#### States, Regimes and Institutions

Carlos III - Juan March Institute Tuesdays, 10:00 a.m-12:50 p.m. Room 18.1.A04

Fall 2022 Francisco Cantú fcantu@inst.uc3m.es

This is a graduate-level seminar that will introduce students to the study of political institutions and regimes. The course will center around the conditions in which countries democratize and remain as such. Students will read and discuss classic readings and recent studies on a non-exhaustive list of topics. These readings will cover analytical and empirical models, and we will cover a few issues of research design, statistics, and game theory to approach the material. The goals for this course are three: (1) to understand the basic theoretical questions and arguments in the study of democratization, (2) to explore and evaluate different empirical tests for the theoretical expectations, and (3) to create a space for students to come with a solid research idea for their professional career.

The course is organized as follows. The first three sessions will discuss political order and define the differences between democracies and autocracies. The second part will focus on the different theories of democratization, which will cover the modernization theory, inequality, and historical legacies. We will devote a session to briefly introducing students to the topic of political institutions. Finally, we will explore some explanations for the current backslide of democracy worldwide.

# Requirements

Participation (20%): Students are expected to attend each class, do the reading thoroughly and in advance, and contribute actively to our discussion. You should expect to be called to describe and discuss the assigned readings. I expect that you understand the basic argument of each reading and are aware of the parts of the topic in which you need more attention or assistance. Email me ahead of time if you need an excused absence.

*Presentation* (20%): Each student will prepare and deliver a conference-like presentation of a supplementary article throughout the semester. The goal of this assignment is to give you an opportunity to polish your presentation skills. It will also help us to complement the discussion on the required readings that week. Further information will be given in class.

Final Paper (60%): As a final assignment for the course, you will submit a 5,000 (+/- 500) word research proposal. Your paper will propose an original idea related to the topics discussed in class. This assignment aims to provide you with an opportunity to work on a project that can serve you as a further publication. The proposal should contain a brief literature survey on the theme and then describe a theoretical argument and a research design to test it. We will devote time throughout the semester to discuss the different steps involved in developing a research paper. While the paper should propose a quantitative research design, you are not required to show any empirical results. Instead, the paper should focus on delivering an original idea and a clean and feasible research design that you can work on your own after the end of the course.

The assignment will have the following milestones. You should have an approved research topic by October 4. We will discuss the research questions of each project during class, and each of them should be approved by November 1. You will present in class your paper project on December 13. The paper is due on January 23.

## **Office Hours**

Monday, 2-4 p.m. at room 18.2.E14. Please send me an email to schedule a meeting outside that time.

# Acknowledgements

The topics and readings cited below are mainly based on Professor Sanchez-Cuenca's syllabus for this course in 2021. The material from that course not covered here is listed on page 5.

## Schedule

## Week 1 (September 13). Introduction/Social Order

Przeworski, A. (2004). Institutions matter? Government and Opposition, 39:527–540.

Milgrom, P., North, D., and Weingast, B. W. (1990). The role of institutions in the revival of trade: The medieval law merchant, private judges, and the champagne fairs. *Economics and Politics*, 2(1):1–23.

Boix, C. (2015). *Political Order and Inequality*. Cambridge University Press, New York. Introduction.

## Week 2 (September 20). Democracy: Concepts and Measurement

Dahl, R. (1971). Polyarchy. Yale University Press. Chapter 1.

Cheibub, J. A., Gandhi, J., and Vreeland, J. R. (2010). Democracy and dictatorship revisited. *Public Choice*, 143(1-2):67–101. [Skip section 4]

Coppedge, M., Lindberg, S., Skaaning, S.-E., and Teorell, J. (2016). Measuring high level democratic principles using the V-Dem data. *International Political Science Review*, 37(5):580–593

#### Optional:

Seawright, J. and Collier, D. (2014). Rival strategies of validation: Tools for evaluating measures of democracy. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47:111–138

## Week 3 (September 27). Dictatorships

Gandhi, J. (2008). *Political Institutions Under Dictatorships*. Cambridge University Press, New York. Chapters 1 and 3

Svolik, M. W. (2012). *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3

#### Week 4 (October 4). Modernization Theory I

Lipset, S. M. (1959). Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy. *American Political Science Review*, 53(1):69–105

Przeworski, A. and Limongi, F. (1997). Modernization: Theories and facts. *World Politics*, 49(2):155–83

Boix, C. and Stokes, S. (2003). Endogenous democratization. World Politics, 55(4):517-49

### Week 5 (October 11). Modernization Theory II

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., Robinson, J. A., and Yared, P. (2008). Income and democracy. *American Economic Review*, 98(3):808–42

