

Authoritarianism and Democracy

Government 4000/6483

Fall 2023

Instructors: Rachel Beatty Riedl and
Ken Roberts

Course Description

From the mid-1970s to the early 2000s, transitions from authoritarian rule in more than 60 countries across Southern Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe led to the establishment of new democratic regimes. This so-called “third wave” of democracy reached its peak during the first decade of the 21st century, but it seemingly reversed course thereafter. Indeed, democracy has been in retreat on the global stage for much of the past two decades, as measured by leading research and tracking organizations like Freedom House and Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem). In its 2022 annual report, Freedom House documented 16 consecutive years of decline in its global freedom index, and claimed that the “global order is nearing a tipping point” in the struggle between democracy and authoritarianism. Similarly, V-Dem reports that the “level of democracy enjoyed by the average global citizen in 2021 is down to levels last registered in 1989. The last 30 years of democratic advances following the end of the Cold War have been eradicated.”

What explains this reversal of fortunes, and what, if anything, can be done about it? This course examines democracy in theory and in practice, exploring the origins and institutional forms of democratic rule, transitions to and from democracy, and the fragilities and discontents that leave democratic regimes vulnerable to polarized conflicts, autocratic challenges, and “backsliding” dynamics. Students will analyze the institutional and civil society sources of democratic resiliency, the conditions under which this resiliency is threatened, and the strategies adopted by both democratic and autocratic actors to shape regime outcomes. They will also study different authoritarian alternatives to democracy and the social forces that nurture and sustain them.

Course Requirements, Assignments, and Grading:

- You will be expected to read **ALL** of the required readings on the syllabus for each week. You must attend every class meeting and participate actively in class discussions: 25% of total grade.
- You will write bullet point or brief paragraph summaries on the readings **each week**: 20% of total grade (Submit via Canvas each week before class starts). These can be in note or outline form—whatever is most useful for you to refer back to in preparation for comprehensive exams. Your brief summary of *each* reading can cover the main theoretical, empirical and/or conceptual innovation of the piece, what it relates to in other works, and whether you have any questions/critiques.
 - Here are some prompts that you may wish to cover in your summary (not all points will be relevant for all readings):

- a) A one-line summary of each reading;
 - b) A short paragraph of 3-5 sentences summarizing each reading. This paragraph should succinctly state the explanation that the author provides for the relationship between the independent and dependent variables and the main results/findings. For works that are not empirical, it should summarize the conceptual/theoretical contribution;
 - c) The outcome the author seeks to explain (i.e., what is the dependent variable?);
 - d) The independent/explanatory (and intervening) variables that are central to the author's explanation (i.e., what factors or processes explain the outcome?);
 - e) The empirical strategy and data used (Is the work based on a large-N statistical analysis? Does it use comparative historical analysis? Does it test its argument using a field experiment? What are the cases and how were they chosen?);
 - f) 2-3 sentences that identify the literatures/debates to which the piece contributes (How does it build on or address other works?);
 - g) A short paragraph discussing the main empirical/conceptual strengths and weaknesses of the piece (Is the logic of the argument sound? Are the variables clearly conceptualized? Does the way they are measured make sense? Were the cases well chosen?);
 - h) At the end of the précis, include a list of questions that you would like to discuss further in class. Consider: Have the scholarly disputes/debates on this subject been resolved, and what needs further analysis? How do the readings speak to (or past) one another? What remains unclear or worthy of further discussion?
- Short Presentation of the Readings: Select one week from Part 1 or Part 2 (i.e., prior to Fall Break) during which you will present the main points of the readings to the class by identifying the evolution of the literature, the main issues under debate, and frontiers of the research agenda. You should make clear the key points, present your critical analysis of them, and bring up any unanswered questions you may have. Presentations should be 6- 8 minutes maximum for each student. (~ 2 students / week, coordinate to divide up the readings completely). 15% of total grade.
 - Short Presentation of Empirical Analysis to complement the Readings: Select one week from Part 3 or 4 and share an analysis of a single case, a set of cases in comparison, or a medium to large N quantitative analysis to take up the issues addressed in the readings and explain how the empirics either support or challenge the readings from the week, add nuance or new angles to explore, etc. 15% of total grade. This empirical presentation can, but does not have to be, based on your individual research paper.
 - Final Assessment: 12-15 page Graduate Students; 10 – 12 pages Undergraduates (single spaced, 12 point font) research paper on a topic of your choice related to the course material: 25% of total grade. **Due Tues Dec 13 by 8 pm.**

