

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Department of Politics

Politics 586
Regime Politics: Democracy and Authoritarianism
Spring 2004

Professor Deborah J. Yashar
219 Bendheim Hall
258-2771

Time: Thursday, 1:30-4:20
Where: TBA
OH: Friday 2-4:30

Course Description

The twentieth century witnessed dramatic swings in regime change: including the collapse of European democracies in the interwar period; the turn to military rule in Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s; and the subsequent wave of democratization in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s in many parts of the world, with the striking exception of the Middle East. This course analyzes competing theoretical approaches to regime politics. Structural, agency, and cultural theories will be evaluated against processes of regime change in Western and Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Africa. The course ends with a discussion of the new democracies and the challenges that they face (i.e., economic reform, institutional design, transitional justice, and multiethnic populations).

Assignments

- 1) Weekly Participation (50% of grade): The course depends on active and ongoing participation by all seminar participants.
 - a. Seminar participants are expected to attend seminar regularly as well read and discuss the readings on a weekly basis.
 - b. Each week 1-2 students will take responsibility for presenting the readings. This includes writing a 2-page synopsis of the readings that a) lays out the main argument(s), b) indicates what you found provocative and/or mundane, and c) poses questions for class discussion. These handouts will be distributed via email to the rest of the class by Wednesday at noon. In class on Thursday, students will make an informal 7-8-minute presentation designed to initiate focused and critical discussion of the readings.
- 2) Papers (50% of grade): You have two options:
 - Option 1: Three Short Papers
 - a. Two 8-10 page papers that analyze the readings in Parts I and II. Papers are due March 1 and April 5.
 - b. One 10-12 page review essay, modeled after those published in *World Politics* and/or *Comparative Politics*. This essay will focus on the readings in Part III and is due May 10.
 - Option 2: Research Paper
 - a. 3-5 page statement outlining research question, theoretical relevance, likely obstacles, and strategies. Also include bibliography. Due March 12.
 - b. 25-30 page research paper. Due May 10.

All papers should be double-spaced, with one-inch margins. Please use Times New Roman 12. Hand papers in to Edna Lloyd in 318 Bendheim by 3 PM.

Books to Purchase: The U-Store has ordered various books for this course, including the required books listed here. You might find additional books on order, but they are not required for the course.

Nancy Bermeo. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton UP, 2003.

Valerie Bunce. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Juan Linz. *Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibrium*. Baltimore; Johns Hopkins UP. 1978.

Barrington Moore. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the New World*. Beacon Press, 1966.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

Adam Przeworski. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge UP, 1991.

Robert D. Putnam. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton UP, 1992.

Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. Oxford UP, 2002.

Jack Snyder. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. NY: Columbia University Press, 2000.

E-Reserves. All articles and book chapters should be on e-reserve. You should be able to access them via blackboard. If you cannot access the readings, contact me for the login and password for the course. Books will also be on reserve at Firestone.

Part I:
Classic Questions, Classic Debates

Week 1 (February 5)	Concepts & Measurement
Week 2 (February 12)	Structural Arguments about Regime Outcomes: The Classics
Week 3 (Need to reschedule, possibly Feb. 20)	Agency Arguments about Leadership, Transitions, Pacts, and Bargains
Week 4 (February 26)	Civil Society, Social Capital, and Culture

Part II:
Evaluating Arguments against Cases

Week 5 (March 4)	Comparative Cases, Round 1: Assessing the Role of History, Classes, & Social Forces
Week 6 (March 11)	Comparative Cases, Round 2: Assessing the Transitions Paradigm
<i>Spring Recess (March 15-19)</i>	
Week 7 (March 25)	Comparative Cases, Round 3: Assessing the Role of Development and Economic Growth

Part III:
Contemporary Challenges

Week 8 (April 1)	Markets and Neoliberal Reforms
Week 9 (April 8)	Institutional Design: Setting up the Rules of the Game
Week 10 (April 15)	Institutional Design: Accommodating Multiethnic Populations
Week 11 (April 22)	Institutional Design: The Rule of Law, Transitional Justice & Accountability
Week 12 (April 29)	Prospects for Democracy

Part I: Regime Change
Classic Questions and Classic Debates

Week 1 (February 5)

Democracy and Authoritarianism: Concepts and Measurement

Required Reading

Robert Dahl. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1971, pp.1-16.

