

Comparative European Politics

POLS 5348

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Instructor:

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Nationalism Studies program & Political Science department
Central European University

MA Programme in Political Science

Autumn semester 2019-2020 (4 credits)

Class meetings: Thursday, 15.30-17.10 & Friday 9.00-10.40

Office hours: Wednesday, 14.30-15.45 & Friday 13.30-14.45, with occasional exceptions

Only with online appointments: www.bochsler.eu/office.

Introduction

Is democracy in Europe under threat? Among the many challenges to (national) democracy in Europe, observers often mention the rise of populist/authoritarian political parties, separatism and ethnic conflict, the erosion of national democracy through globalisation, the change of media systems, and the only superficial consolidation of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe.

This course introduces the literature from different fields in comparative politics, which deal with democracy. These are, in particular, the transition to democracy, models of democracy and democratic institutions, and the quality of democracy. It introduces concepts from comparative politics, and comparative research as a method. We capitalise on these literatures to assess the challenges to democracy in Europe, and to discuss the risk of democratic backsliding.

Empirically, the course offers an insight into a variety of democracies, and into the history of democratisation in Europe. It focuses particularly on a selected number of countries in Europe. And it compares the functioning of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and in Western Europe. Methodologically, the course offers insights into applied empirical research designs and methods in comparative political research.

Learning outcomes

By the end of this course, students will

- ✓ be familiar with key topics and concepts in comparative politics.
- ✓ be able to distinguish and analyse political regimes, and possess the instruments to compare and analyse democratic political systems.
- ✓ will be able to assess the state of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and in Western Europe, and will be familiar with a selected number of political systems in Europe, and their history.

- ✓ Understand the logic of comparative studies in political science/social science, and conduct comparative analyses.

Course requirements and assessment

Attendance and active class-room participation (10 %)

Expert for one week or session (30% of the grade)

Participants have to prepare for an expert discussion in class, based on specific preparatory readings.

- Groups of experts will be assigned to a specific week, and a list of suggested readings.
- Based on these readings, instead of a full review, they hand in a list of questions to be discussed in class (2-3 questions per person), by e-mail, and a short elaboration on each of these questions/themes, max. 1 page per person. Ideally, the list of questions combines a) some theoretical aspects, b) methodological issues, and c) it refers to exemplary cases. Show how the questions/themes relate to the required readings. Reading lists can be altered, in agreement between the lecturer and the experts.
- In class, students will be required to respond to questions in a cohesive way, but do not prepare a linear presentation (see below). Approx. 8-10 minutes per person.

The topic of the expert discussion can overlap with the topic of the paper, which the student writes in the second semester of the seminar.

Deadlines:

- Expert discussions take place between week 3 and week 12.
- The list of questions needs to be submitted 11 days prior to the class (when the students serve as experts), and 24 hours prior to a preparatory meeting. (I.e. enrol for an office hour no later than 10 days before your 'expert week').

Short assignments (15% of the grade)

Assignment 1: problem articulation

Problem articulation (200-300 words) on one or several broader questions (will be introduced in first meeting). Deadline: 25 September 2019, 15.00h

Assignment 2: abstract.

Outline of the research design of your final paper. Max. 1 page. Containing research question, preliminary case selection, and idea about the key variable(s) and hypotheses to be analysed.

Deadline: 10 November 2019, 15.00h

Assignment 3: discussant

Discuss the abstract of one other student, and provide comments to each of the other participants of your group (to be defined) at the feedback sessions.

On 15 November 2019, timetable to be agreed on.

Final paper (45 %)

Course participants will submit an empirical, comparative research paper, focused on democracy, models of democracy, and/or regime transitions. 4500 words.

Deadline to be announced.

Grading criteria:

- Originality: is there a clear idea behind the paper (and is it followed and answered in the paper)?