Academic Integrity

Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University *Code of Academic Integrity*. The Code is available on the web at: <https://theuniversityfaculty.cornell.edu/dean/academic-integrity/code-of-academic-integrity/>. A Cornell tutorial called Recognizing and Avoiding Plagiarism can be found at <http://plagiarism.arts.cornell.edu/tutorial/index.cfm>. It is your responsibility to familiarize yourself with and understand university policies regarding plagiarism and other violations of academic integrity. All written work submitted in this course for academic credit must be the student's own work. If you are unsure about the proper way to reference the work of others, please consult with one of your instructors.

Other University Policies

We respect and uphold Cornell University policies and regulations pertaining to the observation of religious holidays; assistance available to the physically handicapped, visually and/or hearing impaired student; sexual harassment; and racial or ethnic discrimination.

Students with Disabilities: In compliance with the Cornell University policy and equal access laws, we are available to discuss appropriate academic accommodations that may be required for any student with disabilities. Students are encouraged to register with Student Disability Services to verify their eligibility for appropriate accommodations.

Religious Observances: Students may ask for reasonable and timely accommodations for sincerely held religious beliefs. Please review the syllabus closely to determine if your religion will present any scheduling conflicts, and inform us of such conflicts early in the semester.

Course Readings:

There are no required textbooks for this seminar. All required readings will be made available electronically through the course Canvas website (for selections from book manuscripts) or the Cornell Library e-catalog (for articles in academic journals—see www.library.cornell.edu)

Required readings are marked on the syllabus with an asterisk. Other recommended readings are listed under “Further Readings” for the different weekly topics, but these are not required; they may be helpful for research projects and preparation for comprehensive exams).

Weekly Topics and Reading Assignments

1. Aug. 22: Course Introduction

Part I:

Conceptual Foundations: Democracy, Authoritarianism, and Hybrid Regimes

2. Aug. 29: Conceptualizing Democracy

- *Giovanni Sartori. 1970. “Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 64(4): 1033-1053.
- *Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (Harper and Row 1950), pp. 269-283.
- *Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 1-16.
- *Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. “What Democracy Is...And Is Not.” *Journal of Democracy* 2(3): 3-16.
- *David Collier and Steven Levitsky, “Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research,” *World Politics* 49, 3 (1997).
- *Michael Coppedge, “Defining and Measuring Democracy,” Chap. 2 in *Democratization and Research Methods* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 11-48.

Further Reading:

- Gary Goertz. 2006. *Social Science Concepts: A User's Guide* (Princeton).
- Robert Dahl. 1956. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Robert Dahl. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Adam Przeworski. 1999. "Minimalist conception of democracy: a defense." In *Democracy's Value*, ed. Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordon. New York: Cambridge).
- Gerardo Munck, "The Regime Question: Theory Building in Democracy Studies," *World Politics* 54, October 2001.
- Gerardo Munck and Jay Verkuilen, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35, February 2002.
- Kenneth Roberts. 1998. *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru* (Stanford University Press).

3. Sept. 5: Conceptualizing Authoritarianism and Non-Democratic Regimes

- *Juan Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Lynne Rienner 2000), pp. 65-75 and 159-174.
- *Barbara Geddes, *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics* (University of Michigan Press, 2003), pp. 47-78.
- *Wedeen, Lisa. *Ambiguities of Domination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), pp. 1-36.
- *Milan Svolik, *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-50.
- *Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 3-36.
- * Dan Slater. 2010. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge). Chapter 1

Further Reading:

- Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, Alastair Smith, Randolph M. Siverson, and James D. Morrow. 2003. *The Logic of Political Survival*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- H. E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz (eds.). 1998. *Sultanistic Regimes* (Johns Hopkins).
- David Collier, ed. 1979. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton).
- Carl J. Friedrich and Zbigniew Brzezinski. 1956. *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Harvard).
- Andrew Mertha. 2009. "Fragmented Authoritarianism 2.0: Political Pluralization of the Chinese Policy Process," *China Quarterly* 200: 1-18
- Mancur Olson. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.
- Jeffrey Winters. 2011. *Oligarchy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-39.