Treisman, D. (2015). Income, democracy, and leader turnover. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(4):927–942

### Optional:

Tang, M. and Woods, D. (2014). Conditional effect of economic development on democracy: The relevance of the state. *Democratization*, 21(3):411–433

#### Week 6 (October 18). Democratic Culture and Values

Inglehart, R. and Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy. The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge University Press, New York. Pp. 15-31, 48-61, 149-209

Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R., and Nonetti, R. Y. (1993). *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ. Chapters 5-6

#### Optional:

Ruck, D. J., Matthews, L. J., Kyritsis, T., Atkinson, Q. D., and Bentley, R. A. (2020). The cultural foundations of modern democracies. *Nature Human Behaviour*, (4):265–269

Satyanath, S., Voigtländer, N., and Voth, H.-J. (2017). Bowling for fascism: Social capital and the rise of the nazi party. *Journal of Political Economy*, 125(3):478–526

## Week 7 (October 25). Democracy and Inequality

Boix, C. (2003). *Democracy and redistribution*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction, Chapters 2 and 3

Ansell, B. and Samuels, D. (2014). *Inequality and Democratization. An Elite-Competition Approach*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3, and 5

#### Optional:

Haggard, S. and Kaufman, R. (2012). Inequality and regime change: Democratic transitions and the stability of democratic rule. *American Political Science Review*, 106(3):495–516

## Week 8 (November 8). The Western Origins of Democracy

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

Stasavage, D. (2020). *The Decline and Rise of Democracy. A Global History from Antiquity to Today*. Princeton University Press, Princeton. Chapters 1 and 11.

## Optional:

Woodberry, R. D. (2012). The missionary roots of liberal democracy. *American Political Science Review*, 106:244–274

#### Week 9 (November 15). Visions of Democratic Institutions

Riker, W. H. (1982). Liberalism Against Populism. Waveland Press. Chapter 1.

Lijphart, A. (1999). Patterns of Democracy. Yale University Press. Chapter 1-3, 16.

Tsebelis, G. (1995). Decision making in political systems: Veto players in presidentialism, parliamentarism, multicameralism and multipartyism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 25(3):289–325

## Week 10 (November 22). The Fatigue of Liberal Democracy I

Bermeo, N. (2016). On democratic backsliding. Journal of Democracy, 27(1):5-19

Müller, J.-W. (2016). *What is Populism?* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia. Chapters 1-2.

Haggard, S. and Kaufman, R. (2021). The anatomy of democratic backsliding. *Journal of Democracy*, 32(4):27–41

## Optional:

Graham, B., Miller, M., and Strøm, K. (2017). Safeguarding democracy: Powersharing and democratic survival. *American Political Science Review*, 111(4)

## Week 11 (November 29). The Fatigue of Liberal Democracy II

Svolik, M. W. (2019). Polarization versus democracy. Journal of Democracy, 30(3):20-32

Norris, P. and Inglehart, R. (2019). *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism.* Cambridge University Press, New York. Chapters 2, 4, and 8.

Schäfer, A. (Forthcoming). Cultural backlash? how (not) to explain the rise of authoritarian populism. *British Journal of Political Science* 

Rodrik, D. (July 9, 2019). What's driving populism? Project Syndicate

## Week 12 (December 13). Students' presentations

# **Additional Readings:**

- Gleditsch, K. S. and Ward, M. D. (2006). Diffusion and the international context of democratization. *International Organization*, 60(4):911–933
- Gunitsky, S. (2014). From shocks to waves: Hegemonic transitions and democratization in the twentieth century. *International Organization*, 68(3):561–597
- Kloppenberg, J. T. (2016). *Toward Democracy: The Struggle for Slef-Rule in European and American Thought*. Oxford University Press, New York. Chapters 2-3
- Israel, J. (2010). A Revolution of the Mind. Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy. Oxford University Press, Oxford. Preface and chapter 2
- Sánchez-Cuenca, I. (2019). The evolution of democracy: From domestic modernization to international diffusion. Unpublished manuscript
- Levitsky, S. and Way, L. A. (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism*. Cambridge University Press, New York. Pp. 3-36
- Hellmeier, S., Cole, R., Grahn, S., Kolvani, P., Lachapelle, J., Lührmann, A., Maerz, S. F., Pillai, S., and Lindberg, S. I. (2021). State of the world 2020: Autocratization turns viral. *Democratization*, 28(6):1053–1074
- Urbinati, N. (2019). Political theory of populism. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 22:111–127
- Brubaker, R. (2017). Why populism? Theory and Society, 46(5):357–385
- Hopkin, J. and Blyth, M. (2019). The global economics of european populism: Growth regimes and party system change in europe. *Government and Opposition*, 54(2):193–225