THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF REGIME CHANGE

Central European University
Doctoral School of Political Science, International Relations and Public Policy
Core course Comparative Politics and Political Economy Tracks
Fall Semester 2015/2016
4 CEU credits, 8 ECTS credits

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Classes
Mondays 15.30-17.10
Wednesdays 15.30-17.10

Office Hours
Carsten Q. Schneider: Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 15.30-17.10

Course Description
Over the last four decades, the world has witnessed the transition of political and economic regimes - from autocracies to democracies and various types of political regimes in between, and from closed to open market economies and back. The current situation provides ground for disparate, and sometimes outright contradictory, diagnoses about the present state of democracy around the globe, its future development, and the interaction between economic and political processes. Clear non-democracies like China show economic growth rates that are overwhelming both in size and duration, while rulers in Russia and elsewhere could profit from a resource boom that has enabled them to devise sophisticated measures to secure their power and turn their political system into hybrid regimes. At the same time, popular uprisings in the Middle East and Northern Africa have
brought down long-standing dictators and citizens seek not only social justice and economic growth but also political democracy. Meanwhile, democracy is in crisis even in its heartland in the North-Western hemisphere, not least due to profound economic transformations and changes.

This course is designed to give a broad overview of the literature on the processes of economic and political regime change and their interaction in the early and late 20\textsuperscript{th} and early 21\textsuperscript{st} century. The aim is to provide students with the analytic tools, theories, and concepts that enable them to make better sense of the current economic and political processes in countries around the globe, with a special emphasis on the link between economic and political changes. The list of concepts discussed is comprised of, among others, types of transitions, hybrid regimes, the consolidation, and the qualities of democracy. The topic of this course will be dealt with from a global perspective. We will thus attempt to capture cases and evidence from different world regions.

\textit{Course Requirements}

The course meets twice a week. Most meetings will be a mix between lecture and seminar. The grading will be composed of the following items:

(1) You are expected to be actively present at all sessions. In case you are unable to attend, you need to inform us via email prior to our class. Unexcused missed classes are graded with zero points. You are expected to reflect critically on the mandatory readings and to show such reflection by active and stimulating interaction in class. Activity in the classroom can be complemented with questions, suggestions, and comments to be sent to us prior to our next meeting.

(2) Each student will have to do two presentations in class. The first one is shorter (not more than 15-20 minutes) and it must be on one of the more conceptual topics that we are dealing with in sessions 1 - 20. These short presentations must be single-authored.

(3) The second presentation is more extensive (around 50 minutes). You are free to choose the topic of the presentation but it needs to be confirmed by us prior to week 8 the latest. The presentation should contain empirical data based on which you try to make analytically plausible and substantively interesting points. At least one week prior to your presentation, you are asked to distribute a list of one (!) required and minimum two recommended readings to all course participants. After your presentation you remain in the role of the leader and moderator of the follow-up discussion in class.

(4) You are expected to review two books. You can either write two separate book reviews (900-1000 words each, reference list not included), or one single paper that reviews two books together (1700-1900 words, reference list not included). You are free to choose the books but your choice needs to be approved by us. You can choose books that are on the same topic as your (long) presentation. Edited volumes and books older than 5 years should be chosen based on well-argued reasons. The precise deadline for the paper will be communicated in due time.

\textit{Evaluation of Requirements}

(1) In-class participation: 15\%
(2) Smaller first presentation: 15%
(3) Second bigger presentation: 35%
(4) Book review: 35%

According to policies of the Department of Political Science, late submissions of written assignments will be downgraded in the following manner:
- 1 minute to 24 hours late: 1 grading point
- 24.1 hours to 48 hours: 2 grading points
- etc.

A violation of the word limit leads to the following downgrading:
- each 5 percent excess words: 1 grading point

Learning Outcomes and Their Assessment

The overall grade will primarily indicate the ability of the students to handle the core concepts and questions in the literature on political regime changes with special focus on political economy. The learning outcomes of the PhD program are supported and measured by the present course in the following ways: The ability to critically assess scholarly arguments which are based on empirical research; to write an academic paper using an appropriate scholarly tone. The skill of formulating researchable questions is primarily measured by the second, bigger, presentation. The ability to orally present an academic argument is assessed through the two in-class presentations and the in-class participation. The skills to analyze contemporary events related to political regime change and to employ cutting-edge methods are reflected by the bigger presentation. Students will also be exposed to, and expect to critically reflect on, general issues in doing comparative social research, such as concept formation (i.e. how to define, conceptualize, and measure the phenomenon under study) and different strategies of drawing inference from observational data.

Reading Material

All the course material is available in electronic form. Additional material will be posted on the e-learning site of the course at http://e-learning.ceu.hu/. The password will be communicated to students who enroll for this course. Full references for those readings that appear in brackets below are provided at the very end of this syllabus.

