# **Political Change: Evolution and Revolution**

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MA course (4 credits), Winter semester, 2020. Monday and Wednesday, 11.00 – 12.40 Office hours: TBA

This course is designed to discuss different forms of political change from theoretical and historical-comparative perspective.

In the first part of the semester we examine general evolutionary forms of social change i. e. theories of modernization and development, which might precede political restructuration. Old and new modernization studies will be contrasted to old and new approaches in development, underdevelopment and dependency.

In the second part, we shall discuss revolutions in theoretical, historical, and comparative perspective. Comparative politics includes relational analysis of abrupt, violent, unexpected changes in the political structure of a society. We will discuss the major understandings and theories of the state in order to help conceptualizing revolution. Constitutionalist, Marxist, psychological, and functionalist approaches, just as mobilization, structuralist, and political culture theories of revolution will be analysed. The course will allow to focus on some case studies as well. We will use the opportunity of student presentations to discuss some empirical cases of revolutions or revolutionary movements.

Finally, in the third part of the semester, we shall cover non-violent forms of political change, and their social consequences. Transition and consolidation approaches will be critically discussed, together with the ideas of democracy promotion. Tendencies of deconsolidation and the rise of hybrid regimes will also be analyzed together with various forms of civil resistance.

# *Teaching philosophy and methods:*

- Just like all of my other courses are characterized by low student-faculty ratio, high interactivity and student-centeredness. Extra consultation opportunities are provided.
- Teaching methods are displayed in interactive seminars which include lecturing, interactive seminar-style classrom discussions, individual and group presentations, independent research, written assignments (position papers, handouts, final essay).

# Learning outcome:

- Students will be able to understand and analyze different political arguments in their ideological context and they will be more sophisticated in dealing with cultural and social embeddedness of political actions, discourses, and rhetorics.
- The course will enhance key academic transferable skills, such as critical writing, summary writing, oral communication.
- It helps multidisciplinary approach to social phenomena, value awareness, integration of research into learning and critical thinking.

#### **GRADING** will be based on

- participation, activity, presentation (30%);
- periodic assignments, including an in-class test (30%);
- a final essay of 3000 words on a topic agreed upon with the professor (40%).

# **Topics and readings**

# **WEEK 1.** January 6, 8. **Theories of Modernization and Development**

### Mandatory readings

Daniel Lerner (2000 [1958]), <u>The Passing of Traditional Society</u>. (excerpt) in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds. <u>From Modernization to Globalization</u>: <u>Perspectives on Development and Social Change</u>. Oxford: Blackwell, 119-133.

W. W. Rostow (2000 [1960]), <u>The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto</u>. (excerpt) in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds., <u>From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change</u>. Oxford: Blackwell, 100-109.

- Karl Polanyi (2001 [1944]), <u>The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time</u>. Boston: Beacon Press
- Seymour M. Lipset (1969 [1959]), "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy" in Charles F. Cnuddle & Deane E. Neubauer eds. <u>Empirical Democratic Theory</u>. Chicago: Markham, 151-192.
- Talcott Parsons (1964), "Evolutionary Universals in Society" <u>American Sociological Review</u>, Vol. 29. 339-357.
- David E. Apter (1965), "Toward a Theory of Modernization" in D. Apter, <u>The Politics of Modernization</u>. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1-42.
- Myron Weiner ed. (1966), <u>Modernization and Dynamics of Growth</u>. New York: Basic Books Marion J. Levy (1966), <u>Modernization and the Structure of Societies</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Lucian W. Pye (1966), Aspects of Political Development. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.
- Samuel P. Huntington (1966), "Political Modernization: America vs Europe" <u>World Politics</u>, Vol. 38. No. 5. April, 378-414.
- Samuel P. Huntington (1968), <u>Political Order in Changing Societies</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (1968), <u>Modernization: Protest and Change</u>. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall
- Daniel Lerner & James S. Coleman (1968), "Modernization" in David Sills ed. <u>International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences</u>, Vol. 10. Macmillan, 386-402.
- Neil Smelser (1999 [1968]), "Toward a Theory of Modernization" in Malcolm Walters ed. Modernity: Critical Concepts. Vol. 1. London: Routledge, 149-169.
- Alvin Y. So (1990), Social Change and Development. London: Sage
- Larry Diamond (1992), "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered" in Gary Marks & L. Diamond eds. <u>Reexamining Democracy</u>. London: Sage, 93-139.
- Klaus Müller (1992), "'Modernising' Eastern Europe: Theoretical Problems and Political