- Clarity: is the argument well structured?
- Case selection and choice of appropriate data: is the selection of the cases and data well explained and convincing?
- Fit of theory and empirical analysis: does the design for the empirical analysis fit the theoretical concept to be investigated?
- Is the operationalisation clear and valid?
- Conduct of the empirical analysis and appropriateness of the conclusions.
- Overall structure of the paper: is there a clear golden thread throughout the paper? Does the introduction/conclusion refer to the paper, is the research design written and structured clearly, does it fulfil formal standards, is the structure appropriate?

Late submission: In case of late submissions, three grade points from the final grade of the assignment are deducted for every 12 hours of delay. For instance, submitting 15 hours late leads to a deduction of six points.

Course programme

Week 1 (19/20 September) – Introduction

Contemporary challenges to democracy. Illiberal trends in Europe.

The methodological foundations of comparative politics. Conceptualisation and measurement: democratic backsliding.

Required readings:

Rupnik, Jacques (2018). "The Crisis of Liberalism." *Journal of Democracy* 29 (3):24-38.

Munck, Gerardo L., and Jay Verkuilen (2002). "Conceptualizing and measuring democracy: evaluating alternative indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (1):5-33.

Further readings:

Waldner, David, and Ellen Lust. 2018. "Unwelcome Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21:91-113.

Mounk, Yasha (2018). *The People vs. Democracy*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press.

Diamond, Larry (2015). "Facing Up to the Democratic Recession." *Journal of Democracy* 26 (1):141-55.

Sartori, Giovanni (1970). "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics." *American Political Science Review* 64 (3):1033-53.

Collier, D. & J. E. Mahon (1993). Conceptual "Stretching" Revisited: Adapting Categories in Comparative Analysis, *American Political Science Review*, Vol 87(4), pp. 845-855.

Collier, David, and Steven Levitzky (1997). "Democracy with adjectives: conceptual innovation in comparative research." *World Politics* 49 (3):430-51.

Sandurski, Wojciech. 2019. *Poland's Constitutional Breakdown*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Introductory books into Comparative Politics and Democracy Studies:

Caramani, Daniele (2008). *Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Colomer, Josep M., ed. (2008). *Comparative European Politics*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Haerpfer, Christian W., Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart, and Christian Welzel (2009). *Democratization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Siaroff, Alan (2009). *Comparing Political Regimes*, . New York: Broadway Press.

Week 2.1 (26 September) - Anti-democratic backlashes

Democratic facades, competitive-authoritarian regimes, hybrid regimes. The narrow line between democracies and hybrid regimes. Case study of Turkey.

Assignment 1: problem articulation

Required readings:

Esen, Berk, and Sebnem Gumuscu (2016). "Rising competitive authoritarianism in Turkey." *Third World Quarterly* 37 (9):1581-606.

Further readings:

Bieber, Florian. 2018. "Patterns of competitive authoritarianism in the Western Balkans." *East European Politics* 34 (3):337-54.

Carothers, Thomas (2002). "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1):5-21.

Diamond, Larry (2002). "Thinking about hybrid regimes." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2):21-35.

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way (2010). *Competitive Authoritarianism. Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nordlinger, Eric A. (1977). *Soldiers in Politics. Military Coups and Governments*. New York: Prentice-Hall.

Bustikova, Lenka, and Petra Guasti. 2017. "The Illiberal Turn or Swerve in Central Europe?" *Politics and Governance* 5 (4):166-76.

I. Political regimes and transitions

Regime change, transition towards democracy, and the stability of (democratic) regimes.

Week 2.2. (27 September) – Transitions towards democracy, modernisation theory

Transitions towards democracy: structural theories (modernisation), and democratisation in Western Europe

Required readings:

Przeworski, Adam (2009). "Conquered or Granted? A History of Suffrage Extensions." *British Journal of Political Science*, 39(2): 291–321.

Further readings:

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

Geddes, Barbara (2007). "What Causes Democratization." in C. Boix and S. C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 317-39.

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

O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter (1986). *Transitions from authoritarian rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi (1997). "Modernisation: theories and facts." *World Politics* 49 (155-83).

