

CPO 6732
Fall 2013
Room: 216 Anderson
M 3:00-5:30

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SEMINAR: DEMOCRATIZATION AND REGIME TRANSITION

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This seminar surveys the well-established literature on "regimes and transitions." The focus is on the historical, structural, and institutional themes in this literature, though we will also dabble a bit on the cultural and the behavioral. Major topics include regime types, transition, democratic consolidation, regime breakdown, institutional choice, political economy of transition and breakdown, culture, and the new authoritarianism. The readings are purposely diverse in terms of the approach and method employed.

PREREQUISITES: Open to graduate students.

WHY SHOULD YOU TAKE THIS COURSE? "Regimes and transitions" is an important topic in comparative politics. If comparative is your first or second field, it will help to prepare you for your qualifying exams. If your regional interests lie in Europe or Latin America you find a great deal of material drawn from these areas. We will also do some reading on Africa and Asia as well. If you plan to conduct research on democratization, the course will familiarize you with the literature on this subject, and your notes and written work will serve as a foundation for preparing future literature reviews.

REQUIREMENTS: There is substantial reading each week (five articles or a book, or some combination thereof). Careful reading and preparation for active and cogent participation in class discussions is essential. Students will be required to serve as discussant for one week's readings, and will also prepare a research paper.

Discussant: Each student will be responsible for leading discussion for one seminar during the semester. This assignment also includes writing a discussion paper on that week's reading assignment. The paper should summarize the major research questions raised by the readings and the major theses of the authors. It should also discuss the hypotheses framed, structures of inference, and evidence used in each of the readings. It should also raise topics for further discussion, critically evaluate the literature, and, if relevant, relate that week's readings to those from earlier weeks. Discussion papers are due at 9:00 am on Friday before the week's seminar meeting and should be distributed to the class via email. All participants should also read the paper carefully before the seminar.

Research paper: Each student will produce an original research paper that touches upon one or more of themes taken up in class. There are no strictures on the approach that you may take on the paper. It may be scientific or interpretative in approach. All methods are allowed, from large-n regression models to game theory to small-n cross-national to individual case studies.

All papers must pay attention to good theorizing (whatever the tradition) and must also marshal compelling evidence in support of the paper's theoretical argument. Often a normal science framework (introduction, literature review, theory, hypotheses, methods, variables, results, conclusions) can facilitate this. It is by no means required that you follow this format; but papers need to be well-organized, cogently argued, and well-written no matter how the work is presented.

Obviously, the subject needs to be related to the themes raised in the course. If you are unsure about whether a topic pertains please see me as soon as possible. You will need to work on the paper in parallel to your coursework. By week eight, you need to be prepared to have substantive discussion with me on what your paper topic will be. I will expect you to have concrete ideas about theory, approach, and design. If you are interested in one of the topics covered later in the course, you should take a look at this literature earlier in the semester on your own. You are encouraged to use my office hours to discuss research questions or to schedule appointments with me by email. The last class meetings will be devoted to **research presentations**.

PROCEDURES FOR EVALUATION: Course requirements will be weighted in the following manner.

Research paper.....	50%
Research meeting.....	10%
Research presentation.....	10%
Participation.....	20%
Discussant.....	10%

READINGS: Several books that you will read in full are available for purchase at the bookstore (Linz, O'Donnell and Schmitter, Teorell, Jamal, Coppedge). Two other books (Dahl, Linz and Stepan), classics from which you will read excerpts, are also available for purchase. All other readings should be available through the UF libraries either electronically or on reserve. Consult the ARES course page for specifics.

SCHEDULE AND READINGS

Week 1 (August 26): **Organizational Meeting**
Distribution of syllabus, discussion of course and requirements

September 2: **Labor Day Holiday**

Week 2 (September 9): **Classical Approaches**

Robert Dahl (1971). *Polyarchy*. (New Haven, Yale University Press), 1-47.

Seymour Martin Lipset (1959). "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53:69-105.

Juan Linz (1978). "Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration," *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*, Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press), Part I :1-97.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter (1986). "Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies," in *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press), Part IV: 1-72.