- Dilemmas" European Journal of Sociology, Vol. 33. 109-150.
- Klaus Müller (1995), "From Post-Communism to Post-Modernity? Economy and Society in Eastern European Transformations" in Bruno Grancelli ed., <u>Social Change and Modernization: Lessons from Eastern Europe</u>. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 265-293.
- Frances Hagopian (2000), "Political Development, Revisited" <u>Comparative Political Studies</u>, Vol. 33. Nos. 6-7. August-September, 880-911.
- Nicolas Guilhot (2005), "From the Development Engineers to the Democracy Doctors: The Rise and Fall of Modernization Theory" in N. Guilhot: <u>The Democracy Makers</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 101-133.

# **WEEK 2.** January 13, 15. **Theories of Dependency and World System**

# Mandatory readings

André Gunder-Frank (1970), "The Development of Underdevelopment" in Robert I. Rhodes ed., <u>Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader.</u> New York: Monthly Review Press, 4-17.

Fernando H. Cardoso (2000 [1972]), "Dependency and Development in Latin America" in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds., <u>From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change.</u> Oxford: Blackwell, 169-178.

Immanuel Wallerstein (2000 [1979]), "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis" in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds, <u>From Modernization to Globalization</u>. Oxford: Blackwell. 190-209.

- Samir Amin (1976), <u>Unequal Development</u>. London: Monthly Review Press
- Henry Bernstein (1979), "Sociology of Underdevelopment vs Sociology of Development?" in David Lehmann ed. <u>Development Theory: Four Critical Studies</u>. London: Frank Cass, 77-106.
- Peter Evans (1979), <u>Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local</u>
  Capital in Brazil. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Immanuel Wallerstein (1979), <u>The Capitalist World Economy</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P. Gabriel Palma (1981), "Dependency and Development: A Critical Overview" in Dudley Seers ed. <u>Dependency Theory: A Critical Reassessment</u>. London: Pinter, 20-78.
- Peter F. Klarén & Thomas J. Bossert, eds., (1986), <u>Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America</u>. Boulder: Westview
- David E. Apter (1987), <u>Rethinking Development: Modernization, Dependency, and</u>
  Postmodern Politics. London: Sage
- Alvin Y. So (1990), Social Change and Development. London: Sage
- Tony Spybey (1992), Social Change, Development, and Dependency. Cambridge: Polity P.
- David Harrison (1997 [1988]), <u>The Sociology of Modernization and Development</u>. London: Routledge
- Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald (1998), <u>Political Change and Underdevelopment</u>. Durham: Duke University Press, 120-165.
- J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds. (2000), <u>From Modernization to Globalization:</u>

  <u>Perspectives on Development and Social Change.</u> Oxford: Blackwell

  Immanuel Wallernstein (2000), The Essential Wallerstein. New York: New Press

- Joe Foweraker & Todd Landman (2004), "Economic Development and Democracy Revisited: Why Dependency Theory is Not Yet Dead" <u>Democratization</u>, 11:1, 1-20.
- József Böröcz (2009), <u>The European Union and Global Social Change: A Critical Geopolitical-Economic Analysis</u>. London: Routledge.

# WEEK 3. January 20, 22. Revolution I. – Natural History, Relative Deprivation and Psychological Approaches

# Mandatory readings

Cane Brinton, "The Anatomy of Revolution" in C. Paynton & R. Blackey eds. (1971), <u>Why</u> Revolution? Theories and Analyses. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 87-98.

Gustave Le Bon (1971), "The Psychology of Revolutions" in. Paynton & Blackey eds. (1971), Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 160-176.

Eugene Kamenka (1966 [1963]), "The Concept of Political Revolution" in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., Revolution. New York: Atherton Press, 122-135.

James C. Davies (1971), "Toward a Theory of Revolution" in C. Paynton & R. Blackey eds., Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 177-197.

