes and nation-states, 1760-1914* (Vol. 2). Cambridge University Press. [Only Chapter 11, “The rise of the modern state: I. Quantitative data”, Chapter 12, “The rise of the modern state: II. The autonomy of military power”, & Chapter 14, “The rise of the modern state: IV. The expansion of civilian scope”]
- Fukuyama, F. (2014). *Political order and political decay: From the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. [Only Chapter 4: “Prussia Builds a State”]
- Deak, J., 2020. *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War*. Stanford University Press. [Only Introduction]
- Hintze, O. 1975. Military Organization and the Organization of the State. In *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, ed. Felix Gilbert. Oxford University Press, pp. 178-215.
- Doyle, W. (1992). *The old European order 1660-1800*. Oxford University Press. [Only Chapter 11: “The Machinery of the State”]
- [In German] Raphael, L. (2000). *Recht und Ordnung: Herrschaft durch Verwaltung im 19. Jahrhundert* [Law and Order: Rule through Administration in the Nineteenth Century]. Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag. [Only pp. 53-61]

Recommendation to Revisit (from a Previous Class):

- Mann, M., 2012, Chapter 13, “The rise of the modern state: III. Bureaucratization”

Important Background Readings:

- Jones, E. (2003). *The European miracle: environments, economies and geopolitics in the history of Europe and Asia*. Cambridge University Press. [Only Chapter 7: “Nation-States”]
- Capoccia, G. and Kelemen, R. D. (2007). The study of critical junctures: Theory, narrative, and counterfactuals in historical institutionalism. *World Politics*, 59(3):341-369.
- Mahoney, J. (2000). Path dependence in historical sociology. *Theory and society*, 29(4), 507-548.
- David, P. A. (1994). Why are institutions the ‘carriers of history’?: Path dependence and the evolution of conventions, organizations and institutions. *Structural change and economic dynamics*, 5(2), 205-220.

Book Presentation Options:

- Tilly, C., 1992. *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1992*. Wiley-Blackwell.

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7. The Emergence of Modern Bureaucracies, Part II

(December 6, 2022)

Required Readings:

- Vogler, J.P. 2022. "Managing Social and Economic Externalities: Industrialization and the Rise of the Bureaucratic State." *Working Paper*. [[Link to PDF Copy](#)]
- Raadschelders, J.C. and Rutgers, M.R., 1996. The evolution of civil service systems. *Civil service systems in comparative perspective*, eds., Hans A. G. M. Bekke, James L. Perry, Theo A. J. Toonen, pp.67-99.
- Hintze, O. 1975. The Origins of the Modern Ministerial System: A Comparative Study. In *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*, ed. Felix Gilbert. Oxford University Press, pp. 216-266.
- Fischer, W., & Lundgreen, P. (1975). The recruitment and training of administrative and technical personnel. *The formation of national states in western Europe*, pp. 456-561.
- Fukuyama, F. (2014). *Political order and political decay: From the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. [Only Chapter 8: "Patronage and Reform"]

Important Background Readings:

- Cirone, A., & Pepinsky, T. B. (2022). Historical Persistence. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 25, 241-259.
- Abad, L. A., & Maurer, N. (2021). History never really says goodbye: a critical review of the persistence literature. *Journal of Historical Political Economy*, 1(1), 31-68.

Book Presentation Options:

- Skowronek, S., 1982. *Building a new American state: The expansion of national administrative capacities, 1877-1920*. Cambridge University Press.
- Deak, J., 2020. *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War*. Stanford University Press.

PART IV: FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED THE INSTITUTIONAL DESIGN OF BUREAUCRACIES

How can we explain lasting differences in the institutional design of bureaucratic systems? The fourth part of the class is focused on answering this question. Possible explanations for lasting differences include (1) variation in external pressures (including warfare/imperialism) and (2) divergence in domestic socioeconomic or political conditions. Thus, we will consider a multitude of different perspectives on the question of what determined the institutional structures of bureaucratic systems.