Philippe Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. "What Democracy is ... and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 75-88.

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. "Democracy and Its Arena (ch.1)." and "Modern Nondemocratic Regimes (ch.3)." *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins UP, 1996, skim pp. 3-15, 38-54.

Amartya Sen. "Democracy as a Universal Value." *Journal of Democracy*. 10, no. 3 (1999): 3-17

David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (April 1997) pp. 430-451.

Geraldo Munck and "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices." With responses by Coppedge and Verkuilen; and Marshall et al, *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 1 (2002), pp. 5-34, 35-45, and 52-57.

Recommended

Juan J. Linz. "Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes." in F. Greenstein and N. Polsby, eds., *Handbook of Political Science, vol 3. Reading, Addison Wesley*. 1975.

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. "Democracy and Its Arena (ch.1)." and "Modern Nondemocratic Regimes (ch.3)." *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins UP, 1996.

Cardoso chapter. In Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism*.

David Collier. 1979. "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model." In Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism*, pp. 19-30

Joseph Schumpeter. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, esp. Chs. 21-23 (pp.250-302).

David Held. *Models of Democracy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.

Lenin. *State and Revolution*.

Carole Pateman. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Ian Shapiro. "The State of Democratic Theory." In Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner, eds., *Political Science: State of the Discipline*. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2002.

Sartori. "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *American Political Science Review* 64 (1970): 1033-1053.

David Collier and James Mahon. "Conceptual 'Stretching' Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 87, no.4 (1993), 845-855.

Week 2 (February 12)

Structural Arguments about Regime Change: The Classics

Required Reading

Seymour Martin Lipset. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53, no.1, March 1959, pp.69-105.

Barrington Moore. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the New World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, closely read preface and Part IV; skim the rest.

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Change to Change," in Roy C. Macridis and Bernard E. Brown, eds., *Comparative Politics: Notes and Readings* (Chicago: Dorsey Press, 1986).

David Collier. "Industrial Modernization and Political Change: A Latin American Perspective." *World Politics* 30, no. 4 (July 1978), pp. 593-614.

Recommended: Classic and Contemporary books in this tradition

Seymour Martin Lipset. *Political Man*.

Robert Dahl. *Polyarchy*, esp., pp.33-104.

Samuel P. Huntington. *Political Order and Changing Societies*

Guillermo O'Donnell. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes: Studies in South American Politics*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, Politics of Modernization Series, 1973.

Gregory Luebbert. *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe*.

Thomas Ertman. "Democracy and Dictatorship in Interwar Western Europe Revisited." Review Article. *World Politics* 50, no. 3 (April 1997), pp 475-505.

Thomas Ertman.

Downing.

Collier and Collier. *Shaping the Political Arena*.

Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*.

Deborah J. Yashar. *Demanding Democracy*.

James Mahoney.

Week 3 (scheduled for February 19) will have to reschedule, perhaps for Friday 20 at 2 P.M.

Micro/Agency Arguments about Leadership, Transitions, Pacts, and Bargains

Required Reading

Juan Linz. *Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibrium*. Baltimore; Johns Hopkins UP. 1978.

Dankwart Rustow. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2, no. 3 (April 1970), pp. 337-364.

Samuel P. Huntington. 1991. "Democracy's Third Wave." *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 2 (Spring), pp. 3-25.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

Adam Przeworski. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge UP, 1991, pp.1-99.

