STATES, REGIMES AND INSTITUTIONS

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

Course 2021/22

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1. Object

The object of this course is the analysis of democratization. The basic question is under what conditions countries do democratize, or why some countries are democratic and others autocratic. The literature has explored many potential answers, having to do with modernization, values, inequality, and international pressure. Contributions from several fields (Comparative Politics, Political Economy, Political Sociology, and History) are examined.

The sequence of the course is the following: after an introductory session on causality and democracy, we move into modernization theory (three sessions), theories based on inequality, and theories based on international factors. This, pretty much, covers the range of standard academic explanations based on quantitative analysis. Then, we take a more historical perspective, trying to understand the long-term evolution of democracy and whether it is a Wester original creation. In the final part of the course, we focus on the current period, analyzing the "fatigue" of democracy: autocratization and populism.

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, etc. The most important aspect 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, empirical 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.

10 per cent corresponds to class presentations and class participation.

20 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 this introductory text for graduate students:

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]

6. **Schedule**

Week 1 (Sept. 16th). Causality. Democracy: concepts and measurement

Intro: The concept of causality. The problems of observational studies: omitted variables, selection, inverse causality.

Democracy: Two conceptions of democracy. Dahl's minimal conditions. Measurement: continuous vs. discrete measurement.

Readings:

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

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.

Week 2 (Sept. 23rd). Modernization theory, I

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 3 (Sept. 30th). Modernization, II

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 4 (Oct. 7th). Modernization, III

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 5 (Oct. 14th). 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 6 (Oct. 21st). 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 7 (Oct. 28th). Is democracy a Western thing?

The Western (anglo-saxon) origins of democratic ideals and practices.

Readings:

James Kloppenberg. 2016. *Toward Democracy. The Struggle for Self-Rule in European and American Thought*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 2-3.

Jonathan Israel. 2010. *A Revolution of the Mind. Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Preface and Chapter 2.

Week 8 (Nov. 4th). The big historical picture

Two theories about the Western origins of democracy: WEIRD psychology and weak bureaucracies.

Readings:

Joseph Henrich. 2020. *The Weirdest People in the World. How the West Became Psychologically Peculiar and Particularly Prosperous*. London: Allen Lane. Pp. 3-58, Ch. 12.

David Stasavage. 2020. *The Decline and Rise of Democracy. A Global History from Antiquity to Today*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 & 11.

Week 9. (Nov. 11th). The sequence of democratization (only lecture)

Week 10 (Nov. 18th). The fatigue of liberal democracy: autocratization

Hybrid regimes, competitive authoritarianism. Autocratization.

Readings:

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive authoritarianism: Hybrid regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 3-36.

Hellmeier, Sebastian, et al. 2021. "State of the World 2020: Autocratization Turns Viral." *Democratization*, 28(6): 1053-1074.

Week 11 (Nov. 25th). The fatigue of liberal democracy: Populism

Readings:

Nadia Urbinati. 2019. "Political Theory of Populism". *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22: 111-127.

Rogers Brubaker. 2017. "Why Populism?" *Theory and Society*, 46(5): 357-385.

Jonathan Hopkin and Mark Blyth. 2019. "The Global Economics of European Populism: Growth Regimes and Party System Change in Europe." *Government and Opposition*, 54(2): 193-225.

Week 12 (Dec. 2nd or early January). Discussion of paper proposals