

Democratisation: Theory and Practice  
Professor Ben Ansell  
Michaelmas Term 2016

COURSE OUTLINE

This class introduces students to the contours of classic and contemporary debates about democratisation. Our focus will largely be on transitions *to* democracy but we will also explore the survival of democracies and the analyse the various forms of quasi-democratic or ‘hybrid’ regimes that have proliferated in recent years. Since the literature on democratisation is so expansive and diffuse, students will encounter articles employing a wide variety of methodological approaches from comparative history to large N analysis to formal models. The course also attempts to balance ‘classic’ readings from the beginnings of the debate in the postwar era through to the most recent advances in books and major academic journals.

The class begins with the debate over how to *conceptualize* democracy both theoretically and operationally as a measurement. We then move to four weeks that form the core of the class examining transitions to democracy. We begin with ‘*structural*’ approaches –those that see democracy as galvanized by certain socio-economic structural characteristics of states: their economic development, their class structure, and their level of inequality. We then move to more *political* analyses that focus on the moment of ‘transition’ and emphasize the choices of leaders and opponents and recent accounts that emphasize institutional differences. We conclude this section of the course by examining theories that emphasize *culture*, identity, and religion as causal factors behind democratisation. We then move on to questions about democratic *consolidation* versus breakdown and how to think about ‘*hybrid*’ regimes that may mask democratic atrophy (or alternatively that represent partial democratisation in previously autocratic regimes). We conclude the course with an analysis of the *effects* of regime type on economic and political outcomes including growth, war and human welfare.

Candidates taking the class for credit will sit a 3 hour examination in Trinity Term 2015. All interested DPhil and MPhil students are welcome to join the class as auditors.

**Week One: Concepts and Theory**

*Democratic Theory*

Mark Warren, 2008 ‘Democracy and the State’, in Dryzek, Honig and Phillips, *Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*.

\*Amy Gutmann, 1993 ‘Democracy’, in *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*, Blackwell.

Brian Barry 'Is Democracy Special?' 1989, in Barry, *Democracy Power and Justice*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

\*Ian Shapiro, 2003. *The State of Democratic Theory*. Chapter 3, 'Power and Democratic Competition.' Pp. 50-64.

Laurence Whitehead, 2002, *Democratization: Theory and Experience*, Oxford University Press, Chapter 1.

#### *Concepts as theoretical distinctions*

\*Joseph Schumpeter, 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Chs. 21-23.

\*Robert A. Dahl, 1977. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. pp 1-16.

\*Philippe Schmitter and Terry Karl, 1991. 'What Democracy Is...and Is Not.' *Journal of Democracy*, 75-88.

Adam Przeworski, 1999. 'Minimalist Democracy: A Defense.' In Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, *Democracy's Value*.

#### *Concepts as measurable quantities.*

David Collier and Robert Adcock, 1999. 'Democracy and Dichotomies: A Pragmatic Approach to Choices about Concepts,' *Annual Review of Political Science*.

\*Gerardo Munck and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. 'Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices,' *CPS* 35: 5-34.

Jose Antonio Cheibub, Jennifer Gandhi and James Vreeland, 2009, 'Democracy and Dictatorship Revisited', *Public Choice*.

\*Michael Coppedge, 2013. *Democratization and Research Methods*, Ch. 2.

\*Henrikas Bartusevičius, John Gerring, Svend-Erik Skaaning. 'A Lexical Index of Electoral Democracy' *Comparative Political Studies* 2015.

### **Week Two: Democratisation: Structural Approaches (Classic)**

#### *The Middle Class as Democratizing Force...*

Seymour Martin Lipset, 1953, *Political Man*

\*Barrington Moore Jr. 1967. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Chs 1, 7.

\*Theda Skocpol, 1973 'A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy', *Politics and Society*

\*Gregory Luebbert. 1987. 'Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe.' *World Politics*.

#### *... or the Working Class?*

\*Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. 1992. Chs 1-4.

Ruth Berins Collier. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. 1999. Chs. 1-3

### **Week Three: Democratisation: Structural Approaches (Contemporary)**

#### *Economic Growth and Development*

Adam Przeworski *et al*, 2000. *Democracy and Development*. Ch. 2.

\*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*  
Carles Boix, 2011 'Democracy, Development and the International System', *American Political Science Review*.

#### *Economic Inequality*

\*Carles Boix. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Chapters 1-3 & 5.

Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Chs. 3, 6

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

#### *The Role of the State*

\*Dan Slater, Benjamin Smith and Gautam Nair. 2014. 'Economic Origins of Democratic Breakdown? The Redistributive Model and the Postcolonial State.' *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2): 353-74.

Dan Slater, *Ordering Politics*, Cambridge University Press.

### **Week Four: Democratisation: Transitions and Institutional Approaches**

#### *Transitional Accounts*

\*Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*.

Timur Kuran. 1991. 'Now out of Never: the Element of Surprise in the East European Revolutions of 1989.' *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48.

\*Nancy Bermeo. 1997. 'Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transitions.' *Comparative Politics* 29: 305-322.

Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Weyland, Kurt. 2014. *Making Waves: Democratic Contention in Europe and Latin America since the Revolutions of 1848*, Cambridge University Press.

