

**POLS623-600 - Democratization
Spring 2007**

Prof. Taylor-Robinson
Thurs. 2-4:50
ALLN 2064

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Course description: This course provides an overview of the comparative politics literature on democratization, with a focus on how conceptualization of democratization has evolved, definition and measurement of “democracy” and questions that are currently driving the field. Students will have the opportunity to read extensively in the literature and to conduct original comparative research on a topic that contributes to the field of democratization.

Course requirements:

- 2 essays (each worth 7.5% of the grade), due on the following dates: Mar.1 and Apr.5
- Class participation (15% of the grade), which includes talking points
- Research paper (70% of the grade) – an original research project that contributes to the field of democratization. Research design must be comparative, broadly defined. (10% - 1 page paper proposal, due Mar.27; 10% class presentation of research, 50% final paper due May 7)

Required texts:

- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela (eds.). 1992. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Indiana Press.
- Pitkin, Hannah. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Additional readings are available through the library's electronic journal holdings and through e-reserves reserved for this course.
- For further readings on democratization, please see the “extended reading list” available on my webpage

Assignments:

- (1) Seminar participation – come to seminar prepared to actively take part in discussion of all the week's readings, and to synthesize them with work covered in other weeks. To facilitate discussion, I am adopting professors Whitten's and Pacek's practice of student “talking points” to frame discussion. Each student must submit 2 talking points (each based on different chapters or articles) from the week's readings (no more than 150 words each). Talking points should highlight what you see as the most interesting question or argument in this literature, and should reference specific sections of the week's readings (with appropriate page references).

Talking points should be sent to me by e-mail by 4:30pm Tuesday of each week, prior to Thursday's seminar. Late talking points will not be accepted.

- (2) Essays – these assignments simulate comprehensive exam essays. See essay topics below. Essays are due on Mar.1 and Apr.5.

- (3) Research paper – this paper should present a hypothesis about some aspect of democratization, clearly place the hypothesis in the literature, coherently explain the research design and approach/method to be used, and discuss results (or expected results) and their implications for the literature. The paper should be formatted within the constraints of a manuscript submitted to the AJPS. Included in the research grade is a 15 minute class presentation that covers the salient points of the paper, simulating a conference presentation.

LATE WORK WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.

Essay Questions:

Instructions: Essays should be 6-8 pages (double-spaced, 12 point type, 1 inch margins) plus a bibliography. Please make sure to identify the essay with the number of the question. Please number the pages. Be careful to answer all parts of every question. **Please turn in hard copies of your essays, not e-mails.**

Answers should be well organized, should speak directly to the question, and should cite and draw upon the relevant literature (even when the question does not specifically say so), while not including a lot of extraneous material. In each case, I will be looking for an analytical answer that is well-organized and supported with citations to appropriate literature.

Answers which simply summarize literature (without analysis) or which present arguments without evidence are not likely to be evaluated favorably. Among other things, it is important to show that you can make effective use of your knowledge of the literature, so be sure to integrate the relevant literature in all answers.

Question #1: The many new democracies established after World War II led to the literature on conditions of democracy, but starting in the 1960s, many of these new democratic regimes were overthrown. Write an essay that reviews the hypotheses and theories about causes of democratic breakdown, drawing on both the "conditions of democracy" and "democratic breakdown" literatures. Then assess whether these two literatures offer different explanations for why democracies fall because of their different starting points (i.e., establishment of democracy vs. fall of democracy), and the different preconceptions of the authors of these two bodies of literature.

Question #2: Some authoritarian regimes are ousted, while others appear to decide on their own to step down, and still others weaken but then reconsolidate their hold on power. First, what types of explanations does the authoritarian breakdown literature offer for these three different outcomes for authoritarian regimes? Second, assess whether this literature is still applicable today, or is it (or possibly just some of the explanations) time bound to the context of the Cold War?

NOTE - it is acceptable to also make use of the transitions to democracy literature in this essay.

