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FROM THE INCOMING EDITORIAL BOARD

We feel both somewhat intimidated and strongly energized by the task the membership and section leadership has entrusted us – to edit and produce substantive material for the newsletter of the Comparative Democratization Section. After much discussion, we have settled on calling the newsletter by the acronym CD-APSA. We will continue to work with our friends at the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for

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## ON THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF COMPARATIVE DEMOCRATIZATION RESEARCH

Dietrich Rueschemeyer  
*Brown University*



The last twenty years have seen great advances in identifying major causal factors that move forward or hinder democratization. Earlier work had offered—often under the influence of modernization theory—a diffuse and multifaceted causal picture. Derived from classic accounts of Europe’s transformation by the dual rise of capitalism and the bureaucratic state, modernization theory responded after the Second World War to decolonization and the spread of “new states.” It contented itself with pointing to a number of interrelated large developments rather than pinning down causal mechanisms and causal agents.<sup>1</sup>

Many of the recent studies converge in their view of the basic causal conditions. Advances and declines in democratization are primarily shaped by the balance of power among pro- and anti-democratic interests. If systems of inequality give overwhelming advantage to “the

1. Barbara Geddes, “What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115-44.

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## COMPARATIVE DEMOCRATIZATION: ADVANCES IN QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

James A. Robinson  
*Harvard University*



The last decade has seen a striking efflorescence of the application of quantitative methods and game theoretical models to the study of comparative democratization. A decade or so ago statistical work was focused on complex variants of the cross-national correlations Lipset seminally emphasized in 1959. Though there were papers that asked many interesting questions, these methods revealed more or less the same things Lipset had noted with a few minor innovations. Indeed, when asked to sum up what we knew about democratization 40 years later, Barbara Geddes focused squarely on the fact that was central for Lipset -- high per-capita income was correlated with democracy.

Yet this empirical work was as yet uninfluenced by the “causality revolution” which hit economics in the 1990s. This revolution introduced techniques for causal inference that are now quickly becoming standard in political science. Did the correlations of Lipset and Geddes indicate that there is a causal relationship between income and democracy?

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## Articles

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# THE RESEARCH IMPERATIVES OF DEMOCRACY PROMOTION

Thomas Carothers

*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*



Consider three different meetings:

(1) A group of Western diplomats and policy experts gather to review policy options relating to Iran. After analyzing a series of technological issues regarding Iran's possible acquisition of nuclear weapons, they turn to the political experts in the room and pose two urgent questions: given what those experts have learned in the past 20 years about authoritarian collapse and democratic transitions in other parts of the world, how likely is it that the current Iranian regime will collapse in the face of the Green Movement and what can be done by outside actors, including the United States government, to support the opposition without discrediting it?

(2) A group of US policy makers, aid officials, private foundation representatives, and democracy activists meet in Washington to discuss strategy options for promoting democracy in Russia. They want to know why past efforts to promote democracy in Russia have fallen short, what Russia's current democratic prospects are, and what new efforts should be undertaken to support democratic change there.

(3) A newly appointed senior US foreign aid official walks into a room to meet with an assembled set of democracy promotion specialists. The purpose of the meeting is for him to learn more about the overall domain of democracy and governance assistance. His first question to the self-confident group of democracy mavens: what are the "big wins" on democracy relating to development? In other words, which investments in the democracy aid realm will produce the greatest gains on socio-economic development in the recipient countries?

I have been in all three of these meetings during the past few months. They are a representative sample of the demands for research-based insight on democratization and democracy support that bubble up regularly from the policy world. The first two

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# THE HISTORICAL TURN IN DEMOCRATIZATION STUDIES: A NEW RESEARCH AGENDA FOR EUROPE AND BEYOND

Giovanni Capoccia (*below right*), *Oxford University*

Daniel Ziblatt (*below left*), *Harvard University*



After lying dormant for over a decade, the study of Europe's historical transition to democracy (1848-1970s) is once again an active subject of research. Important controversies over historical cases of democratization have emerged, leading scholars to ask a range of questions such as: what prompted initial moves towards suffrage expansion beginning in nineteenth century Europe? What explains cross-country variation in the process of democratization after those initial openings? What explains the diverse patterns of regime outcomes in Europe between the First and Second World Wars where democracy appeared so fragile? And, what theoretical implications about the contemporary effects of electoral rules can be drawn from analyzing the electoral reforms that accompanied the rise of universal suffrage? Europe's historical experience appears to offer a rich set of new problems and lessons for contemporary democratizers.

The collective "return to history" reflects a growing appreciation among political scientists of the conclusions that can be drawn from the history of democratization and of the constraints imposed by history on the prospects of democratization. Furthermore, though history may not be a laboratory, it can help solve enduring problems of causality and endogeneity that plague standard ahistorical approaches.<sup>1</sup> As a diverse range of scholars therefore turn to historical case studies to bolster and refine their propositions, and as methodological debates have emerged over how best to do social scientific historical research,

1. Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer, "History, Institutions and Economic Performance," *American Economic Review*, 95 (September 2005):1190-1213; and Jonathan Rodden, "Back to the Future? Endogenous Institutions and Comparative Politics," in Mark Lichbach and Alan Zuckerman eds., *Comparative Politics*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

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## FROM THE INCOMING EDITORIAL BOARD, CONTINUED

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Democracy. We wish to express our thanks to both Diego Abente and Melissa Aten-Becnel for their continuing support of the section. They will serve respectively as the Executive and Managing Editors, and take responsibility for both the production and distribution of the newsletter, thus considerably simplifying our task.

We also wish to express our thanks to the section's previous and current presidents, Nancy Bermeo and Ashutosh Varshney. They have charged us with providing you a selection of interesting and useful programming. Ashu has entrusted us with an initial two year term. Each issue will contain about 15,000 words of substantive programming and will still include the listing of events, publications, and news for which the newsletter is already indispensable. We add a second set of thanks to Melissa for this.

The purpose of this issue is to mark our debut with contributions from a stellar cast of colleagues discussing what our section has accomplished intellectually and to suggest new paths for research. We tip our hats to Dietrich Rueschemeyer, James Robinson, Thomas Carothers, Giovanni Capoccia, and

Daniel Ziblatt for their accomplishments as researchers of democratization and for their willingness to give up some of their time this summer to share their thoughts on this subject with us.

Our next issue will be devoted to a symposium on measuring democracy. Several participants in APSA president Henry Brady's Task Force on Democracy Audits and Governmental Indicators have consented to share their thoughts with us, including Gerardo Munck, Holli Semetko, Pippa Norris, Zach Elkins, and Jan Teorell. We express our thanks to Gerry for proposing this idea to us.

We have been highly encouraged by the response of the membership to our initial call for programming ideas. Between some topics we had been discussing among ourselves and what you have proposed, we have been able to plan out the full two years of programming we have signed up to produce. Thus we have two issues in the works with symposia on important substantive topics – the study of democracy on the sub-national level and the problem of building democracy in post-conflict situations. We also have plans to publish two

issues devoted to exploring the tools we use to research democratization. One will be on the experimental turn in political science and application to democratization, and the other will be on conducting fieldwork under authoritarian conditions.

Our thanks would not be complete without mentioning the support that we have received from our home institution, the University of Florida. Both our college and department have provided the resources to make this possible. We thus would like to thank our Dean, Paul D'Anieri – a political scientist who has written on democratization, and two successive chairs of the department, Steve Craig and Michael Martinez, for the support they have provided.

We look forward to working with you over the next two years and would appreciate feedback on how we are doing. And do please check out our new webpage at: [www.ned.org/apsa-cd/Newsletter.html](http://www.ned.org/apsa-cd/Newsletter.html).

On behalf of the Editorial Committee,  
*Michael Bernhard*  
*bernhard@ufl.edu*




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## RUESCHEMEYER, CONTINUED

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few” – as was the case in most large-scale agrarian countries of recorded history – democracy is impossible. Significant reductions of such extreme inequalities open the chance for struggles about democratization. The outcomes of these struggles will be compromises reflecting the balance of power. Democratization and its reversals will depend more specifically on changing constellations of interest and advantage, on threat

perceptions and the costs of repression and insurgence, and on changing power resources of the contending parties. Among the most important resources of power are the means of coercion, administrative efficiency, economic capital and its mobility, cultural hegemony, and the chances of collective organization.

Yet the recent research comes in a great variety of styles and methods

of investigation. These range from quantitative analyses of many countries based on rational-actor micro-foundations,<sup>1</sup> through large scale comparative historical work<sup>2</sup> to focused

1. Charles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)..

2. Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyn Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, and Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992). Gregory Luebbert,

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historical reexaminations of European democratization that are currently underway, and to the late Charles Tilly's books on democracy,<sup>3</sup> which take off from historical observations as well as time sequences of Freedom House assessments and offer intricate theoretical arguments.

The main concern of this essay is to encourage mutual appreciation and learning among these methodologically diverse efforts, which will help integrate the substantive results, both of work already done and of that still expected. Given the similarity (or at least compatibility) of important findings and the commitment on all sides to realistic empirical assessments, that seems an attainable goal. In preparation for a number of comments on recent work, I begin with a few remarks on what I consider some virtues as well as some problems of different research procedures. These brief remarks serve mostly as reminders of well-known arguments rather than as attempts to persuade those who harbor one or another set of skeptical reservations.

- Full-fledged theories as described in textbooks are extremely rare in social and political analysis. Whatever our methodological choices, we typically have to be content with what I have called "focused theory frames."<sup>4</sup> Theory frames seek to assemble causal and structural factors relevant for clearly defined problems, but are not able to specify their interrelations as well as the conditions and thresholds of their effects sufficiently to allow for explanation and prediction. The major

*Liberalism, Fascism, and Social Democracy: Social Class and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). Ruth Berins Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

3. Charles Tilly, *Contention and Democracy, 1650 - 2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Charles Tilly, *Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

4. Dietrich Rueschemeyer, *Usable Theory: Analytic Tools for Social and Political Research* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

achievements of political science and sociology during the last hundred years are found not in full-fledged theories but in theory frames such as Weber's typology of bureaucratic, patrimonial, and charismatic systems of rule. Rational actor models also constitute a variety of theory frames.<sup>5</sup>

- Subjecting a large number of cases to correlational analysis is a powerful tool for exploring causality. Not infrequently, however, it is silently taken as proving causal effects, which is problematic. Such quantitative analyses are also often less effective in matching empirical evidence and theoretical conceptualization than comparable comparative historical research.

- It is not well known that arguments about sufficient and necessary causes require less numerous relevant instances for support. The work of Charles Ragin capitalizes on this fact in order to make a multifaceted causal analysis of meaningful sets of cases possible.<sup>6</sup>

- The significance of the number of "cases" is subject to a good deal of misunderstandings. What is decisive in principle is the number of theoretically relevant observations. These may be sufficient within a single country, taken as "a case;" thus, E. P. Thompson was able to transform Marxian class theory in his *The Making of the English Working Class*.<sup>7</sup>

- Theoretically relevant observations may be sufficiently numerous as well

5. Terry M. Moe, "On the Scientific Status of Rational Models" *American Journal of Political Science* 23 (February 1979): 215-43.

6. Charles C. Ragin, *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1987).

Charles C. Ragin, *Fuzzy-Set Social Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000). For a recent use of Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis (fsQCA) see Stephen K. Sanderson and Richard E. Niemeyer, "World Democratization, 1905-1995: A Cross-National Test of Modernization, Power Resource, and Diffusion Theories" Unpublished Paper, (University of California, Riverside, 2010).

7. E.P. Thompson. *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1963).

as-against a background of what is known and theoretically expected-remarkable enough to give persuasive support for causal arguments based on "process tracing" within a single case.<sup>8</sup>

- Fundamentally, both qualitative historical assessments and quantitative correlational explorations of causality carry a similar burden: the first have to support that a causal argument goes beyond mere factual sequences (avoiding the post hoc -propter hoc fallacy), while the latter have to examine which causal mechanisms underlie a given correlational pattern.<sup>9</sup>

Rational choice-inspired quantitative analyses of large numbers of political systems constitute a first set of the recent publications on the main causal forces driving or hindering democratization.<sup>10</sup> At the center of their models are rational individual preferences for material welfare, aggregated as the collective interests of "the poor" and "the rich." (This conceptual dualism is in both works subsequently complicated by an abstract "middle"). The main factors they see as determinants of constitutional outcomes include – in addition to these material bases – some that are intimately intertwined with varied historical constellations, above all political advantages and disadvantages as well as assessments of the inevitably open political future.<sup>11</sup>

There are other important contributions of rational choice-oriented work to

8. Peter A. Hall, "Aligning Ontology and Methodology in Comparative Politics," in James Mahoney and Dietrich Rueschemeyer, eds., *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 373-404. Alexander L. George and Andrew Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005).

9. Note, for instance, that several recent works reject the interpretation of correlations between economic level and democracy as proving causation.

10. Boix 2003, Acemoglu and Robinson 2006.

11. Thus Boix offers the following preliminary listing: "the extent of inequality, the degree of capital mobility, the political resources of the classes or sectors involved in the struggle . . . , and, in part, uncertainty of political conditions" (2003, 130).

the exploration of causal conditions of democracy and democratization. One presents an interesting combination of rational action modeling and close attention to the perceptions and interpretations of historical actors. Alexander develops a theoretical model for democratic consolidation and shows that such consolidation emerged in Western Europe when the political right realized that its interests were safe under democracy, safe enough to give up on coercive means of repression.<sup>12</sup>

Another outstanding contribution builds on the work of Boix as well as Acemoglu and Robinson and examines the effect of the so-called “natural resource curse.” Dunning employs formal modeling, large-scale statistical work, comparative case analysis, and in-depth fieldwork and shows that natural resource wealth can—due to specified underlying causal mechanisms—support either democracy or authoritarian regimes.<sup>13</sup> Distributional conflicts between elites and non-elites are central to his analysis.

A third contribution based on rational action modeling explores one critical dimension of the quality of democratic rule—the sources of citizens’ information and knowledge. Ober, a major historian of ancient Greece, uses a sophisticated “thin” version of rational choice theory to show how institutional arrangements of Athenian democracy mobilized dispersed knowledge for local political participation.<sup>14</sup> He is able to draw important conclusions for democratic participation in complex modern societies.

Building on rational choice micro-foundations in large-scale explorations of the main factors shaping

constitutional outcomes makes for logical clarity. Certain arguments emerge in particularly sharp relief, for instance arguments on credible commitments that make negotiation and compromise feasible or on institutions as powerful contexts for steadying such commitments. Boix as well as Acemoglu and Robinson offer strong and plausible arguments about the major factors shaping the chances of democratization and its consolidation. But aggregating micro-models of motivation and behavior is not unproblematic. And unless we can identify critical thresholds in the factors identified, develop strong ideas about what causes change in their interrelations, and are able to pin down the views and predictions of historical actors, we have a set of factors that are relevant for democratization and its opposite but not propositions that tell us with sufficient specificity when to expect successful repression, distributional concessions without ceding political power, movements toward democratization, and lasting transitions to democracy. We have focused theory frames rather than full-fledged theories of democratization.

This is more easily acknowledged in comparative historical analyses. In fact, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* opens with a theory frame that considers democracy as a matter of power, reflecting the balance of power in society, the balance of power between state and society, and the balance of international power as it affects the country in question. The empowerment of previously excluded groups—including importantly the working class—and decline in the power of others forms the center of the analysis. Capitalist development increased the chances of collective organization—the single most important power resource of “the many”—by industrialization and urbanization and, more broadly, by changes in transportation and communication. And it weakened the power of large landlords. The book

explains advances of democratization and breakdowns of democracy in forty-odd countries. Many of the causal hypotheses employed were suggested by the theory frame; others were added. In the end, the theory frame was in some respects modified but largely affirmed.

Comparative historical analyses are not content with such ahistorical characterizations of the main contending groups as “the rich,” “the poor,” and an equally abstracted “middle.” They give greater attention to historically shaped and cross-nationally variable conditions and social formations that affect democratization and breakdowns of democracy. These determine the chances of “the many” to overcome their collective action problems; they decide whether pro-democratic or anti-democratic forces have a better chance to use existing forms of “civil society” as transmission belts for their constitutional goals; they foster or inhibit development of larger solidarities; they determine the specific delineations of such formations; and they give shape to the relations among classes and class fragments, predisposing them for coalitions, remaining at a distance, or rejection. They also shape the differential access to, the support from, and the material advantages that different groups and class fragments can expect from the state. Such conditions and constellations cannot be set aside as negligible detail, because there is strong evidence that they are causally relevant for democratization and breakdowns of democracy.

Furthermore, the motivational premises of “strong” rational action models, centering exclusively on material gain and loss, may have to be supplemented by the consideration of status and honor. There is a good deal of evidence that the latter can significantly shape collective preferences for democratic “voice.” It seems that all the intertwined dimensions of Weber’s treatment of systemic inequality—class, status, and power—must be given their due

12. Gerard Alexander, *The Sources of Democratic Consolidation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

13. Thad Dunning, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

14. Josiah Ober, *Democracy and Knowledge: Innovation and Learning in Classical Athens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

## Rueschemeyer

in analyzing the forces pushing for democratization and its reverse.<sup>15</sup>

Yet it bears emphasis that the fundamental conceptions of what drives democratization and its reverse are very similar in these first two sets of recent studies, rational choice-inspired quantitative research and comparative historical work. Comparative historical work just gives greater weight to the complexities of class formation, of historically shaped relations among groups and classes, and of institutional structures as these emerge in comparative historical analysis.

The two approaches are also complementary. Inquiries into historically and institutionally grounded variations across countries that are relevant for democracy can benefit from implicit and explicit modeling of overriding factors. Weberian analyses have often shown us how constructing a pure type on extreme assumptions can sharpen our understanding of a more complex reality. In turn, there is a good chance that comparative work on what seems at first just a moderate variation on a dominant theme ought to be included in any realistic theory frame on democratization. With solid specification it may even bring a theory frame a step closer to a fully developed theory.