8. Factors that Influenced the Design of Bureaucracies, Part I (December 13, 2022)

The Emergence of Modern Bureaucracies in Europe and Imperialist Expansion

Required Readings:

- Beramendi, P., Dincecco, M., & Rogers, M. (2019). Intra-elite competition and long-run fiscal development. *The Journal of Politics*, 81(1), 49-65.
- Mattingly, D.C., 2017. Colonial legacies and state institutions in China: Evidence from a natural experiment. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(4), pp.434-463.
- Vogler, J.P., 2022. The Complex Imprint of Foreign Rule: Tracking Differential Legacies along the Administrative Hierarchy. *Studies in Comparative International Development*. [\[Link to PDF Copy\]](#)
- Vogler, J.P., 2019. Imperial rule, the imposition of bureaucratic institutions, and their long-term legacies. *World Politics*, 71(4), pp.806-863. [\[Link to PDF Copy\]](#)

Important Background Readings:

- Vogler, J. P. (2022). Rivalry and empire: How competition among European states shaped imperialism. *Journal of Historical Political Economy*, 2(2), 189-234. [\[Link to PDF Copy\]](#)
- Paniagua, V., & Vogler, J. P. (2022). Economic elites and the constitutional design of sharing political power. *Constitutional Political Economy*, 33(1), 25-52. [\[Link to PDF Copy\]](#)

Additional Readings:

- Dincecco, M., 2015. The rise of effective states in Europe. *The Journal of Economic History*, 75(3), 901-918.
- Becker, S. O., Boeckh, K., Hainz, C., & Woessmann, L. (2016). The empire is dead, long live the empire! Long-run persistence of trust and corruption in the bureaucracy. *The Economic Journal*, 126(590), 40-74.
- Kantorowicz, J. (2022). Fiscal Policy and the Long Shadows of History. *Journal of Historical Political Economy*, 2(1), 1-28.

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Recommendation to Revisit (from a Previous Class):

- Vogler, J.P., 2019. *The Political Economy of Public Bureaucracy: The Emergence of Modern Administrative Organizations*. Dissertation, Duke University. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/10161/19818>. [Only Chapter 2, “The Emergence of Modern Administrative Organizations: How Socio-Economic Classes Shaped Early Bureaucracies”]

Book Presentation Options:

- Ansell, B.W. and Lindvall, J., 2020. *Inward Conquest: The Political Origins of Modern Public Services*. Cambridge University Press.
- Grzymala-Busse, A. (2007). *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party competition and state exploitation in post-communist democracies*. Cambridge University Press.

9. Factors that Influenced the Design of Bureaucracies, Part II

(December 20, 2022)

The Case of the American Bureaucracy

[\(Online Class\)](#)

Required Readings:

- Theriault, S. M. (2003). Patronage, the Pendleton Act, and the Power of the People. *The Journal of Politics*, 65(1), 50-68.
- Ruhil, A. V., & Camões, P. J. (2003). What lies beneath: the political roots of state merit systems. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 13(1), 27-42.
- Potter, R.A. & Vogler, J.P., (2021): Building Better Bureaucracy: The Historical Origins of the American Administrative State. *Working Paper*.
- Suryanarayan, P. & White, S., (2021). Slavery, reconstruction, and bureaucratic capacity in the American south. *American Political Science Review*, 115(2), pp.568-584.
- Fukuyama, F. (2014). *Political order and political decay: From the industrial revolution to the globalization of democracy*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. [Only Chapter 9, “The United States Invents Clientelism”, Chapter 10, “The End of the Spoils System”, and Chapter 11, “Railroads, Forests, and American State Building”]

Important Background Reading:

- King, D., & Lieberman, R. C., 2009. Ironies of state building: a comparative perspective on the American state. *World Politics*, 61(3), 547-588.

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Additional Readings:

- Silberman, B.S., 1993. *Cages of reason: the rise of the rational state in France, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain*. University of Chicago Press. [Only Chapter 8, “The United States: Political Parties, Patronage, and Administration”, & Chapter 9, “The United States: Political Leadership, Party Contestation, and Reform: 1865-1925”]
- Ting, M. M., Snyder Jr, J. M., Hirano, S., & Folke, O. (2013). Elections and reform: The adoption of civil service systems in the US states. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 25(3), 363-387.

