

STATES, REGIMES AND INSTITUTIONS

MASTER IN SOCIAL SCIENCES (Carlos III-Juan March Institute of Social Sciences, IC3JM)

Course 2018/19

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DEMOCRATIZATION

### **1. Object**

The object of this course is democratization. The basic question is under what conditions countries do democratize. This question triggers a number of issues, such as why some countries are democratic while others are not; why democracy emerged earlier in some countries than in others; and why democracies last longer in some countries than in others. These issues have been at the core of Comparative Politics, Political Economy and Political Sociology.

Special emphasis is given to modernization theory and its variants, analyzing both structural models and explanations based on social class and inequality.

By going deep into the study of democratization, the student is expected to become familiar with a central literature in Comparative Politics and to be able to do comparative research on the topic.

The course is mainly substantive, about theories and empirical analyses on democratization, but there is also a heavy emphasis on methodological and statistical issues.

### **2. Class preparation and dynamics**

The classes are based on discussion of the readings (all the readings are uploaded in Aula Global). Students are expected to read all the required materials before the session. Students may be asked randomly during the discussions about the main points of the texts. Please read carefully everything, preferably taking notes about the internal consistency of the main explanations (consistency between theory and empirics), the limitations of the empirical analysis, the links with readings in previous sessions, etc.

Students will be asked to prepare presentations of the readings. As everyone has already read the texts, the presentation should be brief and based exclusively on a critical analysis: weak points, shortcomings, unaddressed issues, bad methodology, flawed empirical analysis, etc. The presentation is supposed to generate a discussion in which everyone else can participate.

It is essential that every student participates in class discussions.

Some of the readings are quite technical, assuming an intermediate to advanced level of statistics. Even if you do not understand many of the technical details, try to understand the statistical tables and become familiar with the vocabulary and the presentation style.

### 3. Requirements

Students have to prepare a short paper that will be delivered at the end of the exam period. The paper must have between 3,000 and 6,000 words (without including tables, references, and notes). The paper has to present a clear research question, formulate a hypothesis and present an empirical analysis. The paper does not necessarily have to be quantitative (though it is recommended); if you opt for a qualitative paper, it has to be based on a comparative design, case studies are not allowed. Do not rush with the formulation of the research question for the paper, it is better if you first learn well the literature. The last session will be devoted to paper proposals.

The paper has to be crafted as a journal article in terms of style, presentation and references.

The paper is 70 per cent of the final grade.

15 per cent corresponds to class presentations and class participation.

15 per cent corresponds to assignments. Assignments will be announced during the course.

### 4. Office hours

Please send me an e-mail if you want to arrange a meeting.

### 5. Schedule

Apart from the readings assigned to each session, *I strongly recommend* two background books that will help you to follow the other readings:

Michael Coppedge. 2012. *Democratization and research methods*. Cambridge University Press.

Jan Teorell. 2010. *Determinants of democratization: Explaining regime change in the world, 1972–2006*. Cambridge University Press.

#### Week 1. Methodological introduction

The problem of causal inference. Endogeneity (omitted variables and reverse causality).  
Variables and cases.

Readings:

Adam Przeworski. 2004. "Institutions Matter?" *Government and Opposition* 39.4: 527-540.

Jonathan Rodden. 2009. "Endogenous Institutions and Comparative Politics." In Lichman and Zuckenberg (eds) *Comparative Politics: Rationality, Culture, and Structure*. Cambridge University Press.

## Week 2. Conceptualization and Operationalization

Thick vs. thin definitions of democracy. The dimensionality of democracy. Operationalization: dichotomous vs. interval measurements.

Readings:

Robert Dahl. 1971. *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition*. Yale University Press: Chapter 1.

Adam Przeworski. 1999. "Minimalist conception of democracy: a defense." In Ian Shapiro and Cassiano Hacker-Cordon (eds) *Democracy's Value*. Cambridge University Press.

Robert Fishman. 2016. "Rethinking dimensions of democracy for empirical analysis: Authenticity, quality, depth, and consolidation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 289-309.

Cheibub, José Antonio, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and dictatorship revisited." *Public Choice* 143.1-2: 67-101. [Skip section 4]

Coppedge, Michael, et al. 2016. "Measuring high level democratic principles using the V-Dem data." *International Political Science Review* 37.5: 580-593.