The third set of studies within the new push for explanatory analysis of democratization offers a similar promise as the second. I have in mind several projects that explore more deeply the historical processes of democratization and its reversals in Europe. Yet they are as concerned with theoretically plausible explanation as the other two approaches discussed so far; in fact, two of these authors open

their work with critical examinations of the more plainly theoretical literature on democratization.<sup>16</sup>

Thomas Ertman has been engaged for a while in a project he called *Taming the Leviathan: Building Democratic Nation-States in 19th and 20th Century Western Europe*. He examines over long time periods the effect political parties and voluntary associations have on the chances of democratization and of breakdowns of democracy in twelve European countries. Reviving concerns of Eckstein, Lijphart, and Rokkan, he gives central place the interactions among religious affiliation, party appeal, and associational patterns. This explains, in his view, why associational density was associated with dramatically different results, with fascism and National Socialism in Italy and Germany, but with persistent democracy in eight other European countries. He assigns a critical role to strong conservative parties that engage in open-ended electoral competition.

Daniel Ziblatt has designed an ambitious research project that pursues similar goals. He focuses closely on partial transitions toward democracy in the broad phase of European democratization, comparing especially developments in Britain and in Germany. Organized political parties help make democracy safe for incumbent interests, reducing the threat of democracy and turning the emergence of democratic institutions into a more settled process.

Kurt Weyland has studied in a number of published and unpublished papers the role of diffusion of constitutional change.<sup>17</sup> The high incidence of diffusion after the revolutions of the nineteenth century went together with

uneven and greatly divergent results, while the much slower rate of diffusion at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century was more often followed by successful democratization. He finds the main explanation for this double contrast in the larger role of parties and other politically relevant organizations: they introduced more caution into the broad process and were more often successful. That each one of these reconsiderations of European democratization assigns a critical role to parties agrees remarkably with the point that Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens made in the concluding revision of their theory frame: "political parties emerged as a crucial mediating mechanism" and should be given a more distinctive role in the conceptual model.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, Charles Tilly has offered shortly before his death two broad-based theoretical explorations of democratization that stand somewhat apart from the other work considered here; but they may be interpreted as a congenial framework for analytically oriented historical research. These books build on a lifetime of work on states, contention, and inequality.<sup>19</sup> Yet, they reflect a recent shift in Tilly's research strategy from the comparative analysis of large-scale historical phenomena to the search for specific causal mechanisms. If repeatedly identified in different historical circumstances, these causal links can in varied combinations account for more complex historical processes under study.

He defines democratization as any "increase in conformity between state behavior and citizens' expressed demands" and avoids the conventional conceptualization of (procedural) democracy in terms of free and

15. The following advice of Douglass North (1990, 111) seems germane: "There is nothing the matter with the rational actor paradigm that could not be cured by a healthy awareness of the complexity of human motivation and the problems that arise from information processing. Social scientists would then understand not only why institutions exist, but also how they influence outcomes."

16. Thomas Ertman, "Democracy and Dictatorship in Interwar Western Europe Revisited" *World Politics* 50 (April 1998): 475-505. Daniel Ziblatt, "How did Europe Democratize?" *World Politics* 58 (January 2006): 311-338.

17. Kurt Weyland, "The Diffusion of Revolution: '1848' in Europe and America" *International Organization* 63 (Summer 2007): 391-423.

18. Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyn Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, and Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 287.

19. Charles Tilly, *Contention and Democracy, 1650 - 2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Charles Tilly, *Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

*Rueschemeyer*

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comprehensive elections; responsiveness of the government to electoral results; and civil rights, especially the freedoms of speech and coalition. Democratization is specified in different dimensions -- in civil liberties as well as in broad, equalized, and binding consultation of the citizenry by the state. Tilly proposes three master hypotheses about transformations leading to democratization: First the dissolution of restricted, non-public trust networks and their integration into public politics; second, the insulation of public politics from the features of "durable inequality"; and third, the reduction of varied autonomous power centers outside or inside the state.<sup>20</sup> Under each heading Tilly offers many specific and intriguing hypotheses.

Two of Tilly's master hypotheses lead to further questions. The reduction of autonomous power centers and the integration of trust networks into public politics may well not only advance democratization; they may also encourage fascist and totalitarian politics. This possibility, articulated in the late Ralf Dahrendorf's assessment of post-war German democracy as partially supported by transformations wrought during the Nazi-time, is just briefly acknowledged.<sup>21</sup> What are the conditions that separate these outcomes from each other?

Tilly comes to empirical generalizations that largely agree with the tenets of earlier theory frames; but they also point to intriguing new patterns. Among these claims are the following: Democratization is best understood as a matter of conflict. It is often the result of demands from below.

20. Charles Tilly, *Durable Inequality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

21. Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967).

Processes of de-democratization tend to be faster than democratizing changes. But both democratization and de-democratization often occur in the same time periods.

At the same time, Tilly takes one position that challenges a fundamental assumption of the recent modeling approaches. He is extremely skeptical about the premise they imply, that struggles about democratization are shaped by clear and long-term collective goals grounded in rationally assessed information and expectations. This disagreement points to the complex questions of agency and structure in explaining social and political change. Yet Tilly probably goes too far in this skepticism. True, collective goals will often be muddled because of complications in the self-organization of large collectivities, because of coalitions among collectivities with divergent interests, because matters of status and honor may compete with material interests in shaping collective goals, and because of the inherent difficulties of anticipating future opportunities and risks. However, large collectivities, if strongly organized and coordinated, have through their leadership longer time horizons than individuals and inchoate movements. Weyland's analysis of contrasting patterns of diffusion in the last century and a half certainly points in this direction.<sup>22</sup>

Strongly organized collectivities are likely to return again and again to similar interest constellations and develop collective goals based on renewed assessments and insights. After all, what is at stake are structured inequalities in class, status, and power, issues that affect in most complex societies the central life interests of

22. Weyland, 2007.

the opposed constituencies. Clearly a refined rational action model writ large for broad collectivities simplifies things radically; but it may still be a useful guide to the modal thrust of many collective participants in struggles about democratization.

While such centrally important disputes may remain open, all of the recent works discussed here can complement and stimulate each other. Keeping them in dialogue holds the best promise for substantial advances in our understanding of democracy and democratization.

I close with at least mentioning an emerging agenda that I could not consider for reasons of space. If some democracies conventionally defined leave quite a few things to be desired (note for example Thad Dunning's telling title *Crude Democracy*, 2008), it will be virtually impossible to avoid questions about the quality of democracy when assessing developments of democratization and de-democratization. In this discourse, value judgments and assessments about how things work empirically are inevitably intertwined. In my judgment, the solution is not to avoid value positions but to differentiate them sharply from factual assertions before offering composite diagnoses.

*Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Charles C. Tillinghast Jr. Professor of International Studies Emeritus at Brown University, coauthored with Evelyne Huber Stephens and John Stephens Capitalist Development and Democracy (Chicago 1992). His most recent book is Usable Theory: Analytic Tools for Social and Political Research (Princeton 2010).*

*Robinson*

## ROBINSON, CONTINUED

(continued from page 1)

These cross national correlations also sat uncomfortably beside case-study evidence of which often denied the usefulness or applicability of modernization theory, instead emphasizing rather different issues.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, formal theory had yet to be applied to any aspect of the democratization literature. There was no formal model of the link between income and democracy. In some sense this is surprising since Dahl presented a seminal and parsimonious analytical approach to democratization based on a trade-off between the “costs of toleration” and the “costs of repression.”<sup>2</sup> Yet these penetrating insights were not developed.

Since then there has been a lot of research on both the empirical and theoretical fronts. On the statistical side this involved the first application of basic techniques of causal inference using post World War II data. This first meant focusing attention on the over-time variation within a country (the ‘within variation’) rather than the cross-national variation (the ‘between variation’) that had dominated previous research. It also involved the use of instrumental variables techniques and the search for “exogenous variation” in democracy.<sup>3</sup> The first findings from this work challenge the view that there is a causal relationship between income per-capita and democracy.<sup>4</sup> Existing results,

though they were often explained as if they were about the dynamic behavior of a country, turned out to be driven simply by the fact that between countries there is a positive correlation between income per-capita and measures of democracy. Within countries, however, there is no tendency for a country to become more democratic as its income per-capita increases (as it modernizes). Previous studies had not identified this because they pooled all of the historical with the cross-national data without distinguishing between what was true across nations, and what was true within a nation over time. These findings equally apply to the purportedly dynamic results of the influential study of Przeworski and Limongi.<sup>5</sup> It turns out that, for instance, the negative correlation between income per-capita and the propensity of a democracy to experience a coup, is driven solely by the between variation. In the post war data, if the income per-capita of a democracy increases over time there is no tendency for the probability it will experience a coup to fall.

These new findings suggest that there is probably no causal relationship between per-capita income and democracy. Most likely, the positive cross-national correlation between income and democracy is caused by the fact that factors which tend to make a society prosperous also tend to make it more democratic. These results would not have surprised the many scholars in comparative politics who long criticized the notion of modernization. Indeed, they support the claim of O’Donnell who noted in his discussion of the existing empirical

literature on modernization that “the data used refer to a set of countries at a single point in time, while the postulated relationship refers to changes over a period of time in each of the countries ... The attempt to substitute ‘horizontal’ data referring to many countries ... for this ‘longitudinal data’ and still say something about causal, time-spanning processes within each unit [is a] fallacy.”<sup>6</sup>

Przeworski et al. object to O’Donnell’s study of how increasing per capita income in Argentina induced a coup on the grounds that he “studied a country that turns out to be a distant outlier.”<sup>7</sup> In fact this recent empirical work shows that the patterns isolated by O’Donnell in the Southern Cone of Latin America are actually consistent with data from both the postwar era and indeed throughout the 20th century.

On the formal theory front there has been rapid progress not only in developing some workhorse game theoretic models of democratization and coups, such as those proposed by Acemoglu and Robinson, but also in extending these models into new areas, challenging them and rapidly introducing new issues.<sup>8</sup> Though this literature is still in its infancy it is already

1. See for example, Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Southern Europe; Comparative Perspectives; Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

2. Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

3. On some of the methodological issues see: Thad Dunning, “Improving Causal Inference: Strengths and Limitations of Natural Experiments,” *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (June 2008): 282-293.

4. Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson and Pierre Yared, “Income and Democracy,” *American Economic Review* 98 (2008): 808-842; and Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson,

James A. Robinson and Pierre Yared, “Reevaluating the Modernization Hypothesis,” *Journal of Monetary Economics* 56 (2009): 1043-1058.

5. Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, “Modernization: Theory and Facts,” *World Politics* 49 (1997): 155-183.

6. Guillermo O’Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973).

7. Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, José A. Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and material well-being in the world, 1950-1990* (Cambridge University Press, New York NY., 2000): 99.

8. Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, “Why did the West Extend the Franchise?” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115 (2000): 1167-1199; and Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, “A Theory of Political Transitions,” *American Economic Review* 91 (2001): 938-963; and Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

connecting with canonical theoretical and empirical work in comparative politics and these interactions hold much promise for the future.

An excellent illustration of the power of these new methods to clarify theoretical issues can be seen in the recent book of Thad Dunning.<sup>9</sup> Prior to his work there were two views on the impact of oil on democratization. Terry Karl, using case study work on Venezuela, argued that oil helped consolidate democracy because, in essence, it gave democratic politicians resources to satisfy their constituents without having to raise taxes from potential anti-democrats.<sup>10</sup> In contravention, Ross, using cross-national statistical analyses, showed a robust negative correlation between measures of oil wealth and democracy.<sup>11</sup>

Dunning developed a basic dynamic game theoretic model of democratization and coups and showed that both mechanisms were present.<sup>12</sup> The preponderant effect in a particular country depends on which part of the 'parameter space' it is in, i.e. on the value of other variables. Both Karl and Ross were right but in different contexts. Notably Dunning argued that higher inequality intensified the mechanism identified by Karl and he provided evidence of this in a panel of Latin American countries by interacting inequality with measures of oil wealth.

To illustrate the new areas into which theoretical work is moving, consider the recent literature on the role of the military in politics. Acemoglu and Robinson's earlier work conceived of the elite and citizenry as the basic antagonists in political conflict

and the military as a perfect agent of the elite. Though this assumption allowed for theoretical progress, it obviously ignored the fact that the military frequently becomes an autonomous actor. Introducing this into the framework clearly increases its explanatory power.

There is now a quite rich formal theory literature on precisely this topic (and an important older comparative politics literature on this topic which is now being rediscovered). The questions of when and why the military gets involved in politics also illustrate the way that the empirical and theoretical literatures interact. Until the work of Geddes no attention had been paid by quantitative scholars to different types of authoritarian regimes, except to the extent that they were more or less democratic, as measured by the Polity or Freedom House scales.<sup>13</sup> Geddes made a distinction between military and civilian dictatorships and showed that military dictatorships were more likely to collapse. This finding, which appears to be robust,<sup>14</sup> then stimulated more intense study of how to classify authoritarian regimes,<sup>15</sup> as well as theoretical work on the motivations for military interventions in politics.<sup>16</sup>

Work using formal theory is now also connecting with the more traditional comparative politics literature. Dunning's work on oil is a good example of this. Also the work on different types of authoritarianism noted above is pertinent to Linz and Stepan's arguments about how the type of authoritarian regime influences

the nature of democratic consolidation.<sup>17</sup> Though their specific taxonomy is probably not very useful (for instance categories such as bureaucratic authoritarian and totalitarian regimes) and they do not offer a parsimonious theory of path dependence, many of the ideas they advanced seem very important and interesting.

An example of the fruitful interplay between formal and empirical work can be seen in Chacón's thesis.<sup>18</sup> He revisited the first chapter of Dahl's *Polyarchy* in which he argued that democracy is more likely to consolidate when there has been contestation between elites prior to democratization. Chacón shows in a dynamic game theoretic model that if elite factions compete prior to the advent of mass democracy then they are less inclined to oppose it. This is because they have sunken costs in learning how to compete, making democracy less threatening. He also presents cross-national empirical evidence that shows that a greater degrees of competition under authoritarianism promotes democracy.

Rather than using a taxonomy of authoritarian regimes, Chacón relies on single characteristic – the degree to which a regime is competitive. A taxonomic approach may be useful if many characteristics covary justifying the sorting of countries into a series of different "bins." The question of which sort of approach is ultimately more useful is an empirical issue with a lot of work yet to be done.

Along with the work on the military, this work formalizing Dahl's ideas is part of a growing interest by political scientists on how dictatorships work and how they stay

9. Thad Dunning, *Crude Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

10. Terry L. Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

11. Michael L. Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53 (2001): 325-361.

12. See footnote 10.

13. Barbara Geddes, *Paradiogms and Sand Castles* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

14. See Alexandre Debs, "Living by the Sword and Dying by the Sword' Leadership Transitions in and out of Dictatorships," Unpublished, (Department of Political Science, Yale University, 2010).

15. Jennifer Gandhi, *Political Institutions under Dictatorship* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

16. Debs (2010); Daron Acemoglu, Davide Ticchi and Andrea Vindigni, "A Theory of Military Dictatorships," *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics* (forthcoming, 2010).

17. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

18. Mario Chacón, "A Theory of Competitive Authoritarian Institutions and Democratic Transition," Unpublished PhD Dissertation, (Department of Political Science, Yale University, 2010).

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in power, a topic which fell into relative neglect in the heady days of studying democratic transitions. In studying these issues political scientists using formal theory are again able to learn from the larger literature on comparative politics. However, I expect a lot of feedback here, in the sense that formal theory will raise questions that can only be answered by doing new case study work.

All in all then there has been substantial theoretical, empirical and conceptual progress in the last decade. In the next decade, there are several areas of research that hold out promise. Empirically, it seems unlikely to me that people will continue running regressions of measures of democracy on any variable they can think of on the right hand side. The work will need to become more sophisticated. The recent work by Acemoglu, Johnson, Robinson and Yared on the limitations of modernization theory suggests that we need to formulate subtler hypotheses about what forces in society jointly shape economic and political development.<sup>19</sup> This work confirms insights drawn from the work of E.P. Thompson who claimed that the key innovation of the Glorious Revolution in Britain in 1688 was the cementing of a notion of the rule of law which particularly limited the power of elites.<sup>20</sup> The rule of law clearly influences economic incentives, but it also influences the dynamics of political regimes since it plausibly makes authoritarianism less attractive for elites while at the same time making democracy less threatening. More generally, our empirical work suggests research on the fine-grained nature of political, social, and economic institutions can influence

macro-political outcomes, such as the extent of democracy. The fruitfulness of pursuing Thompson's insights shows that formal theorists can benefit from the work of qualitative scholars who have studied the processes of democratization and democratic consolidation

Moreover, the cross-national literature was never very well designed to test behavioral hypotheses about democratization and coups. An important innovation has been made by Aidt and Franck in a paper that uses roll call votes from the British parliament to test hypotheses about what drove the First Reform Act in 1832.<sup>21</sup> Though, such an empirical strategy has to confront tricky inferential issues such as the extent to which legislators vote along party lines, this is an important paper and there is much work to be done with similar empirical strategies.

Finally, as Dunning's work suggests, we need to frame hypotheses which are conditional on different contexts. Though looking at the average effects of inequality on democracy may be of interest, it is far more likely that the effects of inequality will be conditional on other variables. That these conditional effects are important may be one of the reasons why it is actually difficult to estimate robust effects of the impact of many variables, particularly inequality, on democracy. There is important theoretical work of this nature to be done, including quite a bit of inductive work to understand what the stylized facts of a given situation may be. Standard empirical methods are up to the task of testing such new hypotheses.

There are many theoretical directions that this research could take, but let me identify two areas that I think are important.

