

# **International Relations 555: Democracy and Democratization in Comparative Perspective**

**Fall 2017**

When: W 5:00-7:50 p.m.  
Where: VKC 104  
Office Hours: M 3:00-4:50 p.m.  
or by appointment

Professor Gerardo Munck  
E-Mail: munck@usc.edu  
Office: VKC 326A

## **Course Description**

This seminar explores research that builds and tests theories of democratization and the endurance of democracy. After considering the concept of democracy, we start by considering some of the classics, published in the second half of the twentieth century, which still largely set the terms of the debate. Then we turn to the literature published after 2000 and consider how this literature has revised and built on ideas from the classics. We will discuss research that offers economic, cultural, political and international explanations of democratization and the endurance of democracy. And we will identify different schools of research: modernization theory and three alternatives to modernization theory (power structure theory, political institutional theory, and political economy theory). We conclude with an overall assessment of the evolution and state of knowledge about democratization and the endurance of democracy.

## **Requirements**

- i) *Five analytical essays* (each essay is worth 10% of the final grade). These short essays (5 to 7 double-spaced pages) on the readings for one week will be due, at the latest, by Wednesday at 4 p.m. in my mailbox in VKC 330.
- ii) *Class participation* (25% of the final grade) on the basis of the required readings, each and every week.
- iii) *A take-home final exam* (25% of the final grade). As a final assignment, students will be asked to write, as a sort of take-home exam, a roughly 10 page, double-spaced, paper, on a question to be assigned.

## **Readings**

I have posted the readings for which I have electronic copies on the USC Blackboard, under course "Readings." The readings are in folders organized by the number of each meeting.

When doing the readings, it makes sense to read them in the order they are presented in this syllabus. Also, the full text of each reading is frequently not required; therefore, look at the notes next to the reading in this syllabus to see what pages you should read.

## Topic Outline and Reading Assignments

### Meeting 1: Introduction (August 23)

No readings. We will discuss the contents and requirements of the course, and how to approach the readings and prepare analytical essays.

**Meeting 2** (August 30): APSA convention, No class

### On Democracy

#### Meeting 3: The Nature of Democracy (September 6)

Schumpeter, Joseph. 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper. [Read only pages 240-73, starting with the section on “A Mental Experiment” and ending where the section on “The Principle Applied” begins.]

Dahl, Robert A. 1971. *Polyarchy*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press. [Read only pp. 1-10, ending with the section on “The Question Restated.”]

Dahl, Robert A. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press. [Read only Chapters 8 and 9, and pp. 220-22.]

Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Read only Chapter 1: “Democracies and Dictatorships,” up to the top of page 36.]

*Additional reading:* For an overview of the history of democracy, see Adam Przeworski, “A Brief History of Representative Institutions,” Ch. 3 in Przeworski, *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Other useful sources are: Samuel P. Huntington, “What?” Ch. 1 in Huntington, *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, OK.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991; and John Markoff, *Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change*, 2nd Edition. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2015.

### On Democratization I. Setting the Terms of the Debate

#### Meeting 4: Modernization Theory I: Economic Development and Mass Culture (September 13)

Lerner, Daniel. 1968. “Modernization. Social Aspects,” pp. 386-95. in David L. Sills (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. 10. New York: The Macmillan Company & the Free Press.

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

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. [Read only Chapter 1 (from page 1 to the top of page 35) and Chapter 13.]

**Meeting 5: Power Structure Theory: Class, State and the State System** (September 20)

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press. [Read the Preface and Chapter 7 closely, and skim Chapters 8 and 9.]

Huber, Evelyne, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John D. Stephens. 1993. "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7(3): 71-85.

Tilly, Charles. 1998. "Where Do Rights Come From?" pp. 55-72, in Theda Skocpol (ed.), *Democracy, Revolution, and History*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Mazduca, Sebastián. 2010. "Macrofoundations of Regime Change: Democracy, State Formation, and Capitalist Development," *Comparative Politics* 43(1): 1-19.

**Meeting 6: Political Institutional Theory I: Political Actors and Strategic Choices** (September 27)

Rustow, Dankwart. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2(3): 337-63.

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Meeting 7: Political Institutional Theory II: Elites, Culture and Non-democratic Institutions** (October 4)

Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press. [Read Chapters 1 and 3.]

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. [Skim Preface, and read Chapters 1 through 4.]

**On Democratization II.  
Revisiting, and Building on, the Classics**

**Meeting 8: Modernization Theory II: Economic Development** (October 11)

Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49(2): 155-83.