Part II: The Origins of Democracy

4. Sept. 12: Economic Development and the Structural Underpinnings of Democracy

- *Seymour Martin Lipset. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 53(1).
- *Barrington Moore. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press, pp.

413-432.

- * Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*, pp. 51-91.
- * Dietrich Rueschmeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 1-11 and 40-78.
- * Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-18.
- * Ben W. Ansell and David J. Samuels. *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach* (Cambridge University Press 2014), pp. 1-16.
- * Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theory and Facts," *World Politics* 49, 2 (1997).

Further Reading:

- Sheri Berman. 2019. *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Regime to the Present Day*. Oxford.
- Dan Slater and Joseph Wong. 2022. *From Development to Democracy: The Transformations of Modern Asia*.
- Daniel Ziblatt. 2008. "Does Landholding Inequality Block Democratization? A Test of the Bread and Democracy Thesis and the Case of Prussia," *World Politics* 60(4): 610-641.
- Daniel Ziblatt, *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*. Cambridge
- Daren Acemoglu and James Robinson. 2006. Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. *Annals of Comparative Democratization*. 2018. "Should Modernization Theory survive?" 4 – 41.
- Carles Boix and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* 55(4).
- Gregory M. Luebbert. 1987. "Social Foundations of Political Order in Interwar Europe," *World Politics* 39(4): 449-478.
- Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruth Berins Collier. 1999. *Paths Towards Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- John B. Londregan and Keith T. Poole. 1996. "Does High Income Promote Democracy?" *World Politics* 49(1): 1-30.
- Gregory Luebbert. 1991. *Liberalism, Fascism, and Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Timur Kuran. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the Eastern European Revolutions of 1989," *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48.
- Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2003. "Level of Development and Democracy: Latin American Exceptionalism," *Comparative Political Studies* 36(9): 1031-1067.
- Daniel Ziblatt. 2006. "How Did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58(2): 311-38.
- Mary E. Gallagher. 2002. "Reform and Openness: Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy," *World Politics* 54(3): 338-372.

5. Sept. 19: Political Culture and Civil Society

- * Lisa Wedeen. 2002. "Conceptualizing Culture: Possibilities for Political Science," *American Political Science Review* 96, 5.
- * Swidler, Ann. "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies." *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 51, No. 2 (April 1986), pp. 273 – 286.
- * Putnam, Robert D., *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), chapters 5-6 (pp. 121-185).
- * Sheri Berman. 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic" *World Politics* 49(3) p. 401-429.

*M. Steven Fish. 1998. "Mongolia: Democracy Without Prerequisites," *Journal of Democracy* 9, 3 (July).

*Amartya Sen. 1999. "Democracy as a Universal Value," *Journal of Democracy* 10, 3.

Further reading:

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Geertz, Clifford, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 3-30.

Inglehart, Ronald, "The Renaissance of Political Culture," *American Political Science Review* 82 (December 1988), pp. 1203-1230

Wedeen, Lisa. *Ambiguities of Domination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Robert Putnam, "Studying Elite Political Culture: The Case of 'Ideology'," *The American Political Science Review* 65(3) (Sep., 1971): 651-681.

Critiques of the Cultural Turn and New Approaches

Tarrow, Sidney. "Making Social Science Work across Space and Time: A Critical Reflection on Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*." *American Political Science Review* (June 1996).

Robert Jackman and Ross Miller. *Before Norms: Institutions and Civic Culture*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004, pp. 1-30

Wildavsky, Aaron. "Choosing Preferences by Constructing Institutions: A Cultural Theory of Preference Formation" *APSR* 81, no. 1 (March 1987) p. 3 - 18

Greif, Avner. 1994. "Cultural Beliefs and the Organization of Society: A Historical and Theoretical Reflection on Collectivist and Individualist Societies." *The Journal of Political Economy* 102(5): 912-950.