21. Toke S. Aidt and Rafael Franck, "How to Get the Snowball Rolling and Extend the Franchise: Voting on the Great Reform Act of 1833," Unpublished (Department of Economics, University of Cambridge, UK., 2008).

Acemoglu and Robinson conceptualized political conflict as being between elites and citizens.<sup>22</sup> In practice, the elite are associated with the rich and the citizens with the poor. Though this association generated a lot of insights, it is nevertheless obvious that political conflicts are much more heterogeneous than this. In Sierra Leone, for example, the main axis of conflict is not between poor and rich but between the north and the south, both identified with particular ethnic groups, Loko, Temne and Limba in the North, Mende in the South. As Acemoglu and Robinson pointed out, once conflict is structured on ethnic lines, the comparative statics of the model tend to become ambiguous.<sup>23</sup> For example, this may occur with respect to inequality (this is another potential reason for why it is hard to find a connection between inequality and democratization in the cross-national data). Leaving inequality aside, there is a lot of work to be done in making the underlying structure of conflicts richer by incorporating such notions as identity and ethnicity. This will generate models that are more useful in different environments and have the potential to generate new and interesting results. At the moment I think it is still an open question as to how to apply the techniques proposed by Acemoglu and Robinson in the types of political environments studied by Lindberg and other scholars of African politics, i.e. patrimonial systems where behavior is conditioned by *de facto* rules rather than *de jure* institutions.<sup>24</sup>

A second area of great potential is further investigation of the way in which authoritarian regimes work. Though it seems obvious that the movement from an authoritarian regime to a democracy represents a significant redistribution of political power in society, it turns out to be

19. Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson and Pierre Yared, "Income and Democracy," *American Economic Review* 98 (2008): 808-842; and Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson and Pierre Yared, "Reevaluating the Modernization Hypothesis," *Journal of Monetary Economics* 56 (2009): 1043-1058.

20. Edward P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act* (London: Allen Lane, 1975).

22. See footnote 9.

23. Acemoglu and Robinson, 2006, Chapter 4, Section 4.

24. Staffan Lindberg, *Democracy and Elections in Africa* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

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much harder than anyone anticipated to specify exactly how this manifests itself in terms of policy. This issue was first raised by a provocative paper by Gil, Mulligan and Sala-i-Martin who argue that there is no observable cross-sectional difference between the public policies of democracies and authoritarian regimes.<sup>25</sup> Since then work by Aidt and Jensen and Stasavage and Shreve has found some more puzzling facts, for example about the timing of when particular taxes were introduced historically and the extent to which this was correlated

25. Ricard Gil, Casey Mulligan and Xaver Sala-i-Martin, "Do Democracies Have Different Public Policies than Nondemocracies?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(2004): 51-74.

with democracy.<sup>26</sup> In a sense this literature relates to the issue of why particular instruments are used to redistribute income. For example, while the second Reform Act of 1867 in Britain may not have led to large increases in taxes to redistribute income, it did lead to large changes in labor market institutions, such as the abolition of the Masters and Servants Acts, which clearly did redistribute income. It is not

26. Toke S. Aidt and Peter S. Jensen, "The Taxman Tools Up: An Event History Study of the Introduction of the Personal Income Tax, 1815-1938," *Journal of Public Economics* 93 (2009): 160-175, and David Stasavage and Kenneth Sheve, "Democracy, War, and Wealth: Evidence from Two Centuries of Inheritance," Unpublished (Department of Political Science, Yale University, 2010).

only important to understand empirical puzzles like these, but also to understand theoretically how this influences our conceptions of what happens in different political regimes and how this influences the derived preferences of agents about different regimes.

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*(continued from page 2)*

meetings raised questions both about comparative political trajectories and choices relating to democracy support policies and programs. The third added the issue of links between democracy aid and socio-economic development.

From none of these three meetings did the policy officials come away fully satisfied. On Iran, they did not hear a clear consensus on the prospects for regime survival. Nor did they hear consensus about how much outsiders could or should do to help the Iranian opposition. On Russia, considerable uncertainty prevailed about the likely future of the current political system and no big new idea on democracy promotion emerged to galvanize the room. On aid and development, no clear, broad-gauged research findings were offered that would lend themselves to the formulation of headline-style policy directives.

Yet, in all three gatherings, some accumulated learning surfaced; the conversations were not barren. The situation in Iran was analyzed in the

light of research about successful and unsuccessful electoral revolutions—with some insights available about the conditions under which such revolutions succeed or fail and what types of outside support were most significant in contributing to them. At least some light was shed on Russia's apparent political exceptionalism based on research on differing forms of competitive authoritarianism, the methods such regimes use to check externally-sponsored democracy promotion, and the potentialities of local level democratic initiatives. And although the broad question of what forms of democracy support best advance socio-economic development remained resistant to simple answer, the democracy mavens offered some insights about constituent parts of the puzzle, such as the effects of governance gains on policymaking, the wider value of elections, the ties between strengthened local level civil society development and better government performance.

Viewed from the perspective of the Washington foreign policy community,

the domain of scholarly research on comparative democratization appears in a somewhat faint but basically positive light. It does supply considerable expertise on the political paths of many specific countries and regions while identifying important constituent elements and patterns of democratization. The exploration in this decade of hybrid regimes, for example, has been a useful partner to the efforts by democracy policy makers and aid practitioners to get away from simplistic dualistic categorizations or continuums.

In spite of this there is need and room for much more input with regard to issues of comparative democratization. Some responsibility for the relatively narrow communication channel lies with policy makers and aid practitioners, who too often stay inside their own policy community cocoon and do not make the effort to seek out useful research. At the same time, certain basic habits in the academic domain also contribute: the tendency to frame research questions based on inward looking scholarly debates rather than practical

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imperatives of the policy world, the lack of concerted efforts by most researchers to feed the results of their research directly to the policy community rather than relying on conventional scholarly channels of dissemination, and the continued pattern of writings that both in length and prose style are aimed more at fellow researchers than policy makers.

In contrast to work on the more “pure” issues of comparative democratization, scholarly research on the applied policy areas of democracy aid and democracy promotion more generally has been slower to develop, though it has increased in quantity and quality in this past decade. Such work remains often a weak sibling in the comparative democratization domain for the basic reason that the questions at issue appear to many scholars as too specific or too instrumental (e.g. what forms of outside support best contribute to helping electoral commissions become more independent or how effective are efforts to improve gender balance in political parties?). Also hampering the development of work in this domain is the fact that information about aid programs and specific democracy policies is elusive, with much of such information available only through well-targeted, extensive interviews. The problem of attribution is also daunting—even when it is possible to learn what democracy support efforts have consisted of and to gain some idea of their impact, sorting out their place among the differing factors causing political change remains difficult. The surge of recent attention to rigorous impact evaluations based on double blind empirical testing represents an interesting advance but is highly labor intensive and is suited to only certain kinds of policy and aid interventions.<sup>1</sup>

There remains significant room for scholarly research in almost every area of democracy support. The disproportion between the amount of democracy aid being disbursed and the amount of well-grounded knowledge about how well it actually works and how it can be improved remains startlingly large. To highlight just one such area, programs to strengthen national legislatures in developing countries have mushroomed in the past decade. Yet the available knowledge about how legislatures develop over time and what external assistance to legislatures accomplishes in practice remains quite modest. The same could be said for aid to strengthen independent media, political parties, labor unions, police, civil-military relations, business communities, domestic election monitoring, judicial independence, and a host of other areas.

Still rather than attempt here to elaborate a specific proposed research agenda for scholars of comparative democratization interested in contributing to the policy domain, I wish instead to highlight certain problematic patterns of thought that are chronic in the democracy policy circles, patterns that call out for incisive, challenging research as a necessary corrective.

**Simplistic zeitgeists:** The first such pattern, the most obvious and ubiquitous, is the tendency of the democracy support community every half decade or so to embrace a loose set of ideas about new trends in the state of global democracy as the defining zeitgeist of the international context for democracy support. Employing this zeitgeist as a foundation, new policy frameworks are built. Yet these defining ideas typically derive from loose impressions and guesses rather than systematic deductions or empirical research. They usually sound persuasive and thus command attention, even fascination in the policy community. Still they are often only partially correct at

best or sometimes simply wrong.

One such current fashion is the idea that “the China model” is exerting a strong pull in the developing world, undercutting the attraction of democracy. This proposition, repeated frequently in policy circles as a defining feature of the new context for democracy work, rests on little evidence to bolster it or flesh it out beyond at most some scattered anecdotes. It may well be true to some degree, but how much? It cries out for some focused research. What elements of the rather complex, multifaceted Chinese development experience are other countries seeking to emulate? What forms does this emulation take in actual practice beyond convenient invocations of the China model by authoritarian leaders looking to justify their repressive habits? A similarly fashionable idea about the state of global democracy that would benefit from some careful research is the commonly heard argument that the global economic crisis is doing or will do widespread damage to democracy around the world. Is that proving true? Are there important regional differences? Is it affecting specific governments or actually leading to deeper changes in political systems?

**Magic bullets:** A second pattern of problematic thinking is the tendency of the aid community to embrace magic bullets at periodic intervals. Every few years some area of assistance rises up rather suddenly as the hot new thing and comes to be seen as the key to successful democratization support. Since the early 1990s a series of magic bullets have held sway at one time or another—civil society development, decentralization, anti-corruption, the rule of law, and others. Currently, the broad and often in fact somewhat amorphous concept of accountability makes donor heads nod approvingly as a crucial focus for both political and socio-economic assistance. If only governments in developing countries

1. Devra Moehler, “Democracy, Governance, and Randomized Development Assistance,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 628 (March 2010): 30 – 46.

can establish real accountability, one hears all over, a raft of other political and socio-economic problems will be solved. These magic bullets surge unpredictably, not always as a result of any identifiable spark, attracting a rush of aid flows for some time before losing their special luster and fading from view. Well-targeted research is very useful in helping keep magic bullets at least somewhat in check and keeping donors from going too far down one road at the expense of others. Critical research on the concept of civil society development and the limited results of much civil society assistance for example helped usefully temper the civil society romanticism that swept through the democracy aid community in the second half of the 1990s.<sup>2</sup> Such research needs to move adroitly to get ahead of the curve, seizing quickly on magic bullets just as they start to emerge in order to produce research findings that can affect the arc of the magic bullets' rise and fall.

**Blind spots:** A third troublesome pattern of policy work which points to research needs is the tendency of blind spots to develop in the eyes of policy makers. Given the diversity and complexity of the international landscape, and the fact that crises and fashionable issues attract disproportionate amounts of attention, some important issues and places inevitably receive less attention than they deserve. The rising pattern of electoral conflict in the past decade for example, with violence erupting in unexpected places such as Mongolia, Armenia, and Kenya, and many elections in other countries being rejected by losing groups, merits greater attention than it has received.<sup>3</sup> More specifically, the

lack of awareness on the part of much of the donor community in Kenya about the significant possibility of violence following the 2007 elections was striking. It caused serious recriminations within some foreign ministries and aid agencies about how such a blind spot could have occurred. In terms of countries that are somewhat neglected on the US policy screen, relative to its size and political significance, Indonesia receives noticeably little scrutiny in the Washington policy community, especially considering that it is an important recent case of relatively successful democratization, and in a Muslim society to boot. Even Brazil, despite being much closer to Washington than Indonesia and much more directly intertwined with US policy, is something of a blind spot in the democracy policy community.

**Us and them:** Another problematic pattern of thinking within the democracy policy domain is the persistence of "us and them" thinking about democratization—seeing a major analytic and practical divide between the state of democracy in "the established democracies" and "the new democracies." This latter category serves as an analytically shaky, overly capacious basket holding a wide range of political systems, including many countries with prior experience with democracy before prolonged periods of non-democratic rule (such as Chile, Poland, and Indonesia), semiauthoritarian countries with some democratic forms (such as Morocco or Ethiopia), and actual new democracies, such as Mongolia and Ukraine. US (and sometimes European) policy makers and aid practitioners will, when pushed, acknowledge that democracy in their own country has flaws too. Yes, our elections are sometimes marred by administrative shortcomings. Our political parties suffer from personalism and lack of ideological coherence. Our local governments are sometimes flecked with corruption. Our

courts can be slow, and politicized. And so forth. Yet, implicitly or explicitly, the democracy policy community holds to the belief that something basic, relating both to quality and likely durability of political systems, divides their political systems from those on the other side, i.e. in the countries where they carry out democracy promotion policies and programs. This division is a foundation for the belief of democracy support practitioners that they have a right of sorts to be trying to help foster democracy in other places, as well the knowledge of how to do so.<sup>4</sup>

This outlook misses the fact that the line between "the established democracies" and "the new democracies" has been effaced in important ways in recent years. The degeneration of political parties in Italy over the last 20 years leaves the country with a party system afflicted with the same negative features as party systems in many struggling democracies. US election administration is eclipsed in quality by that of various new democracies. Former communist countries in Southeastern Europe that have been hectored for years by European Commission officials about unacceptable levels of corruption look at Greece and wonder why they have been singled out for criticism. The proportion of women in the US Congress is lower than the average proportion of women in African legislatures.<sup>5</sup> Low voter turnout in local elections is as much a problem in many parts of Europe as in Africa. Innovations in both national and local level governance in different parts of South America are as effective and pathbreaking

4. Freedom House took a useful step in this direction with its examination of freedom in the United States. See Arch Puddington, Jason Kelly, Thomas Melia. *Today's American: How Free?* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2008).

5. Inter-Parliamentary Union. "Women in National Parliaments." 2010. Available at <<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>> (Note: The average percentage of women in Sub-Saharan African legislatures is 18.8%. In the United States, the percentage is 16%).

2. For one example of such work see Omar G. Encarnación, *The Myth of Civil Society: Social Capital and Democratic Consolidation in Spain and Brazil* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

3. For a useful look at the recent pattern of close elections and potential conflict around them see Laurence Whitehead, "The Challenge of Closely Fought Elections," *Journal of Democracy* 18(April 2007): 14-28.

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as anything comparable in Europe and the United States.

It is not enough for US and other Western officials talking to counterparts in the developing and postcommunist worlds about democratization to smile with false modesty and note, that “of course we have democratic shortcomings as well.” They need to move fully beyond the conceit that their political systems are qualitatively different than those of many countries in other parts of the world and adjust their own expectations, attitudes, and approaches to democracy promotion accordingly.

The scholarly domain can help alter this problematic outlook by getting more fully past its tendency in recent decades to treat the study of democratization as a field apart from the study of democracy in “the established democracies.” Missing have been studies that challenge the continuation of this divide in both practitioners’ minds by highlighting the important number of similarities of conditions and problems across the divide and spotlighting areas where new democracies do better than many established democracies.<sup>6</sup>

Democratic naturalism: A final problematic cognitive habit in the democracy community that would benefit from research attention is the engrained inclination toward what might be called “democratic naturalism,” that is to say, the tendency to see Western-style political institutions as natural and to view non-Western ones as unnatural. Of course, Western democracy promoters would deny the charge that they think in this way. They are quick to argue that they have moved

away from the sorts of teleological thinking that infected the democracy promotion community in its earlier years. They have accepted, they would say, the fact that many Third Wave countries are not heading toward democratic consolidation but rather have wandered off the transition continuum into a grey zone of political heterogeneity. And they are willing to accept the idea that a democratic recession is occurring rather than the continued spread of global democracy.

Nevertheless the inclination toward democratic naturalism persists. Consider for example rule-of-law assistance. Only now after 25 years of rule of law assistance in the developing world, and still only partially, are rule-of-law programs starting to work seriously with the traditional institutions of justice that exist in many non-Western societies, such as village level dispute resolution methods in Africa. Such institutions have long seemed obscure and marginal to Western rule-of-law aid providers prone to start at ministries of justice, even though informal institutions are in some societies much more germane to the provision of justice for ordinary citizens than the formalized, Western-style institutions. If one stops to think about it, it is remarkable that the traditional institutions were not the starting point of external efforts to grasp and help bolster the provision of justice in these societies rather than an area of inquiry taken up only after decades of work.

Thoughtful research can help loosen the various strands of false naturalism that tend to tie practitioners into knots. It can illuminate non-Western political forms and processes to help Western aid practitioners understand better what they are ignoring and how they might grapple with them. Research over the last decade

on clan structures in parts of Central Asia, for example, has helped open up an area of social organization that does not fit into the conventional democracy aid template, yet is fundamental to understanding and engaging with political life in those societies.<sup>7</sup> Through such illumination the inclination toward democratic naturalism can be replaced with a more accurate view of disparate political realities.

In short, demand from policy makers and aid practitioners for research insight on democratization and democracy support exists, and is in fact stronger than many scholars probably realize. Many important areas of policy practice are poorly grounded in the most basic knowledge of what works and what does not and what the underlying problems and issues really are. The democracy policy community feels heavy pressure to demonstrate to the wider policy community and to politicians who oversee funding precisely such a solid grounding. Moreover, a powerful set of problematic patterns of thinking within the democracy policy community—toward superficial zeitgeists about the state of global democracy, the embrace of magic bullets, persistent blind spots, clinging to “us and them” views of the global political landscape, and a continued inclination to believe in democratic naturalism—render the need for better ties between scholarly research and policy practice not just advisable but imperative.