Boix, Carles and Susan C. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55(4): 517-49.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared. 2008. "Income and Democracy." *American Economic Review* 98(3): 808-42.

Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105(4): 809-28.

**Meeting 9: Modernization Theory III. Mass Culture (October 18)**

- Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Read the Introduction, Chapters 7 and 8, and the Conclusion.]
- Dahlum, Sirianne and Carl Henrik Knutsen. 2017. “Democracy by Demand? Reinvestigating the Effect of Self-expression Values on Political Regime Type.” *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 437-61.
- Welzel, Christian, Ronald Inglehart and Stefan Kruse. 2017. “Pitfalls in the Study of Democratization: Testing the Emancipatory Theory of Democracy.” *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 463-72.
- Dahlum, Sirianne and Carl Henrik Knutsen. 2017. “What Counts as Evidence? Panel Data and the Empirical Evaluation of Revised Modernization Theory.” *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 473-78.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2003. “Why do Political Parties Obey Results of Elections?” pp. 114-44, in Jose Maria Maravall and Adam Przeworski (eds.), *Democracy and the Rule of Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Read only pp. 114-29.]

**Meeting 10: Political Economy Theory I: Economic Inequality and Redistribution (October 25)**

- Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Read only pages 1-16 of the “Introduction,” and focus on the argument about economic equality and capital mobility.]
- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2006 *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Read only Chapter 2, “Our Argument,” and sections 6 and 7 of Chapter 3 (to see how these authors locate their work in the context of the broader literature).]
- Houle, Christian. 2009. “Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization.” *World Politics* 61(4): 589–622.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Suresh Naidu, Pascual Restrepo, and James A. Robinson. 2015. “Democracy, Redistribution, and Inequality,” pp. 1885–1966, in Anthony Atkinson and François Bourguignon (eds.), *Handbook of Income Distribution* Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Elsevier. [Read only pp. 1895-1901, section “21.2.4 Why Inequality May Not Decline” through section “21.2.7 Discussion and Interpretation.”]

**Meeting 11: Political Economy Theory II: Natural Resources and Rentier States**  
(November 1)

- Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361.
- Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Read only Chapter 1, "Does Oil Promote Democracy?" through page 25.]
- Haber, Stephen and Victor Menaldo. 2011. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse." *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 1-26.
- Ahmadov, Anar K. 2014. "Oil, Democracy, and Context. A Meta-Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(9): 1238-67.

**Meeting 12: Political Institutional Theory III: Elites, State and Nation** (November 8)

- Rustow, Dankwart A. 1967. *A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization*. Washington: Brookings Institution. [Read only the section on "The Problem of Sequence," pp. 120-32, in Chapter 4. In this piece, you can roughly translate "authority" as state, "identity" as national unity", and "equality" as democracy.]
- He, Baogang. 2001. "The National Identity Problem and Democratization: Rustow's Theory of Sequence." *Government and Opposition* 36(1): 97-119.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. 2012. "Democratization and Civil War," pp. 175-200, in Jack Snyder, *Power and Progress: International Politics in Transition*. London: Routledge.
- Bernhard, Michael, Ömer Faruk Örsün and Reşat Bayer. 2016. "Democratization in Conflict Research: How Conceptualization Affects Operationalization and Testing Outcomes." *International Interactions*.
- Laitin, David D. 1995. "Transitions to Democracy and Territorial Integrity," pp. 19-33, in Przeworski, Adam et al., *Sustainable Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**Meeting 13: Political Institutional Theory IV: Elites, Non-democratic Institutions, and International Factors** (November 15)

- Haggard, Stephen and Robert Kaufman. 2016. *Dictators and Democrats: Elites, Masses, and Regime Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Haggard, Stephan, Terence Teo and Robert Kaufman. 2016. "Distributive Conflict and Regime Change: A Qualitative Dataset." [Review a few cases so as to understand the data that is used in Haggard and Kaufman 2016]

**Meeting 14:** Wednesday, November 22: Thanksgiving Week, No class

## Summing Up

### **Meeting 15: The State of Knowledge: What Do We Know? What Do We Not Know?** (November 29)

Teorell, Jan. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972 -2006*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gassebner, Martin, Michael J. Lamla, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2013. "Extreme Bounds of Democracy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(2): 171-97.

Saghaug Broderstad, Troy. 2017. "A Meta-analysis of Income and Democracy." Working Paper, Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen.