- Robinson, J. A. (2006). Economic Development and Democracy. *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 503-27.
- Rustow, D. A. (1970). Transitions to Democracy. Toward a Dynamic Model. *Comparative Politics* 2(3): 337-363.

Week 3 (3/4 October) – An actors' approach: Transitology in Western and Central and Eastern Europe

The actors' role in the transition process, and the legacy of authoritarian regimes.

Required readings:

- Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press, pp.255-269 (Poland, until subtitle on p.269).
- McFaul, Michael. 2002. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World." *World Politics* 54 (2):212-44.

Expert group: Pacted and non-pacted transitions - putting the Polish transition into perspective. Pacts in authoritarian systems.

- Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski (2007). "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies* 40 (11):1279-301.
- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. "How Countries Democratize." *Political Science Quarterly* 106 (4):579-616.
- Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press, pp 75-115; 293-365 (Spain, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania).
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter (1986). *Transitions from authoritarian rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Further readings:

- Bermeo, Nancy (2016). "On Democratic Backsliding." *Journal of Democracy* 27 (1):5-19.
- Geddes, Barbara, Joseph Wright, and Erica Frantz (2014). "Autocratic Breakdown and Regime Transitions: A New Data Set." *Perspectives on European Politics and Societies* 12 (2):313-31.
- Hadenius, Axel, and Jan Teorell (2007). "Pathways from Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 18 (1):143-57.
- Norris, Pippa (2004). "Global Political Communication. Good Governance, Human Development, and Mass Communication." in F. Esser and B. Pfetsch (eds.), *Comparing Political Communication*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 115-50.
- Svolik, Milan W. (2012). *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Svolik, Milan W. (2008). "Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation." *American Political Science Review* 102 (2):153-68.

Week 4 (10/11 October) – Democratisation, the international system, and conflicts

International actors and the world order in the context of transitions towards democracy. Transitions towards democracy and ethnic conflict.

Required readings:

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

Snyder, Jack (2000). *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. London: Norton, pp.15-43 & 189-264.

Expert group: White and black knights in the third wave of transition. How do regime transitions relate to conflict?

Freyburg, Tina, and Solveig Richter. 2010. "National identity matters: the limited impact of EU political conditionality in the Western Balkans." *Journal of European Public Policy* 17 (2):263-81.

Tolstrup, Jakob (2015). "Black knights and elections in authoritarian regimes: Why and how Russia supports authoritarian incumbents in post-Soviet states." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (4):673-90.

Schimmelfennig, Frank. 2005. "Strategic Calculation and International Socialization: Membership Incentives, Party Constellations, and Sustained Compliance in Central and Eastern Europe." *International Organization* 59:827-60.

Brancati, Dawn, and Jack L. Snyder (2011). "Rushing to the Polls: The Causes of Premature Postconflict Elections." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55 (3):469-92.

Cantir, Cristian, and Ryan Kennedy. 2015. "Balancing on the Shoulders of Giants: Moldova's Foreign Policy toward Russia and the European Union." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 11 (4):397-416.

Protsyk, Oleh. 2006. "Moldova's Dilemmas in Democratizing and Reintegrating Transnistria." *Problems of Post-Communism* 53 (4):29-41.

Further readings:

Bieber, Florian (2006). *Post-War Bosnia*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

II. Varieties of democracy

The different types and shapes of democracies. Which democracies perform best?

Week 5 (17/18 October) – The Quality of Democracy

What is the best democracy? According to which criteria should this be assessed? Key dimensions explaining the variety of democratic political systems. What is the populist vision of democracy? How stable are democratic political systems – the case of presidential and semi-presidential regimes.

Required readings:

Diamond, Larry, and Leonardo Morlino (2004). "The Quality of Democracy. An Overview." *Journal of Democracy* 15 (4):20-31.

Lijphart, Arend (1999). *Patterns of Democracy. Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp.9-47

Expert group: The political and economic effects of democratic institutions. How consensual can it get? Slovenia as a consensus democracy from Central and Eastern Europe.