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6. A valuable contribution in this spirit is Desmond King, Robert Lieberman, Gretchen Ritter, Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization in America: A Comparative-Historical Analysis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

7. See for example Kathleen Collins. *Clan Politics and Regime Transition in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

## CAPOCCIA AND ZIBLATT, CONTINUED

(continued from page 2)

it is time to ask: how is historically-minded comparative analysis of democratization most effectively done?<sup>2</sup>

The approach advocated in this essay builds on the core insights of the classical literature on the development of political regimes in Europe.<sup>3</sup> It shares the commitment of these works to historical sensitivity as well as their methodological orientation towards comparative historical analysis. It is, however, time to rethink the predominant temporalities of their analysis of European democratization, as well as their main units of analysis. This new approach should build on the idea (first proposed in Almond, Flanagan, and Mundt) that history does not always move smoothly from period to period but instead moves via crises, or sharply punctuated episodes of change that have lasting consequences.<sup>4</sup> In the latter respect, the creation, reform and development of democratic institutions, rather than whole regimes, should be the focus. Thus, to study the emergence of democratic regimes in light of this “historical turn” means, we argue, that the analyst must “go back” to *analyze systematically the historical episodes in which democratic institutions were created or substantially reshaped*.<sup>5</sup>

2. Jared Diamond and James Robinson, eds. *Natural Experiments of History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010); and Marcus Kreuzer, “Historical Knowledge and Quantitative Analysis: the Case of PR Adoption in Early Democracies,” *American Political Science Review* (May 2010): 369-392.

3. Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966); Gregory Luebbert, *Liberalism, Fascism, and Social Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

4. Gabriel Almond Scott C. Flanagan, and Robert J. Mundt, *Crisis, Choices and Change* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973).

5. This includes the cases in which reform was

While the long-run development of democracy is of interest, the long run itself is composed of a chain of episodes of institutional change that deserve closer scrutiny in their own right. The focus on these episodes, their causes, and their consequences, results in an approach that is more attuned to capturing the causal complexity of institutional creation — often overlooked in the highly-stylized models of democratization adopted in recent literature — and the impact of democratic institutions, once created, on future political outcomes.<sup>6</sup> This move highlights key empirical regularities that would otherwise be simply overlooked and lays the foundations for generating empirically robust causal propositions. Although ambiguities and complexities of democratization cannot be easily ignored if the goal is to produce a compelling account of it, the correct response to this complexity is certainly not to abandon the pursuit of empirical generalization. Instead, we propose an empirical strategy that offers a tractable way of addressing these issues systematically while providing the building blocks of a richer but still parsimonious theoretical account. This approach to the study of democratization can be summarized in five interrelated propositions.

1. First, we propose the adoption of an explicitly historical approach to causality. Following both classical analyses and recent insights in the institutionalist literature, history should be read “forward” and not

possible but narrowly failed. See Capoccia and Ziblatt, *ibid.* 943-944.

6. Capoccia and Ziblatt, *passim*.

“backwards.”<sup>7</sup> Rather than looking at outcomes at a single moment in time and their relationship with their contemporaneous correlates to “explain” democratization, or retrospectively explain contemporary variations, it is better to go back to investigate the foundational moments when democratic institutions were actually created, and undertake a thorough analysis of the ideologies, resources, and institutional legacies shaping the choices of actors involved in the process of institution-building. This approach uses contemporary social science techniques to test theories rigorously but with an eye to the knotty set of factors associated with the creation of institutions and their successive endurance.

2. Second, but not only in the European context, democratization is often a protracted and punctuated “one institution-at-a-time” process in which the institutional building blocks of democracy emerged “asynchronously.”<sup>8</sup> In this view, democracy is metaphorically best seen as a “collage” rather than a canvas: even in cases generally interpreted as wholesale regime transitions, the complex institutional configuration of democracies rarely emerges all at once.<sup>9</sup> On the contrary, different institutions often emerge at different times, often for different reasons. Thus, it is important to narrow our analytic

7. See e.g. Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (New York: Knopf., 1954 [1949]); Paul Pierson, *Politics in Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

8. Daniel Ziblatt “How did Europe Democratize?” *World Politics* 58 (January 2006): 311-338.

9. Nancy Bermeo, “Interests, Inequality and Illusion in the Choice for Fair Elections,” *Comparative Political Studies*, 43 (August/September 2010): 1119-1147.

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look from the whole regime to a more detailed analysis of the emergence of the discrete democratic institutions that together define the content of political regimes.<sup>10</sup>

3. Since democracy as a whole protractedly emerges one institution-at-a-time, a powerful research strategy in the study of democratization is to reconstruct the political fault lines structuring democratization by the analysis of key episodes of institutional change. This strategy has several advantages. To begin with, it allows an accurate reconstruction of what actors were actually fighting about, turning the researcher's attention to new variables that were previously overlooked, and bringing the politics of institutional change more directly and explicitly into the study of democratic development.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, it allows a more nuanced appreciation of the inducements and constraints shaping political agency at these key moments.<sup>12</sup> Finally, it shows,

10. To those who insist that after singular threshold moments of democratic "transition," (e.g. post 1989), "democracy" is achieved wholesale, we note the growing practice of combining elections with authoritarianism despite the presence of democratic constitutions (e.g. Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 51-65; and Daniel Ziblatt "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth Century Germany" *American Political Science Review* 103 (January 2009): 1-21.). It is thus crucial to focus on single democratic institutions and the long-run development of democratic regimes. While some recent cases such as the post-1989 east European democratic transitions might be viewed as instances "wholesale changes," some accounts do emphasize how important democratic institutions continue to be object of piecemeal reforms even after the "transition" has formally concluded. See Jon Elster, Claus Offe, and Ulrich Preuss, *Institutional Design in Postcommunist Societies: Rebuilding the Ship at Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). See also Bermeo, *ibid.*

11. James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen, eds. *Explaining Institutional Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

12. Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Kelemen "The Study of Critical Junctures: Theory, Narrative and Counterfactuals in Historical Institutionalism," *World Politics* 59 (April 2007): 341-369; Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman "Introduction," in Stephen Skowronek and Matthew Glassman eds., *Formative Acts: American Politics in the Making* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,

among other things, that conflicts over democratic institutions do not occur "sealed-off" from each other, merely reflecting domestic conditions at the time: instead, past experiences of successful or failed democratization (from other countries as well as within the same country) arm democracy's opponents and proponents with competing causal narratives or "lessons" from the past, thus significantly shaping their behavior.

4. Fourth, by adopting this distinctive approach, it is possible to move beyond a singular emphasis on class or socio-economic variables as the drivers of democratization to instead highlight that multiple lines of conflict motivate and shape actors participating in the crucial bargains or struggles that give rise to democratic institutions. When one "goes back and looks" at the conflicts that shape the creation of democratic institutions, religious, ethnic and ideological divisions generally play an important role alongside socio-economic factors — and often they are the crucial determinants. If these factors have not "been there" in previous studies of European democratization, it is because we have not looked closely enough. In this respect, it is necessary to start rethinking the autonomous role played by political parties as key actors in shaping democracy's emergence during crucial episodes. Often, theories of how and why parties behave when it comes to democratization are simply theories of social class and interest redeployed to explain party behavior.

5. Finally, recasting the study of democratization in terms of episodes in which democratic institutions emerged historically and were reformed

helps us rethink how democracies are created and develop over the long-run. Democratization is a long-term process that can usefully be thought of as a chain of big and small events, not always moving unidirectionally towards "full" democracy. In Europe, democratic institutions developed over the long-run at discrete but decisive moments, the most significant of which were the transformational events that characterized the famous "turning points" of 1848, 1918, 1945, and 1989.<sup>13</sup> A periodization scheme that exclusively relied on such well-known "switch points" would however be potentially misleading. Indeed, if the analytical focus is shifted from the whole regime to single democratic institutions, "smaller" episodes of democratization then sit at the center of analysis as potentially important critical junctures for specific institutions, leaving open the possibility that democratic reforms may stall or become subject to retrenchment. These junctures are often crucial to causal accounts of the rise of democracy as a whole: friction or complementarity between different institutional arenas, or the different timing in their development, may have important consequences for democracy as such, generating different types of democracy and different levels of regime stability.<sup>14</sup>

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The approach outlined above offers methodological guidance to analyses of democratization inspired by the "historical turn", and it provides us an alternative way of thinking about

13. William Sewell, "Three Temporalities: Toward an Eventful Sociology," in Terrence Macdonald, ed. *The Historical Turn in the Human Sciences* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996): 245-278.

14. Karen Orren and Stephen Skowronek, *The Search for American Political Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).

how democracy emerged. But does it generate useful and original insights into why stable democracies emerged in Europe in the way they did? In a recent issue of *Comparative Political Studies* (August/September 2010) that we co-edited, three major themes that suggest a major rethinking of traditional ways of approaching the subject of European democratization were highlighted.

*First*, rather than an exclusive focus on socioeconomic drivers of democratic change, recent scholarship suggests the importance of non-class factors, including above all religion, church-state conflict, and ethnicity as key dynamics shaping democratization in Europe and elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> When focusing on episodes rather than sweeping trajectories, it becomes important to reconstruct as accurately as possible the ways in which key political actors interpreted their world and how such interpretations impacted their decision-making. Hence, in addition to socioeconomic divisions, our attention turns to the types of factors beyond class that Stein Rokkan long ago identified as crucial for European political development: religion and ethnic divisions.<sup>16</sup> But by focusing on episodes, we make the full range of Rokkan's insights more empirically tractable, and make clear how factors such as ethnicity and religion might be activated along with socioeconomic divisions in moments of political conflict over democratic institutions.

*Second*, a major theme that emerges from this approach is the role of ideas and ideational transfer in molding democratic institutions, in interaction with the existing institutional and structural conditions. Approaches focusing on the power of material interests to explain the emergence of democratic institutions generally assume that individual or collective actors, if similarly placed vis-à-vis the market, have similar preferences over which institutional arrangements best foster their "objectively defined" material interests. With few exceptions, earlier accounts of European democratization have treated cases and episodes of democratization as if they were largely sealed off from each other. By contrast, this new research emphasizes that in the European context, in struggles over the reform of democratic institutions, ideas generally play an important role through dynamics of spatial and temporal diffusion, which are often crucial in shaping what is perceived as desirable and feasible.<sup>17</sup>

*Third*, the historical turn highlights the largely underappreciated autonomous role that political parties play as crucial actors on the democratization stage. A focus on episodes shows that decision-makers are constrained and enabled to an important extent by the logic of *within- and between-party competition and coalitions*, rather than exclusively by the influence of social classes or income groups. And yet, our theories of democratization to date remain largely theories that explain the preferences and strategies of *social classes and interests*, with the assumption that this

too explains the actions of political actors.

Generally speaking, the social constituencies of European political parties do not always neatly overlap with economically-defined social groups. In several European party systems, for example, both the "left" and the "right" are represented by multiple parties, a circumstance that has historically opened up manifold possibilities for strategic coalitions over specific institutional reforms that do not just replicate class divisions. Moreover, European political parties have historically proved quite flexible and proactive in reshaping their social constituencies to adapt to social change. As a consequence, party ideologies, conflicts and alliances within and between parties, and the relationship of parties with interest groups are likely to generate independent incentives for institutional reform that are at least as important as those deriving directly from socio-economic divisions in the electorate.

Parties, therefore, are crucial actors whose autonomous impact on democratic outcomes needs to be examined more closely. First, *party ideology* might be crucial in aggregating the potentially contrasting "material" interests of socio-economic groups; even in the case of class parties, their ideological set-up can define class interests differently.<sup>18</sup> Second, the political influence of different groups does not mechanically reflect their structural position in the economy. For example, while intra-party conflicts over an institutional reform may at times be due to divisions within a party's

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15. Andrew Gould, *Origins of Liberal Dominance* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Stathis Kalyvas, *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Jason Wittenberg, *Crucibles of Political Loyalty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Jeffrey Kopstein and Jason Wittenberg, "Beyond Dictatorship and Democracy," *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (August/September 2010): 1089-1118.

16. Stein Rokkan, *Citizens, Elections, Parties* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1970).

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17. Kurt Weyland, "The Diffusion of Regime Contention in European Democratization, 1830-1940," *Comparative Political Studies* 43, (August/September 2010): 1148-1176; and Zachary Elkins, "Diffusion and the Constitutionalization of Europe," *Comparative Political Studies* 43, (August/September 2010): 969-999.

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18. Stephen Hanson, "The Founding of the French Third Republic," *Comparative Political Studies*, 43 (August/September 2010): 1023-1058.

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constituency along socio-economic lines, very often the promotion of new institutional reforms may be due to the strategic pursuit of power by a faction *within a party*.<sup>19</sup> In such circumstances, rather than intra-party splits reflecting social divisions, it is faction leaders who mobilize different identities within the party's electorate to pursue their power strategy, and legitimize it by appealing to electors.<sup>20</sup> Third, in most cases when parties or intra-party factions negotiate and clash over the reform of democratic institutions, they also negotiate and clash about their power relations with one another in the context of the broader party system. In this context, democratic outcomes may be determined by the short-term electoral and power prospects of these actors, more than their willingness to cater to the long-term interests of socio-economic constituencies. Fourth and finally, parties' relationships with interest groups may also have an autonomous influence on democratic reforms, as they do on parties' stances on all issues.<sup>21</sup> For example, when a narrow interest group (e.g. clergy, landowners, industrialists, etc.) gains key leverage within a single political party, its impact on democratic outcomes for a country as a whole can be magnified out of proportion to their position in the economy.

For these reasons, future research on European democratization would benefit from moving away from a nearly exclusive focus on how socio-economic conflict broadly construed translates into politics to also consider the way in

which the often interrelated conflicts over party ideology, the pursuit of power within party organizations, the dynamics of competition within party systems, and the interface of parties and their supporting interest groups shape the struggle over democratic institutions.

In conclusion, the historical turn we advocated here suggests the contours of a wide-ranging research agenda not only for studying Europe's past, but also for making sense of the difficult, incomplete and often protracted process by which democratic political institutions are created today, and often remain vulnerable to dynamics of competitive authoritarianism, or democratic backsliding.<sup>22</sup> This approach conceptualizes democratization as an inherently long-run chain of linked episodes of struggles and negotiations over institutional change. It is often in these *ex post* less visible moments that the political institutions of democracy are created and reshaped. This conceptualization has two main consequences for future research. On the one hand, a focus on episodes of struggle over institutional change should supplement the normally dominant concerns about either single "transition" thresholds, or broad trajectories of democratization spanning several centuries. We propose here a potentially powerful research strategy to allow scholars to test and generate competing explanations "on the ground" in key moments of decision, where broad macro-factors "play themselves out" in tandem with more conjunctural determinants. On the other hand, scholars need to ask: what

links these episodes together into long-run patterns? Analyses of institutional change in political economies have started to develop fully this insight.<sup>23</sup> In the study of democratization, the outcomes of earlier episodes of institutional change constitute important antecedents of later political struggles, empowering certain political actors, disadvantaging others, and providing important narratives to both along the way.

More broadly, despite its normative coherence, these insights suggest democracy is more often the result of "crooked lines" than of linear and sweeping changes.<sup>24</sup> Democratization in Europe was neither the inexorable outgrowth of economic modernization, nor the "best fit" for a newly dominant socio-economic class. Rather, it was the result of intense domestic conflicts along different lines of cleavage, was characterized by setbacks and cases in which democratic reforms were "near misses," and was shaped by transnational impulses, intellectual exchanges, and momentous events that had an impact that traveled across national boundaries in a fashion that we often myopically imagine is distinctive to our own age. Furthermore, political parties were not simple intermediaries between social pressures and institutional outcomes, but "prime movers" of democratization itself. By challenging conventional images of democratization, this approach will not only contribute to a more nuanced and accurate understanding of European democratization, but also provide a research strategy for coming to empirical terms with this core feature

19. Angelo Panebianco, *Political Parties: Organization and Power*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

20. Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

21. David Karol, *Party Position Change in American Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

22. Larry Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy* (New York: Times Books, 2008); and Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13 (April 2002): 51-65.

23. Peter Hall, "Historical Institutionalism in Rationalist and Sociological Perspective," in James Mahoney and Kathleen Thelen eds., *Explaining Institutional Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 204-223.

24. Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

of our political reality, both in the past or in the present.

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## SECTION NEWS

**2011 APSA Annual Meeting:** Melani Cammett (Brown University), our section's program chair for the 2011 annual meeting, will soon begin reviewing all the paper and panel proposals submitted by the December 15 deadline. We look forward to learning of her decisions next spring, and to seeing many of you at the 2011 meeting in San Francisco.

**Report on the 2010 APSA Meeting:** The Comparative Democratization Section sponsored or cosponsored twenty-eight panels at the 2010 APSA annual meeting in Washington, D.C. For a listing, visit [www.apsanet.org/mtgs/program\\_2010/division.cfm?division=D044](http://www.apsanet.org/mtgs/program_2010/division.cfm?division=D044). Papers presented at the meeting are available here.

The Section's annual business meeting and reception were held on Thursday evening, September 2. Highlights of the meeting included the installation of new officers; the awarding of prizes for the Juan Linz Prize for Best Dissertation in Comparative Study of Democracy, and for the best book, article, field work, and paper presented at last year's convention. For complete details see the minutes prepared by section Secretary Henry Hale of The George Washington University.

### **Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting, September 2, 2010:**

**Welcome to the Meeting:** Section Chair Ashutosh Varshney (Brown University)

thanked everyone for support of the section and attendance of the meeting.

### **OLD BUSINESS**

**New Officers:** The Chair welcomes incoming officers, Dan Slater as Vice-Chair and Henry Hale as Secretary, and thanks outgoing Vice-Chair Leslie Anderson and Secretary Jose Antonio Cheibub for their outstanding service. He also thanks Melissa Aten-Becnel for organizing the election.

**Newsletter:** Varshney thanks Michael Bernhard for agreeing to serve as editor of a newly fortified newsletter that will now include substantive articles on democratization.

Bernhard then speaks, noting that he is managing the effort together with a team of collaborators at the University of Florida and that the relationship with the National Endowment for Democracy will continue. The first issue will address the question of "where we have been and where we are going" over the last 20–30 years. The second issue will focus on issues related to measuring democracy. Other ideas for future issues that have been voiced include sub-national democracy, post-conflict democracy, the experimental turn in research, and fieldwork under adverse conditions.

Varshney notes that the idea is that this will shape scholarly discussion

on democratization much like the Comparative Politics newsletter APSA-CP has done in the field of comparative politics, among other things being assigned in graduate seminars.