Course Outline

PART I - CONCEPTS

Week 1. Political Regime Concepts – Democracy, Hybrid (Competitive Authoritarianism, Defect) Democracy, Authoritarianism

This week aims at introducing key terms used on the regime change literature and attempts at measuring them empirically across a larger set of cases. After learning the basics of sound concept formation and measurement, we critically evaluate leading
attempts at measuring democracy, discuss the challenges of defining and identifying hybrid regimes, and probe into the literature specifying autocratic regime types.

Seminar 1: Meaning and Measures of Democracy

Mandatory:


Recommended:


(Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland 2009)


(Collier, LaPorte, and Seawright 2012)


(Gerring 2012b), chapters 5-7

(Gerring 2012a)


(Moon et al. 2006)


(Gerardo. L. Munck 2009), chapter 9


(Schedler and Mudde 2010)
(Schedler 2012a)
(Schedler 2012b)

Schmitter, Philippe C./Karl, Terry Lynn (1991): What democracy is...and is not. *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 2, issue 3, pp. 75-88


*Seminar 2: Autocracies and Hybrid Regimes*

**Mandatory:**


(Gerschewski 2013)

**Recommended:**

(Brooker 2000), introduction


(Brownlee 2009)

(Bogaards 2010)


(Croissant and Wurster 2013)


(Gandhi 2008)

(Gandhi and Lust-Oskar 2009)

(Krastev 2011)

(Levitzky and Way 2010)


(Magaloni 2006)

(Magaloni 2008)


(Miller 2013)

(Morlino 2009)


Week 2.  

Political Regime Concepts continued (CoD, QoD) and Economic Regime Concepts started

We unpack the notions of consolidation and quality of democracy. During the second session of the week, we specify core economic regime concepts, starting with capitalism.

Seminar 3: Consolidation of Regimes

Mandatory:

(Göbel 2010)

http://www.journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S1755773914000472.

Recommended:


(Bühlmann, Merkel, and Wessels 2008)


(Knutsen 2010)

(Gerardo L. Munck 2012)


Rothstein, Bo/Teorell, Jan (2008): What is quality of government? a theory of impartial government institutions. *Governance*, vol. 21, issue 2, pp. 165-190


(Schmitter 2004)


**Seminar 4: What is capitalism, how has it evolved over time and how does it vary across space?**

**Mandatory**


**Recommended:**


**Week 3. Economic Regime Concepts continued (Developmental Regimes, Socialism)**

This week introduces basic variations of developmental regimes and the characteristic features of the socialist system

**Seminar 5: Conceptualizing late development**

**Mandatory:**


**Recommended:**


Seminar 6: The Socialist Economy

Mandatory:


Recommended:


Week 4. Stability and Change

In this week, we explore the different notions and findings with regard to role of stability and change on social and political phenomena. In the regime change literature, the period in-between two types of political regimes is usually referred to as the transition phase. We will learn about the differences of this particular moment in time and how to best study the causes and effects of different modes of transition. Institutional political economy literature also discusses the role of stability and change. While in earlier literature, the concept of critical junctures played an important role, more recently, the literature tries to conceptualize incremental but cumulative transformative change.

Seminar 7: Forms of regime change (pact, revolutions, reforms)

Mandatory:

(Gunitsky 2014)

(Schneider 2009), chap 7

Recommended:


(Lindberg 2009)

McFaul, Michael (2002): The fourth wave of democracy and dictatorship. noncooperative transitions in the postcommunist world. *World Politics,* vol. 54, issue 1, pp. 212-244


(O'Donnell 2010)


(Schmitter 2010)


Seminar 8: Change and Continuity in capitalism

Mandatory:


Recommended:


PART II – MODERNIZATION, DEMOCRACY AND AUTHORITARIANISM

Week 5. Fascism, Communism and Democracy in Europe

The question whether capitalism fosters or impairs democracy has produced most heated debates. For decades, Barrington Moore’s proposition: “No bourgeois, no democracy” has been a cornerstone of this debate. This week discusses Moore’s original argument on the social origins of fascism, communism and democracy, and explores alternative historical approaches to (non-)democratization.

Seminar 9: The classical formulation: Barrington Moore

Mandatory:


Recommended:


**Seminar 10: Early (non-)democratization**

**Mandatory:**


(Ziblatt 2009)

**Recommended:**

(Capoccia and Ziblatt 2010)

(Doorenspleet 2005)


**Week 6. Is there a link between economic development and authoritarianism?**

The causal link between economic development and the type of political regime is an old, yet still inconclusively discussed topic. Different strands of modernization theory argue that economic development precedes (or even must precede) political development in terms of democratization. Others argue that economic development can sometimes hinder democratization. A related question is whether, once in place, democracies economically outperform autocracies. We will shed some light on these questions mostly from a more historical perspective.