Question #3: Democratization is now viewed as a multi-stage process that is path dependent whose outcome depends on contingent choice. Write an essay that outlines the stages of the regime choice process (i.e., defining each stage, making clear the concepts that make up each stage of the process), and illustrating them with the experiences of two of your countries of expertise. Assess whether there is agreement in the literature (the democratization literature in general, and the literature on your two cases specifically) on what the stages of democratization are, and what each stage means -- in other words, are all authors in agreement on when each case is in each stage, or are concepts still inadequately defined so that coding is difficult?

Question #4: What does democratic consolidation mean? Review how this concept has been defined in the literature and how it has been measured. Have the indicators that have been used to measure democratic consolidation (or to code cases as "consolidating" or "consolidated") been faithful to the theoretical concept, or is much of the concept's multi-faceted meaning often lost? Give specific examples from the literature detailing how (or why) this gap between theory/concept and indicator occurred.

Question #5: There is an extensive literature on paths to democracy. Synthesize this literature, explaining and labeling the different paths to democracy. Then critique the literature: are different

author's typologies of paths conceptually different? If yes, how? Or are the differences really about nomenclature? If yes, which paths are the same and explain why.

Question #6: What is an institution? First, define the concept of institution, and then write an essay synthesizing the literature about how the institutions designed as part of the agreement to install democracy affect the consolidation of that democracy. In your essay (1) present the state of our knowledge on this topic, and (2) assess the research designs that have been used to study this question, and consider how different research designs might help take this literature to the next stage.

NOTE - you do not have to cover all democratic institutions in your essay, but if you choose to focus on certain institutions, explain which ones and why.

Question #7: There is discussion in the literature about how the conditions under which the authoritarian regime broke down impact the chances of the new democracy consolidating. Write an essay that summarizes this literature -- the hypotheses offered about what types of authoritarian breakdown conditions are most auspicious for democracy, the evidence presented. Then consider what avenues for future research appear to be fruitful for resolving this question.

Question #8: Surprisingly, there is very little cross-germination between the literature of democratic theory and the literature of democratization. Write an essay that assesses how the literature concerning EITHER minimal procedural definitions of democracy, OR the meaning of democratic consolidation defines this concepts and whether the definition is commensurate with the concept of democracy as used in the democratic theory literature.

Question #9: The literature about democratization generally does not consider the impact of poverty on the functioning of democracy. Write an essay that takes 3 theories from this literature and assess whether, and if yes, how each theory may need to be modified to take into account that a significant percentage of the population of a democratizing country lives in poverty.

Question #10: The Third Wave of democracy spread around the world, beginning in Southern Europe, spreading to Latin America, then Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Asia, and Africa. Write an essay that argues for or against whether a unified theory of democratization (either installation or consolidation) should apply to countries in all of these regions. Defend your argument by making use of the literature.

Course outline:

Jan. 18 Introduction

Jan. 25 Democratization as a multi-stage process

REQUIRED READING:

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. (chapters 1 and 3)
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53: 69-105.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2:337-63.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know about Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-144.

Feb. 1 Definitions and measuring democracy

REQUIRED READING:

- Altman, David and Anibal Perez-Linan. 2002. "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness and Participation in 18 Latin American Countries." *Democratization* 9(2): 85-100.

- Bollen, K.A. 1990. "Political Democracy: Conceptual and Measurement Traps." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25(1): 7-24.
- Bowman, Kirk, Fabrice Lehoucq, and James M. Mahoney. 2005. "Measuring Political Democracy: Case Expertise, Data Adequacy, and Central America." *Comparative Political Studies*. 38(8): 939-70.
- Collier, David and Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Research Note: Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research." *World Politics* 49(3): 430-451.
- Huber, Evelyne, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John D. Stephens. 1997. "The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Dimensions." *Comparative Politics* 29(3): 323-42.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2001. "Measuring Democratic Consolidation." *Studies in International and Comparative Development* 36(1): 66-92.

Feb.8 Economics and regime change

REQUIRED READING:

- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (chapters 1-4)

Feb. 15 Getting to democracy (I) – breakdown of authoritarian regimes

REQUIRED READING:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (chapters 1-2)

Feb. 22 Getting to democracy (II) – installation of democracy

REQUIRED READING:

- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1986. "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela." In *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Lawrence Whitehead (eds.). Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. (pp.196-219)
- Bermeo, Nancy. 1997. "Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transitions." *Comparative Politics* 29(3): 305-322.
- Casper, Gretchen and Michelle M. Taylor. 1996. *Negotiating Democracy: Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. (chapter 2)
- Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 23(2): 147-170.
- Munck, Gerardo L. and Carol Skalnik Leff. 1997. "Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 29(3): 243-62.