- Alexis de Tocqueville (1955 [1856]), <u>The Old Regime and the Revolution</u>. New York: Anchor Press Doubleday
- Harry Eckstein (1971 [1964]), "On the Etiology of Internal Wars" in C. Paynton, R. Blackey, eds., Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 124-150.
- George Pettee (1966), "Revolution Typology and Process" in Carl J. Friedrich ed., <u>Revolution</u>. New York: Atherton Press, 10-33.
- Melvin Richter (1966), "Tocqueville's Contribution to the Theory of Revolution" in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., Revolution. New York: Atherton Press, 75-121.
- Ted R. Gurr (1970), Why Men Rebel. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Karl Griewank (1971), "Emergence of the Concept of Revolution" in C. Paynton and R. Blackey eds., Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 16-22.
- Charles A. Ellwood (1971), "A Psychological Theory of Revolution" in Paynton & Blackey eds., Why Revolution? Theories and Analyses. Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 151-159.
- Louis Gottschalk (1971), "Causes of Revolution" in C. Paynton & R. Blackey, eds., <u>Why</u> <u>Revolution?</u> Cambridge: Schenkman, 99-109.
- Dankwart Rustow & Kenneth Paul Erickson eds. (1991), <u>Comparative Political Dynamics</u>, New York: Harper Collins
- Stephen M. Walt (1996), <u>Revolution and War</u>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press William Doyle (2001), <u>The French Revolution</u>. New York: Oxford University Press

# **WEEK 4.** January 27, 29. **Revolution II. – Marxist, Elitist, Functionalist and other Approaches**

# Mandatory readings

Robert C. Tucker (1966), "The Marxian Revolutionary Idea" in Carl J. Friedrich ed. Revolution. New York: Atherton Press, 217-39.

John Molyneux (1981), "Permanent Revolution" in Molyneux, <u>Leon Trotsky's Theory of</u> Revolution. New York: St. Martin's Press, 17-46.

Hannah Arendt (1987, [1963]), On Revolution. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 21-58.

Chalmers Johnson (1966), <u>Revolutionary Change</u>. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, Ch. 5. 88-118.

# Further readings

- Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1978 [1848]), "The Manifesto of the Communist Party" in Robert Tucker ed. <u>The Marx-Engels Reader</u>. New York: W. W. Norton, 469-500.
- Chalmers Johnson (1966), <u>Revolutionary Change</u>. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, Ch. 4. 59-87.
- Leon Trotsky (1969), "What Is the Permanent Revolution" in L. Trotsky: <u>The Permanent Revolution</u>. New York: Merit Publishers, 276-281.
- Mao, Tse-tung, (1973 [1936]), "Revolutionary War in China" in Lawrence Kaplan, ed., Revolutions: A Comparative Study. New York: Vintage, 355-367.
- Ernesto Che Guevara (2001 [1960]), "General Principles of Guerilla Warfare" in <u>Guerilla Warfare</u>. Wilmington: SR Books, 50-71.
- Krishan Kumar ed. (1971), <u>Revolution: The Theory and Practice of a European Idea</u>. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson
- Mark N. Hagopian (1974), The Phenomenon of Revolution. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.
- A. S. Cohan (1975), Theories of Revolution: An Introduction. London: Nelson
- Michael Walzer (1980), "A Theory of Revolution" in M. Walzer, <u>Radical Principles</u>. New York: Basic Books, 201-223.
- Ellen Kay Trimberger (1986), "A Theory of Elite Revolution" in Jack A. Goldstone ed., <u>Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies.</u> New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 159-172.
- Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley (1992), <u>Guerillas and Revolution in Latin America</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press

# **WEEK 5.** February 3, 5. **Revolution III. – Mobilization Theory and Structural Theories**

# Mandatory readings

Charles Tilly (1978), From Mobilization to Revolution. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 189-242.

Theda Skocpol (1979), <u>States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-43.

Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley (1997), "Structural Theories of Revolution" in John Foran ed. <u>Theorizing Revolutions</u>. London: Routledge, 38-72.