Recommended

- Linz and Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*.
Arturo Valenzuela. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*.
Samuel Huntington. 1984. "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" *Political Science Quarterly* 99, no. 2, pp. 193-219.
Samuel P. Huntington. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
Giuseppe Di Palma. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
John Higley and Richard Gunther, eds., *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin American and Southern Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, UP, 1992.
Terry Karl. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics*. 23, no.1 (Oct.1990), pp. 1-21.
Nancy Bermeo. "Democracy and the Lessons of Dictatorship" *Comparative Politics* 24, no. 3 (April 1992), pp. 273-291 (19)

Week 4 (February 26)

Civil Society, Social Capital, and Culture

Required Reading

- Robert D. Putnam. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton UP, 1992.
- Sheri Berman. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic." *World Politics* 49, no.3 (1997), pp.401-429.
- Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker. "Modernization, Globalization, and the Persistence of Tradition: Empirical Evidence from 65 Societies." *American Sociological Review* 65, no.1 (2000), pp. 19-55.
- Consuelo Cruz. "Identity and Persuasion: How Nations Remember their Pasts and Make their Futures." *World Politics* 52, no. 3 (April 2000), pp. 275-312.
- Fish, M. Steven. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55, no. 1 (October 2002).

Recommended

- Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Princeton University Press, 1963).
Ronald Inglehart. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997.
Samuel P. Huntington. "The Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 72, no. 3 (1993), pp. 22-49.
Larry Diamond. "Political Culture" (ch.5) and "Civil Society" (ch.6). *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
Kaled Abou el Fadl, eds., Joshua Cohen and Deborah Chasman, *Islam and the Challenge of Democracy* (forthcoming).
Ronald Inglehart. 2000. "Culture and Democracy." In Huntington and Harrison, eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*. New York: Basic Books, pp.80-97.
Pippa Norris. *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism* Cambridge UP, 2002.
Pippa Norris, ed., *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999.
Robert D. Putnam. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1, pp. 65-78. AND Robert D. Putnam. 2002. "Bowling Together." *The American Prospect* 13 (3).
Robert D. Putnam, ed., *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Susan J Pharr, Robert D Putnam, Russell J Dalton. "A quarter-century of declining confidence." *Journal of Democracy*. Baltimore: Apr 2000. Vol. 11, Iss. 2.
Amaney Jamal's current manuscript.
Eva Bellin. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: A Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics*, forthcoming.
NB: there are endless critiques of Putnam's book: see articles by Tarrow, Levi, Skocpol, among others.

Part II **Evaluating Arguments against** **Comparative Cases**

Week 5 (March 4)

Comparative Cases, Round 1: Assessing the Role of History Classes, and Social Forces

Required Reading

Gregory Luebbert. "Social Foundations in Interwar Europe." *World Politics* 39, no. 4 (July 1987), pp. 449-478.

Deborah Yashar. *Demanding Democracy*, Stanford UP, 1997, chapters 1 and 7.

Ruth Collier. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. Cambridge UP, 1999.

Nancy Bermeo. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2003.

Eva Bellin. "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries." *World Politics* 52, no. 2 (January 2000), pp. 175-205.

James Mahoney. "Knowledge Accumulation in Comparative Historical Research: The Case of Democracy and Authoritarianism." In James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge UP, 2003, pp.131-174.

Recommended:

Paul Pierson. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94, no.2 (June 2000), pp. 251-267.

Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens

Elisabeth Wood. *Forging Democracy From Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*: Cambridge UP, 2000.

Gerardo Munck. "The Regime Question: Theory Building in Democracy Studies: Review Article" *World Politics* 54, 1 (October 2001).

Nancy Bermeo. "The Myths of Moderation." *Comparative Politics* 29 April 1997.

Spring Recess
March 15-19

Week 6 (March 11)

Comparative Cases, Round 2: Assessing the Transitions Paradigm

Required Reading

Haggard and Kaufman. "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions." *Comparative Politics* 29, no.3 (April 1997), pp. 263 (21).

Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa." *World Politics* 46, no.4 (July 1994).

Valerie Bunce. *Subversive Institutions: The Design and the Destruction of Socialism and the State*. New York: Cambridge UP, 1999. (164 pages)

Barbara Geddes. "What Do We Know about Democratization After Twenty Years." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2 (1999)

Michael Mc Faul. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy AND Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World." *World Politics* 54, no.2 (January 2002): 212-244.