How do presidential regimes affect the stability of democracy? A look at Latin American experiences.

- Roberts, Andrew (2006). "What Kind of Democracy is Emerging in Eastern Europe." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 22 (1):37-64.
- Haukenes, Katrine, and Annette Freyberg-Inan (2013). "Enforcing consensus? The hidden bias in EU democracy promotion in Central and Eastern Europe." *Democratization* 20 (7):1268-96.
- Haček, Miro, Simona Kukovič, and Marjan Brezovšek. 2017. *Slovenian Politics and the State*. London: Lexington Books (esp. chapters 2 & 6).
- Linz, Juan J. (1990). "The perils of presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1 (1):51-69.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew S. Shugart (1997) 'Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy', *Comparative Politics* 29(4): 449-471.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José A. Cheibub and Fernando Limongi (2000) *Democracy and Development. Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.78-141.
- Baylis, Thomas A. (1996). "Presidents versus Prime Ministers. Shaping Executive Authority in Eastern Europe." *World Politics* 48:297-323.

Further readings:

- Bernauer, Julian, and Adrian Vatter (2012). "Can't get no satisfaction with the Westminster model? Winners, losers and the effects of consensual and direct democratic institutions on satisfaction with democracy " *European Journal of Political Research* 51 (4):435-68.
- Bochsler, Daniel and Andreas Juon (2018, 22-25 August) *Authoritarian footprints: the transformation of democracy, 1990-2016*. Paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, Hamburg.
- Bochsler, Daniel, and Hanspeter Kriesi (2013). "Varieties of Democracy." in H. Kriesi, S. Lavenex, F. Esser, J. Matthes, M. Bühlmann and D. Bochler (eds.), *Democracy in the Age of Globalization and Mediatization*, Houndmills: Palgrave, 69-102.
- Huber, Robert A. and Christian H. Schimpf (2016) 'A drunken guest in Europe? The influence of populist radical right parties on democratic quality', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft* 10: 103-129.

(Semi-)Presidential regimes

- Fernandes, Jorge M., and Pedro C. Magalhães (2016). "Government survival in semi-presidential regimes." *European Journal of Political Research* 55 (1):61-80.
- Shugart, Matthew Søberg and John M. Carey (1992) *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elgie, Robert (2005). "From Linz to Tsebelis: Three Waves of Presidential/Parliamentary Studies?" *Democratization* 12 (1):106-22.
- Siaroff, Alan. "Comparative Presidencies: The Inadequacy of the Presidential, Semi-Presidential and Parliamentary Distinction." *European Journal of Political Research* 42 (2003): 287-312.
- Stepan, Alfred, and Cindy Skach (1993). "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation. Parliamentarism versus Presidentialism." *World Politics* 46 (1):1-22.

Week 6 (24/25 October) – Electoral systems and political parties

Models of political representation. The impact of electoral systems on the formation of a party system.

Required readings:

Taagepera, Rein, and Matthew Søberg Shugart (1993). "Predicting the number of parties: a quantitative model of Duverger's mechanical effect." *American Political Science Review* 87 (2):455-64.

Bochsler, Daniel (2019). Electoral systems in the making. In R. Congleton, B. Grofman & S. Voigt (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Choice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 194-218.

Expert group: Why electoral reforms? Personal or party representation.

Colomer, Josep M. 2005. "It's Parties That Choose Electoral Systems (or, Duverger's Laws Upside Down)." *Political Studies* 53 (1):1-21.

Blais, André, Agnieszka Dobrzynska and Indridi H. Indridason (2005) 'To Adopt or Not to Adopt Proportional Representation: The Politics of Institutional Choice', *British Journal of Political Science* 35(1): 182-190.

Kreuzer, Marcus (2004) 'Germany: Partisan Engineering of Personalized Proportional Representation', in Josep M. Colomer (ed.), *Handbook of Electoral System Choice* (pp. 222-236). Houndmills: Palgrave.