Coppedge, Michael. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods*. New York: Cambridge University Press. [Read only the Conclusion of Chapter 9, "Quantitative Testing," pp. 304-09 and compare them to Teorell (2010: 145, Gassebner et al. (2013): 171, 190, and Saghaug Broderstad.)

## A Comprehensive Bibliography

### Classic and Recent Works on the Concept of Democracy

- Kelsen, Hans. 2013 [1929]. *The Essence and Value of Democracy*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Schumpeter, Joseph. 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Kelsen, Hans. 1945. *General Theory of Law and State*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kelsen, Hans. L. 1955. "Foundations of Democracy." *Ethics* 66(1): 1–101.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago, IL.: University of Chicago Press.
- Pateman, Carole. 1970. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macpherson, C.B. 1973. *Democratic Theory: Essays in Retrieval*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Macpherson, C.B. 1977. *The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bobbio, Norberto. 1989 [1980]. *Democracy and Dictatorship: The Nature and Limits of State Power*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Bobbio, Norberto. 1987 [1984]. *The Future of Democracy: A Defense of the Rules of The Game*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Held, David. 1987. *Models of Democracy*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1987. *The Theory of Democracy Revisited Part 1: The Contemporary Debate*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1987. *The Theory of Democracy Revisited Part 2: The Classical Issues*. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House Publishers.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.
- Hanson, Russell L. 1989. "Democracy," pp. 68-89, in Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell L. Hanson (eds.), *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Habermas, Jurgen. 1996. *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Collier, David and Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research." *World Politics* 49(3): 430-51.
- Saward, Michael. 1998. *The Terms of Democracy*. Cambridge: Polity.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999. *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization*. Notre Dame, In.: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1999. "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense," pp. 23-55, in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón (eds.), *Democracy's Value*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, Bernard Manin, and Susan Stokes (eds.). 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2001. "Democracy, Law, and Comparative Politics." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36(1): 7-36.

- Maravall, José María and Adam Przeworski (eds.). 2003. *Democracy and the Rule of Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Merkel, Wolfgang. 2004. "Embedded and Defective Democracies." *Democratization* 11(1): 33-58.
- Dunn, John. 2005. *Setting the People Free: The Story of Democracy*. London: Atlantic Books.
- McGann, Anthony J. 2006. *The Logic of Democracy: Reconciling Equality, Deliberation, and Minority Protection*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bellamy, Richard. 2007. *Political Constitutionalism: A Republican Defense of the Constitutionality of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2007. *Dissonances: Democratic Critiques of Democracy*. Notre Dame, In.: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Mazucca, Sebastián. 2010. "Access to Power Versus Exercise of Power: Reconceptualizing the Quality of Democracy in Latin America." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45(3): 334-57.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2010. *Democracy, Agency, and the State: Theory with Comparative Intent*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2010. *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 2012. *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. 2nd. Ed. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.
- Munck, Gerardo L. 2016. "What is Democracy? A Reconceptualization of the Quality of Democracy." *Democratization* 23(1): 1-26.

### **Classic and Recent Works on the Explanation of Democracy**

- Montesquieu, Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de. 1989 [1748]. *The Spirit of the Laws*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Adam. 1869 [1763]. *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms, delivered in the University of Glasgow, by Adam Smith*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Smith, Adam. 1904 [1776]. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. London: Methuen.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2010 [1835]. *Democracy in America*. Indianapolis, In: Liberty Fund.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2010 [1840]. *Democracy in America*. Indianapolis, In: Liberty Fund.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1977 [1861]. *Considerations on Representative Government*, in *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, Vol. 19. *Essays on Politics and Society Part II*, ed. John M. Robson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, and London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hintze, Otto. 1975 [1902]. "The Formation of States and Constitutional Development: A Study in History and Politics," pp. 157-77, in Felix Gilbert (ed.), *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Veblen, Thorstein. 1915. *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.