Margaret Levi. "A State of Trust," in Braithwaite, Valerie and Levi, eds., *Trust and Governance*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1998.

David J. Elkins and Richard Simeon. "A Cause in Search of its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics*. (January 1979)

David Laitin. "Political Culture and Political Preferences," *American Political Science Review*. (1988)

M. Steven Fish. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics* 55(1): 4-37.

Amaney Jamal. 2007. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

6. Sept. 26: Democratic Transitions: Elites, Masses, and Political Agency

* Dankwart Rustow. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2(3): 337-364.

*Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 37-56.

* Adam Przeworski. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 10-40.

*Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2001. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador," *Comparative Political Studies* 34(8): 862-888.

*Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman. 2012. "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule," *American Political Science Review* 106, 3.

*Rachel Beatty Riedl, Dan Slater, Joseph Wong, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2020. "Authoritarian-Led Democratization," *Annual Review of Political Science* 23: 315-332.

Further Reading:

Elisabeth Jean Wood. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El*

- Salvador*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Barry Weingast. 1997. "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law," *American Political Science Review* 91, 2.
- Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. 2001. "A Theory of Political Transitions," *American Economic Review* 91(4): 938-963.
- Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz. 2014. "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set," *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2): 313-331.
- Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle. 1994. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa," *World Politics* 46(4): 453-489.
- Valerie Bunce. 2000. "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations." *Comparative Political Studies*, 33, no. 6-7, pp. 703-734.
- James Mahoney and Richard Snyder. 1999. "Rethinking Agency and Structure in the Study of Regime Change," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 34(2): 3-32.
- Karen Remmer. 1991. "New Wine or Old Bottlenecks? The Study of Latin American Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 23(4): 479-495.
- Dan Slater. 2009. "Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia," *American Journal of Sociology* 115(1): 203-54.
- Richard Snyder. 1998. "Paths out of Sultanistic Regimes," in H.E. Chehabi and Juan J. Linz (eds.) *Sultanistic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 49-81.
- Kurt Weyland. 2014. *Making Waves: Democratic Contention in Europe and Latin America since the Revolutions of 1848* (Cambridge).

7. Oct. 3: Authoritarian Legacies and Democratic Constraints

- *Terry Lynn Karl. 1987. "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela," *Latin American Research Review* 22, 1: 63-94.
- *Guillermo O'Donnell. 1994. "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5, 1: 55-69.
- *Michael Albertus and Victor Menaldo. 2018. *Authoritarianism and the Elite Origins of Democracy* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 25-62.
- *Valerie Bunce. 2003. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience," *World Politics* 55, 2: 167-192.
- *Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2002. *Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-18.
- *James Loxton. 2015. "Authoritarian Successor Parties," *Journal of Democracy* 26, 3: 157-170.
- *Rachel Beatty Riedl. 2010. *Authoritarian Origins of Democratic Party Systems in Africa*. (Cambridge University Press). Chapter 1.

Further Reading:

- Thomas Pepinsky. 2009. *Economic Crisis and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge).
- Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Ziblatt. 2010. "The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda for Europe and Beyond," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 8/9, pp. 931-968.
- James Mahoney, *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America* (Johns Hopkins 2001).
- Valerie J. Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds. 2010. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- M. Stephen Fish. 2005. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*.
- Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David A. Reilly. 2000. "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World," *World Politics* 53(1): 1-37.
- Benjamin Smith. 2005. "Life of the Party: The Origins of Regime Breakdown and Persistence under Single-

Party Rule,” *World Politics* 57(3): 421-451.

