

CPO 6732  
Fall 2018  
Room: 216 Anderson  
F 8:30-11:00

Michael Bernhard  
Office: 204 Anderson  
Office Hours: M 9:00-11:00  
bernhard at UFL dot edu

## **SEMINAR: DEMOCRATIZATION AND REGIME TRANSITION**

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:** This seminar surveys the well-established literature on democratization and other forms of regime change. 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.

**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.....	60%
Research meeting.....	10%
Research presentation.....	10%
Participation.....	20%

**POLICY ON PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES:** Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. It will provide documentation to the student who must then provide this documentation to the instructor when requesting accommodation. Anyone with a disability should feel free to see me during office hours to make the necessary arrangements.

**POLICY ON CHEATING AND PLAGIARISM:** All students should observe the University of Florida's standards of academic honesty. In the event that a student is found cheating or plagiarizing, he/she will automatically fail the course and will be reported to Student Judicial Affairs and to the Department Chair and Graduate Coordinator for possible dismissal from the program. Acts of Plagiarism include:

- Turning in a paper or another assignment that was written by someone else (i.e., by another student, by a research service, or downloaded off the Internet);
- Copying, verbatim, a sentence or paragraph of text from the work of another author without properly acknowledging the source through a commonly accepted citation style and using quotation marks;
- Paraphrasing (i.e., restating in your own words) text written by someone else without citing that author;
- Using a unique idea or concept, which you discovered in a specific reading, without citing that work.

**POLICY ON LATE ASSIGNMENTS:** Vagaries of life and scheduling sometimes make the handing in of assignments on time difficult. If students approach the instructor ahead of time and provide a good reason, accommodations may be possible. Such requests should be made prior to the deadline on the assignment. Retroactive accommodation will only be granted in the rarest and direst of cases.

**READINGS:** Several books that you will read in full are available for purchase at the bookstore (Linz, O'Donnell and Schmitter, Haggard and Kaufman, Schedler, and Mickey). Three other books (Dahl, Linz and Stepan, Levitsky and Way), 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 24): Organizational Meeting**

Distribution of syllabus, discussion of course and requirements

### **Week 2 (August 31): APSA Week**

In office meetings to discuss research paper topics on August 27.

### **Week 3 (September 7): Regimes**

Robert Dahl (1971). *Polyarchy*. (New Haven, Yale University Press), 1-17, 33-47.

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Karl (1991). "What Democracy Is ...and Is Not?" *Journal of Democracy* 2(3): 75-88.

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), 38-54.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism*. (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1-84.

#### Recommended Readings:

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.

Michael Wahman, Jan Teorell, and Axel Hadenius (2013). "Authoritarian Regime Types Revisited: Updated Data in Comparative Perspective." *Contemporary Politics*, 19(1): 19-34.

#### Week 4 (September 14): **Transition**

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.

Amanda B. Edgell, Valeriya Mechkova, David Altman, Michael Bernhard & Staffan I. Lindberg. (2017). "When and Where Do elections matter? A Global Test of the Democratization by Elections Hypothesis, 1900–2010," *Democratization*, 25:422-444.

Adam Przeworski (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press), 51-99.

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.

##### Recommended Readings:

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

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.

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.

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).

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

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

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

#### Week 5 (September 21): **Durability**

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.

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

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), 55-65.

Nancy Bermeo (2016). "On Democratic Backsliding". *Journal of Democracy*. 27: 5–19.

Milan Svolik (2008). "Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation," *American Political Science Review* 102:159-174.

#### Recommend Readings:

Guillermo O'Donnell (1999). "Delegative Democracy," *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization*. (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press), 159-174.

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).

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

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

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

#### Week 5 (September 28): **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.

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

Stephen Haber and Victor Menaldo (2011). "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse," *American Political Science Review* 105: 1-26.

Jørgen J. Andersen and Michael L. Ross (2013). "The Big Oil Change: A Closer Look at the Haber–Menaldo Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies* 47: 993-1021.

#### Recommended Readings:

##### Development:

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

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

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

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

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.

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

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

##### Performance:

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

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

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

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

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

Resource Curse:

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

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.

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).

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

Historical Treatments:

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

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

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

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

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 6 (October 5): **Class Inequality**

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman. (2016). *Democrats and Dictators: Masses, Elites, and Regime Change*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Recommended Readings:

Ben Ansell and David Samuels (2014). *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*. (New York, Cambridge 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.

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.

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).

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

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

Daniel Ziblatt (2017). *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy* (New York, Cambridge University Press).

## Week 7 (October 12): **Gender Inequality**

Pamela Paxton (2000). "Women's Suffrage in the Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35: 92-111,

Georgina Waylen (1994). "Women and Democratization Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics." *World Politics* 46 : 327–54..

Lane Kenworthy and Melissa Malami (1999). "Gender Inequality in Political Representation: A Worldwide Comparative Analysis," *Social Forces* 78: 235-268.

Ronald Inglehart; Pippa Norris and Christian Welzel (2002). "Gender Equality and Democracy," *Comparative Sociology* 1 :321-345.



Yi Ting Wang, et al. (2017). "Women's Rights in Democratic Transitions: A Global Sequence Analysis, 1900–2012," *European Journal of Political Research* 56: 735-756.

Week 8 (October 19): **Authoritarianism I**

Andreas Schedler (2013). *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism* (Oxford, Oxford University Press).

Week 9 (October 26): **Research Week**

No class.

Week 10 (November 2): **No Class due to Homecoming, So Research.**

In office meetings, Monday, October 29. First drafts due November 2, 12 noon.

Week 12 (November 9): **Authoritarianism II**

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

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

Valerie Bunce 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.

Carles Boix and Milan W. Svolik (2013). "The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-sharing in Dictatorships," *Journal of Politics* 75: 300-316.

Recommended Reading:

Milan Svolik (2012). *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).

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

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 13 (November 16): **Subnational Authoritarianism**

Robert Mickey (2015). *Paths Out of Dixie, The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South, 1944-1972*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press).

**Thanksgiving** (November 22)

Week 14 (November 30): **Research Presentations**

**Papers due:** December 12, 5:00 pm.