- Bryce, James. 1921. *Modern Democracies* Two Volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Weber, Max. 1927 [1923]. *General Economic History*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Hintze, Otto. 1975 [1931]. "The Preconditions of Representative Government in the Context of World History," pp. 305-53, in Felix Gilbert (ed.), *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gerschenkron, Alexander. 1943. *Bread and Democracy in Germany*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California Press.
- Polanyi, Karl. 1944. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press.
- Lipset, Seymour M. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53(1): 69-105.
- Lipset, Seymour M. 1960. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. New York: Doubleday/Anchor Books.
- Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Bendix, Reinhard. 1964. *Nation-Building and Citizenship: Studies of Our Changing Social Order*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- de Schweinitz, Karl. 1964. *Industrialization and Democracy: Economic Necessities and Political Possibilities*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
- Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Dahrendorf, Ralf. 1967 [1965]. *Society and Democracy in Germany*. New York: Doubleday.
- Eckstein, Harry. 1966. *A Theory of Stable Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. 1967. *A World of Nations: Problems of Political Modernization*. Washington: Brookings Institution.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1968. *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands*. Berkeley, Cal.: University of California.
- Nordlinger, Eric A. 1968. "Political Development: Time Sequences and Rates of Change." *World Politics* 20(3): 494-520.
- Rokkan, Stein. 1968. "The Structuring of Mass Politics in the Smaller European Democracies: A Developmental Typology." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10(2): 173-210.
- Rustow, Dankwart. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2(3): 337-63.
- Rokkan, Stein, with Angus Campbell, Per Torsvik and Henry Valen. 1970. *Citizens, Elections, and Parties: Approaches to the Comparative Study of the Processes of Development*. New York: David McKay.
- Binder, Leonard, James S. Coleman, Joseph LaPalombara, Lucian W. Pye, Sidney Verba, and Myron Weiner. 1971. *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1973. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*. Berkeley, Cal.: Institute of International Studies, University of California.
- Anderson, Perry. 1974. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. London: New Left Books.
- Linz, Juan J. 2000 [1975]. *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes*. Boulder, Col: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.
- Therborn, Göran. 1977. "The Rule of Capital and the Rise of Democracy." *New Left Review* # 103 (May-June): 3-41.
- Bates, Robert and Da-Hsiang Donald Lien. 1985. "A Note on Taxation, Development, and Representative Government." *Politics and Society* 14(1): 53-70.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.). 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Prospects for Democracy* 4 Vols. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Luebbert, Gregory. 1987. "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe." *World Politics* 39(4): 449-78.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1990. *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tilly, Charles. 1990. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, OK.: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Luebbert, Gregory M. 1991. *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy. Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market. Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Downing, Brian M. 1992. *The Military Revolution and Political Change*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Hadenius, Axel. 1992. *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Diamond, Larry, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.). 1995. *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy* 2nd. Ed. Boulder, Col.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

- Haggard, Stephen and Robert Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam et al. 1995. *Sustainable Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bratton, Michael and Nicolas Van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa. Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ertman, Thomas. 1997. *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49(2): 155-83.
- Rogowski, Ronald. 1997. "Democracy, Capital, Skill, and Country Size: Effects of Asset Mobility and Regime Monopoly on the Odds of Democratic Rule," pp. 48-69, in Paul W. Drake and Mathew D. McCubbins (eds.), *The Origins of Liberty: Political and Economic Liberalization in the Modern World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Chehabi, H.E. and Juan L. Linz (eds.). 1998. *Sultanistic Regimes*. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Collier, Ruth Berins. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy: Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bellin, Eva R. 2000. "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries." *World Politics* 52(2): 175-205.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: Norton. [Read only Chapter 1, "Transitions to Democracy and the Rise of Nationalist Conflict."]
- Hadenius, Axel. 2001. *Institutions and Democratic Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- He, Baogang. 2001. "The National Identity Problem and Democratization: Rustow's Theory of Sequence." *Government and Opposition* 36(1): 97-119.
- Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361.
- Fish, Steven. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55(1): 4-37.
- Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Boix, Carles and Susan C. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55(4): 517-49.

- Lipset, Seymour Martin and Jason Lakin. 2004. *The Democratic Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Jackman, Robert W. and Ross A. Miller. 2004. *Before Norms: Institutions and Civic Culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Ross, Michael L. 2004. "Does Taxation Lead to Representation?" *British Journal of Political Science* 34(2): 229-49.
- Tilly, Charles. 2004. *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650-2000*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Herb, Michael. 2005. "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 37(3): 297-316.
- Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hadenius, Axel and Jan Teorell. 2005. "Cultural and Economic Prerequisites of Democracy: Reassessing Recent Evidence." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 39(4): 87-106. [Focus on their critique of Inglehart and Welzel, and on the really central points in this exchange.]
- Welzel, Christian and Ronald Inglehart. 2006. "Emancipative Values and Democracy: Response to Hadenius and Teorell." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41(3): 74-94.
- Teorell, Jan and Axel Hadenius. 2006. "Democracy Without Democratic Values: A Rejoinder to Welzel and Inglehart." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41(3): 95-111.
- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Epstein, David L., Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen and Sharyn O'Halloran. 2006. "Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 551-69.
- Tilly, Charles. 2007. *Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hadenius, Axel and Jan Teorell. 2007. "Pathways from Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 18(1): 143-56.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski. 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11): 1279-1301.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared. 2008. "Income and Democracy." *American Economic Review* 98(3): 808-42.
- Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer. 2008. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared. 2009. "Reevaluating the Modernization Hypothesis." *Journal of Monetary Economics* 56(8): 1043-58.
- Houle, Christian. 2009. "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization." *World Politics* 61(4): 589-622.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2009. "Conquered or Granted?: A History of Franchise Extensions." *British Journal of Political Science* 39(2): 291-321.