**Treasurer's Report:** Treasurer Juliet Johnson reports that the state of the section is strong. She notes that after budgeted expenditures, the section will have about \$2000 left over that can be used for supporting graduate students or other purposes that might be discussed. She thanks the NED for contributing to the section's reception.

**Membership Report:** The Chair reports that section membership is robust, the 7th largest APSA section (the Comparative Politics section is the largest). He pledges to continue to campaign for new members.

**Other Matters:** The Chair conveys a question from Scott Mainwaring, chair of the CD Section's Best Paper Award committee, on whether this committee should in the future restrict the award to papers formally sponsored by the CD section as was done following previous practice this year, or whether it should widen the award's scope to include any paper on comparative democratization. The Chair reports that Mainwaring, who could not attend the meeting due to flight delays, is in favor of expanding the scope of the award. The motion meets general

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agreement, with no one voicing opposition. The Chair, hearing concurrence with the proposal, says he will instruct next year's committee to change the norm.

Varshney opens a discussion of how to use the \$2000 that the Treasurer reported was available and proposes that it might be used to bring more graduate students into the section. This is supported by many in the room.

Larry Diamond announces that Henry Tom, who as editorial director of Johns Hopkins University Press has probably published more on democracy than any other editorial director of a major press, has stepped down. Diamond requests that the CD section acknowledge his role, perhaps in a letter of commendation. Marc Plattner seconds, and the Chair promises to write such a letter.

The Chair thanks Melissa Aten-Becnel, Diego Abente, and the NED for their precious contributions to the section.

### NEW BUSINESS

#### Section Awards:

**Juan Linz Dissertation Award:** Agustina Giraudy "Subnational Undemocratic Regime Continuity After Democratization: Argentina and Mexico in Comparative Perspective" (UNC Chapel Hill) and Evangelos (Evan) Liaras "Ballot Box and Tinderbox: Can Electoral Engineering Save Multiethnic Democracy?" (MIT) were the cowinners of the 2010 Juan Linz Dissertation Award.

This year's award committee included Catherine Boone (University of Texas, Austin) (chair), Gerardo Luis Munck (University of Southern California), and Daniel Ziblatt (Harvard University)

#### Committee's Remarks on the Award

#### Winners:

Agustina Giraudy's dissertation breaks with the traditional focus of democracy studies on national level developments and tackles the question, What impact do democratic national authorities have on sub-national democratization? Giraudy addresses this question in the context of Mexico and Argentina using a variety of methods and comparisons. The two countries are compared; a quantitative analysis of Mexico's 32 states and Argentina's 24 provinces is conducted using a new subnational dataset; and a qualitative comparison of two Mexican states and of two Argentine provinces, relying on extensive fieldwork and numerous interviews, is carried out. The results validate the turn to subnational level analysis and are discouraging: national-level democratization is not always associated with subnational-level democratization. Rather, democratic national authorities frequently have both an incentive to shore up nondemocratic subnational authorities—inasmuch as these actors can assist in the building of political coalitions—and the means to extract their support—a variety of fiscal and partisan instruments. Moreover, nondemocratic subnational authorities have the capacity to resist efforts of national authorities to transform politics at the subnational level. This is an ambitious dissertation that breathes new air into the study of democratization and that makes an exemplary use of the multiple methods that are available to students of comparative politics. It also has important implications for public policy, raising questions about the wisdom of the standard call for greater decentralization of power.

Evangelos Liaras's dissertation addresses one of the central issues in Political Science: How can we design institutions, specifically electoral institutions, to dampen ethnic conflict and promote democracy? He

focuses on a comparison of plurality and proportional representation (PR) systems, following scholars such as Lijphart and Horowitz in asking which of these systems best addresses the challenges of multiethnic democracy. Beginning with a series of models that generate hypotheses about the effects of rule change on ethnic party formation and ethnic voting under different assumptions about ethnic demography and geographic configurations of party support, Liaras tracks the effects of institutional change in Turkey, Sri Lanka, N. Ireland, and Guyana -- the universe of states that have introduced more proportional electoral systems as a way to mitigate longstanding communal conflict. He finds that in these cases, theories predicting that greater proportionality will produce more cross-ethnic voting or cooperation-promoting patterns of party fragmentation do not pan out. In many critical respects, voting and party patterns have remained constant despite attempts at electoral engineering meant to change them. The analysis is based on a reconstruction of voting patterns at the level of constituencies and districts over time, as well as on archival and interview research in each of the four countries. Liaras concludes that other institutional factors, such as citizenship restrictions (in Sri Lanka), and more diffuse political factors, such as the majority group's willingness to engage minorities and on what terms (in Turkey), seem to play preponderant roles in shaping the outcomes of interest. The electoral system itself is not the decisive factor. As Roger Peterson wrote, Evan's dissertation "has the potential to truly change the way both political scientists and policymakers think about the role of electoral institutions and the chances of mitigating conflict through institutional design.

**Best Book Award:** Zachary Elkins (University of Texas, Austin), Tom Ginsburg

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(University of Chicago), and James Melton (IMT Institute for Advanced Studies) won the Best Book Award for their work on *The Endurance of National Constitutions* (Cambridge University Press).

This year's award committee members included Anna Grzymala-Busse (Chair) (University of Michigan), Jacques Bertrand (University of Toronto), and Thad Dunning (Yale University).

### Committee's Remarks on the Award Winner:

*The Endurance of National Constitutions* asks a critical puzzle in the study of democratic institutions and democratization: why do some constitutions persist, while others fail to survive? The authors offer a compelling new explanation that focuses on the specificity, inclusiveness, and flexibility of constitutional design. The dataset is particularly impressive, based on the collection of constitutional texts stretching back more than 200 years. It provides a rich comparative assessment of the longevity of constitutions, their scope and specificity, as well as trends in constitutional innovations. The manipulation and presentation of this data offer an unprecedented insight into the nature of constitutions over time. By emphasizing the importance of design over environmental factors, the book convincingly shows that constitutions have qualities and durability that survive and sometimes shape institutional change. This is a work of real scope and ambition, and it blazes important new trails as it (explicitly) leaves some important questions for future theoretical and empirical work.

**Best Article Award:** Daniel Ziblatt's (Harvard University) "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Germany" *American Political Science Review* (February 2009) and Dan Slater's (University of Chicago) "Revolutions,

Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilization in Southeast Asia" by Dan Slater *American Journal of Sociology* (July 2009) won the 2010 Best Article Award.

This year's award committee members included Evan S. Lieberman (Chair) (Princeton University), Eva Bellin (Hunter College), and Steven Levitsky (Harvard University).

### Committee's Remarks on the Award Winner:

Daniel Ziblatt's "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud" makes new and important contributions on both the empirical and the theoretical fronts. The article employs an innovative empirical strategy to demonstrate the causal link between inequality and electoral fraud in Imperial Germany (1871-1912). Ziblatt's use of original data to demonstrate a statistical relationship between land inequality and the incidence of fraud is itself a major contribution. In particular, the committee found that the article's strength lies in its exploration of causal mechanisms, and its demonstration that local elite capture of state electoral administration, rather than traditional or "private" landlord control over peasants, was the primary source of fraud. More broadly, the article shows that conservative elites may defend their interests not only by avoiding or overthrowing democracy, but also via a range of practices within a context of formal democratic rule.

In "Revolution, Crackdowns, and Quiescence" Dan Slater highlights the importance of non-material factors in mobilizing the high-risk collective action that is often key to spelling the collapse of authoritarian regimes. Employing comparative historical analysis in seven Southeast Asian countries, "Revolution, Crackdowns, and Quiescence" traces the

powerful role that emotive appeals to nationalist and religious solidarities play in driving mass urban protest. The piece is masterful in its analysis and critique of prior literature on the role of social forces in democratization. Its presentation of a cultural analysis of contentious politics is insightful and an important correction to excessive focus on class actors and material factors in driving democratization. The piece is notable for its ambition to identify the way history systematically structures elite "autonomy and salience" – the keys to mobilizing religious and nationalist opposition to authoritarian regimes. Overall, "Revolution, Crackdowns, and Quiescence" is outstanding for its theoretical ambition, its elegant presentation, as well as its historical grounding in the Southeast Asian context.

**Best Field Work Award:** Alejandra Armesto (University of Notre Dame) won the Best Field Work Award for her dissertation on "Territorial Control and Particularistic Spending on Local Public Goods."

Award committee members included Melani Cammett (chair) (Brown University), Fotini Christia (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), and Alexandra Scacco (Columbia University).

### Committee's Remarks on the Award Winner:

The committee is delighted to announce that the recipient of the 2010 Best Dissertation Fieldwork Award is Maria Alejandra Armesto (Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, 2010). Her innovative dissertation, titled "Territorial Control and Particularistic Spending on Local Public Goods in Argentina and Mexico," interrogates the political logic of allocating local public goods in four Argentine provinces and four Mexican states. The central finding is that governors provide different kinds of public

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goods, which vary according to whether they are distributed to single households in specific communities or to areas that cut across diverse communities, to different regions. Governors base their decisions on their expected political gains and losses in particular electoral districts, taking into account whether mayors are loyal or in the opposition and whether they are weak or strong. Where a public good is contained within a given community, the governor can use her discretionary power to decide whether to grant or withhold the good; in areas where the good crosses boundaries, governors cannot prevent local mayors from claiming credit for some of the good.

The committee was impressed by the sheer breadth and depth of the empirical evidence that Armesto gathered to support her findings. Armesto collected data on a wide range of outcome variables, including seven local public goods whose provision are the responsibility of Mexican states and Argentine provinces. This in itself is a significant contribution given that even the best studies of clientelism often lack external validity because they tend to highlight only one form of particularistic spending at a time. In addition to her comprehensive dataset on spending on local public goods, Armesto conducted an original survey of subnational legislators ( $n = 164$ ), in-depth interviews ( $n =$  approximately 150), and gathered supplementary evidence from relevant archival sources such as government reports and newspapers. Armesto's thorough data collection efforts are complemented by careful attention to case selection: She selected research sites in a way that permitted variation on key variables central to rival explanations and on her own main predictors of interest. Her dissertation chapters describe this variation systematically and in a way that was helpful for readers not familiar with her Latin American cases.

Armesto's dissertation generates important insights about the politics of public goods provision. For example, her work suggests that different public goods may be used by the same political actors in different ways, implying that a focus on a single good can bias inferences about the behavior of government officials and agencies. An interesting and nuanced argument combined with a rigorous set of empirical tests – both of her own argument and of alternative explanations in the literature – make Armesto's dissertation richly deserving of the best fieldwork prize of the APSA section on Comparative Democratization.

**Best Paper Award:** Giovanni Capoccia (Oxford University) and Daniel Ziblatt (Harvard University) won the Best Paper Award for their work on “The Historic Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Program and Evidence from Europe.”

This year's award committee included Scott Mainwaring (chair) (University of Notre Dame), Henry Hale (The George Washington University), and Dan Slater (University of Chicago).

### **Committee's Remarks on the Award Winner:**

The award committee is pleased to award the Best Paper in Comparative Democratization to “The Historic Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Program and Evidence from Europe,” by Giovanni Capoccia and Daniel Ziblatt. This manuscript impressively and thoughtfully lays the groundwork for a genuinely new research agenda on one of comparative politics' oldest research topics: European democratization. Beyond merely identifying or proposing such a new agenda, Capoccia and Ziblatt have used their essay as an occasion and opportunity to gather a number of leading scholars in the field

to contribute substantive essays that enact the kind of “historic turn” that they have in mind – as has now come to fruition in the August-September 2010 special issue of *Comparative Political Studies*. Specifically, Capoccia and Ziblatt challenge their readers and their contributors to rethink the centrality of class in democratization processes, to recognize patterns of ideational diffusion and “iconic events” that influence the demand for democracy, and to consider the uneven and episodic character of regime change in historical time. Perhaps most excitingly, the authors draw provocative parallels between the unevenness of democratic development in 19th-century European cases and the evolution of diverse “hybrid regimes” in the wake of the Third Wave. Anyone hoping to theorize the world's First Wave of democratization in light of the Third Wave, or vice versa, will both need to engage Capoccia and Ziblatt's essay, and benefit from doing so. Since this essay more than any other struck the committee members as a “must-read” and “must-assign” contribution in the years to come, we unanimously agreed that it deserved the distinction of Best Paper.

### **NEWS FROM MEMBERS**

**Holger Albrecht**, assistant professor of political science, American University in Cairo, edited *Contentious Politics in the Middle East: Political Opposition under Authoritarianism* (University of Florida Press, 2010), in which contributors examine how civil society and oppositional forces emerge and are manifested in nondemocratic states across the Middle East. The essays offer a comparative perspective and “demonstrate that not all opposition forces propose the overthrow of authority and point out the various forms opposition takes in societies that leave little room for political activism.

**Michele Penner Angrist**, associate professor of political science, Union

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College, published an edited volume on *Politics & Society in the Contemporary Middle East* (Lynne Rienner Press, 2010) that includes eight thematic chapters that introduce the subject and explore the region-wide dynamics of governments and oppositions, international politics, political economy, civil society, religion and politics, identity politics, and gender and family issues. Case studies covered in the volume include Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, the Palestinian Authority, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, and the UAE.

**Mayling Birney** recently joined the London School of Economic as a U.K. Lecturer (associate professor) in the department of international development. She also holds affiliations with the LSE government department and Asia research centre.

**Dexter Boniface**, associate professor of political science and Weddell Chair of the Americas, Rollins College, and Ilan Alon published “Is Hong Kong Democratizing” in the July/August 2010 *Asian Survey*. The authors argue that the transition to Chinese authority has not undermined democratic governance in Hong Kong and that voice and accountability have improved since the handover and conclude with a discussion of the implications of their findings for China, Taiwan, and cross-strait relations.

**Melani Cammett**, associate professor of political science, Brown University, and Sukriti Issar published “Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: The Political Geography of Welfare in Lebanon” in the July 2010 *World Politics*. The authors compare the welfare programs of the predominantly Sunni Muslim Future Movement and the Shiite Muslim Hezbollah in Lebanon to determine how such organizations serve the social welfare of “out-group” communities.

Ms. Cammett and Marsha Pripstein

Posusney also published “Labor Standards and Labor Flexibility in the Middle East: Freer Trade and Freer Unions” in the Summer 2010 *Studies in Comparative International Development*, in which the authors examine “how two, potentially opposing trends—pressure to adhere to international labor standards and movement toward greater labor market flexibility—have affected labor market characteristics in the Middle East.”

**Roman David**, lecturer in politics in the school of geography, politics, and sociology, Newcastle University, published “Transitions to Clean Government: Amnesty as Anticorruption Measure” in the September 2010 *Australian Journal of Political Science*, in which he views “transition to clean government as a conceptual parallel to democratization and anti-corruption measures as instances of transitional justice.” He argues that “measures that lead to clean government differ from measures that contribute to its maintenance” and that “amnesty may play a crucial role in establishing clean government, if it inspires a change in political culture.”

**John P. Entelis**, professor of political science and director of the Middle East Studies program, Fordham University, contributed a chapter on the “Republic of Tunisia” to *The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa*, edited by David E. Long, Bernard Reich, and Mark Gasiorowski (Westview Press, 2010). His book review of *Beyond Terror and Martyrdom: The Future of the Middle East* also appeared in the March 2010 *International History Review*.

**Bonnie N. Field**, assistant professor of global studies, Bentley University, published *Spain’s ‘Second Transition’? The Socialist Government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero* (Routledge, 2010), an edited

volume that evaluates the degree to which developments during the Zapatero government (2004–8) amount to a second transition that alters or revisits policies, institutional arrangements and political strategies that were established during Spain’s transition to democracy in the mid 1970s. It includes chapters on domestic and foreign policy developments; party politics; unions and immigration; territorial politics; and the legislative dynamics of the minority government.

**Agustina Giraduy**, who received her PhD in political science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, published “The Politics of Subnational Undemocratic Regime Reproduction in Argentina and Mexico” in a special issue of the *Journal of Politics in Latin America* on “Subnational Authoritarianism and Democratization in Latin America.”

**Mihaiela R. Gugu**, assistant professor of political science, Central Michigan University, published “The Politics of Corruption: Political Will and the Rule of Law in Post-Communist Romania” in the September 2010 *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, in which she analyzes the impact of the European Union pressure, electoral pressure, and domestic leadership on the political will to combat corruption in the Romanian judiciary.

**Mary Alice Haddad**, assistant professor of government, Wesleyan University, published “A New State-in-Society Approach to Democratization with Examples from Japan” in the October 2010 *Democratization*, in which she examines how “an undemocratic country create[s] democratic institutions and transform[s] its polity in such a way that democratic values and practices become integral parts of its political culture” by using Japan as a case study.

Ms. Haddad will also be a US-Japan

## Section News

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Network for the Future Fellow for the next two years. The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation and the Japan Foundation are jointly sponsoring the program to bring together a small group of scholars for multiple meetings in Washington, D.C., Montana, and Tokyo to meet with top policy makers. She is also spending the year on an Abe Fellowship researching a new project on environmental politics and civic participation in East Asia.

**Henry Hale**, associate professor of political science and international affairs, The George Washington University, published "The Uses of Divided Power" in the July 2010 *Journal of Democracy*, in which he shows how Ukraine's divided-power constitution preserved democracy straight through the 2010 presidential election, even though it did so by balancing corruption opportunities rather than by actually being obeyed.

Mr. Hale and Timothy J. Colton published "Russians and the Putin-Medvedev 'Tandemocracy': A Survey-Based Portrait of the 2007-8 Election Season" in the March/April 2010 *Problems of Post-Communism*. Mr. Hale spent the summer in Abkhazia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova working on his manuscript, tentatively titled *Great Expectations: The Politics of Regime Change in Eurasia*.