Recommended Readings:

Dankwart Rustow (1970). "Transitions to Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 2:337-63.

Juan J. Linz (2000). *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. (Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers).

Samuel P. Huntington (1989). "The Modest Meaning of Democracy," in Democracy in the Americas, Stopping the Pendulum, Robert A. Pastor, ed. (New York, Holmes and Meyer), 11-28.

Kenneth A. Bollen (1979). "Political Democracy and the Timing of Development," *American Sociological Review* 44:572-87.

Week 3 (September 16): **Transition and Consolidation**

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press), 3-86.

Staffan Lindberg (2009). "The Power of Elections in Africa Revisited," in Staffan Lindberg, ed. *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press): 25-46.

Andreas Schedler (1998). "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9:91-107.

Milan Svobik (2008). "Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation," *American Political Science Review* 102:153-168.

Kurt Weyland (2012). "The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?" *Perspectives on Politics* 10: 917-934.

Recommend Readings:

Mark Gasiorowski and Timothy Power (1998). The Structural Determinants of Democratic Consolidation, Evidence from the Third World," *Comparative Political Studies* 31:740-771.

Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela (1992). *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. (Notre Dame, Notre Dame University Press).

Anderson, Leslie E. and Lawrence C. Dodd (2005). *Learning Democracy: Citizen Engagement and Electoral Choice in Nicaragua, 1990-2001*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

Morje Howard, Marc and Philip G. Roessler (2006). Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes. *American Journal of Political Science* 50:365-381.

Samuel B. Huntington (1991). *The Third Wave, Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. (Norman, Oklahoma University Press).

Terry Karl and Philippe C. Schmitter (1991). "Modes of Transition in Southern and Eastern Europe," *International Social Science Journal* 128:269-84.

Higley, John and Richard Gunther, eds. (1992). *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle (1997). *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Gerardo L. Munck and Carol Skalnik Leff (1997). "Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective," *Comparative Politics* 29:343-362.

John Schiemann (2005). *The Politics of Pact-making*. (New York, Palgrave Macmillan).

Staffan Lindberg (2006). *Democracy and Elections in Africa*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press).

Adam Przeworski (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Thomas Carothers (2002). "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13:5-21.

Week 4 (September 23): **Comparative Historical Analysis**

Michael Bernhard (2010). "The Moore Thesis: What's Left after 1989?" manuscript.

Sheri Berman (1997). "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49 :401-429.

James Mahoney (2001). "Radical, Reformist and Aborted Liberalism: Origins of National Regimes in Central America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33: 221-256.

Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Ziblatt (2010). "The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda for Europe and Beyond," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 931-968.

Michael Bernhard (2012). "Institutional Syncretism and the Limits of Path Dependence: A Theory of Regime Instability," manuscript.

Recommended Readings:

Alexander Gerschenkron (1989 [1943]). *Bread and Democracy in Germany*. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press).

Kurt Weyland (2010). "The Diffusion of Regime Contention in European Democratization, 1830-1940," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 1148-1176.

Barrington Moore (1964). *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. (Boston, Beacon).

O'Donnell, Guillermo (1973). *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*. (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies).

Jeffrey Paige (1978). *Agrarian Revolution*. (New York: Free Press).

Ruth Berins Collier (1999). *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. (New York, Cambridge University Press).

Michael Bernhard (2001). "Democratization in Germany: A Reappraisal," *Comparative Politics* 33: 379-400.

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens (1992). *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press), 1-79, 269-302.

James Mahoney (2002). *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America*. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press).

Week 5 (September 30): **Economic Development and Performance**

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi (1997). "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49:155-183.

Carles Boix and Susan Stokes (2003). "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* 55: 517-549.

Mark J. Gasiorowski (1995). "Economic Crisis and Political Regime Change: An Event History Analysis," *The American Political Science Review* 89: 882-897.

Ben Ansell and David Samuels. 2010. "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 1543-1574.

Kevin Morrison (2009). "Oil, Non-tax Revenue, and the Redistributive Foundations of Regime Stability," *International Organization* 63:107–138

Recommended Readings:

Steven Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman (1997). "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," *Comparative Politics* 29:263-284.

Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared (2008). "Income and Democracy," *The American Economic Review* 98: 808-842.

Yi Feng and Paul Zak (1999). "The Determinants of Democratic Transitions," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 43:162-177.

Zehra Arat (1988). "Democracy and Economic Development: Modernization Theory Revisited," *Comparative Politics* 21:21-36.

Bernhard, Michael, Christopher Reenock, and Timothy Nordstrom (2003). "Economic Performance and Survival in New Democracies: Is There a Honeymoon Effect?" *Comparative Political Studies* 36: 404-431.

Axel Hadenius (1992). *Democracy and Development*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Ross E. Burkhardt and Michael S. Lewis-Beck (1994). "Comparative Democracy: The Economic Development Thesis," *American Political Science Review* 88:903-910.

John Londregan and Keith Poole (1996). "Does High Income Promote Democracy?" *World Politics* 49:1-30.

Ethan B. Kapstein and Nathan Converse (2008). *The Fate of Young Democracies*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Nita Rudra (2005). "Globalization and the Strengthening of Democracy in the Developing World," *American Journal of Political Science* 49:704-730.

Steven Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman (1995). *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press).

Brian D. Cramer and Robert R. Kaufman (2011). "Views of Economic Inequality in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 44: 1206–1237.

Ziblatt, Daniel. 2008. "Does Landholding Inequality Block Democratization?: A Test of the "Bread and Democracy" Thesis and the Case of Prussia," *World Politics* 60: 610-641.

Michael L. Ross. (2001). "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53:325-36.

Benjamin Smith(2004). "Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960-1999," *American Journal of Political Science* 48:232-246.

Thad Dunning (2008). *Crude Democracy*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Michael Herb (2003). "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 37:297-316.

Christian Houle (2009). "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics* 61: 589-622.

Christopher Reenock, Michael Bernhard, and David Sobek (2007). "Regressive Socioeconomic Distribution and Democratic Survival," *International Studies Quarterly* 51: 677-699.

Edward Muller (1995). "Economic Determinants of Democracy," *American Sociological Review* 60: 966-82.

Kenneth Bollen and Robert W. Jackman (1995). "Income Inequality and Democratization Revisited: Comment on Muller," *American Sociological Review* 60: 983-89.

Michael L. Ross (2008). "Oil, Islam, and Women," *American Political Science Review* 102: 107-123.

Pauline Jones Luong and Erika Weinthal (2010). *Oil Is Not a Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Soviet Successor States*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Benjamin Smith (2007). *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia* (Ithaca, Cornell University Press).

Carles Boix (2003). *Democracy and Redistribution*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 1-97.

Darin Acemoglu and James Robinson (2006). *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Week 6 (October 7): **Institutions**

Scott Mainwaring and Matthew J. Shugart (1997). "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 29:449-472.

Scott Mainwaring (1993). "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* 26:198-228.

Michael Bernhard, Timothy Nordstrom, and Christopher Reenock (2001). "Economic Performance, Institutional Intermediation, and Democratic Survival," *Journal of Politics* 63:775-803.

Amel Ahmed (2010). "Reading History Forward: The Origins of Electoral Systems in European Democracies," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 1059-1088.

Nancy Bermeo (2010). "Interests, Inequality, and Illusion in the Choice for Fair Elections," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 1119-1147.

Recommended Readings:

Young Hun Kim and Donna Bahry (2008). "Interrupted Presidencies in Third Wave Democracies." *The Journal of Politics* 70: 807-822.

Zachary Elkins (2010). "Diffusion and the Constitutionalization of Europe," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 969-999.

Matthew Soberg Shugart and John M. Carey (1992). *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jon Elster (1993). "Constitution-Making in Eastern Europe: Rebuilding the Boat in the Open Sea." *Public Administration* 71:169-217.

Antonio Cheibub (2002). "Minority Governments, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracies," *Comparative Political Studies* 35:284-312.