**Seminar 11: Modernization theory**

**Mandatory:**


(Welzel 2013), pages 1-33


(Lipset 1959)


And reply from Inglehart and Welzel, available at [http://www.worldvaluessurvey.net/Upload/5_Ecolfal3.pdf](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.net/Upload/5_Ecolfal3.pdf)

(Teorell 2010), chapter 3


**Seminar 12: Industrialization and Political Change**

**Mandatory:**


**Recommended:**


Week 7.  The challenges of Eastern Europe’s double transformation to capitalism and democracy

In the early 1990s, Claus Offe and Jon Elster have famously warned that Eastern Europe faces unsurmountable difficulties when installing capitalism and democracy simultaneously. Why and how have some countries in the region successfully managed the challenges of the double (and triple) transformation, while others have not? What was the impact of the socialist system on post-socialist capitalism and democracies?

Seminar 13: Building States and Markets

Mandatory:


Recommended:


**Seminar 14: Eastern Europe’s electoral revolutions**

**Mandatory Reading**


**Recommended Reading**

(Beissinger 2007)


**PART III – CONTEMPORARY ISSUES**

**Week 8. (Failed) Transitions and New Autocratic Regime Forms**

In the eyes of most observers, after the so-called colored revolutions, the “Arab Spring” constitutes the last set of instances of failed transitions. In this week, we try to take stock of the processes and events and discuss which changes short of full-scale democratization, these events might have triggered. In addition to comparing the Arab Spring to events in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 and in Europe in 1848, we come back to the issue of what (new forms) of non-democracies have been emerging in the recent past and partly in response to failed attempts at democratization.

**Seminar 15:**

**Mandatory:**

(Geddes, Wright, and Frantz 2014)
Recommended:

(Hadenius and Teorell 2007)
(Schedler 2011)
(Schedler 2013)

Seminar 16: MENA and the Arab Spring in Comparison with other world regions

Mandatory:


Recommended:

(Albrecht and Schlumberger 2004)
(Barany 2011)
(Beissinger 2007)
(Bellin 2012)
(Braizat 2010)
(Brownlee, Masoud, and Reynolds 2013)
(Carey and Reynolds 2011)
(Cavatorta 2010)
(B. H. E. Hale 2005)
(H. E. Hale 2006)

Herd, Graeme P. (2005): Colorful revolutions and CIS: "manufactured' versus "managed" democracy. *Problems of Post-Communism*, vol. 52, issue 2, pp. 3-18

(Howard and Walters 2014)


(Plattner 2011)
Week 9. European Integration, the Great Recession and Democracy

There is a widely shared concern that supranational integration, in combination with the fall-out from the Great Recession has started to undermine democracy in Europe. At the same time, in some political quarters an alternative economic model – authoritarian capitalism – is considered superior to liberal democratic capitalism. This week we explore the repercussions of the crisis and the new European economic governance on democratic support, and study political and economic aspects of liberal capitalisms new contender.

Seminar 17: Austerity and democratic legitimacy in Europe

**** These readings might still be updated *******

Mandatory:


Recommended:


**Seminar 18: The compatibility of capitalism and democracy after the Great Recession**

**** These readings might still be updated ******


**Recommended:**


Week 10.  Inequality: the Achilles heel of capitalist democracies?

In this week we study one of the most pervasive phenomena in contemporary democratic (and non-democratic) societies: the rise of inequalities. We will distinguish between social and political inequalities. When reflecting on the potential causal relationship between the two, we further differentiate between inequalities within countries (between social groups) and inequalities between countries (both in terms of types and degrees of inequality).

Seminar 19: Inequality and regime change

Mandatory:

(Haggard and Kaufman 2012)
(Slater, Smith, and Nair 2014)
(Smith 2008)

Recommended:

(Acemoglu and Robinson 2001)


(Anderson and Beramendi 2008)
(Bartels 2008)


(Bourguignon, Levin, and Rosenblatt 2004)
(Gilens 2005)
(Gilens 2009)
(Jaime-Castillo 2009)


Ringen, Stein (2006): Reflections on inequality and equality. Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB), SP I 2006 - 201
(Solt 2008)
(Soroka and Wlezien 2008)


Seminar 20: The relation between social and political inequalities

Mandatory:
(Schneider and Makszin 2013)

Recommended:
(Alderson 2002)
(Lijphart 1997)
(Lutz and Marsh 2007)
(Marien, Hooghe, and Quintelier 2010)


(Teorell, Torcal, and Montero 2007)

Weeks 11 + 12. Student Presentations

Students are responsible for assigning mandatory and recommended readings for the topic of their choice.

Reference list of readings above in parentheses