Book Presentation Options:

- Carpenter, D., 2001. *The forging of bureaucratic autonomy: Reputations, networks, and policy innovation in executive agencies, 1862-1928*. Princeton University Press.
- Johnson, R. N. and Libecap, G. D. (1994). *The Federal Civil Service System and the Problem of Bureaucracy*. University of Chicago Press.
- Gailmard, S., & Patty, J. W. (2012). *Learning while governing: Expertise and accountability in the executive branch*. University of Chicago Press.
- Ingraham, P. W. (1995). *The foundation of merit: Public service in American democracy*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bense, R. F. (1990). *Yankee Leviathan: The origins of central state authority in America, 1859-1877*. Cambridge University Press.

— NO CLASS ON DECEMBER 27, 2022 (HOLIDAY BREAK)! —

— NO CLASS ON JANUARY 3, 2023 (HOLIDAY BREAK)! —

PART V: HOW BUREAUCRACIES INFLUENCED THEIR ENVIRONMENT

Ultimately, the main reason for why we study modern bureaucratic systems is the wide-ranging and multifaceted impact they had on societies throughout the entire time of their existence. More specifically, as we are keenly interested in the topic of historical state-market interactions, in this part of the class, we focus on the following question: (1) Which role did bureaucracies play in terms of business activity and economic growth and how did they influence these areas of socioeconomic

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organization? Additionally, we will also ask: (2) How did bureaucracies affect other dimensions of social organization, including state-citizen interactions, legal systems, and political processes?

10. How Bureaucracies Influenced their Environment, Part I

(January 10, 2023)

Required Readings:

- Vries, Peter HH. "Governing Growth: A Comparative Analysis of the Role of the State in the Rise of the West." *Journal of World History* (2002): 67-138.
- Evans, P.B., 1995. *Embedded autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton University Press. [Only Chapter 1, "States and Industrial Transformation", & Chapter 2, "A Comparative Institutional Approach"]
- Evans, P. and Rauch, J.E., 1999. "Bureaucracy and growth: A cross-national analysis of the effects of 'Weberian' state structures on economic growth." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 64, No. 5, pp. 748-765.
- Hanson, J. K. (2014). Forging then taming leviathan: State capacity, constraints on rulers, and development. *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(2), 380-392.

Additional Readings:

- Johnson, N. D., & Koyama, M. (2017). States and economic growth: Capacity and constraints. *Explorations in Economic History*, 64, 1-20.
- Baum, M.A. and Lake, D.A., 2003. The political economy of growth: democracy and human capital. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(2), pp.333-347.

Book Presentation Options:

- Johnson, C., 1982. *MITI and the Japanese miracle: the growth of industrial policy, 1925-1975*. Stanford University Press.
- Waldner, D., 1999. *State building and late development*. Cornell University Press.
- Hough, J. F., & Grier, R. (2015). *The Long Process of Development: Building Markets and States in Pre-industrial England, Spain and their Colonies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vries, P. H. H. (2015). *State, economy and the great divergence: Great Britain and China, 1680s-1850s*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

11. How Bureaucracies Influenced their Environment, Part II

(January 17, 2023)

Required Reading:

- Zhang, N. and Lee, M.M., 2020. Literacy and State-Society Interactions in Nineteenth-Century France. *American Journal of Political Science*, 64(4), pp.1001-1016.

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- Charron, N., Dahlström, C. and Lapuente, V., 2012. No law without a state. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 40(2), pp.176-193.
- Cornell, A., Knutsen, C.H. and Teorell, J., 2020. Bureaucracy and growth. *Comparative Political Studies*, 53(14), pp.2246-2282.
- Pierskalla, J., Schultz, A., & Wibbels, E. (2017). Order, distance, and local development over the long-run. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 12(4), 375-404.

Recommendation to Revisit (from a Previous Class):

- Bustikova, L. and Corduneanu-Huci, C., 2017. "Patronage, trust, and state capacity: The historical trajectories of clientelism." *World Politics*, Vol. 69, No. 2, pp. 277-326.

Additional Readings:

- de Juan, A., Haass, F., & Pierskalla, J. (2021). The Partial Effectiveness of Indoctrination in Autocracies: Evidence from the German Democratic Republic. *World Politics*, 73(4), 593-628.