**Debra Javeline**, associate professor of political science, University of Notre Dame, was awarded a National Science Foundation grant along with colleagues in biology, computer sciences, and law for a project on "Building and Studying a Virtual Organization for Adaptation to Climate Change." Ms. Javeline is leading the survey research component of the project, with the first survey investigating how the world's top environmental biologists assess the scientific, ethnical, economic, and legal

issues surrounding "managed relocation," a controversial strategy that aims to save biodiversity from global climate change by purposefully transporting individual organisms to areas where a species has not previously occurred but is expected to survive as climate changes.

Ms. Javeline and Vanessa Baird also published "The Effects of National and Local Funding on Judicial Performance: Perceptions of Russia's Lawyers" in the June 2010 *Law and Society Review*.

**Maria Koinova**, assistant professor of international relations and transnationalism at the University of Amsterdam, published "Diasporas and Successionist Conflicts: The Mobilization of the Armenian, Albanian, and Chechen Diasporas" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, published online on July 6, 2010. She also published "Can Conflict-Generated Diasporas Be Moderate Actors During Episodes of Contested Sovereignty? Lebanese and Albanian Diasporas Compared," in the *Review of International Studies* that was published online on July 15, 2010.

Ms. Koinova also contributed a chapter on "Diasporas and International Politics: Utilizing the Universalistic Creed of Liberalism for Particularistic and Nationalist Purposes" to *Diasporas and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories, and Methods*, edited by Rainer Bauboech and Thomas Faist and published by Amsterdam University Press.

**Staffan Lindberg** was promoted to associate professor (with tenure) at the University of Florida in June 2010, where he is on leave for the 2010/2011 academic year. He is also research director for the World Values Survey-Sweden at the University of Gothenburg, where he was also appointed associate professor of political science and research fellow at the Quality of Government Institute. He

published "Are Swing Voters Instruments of Democracy or Farmers of Clientelism? Evidence from Ghana" (coauthored with Keith R. Weghorst) as a Quality of Government Institute Working Paper. Mr. Lindberg was the team leader of the Afrobarometer project, round 4, on behalf of the Swedish International Development Agency from July to September 2010.

**Juan L. Linz**, Sterling Professor Emeritus of Political and Social Sciences, Yale University, has been awarded the 2010 European Amalfi Prize for Sociology and Social Sciences. The Prize was established in 1987 at the initiative of the Italian Association of Sociology and is awarded annually at a conference by an international jury. Among earlier laureats are Norbert Elias, M. Rainer Lepsius and Wolfgang J. Mommsen, Charles Tilly, Raymond Boudon, Francois Furet, Niklas Luhmann, Alain Touraine, and Richard Sennett.

**Kelly McMann** was promoted to associate professor of political science at Case Western Reserve University, effective July 1, 2010.

**Doron Shultziner**, visiting lecturer in political science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, published *Struggling for Recognition: The Psychological Impetus for Democratic Progress* (Continuum Press, 2010), in which he "posits that the drive for personal recognition is a prime motivation behind the pursuit of democracy." He presents a theory that underscores "the drive for positive self-esteem and status and the aversion of negative self-esteem and subordination" and underscores how this pursuit because an impetus for action.

**Dan Slater** has been promoted to tenured associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago. His book monograph, *Ordering Power: Contentious*

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*Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*, was published in August in the Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics series by Cambridge University Press. He also coauthored an article with Erica Simmons on causal-historical methodology in the July 2010 *Comparative Political Studies*, entitled “Informative Regress: Critical Antecedents in Comparative Politics.” His July 2009 *American Journal of Sociology* article on “Revolutions, Crackdowns, and Quiescence: Communal Elites and Democratic Mobilizations in Southeast Asia” has received Best Article recognition from three organized sections: comparative democratization and qualitative and multi-method research from APSA, and the comparative-historical section of the American Sociological Association.

**Alexei Trochev**, Jerome Hall Postdoctoral Fellow at the Indiana University Maurer School of Law, published “Meddling with Justice: Competitive Politics, Impunity, and Distrusted Courts in Post-Orange Ukraine” in the Spring 2010 *Demokratizatsiya*, in which he argues that “the increasing fragmentation of power in today’s Ukraine goes hand-in-hand with judicial disempowerment — dependent courts regularly provide important benefits to rival elites.”

**Maya Tudor**, post-doctoral research fellow at the Oxford Centre for the Study of Inequality and Democracy, won the American Political Science Association’s 2010 Gabriel A. Almond Award for the best dissertation in the field of comparative politics for her dissertation on “Twin Births, Divergent Democracies: The Social and Institutional Origins of Regime Outcomes in India and Pakistan.” Her dissertation also received an Honorable Mention for APSA’s 2010 Walter Burnham Award for the best dissertation in politics and history.

**Leonardo A. Villalón**, director of the Center for African Studies, University of Florida, published “From Argument to Negotiation: Constructing Democracies in Muslim West Africa” in the July 2010 *Comparative Politics*, in which he examines how “the democratic question is framed and discussed” in religious contexts by studying three West African countries: Senegal, Mali, and Niger.

Mr. Villalón and Daniel A. Smith received a \$650,000 two-year grant from the U.S. Department of State’s Division of Educational and Cultural Affairs’ “Trans-Saharan Professionals Program” to conduct a series of seminars and exchanges on issues of elections and democracy and involving scholars and practitioners from the US as well as six Francophone Sahelian countries: Senegal, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso, Mauritania, and Chad.

**Mark Ungar**, associate professor of political science, Brooklyn College, published *Policing Democracy: Overcoming Obstacles to Citizen Security in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), in which he uses case studies from Argentina, Bolivia, and Honduras to review areas needing reform: criminal law, policing, investigation, trial practices, and incarceration.

**PROFESSIONAL ANNOUNCEMENTS**  
**Call for Applications: Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellowships in Washington, D.C.:**

The Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program at the International Forum for Democratic Studies (IFDS, U.S.) invites applications for fellowships in 2011–2012. The program enables democracy activists, practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change. Dedicated to international exchange, this

five-month, residential program offers a collegial environment for fellows to reflect on their experiences; conduct research and writing; consider best practices and lessons learned; engage with counterparts in the United States; and develop professional relationships within a global network of democracy advocates.

The program is intended primarily to support practitioners, scholars, and journalists from developing and aspiring democracies; distinguished scholars from established democracies may also apply. A working knowledge of English is required. All fellows receive a monthly stipend, health insurance, travel assistance, and research support. The program does not fund professional training, fieldwork, or students working towards a degree. The program will host two five-month fellowship sessions in 2011–2012: October 1, 2011–February 28, 2012 (Fall 2011) and March 1–July 31, 2012 (Spring 2012). More information and application instructions are available here. Flyers in English, French, Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, Spanish, Russian, and Portuguese are also available. Applications are due by Monday, November 1, 2010.

**Data from the 2010 Round of the AmericasBarometer Available on December 1:**

The 2010 round of the AmericasBarometer carried out by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) is now complete, and the data will be released to all subscribing institutions and made available for on-line analysis on December 1, 2010. In this round, 16 countries were included, covering all independent nations in mainland North, Central, and South America, as well as several countries in the Caribbean (adding for the first time in the AmericasBarometer Suriname and Trinidad & Tobago). Over 40,000 interviews were conducted and many

## Conference Calendar

### CONFERENCE CALENDAR

The **Association of Chinese Political Studies** held its 23rd Annual Meeting and International Symposium on the theme of “China in Search of Sustainable Development, Social Harmony, and Soft Power” on July 30–August 1, 2010, at Endicott College near Boston, Massachusetts. Over 50 scholars from the United States, mainland China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, India, Russia, United Kingdom, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau attended the three-day event. The meeting’s more than a dozen panels covered topics such as the Chinese Model, civil society, corruption and good governance, political support and legitimacy, political and economic reform, political economy, public policies, social harmony, China’s relations with the world, and Soft Power. Papers included “The Politics of Voluntary Expansion of Rights in Authoritarian Regimes,” “A Comparative Analysis of Civil Society in Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan,” “Nationalism, Democratization, and Sino-Korean Relations,” “Beyond the Global Financial Crisis: The Chinese Discourse on Social Democracy,” and “Free Speech in China: Past and Present [and Future?].” Further information and a complete list of topics can be accessed here.

From August 23–24, 2010, the **Hong Kong Political Science Association** hosted a conference on “Politics in Flux: Challenges and Opportunities in the Asian Century” at the City University of Hong Kong. The conference addressed questions relevant to the study of democratization, including the impact of China and India on regional

and global politics and the emergence of alternatives to the Washington Consensus model. Papers included “The Changing Relations between Hong Kong and Mainland China since 1997,” “DPRK, in the Box but Not Solved,” “China’s ‘Soft Balancing’ against the U.S.,” “The Conceptions of Democracy of the District Councilors and its Implications to the Democratization of Hong Kong,” and “International Structure and China’s Energy Security.” More information about the conference is available here.

The third **European Consortium for Political Research** graduate conference was held at Dublin City University in Ireland on August 30–September 1, 2010. The ECPR Graduate Conference was organized into thematic sections with 4–10 panels each, in addition to roundtables, symposia, and a plenary lecture. It was structured as a forum for graduate students to present their work in front of a large audience, develop their ideas, and build academic dialog. More information about the conference is available here.

The **American Political Science Association** held its 2010 annual meeting and exhibition on September 2–5, 2010, in Washington, DC. In light of the recent financial crisis, the theme of the conference was “The Politics of Hard Times: Citizens, Nations, and the International System under Economic Stress.” Comparative Democratization panels included “Decentralization, Local Government, and Democratic Institution Building,” “The Challenges of Fair Elections in New Democracies,” “Islam, Civil Society, and Democracy,” “Russia and the Politics of Reform

in Post-Communist Europe and Eurasia,” and “The Political Economy and Legitimacy of Democracy.” More information about the conference is available are here.

From September 9–11, 2010, the **Standing Group on International Relations** (SGIR) of the European Consortium for Political Research held the Pan-European International Relations Conference in Stockholm, Sweden. Peter Gourevitch, Professor of Political Science at the University of San Diego, and Ambassador Jan Eliasson, Senior Visiting Scholar at the United States Institute of Peace, delivered keynote addresses. Panels included “Spaces of Global Capital: Territoriality, Markets, and Democratic Politics,” “Challenges of Democracy Promotion: Do All Good Things Go Together?” and “Democratic Governance and International Institutions.” Papers included “A Means to Operationalize Democratic Legitimacy,” “Civil Society Strategies to Democratize,” “Benchmarking Global Governance,” and “Democracy Promotion, Empowerment & Self-Determination.” The conference website provides more information, including a program and papers presented.

The Department of Government and the Institute for Electoral Research at the University of Essex in Britain hosted the 2010 Elections, Public Opinion and Parties Annual Conference (EPOP) from September 10–12, 2010. The Elections, Public Opinion and Parties section is the largest specialist group of the **Political Studies Association of the UK**.

## *Conference Calendar*

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Papers presented included “Dissecting Partisanship,” “Democratization and the Illegalization of Political Parties in Europe,” “Money, Media, and Momentum,” “Party Fragmentation in Brazil,” and “When Do Social Norms Increase Turnout?” More information is available here.

The 2010 Conference of the **Australian Political Studies Association** was held at the University of Melbourne from September 27–29, 2010. The conference on “Connected Globe: Conflicting Worlds” brought together nationally and internationally renowned researchers, recent graduates, practitioners, policymakers, and students for discussion. More than 300 delegates and 230 presenters participated. More information about the conference is available here.

The **2010 Melbourne Conference on U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Middle East** will be held at the University of Melbourne from October 21–22, 2010. This conference provides an opportunity to explore the record of US democracy promotion in the Middle East and deliberate on shifts in policy following the election of Barack Obama in 2009. The conference will especially focus on the achievements and shortcomings of the George W. Bush era in promoting democracy in the region and the implications of that legacy for the Obama Administration. Exploring this legacy is critical to understanding the framework within which the Obama Administration operates. President Barack Obama has promised change in the way Washington relates to the Middle East. It is still unclear if these policy shifts can make a difference in the U.S. image and further the interests of the United States in the Middle East. More

information on this conference can be found here.

The **Midwestern Association for Latin American Studies** will host its 60th annual conference from November 4–7, 2010. Held in St. Louis, Missouri, the meeting will address a variety of topics in Latin America—including political change, democratic processes, and justice—and will also include the MALAS business meeting and a lecture at the St. Louis Committee of the Council on Foreign Relations. Further information and registration forms can be found here.

On November 5–6, 2010, the **Pacific Coast Council of Latin American Studies** will host its annual conference at Pepperdine University in Malibu, California. The conference brings together scholars and students interested in Latin America from across the disciplines. More information about the conference can be found here.

The **Northeastern Political Science Association** will hold its 42nd annual meeting in Boston, Massachusetts on November 11–13, 2010. The theme of the conference is “Changing Politics, Changing Political Science.” Conference panels of potential interest include Democratic Theory and Comparative Politics. Information on submissions, registration, and travel are available on the NPSA website.

The annual meeting of the **Middle East Studies Association** will be held in San Diego, California on November 18–21, 2010. The meeting includes a book exhibit and film festival as well as 26 panels on various topics, including “Iran: From Reform to Protest,” “Comparing Authoritarianism Inside and Outside Middle East,” “Democratization in

the Middle East,” “Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Muslim World,” “Electoral Politics in the Middle East,” “Judicialized Politics or Politicized Judiciaries?” and “Civil Society and Democracy Reconsidered.” A full conference program and information on registration, travel, and accommodations can be found here.

On November 18–21, 2010, the **American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies** will hold its 2010 convention in Los Angeles, California. The theme of the convention is “War and Peace.” Through this theme, the conference will explore topics including the reasons why societies make war and peace and the effect of war and peace in shaping regional societies. It will bring together scholars interested in Eastern and Central Europe and Central Asia to engage in interdisciplinary and comparative discussions. The conference website includes additional information, online registration, and a convention schedule.

The **New Zealand Political Studies Association** 2010 Conference will be held on December 2–3, 2010, at the University of Waikato in Hamilton, New Zealand. The conference, hosted by the University of Waikato’s Political Science and Public Policy department, will include panels on New Zealand government and comparative politics, public policy, international relations, and political theory. General information about the conference can be found here.

The **University of Warwick** will host the “Challenging Orthodoxies: The Critical Governance Studies” conference on December 13–14, 2010. The goal of the conference is to

## Conference Calendar

bring together scholars and critical practitioners challenging orthodoxies and developing critical approaches to the study and practice of governance. The conference theme is 'challenging orthodoxies' and participants are encouraged to address it in abstracts by describing a problematic orthodoxy, subjecting it to critical challenge and outlining new areas of inquiry and new social practices based on the critical

approach. Abstract submissions are accepted until 31st October. Proposals for panels and streams following these guidelines are also welcome. More information can be found here.

The second annual **Conference on Democracy as an Idea and Practice** will be held at the University of Oslo from January 13–14, 2011 and will bring together researchers from the

humanities, social sciences and law. The conference is organized with seven workshops, including on subjects such as "Organizational Democracy," "Constitutional Democracy: How Democratic?" "Democracy and Censorship," and "Practices and Experiences of Democracy in Post-Colonial Localities." More information can be found here.

## NEW RESEARCH

### NEW RESEARCH

#### *Journal of Democracy*

The July 2010 (Volume 21, no. 3) issue of the *Journal of Democracy* features clusters of articles on Afghanistan and Iraq and Ukraine, as well as individual pieces on the democratic instinct, liberation technology, Chile, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and election observers. The full text of selected articles and the tables of contents of all issues are available on the Journal's website.

"The Democratic Instinct in the 21st Century" by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono

*Democratization is never easy, smooth, or linear, but as Indonesia's experience in building a multiparty and multiethnic democracy shows, it can succeed even under difficult and initially unpromising conditions.*

#### **Afghanistan and Iraq**

I. "Afghanistan: An Election Gone Awry" by Scott Worden

*The 2009 vote for the presidency and local councils was marred by fraud, provoking a political crisis and casting a deep shadow over upcoming parliamentary elections. The Afghan experience calls into question whether voting should occur before other*

*essential reforms are in place.*

II. "Iraq: A Vote Against Sectarianism" by Adeed Dawisha

*Although many Iraqi parties continue to be organized along religious or ethnic lines, both the tone and the results of the 2010 parliamentary election campaign show that most Iraqi voters prefer a broader national agenda over narrow sectarian appeals.*

III. "Lessons from Afghanistan and Iraq" by Zalmay Khalilzad

*After almost ten years of complex and costly efforts to build democracy in these two countries, where do things stand? What lay behind the critical choices that shaped events in these places, and what are their current prospects for success?*

"The Rise of 'State-Nations'" by Alfred Stepan, Juan J. Linz, and Yogendra Yadav

*Must every state be a nation and every nation a state? Or should we look instead to the example of countries such as India, where one state holds together a congeries of "national" groups and cultures in a single and wisely conceived federal republic?*

"Liberation Technology" by Larry Diamond

*The Internet, mobile phones, and other forms of "liberation technology" enable citizens to express opinions, mobilize protests, and expand the horizons of freedom. Autocratic governments are also learning to master these technologies, however. Ultimately, the contest between democrats and autocrats will depend not just on technology, but on political organization and strategy.*

#### **Ukraine**

I. "The Uses of Divided Power" by Henry E. Hale

*The 2010 presidential election shows that Ukraine is both a surprisingly stable electoral democracy and a disturbingly corrupt one. The corruption, moreover, may have a lot to do with the stability.*

II. "The Role of Regionalism" by Gwendolyn Sasse

*Although Ukraine's regional divisions are often thought to be detrimental to state-building and democratization, they have in fact been a source of strength and helped prevent tilts to the political extremes.*

"Chile: Are the Parties Over?" by Juan Pablo Luna and Rodrigo Mardones

*For the first time since the fall of Pinochet, the Chilean right has come to power via free elections. The long-ruling*

## New Research

*center-left coalition leaves behind many achievements, but also disturbing signs of a weakened party system.*

**“Political Attitudes in the Muslim World”** by Ephraim Yuchtman-Ya’ar and Yasmin Alkalay

*A new look at the World Values Survey data reveals how the Muslim world’s religious context affects individual Muslims’ attitudes toward democracy.*

**“In Praise of Václav Havel”** by Jacques Rupnik

*A tribute to Václav Havel, Czech playwright and former dissident, who became not only president but the symbol of the “velvet revolutions.”*

**“The Mirage of Democracy in the DRC”** by Mvemba Phezo Dizolele

*Despite its historic 2006 elections, the Democratic Republic of Congo still lacks competent governance, leaving its democratic promise unfulfilled.*

**“Election Observers and Their Biases”** by Judith Kelley

*Why do election monitors sometimes issue contradictory statements or endorse flawed elections? The answers are not always straightforward; in some cases, the monitors’ good intentions may undermine their credibility.*

The October 2010 (Volume 21, no. 4) issue of the *Journal of Democracy* features clusters of articles on democracy support and development aid and meanings of democracy, as well as individual pieces on the African elections, the Philippines, China, and Yemen. The full text of selected articles and the tables of contents of all issues are available on the *Journal’s* website.