# Further readings

Neil Smelser (1962), <u>Theory of Collective Behavior</u>. New York: Free Press Barrington Moore (1966), <u>Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy</u>. Boston: Beacon Mark N. Hagopian (1974), <u>The Phenomenon of Revolution</u>. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Jack A. Goldstone ed. (1986), <u>Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies</u>. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich

Michael S. Kimmel (1990), <u>Revolution: A Sociological Interpretation</u>. Cambridge: Polity Thomas H. Green (1990), <u>Comparative Revolutionary Movements: Search for Theory and Justice</u> Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall

Theda Skocpol (1994), "Explaining Revolutions: In Quest of a Social-Structural Approach" in Skocpol ed. <u>Social Revolutions in the Modern World</u>. Cambridge: C.U.P., 99-119.

Theda Skocpol ed. (1998), <u>Democracy, Revolution, and History</u>. Ithaca: Cornell U. P. Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow & Charles Tilly (2001), <u>Dynamics of Contention</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

# **WEEK 6.** February 10, 12. **Revolution IV. – Stucture vs Agency Debate**

# Mandatory readings

William H. Sewell (1994), "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case" in Skocpol ed. Social Revolutions in the Modern World. Cambridge: C. U. P. 169-198.

Theda Skocpol (1994), "Cultural Idioms and Political Ideologies in the Revolutionary Reconstruction of State Power: A Rejoinder to Sewell" in T. Skocpol ed., <u>Social Revolutions in the Modern World</u>, Cambridge: C. U. P. 199-209.

Eric Selbin (1997), "Revolution and the Real World: Bringing Agency Back In" in John Foran ed., <u>Theorizing Revolutions</u>. London: Routledge, 123-136.

#### Further readings

Theda Skocpol (1994), <u>Social Revolutions in the Modern World</u>. Cambridge: C. U. P. Jack A. Goldstone (1995), "Why We Could (and Should) Have Foreseen the Revolutions of 1989-1991 in the USSR and Eastern Europe"; in Nikki R. Keddie ed. <u>Debating Revolutions</u>. New York: New York University Press, 39-64.

Nikki R. Keddie (1995), "Response to Goldstone" in Nikki R. Keddie ed., (1995), <u>Debating</u> Revolutions. New York: New York University Press, 65-76.

Valentine M. Moghadam (1997), "Gender and Revolutions" in John Foran ed. <u>Theorizing Revolutions</u>. London: Routledge, 137-167.

John Foran (1997), "Discourses and Social Forces: The Role of Culture and Cultural Studies in Understanding Revolutions" in J. Foran ed., <u>Theorizing Revolutions</u>. London: Routledge, 203-226.

- Mark N. Katz (1997), <u>Revolutions and Revolutionary Waves</u>. New York: St. Martin's Press Eric Selbin (1999), <u>Modern Latin American Social Revolutions</u>. Boulder: Westview Press Mark N. Katz (2001), <u>Revolutions</u>: <u>International Dimensions</u>. Washington, D.C.:

  Congressional Quarterly Press
- Krishan Kumar (2001), "The Revolutionary Idea in the Twentieth-Century World" in Moira Donald & Tim Rees (eds.), <u>Reinterpreting Revolution in Twentieth-Century Europe</u>. London: Macmillan, 177-197.
- Richard Sakwa (2001), "The Age of Paradox: The Anti-revolutionary Revolutions of 1989-91" in Moira Donald and Tim Rees (eds.), <u>Reinterpreting Revolutions in Twentieth-Century Europe</u>. London: Macmillan, 159-176.
- Jeff Goodwin (2001), No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-64.
- Padraic Kenney (2002), <u>A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- John Foran (2005), <u>Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- James DFronzo (2006), <u>Revolutionary Movements in World History: From 1750 to the Present</u>. Santa Brabara: ABC-CLIO
- James DeFronzo (2007), <u>Revolutions and Revolutionary Movements</u>. Boulder: Westview Charles H. Fairbanks (2007), "Revolution Reconsidered" <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, Vol. 18. No. 1. January, 42-57.

# **WEEK 7.** February 17, 19. **Theories of Transition I.**

# Mandatory readings

Dankwart Rustow (1970), "Transitions to Democracy" Comparative Politics, April, 337-363.

Alfred Stepan (1986), "Paths Toward Redemocratization" in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter & Laurence Whitehead, eds., <u>Transitions from Authoritarian Rule</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 64-84.