Thomas Carothers. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy*. 13 (January 2002), pp. 5-21.

Recommended:

Laurence Whitehead, "Three International Dimensions of Democratization." In Laurence Whitehead, ed., *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas*, expanded edition. Oxford UP, 1996/2001, pp. 3-25.

Anna Seleny. "Old Political Rationalities and New Democracies: Compromise and Confrontation in Hungary and Poland." *World Politics* 51, no. 4 (Jul 1999). p. 484 (36 pages).

Lisa Anderson, ed., *Transitions to Democracy*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Valerie Bunce. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience." *World Politics* 55, no.2 (January 2003).

Gerardo L. Munch. "The Regime Question: Theory Building in Democracy Studies." *World Politics* 54 (October 2001), pp. 119-144.

Week 7 (March 25)

Comparative Cases, Round 3: Assessing the Role of Development and Economic Growth

Required Reading

John B. Londregan and Keith T. Poole. "Does High Income Promote Democracy?" *World Politics* 49, no. 1 (October 1996): 1-30

A. Przeworski and F. Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49, pp. 155-184.

Boix, Carles Boix and Susan Stokes. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55, no.4. (July 2003).

Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. "Level of Development and Democracy: Latin American Exceptionalism." *Comparative Political Studies* 36, no. 9 (Nov. 2003), pp. 1031-1067.

Terry Lynn Karl, "Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability," *Journal of Democracy* 11 (January 2000), pp. 149-156.

Michael Ross. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April 2001), pp.

Recommended

Terry Lynn Karl. *Paradox of Plenty*

Adam Przeworski, Michael El. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge UP, 2000.

Part III Contemporary Challenges

Week 8 (April 1)

Democracy, Markets and Neoliberal Reforms

Required Reading

Adam Przeworski. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge UP, 1991, pp. 100-191.

Claus Offe. "Capitalism by Democratic Design: Democratic Theory Facing the Triple Transition in East Central Europe." *Social Research* 58:4 (Winter 1991), pp. 865-892.

Mitchell Orenstein. "Lawlessness from above and below: Economic radicalism and political institutions." *SAIS REVIEW*. 18, NO.1 (WINTER 1998), PP. 35 (16).

John Williamson. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform in Latin America." In John Williamson, ed., *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened*. Washington, D.C.: Institute of International Economics, 1990, (Skim for overview of Washington Consensus).

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton UP, 1995, chs.5, 9 (pp.151-182, 309-334).

Kurt Weyland. "The Political Fate of Market Reform in Latin America, Africa, and Eastern Europe." *International Studies Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (December 1998), pp. 645-673.

Kurt Weyland. "Swallowing the Bitter Pill." *Comparative Political Studies* 31, no. 5 (October 1998), pp. 539-568.

Recommended

John Williamson. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform in Latin America." In John Williamson, ed., *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened*. Washington, D.C.: Institute of International Economics, 1990.

Stephen Haggard, and R.R. Kaufman, eds., *The Politics of Economic Adjustment*, Princeton UP: Princeton N.J, 1992.

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton UP, 1995.

José María Maravall, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Advantage." *Journal of Democracy* 5, no.4 (October), pp. 17-31

Bresser Pereira, Maravall, and Przeworski. *Economic Reforms in New Democracies*. Cambridge UP.

Javier Corrales. "Market Reforms in Latin America: Why they were done and why there were not so market-oriented." In Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, eds., *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 2003.

John Williamson on Democracy and the Washington Consensus and the Uses of the Washington Consensus (*WBRO* Aug 2000).

Susan Stokes. *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise*.

Mitchell A. Orenstein. *Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe*. University of Michigan Press, 2001.

Kurt Weyland. *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2002.

Week 9 (April 8)

Institutional Design: Setting up the Rules of the Game

Required Reading

Arend Lijphart. "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies." In Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Johns Hopkins UP, 1993, pp. 146-158.