(Fall Break; No Class Oct. 10)

Part III: Democratic Breakdowns and Backsliding Toward Autocracy

8. Oct. 17: Coups, Breakdowns, and Endogenous Backsliding

- * Juan J. Linz. 1998. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-40.
- *Naunihal Singh. 2014. *Seizing Power: The Strategic Logic of Military Coups* (Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 15-40.
- * Nancy Bermeo. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy* (Princeton University Press), pp. 3-20.
- *Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die* (Crown Publishers), Chap. 4 (“Subverting Democracy”) and Chap. 5 (“The Guardrails of Democracy”), pp. 72-117.
- *Nancy Bermeo. 2016. “On Democratic Backsliding,” *Journal of Democracy* 27, 1: 5-19.
- *Kenneth Roberts, Valerie Bunce, Thomas Pepinsky, and Rachel Beatty Riedl, “Global Challenges to Democracy: Backsliding, Resiliency, and Democratic Theory”

Further Readings:

- Andreas Schedler. 2006. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*.
Adam Przeworski. 2019. *Crises of Democracy* (Cambridge).
David Waldner and Ellen Lust. 2018. “Welcome to Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 21.
“Why Do Democracies Develop and Decline?” *Democracy and Autocracy* 21, 1 (May 2023).
Milan Svolik et al..2023. “In Europe, Democracy Erodes from the Right,” *Journal of Democracy* 34, 1.
Fabrice Lehoucq and Anibal Perez-Linan. 2014. “Breaking Out of the Coup Trap; Political Competition and Military Coups in Latin America,” *Comparative Political Studies* 47, 8.
Alfred Stepan, *The Military in Politics and Rethinking Military Rule*.
Kurt Weyland. 2021. *Assault on Democracy: Communism, Fascism, and Authoritarianism During the Interwar Years*.
Kurt Weyland. 2021. *Revolution and Reaction: The Diffusion of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America*.
M. Stephen Fish. 2005. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

9. Oct. 24: Polarization and Democracy: Elite and Mass Dynamics

- *McCoy, Jennifer, Tahmina Rahman, and Murat Somer. 2018. “Polarization and the Global Crisis of Democracy: Common Patterns, Dynamics, and Pernicious Consequences for Democratic Politics,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 62, 1: 16-42.
- *Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman. 2021. “The Anatomy of Democratic Backsliding,” *Journal of Democracy* 32, 4: 27-41.
- *Larry Bartels. 2023. *Democracy Erodes from the Top: Leaders, Citizens, and the Challenge of Populism in Europe* (Princeton University Press), Chap. 7.

- * Svolik, Milan W. 2019b. "Polarization versus Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 30, 3: 20-32.
- *Suthan Krishnarajan. 2023. "Rationalizing Democracy: The Perceptual Bias and (Un)Democratic Behavior," *American Political Science Review* 117, 2: 474-496.
- *Doug McAdam and Karina Kloos. 2014. *Deeply Divided: Racial Politics and Social Movements in Postwar America* (Oxford University Press), pp. 3-29.

Further Reading:

- Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman. 2021. *Backsliding: Democratic Regress in the Contemporary World* (Cambridge University Press, Elements Series).
- Dan Slater, "Democratic Careening," *World Politics*.
- Suzanne Mettler and Robert Lieberman. 2020. *Four Threats: The Recurring Crises of American Democracy*.
- Kurt Weyland. 2020. "Populism's Threat to Democracy: Comparative Lessons for the United States," *Perspectives on Politics* 18, 2.
- Skocpol, Theda and Vanessa Williamson. 2013. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blum, Rachel M. 2020. *How the Tea Party Captured the GOP: Insurgent Factions in American Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gidron, Noam, James Adams, and Will Horne. 2020. *American Affective Polarization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Grossman, Matt and David A. Hopkins. 2016. *Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hajnal, Zoltan L. 2020. *Dangerously Divided: How Race and Class Shape Winning and Losing in American Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Handlin, Samuel. 2017. *State Crisis in Fragile Democracies: Polarization and Political Regimes in South America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mason, Liliana. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McCarthy, Nolan, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2016. *Polarized America: The Dance of Ideology and Unequal Riches*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- McCoy, Jennifer and Murat Somer. eds. 2019. "Polarizing Politics: A Global Threat to Democracies," in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 681.
- McCoy, Jennifer and Murat Somer, eds. 2018. *Polarization and Democracy: A Janus-Faced Relationship with Pernicious Consequences*. Special Issue of *American Behavioral Scientist* 62, 1.

10. Oct. 31: Autocratic Currents: The Populist Radical Right (Guest Speaker Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser, Universidad Católica de Chile).