Michael G. Burton & John Higley (1987), "Elite Settlements" <u>American Sociological Review</u>, Vol. 52. June, 295-307.

Samuel P. Huntington (1991-92), "How Countries Democratize" <u>Political Science Quarterly</u>, Vol. 106. No. 4. Winter, 579-616.

- Guillermo O'Donnell & Philippe C. Schmitter (1986), <u>Transitions from Authoritarian Rule:</u>

  <u>Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies.</u> Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Enrique A. Baloyra, ed., (1987), <u>Comparing New Democracies: Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone</u>. Boulder: Westview Press
- Juan J. Linz (1990), "Transitions to Democracy" Washington Quarterly, Summer, 143-164.
- Adam Przeworski (1991), Democracy and the Market. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- Samuel P. Huntington (1991), <u>The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth</u> Century. Norman: Oklahoma University Press

- Sten Berglund, Tomas Hellen & Frank H. Aarebrot eds. (1998), <u>The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe</u>. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- Nancy Bermeo (1999), "Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transition" in Lisa Anderson ed. <u>Transitions to Democracy</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 120-140.
- Jeff Goodwin (2001), "'Refolution' and Rebellion in Eastern Europe, 1989" in No Other Way

  Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991. Cambridge: Cambridge
  University Press, 256-288.

# **WEEK 8.** February 24, 26. **Theories of Transition II.**

# Mandatory readings

Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), "Transitology: The Science or the Art of Democratization?" in Joseph S. Tulchin (ed.), <u>The Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America</u>. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 11-41.

Michael McFaul (2010), "The Missing Variable: The 'International System' as the Link between Third and Fourth Wave Models of Democratization" In Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul & Kathryn Stoner-Weiss eds. <u>Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World.</u> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-29.

Kathryn Stoner, Larry Diamond, Desha Girod & Michael McFaul (2013), "Transitional Successes and Failures: The International-Domestic Nexus" in Kathyrin Stoner & Michael McFaul eds. (2013), <u>Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective</u>. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 3-24.

- Scott Mainwaring (1992), "Transitions to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative Issues" in Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell & J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds. <u>Issues in Democratic Consolidation</u>. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 294-341.
- András Bozóki, András Körösényi & George Schöpflin eds. (1992, 2016), <u>Post-Communist Transition: Emerging Pluralism in Hungary</u>. London: Pinter, New York: St. Martin's Press, London Oxford: Bloomsbury
- Doh Chull Shin (1994), "On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research" <u>World Politics</u>, 47:1, October, 135-170.
- Philippe C. Schmitter & Terry Lynn Karl (1994), "The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?" Slavic Review, Vol. 53. No. 1. Spring, 173-185.
- Valerie Bunce (1995), "Should Transitologists Be Grounded? <u>Slavic Review</u>, 54:1, 111-127. Terry Lynn Karl & Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), "From an Iron Curtain to a Paper Curtain: Grounding Transitologists or Students of Postcommunism?" <u>Slavic Review</u>, 54: 4, 965-978.
- Valerie Bunce (1995), "Paper Curtains and Paper Tigers" <u>Slavic Review</u>, 54:4, 979-987. Jon Elster ed. (1996), <u>Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism</u>. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Lisa Anderson ed. (1999), Transitions to Democracy. New York: Columbia University Press

- Michael D. Kennedy (1999), "Contingencies and the Alternatives of 1989: Toward a Theory and Practice of Negotiating Revolution" <u>East European Politics and Societies</u>, 13:2, 293-302.
- Gerardo L. Munck & Carol Skalnik Leff (1999), "Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective" in Lisa Anderson ed., <u>Transitions to Democracy</u>. New York: Columbia UP, 193-216.
- Josep M. Colomer (2000), <u>Strategic Transitions: Game Theory and Democratization</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Geoffrey Pridham (2000), <u>The Dynamics of Democratization: A Comparative Approach.</u>
  London: Continuum
- András Bozóki ed. (2002), <u>The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian</u>
  <u>Democracy.</u> New York Budapest, CEU Press
- Valerie Bunce & Sharon Wolchik (2010), "A Regional Tradition: The Diffusion of Democratic Change under Communism and Postcommunism" in Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul & Kathry Stoner-Weiss eds. <u>Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World</u>. Cambridge: C. U. P., 30-56.