Alfred Stepan and Cynthia Skach. "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarism versus Presidentialism." *World Politics* 46 (1993), pp. 1-22.

Matthew Shugart and John Carey. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. NY: Cambridge UP, 1992, tbd.

Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart. "Introduction" and "Conclusion". In Mainwaring and Shugart, eds., *Presidents and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997, 12-54, 394-439.

G. Easter. "Preference for Presidentialism: Postcommunist regime change in Russia and the NIS." *World Politics* 49 (1997), pp. 184-211.

Timothy Power and Mark J. Gasiorowski. "Institutional Design and Democratic Consolidation in the Third World." *Comparative Political Studies* Volume 30, Issue 2, 1997, pp. 123-155.

José Antonio Cheibub. "Minority Governments, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies*. 35, no. 3 2002, pp. 284-312.

Recommended on Presidentialism versus Parliamentarism

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*.

Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: The Case of Latin America*. Volumes I and II, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1994.

Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Johns Hopkins UP, 1993, Part II.

Kurt von Mettenheim, *Presidential Institutions and Democratic Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* 26 (July 1993): 198-227.

G. Bingham Powell. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven: Yale UP. 2000.

Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad, eds., *Constitutionalism and Democracy*. Cambridge UP, 1988.

Philippe C. Schmitter. "The Influence of the International Context Upon the Choice of National Institutions and Policies in Neo-Democracies, In Laurence Whitehead, ed., *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas*, expanded edition. Oxford UP, 1996/2001, pp. 26-54.

M. Bernhard. "Institutional Choice and the Failure of Democracy: The Case of Interwar Europe." *East European Politics and Societies* 12 (1999), pp. 34-70.

Recommended on Political Parties and Party Systems (although, this is not the focus for this week).

Anthony Downs. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. NY: Harper and Row, 1957.

Maurice Duverger. *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*.

Lipset and Rokkan. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*, 1967.

Giovanni Sartori. *Parties and Party Systems*. Cambridge UP, 1976.

Rein Taagepera and Matthew S. Shugart. *Seats and Votes*.

Angelo Panebianco. *Political Parties: Organization and Power* Cambridge UP, 1988.

Scott Mainwaring, "Party Systems in the Third Wave," *Global Divergence of Democracies*, pp. 185-199.

Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995, particularly introduction and conclusion.

Rein Taagepera and Matthew S. Shugart, *Seats & Votes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

Carlos Boix. "Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 93, no.3 (September 1999), pp. 609-624.

Ellen Lust-Okar and Amaney Ahmad Jamal. "Rulers and Rules: Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no.3 (April 2002), pp. 337-366.

Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy*. Johns Hopkins UP, 2001.

Recommended Review articles

Kent Eaton. "Parliamentarism versus Presidentialism in the Policy Arena." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (2000), pp. 355-376.

John M. Carey. "Parchment, Equilibria, and Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies* 33, nos. 6-7 (August/September 2000): pp. 735-761.

Week 10 (April 15)

Institutional Design: New Democracies and Multiethnic Citizenries

Required Reading

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. "Stateness, Nationalism, and Democratization." *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins UP, 1996, pp.16-37.

Andrew Reynolds, ed., *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. Oxford UP, 2002. [earlier versions of these papers are online at <http://www.nd.edu/%7Ekellogg/CD.html>.

- Donald Horowitz. "Constitutional Design: Proposals versus Processes." Pp. 15-36
- Arend Lijphart. "The Wave of Power-Sharing Democracy." Pp. 37-54.
- Pippa Norris. "Ballots not Bullets: Testing Consociational Theories of Ethnic Conflict, Electoral Systems and Democratization, pp. 206-247.
- Rotimi T. Suberu and Larry Diamond. "Institutional Design, Ethnic Conflict Management, and Democracy in Nigeria." Pp. 400-428.
- David Stuligrass and Ashutosh Varshney. "Ethnic Diversities, Constitutional Designs, and Public Policies in India." Pp. 429-458.

