

**POL7119 - Creation and Transformation of States and
Political Regimes**

Professor Stephen Brown

Fall 2019

COURSE OUTLINE

Class schedule	Wednesday, 8:30-11:20am Social Sciences Building, Room 14005
Professor's office hours	Wednesday, 1:45-3:00pm Social Sciences Building, Room 7052
Email	brown@uottawa.ca (please include course code in subject line)
On Virtual Campus	Yes

OFFICIAL COURSE DESCRIPTION

Study of theories of state-building and transformation (including strategies of adaptation within a context of globalisation; issues of state collapse), as well as the study of democratic and authoritarian regimes and their transformations (transition, consolidation, collapse), in a comparative perspective.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

In this course, we will study core theoretical concepts, various types of explanations of regime transitions, key actors and dynamics, as well as issues related to state formation. After completing the course, students will be familiar with the main theoretical debates and the political issues related to this topic. They will be able to use the conceptual tools to analyze concrete experiences in different parts of the world.

ASSESSMENT METHODS

Participation

This course is a seminar, organized around the collective analysis of readings, rather than lectures. It is therefore essential that students do all the readings before class and actively participate. To launch the in-class discussions, a student designated in advance will briefly “introduce” (but not summarize) each reading. This will involve making a few analytical comments, critically assessing or raising questions about the reading designed to elicit discussion.

Class attendance is necessary to successfully complete this course. Students’ participation is assessed every week according to the following scale: absent = 0; present but did not participate = 1; minimal participation = 1½; active participation, depending on the *quality* of comments = 2, 2½ or 3 points. Points will be deducted for tardiness. Students whose attendance is insufficient will receive “EIN” as their final mark, which is a failing grade.

Reaction papers

Over the course of the semester, students must submit four or five short reaction papers of about one single-spaced page each. The aim of the assignment is to *analyze* one of that week’s readings. The reaction papers will consist of an analytical commentary on the reading’s arguments and content, its logical implications *or* its relationship with theory or other readings. It is crucial to remember that reaction papers must not be descriptions, summaries or personal appreciations of the readings.

A few suggestions: If you raise questions that the reading inspires, try to answer them. If you name elements that are missing, explain why they matter and what impact they would have on the reading’s argument. If you think the reading is brilliant and you agree with everything, try to extend the argument and apply it to other areas, potentially discussing some implications of the argument/findings for policymakers. You can also consider where the argument should be placed on the structure-agency continuum.

Reaction papers must be submitted to the professor by email by 8:30am the day before the seminar. Late reaction papers will not be accepted. Students must ensure that they submit at least four reaction papers over the course of the semester. Students have the option of submitting a fifth reaction paper, in which case the best four will be used to calculate the final mark. No more than five reaction papers will be accepted. More than one reaction paper on a given week’s readings is not permitted. A reaction paper may not be submitted for a reading that has already been discussed in class. Students who submit fewer than four reaction papers will receive “EIN” as their final mark (failure/incomplete).

Term papers

Term paper topics should fall within the themes of the course, broadly defined, and must be approved by the professor by September 25. Possible topics include the democratization process or authoritarian restoration in a specific country or a set of countries (such as Francophone Africa or Central America), the role of a specific type of actor (for instance, religious leaders, popular movements, women, the armed forces or Western countries) or the relationship between the process and a particular issue (for example, ethnicity,

violence, economic reforms or crises, impunity, elections or the rise of populism). Students are encouraged to pick a topic that will help them lay the foundation for their master’s research paper (MRP), M.A. thesis or Ph.D. thesis.

A research proposal is due on October 9 at the beginning of class. It should consist of a summary of the paper, including the research question, tentative hypothesis and analytical framework (typed, one page, single-spaced), as well as an annotated preliminary bibliography of at least 12 academic sources, of which a minimum of six must be academic journal articles (no page limit).

Term papers are due by December 12 at 4:30 p.m. Their length should be about 20 pages for M.A. students and 25 pages for Ph.D. students (typed, double-spaced, not counting notes or the bibliography). Term papers should cite at least 18 academic sources, including at least eight journal articles. Sources not cited in a paper should not be listed in the bibliography.