Stratmann, T. & Baur, M. (2002). Plurality Rule, Proportional Representation, and the German Bundestag: How Incentives to Pork-Barrel Differ Across Electoral Systems. *American Journal of Political Science* 46(3): 506-514.

Bochsler, Daniel. 2012. "A quasi-proportional electoral system 'only for honest men'? The hidden potential for manipulating mixed compensatory electoral systems." *International Political Science Review* 33 (4):401-20.

Renwick, Alan, and Jean-Benoit Pilet. 2016. *Faces on the Ballot. The Personalization of Electoral Systems in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, **chapter to be defined**.

Further readings:

Bartolini, Stefano (1999) 'Collusion, Competition and Democracy: Part I', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 11(4): 435-470.

Bartolini, Stefano (2000) 'Collusion, Competition and Democracy: Part II', *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 12(1): 33-65.

Bochsler, D. (2010). Electoral Rules and the Representation of Ethnic Minorities in Post-Communist Democracies. *European Yearbook of Minority Issues, 2007/8* 7: 153-180.

Boix, C. (1999). Setting the Rules of the Game: The Choice of Electoral Systems in Advanced Democracies. *The American Political Science Review* 93(3): 609-624.

Colomer, J. M. (ed.) (2004). *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*, Houndmills, Palgrave.

Duverger, M. (1951). *Les partis politiques*, Paris, Colin.

Farrell, D. M. (2001). *Electoral Systems. A Comparative Introduction*, London, Palgrave.

Powell, G. Bingham Jr. (2000). *Elections as Instruments of Democracy. Majoritarian and Proportional Visions*. New Haven/London: Yale University Press.

Shugart, M. S. & Wattenberg, M. P. (eds.) (2001). *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems. The Best of Both Worlds?*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Taagepera, Rein, and Matthew Søberg Shugart (2017). *Votes from Seats. Logical Models of Electoral Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 7 (31 October) – Political institutions and their political performance – a unified approach

A rational choice model to assess the democratic performance of different institutional setups.

Required readings:

Tsebelis, George (1995). "Decision Making in Political Systems: Veto Players in Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, Multicameralism and Multipartyism." *British Journal of Political Science* 25:289-325.

Expert group: The performance of political institutions, with a look at Central and Eastern Europe.

Jahn, Detlef, and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (2010). "Political Institutions and Policy Performance: A Comparative Analysis of Central and Eastern Europe." *Journal of Public Policy* 30 (1):23-44.

Tavits, Margit (2007). "Clarity of Responsibility and Corruption." *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1):218-29.

Further readings:

Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José A. Cheibub and Fernando Limongi (2000) *Democracy and Development. Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

III. The Demos.

How do we define a democratic constituency?

Week 8 (7/8 November) – One demos? Political cleavages in Europe

Are there genuine pan-European politics, with Europe-wide conflicts? Or is Europe the sum of its nation-states, and European conflicts are conflicts between nation-states? Identifying the changing conflicts in European politics.

Required readings:

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, and Tim Frey (2006). "Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared." *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (6):921-56.

Rovny, Jan (2014). "Communism, Federalism, and Ethnic Minorities: Explaining Party Competition Patterns in Eastern Europe." *World Politics* 66 (4):669-708.

Expert group: Frozen cleavages or tabula rasa? Political conflicts and party competition in Central and Eastern Europe. What are the main political divisions in Europe, and how can they be measured?

Caramani, Daniele (2015). *The Europeanization of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-12; 186-217

Rohrschneider, Robert and Stephen Whitefield (2009) 'Understanding Cleavages in Party Systems. Issue Position and Issue Salience in 13 Post-Communist Democracies', *Comparative Political Studies* 42(3): 280-313.

Birnir, Jóhanna Kristin (2007) 'Divergence in Diversity? The Dissimilar Effects of Cleavages on Electoral Politics in New Democracies', *American Journal of Political Science* 51(3): 602-619.