**“Latin America: Democracy with Development”** by Alejandro Toledo

*Latin America’s hard-won democratic gains must be defended by addressing the*

*economic disparities fueling a drift toward populism.*

**Democracy Support and Development Aid**

I. **“The Elusive Synthesis”** by Thomas Carothers

*The lines between the development-aid and democracy-aid communities have been blurring, in terms of both organizational boundaries and activities on the ground, but the convergence is far from complete.*

II. **“The Case for Principled Agnosticism”** by Brian Levy

*The development community now agrees with the democracy community that politics matters, but the two communities still differ in their understanding of what drives changes in institutions.*

III. **“Getting Convergence Right”** by Kenneth Wollack and K. Scott Hubli

*Development specialists and democracy-support experts should recognize—and maximize—each other’s relative strengths and comparative advantages.*

**“Liberation vs. Control: The Future of Cyberspace”** by Ronald Deibert and Rafal Rohozinski

*Are technologies giving greater voice to democratic activists in authoritarian societies, or more powerful tools to their oppressors?*

**“The Upsurge of Religion in China”** by Richard Madsen

*Religion in various forms is burgeoning in the PRC today, and the ruling Chinese Communist Party cannot decide what to make of it—or do about it.*

**“Yemen’s Multiple Crises”** by April Longley Alley

*Yemen today finds itself gripped by a set of crises that threatens its very unity as a country. Only a turn toward democratic dialogue offers a way out.*

**“Success Stories from ‘Emerging**

**Africa”** by Steven Radelet

*A group of countries in sub-Saharan Africa are showing they can sustain economic growth, reduce poverty, and achieve better governance at the same time.*

**The Meanings of Democracy**

I. **“Introduction”** by Larry Diamond

II. **“Anchoring the “D-Word” in Africa”** by Michael Bratton

*Efforts to do comparative research on political attitudes have been complicated by varying understandings of “democracy.” The Afrobarometer is exploring new techniques to overcome this difficulty.*

III. **“Solving an Asian Puzzle”** by Yunhan Chu and Min-hua Huang

*Over the years, the Asian Barometer Survey has yielded some surprising results. A new typological analysis helps to make sense of them.*

IV. **“The Shadow of Confucianism”** by Tianjian Shi and Jie Lu

*How can Chinese claim strongly to support both democracy and their authoritarian regime? The answer may lie in a Confucian concept of democracy.*

V. **“What Arabs Think”** by Fares Braizat

*Arabs express a clear preference for democracy, which they define in ways similar to citizens elsewhere in the world. But their authoritarian regimes are not listening.*

**“African Elections as Vehicles for Change”** by Nic Cheeseman

*Since the return of multipartism in sub-Saharan Africa, open-seat elections have been the most likely to yield opposition victories, suggesting that term limits may significantly contribute to democratic consolidation.*

**“Reformism vs. Populism in the Philippines”** by Mark R. Thompson

*In May 2010, Benigno Aquino III bested a crowded field to win the presidency.*

## New Research

*The election, which was remarkably clean and orderly, gave a clear victory to the reformist narrative that has long vied with populism in the Philippines.*

### Democratization

The March 2010 (Volume 17, no. 2) *Democratization* is a special issue on "Democracy and Violence and features articles on the United Kingdom, Peru, Egypt, Morocco, Latin America, Hamas, and Hizbullah.

"Democracy and Violence: A Theoretical Overview" by John Schwarzmantel

"Liberal Democratic Politics as a Form of Violence" by Maureen Ramsay

"A Contest to Democracy? How the UK Has Responded to the Current Terrorist Threat" by Raffaello Pantucci

"Hearts and Minds and Votes: The Role of Democratic Participation in Countering Terrorism" by Rachel Briggs

"Perverse State Formation and Securitized Democracy in Latin America" by Jenny Pearce

"Revisiting 'Democracy in the Country and at Home' in Peru" by Jelke Boesten

"Bullets over Ballots: Islamist Groups, the State and Electoral Violence in Egypt and Morocco" by Hendrik Kraetzschmar and Francesco Cavatorta

"Reframing Resistance and Democracy: Narratives from Hamas and Hizbullah" by Larbi Sadiki

### Democratization

The August 2010 (Volume 17, no. 4) *Democratization* is a special issue on "Ethnic Party Bans in Africa."

"Ethnic Party Bans in Africa: An Introduction" by Matthijs Bogaards, Matthias Basedau, and Christof Hartmann

"Party Bans in Africa: An Empirical Overview" by Anika Moroff

"Understanding Variations in Party Bans in Africa" by Christof Hartmann and Jorg Kemmerzell

"An Effective Measure of Institutional Engineering? Ethnic Party Bans in Africa" by Anika Moroff and Matthias Basedau

"Why There Is No Party Ban in the South African Constitution" by Jorg Kemmerzell

"Political Party Bans in Rwanda 1994–2003: Three Narratives of Justification" by Peter Niesen

"Ethnic Party Bans and Institutional Engineering in Nigeria" by Matthijs Bogaards

"Comparing Ethnic Party Regulation in East Africa" by Anika Moroff

"Senegal's Party System: The Limits of Formal Regulation" by Christof Hartmann

### SELECTED JOURNAL ARTICLES ON DEMOCRACY

This section features selected articles on democracy that appeared in journals received by the NED's Democracy Resource Center, June 1–October 1, 2010.

*African Affairs: The Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 109, no. 436, July 2010

"The Africanization of Poverty: A Retrospective on 'Make Poverty

History" by Graham Harrison

"Spirits and Social Reconstruction after Mass Violence: Rethinking Transitional Justice" by Erin Baines

"International Justice and Reconciliation in Namibia: The ICC Submission and Public Memory" by Sabine Höhn

*American Political Science Review*, Vol. 104, no. 2, May 2010

"Direct Democracy and Local Public Goods: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia" by Benjamin A. Olken

"Estimating the Electoral Effects of Voter Turnout" by Thomas G Hansford and Brad T. Gomez

*Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 29, no. 2, June 2010

"Integrating Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Making: The Cases of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan" by Luca Anceschi

"The Foreign Policy of Uzbekistan: Sources, Objectives and Outcomes: 1991–2009" by Dina Rome Spechler and Martin C. Spechler

"State Engagement with Non-State Justice: How the Experience in Kyrgyzstan Can Reinforce the Need for Legitimacy in Afghanistan" by David E. Merrell

"Post-Conflict Tajikistan. The Politics of Peacebuilding and the Emergence of Legitimate Order" by John Heathershaw

*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 2, June 2010

"Dealing with the Communist Past: Its Role in the Disintegration of the Czech Civic Forum and in the Emergence of the Civic Democratic Party" by

Lubomír Kopeček

“The Europeanization of Social Movements in the Czech Republic: The EU and Local Women’s Groups” by Ondřej Císař and Kateřina Vráblíková

*Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 7, July 2010

“The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance” by Kenneth F. Greene

“Class, Status, and Party: The Changing Face of Political Islam in Turkey and Egypt” by Sebnem Gumuscu

*The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support and Democracy in Eight Nations* by J.A. Booth and M.A. Seligson. Reviewed by Abbey Steele

*Democracy at Risk: How Terrorist Threats Affect the Public* by J.L. Merolla and E.J. Zechmeister. Reviewed by John P. Moran

*The Quality of Democracy in Eastern Europe: Public Preferences and Policy Reforms* by A. Roberts. Reviewed by Dagmar Radin

*Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 8/9 August–September 2010

“Diffusion and Constitutionalization of Europe” by Zachary Elkins

“The Great Reform Act of 1832 and British Democratization” by Thomas Ertman

“Reading History Forward: The Origins of Electoral Systems in European Democracies” by Amel Ahmed

“Beyond Dictatorship or Democracy: Rethinking National Minority Inclusion and Regime Type in Interwar Eastern Europe” by Jeffrey S. Kopstein

and Jason Wittenberg

“Interests, Inequality, and Illusion in the Choice for Fair Elections” by Nancy Bermeo

“The Diffusion of Regime Contention in European Democratization, 1830–1940” by Kurt Wayland

*Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 43, no. 10, October 2010

“Do Ethnic Parties Exclude Women?” by Stephanie S. Holmsten, Robert G. Moser, and Mary C. Slosar

“Political Competition as an Obstacle to Judicial Independence: Evidence from Russia and Ukraine” by Maria Popova

“Why Get Technical? Corruption and the Politics of Public Service Reform in the Indian States” by Jennifer L. Bussell

“Corruption and Trust: Theoretical Considerations and Evidence from Mexico” by Stephen D. Morris and Joseph L. Klesner

*Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, Vol. 18, no. 2, Spring 2010

“Open Borders, Closed Minds—Russia’s Changing Migration Policies: Liberalization or Xenophobia?” by Caress Schenk

“Meddling with Justice: Competitive Politics, Impunity, and Distrusted Courts in Post-Orange Ukraine” by Alexei Trochev

“The End of the Lithuanian Political ‘Patriarch’s’ Era: From Rise to Decline and Legacies Left Behind” by Ausra Park

*Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-*

*Soviet Democratization*, Vol. 18, no. 3, Summer 2010

“Viktor Yanukovich’s First 100 Days: Back to the Past, But what’s the Rush?” by Taras Kuzio

“Reflections on Negotiation and Mediation: The Frozen Conflicts and European Security” by William H. Hill

*East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2010

“Minor Nation: The Alternative Modes of Belarusian Nationalism” by Alexander Peshái

*Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 89, no. 4, July/August 2010

“Fear and Loathing in Nairobi” by John Githongo

“Mugabe Über Alles” by Robert I. Rotberg

“Prisoners of the Caucasus” by Charles King and Rajan Menon

“Defining Success in Afghanistan” by Stephen Biddle, Fotini Christia, and J. Alexander Thier

“Castrocare in Crisis” by Laurie Garrett

“Ukrainian Blues” by Alexander J. Motyl

*Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol. 32, no. 3, August 2010

“The Rights of Religious Associations to External Relations: A Comparative Study of the OSCE and the Council of Europe” by Sylvie Langlaude

“Legal Mobilizations for Human Rights Protection in North Korea: Furthering Discourse or Discord?” by Patricia Goedde

“The Human Rights Ombudsman in Russia: The Evolution of Horizontal

## New Research

Authority” by Emma Gilligan

“Diffusion Across Political Systems: The Global Spread of National Human Rights Institutions” by Thomas Pegrum

*International Political Science Review*, Vol. 31, no. 2, March 2010

“Measuring Effective Democracy” by Carl Henrik Knutsen

“Adaptation to Democracy among Immigrants in Australia” by Antoine Bilodeau, Ian McAllister and Mebs Kanji

“The Ethnic Dimension of Religious Extremism and Terrorism in Central Asia” by Mariya Y. Omelicheva

“The Uneven Reach of Decentralization: a Case Study among Indigenous Peoples in the Bolivian Amazon” by Victor Reyes-Garcia, Vincent Vadez, Jorge Aragon, Tomas Huanca and Pamela Jagger

*Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, Vol. 26, no. 3, September 2010

“Gender Mainstreaming in Post-Soviet Ukraine: Application and Applicability” by Olena Hankivsky and Anastasiya Salnykova

“The Politics of Corruption: Political Will and Rule of Law in Post-Communist Romania” by Mihaiela Ristei

“The Party Isn’t Over: An Analysis of the Communist Party in the Czech Republic” by Jiří Lach, James T. LaPlant, Jim Peterson, and David Hill

“Politicians Versus Intellectuals in the Lustration Debates in Transitional Latvia” by Ieva Zake

“The Politics Surrounding Gender

Issues and Domestic Violence in Russia: What is to be Done, by Whom and How?” by Mary Buckley

*Journal of East Asian Studies*, Vol. 10, no. 2, May – August 2010

“The Decline of Particularism in Japanese Politics” by Gregory W. Noble

“Do Asian Values Exist? Empirical Tests of the Four Dimensions of Asian Values” by So Young Kim

*Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 48, no. 1, March 2010

“We Are Citizens too: the Politics of Citizenship in Independent Ghana” by Ousman Kobo

“The Successful Ghana Election of 2008: A Convenient Myth?” by Heinz Jockers, Dirk Kohnert, and Paul Nugent

“What Accountability Pressures Do MPs in Africa Face and How Do They Respond? Evidence from Ghana” by Staffan I. Lindberg

“Bilateral Donors and Aid Conditionality in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: The Case of Mozambique” by Carrie Manning and Monica Malbrough

*Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 48, no. 2, June 2010

“Power-Sharing in Comparative Perspective: The Dynamics of ‘Unity Government’ in Kenya and Zimbabwe” by Nic Cheeseman and Blessing-Miles Tendi

“‘The Kenyans We Don’t Want’: Popular Thought Over Constitutional Review in Kenya” by Stephanie Diepeveen

“Fairy Godfathers and Magical Elections: Understanding the 2003 Electoral Crisis in Anambra State, Nigeria” by Leena Hoffman

“Abuse of Powers of Impeachment in Nigeria” by Mamman Lawan

*The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 64, no. 3, Summer 2010

“The Rules of the Game: Unpacking Patronage Politics in Yemen” by April Longley Alley

“The Rentier State and National Oil Companies: An Economic and Political Perspective” by Donald L. Losman

*Orbis: A Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 54, no. 3, Summer 2010

“The 2009 Elections and Iran’s Changing Political Landscape” by Mehran Kamrava

*Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 83, no. 2, June 2010

“Autonomy for Southern Thailand: Thinking the Unthinkable?” by Duncan McCargo

*Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 83, no. 3, September 2010

“The Ascendance of Bureaucratic Islam and the Secularization of the Sharia in Malaysia” by Maznah Mohamad

“Anticipating an Oil Boom: The ‘Resource Curse’ Thesis in the Play of Cambodian Politics” by Andrew Cock

*Party Politics*, Vol. 16, no. 4, July 2010

“Measuring Parties’ Ideological Positions with Manifesto Data: A Critical Evaluation of the Competing Methods” by Elias Dinas and Kostas Gemenis

“Party Aggregation in India: A State Level Analysis” by Rekha Diwakar

“Unemployment, Partisan Issue Ownership, and Vote Switching: Evidence from South Korea” by Hyeok Yong Kwon

“Euroscepticism and the Emergence of Political Parties in Poland” by Radoslaw Markowski and Joshua A. Tucker

*Beyond the Nation State: Parties in the Era of European Integration* by David Hanley. Reviewed by Simon Lightfoot

*Party Systems in Post-Soviet Countries: A Comparative Study of Political Institutionalization in the Baltic States, Russia and Ukraine* by Andrey A. Meleshevich. Reviewed by Allan Sikk

**Review of African Political Economy, Vol. 37, no. 124, June 2010**

“Fake Capitalism? The Dynamics of Neoliberal Moral Restructuring and Pseudo-Development: the Case of Uganda” by Jörg Wiegatz

“Sudan’s Uncivil War: the Global-Historical Constitution of Political Violence” by Allison J. Ayers

“South Africa – the ANC’s Difficult Allies” by Martin Plaut

“A Contest of Visions: Ethiopia’s 2010 Election” by Kwesi Sansculotte-Greenidge

**World Politics, Vol. 62, no. 3, July 2010**

“Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: Sectarianism and the Logics of Welfare Allocation in Lebanon” by Melani Cammett and Sukriti Issar

“How Do Crises Lead to Change? Liberalizing Capital Controls in the Early Years of New Order Indonesia” by Jeffrey M. Chwieroth

## SELECTED NEW BOOKS ON DEMOCRACY

### ADVANCED DEMOCRACIES

*The American Public Mind: The Issues Structure of Mass Politics in the*

*Postwar United States.* By William J.M. Claggett and Byron E. Shafer. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 295 pp.

*Bad for Democracy: How the Presidency Undermines the Power of the People.* By Dana D. Nelson. University of Minnesota Press, 2010. 272 pp.

*Britishness: Perspectives on the British Question.* Edited by Andrew Gamble and Tony Wright. Wiley-Blackwell, 2009. 184 pp.

*Campaigning to the New American Electorate: Advertising to Latino Voters.* By Marisa Abrajano. Stanford University Press, 2010. 198 pp.

*The Civic Foundations of Fascism in Europe: Italy, Spain, and Romania, 1870–1945.* By Dylan Riley. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. 280 pp.

*A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres.* By Thomas Risse-Kappen. Cornell University Press, 2010. 287 pp.

*Congress in Context.* By John Haskell. Westview, 2010. 440 pp.

*Constituent Moments: Enacting the People in Postrevolutionary America.* By Jason A. Frank. Duke University Press, 2010. 360 pp.

