

STATES, REGIMES AND INSTITUTIONS

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

Course 2020/21

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## DEMOCRATIZATION

### **1. Object**

The object of this course is the analysis of democratization. The basic question is under what conditions countries do democratize. Some related issues are also dealt with: Why do some countries democratize earlier than others? Why does democracy last longer in some countries? Why do some countries never democratize? How does the process of regime change unfold?

The literature has explored many potential answers, having to do with modernization, values, social class and inequality, elites' strategies, and international pressure. Contributions from several fields (Comparative Politics, Political Economy, and Political Sociology) are examined.

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

Many of the readings rely heavily on statistical analysis. Students with a background in statistics / econometrics will find this stuff easy, but others may feel a bit lost at the beginning. Rather than focusing on technical details, the point is that everyone gets familiar with the logic of quantitative testing and the issues associated with the operationalization of complex concepts (economic development, class interest, value change, political regime, etc.).

By digging deep into the theories of democratization, the student is exposed to some of the core debates in Comparative Politics but also, more generally, in the Social Sciences.

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

The classes are based on discussion of the readings (all the readings are available 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. The most important aspect, however, is that the student is able to relate and compare readings from the different sessions.

Students may 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. Evaluation**

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 strongly 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 become familiar with 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. Background readings**

Apart from the mandatory readings of each session, I strongly encourage everyone to read a couple of works:

Michael Coppedge. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods* (Cambridge University Press) [This book does a wonderful job summarizing some of the main debates about democratization and raising methodological issues]

Carles Boix and Michael Miller. 2017. "Causal Models of Democratization". In *The Sage Handbook of Political Sociology* (Sage): Chapter. 35. [It summarizes and reviews several of the academic debates on democratization we are going to cover in the course.]

## 6. Schedule

### **Week 1 (Sept. 17<sup>th</sup>). Methodological remarks about the comparative method. Democracy: conceptual and historical debate.**

Part I: Comparing democracies. The problem of causal inference. Endogeneity (omitted variables and reverse causality).

Part II: The idea of democracy. Democracy and the nation- state. The historical development of democracy.

Readings:

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

David Held. 1995. *Democracy and the Global Order*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapters 2-3.

John Markoff. 1999. "Where and When Was Democracy Invented?" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41(4): 660-690.

Optional:

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

### **Week 2 (Sept. 24). Measuring democracy.**

Dichotomous vs. interval measurements. Hybrid regimes (competitive / electoral authoritarianism).

Readings:

José Antonio Cheibub, Jennifer Gandhi, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited." *Public Choice*, 143(1-2): 67-101. [Skip section 4]

Michael Coppedge et al. 2016. "Measuring high level democratic principles using the V-Dem data." *International Political Science Review*, 37(5): 580-593.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction only.

Optional:

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 (Oct. 1<sup>st</sup>). Modernization theory.**

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

Readings:

Seymour Lipset. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review*, 53(1): 69-105.

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and facts." *World Politics* 49(2): 155-183.

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

### **Week 4 (Oct. 8<sup>th</sup>). Criticisms and refinements of modernization theory.**

The objection about endogeneity. Conditional theories: the effect of modernization on democracy depend on some third variable.

Readings:

Daron Acemoglu et al. 2008. "Income and Democracy." *American Economic Review*, 98(3): 808-42.

Daniel Treisman. 2015. "Income, Democracy, and Leader Turnover." *American Journal of Political Science*, 59 (4): 927-942.

Optional:

Min Tang and Dwayne Woods. 2014. "Conditional Effect of Economic Development on Democracy: The Relevance of the State." *Democratization*, 21(3): 411-433.

### **Week 5 (Oct. 15<sup>th</sup>). Modernization and value change.**

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 6 (Oct. 22<sup>nd</sup>). Democracy and inequality.**

Analytical models of inequality and democratization. Linking structure and agency. Land and income inequality. Inequality and transitions to democracy.

Readings:

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

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

Setephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman. 2012. "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule." *American Political Science Review*, 106 (3): 495-516.

### **Week 7 (Oct. 29<sup>th</sup>). Class analysis.**

Democracy and class struggle. 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.

Sirianne Dahlum, Carl Henrik Knutsen, and Tore Wig. 2019. "Who Revolts? Empirically Revisiting the Social Origins of Democracy." *Journal of Politics*, 81(4): 1494-1499.

### **Week 8 (Nov. 5<sup>th</sup>). International factors.**

Diffusion. Waves of democracy. Changes in the international balance of power.

Readings:

Kristian S. Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization*, 60(4): 911-933.

Seva Gunitsky. 2014. "From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century." *International Organization*, 68(3): 561-597.

Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca. 2019. "The Evolution of Democracy: From Domestic Modernization to International Diffusion." Manuscript.

### **Week 9 (Nov. 12<sup>th</sup>). Transitions**

#### Readings:

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.

Barbara Geddes et al. 2014. "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions". *Perspectives on Politics*, 12(2): 313-331.

Ignacio Sánchez-Cuenca & Luis F. Medina. 2019. "Institutional Suicide and Elite Coordination: The Spanish Transition Revisited." *South European Society & Politics*, 24(4): 463-284.

### **Week 10 (Nov. 19<sup>th</sup>). The future of democracy: technocracy, populism.**

#### Readings:

Anna Lührmann et al. 2019. "State of the world 2018: democracy facing global challenges." *Democratization*, 26(6): 895-915.

Torben Iversen and David Soskice. 2019. *Democracy and Prosperity. Reinventing Capitalism Through a Turbulent Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 5.

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 2019. *Cultural Backlash. Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4-5.

### **Week 11 (Nov. 26<sup>th</sup>). What we have learnt on democratization (only lecture)**

### **Week 12 (Dec. 3<sup>rd</sup> or early January). Discussion of paper proposals**