Teorell, Jan, et al. 2018. "Measuring Polyarchy Across the Globe, 1900–2017." *Studies in Comparative International Development*: 1-25. [Skip the section on "comparing coders"]

Optional:

Gerardo L. Munck, and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and measuring democracy: Evaluating alternative indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35.1: 5-34.

Carles Boix, Michael Miller, and Sebastian Rosato. 2013. "A complete data set of political regimes, 1800–2007." *Comparative Political Studies* 46.12: 1523-1554.

## Week 3. Mixed regimes

The issue of mixed or hybrid regimes: electoral authoritarianism. How democracies degenerate into electoral authoritarianism.

Readings:

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press: Introduction only.

Andreas Schedler. 2013. *The politics of uncertainty: Sustaining and subverting electoral authoritarianism*. Oxford University Press: Chapters 3 and 6.

Optional:

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *How democracies die*. Crown: Chapters 4 and 5.

#### **Week 4. Modernization theory vs. strategic approaches**

Structural vs. strategic approaches. The role of contingency. The role of agency.

Readings:

Symour Lipset. 1959. "Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53.1: 69-105.

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel. 2009. "How development leads to democracy: What we know about modernization." *Foreign Affairs*: 33-48.

Dankwart Rustow. 1970. "Transitions to democracy: Toward a dynamic model." *Comparative Politics* 2.3: 337-363.

Terry Karl and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1991. "Modes of transition in Latin America, southern and eastern Europe." *International Social Science Journal* 128.2: 267-282.

#### **Week 5. Income and democracy (I)**

Does economic development cause democracy? Income, democratization and democracy survival.

Readings:

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and facts." *World Politics* 49.2 (1997): 155-183.

Carles Boix and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous democratization." *World Politics* 55.4: 517-549.

*Optional:*

Carles Boix. 2011. "Democracy, development, and the international system." *American Political Science Review* 105.4: 809-828.

#### **Week 6. Income and democracy (II)**

The link between income and democracy questioned. The historical, long-term roots of democracy. Clusters of development.

Readings:

Daron Acemoglu et al. 2008. "Income and democracy." *American Economic Review* 98.3: 808-42.

Sinding Bentzen, Jeanet, Jacob Gerner Hariri, and James A. Robinson. 2017. "Power and Persistence: The Indigenous Roots of Representative Democracy." *The Economic Journal*: 1-37.

*Optional:*

Matteo Cervellati et al. 2014. "Income and democracy: Comment." *American Economic Review* 104.2: 707-19.

### **Week 7. Modernization: Power fragmentation**

Fragmentation of power leads to democratization. Modernization and fragmentation of power. The natural experiment of Protestant missionaries.

Readings:

Tatu Vanhanen. 2003. *Democratization: A comparative analysis of 170 countries*. Routledge: pages 25-33, 48-71, 79-103, 104-110, 133-140.

Robert Woodberry. 2012. "The missionary roots of liberal democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106.2: 244-274.

### **Week 8. Modernization: Values**

The role of values and culture. Culture as an intervening variable between socioeconomic development and democracy. The endogeneity of culture.

Readings:

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy. The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge University Press: pp. 15-31, 48-61, 149-209.

### **Week 9. Democracy and inequality (I)**

Class analysis. The role of the working class in democratization. Agency. Case studies.

Readings:

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Stephens and John Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. University of Chicago Press: Chapter 1, Chapters 3-4.

Ruth Collier and James Mahoney. "Adding collective actors to collective outcomes: Labor and recent democratization in South America and Southern Europe." *Comparative Politics*, 29(3): 285-303.

### **Week 10. Democracy and inequality (II)**

Analytical models of inequality and democratization. Linking structure and agency. Modernization affects the welfare functions of social groups (classes). The poor try to expropriate the rich.

Readings:

Carles Boix. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge University Press: Introduction, Chapters 2 and 3.

Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press: pp. 1-87.

### **Week 11. Democracy and inequality (III)**

Land vs. income inequality. A democratization model not based on redistribution. Income inequality is due to greater class differentiation and a larger middle class that seeks protection from the state.

Readings:

Ben Ansell and David Samuels. 2014. *Inequality and Democratization. An Elite-Competition Approach*. Cambridge University Press: Chapters 1-3, Chapter 5.

### **Week 12. General discussion. Papers**