*Contesting Community: The Limits and Potential of Local Organizing.* By James DeFilippis, Robert Fisher, and Eric Shragge. Rutgers University Press, 2010. 210 pp.

*Democracy Distorted: Wealth, Influence and Democratic Politics.* By Jacob Rowbottom. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 257 pp.

*The Disappearing Center: Engaged Citizens, Polarization, and American Democracy.* By Alan I. Abramowitz. Yale University Press, 2010. 208 pp.

*In the Shadow of FDR: From Harry Truman to Barack Obama.* By William Edward Leuchtenburg. Cornell University Press, 2009. 434 pp.

*It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don’t Run for Office.* By Jennifer L. Lawless and Richard L. Fox. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 256 pp.

*The Myth of Voter Fraud.* By Lorraine C. Minnite. Cornell University Press, 2010. 298 pp.

*The New Citizenship: Unconventional Politics, Activism, and Service.* 4th edition. By Craig A. Rimmerman. Westview, 2010. 240 pp.

*New Faces, New Voices: The Hispanic Electorate in America.* By Marisa A. Abrajano and R. Michael Alvarez. Princeton University Press, 2010. 232 pp.

*The Politics of Citizenship in Europe.* By Marc Morjé Howard. Cambridge University Press, 2009. 256 pp.

*A Presidency in Peril: The Inside Story of Obama’s Promise, Wall Street’s Power, and the Struggle to Control Our Economic Future.* By Robert Kuttner. Chelsea Green, 2010. 332 pp.

### AFRICA

*Decentralisation in Africa: A Pathway out of Poverty and Conflict?* Edited by Gordan Crawford and Christof Hartmann. Amsterdam University Press, 2008. 260 pp.

*Democracy and the Rise of Women’s Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa.* By Kathleen M. Fallon. Johns Hopkins

## New Research

University Press, 2008. 168 pp.

### ASIA

*The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-First Century.* By Stefan A. Halper. Basic Books, 2010. 312 pp.

*Challenges to Democracy in India.* Edited by Rajesh M. Basrur. Oxford University Press, 2009. 300 pp.

*China in the 21st Century: What Everyone Needs to Know.* By Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom. Oxford University Press, 2010. 192 pp.

*Defiant Failed State: The North Korean Threat to International Security.* By Bruce E. Bechtol, Jr. Potomac Books, 2010. 288 pp.

*Islamism and Democracy in India: The Transformation of Jamaat-e-Islami.* By Irfan Ahmad. Princeton University Press, 2009. 328 pp.

*Vietnam: Rising Dragon.* By Bill Hayton. Yale University Press, 2010. 272 pp.

### EASTERN EUROPE AND THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

*Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy.* By Timothy Frye. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 296 pp.

*Equality and Revolution: Women's Rights in the Russian Empire, 1905–1917.* By Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010. 376 pp.

*The Origins of Modern Polish Democracy.* Edited by M.B.B. Biskupski, James S. Pula, and Piotr J. Wrobel. Ohio University Press, 2010. 351 pp.

*Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in Russia.* By Sinikukka Saari. Routledge, 2009. 192 pp.

*Red to Green: Environmental Activism in Post-Soviet Russia.* By Laura A. Henry. Princeton University Press, 2009. 296 pp.

*Regime Change in the Yugoslav Successor States: Divergent Paths toward a New Europe.* By Mieczyslaw P. Boduszyński. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. 360 pp.

*Slovakia on the Road to Independence: An American Diplomat's Eyewitness Account.* By Paul Hacker. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. 240 pp.

*Twilight of Impunity: The War Crimes Trial of Slobodan Milosević.* By Judith Armatta. Duke University Press, 2010. 560 pp.

*Vladimir Putin and Russian Statecraft.* By Allen C. Lynch. Potomac Books, 2010. 176 pp.

### LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

*Corruption and Politics in Latin America: National and Regional Dynamics.* Edited by Charles Blake and Stephen Morris. Lynne Rienner, 2010. 286 pp.

*El Salvador in the Aftermath of Peace: Crime, Uncertainty, and the Transition to Democracy.* By Ellen Moodie. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. 344 pp.

*Latin America: Its Problems and Its Promise.* 5th edition. Edited by Jan Knippers Black. Westview, 2010. 656 pp.

*Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings.* Edited by Kurt Weyland, Raúl L. Madrid, and

Wendy Hunter. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 216 pp.

*Learning to Salsa: New Steps in U.S.-Cuba Relations.* By Vicki Huddleston and Carlos Pascual. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. 176 pp.

*Market, State, and Society in Contemporary Latin America.* Edited by William C. Smith and Laura Gomez-Mera. Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. 400 pp.

*Mexico's Democratic Challenges: Politics, Government, and Society.* Edited by Andrew Selee and Jacqueline Peschard. Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford University Press, 2010. 326 pp.

*The Sources of Democratic Responsiveness in Mexico.* By Matthew R. Cleary. University of Notre Dame Press, 2010. 256 pp.

*The Tyranny of Opinion: Honor in the Construction of the Mexican Public Sphere.* By Pablo Piccato. Duke University Press, 2010. 400 pp.

*Unfinished Revolution: Daniel Ortega and Nicaragua's Struggle for Liberation.* By Kenneth Earl Morris. Lawrence Hill, 2010. 304 pp.

*Violent Democracies in Latin America.* Edited by Enrique Desmond Arias and Daniel M. Goldstein. Duke University Press, 2010. 336 pp.

*Who Can Stop the Drums? Urban Social Movements in Chávez's Venezuela.* By Sujatha Fernandes. Duke University Press, 2010. 336 pp.

### MIDDLE EAST

*Building State and Security in Afghanistan.* Edited by Wolfgang Danspeckgruber with Robert P.

Finn. Liechtenstein Institute on Self-Determination at Princeton University, 2010. 324 pp.

*The Contemporary Middle East: A Westview Reader.* 2nd edition. Edited by Karl Yambert. Westview, 2010. 448 pp.

*Democracy in Modern Iran: Islam, Culture, and Political Change.* By Ali Mirsepassi. New York University Press, 2010. 219 pp.

*Faith and Power: Religion and Politics in the Middle East.* By Bernard Lewis. Oxford University Press, 2010. 240 pp.

*The Government and Politics of the Middle East and North Africa.* 6th edition. Edited by David E. Long, Bernard Reich, and Mark Gasiorowski. Westview, 2010. 576 pp.

*The Sadat Lectures: Words and Images on Peace, 1997–2008.* Edited by Shibley Telhami. U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2010. 130 pp.

*The Three Circles of War: Understanding the Dynamics of Conflict in Iraq.* By Heather S. Gregg, Hy S. Rothstein, and John Arquilla. Potomac Books, 2010. 259 pp.

*Toughing It Out in Afghanistan.* By Michael O'Hanlon and Hassina Sherjan. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. 164 pp.

#### COMPARATIVE, THEORETICAL, GENERAL

*American Negotiating Behavior: Wheeler Dealers, Legal Eagles, Bullies, and Preachers.* By Richard H. Solomon and Nigel Quinney. U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2010. 376 pp.

*Citizenship Across the Curriculum.*

Edited by Michael B. Smith, Rebecca S. Nowacek, and Jeffrey L. Bernstein. Indiana University Press, 2010. 240 pp.

*Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War.* By Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 520 pp.

*Contending with Terrorism: Roots, Strategies, and Responses.* Edited by Michael E. Brown, Owen R. Coté Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, and Steven E. Miller. MIT Press, 2010. 418 pp.

*Democracy and Moral Conflict.* By Robert B. Talisse. Cambridge University Press, 2009. 216 pp.

*Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government.* By Adam Przeworski. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 216 pp.

*Democracy in the South: Participation, the State, and the People.* Edited by Brendan Howe, Vesselin Popovski, and Mark Notaras. United Nations University Press, 2010. 233 pp.

*Democracy Under Scrutiny: Elites, Citizens, Cultures.* By Ursula J. van Beek. Barbara Budrich Publishers, 2010. 334 pp.

*Democracy within Parties: Candidate Selection Methods and Their Political Consequences.* By Reuven Y. Hazan and Gideon Rahat. Oxford University Press, 2010. 212 pp.

*The Deportation Regime: Sovereignty, Space, and the Freedom of Movement.* Edited by Nicholas De Genova and Nathalie Peutz. Duke University Press, 2010. 520 pp.

*The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics.* By Michael C. Horowitz.

Princeton University Press, 2010. 273 pp.

*Dilemmas of Democratic Consolidation: A Game-Theory Approach.* By Jay Ulfelder. FirstForumPress, 2010. 177 pp.

*Exploring Civil Society: Political and Cultural Contexts.* By Marlies Glasius, David Lewis, and Hakan Seckinelgin. Routledge, 2010. 224 pp.

*The Eyes of the People: Democracy in an Age of Spectatorship.* By Jeffrey E. Green. Oxford University Press, 2009. 296 pp.

*Framing the State in Times of Transition: Case Studies in Constitution Making.* Edited by Laurel E. Miller. U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2010. 712 pp.

*Freedom of Association.* Edited by Ellen Frankel Paul, Fred D. Miller Jr., and Jeffrey Paul. Cambridge University Press, 2009. 336 pp.

*From the Ground Up: Improving Government Performance with Independent Monitoring Organizations.* By Stephen Kosack, Courtney Tolmie, and Charles C. Griffin. Brookings Institution Press, 2010. 118 pp.

*Hobbes.* By Bernard Gert. Polity, 2010. 183 pp.

*Iran in Latin America—Threat or “Axis of Annoyance”?* Edited by Cynthia Arnson, Haleh Esfandiari, and Adam Stubits. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2010. 118 pp.

*The Legal Foundations of Inequality: Constitutionalism in the Americas, 1776–1860.* By Roberto Gargarella. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 273 pp.

## New Research

pp.

*Leviathan: Or the Matter, Form, & Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil.* By Thomas Hobbes. Edited by Ian Shapiro. Yale University Press, 2010. 608 pp.

*Liberalism: Its Achievements and Failures.* By Kazuo Seiyama. Trans Pacific, 2010. 259 pp.

*Linking Citizens and Parties: How Electoral Systems Matter for Political Representation.* By Lawrence Ezrow. Oxford University Press, 2010. 182 pp.

*Making Decentralization Work: Democracy, Development, and Security.* Edited by Ed Connerley, Kent Eaton,

and Paul Smoke. Lynne Rienner, 2010. 250 pp.

*The Military Transition: Democratic Reform of the Armed Forces.* By Narcís Serra. Translated by Peter Bush. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 270 pp.

*Neoliberalism, Accountability, and Reform Failures in Emerging Markets: Eastern Europe, Russia, Argentina, and Chile in Comparative Perspective.* By Luigi Manzetti. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010. 264 pp.

*The Politics of Electoral Reform: Changing the Rules of Democracy.* By Alan Renwick. Cambridge University Press, 2010. 326 pp.

*Private Security Companies and Private Military Companies: A Comparative and Economical Analysis.* By Joery Matthys. Maklu, 2010. 208 pp.

*Religion and Politics in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa.* Edited by Jeffrey Haynes. Routledge, 2009. 272 pp.

*The Right to Rule: How States Win and Lose Legitimacy.* By Bruce Gilley. Columbia University Press, 2009. 336 pp.

*Vital Democracy: A Theory of Democracy in Action.* By Frank Hendriks. Oxford University Press, 2010. 239 pp.

Editorial Committee

# APSA-CD

is the official newsletter of the American Political Science Association's Comparative Democratization section. Formerly known as CompDem, it has been published three times a year (October, January, and May) by the National Endowment for Democracy's International Forum for Democratic Studies since 2003. In October 2010, the newsletter was renamed APSA-CD and expanded to include substantive articles on democracy, as well as news and notes on the latest developments in the field. The newsletter is now jointly produced and edited by faculty members of the University of Florida's Department of Political Science and the International Forum.

The current issue of APSA-CD is available here. A complete archive of past issues is also available.

To inquire about submitting an article to APSA-CD, please contact Michael Bernhard or Melissa Aten.

## Editorial Committee Members

### Executive Editor



**Diego Abente Brun** is deputy director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. Prior to joining the Forum, Mr. Abente served as a professor of sociology and politics at Catholic University in Asunción, Paraguay, where he had taught since 1994, as a senior research fellow at the Centro de Análisis y Difusión de la Economía Paraguaya, and as an associate professor of political science at Miami University from 1984 to 1992. Mr. Abente-Brun has published and edited several books and his work has also appeared in numerous academic journals, including the *Journal of Democracy*, *Comparative Politics*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, and *Latin American Research Review*.

### Chair

**Michael H. Bernhard** is the inaugural holder of the Raymond and Miriam Ehrlich Eminent Scholar Chair in Political Science at the University of Florida. His work centers on questions of democratization and development both globally and in the context of Europe. Among the issues that have figured prominently in his research agenda are the role of civil society in democratization, institutional choice in new democracies, the political economy of democratic survival, and the legacy of extreme forms of dictatorship.



### Members

**Kate Baldwin** is an assistant professor of political science at the University of Florida and a fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic Politics at Princeton University. She studies state-building, clientelism, and the political economy of development with a regional focus on sub-Saharan Africa. Her current research projects seek to understand the political consequences of involving non-state actors, such as traditional chiefs and non-governmental organizations, in the provision of goods and services.



**Petia Kostadinova** is an assistant professor of political science and associate director of the Center for European Studies at the University of Florida. Her research interests include comparative politics, comparative political economy, East European Politics, and the European Union. Her current projects fall in two main categories: the impact of the European Union on applicant countries and member states and the role of public preferences, and media's transmission of these preferences, in shaping social and economic policies in postcommunist countries. She frequently participates in outreach activities aimed at educating teachers, business leaders, or the general public about recent developments in the European Union or its member states.



**Staffan I. Lindberg** is an associate professor of political science and the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida. He is also the research director of the World Values Survey Sweden, a research fellow at the Quality of Government Institute, and an associate professor of political science at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. His research focuses on state building, political clientelism, political parties, legislative-executive relations, women's representation, voting behavior, elections, and democracy in Africa. He is the author of *Democracy and Elections in Africa* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006) and the editor of *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition?* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).



**Bryon Moraski** is an associate professor of political science at the University of Florida. His research considers the politics of institutional choice, institutional development, and the influence of short-term electoral incentives on long-term political trajectories. Most of his published work focuses on the former Soviet Union and includes articles in the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Europe-Asia Studies*, *Government and Opposition*, the *Journal of Politics*, and elsewhere. His 2006 book, *Elections by Design: Parties and Patronage in Russia's Regions* (Northern Illinois University Press), examines the origins and consequences of electoral system design at the sub-national level in the Russian Federation.



## Editorial Committee



**Conor O'Dwyer** is an associate professor of political science at the University of Florida. His book *Runaway State-Building: Patronage Politics and Democratic Development* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006) examines the relationship between party-building and state-building in new democracies, looking specifically at the relationship between party competition and patronage politics in postcommunist Eastern Europe. His latest research explores how the expansion of the European Union is changing the terrain of domestic politics in the postcommunist member-states, especially with regard to the protection of minority rights.

**Benjamin Smith** is an associate professor of political science at the University of Florida. His research focuses on separatist conflicts, regime change, and democratization. His first book, *Hard Times in the Land of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia*, was published in 2007 by Cornell University Press, and his articles have appeared in *World Politics*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, the *Journal of International Affairs*, and other journals and edited volumes. Mr. Smith is currently working on a book exploring the long-term factors that shape the success of separatist movements.



**Philip Williams** is the director of the Center for Latin American Studies and a professor of political science and Latin American Studies at the University of Florida. He also co-directs the Latin American Immigrants in the New South project. His research interests include religion and politics, transnational migration, democratization, social movements, and civil-military relations. His latest book, *A Place to Be: Brazilian, Guatemalan, and Mexican Immigrants in Florida's New Destinations*, was published by Rutgers University Press in 2009 and his articles have appeared in numerous academic journals, including *Comparative Politics*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *Latin Studies*, and the *Journal of Latin American Studies*.



**Leonardo A. Villalón** is the director of the Center for African Studies and associate professor of political science at the University of Florida. His research has focused on Islam and politics and on democratization in West Africa, particularly Senegal, Mali, and Niger. He is the author of *Islamic Society and State Power in Senegal* (Cambridge University Press, 1995) and co-editor of *The African State at a Critical Juncture: Between Disintegration and Reconfiguration* (Lynne Rienner, 1998) and *The Fate of Africa's Democratic Experiments: Elites and Institutions* (Indiana University Press, 2005), as well as of numerous articles and book chapters on politics and religion in West Africa.



### Managing Editor

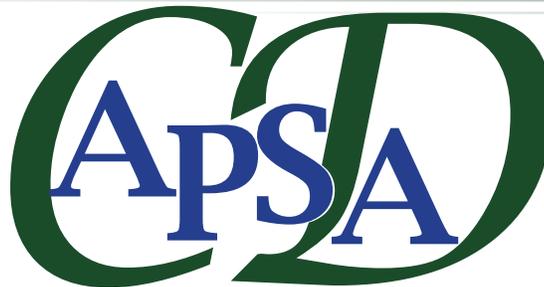
**Melissa Aten-Becnel** is the research and conferences officer at the National Endowment for Democracy's International Forum for Democratic Studies and associate director of the Network of Democracy Research Institutes. She earned an M.A. from The George Washington University's Elliott School of International Affairs, where she focused on foreign policy and Central and Eastern Europe.

### Editorial Assistant

**Tristan Vellinga** received a B.S. in political science from the University of Iowa and is now a Ph.D. student in the department of political science at the University of Florida, where he studies comparative and American politics. His interests include comparative EU studies, European enlargement, Turkish politics, and Turkey-EU relations. His current research focuses on the role that enlargement has on the party systems of new and existing member states and what this means for larger trajectories of party competition and state development.



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