Mar.1 Consolidation of democracy (I) – removing perverse elements

- **Essay #1 due**

REQUIRED READING:

- Higley, John and Richard Gunther (eds.). 1992. *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (chapter 1)

- Mainwaring, Scott, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela (eds.). 1992. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Indiana Press. (chapters by O'Donnell, Valenzuela, Hagopian, Mainwaring)

Mar. 7 Consolidation of democracy (II) – institutions

REQUIRED READING:

- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky. 2004. "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda." *Perspectives on Politics* 2(4): 725-740.
- Linz, Juan J. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1(1): 51-69.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Mathew S. Shugart (eds.). 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (chapters 1 and 11)
- Moe, Terry M. 2005. "Power and Political Institutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(2): 215-233.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy*. 5(Jan): 55-69.
- Stepan, Alfred and Cindy Skack. 1993. "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation." *World Politics* 46: 1-22.

Mar. 15 SPRING BREAK

Mar. 22 Guest speaker: Professor Barbara Geddes, UCLA
Topic: Designing Research about Democratization

- readings TBA

Mar. 29 Consolidation of democracy (III) – political parties and civil society

- **Paper proposals due March 27**

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Conaghan, Catherine. 1996. "A Deficit of Democratic Authenticity: Political Linkage and the Public in Andean Politics." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31: 32-55.
- Gunther, Richard. 1989. "Electoral Laws, Party Systems, and Elites: The Case of Spain." *American Political Science Review* 83: 835-858.
- Hagopian, Frances and Scott Mainwaring (eds.). 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (selected chapters)

Apr.5 Representation and accountability

- **Essay #2 due**

REQUIRED READING:

- Pitkin, Hannah. 1967. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (chapters 3-10)
- Przeworski, Adam, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin (eds.). 1999. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (chapters 2 and 4)

Apr. 12 NO CLASS – CEISAL conference/Midwest conference

Apr.19 NO CLASS (rescheduled for another date to make student research paper presentations)

Apr. 26 Student research paper presentations

May 7 by 5pm **Research papers due**

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy Statement: The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) is a federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact the Department of Student Life, Disabilities Services in Room B118 of Cain Hall, or call 845-1637.

Copyright on course materials: All handouts used in this course are copyrighted. By “handouts,” I mean all materials generated for this class, which include but are not limited to syllabi, exams, and in-class materials. Because there are copyrighted, you do not have the right to copy the handouts, unless I expressly grant permission.

Definition of plagiarism: As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one’s own the ideas, words, writing, etc., which belong to another. In accordance with the definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you should have the permission of the person. Plagiarism is one of the worst academic offenses, for the plagiarist destroys the trust among colleagues without which research cannot be safely communicated. If you have any questions regarding plagiarism, please consult the Aggie Honor System Office website (<http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor>) or the latest version of the Texas A&M University Student Rules, under the section “Scholastic Dishonesty.”

Academic Dishonesty: Students should be aware that academic dishonesty involves acts other than plagiarism. Please consult the Aggie Honor Code, which took effect September 1, 2004 at the Aggie Honor System Office website (<http://www.tamu.edu/aggiehonor>) for more information.

Extended Reading List - Democratization Spring 2007

Overview readings

- Di Palma, Giuseppe. 1990. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1994. "Uses and Limitations of Rational Choice in the Study of Latin American Politics." In Peter H. Smith (ed.), *Comparative Perspectives on Latin America: Methods and Analysis*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know about Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 115-144.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Remmer, Karen L. 1991. "New Wine or Old Bottlenecks? The study of Latin American Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 23(4): 479-95. (review article)
- Remmer, Karen. 1995. "New Theoretical Perspectives on Democratization." *Comparative Politics* 28: 103-122. (review article)
- Rustow, Dankwart A. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2:337-63.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is ... And Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2(3): 75-88.