- Ansell, Ben and David Julian Samuels. 2010. "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(12): 1543-74.
- Aslaksen, Silje. 2010. "Oil and Democracy: More Than a Cross-Country Correlation?" *Journal of Peace Research* 47(4): 1-11.
- Bunce, Valerie, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss (eds.). 2010. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Teorell, Jan. 2010 *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972 -2006*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105(4): 809-28.
- Bunce, Valerie J. and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haber, Stephen and Victor Menaldo. 2011. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse." *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 1-26.
- Albertus, Michael, and Victor Menaldo. 2012. "Coercive Capacity and the Prospects for Democratization." *Comparative Politics* 19(2): 151-69.
- Bellin, Eva. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44(2): 127-49.
- Freeman, John R. and Dennis Quinn. 2012. "The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered." *The American Political Science Review* 106(1): 58-80.
- Haggard, Stephan 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.
- Ross, Michael L. 2012. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Svolik, Milan W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2013. *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tudor, Maya. 2013. *The Promise of Power: The Origins of Democracy in India and Autocracy in Pakistan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Aidt, Toke S. and Peter S. Jensen. 2014. "Workers of the World, Unite! Franchise Extensions and the Threat of Revolution in Europe, 1820–1938." *European Economic Review* 72: 52-75.
- Albertus, Michael, and Victor Menaldo. 2014. "Gaming Democracy: Elite Dominance During Transition and Prospects for Redistribution." *British Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 575- 603.
- Andersen, Jørgen Juel and Michael L. Ross. 2014. "The Big Oil Change: A Closer Look at the Haber-Menaldo Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(7): 993-1021.
- Ansell, Ben W. and David J. Samuels. 2014. *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Della Porta, Donatella. 2014. *Mobilizing for Democracy: Comparing 1989 and 2011*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. *Political Order and Political Decay. From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2014. "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2): 313-31.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2014. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America. Emergence, Survival, and Fall*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2014. *Making Waves: Democratic Contention in Europe and Latin America since the Revolutions of 1848*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Suresh Naidu, Pascual Restrepo, and James A. Robinson. 2015. "Democracy, Redistribution, and Inequality," pp. 1885–1966, in Anthony Atkinson and François Bourguignon (eds.), *Handbook of Income Distribution* Volume 2. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Brownlee, Jason, Tarek Masoud and Andrew Reynolds. 2015. *The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carbone, Giovanni and Vincenzo Memoli. 2015. "Does Democratization Foster State Consolidation? Democratic Rule, Political Order, and Administrative Capacity." *Governance* 28(1): 5-24.
- Houle, Christian. 2015. "Ethnic Inequality and the Dismantling of Democracy: A Global Analysis." *World Politics* 67(3): 469-505.
- Przeworski, Adam (ed.). 2015. *Democracy in a Russian Mirror*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Della Porta, Donatella. 2016. *Where Did the Revolution Go? Contentious Politics and the Quality of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haggard, Stephen and Robert Kaufman. 2016. *Dictators and Democrats: Elites, Masses, and Regime Change*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Menaldo, Victor. 2016. *The Institutions Curse. Natural Resources, Politics, and Development*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Møller, Jørgen and Svend-Erik Skaaning (eds.). 2016. *The State-Democracy Nexus. Conceptual Distinctions, Theoretical Perspectives, and Comparative Approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Dahlum, Sirianne and Carl Henrik Knutsen. 2017. "Democracy by Demand? Reinvestigating the Effect of Self-expression Values on Political Regime Type." *British Journal of Political Science* 47(2): 437-61.
- Ferejohn, John and Frances McCall Rosenbluth. 2017. *Forged Through Fire: War, Peace, and the Democratic Bargain*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, a Division of W.W. Norton & Company.
- Albertus, Michael. 2017. "Landowners and Democracy: The Social Origins of Democracy Reconsidered." *World Politics* 69(2): 233-76.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