Please note that this course’s compulsory readings may be used as references, but they do not count towards the total number of sources, nor do articles from “predatory journals”. Also, sources that are not cited in the paper should not be included in the bibliography.

Oral presentations

Students will make a very short oral presentation on their term paper, to be followed by about 15 minutes of questions and comments from the class, during the last two classes of the semester. Students should circulate a handout of 2-4 pages to all seminar participants at least 48 hours in advance that clearly states the research question, the tentative argument, the analytical framework and any other information that might be useful for eliciting feedback. (Modalities might be adjusted at a later date, depending on course enrollment.)

Components of Final Mark

Evaluation format	Weight	Date
Research proposal	10%	October 9
Handout and oral presentation	5%	Handout: Nov. 18 or 25 Presentation: Nov. 20 or 27
Term paper	35%	December 12
Reaction papers (4 or 5)	30%	Throughout the semester
Participation	20%	Throughout the semester

Late assignments

Any assignment that is not handed in directly to the professor or emailed to him should be left for him at the School of Political Studies office (FSS 7005). If the office is closed for the day, assignments may be left in the slot of mailbox number 204, around the corner from the

office. Assignments will be stamped with the date that the office reopens, which will count as the submission date. Papers handed in after 4:30 p.m. will count as having been handed in on the following workday.

Extensions will not be provided, unless cleared *at least one week in advance* by the professor. Last-minute exceptions will be made only for illness or other unforeseen situations deemed serious by the professor and supported by adequate documentation. Each day of late submission results in a penalty of 5%. Assignments will not be accepted if more than seven days late, in which case the student will receive a failing grade (EIN).

University regulations require that all absences and all late submissions due to illness be supported by a medical certificate. The Faculty reserves the right to accept or refuse the reason if it is not medical. Reasons such as travel, jobs, or any misreading of the syllabus or examination timetable are not acceptable. Please notify the professor well in advance if a religious holiday or event forces your absence during an evaluation.

SCHEDULE AND READINGS

All required readings can be obtained via the university library or Virtual Campus. "Recommended" readings will not be discussed in class, but are listed as resources for students who wish to further explore the topics discussed.

September 4 - Introduction to the course and state formation

Tilly, Charles. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime". In Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds. *Bringing the State Back In* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 169-191.

Eriksen, Stein Sundstøl. "Regimes, constituencies and the politics of state formation: Zimbabwe and Botswana compared". *International Political Science Review*, vol. 33, no. 3 (2012), pp. 261-78.

September 11 - Key concepts in democratization studies

Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry Lynn Karl. "What Democracy Is... and Is Not". *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1991), pp. 75-88.

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. "Defining Some Concepts (and Exposing Some Assumptions)". *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. pp. 6-11.

Schedler, Andreas. "What is Democratic Consolidation?". *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1998), pp. 91-107.

September 18 - Democratization theories: structuralism and voluntarism

Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy". *American Political Science Review*, vol. 53, no. 1 (1959), pp. 69-85 and 100-105 (skim pp. 86-99).

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, pp. 15-47.

September 25 - Transitions to democracy (topic clearance deadline)

Hadenius, Axel and Jan Teorell. "Pathways from Authoritarianism". *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2007), pp. 143-57.

Karl, Terry Lynn and Philippe C. Schmitter. "Modes of transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe". *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 43, no. 2 (1991), pp. 269-284.

Dobry, Michel. "Paths, Choices, Outcomes, and Uncertainty: Elements for a critique of transitological reason". In Michel Dobry, ed. *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2000, pp. 49-70.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman. "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions". *Comparative Politics*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1997), pp. 263-83.

October 2 - Democratic consolidation

Schmitter Philippe C. and Nicolas Guilhot. "From Transition to Consolidation: Extending the concept of democratization and the practice of democracy". In Michel Dobry, ed. *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences*. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2000, pp. 131-146.

Schedler, Andreas. "Measuring Democratic Consolidation". *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 36, no. 1 (2001), pp. 66-92.

Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel. "Changing Mass Priorities: The Link Between Modernization and Democracy". *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 8, no. 2 (2010), pp. 551-67.

October 9 - Rethinking democratization? (term paper proposals due at the beginning of class)

Carothers, Thomas. "The End of the Transition Paradigm". *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 1 (2002), pp. 5-21.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman. "Democratization During the Third Wave". *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 19 (2016), pp. 125-144.