# **WEEK 9.** March 2, 4. Approaches to Democratic Consolidation

# Mandatory readings

Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), "Toward Consolidated Democracies" <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, Vol. 7. No. 2. April, 14-33.

Larry Diamond (1999), "Consolidating Democracy" in Diamond, <u>Developing Democracy</u> Toward Consolidation. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 64-116.

Charles Tilly (2007), <u>Democracy</u>. Ch. 1. "What is Democracy?" Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-24.

- Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell & J. Samuel Valenzuela (1992), <u>Issues in Democratic Consolidation</u>. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press
- Guillermo O'Donnell (1994), "Delegative Democracy" Journal of Democracy, Vol. 5. No. 1.
- Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), "The Consolidation of Political Democracies: Rhythms, Sequences and Types" In Geoffrey Pridham (ed.), <u>Transitions to Democracy</u>. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 535-569.
- Guillermo O'Donnell (1996), "Illusions about Consolidation" <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, Vol. 7. No. 2. April, 34-51.
- Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), <u>Problems of Democratic Transitions and Consolidation:</u>
  <u>Southern Europe</u>, <u>South America</u>, <u>and Post-Communist Europe</u>. Baltimore:
  The Johns Hopkins University Press
- Guillermo O'Donnell (1999), <u>Counterpoints</u>. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press Valerie Bunce (2000), "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations" Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 33. Nos. 6-7. 703-734.

- Adam Przeworski et al. (2000), <u>Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (especially 78-141.)
- Alfred Stepan (2001), <u>Arguing Comparative Politics</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press Daniel Philpott (2004), "The Catholic Wave" <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, Vol. 15. No. 2. April, 32-46.
- Dirk Berg-Schlosser (2007), <u>Democratization</u>. Opladen Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publishers

#### **WEEK 10.** March 9, 11.

#### **Deconsolidation and De-democratization**

# Mandatory readings

Fareed Zakaria (1997), "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy" <u>Foreign Affairs</u>, Vol. 76. No. 4. November-December, 22-43.

Thomas Carothers (2002), "The End of the Transition Paradigm" <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, Vol. 13. No. 1. January, 5-21.

Charles Tilly (2007), <u>Democracy</u>. Chapter 3. "Democratization and De-democratization" Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 51-79.

- Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan (1978), <u>The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe</u>. Johns Hopkins University Press, especially: 3-86.
- Larry Diamond (1996), "Is the Third Wave Over?" Journal of Democracy, 7:3. July, 20-37.
- Thomas Carothers (1999), <u>Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve</u>. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Hans-Joachim Lauth (2000), "Informal Institutions and Democracy" <u>Democratization</u>, Vol. 7. No. 4. Winter, 21-50.
- Colin Crouch (2004), Post-Democracy. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Thomas Carothers (2004), <u>Critical Mission: Essays in Democracy Promotion</u>. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Fareed Zakaria (2003), <u>The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad.</u> New York: W. W. Norton
- Piotr Sztompka (2004), "The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies" in Jeffrey C. Alexander et al. eds., <u>Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 155-195.
- Thomas Carothers (2007), "The 'Sequencing' Fallacy' <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, Vol. 18. No. 1. January, 17-27.
- Mabel Berezin (2009), <u>Illiberal Politics in Neoliberal Times: Culture, Security and Populism</u> in the New Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita & Alastair Smith (2011), <u>The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad</u> Behavior Is Almost Always Good Politics. New York: Public Affairs
- András Bozóki (2011), "Postcommunist Regimes" in Bertrand Badie, Dirk Berg-Schlosser & Leonardo Morlino eds. <u>International Encyclopedia of Political Science</u>, Los Angeles: Sage, 2090-2093.