Tucker, Joshua A. (2006) *Regional Economic Voting: Russia, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic, 1990-1999*. New York: Cambridge University Press (introduction).

Hooghe, Liesbet (2003). "Europe Divided? Elites vs. Public Opinion on European Integration." *European Union Politics* 4 (3):281-304.

Hix, Simon, Abdul Noury and Gérard Roland (2006) 'Dimensions of Politics in the European Parliament', *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 494-511.

Qualitative

Further readings:

Bartolini, Stefano and Peter Mair (1990) *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability. The Stabilisation of European Electorates 1885-1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, and Edgar Grande (2015). "The Europeanization of the National Political Debate." in O. Cramme and S. B. Hobolt (eds.), *Democratic Politics in a European Union Under Stress*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 67-86.

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan (1967) 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments. An Introduction', in Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan (eds.) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives* (pp. 1-64). New York: Free Press.

Marks, Gary, and Marco Steenbergen (2002). "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (8):879-92.

Rokkan, Stein (1970) *Citizens, Elections, Parties: Approaches to the Comparative Study of the Processes of Development*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

Zielinski, Jakub (2002) 'Translating Social Cleavages into Party Systems. The Significance of New Democracies', *World Politics* 54(1): 184-211.

Assignment 2: abstract. Deadline: 10 November 23.59h

Week 9.1 (14 November) – Federalism and partition

Territorial arrangements in democratic and authoritarian countries. Does territorial autonomy lead to the rise of separatist movements? The case of Russia.

Required readings:

Roeder, Philip G. (2007). *Where nation-states come from: Institutional change in the age of nationalism*. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press, pp. 203-228 (Russia/Soviet Union).

Expert group: Asymmetric federalism. Does federalism fuel separatist movements?

Basta, Karlo (2018) 'The State between Minority and Majority Nationalism: Decentralization, Symbolic Recognition, and Secessionist Crises in Spain and Canada', *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 48(1): 51-75.

Zuber, C. I. (2011). Understanding the Multinational Game: Toward a Theory of Asymmetrical Federalism. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(5), 546-571.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Simon Hug, Andreas Schädel, and Julian Wucherpfennig (2015). "Territorial Autonomy in the Shadow of Conflict: Too Little, Too Late?" *American Political Science Review* 109 (2):354-70.

Bochsler, D., & Szöcsik, E. (2013). The Forbidden Fruit of Federalism. Evidence from Romania and Slovakia. *West European Politics*, 36(2), 442-462.

Brancati, D. (2006). Decentralization: Fueling the Fire or Dampening the Flames of Ethnic Conflict and Secessionism? *International Organization*, 60, 651-685.

Further readings:

Kaufmann, Chaim (1996). "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20 (4):136-75.

Sambanis, Nicholas (2000). "Partition as a Solution to Ethnic War: An Empirical Critique of the Theoretical Literature." *World Politics* 52:437-83.

Hale, Henry E. (2000). "The Parade of Sovereignties: Testing Theories of Secession in the Soviet Setting." *British Journal of Political Science* 30:31-56.

Week 9.2 (15 November) – Paper workshops (feedback)

Schedule to be announced.

Assignment 3: discussant and comments

Week 10 (21/22 November) – Democracy in divided societies

The transition towards democracy of divided societies can lead to conflicts. Is there a democratic model, which is particularly suited for ethnically heterogeneous societies?

Required readings:

Lijphart, Arend (1969). "Consociational Democracy." *World Politics* 21 (2):207-25.

McCulloch, Allison (2014). "Consociational settlements in deeply divided societies: the liberal-corporate distinction." *Democratization* 21 (3):501-18.

Expert group: An alternative model for conflict-solution? Are identities and cleavages the product of political institutions?

Reilly, Benjamin (2001) *Democracy in Divided Societies*. Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (chapter 1).

Fraenkel, Jon, and Bernard Grofman (2006). "Does the Alternative Vote Foster Moderation in Ethnically Divided Societies? The Case of Fiji." *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (5):623-51.