Jon Elster, Claus Offe, and Ulrich K. Preuss (1998). *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Michael Bernhard. 2005. *Institutions and the Fate of Democracy*. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press).

Juan Linz (1994). "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does It Make a Difference?" in *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 3-89.

Giovanni Sartori (1994). "Neither Presidentialism nor Parliamentarism," in *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 106-118.

Week 7 (October 14): **Research I**

Michael Coppedge (2012). *Democratization and Research Methods* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Week 8 (October 21): **Research II**

Discussion of research papers, individual appointments

Week 9 (October 28): **Culture/Behavior**

Mitchell A. Seligson (2002). "The Renaissance of Political Culture or the Renaissance of the Ecological Fallacy?" *Comparative Politics* 34: 273-292.

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel (2003). "Political Culture and Democracy: Analyzing Cross-Level Linkages," *Comparative Politics* 36: 61-79.

M. Steven Fish (2002). "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics* 55: 4-37.

Michael Bernhard and Ekrem Karakoc (2007). "Civil Society and the Legacies of Dictatorship," *World Politics* 59: 539-567.

Alfred Stepan, (2011). "The Multiple Secularisms of Democratic and Non-Democratic Regimes," in Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan Vanantwerpen, eds., *Rethinking Secularism*. (New York and London, Oxford University Press) :114-144.

Recommended Readings:

Michael Bernhard, Christopher Reenock, and Timothy Nordstrom (2004). "The Legacy of Western Overseas Colonialism on Democratic Survival," *International Studies Quarterly* 48:225-50.

Robert W. Jackman and Ross A. Miller (1996). "A Renaissance of Political Culture?" *American Journal of Political Science* 40:3 632-59.

Samuel Huntington (1993). "The Clash of Civilizations," *Foreign Affairs* 72: 22-49.

Donald L. Horowitz (October 1993). "Democracy in Divided Societies," *Journal of Democracy* 4:18-38.

Ashutosh Varshney (1997). "Postmodernism, Civic Engagement, and Ethnic Conflict: A Passage to India," *Comparative Politics* 30: 1-20.

Christian Welzel, Ronald Inglehart and Hans-Dieter Kligemann (2003). "The Theory of Human Development: A Cross-cultural Analysis," *European Journal of Political Research* 42:341-79.

Alfred Stepan and Graham B. Robertson (2003). "An 'Arab' More than a 'Muslim' Electoral Gap," *Journal of Democracy* 14: 30-44.

Week 10 (November 4): **Authoritarianism I**

Amaney A. Jamal (2012). *Of Empires and Citizens: Pro-American Democracy or No Democracy at All?* (Princeton, Princeton University Press).

November 11: **Veterans Day Holiday**

Week 11 (November 18): **Authoritarianism II**

Howard, Marc M., and Philip G. Roessler. 2006. "Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2):365-381.

Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies* 40 :1279-1301.

Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(3): 515-532.

Bunce, Valerie, and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62: 43-86.

Steven R. Levitsky and Lucan A. Way 2012. "Beyond Patronage: Violent Struggle, Ruling Party Cohesion, and Authoritarian Durability," *Perspectives on Politics* 10: 869 – 889.

Recommended Reading:

Jason Brownlee (2007). *Authoritarianism in the Age of Democracy* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Barbara Geddes (2003). *Paradigms and Sandcastles* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press) :47-88.

Jennifer Gandhi (2008). *Political Institutions under Authoritarianism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Dan Slater (2008). "Can Leviathan be Democratic? Competitive Elections, Robust Mass Politics, and State Infrastructural Power." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 43: 252-272.

Beatriz Magaloni (2008). *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

Beatriz Magaloni (2008). "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule," *Comparative Political Studies* 41 :715-741.

Benjamin Smith (2005). "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence Under Single-Party Rule," *World Politics* 57: 421–51.

Week 12 (November 25): **Summing Up**

Jan Teorell. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World*,

1972–2006 (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

NB: A first draft of papers is due by this session.

Week 13 (December 2): **Research Reports**

Depending on the number of papers we will go longer than usual. If that is the case, dinner will be provided.

Papers due: December 10.