- András Bozóki (2012), "Transition from Liberal Democracy: Political Crisis in Hungary" Mediations, Vol. 26. No. 1., Summer, 1-23.
- Miklós Bánkuti, Gábor Halmai & Kim Lane Scheppele (2012), "Hungary's Illiberal Turn: Disabling the Constitution" <u>Journal of Democracy</u>, V. 23. No. 3. July, 138-146.
- Thomas Carothers & Andrew O'Donohue (2019), <u>Democracies Divided: The Global</u>
  <u>Challenge of Political Polarization</u>. Washington, D. C.: Brookings Institution

# WEEK 11. March 16, 18. The Rise of Hybrid and Authoritarian Regimes

# Mandatory readings

Steven Levitsky & Lucan A. Way (2010), <u>Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-36.

Andreas Schedler (2013), <u>The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral</u> Authoritarianism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 54-76.

Steven Levitsky & Daniel Ziblatt (2018), How Democracies Die. New York: Crown, 11-52.

- Andreas Schedler ed. (2006), <u>Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree</u>
  <u>Competition</u>. Boulder: Lynne Rienner
- Jennifer Gandhi (2008), Political Institutions under Dictatorship. Cambridge: C. U. P.
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- Milan W. Svolik (2012), The Politics of Authoritarian Rule. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman (2016), <u>Dictators and Democrats: Masses, Elites,</u> and Regime Change. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Timothy Snyder (2017), On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century New York: Tim Duggan Books
- Timothy Snyder (2018), <u>The Road to Unfreedom: Russia, Europe, America</u>. London: The Bodley Head, Penguin Random House
- David Runciman (2018), How Democracy Ends. New York: Basic Books
- Barbara Geddes, Joseph Wright & Erica Frantz (2018), <u>How Dictatorships Work</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Erica Frantz (2018), Authoritarianism: What Everyone Needs to Know. Oxford: O. U. P.
- Michael Albertus & Victor Menaldo (2018), <u>Authoritarianism and the Elite Origins of Democracy</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge U. P.
- Sheri Berman (2019), <u>Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe</u>. New York: Oxford U. P.
- Bálint Magyar ed. (2019), <u>Stubborn Structures: Reconceptualizing Post-Communist Regimes</u>. Budapest – New York: CEU Press
- Ivan Krastev & Stephen Holmes (2019), <u>The Light that Failed: A Reckoning</u>. London: Penguin Random House

# WEEK 12. March 23, 25. Civil Resistance

Handing the final essays

# Mandatory readings

Erica Chenoweth & Maria J. Stephan (2011), Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict. Chapter 2. "The Primacy of Participation in Nonviolent Action" New York: Columbia University Press, 30-61.

Valerie J. Bunce & Sharon L. Wolchik (2011), "Democratizing Elections, International Diffusion, and U.S. Democracy Assistance" in <u>Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 327-352.

- Gene Sharp (1973), <u>The Politics of Nonviolent Action</u>. Boston: P. Sargent Publisher Václav Havel (2018 [1978]), <u>The Power of the Powerless</u>. London: Vintage Penguin Jackie Smith (2002), "Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements." in Jackie Smith & Hank Johnston eds., <u>Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements</u>. Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield, 207-227.
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- Kurt Schock (2005), <u>Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies</u>. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- April Carter, Howard Clark & Michael Randle (2006), <u>People Power and Protest since 1945:</u>
  <u>A Biblography of Nonviolent Action</u>. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment
- Mario Pianta and Raffaele Marchetti (2007), "The Global Justice Movements: The Transnational Dimension" in Donatella della Porta ed. <u>The Global Justice Movement: A Cross-National and Transmational Perspective</u>. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 29-51.
- David Held & Anthony McGrew (2007), <u>Globalization / Anti-Globalization: Beyond the</u> Great Divide. Cambridge: Polity Press (especially 185-236.)
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- Jörg Forbrig & Pavol Demes ed. (2007), <u>Reclaiming Democracy</u>. Washingon, D. C.: GMFUS Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2008), "The World Social Forum and the Global Left" <u>Politics and Society</u>, Vol. 36. No. 2. June, 247-270.
- Peter N. Funke (2008), "The World Social Forum: Social Forums as Resistance Relays" <u>New Political Science</u>, Vol. 30. No. 4. December, 449-474.
- Gene Sharp (2012), <u>From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for</u>
  Liberation. New York: New Press
- Donatella della Porta (2014), <u>Mobilizing for Democracy: Comparing 1989 and 2011</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press