Breakdown of second wave democracies

- Dix, Robert H. 1980. "Consociational Democracy: The Case of Colombia." *Comparative Politics* 12: 303-321.
- Gasiorowski, Mark J. 1995. "Economic Crisis and Political Regime Change: An Event History Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 89: 882-897.
- Hartlyn, Jonathan. 1988. *The Politics of Coalition Rule in Colombia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Linz, Juan J. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press. (country studies of Argentina 1916-30 & 1955-66, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Peru)
- Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan (eds.). 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Peter H. 1974. *Argentina and the Failure of Democracy: Conflict Among Political Elites, 1904-1955*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Breakdown of authoritarian regimes

- Bratton, Michael and Nicholas van de Walle. 1994. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa." *World Politics* 46(4): 453-89.
- Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1986. "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela." In Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Malloy, James M. and Mitchell A. Seligson (eds.). 1987. *Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. (country studies of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Central America)
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.). 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.). 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.). 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1997. "Democratic Opposition and Democratization Theory." *Government and Opposition* 32:.

Installation of democracy

- Baloyra, Enrique (ed.). 1987. *Comparing New Democracies: Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Bermeo, Nancy, 1987. "Redemocratization and Transition Elections: A Comparison of Spain and Portugal." *Comparative Politics* 19: 213-232.
- Bermeo, Nancy G. 1990. "Rethinking Regime Change." *Comparative Politics* 22(3): 359-77. (review article)
- Bermeo, Nancy (ed.). 1992. *Liberalization and Democratization: Change in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 1997. "Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transitions." *Comparative Politics* 29: 305-322. (also in edited book by Anderson)
- Casper, Gretchen and Michelle M. Taylor. 1996. *Negotiating Democracy: Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Diamond, Larry, Jonathan Hartlyn, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour M. Lipset (eds.). 1999. *Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America*. (2nd.ed.) Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. (ISBN - 1-55587-798-2) (case studies of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Peru, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic & Mexico)
- Diamond, Larry, Juan Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.). 1988. *Democracy in Developing Countries: Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 23(2): 147-170.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1996. *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 23: 1-22.
- Karl, Terry Lynn and Philippe Schmitter. 1991. "Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe." *International Social Science Journal* 128:.
- Joseph, Richard. 1997. "Democratization in Africa after 1989: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives." *Comparative Politics* 29: 363-82. (also in edited book by Anderson)

- Munck, Gerardo L. and Carol Skalnik Leff. 1997. "Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 29: 243-62.
- Nodia, Ghia. 1996. "How Different are Postcommunist Transitions?" *Journal of Democracy* 7(4): 15-29.
- Ottaway, Marina (ed.). 1997. *Democracy in Africa: The Hard Road Ahead*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Pridham, Geoffrey (ed.). 1984. *New Mediterranean Democracies: Regime Transition in Spain, Greece, and Portugal*. Totowa: Frank Cass.
- Remmer, Karen. 1985. "Redemocratization and the Impact of Authoritarian Rule in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 17(3): 253-275.
- Share, Donald and Scott Mainwaring. 1986. "Transitions through Transaction: Democratization in Brazil and Spain." In Wayne Selcher (ed.), *Political Liberalization in Brazil: Dynamics, Dilemmas and Future Prospects*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Stepan, Alfred (ed.). 1989. *Democratizing Brazil: Prospects of Transition and Consolidation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Valenzuela, J. Samuel. 1989. "Labor Movements in Transitions to Democracy: A Framework for Analysis." *Comparative Politics* 21(4): 445-72.