Jack Snyder. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. NY: Columbia University Press, 2000, read chs. 1, 2, 6, 7. Skim other chapters.

Nancy Bermeo: "The Import of Institutions." *Journal of Democracy*. April 2002. Volume 13, number 2, 96-110.

Alfred Stepan. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the US Model." *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 4 (October 99), pp. 19-34.

Recommended:

Clifford Geertz. "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in New States." In *Old Societies and New States*. New York: Basic Books, 1973, pp. 255-310.

Arend Lijphart. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

Hans Daalder. "The Consociational Democracy Theme." *World Politics* 26 (October 1973): pp. 604-621.

Donald Horowitz. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, pp. 291-442.

Donald Horowitz. "Democracy in Divided Societies: The Challenge of Ethnic Conflict." *Journal of Democracy* 4 (October 1993): pp. 18-33.

Ian S. Lustick. "Lijphart, Lakatos, and Consociationalism." *World Politics* 50, no. 1 (October 1997) 88-117.

Carol Skalnik Leff. "Democratization and Disintegration in Multinational State: The Breakup of the Communist Federation." *World Politics* 51 (January 1999), pp. 205-235.

James R. Scarritt, Susan M. McMillan, and Shaheen Mozaffar. "The Interaction Between Democracy and Ethnopolitical Protest and Rebellion in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no.7 (September 2001), pp. 800-827.

Papers from Notre Dame Conference on "Constitutional Design 2000 (December 9-11, 1999). The following papers can be downloaded at: <http://www.nd.edu/%7Ekellogg/CD.html>

Deborah J. Yashar. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: Indigenous Movements, the State, and the Postliberal Challenge*. Forthcoming, Cambridge UP.

Week 11 (April 22)

Institutional Challenges: Transitional Justice, The Rule of Law, and Accountability

Required Reading

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. "Democracy and Its Arena (ch.1)." *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins UP, 1996, pp. 3-15.

Alexandra Barahona De Brito, Carmen Gonzalez Enriquez, and Paloma Aguilar eds., *The Politics of Memory and Democratization: Transitional Justice in Democratizing Societies* (Oxford Studies in Democratization), 2001. Read following chapters:

- Alexandra Barahona de Brito et al. "Introduction," pp. 1-39.
- Naomi Roht-Arriaza. "The Role of International Actors in National Accountability Processes," pp. 40-64.

Claus Offe. "Disqualification, Retribution, Restitution: Dilemmas of Justice in Postcommunist Transitions." *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 1 (1): 17-44.

Guillermo O'Donnell. "On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries," *World Development*. 1993.

Guillermo O'Donnell. "Delegative Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 15, No.1, (January 1994), 55-69.

Guillermo O'Donnell. "Horizontal Accountability and New Polyarchies." With response by Philippe C. Schmitter "The Limits of Horizontal Accountability." In Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 1994, pp. 29-52, 59-62.

Jennifer Widner. "Building Judicial Independence in Common Law Africa." In Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*. pp.177-193.

José María Maravall and Adam Przeworski, eds., *Democracy and the Rule of Law*. Cambridge UP, 2003,

José María Maravall and Adam Preworski. "Introduction," pp. 1-16.

José María Maravall. "The Rule of Law as a Political Weapon," pp.261-301.

Recommended

T.H. Marshall. "Citizenship and Social Class." *Class, Citizenship, and Social Development*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963, pp. 65-122. Exact page numbers may vary depending on edition.

Priscilla Hayner. *Unspeakable Truths*

James McAdams, ed., *Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in New Democracies*. University of Notre Dame Press, 1997.

Martha Minow. *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1998.

Ruti G. Teitl. *Transitional Justice*. Oxford: Oxford UP, pp. 11-26, 69-117, 213-228.

Barry Weingast. "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law." *APSR* 91, no.2 (June 1997), pp. 245-263.

Gary Bass. *Stay the Hand of Vengeance*.

Michael Walzer. "Exclusion, Injustice, and the Democratic State." *Dissent* (Winter 1993): pp. 55-64.