Book Presentation Options:

- Stasavage, D. (2020). *The decline and rise of democracy*. Princeton University Press.
- Vries, P. H. H. (2019). *Averting a Great Divergence: State and Economy in Japan, 1868-1937*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Dincecco, M. (2017). *State capacity and economic development: Present and past*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ziblatt, D. (2008). *Structuring the state: The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton University Press.

PART VI: GLOBAL AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE HISTORICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF BUREAUCRACY

While the modern bureaucracy initially emerged in Europe, an analysis of the subsequent global and international dynamics of public bureaucratic development is necessary to understand how other world regions were affected by (the imposition of) modern administrative institutions. Therefore, the sixth part of the class focuses on regional bureaucratic development in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and the influence of global factors on the development of modern bureaucratic systems.

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We ask: (1) What are the specific characteristics of bureaucracies in other world regions and what explains them? (2) How did international/global factors affect the development of bureaucracies?

12. Global and International Perspectives, Part I:

(January 24, 2023)

State Building and Bureaucracies in Asia and the Global South

Required Readings:

- Buzan, B. and Lawson, G., 2013. "The global transformation: The nineteenth century and the making of modern international relations." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 3, pp. 620-634.
- Slater, D., 2008. Can Leviathan be democratic? Competitive elections, robust mass politics, and state infrastructural power. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 43(3-4), pp.252-272.
- Paglayan, A. S. (2022). Education or indoctrination? The violent origins of public school systems in an era of state-building. *American Political Science Review*.
- Guardado, J. (2018). Office-selling, corruption, and long-term development in Peru. *American Political Science Review*, 112(4), 971-995.

Additional Readings:

- Ding, I. and Thompson-Brusstar, M. (2021). The anti-bureaucratic ghost in China's bureaucratic machine. *The China Quarterly*, 248:116-140.
- Thies, C.G., (2007). The political economy of state building in sub-Saharan Africa. *The Journal of Politics*, 69(3), pp.716-731.
- Ha, Y.C. and Kang, M.K., (2011). Creating a capable bureaucracy with loyalists: The internal dynamics of the South Korean developmental state, 1948-1979. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(1), pp.78-108.

Book Presentation Options:

- Herbst, J. (2014). *States and Power in Africa: Comparative Lessons in Authority and Control*. Princeton University Press.
- Soifer, H. D. (2015). *State building in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Matsuzaki, R. (2019). *Statebuilding by Imposition: Resistance and Control in Colonial Taiwan and the Philippines*. Cornell University Press.
- Kurtz, M. J. (2013). *Latin American state building in comparative perspective: Social foundations of institutional order*. Cambridge University Press.
- Saylor, R. (2014). *State building in boom times: Commodities and coalitions in Latin America and Africa*. Oxford University Press.

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- Wang, Y. (2022). *The Rise and Fall of Imperial China: The Social Origins of State Development*. Princeton University Press.
- Migdal, J. S. (1988). *Strong societies and weak states: state-society relations and state capabilities in the Third World*. Princeton University Press.

13. Global and International Perspectives, Part II:

(January 31, 2023)

The Impact of Global and International Factors on State Building and Bureaucratization

Required Readings:

- Schenoni, L. L. (2021). Bringing war back in: Victory and state formation in Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2), 405-421.
- Queralt, D., (2019). War, international finance, and fiscal capacity in the long run. *International Organization*, 73(4), pp.713-753.
- Paik, C. and Vechbanyongratana, J., (2019). "Path to Centralization and Development: Evidence from Siam." *World Politics*, Vol. 71, No. 2, pp.289-331.
- Cornell, A., & Svensson, T. (2022). Colonial origins of modern bureaucracy? India and the professionalization of the British civil service. *Governance*.

Book Presentation Options:

- Centeno, M. A. (2002). *Blood and debt: War and the nation-state in Latin America*. Penn State Press.
- Mazza, S. (2021). *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America*. Yale University Press.
- Lee, M. M. (2020). *Crippling Leviathan: How Foreign Subversion Weakens the State*. Cornell University Press.
- Sager, F., Rosser, C., Mavrot, C., & Hurni, P. Y. (2018). *A transatlantic history of public administration: Analyzing the USA, Germany and France*. Edward Elgar Publishing.