Bochsler, Daniel (2013). "Radicalizing Electoral System Effects on Support for Nationalist Hardliners." *Nations and Nationalism* 19 (1):21-43.

Posner, Daniel N. (2004). "The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98 (4):529-45.

Flesken, Anaïd (2013). "Ethnicity without Group: Dynamics of Indigeneity in Bolivia." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 19 (3):333-53.

Wimmer, Andreas (2017) 'Power and Pride. National Identity and Ethnopolitical Inequality around the World', *World Politics* 69(4): 605-639.

Further readings:

Horowitz, D. (1985). *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkely: University of California Press.

Roeder, P. G., & Rothchild, D. (2005). *Sustainable Peace. Power and Democracy after Civil Wars*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Schneider, G., & Wiesehomeier, N. (2008). Rules That Matter: Political Institutions and the Diversity--Conflict Nexus. *Journal of Peace Research*, 45(2), 183–203.

Juon, Andreas, and Daniel Bochsler. 2017. "The two faces of power-sharing." In *IPSA workshop "Democratization and Constitutional Design in Divided Societies"*. Nicosia.

IV. The Citizens.

Bringing the citizens in: Which role for citizens in democracies? What do citizens expect from democracy?

Week 11 (28/29 November) – Citizens' engagement in democracy

How do citizens evaluate democracy? Is their evaluation related to the 'objective' democratic performance? What do citizens expect from democracy? Social movements, revolutions, and regime change.

Required readings:

- Hooghe, Marc, Sofie Marien, and Jennifer Oser (2017). "Great expectations: the effect of democratic ideals on political trust in European democracies." *Contemporary Politics* 23 (2):214-30.
- Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon Wolchik (2010). "Defeating Dictators. Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62 (1):43-86.

Expert group: Revolutions: comparison of Coloured Revolutions to the Arab Spring and to Europe in 1848. The role of civil society in Central and Eastern Europe.

- Weyland, Kurt (2009). "The Diffusion of Revolution: '1848' in Europe and Latin America." *International Organization* 63:391-423.
- Weyland, Kurt (2012). "The Arab Spring: Why the Surprising Similarities with the Revolutionary Wave of 1848?" *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (4):917-34.
- Bunce, Valerie J., Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds. (2010). *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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Further readings:

- Ferrin, Mónica and Hanspeter Kriesi (Eds.) (2016) *How Europeans View and Evaluate Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Foa, Roberto Stefan and Yasha Mounk (2016) 'The Democratic Disconnect', *Journal of Democracy* 27(3): 5-17.
- Foa, Roberto Stefan and Yasha Mounk (2017) 'The Signs of Deconsolidation', *Journal of Democracy* 28(1): 5-15.
- Norris, Pippa (2017) Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks: *Journal of Democracy*.
- Voeten, Erik (2017) Are people really turning away from democracy? : *Journal of Democracy*.
- Tucker, Joshua A (2007). "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5 (3):535-51.
- Goldstone, Jack A. (1991). *Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
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Week 12 (5/6 December) – Direct democracy

When citizens rule: direct democracy and the threat of the tyranny of the majority. Social movements, revolutions, and regime change.

Required readings:

Mendez, Fernando, Mario Mendez, and Vasiliki Triga (2014). *Referendums and the European Union: A Comparative Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.149-184.

Expert group: Referendums in Switzerland and challenges to democracy.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, and Alexander H. Trechsel (2008). *The Politics of Switzerland. Continuity and Change in a Consensus Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 4.

Bochsler, Daniel, and Simon Hug (2015). "How minorities fare under referendums. A cross-national study." *Electoral Studies* 38:206-16.

Further readings:

Auer, Andreas, and Michael Bützer, eds. (2001). *Direct Democracy: The Eastern and Central European Experience*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Gamble, B.S. 1997. "Putting Civil Rights to a Popular Vote." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (1):245-69.

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