Consolidation of democracy (removing perverse elements)

- Bermeo, Nancy G. 1992. "Democracy and Lessons of Dictatorship." *Comparative Politics* 24: 273-91.
- Casper, Gretchen. 1995. *Fragile Democracies: The Legacies of Authoritarian Rule*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. (primarily about the Philippine case, but last chapter adds comparison to several South American cases)
- Diamond, Larry et al. (eds.). 1997. *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1996. *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1993. "After Regime Change: Authoritarian Legacies, Political Representation, and the Democratic Future of South America." *World Politics* 45(3): 464-500. (review article)
- Herz, John H. (ed.). 1982. *From Dictatorship to Democracy: Coping with the Legacies of Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.
- Higley, John and Richard Gunther (eds.). 1992. *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hunter, Wendy. 1997. *Eroding Military Influence in Brazil: Politicians Against Soldiers*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. 1996. "Toward Consolidated Democracies." *Journal of Democracy* 7(2): 14-33.
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela (eds.). 1992. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Indiana Press.
- Power, Timothy J. 2000. *The Political Right in Postauthoritarian Brazil: Elites, Institutions, and Democratization*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1995. *Sustainable Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvarez, José Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 1996. "What Makes Democracies Endure?" *Journal of Democracy* 7: 39-55.

Schmitter, Philippe. 1994. "Dangers and Dilemmas of Democratization." *Journal of Democracy* 5:.

Consolidation of democracy (institutional design and quality of democracy)

- Carey, John and Matthew S. Shugart (eds.). 1998. *Executive Decree Authority*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Crisp, Brian F. 2000. *Democratic Institutional Design: The Powers and Incentives of Venezuelan Politicians and Interest Groups*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Diamond, Larry and Leonardo Morlino (eds.). 2005. *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gunther, Richard. 1989. "Electoral Laws, Party Systems, and Elites: The Case of Spain." *American Political Science Review* 83: 835-858.
- Haggard, Stephen and Mathew D. McCubbins (eds.). 2001. *Presidents, Parliaments, and Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN - 77458-3) (cases from Asia, Latin America, Central Europe)
- Hellman, Joel. 1998. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions." *World Politics* 50: 203-234.
- Hermet, Guy et al. (eds.). 1978. *Elections Without Choice*. New York: Wiley.
- Jones, Mark P. 1995. *Electoral Laws and the Survival of Presidential Democracies*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Linz, Juan J. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1(1): 51-69.
- Linz, Juan J. and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.). 1994. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy, Volume 1: Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Linz, Juan J. and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.). 1994. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy, Volume 2: The Case of Latin America*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1993. "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination." *Comparative Political Studies* 26: 198-228..
- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew S. Shugart. 1997. "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal." *Comparative Politics* 29(4): 449-71.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Mathew S. Shugart (eds.). 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manning, Carrie. 2002. "Assessing African Party Systems after the Third Wave." Paper presented at the Conference on Parties and Elections in New Democracies. April 13, 2002, Denton, Texas. (note – I have a copy of the paper filed under "Africa – Democratization")
- Moe, Terry M. 2005. "Power and Political Institutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 3(2): 215-233.
- Morgenstern, Scott and Benito Nacif (eds.). 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (ISBN - 79659-8) (case studies of Argentina, Brazil, Chile & Mexico)
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, Jorge Vargas Cullell, and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta (eds.) 2004. *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1997. "Illusions about Consolidation." In *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*. Larry Diamond, Marc Plattner, Yunhan Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (eds.). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press. (pp.41-57).
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy*. 5(Jan): 55-69.

- Olson, David M. 1998. "Party Formation and Party System Consolidation in the New Democracies of Central Europe." *Political Studies* 46: 432-464.
- Power, Timothy J. and Mark J. Gasiorowski. 1997. "Institutional Design and Democratic Consolidation in the Third World." *Comparative Political Studies* 30: 123-155.
- Samuels, David. 2002. "Presidentialized Parties: The Separation of Powers and Party Behavior." *Comparative Political Studies* forthcoming.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg. 1998. "The Inverse Relationship Between Party Strength and Executive Strength: A Theory of Politicians' Constitutional Choices." *British Journal of Political Science* 28: 1-29.
- Shugart, Matthew S. and John. M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Siavelis, Peter. 2000. *The President and Congress in Postauthoritarian Chile: Institutional Constraints to Democratic Consolidation*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Siavelis, Peter and Arturo Valenzuela. 1996. "Electoral Engineering and Democratic Stability: The Legacy of Authoritarian Rule in Chile." In *Institutional Design in New Democracies: Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (eds.). Boulder, CO: Westview.
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Consolidation of democracy (role of parties, civil society)

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