PART VII: BEYOND HISTORICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY— AN OVERVIEW OF PERSPECTIVES ON PRESENT-DAY BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEMS

Although the class primarily deals with *historical* administrative systems, we will use the final session to gain an overview of cutting-edge research on present-day bureaucracies. Students can pick any two readings from the long list of research on current administrative systems below. As a class we will ask

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the following questions: (1) Which insights about historical administrative systems still apply in the present day? (2) Why and to what extent have public administrations changed since the end of World War Two? (3) How do these changes affect state-market interactions? With this final session, we will conclude our semester-long journey through the historical political economy of bureaucracy.

14. Beyond Historical Political Economy:

(February 7, 2023)

Perspectives on Present-Day Bureaucratic Systems

Required: *** *Choose Any 2 Readings From the Following List* ***:

- Ang, Y. Y. (2017). Beyond Weber: Conceptualizing an alternative ideal type of bureaucracy in developing contexts. *Regulation & Governance*, 11(3):282-298.
- Brierley, S., Lowande, K., Potter, R. A., & Toral, G. (2022). Bureaucratic Politics: Blind Spots and Opportunities in Political Science.
- Carpenter, D. P., & Krause, G. A. (2012). Reputation and public administration. *Public administration review*, 72(1), 26-32.
- Charasz, P., & Vogler, J. P. (2021). Does EU funding improve local state capacity? Evidence from Polish municipalities. *European Union Politics*, 22(3), 446-471. [[Link to PDF Copy](#)]
- Dasgupta, A., & Kapur, D. (2020). The political economy of bureaucratic overload: Evidence from rural development officials in India. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4), 1316-1334.
- Ding, I. (2020). Performative governance. *World Politics*, 72(4), 525-556.
- Gingerich, D.W., 2013. Governance indicators and the level of analysis problem: empirical findings from South America. *British Journal of Political Science*, 43(3), pp.505-540.
- Goplerud, M., & Smith, D. M. (2021). Who Answers for the Government? Bureaucrats, Ministers, and Responsible Parties. *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Hollibaugh Jr, G. E., Horton, G., & Lewis, D. E. (2014). Presidents and patronage. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(4), 1024-1042.
- Kruks-Wisner, G. (2018). The pursuit of social welfare: Citizen claim-making in rural India. *World Politics*, 70(1), 122-163.
- Libgober, B. (2020). Meetings, Comments, and the Distributive Politics of Rulemaking. *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 15(4), 449-481.
- Marvel, J. D., & Resh, W. G. (2015). Bureaucratic discretion, client demographics, and representative bureaucracy. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 45(3), 281-310.
- Pepinsky, T. B., Pierskalla, J. H., & Sacks, A. (2017). Bureaucracy and service delivery. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20, 249-268.
- Toral, G. (2022). The benefits of patronage: How political appointments can enhance bureaucratic accountability and effectiveness. *Working Paper*.
- Wood, A. K., & Lewis, D. E. (2017). Agency performance challenges and agency politicization. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 27(4), 581-595.

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Book Presentation Options:

- Bertelli, A. M. (2012). *The political economy of public sector governance*. Cambridge University Press.
- Graeber, D. (2015). *The utopia of rules: On technology, stupidity, and the secret joys of bureaucracy*. Melville House.
- Lewis, D. (2004). *Presidents and the politics of agency design: Political insulation in the United States government bureaucracy, 1946-1997*. Stanford University Press.
- Potter, R. A. (2019). *Bending the Rules: Procedural Politicking in the Bureaucracy*. University of Chicago Press.
- Veeraraghavan, R. (2021). *Patching Development: Information Politics and Social Change in India*. Oxford University Press.
- Workman, S. (2015). *The dynamics of bureaucracy in the US government: How Congress and federal agencies process information and solve problems*. Cambridge University Press.

Dates and Deadlines at the End of the Semester:

- Research Plan Due: Tuesday, March 7, 2023