Patrick Heller. "Degrees of Democracy: Some Comparative Lessons from India." *World Politics* 52, no. 4 (July 2000), pp. 484-519.

Anthony W. Pereira. "Virtual Legality: Authoritarian Legacies and the Reform of Military Justice in Brazil, the Southern Cone, and Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies* 34, no.5 (June 2001), pp. 555-574.

Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, Bernard Manin, eds., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge UP, 1999.

Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna, eds., *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. Oxford UP, 2003.

Week 12 (April 29)

Prospects for "Consolidating"/Transgressing Democracy

Required Reading

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions about Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7 (April 1996).

Deborah J. Yashar. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America." *World Politics* 52, no. 1 (October 1999), pp. 76-104.

Fareed Zakaria. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracies." *Foreign Affairs*. 76 (November–December 1997), pp. 22-43.

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- Larry Diamond. "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes." 21-35.
- Andreas Schedler. "The Menu of Manipulation, pp. 36-50.
- Stephen Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." 51-65.
- Nicolas van de Walle. "Africa's Range of Regimes." Pp. 66-80.

Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999), pp. 331-352.

Minxin Pei and Sara Kaspar. "Lessons from the Past: The American Record in Nation Building. 2003. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Recommended on Consolidation

Andreas Schedler. "Measuring Democratic Consolidation." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no.1 Page: 66-92.

Jonathan Fox. "Latin America's Emerging Local Politics," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (April 1994).

Kurt von Mettenheim and James Malloy, "Introduction," in Mettenheim and Malloy, eds., *Deepening Democracy in Latin America* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998).

Ben Ross Schneider, "Democratic Consolidations: Some Broad Comparisons and Sweeping Arguments," *Latin American Research Review* 30, no. 2 (1995), 216, 219, 220, 231.

David Becker, "Latin America: Beyond Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 20 (April 1999), 139.

Schedler, Andreas. "What is Democratic Consolidation." *Journal of Democracy* 9, no.2 (April 1998). p. 91 (17 pages)

See Philippe C. Schmitter, "The Consolidation of Democracy and Representation of Social Groups," *American Behavioral Scientist* 35 (March–June 1993).

Recommended on Subnational Politics

Jonathan Fox, "The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico," *World Politics* 46 (January 1994).

W. Cornelius, T. Eisenstadt, and J. Hindley, eds., *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico*, ed.. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, UCSD.
Stephan Haggard et al. On decentralization
Kathleen O'Neill on decentralization
Kent Eaton's, forthcoming manuscript on decentralization

Recommended on International Politics

Laurence Whitehead. *The International Dimensions of Democratization*.
Keck and Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders*.
Alison Brysk, ed., *Globalization and Human Rights*. University of California Press, 2002.
Yasemin Soysal. *Limits of Citizenship*:
Robert A. Pastor. "The Third Dimension of Accountability: The International Community in National Elections. In Schedler, Diamond, and Plattner, *The Self-Restraining State*, chs 8 pp. 123-142.
Deborah Yashar. "Globalization and Collective Action: A Review Essay." *Comparative Politics*. 2002.
Journal of Democracy 10, no. 4 (October 1999): 99-128. "Debating Democratic Assistance": Marina Ottaway and Teresa Chung "Toward a new Paradigm," Elizabeth Spiro Clark, "A Tune-up, Not an Overhaul," E. Gyimah-Boadi, "The Cost of Doing Nothing," and Irena Lasota, Sometimes Less is More."
David Held. "The Transformation of Political Community: Rethinking Democracy in the Context of Globalization." With comments by Kymlicka and Wendt; In Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, eds., *Democracy's Edges*. Cambridge UP, 1999. pp. 84-111; 112-126; 127-133.
Ronaldo Munck. "Globalization and Democracy: A New 'Great Transformation'?" *The Annals of the American Academy (AAPSS)* 581 (May 2002), pp. 10-21. Huntington, *The Third Wave*, pp. 85-108, 281-290.