#### *Institutional Accounts*

- \*Geddes, Barbara. 1999. What do we know about democratization after twenty years?  
Annual Review of Political Science
- \*Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. 2007. 'Authoritarian institutions and the survival of autocrats.' *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Beatriz Magaloni. 2008. 'Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule.' *CPS* 41(4-5): 715-742.
- Joseph Wright and Abel Escriba-Folch. 2012. 'Authoritarian institutions and regime survival: transitions to democracy and subsequent autocracy.' *BJPS* 42(2): 283-309.
- \*Isabela Mares. *From open secrets to secret ballots: Democratic electoral reforms and voter autonomy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015)
- \*Adam Przeworski. 'Acquiring the Habit of Changing Governments Through Elections.' 2015, *Comparative Political Studies*.

### **Week Five: Democratisation: Cultural Approaches**

#### *What is Political Culture?*

- \*Karl Polanyi, 1943, *The Great Transformation*.
- Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, 1963. *The Civic Culture*.
- \*Robert Putnam, 1991, *Making Democracy Work*
- Shari Berman. 1997. 'Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic.' *World Politics* 49(3): 401-429.
- \*Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy*.

#### *Religion and Democratization*

- Alfred Stepan, 'Religion, Democracy, and the 'Twin Tolerations'', in *The Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (October 2000)
- Robert Woodberry, 2012 'The missionary roots of liberal democracy.' *APSR* 106(2): 244-274
- \*Eva Bellin. 2004. 'The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in comparative perspective.' *Comparative politics*: 139-157.

### **Week Six: Democratic Consolidation and Breakdown**

- \*Juan Linz, 1978. 'Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration.' In Linz and Stepan (eds.), *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Chs 3-4.
- Guillermo O'Donnell. 1996. 'Illusions about Consolidation.' *Journal of Democracy* 7: 34-51.
- Richard Gunther *et al.* 1996. 'O'Donnell's 'Illusions.' *Journal of Democracy* 7: 151-59.

Guillermo O'Donnell. 1996 'Illusions and Conceptual Flaws.' *Journal of Democracy* 7: 160-68.

\*Nancy Bermeo, 2003. *Ordinary people in extraordinary times: The citizenry and the breakdown of democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

\*Andreas Schedler. 2001. 'Measuring Democratic Consolidation.' *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36(1): 66-92.

Weingast, Barry R. 1997. The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law. *American Political Science Review*, 91(June):245–263.

\*Adam Przeworski, 2005. 'Democracy as an Equilibrium,' *Public Choice*, 123: 253-273.  
Christian Houle, 2009, 'Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization', *World Politics*.

\*Milan Svobik, 2008. 'Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation.' *APSR* 102(2): 153-168.

Milan Svobik 2012. 'Which Democracies Will Last? Coups, Incumbent Takeovers, and the Dynamic of Democratic Consolidation.' *BJPS*: 1-24.

## **Week Seven: Hybrid Regimes and Types of Autocracy**

### *Overview*

\*Svobik, Milan W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Jason Brownlee. 2007. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization*.

### *Delegative and Illiberal Democracy*

\*Guillermo O'Donnell. 1994. 'Delegative Democracy.' *Journal of Democracy* 5: 55-69.

\*Fareed Zakaria. 1997. 'Illiberal Democracy.' *Foreign Affairs*.

### *Hybrid Regimes*

\*Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2002. 'Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism.' *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51-66.

Larry Diamond. 2002. 'Thinking About Hybrid Regimes.' *Journal of Democracy* 13:

Jennifer Gandhi, 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Marc Howard and Philip Roessler. 2006. 'Liberalizing electoral outcomes in competitive authoritarian regimes.' *AJPS* 50(2): 365-381.

\*Carles Boix and Milan Svobik. 2013. 'The Foundations of Limited Authoritarian Government: Institutions, Commitment, and Power-Sharing in Dictatorships.' *JOP* 75(2): 300-316.

Daniela Donno. 2013. 'Elections and democratization in authoritarian regimes.' *AJPS* 57.3: 703-716.

\*Michael Miller. 'Democratic pieces: autocratic elections and hybrid regimes since 1815.' 2015, *British Journal of Political Science*.

### **Week Eight: The Effects of Democracy and Autocracy**

#### *Democracy, Autocracy, and Economic Growth*

Albert O Hirschmann, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*

\*Mancur Olson, 1993, 'Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development', *American Political Science Review*

Douglass C. North and Barry Weingast, 1989. Constitutions and commitment: The evolution of institutions governing public choice in seventeenth-century England. *Journal of Economic History*, 49(4):803–832

\*Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, 'Why Nations Fail' Chapter 3.

Alexander Gerschenkron, 'Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective'

Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson, 2006 'Economic Backwardness in Political Perspective', *American Political Science Review*.

#### *Democracy, Autocracy, and Conflict*

\*Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder, 'Democratization and the Danger of War', *International Security*, 1996.

\*Weeks, Jessica L. 2012. Strongmen and straw men: Authoritarian regimes and the initiation of international conflict. *American Political Science Review*, 106(2):326–347.

#### *Democracy, Autocracy and Human Welfare*

\*Matthew Baum and David Lake, 2001, 'The Invisible Hand of Democracy: Political Control and the Provision of Public Services', *Comparative Political Studies*.

\*Michael Ross, 'Is Democracy Good for the Poor?' *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(4) 2006.

Ben Ansell, 2008, 'Teachers, Traders, and Tyrants: Democracy, Globalization, and Education', *International Organization*.

Michael Miller, 'Elections, Information, and Policy Responsiveness in Autocratic Regimes' *Comparative Political Studies*. 2015

Michael Miller, 'Electoral Authoritarianism and Human Development', *Comparative Political Studies*. 2015