- *Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser and Steven M. Van Hauwaert. 2020. "The Populist Citizen: Empirical Evidence from Europe and Latin America," *European Political Science Review* 12: 1-18.
- *Cas Mudde and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2013. "Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing the Contemporary Europe and Latin America," *Government and Opposition* 48, 2: 147-174.
- *Kenneth M. Roberts. 2022. "Populism and Polarization in Comparative Perspective: Constitutive, Spatial, and Institutional Dimensions," *Government and Opposition* 57: 680-702.
- *Anna Grzymala-Busse. 2019. "How Populists Rule: The Consequences for Democratic Governance," *Polity* 51, 4: 707-717.
- *Karen Stenner. 2005. *The Authoritarian Dynamic* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 1-36.
- *Lindsay Mayka. Forthcoming in Bunce, Pepinsky, Riedl, and Roberts. "Civil Society Mobilization Against Equal Citizenship in Latin America."

Further Reading:

- Mudde, Cas, ed. 2017. *The Populist Radical Right: A Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Mudde, Cas and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2012. "Populism and (Liberal) Democracy: A Framework for Analysis," in Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds. *Populism in Europe and the Americas: Threat or Corrective to Democracy?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parker, Christopher S. and Matt A. Barreto. 2013. *Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pierson, Paul. 2017. "American Hybrid: Donald Trump and the Strange Merger of Populism and Plutocracy," *British Journal of Sociology* 68, S1: 105-119.
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Anthony J. McGann. 1995. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Levitsky, Steven and James Loxton. 2013. "Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Andes," *Democratization* 20, 1: 107-136.

11. Nov. 7: Debates Over the Measurement and Threat of Backsliding

- *Evie Papada, David Altman, Fabio Angiolillo, Lisa Gastaldi, Tamara Kohler, Martin Lundstedt, Natalia Natsika, Marina Nord, Yuko Sato, Felix Wiebrecht, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2023. *Defiance in the Face of Autocratization. Democracy Report 2023*. University of Gothenburg: V-Dem Institute (https://v-dem.net/documents/29/V-dem_democracyreport2023_lowres.pdf).
- *Jason Brownle and Kenny Miao. 2022. "Debate: Why Democracies Survive," *Journal of Democracy* 33, 4: 133-149.
- *Treisman, Daniel. 2023. "How great is the Current Danger to Democracy? Assessing the Risk with Historical Data," *Comparative Political Studies*. Online First
- *Andrew Little and Anne Meng. 2023. "Subjective and Objective Measurement of Democratic Backsliding." <https://doi.org/10.31219/osf.io/n32zk>.
- *Rachel Beatty Riedl, Jennifer McCoy, Paul Friesen, and Kenneth Roberts. 2023. "Backsliding and Opening Democratic Spaces" (*World Politics*)
- *Paul Friesen. 2023. "Data and Measurement on Global Democratic Backsliding: A False Debate," Appendix I in DRG Center Learning Agenda, *Opening Up Democratic Spaces*, U.S.A.I.D.

Further Readings:

- Michael Coppedge. 2022. *Varieties of Democracy: Measuring Two Centuries of Political Change* (Cambridge).
- Michael Coppedge, Amanda B. Edgel, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Staffan I. Lindberg, eds. 2022. *Why Democracies Develop and Decline* (Cambridge).

12. Nov 14: Authoritarian Persistence

- *Samuel Huntington. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Yale University Press), pp. 1-39.
- *Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski, "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats," *Comparative Political Studies* 40:11 (2007).
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Part IV: Resistance to Backsliding

13. Nov. 21: Opposition Strategies, Institutions, and the Civil Society Battleground

- *Laura Gamboa. 2022. *Resisting Backsliding: Opposition Strategies Against the Erosion of Democracy* (Cambridge University Press), pp. 22-49.
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- *Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt. 2023. *Tyranny of the Minority: Why American Democracy Reached the Breaking Point* (selections to be determined).
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14. Nov. 28: International Dimensions and Sources of Democratic Resiliency

- *Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes," *World Politics* 62(1): 43-86.
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Research Paper Due by Tuesday Dec. 13 at 8:00 p.m.