Waldner, David and Ellen Lust. "Unwelcome Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding". *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 21 (2018), pp. 93-113.

Graf, William. "Reappropriating the past: History in ideology and discourse in the Third World". *New Political Science*, vol. 19, no. 3 (1997), pp. 45-58.

October 16 - Reading Week (no class)

October 23 - Latin America

Video (in class): *Chile: Defeat of a Dictator*, 2000 (34 min.), <https://youtu.be/mD5xKALhnxg?t=3118>.

Balderacchi, Claudio. "Political leadership and the construction of competitive authoritarian regimes in Latin America: implications and prospects for democracy". *Democratization*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2018), pp. 504-523.

Rousseau, Stéphanie and Christina Ewig. "Latin America's Left-Turn and the Political Empowerment of Indigenous Women". *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society*, vol. 24, no. 4 (2017), pp. 425-451.

Pearce, Jenny. "Perverse state formation and securitized democracy in Latin America". *Democratization*, vol. 17, n° 2 (2010), pp. 286-306.

October 30 - Sub-Saharan Africa

Video (in class): *Hopes on the Horizon: Africa in the 1990s* (Benin), 2001 (20 min.)

Zuern, Elke. "Democratization as liberation: Competing African perspectives on democracy". *Democratization*, vol. 16, no. 3 (2009), pp. 585-603.

Beresford, Alexander, Marie E. Berry and Laura Mann. "Liberation movements and stalled democratic transitions: reproducing power in Rwanda and South Africa through productive liminality". *Democratization*, vol. 25, no. 7 (2018), pp. 1231-1250.

Recommended: Brown, Stephen and Paul Kaiser. "Democratisations in Africa: Attempts, Hindrances and Prospects". *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 6 (2007), pp. 1131-49 (section on Benin, pp. 1135-37).

November 6 - Other regions

Schmeidl, Susanne. "The contradictions of democracy in Afghanistan: elites, elections and 'people's rule' post-2001". *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol. 16, no. 6 (2016), pp. 575-594.

Burnell, Peter. "Democratisation in the Middle East and North Africa: perspectives from democracy support". *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 5 (2013), pp. 838-855.

Bunce, Valerie J. and Sharon L. Wolchik. "Modes of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers: A Comparison of 1989, the Color Revolutions, and the MENA Uprisings". *Demokratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2018), pp. 149-172.

November 13 - The international dimension

Carothers, Thomas. "Democracy assistance: political vs. developmental?". *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 20, no. 1 (2009), pp. 5-19.

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. "Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change". *Comparative Politics*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2006), pp. 379-400.

Bader, Julia, Jörn Grävingholt and Antje Kästner. "Would autocracies promote autocracy? A political economy perspective on regime-type export in regional neighbourhoods". *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2010), pp. 81-100.

Münch, Philipp and Alex Veit. "Intermediaries of Intervention: How Local Power Brokers Shape External Peace- and State-Building in Afghanistan and Congo". *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2018), pp. 266-292.

November 20 - Presentations

Handouts to be distributed ahead of time by presenters.

November 27 - Presentations

Handouts to be distributed ahead of time by presenters.

Sexual harassment and violence

The University of Ottawa does not tolerate any form of sexual violence. Sexual violence refers to any act of a sexual nature committed without consent, such as rape, sexual harassment or online harassment. The University, as well as student and employee associations, offers a full range of resources and services allowing members of our community to receive information and confidential assistance and providing for a procedure to report an incident or make a complaint. For more information, visit <http://www.uottawa.ca/sexual-violence-support-and-prevention/>.

Beware of Academic Fraud!

Academic fraud is an act committed by a student to distort the marking of assignments, tests, examinations, and other forms of academic evaluation. Academic fraud is neither accepted nor tolerated by the University. Anyone found guilty of academic fraud is liable to severe academic sanctions.

Here are a few examples of academic fraud:

- engaging in any form of plagiarism or cheating;
- presenting falsified research data;
- handing in an assignment that was not authored, in whole or in part, by the student;
- submitting the same assignment in more than one course, without the written consent of the professors concerned.