### **Overviews and Critical Assessments**

- Barry, Brian. 1978 [1970]). *Sociologists, Economists and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Janos, Andrew. 1986. *Politics and Paradigms. Changing Theories of Change in Social Science*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press.
- Almond, Gabriel A. 1989. "The International-National Connection." *British Journal of Political Science* 19(2): 237-59.
- Kurzman, Charles. 1998. "Not Ready for Democracy? Theoretical and Historical Objections to the Concept of Prerequisites." *Sociological Analysis* (Tirana, Albania), 1(4): 1-12.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What do we Know about Democratization after 20 Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-144.
- Bunce, Valerie. 2000. "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6-7): 703-34.
- Mahoney, James. 2003. "Knowledge Accumulation in Comparative Historical Research: The Case of Democracy and Authoritarianism," pp. 131-74, in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer (eds.), *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Geddes, Barbara. 2007. "What Causes Democratization?" pp. 317-39, in Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403-22.
- Vorrath, Judith and Lutz Frederik Krebs. 2009. "Democratisation and Conflict in Ethnically Divided Societies." *Living Reviews in Democracy* 1.
- Wucherpfennig, Julian and Franziska Deutsch. 2009. "Modernization and Democracy: Theories and Evidence Revisited." *Living Reviews in Democracy* 1.
- Welzel, Christian. 2009. "Theories of Democratization," pp. 74-91, in Christian W. Haerpfer, Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart, and Christian Welzel (eds.), *Democratization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Capoccia, Giovanni and Daniel Ziblatt. 2010. "The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda for Europe and Beyond." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(8-9): 931-68.
- Magaloni, Beatriz and Ruth Kricheli. 2010. "Political Order and One-Party Rule." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13: 123-43.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. 2010. "Twenty-five Years, Fifteen Findings." *Journal of Democracy* 21(1): 17-28.
- Cheibub, José Antonio and James Raymond Vreeland. 2011. "Economic Development and Democratization," pp. 145-82, in Nathan Brown (ed.), *Dynamics of Democratization*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Møller, Jørgen and Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2011. *Requisites of Democracy: Conceptualization, Measurement, and Explanation*. London: Routledge.
- Coppedge, Michael. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hegre, Haavard, Carl Henrik Knutsen and Espen Geelmuyden Rød. 2012. "The Determinants of Democracy: A Sensitivity Analysis," Department of Political Science, University of Oslo, Centre for the Study of Civil War, PRIO.
- Gassebner, Martin, Michael J. Lamla, and James Raymond Vreeland. 2013. "Extreme Bounds of Democracy." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57(2): 171-97.

- Lichbach, Mark I. 2013. *Democratic Theory and Causal Methodology in Comparative Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ahmadov, Anar K. 2014. "Oil, Democracy, and Context. A Meta-Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(9): 1238-67.
- Dalton, Russell and Christian Welzel (eds.). 2014. *The Civic Culture Transformed*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gandhi, Jennifer. 2014. "Authoritarian Elections and Regime Change," pp. 173-86, in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi, and Pippa Norris (eds.), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in a Changing World* (4th edition). London: Sage Publications.
- Mazduca, Sebastián L. and Gerardo L. Munck. 2014. "State or Democracy First? Alternative Perspectives on the State-Democracy Nexus." *Democratization* 21(7): 1221-43.
- Munck, Gerardo L. 2015. "Democratic Transitions," pp. 97-100, in James D. Wright (ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* 2nd. Edition, Vol. 6. Oxford: Elsevier Science.
- Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman. 2016. "Democratization During the Third Wave." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19: 125–44.



## Academic Conduct and Support Systems

### *Academic Conduct*

Plagiarism – presenting someone else’s ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, *Behavior Violating University Standards* <https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions/>. Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable. See additional information in *SCampus* and university policies on scientific misconduct, <http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct/>.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the *Office of Equity and Diversity* <http://equity.usc.edu/> or to the *Department of Public Safety* <http://capsnet.usc.edu/department/department-public-safety/online-forms/contact-us>. This is important for the safety whole USC community. Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person. *The Center for Women and Men* <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/> provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center webpage [sarc@usc.edu](mailto:sarc@usc.edu) describes reporting options and other resources.

### **Support Systems**

A number of USC’s schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more. Students whose primary language is not English should check with the *American Language Institute* <http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>, which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students. *The Office of Disability Services and Programs* [http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home\\_index.html](http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html) provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, *USC Emergency Information* <http://emergency.usc.edu/> will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.