In recent years, the development of the Internet has made it much easier to identify academic plagiarism. The tools available to your professors allow them to trace the exact origin of a text on the Web, using just a few words.

In cases where students are unsure whether they are at fault, it is their responsibility to consult the “*Writing and Style Guide for University Papers and Assignments.*” It can be found at: <http://socialsciences.uottawa.ca/undergraduate/writing-style-guide>

Persons who have committed or attempted to commit (or have been accomplices to) academic fraud will be penalized. Here are some examples of the academic sanctions, which can be imposed:

- a grade of “F” for the assignment or course in question;
- an additional program requirement of between 3 and 30 credits;
- suspension or expulsion from the Faculty.
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For more information, refer to the *Student’s Guide to Academic Integrity*:

<http://www.uottawa.ca/vice-president-academic/sites/www.uottawa.ca.vice-president-academic/files/academic-integrity-students-guide.pdf>

and Academic Integrity Website (Office of the Vice-President Academic and Provost)

<http://web5.uottawa.ca/mcs-smc/academicintegrity/home.php>.

Resources for you

Faculty Mentoring Centre - <http://socialsciences.uottawa.ca/mentoring>

The goal of the Mentoring Centre is to help students with their academic and social well-being during their time at the University of Ottawa. Regardless of where a student stands academically, or how far along they are in completing their degree, the Mentoring Centre is there to help students continue on their path to success.

A student may choose to visit the Mentoring Centre for very different reasons.

Younger students may wish to talk to their older peers to gain insight into programs and services offered by the University, while older student may simply want to brush up on study and time management skills or learn about programs and services for students nearing the end of their degree.

In all, the Mentoring Centre offers a place for students to talk about concerns and problems that they might have in any facet of their lives. While students are able to voice their concerns and problems without fear of judgment, mentors can garner further insight in issues unique to students and find a more practical solution to better improve the services that the Faculty of Social Sciences offers, as well as the services offered by the University of Ottawa.

Academic Writing Help Centre - <http://www.sass.uottawa.ca/writing/>

At the AWHC you will learn how to identify, correct and ultimately avoid errors in your writing and become an autonomous writer. In working with our Writing Advisors, you will be able to acquire the abilities, strategies and writing tools that will enable you to:

- Master the written language of your choice
- Expand your critical thinking abilities
- Develop your argumentation skills
- Learn what the expectations are for academic writing

Counselling Service - <http://sass.uottawa.ca/en/personal>

There are many reasons to take advantage of the Counselling Service. We offer:

- Personal counselling
- Career counselling
- Study skills counselling

Human Rights Office - <https://www.uottawa.ca/respect/en>

Mandate: To provide leadership in the creation, implementation and evaluation of policies, procedures and practices on diversity, inclusion, equity, accessibility and the prevention of harassment and discrimination. Contact information: 1 Stewart St. (Main Floor - Room 121), tel.: 613-562-5222, email: respect@uOttawa.ca.

Access Service - <http://sass.uottawa.ca/en/access>

The University has always strived to meet the needs of individuals with learning disabilities or with other temporary or permanent functional disabilities (hearing/visual impairments, sustained health issues, mental health problems), and the campus community works collaboratively so that you can develop and maintain your autonomy, as well as reach your full potential throughout your studies. You can call on a wide range of services and resources, all provided with expertise, professionalism and confidentiality.

If barriers are preventing you from integrating into university life and you need adaptive measures to progress (physical setting, arrangements for exams, learning strategies, etc.), contact the Access Service right away:

- in person at the University Centre, Room 339
- online or
- by phone at 613-562-5976

Deadlines for submitting requests for adaptive measures during exams, midterms, tests, deferred exams: seven business days before the exam, test or other written evaluation (excluding the day of the exam itself)

- final exams:
 - November 15 for the fall session
 - March 15 for the winter session
 - Seven business days before the date of the exam for the spring/summer session (excluding the day of the exam itself).

Career Development Centre - <http://www.sass.uottawa.ca/careers/>

Career Development Centre offers various services and resources in career development to enable you to recognize and enhance the employability skills you need in today's world of work.

Student resources centres -

<http://www.communitylife.uottawa.ca/en/resources.php>

The Student Resources Centres aim to fulfill all sorts of student needs.