

## **Desafíos democráticos y autocratización**

Maestría en Ciencia Política, Tercer Semestre  
Centro de Estudios Internacionales  
El Colegio de México  
Otoño 2022

Profesor: Mariano Sánchez Talanquer, [mariano.sanchez@colmex.mx](mailto:mariano.sanchez@colmex.mx)  
Horario: lunes y miércoles, 9:30 — 11:00am. Salón 2249.

### **Presentación del curso**

¿Por qué parece estar en crisis la democracia en el mundo? ¿Cuáles son los problemas que la aquejan y qué explica su buen o mal funcionamiento, su quiebre o supervivencia? Este curso ofrece una visión comparada de la historia y el estado de la democracia moderna, así como de las dinámicas de la autocratización en el contexto contemporáneo. Para adentrarse en estas preguntas, primero se revisan, desde la política comparada y la teoría política, distintas concepciones de la democracia y de los regímenes que le son antagónicos. Examinamos las ventajas y desventajas de diferentes formas de conceptualizarla y medirla. Después, el curso revisa experiencias históricas decisivas de democratización y quiebre democrático, con miras a los desafíos del presente. La tercera parte del curso revisa las recesiones democráticas actuales. Entre los temas a cubrir se encuentran los problemas de representación, las tensiones entre la soberanía popular y los componentes liberales de la democracia y las nuevas-viejas formas de erosión y ruptura. A lo largo del curso se pone atención a la trayectoria democrática de México, desde la transición hasta el momento actual, pero siempre en diálogo con la literatura comparada y la experiencia global.

### **Políticas generales y logística del curso**

- Las sesiones de clase seguirán un formato de seminario/mesa redonda, con énfasis en la presentación de los estudiantes y la discusión crítica de los temas y lecturas del día. La lectura atenta y reflexión previa a las sesiones son obligatorias e indispensables. También lo son la participación activa y la disposición para la discusión racional y respetuosa durante las sesiones.
- La asistencia a clase es obligatoria. El estudiante puede perder su derecho a recibir una calificación por inasistencias y/o por acudir a la clase sin haber cubierto el material asignado. En caso de no poder asistir a la clase por causa justificada, favor de comunicarse con el profesor.
- La participación en clase será un componente sustantivo de la calificación final y será evaluada en función de la regularidad, oportunidad y calidad de las intervenciones.
- El uso de celulares o chats durante la clase está estrictamente prohibido.
- Salvo por causas extraordinarias, las entregas tardías serán penalizadas con 2 puntos por día. Tratándose de los memorandos para discusión, la penalización será de 1 punto por cada hora de retraso.

## **Evaluación**

- Memorandos para discusión y presentaciones: 25%
- Participación en clase: 25%
- Trabajo final (12-15 páginas): 50%

## **Memorandos y presentaciones**

- Dos veces en el semestre, cada estudiante escribirá una reseña crítica (800-1,000 palabras) y hará una breve presentación (5-7 minutos) sobre el tema y lecturas asignados. Estos memorandos y presentaciones no deben ser un resumen de las lecturas, sino hacer una evaluación crítica sobre las fortalezas y debilidades de las lecturas, contrastar distintos argumentos o aproximaciones al tema en cuestión y abrir un conjunto de preguntas para ser discutidas en la sesión de clase. La reseña crítica deberá circularse electrónicamente a los integrantes del curso a más tardar 24 horas antes de la sesión respectiva.

## **Trabajo final (entrega 6 de diciembre):**

- El trabajo final tratará una pregunta elegida libremente por el estudiante dentro de la temática general del curso. La pregunta o *puzzle* deberá estar planteada en forma explícita al inicio del trabajo y requerir lectura e investigación independiente por parte del estudiante. Los estudiantes podrán consultar con el profesor acerca de su pregunta de investigación a lo largo del semestre. La extensión del trabajo será de entre 12 y 15 páginas.

## **Sesiones y lecturas asignadas**

### **[Vínculo a la carpeta de lecturas](#)**

## **Fundamentos**

### **Semana 1 [Agosto 8 – 10]**

- Abraham Lincoln, "[Gettysburg Address](#)"
- V-Dem Institute. 2022. "[Autocratization Changing Nature? Democracy Report 2022.](#)"
- Rivero, Ángel. 1998. "El discurso republicano." En *La democracia en sus textos*, 49–113. Madrid: Alianza.
- García Guitián, Elena. 1998. "El discurso liberal: democracia y representación." En *La democracia en sus textos*, 115–55. Madrid: Alianza.
- Pasquino, Pasquale. 2015. "Democracy: Ancient and Modern, Good and Bad." In *Democracy in a Russian Mirror*, edited by Adam Przeworski, 110–29. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Semana 2 [Agosto 15 – 17]

- Hazlitt, William. 1819. "What Is the People?" In *Political Essays, with Sketches of Public Characters*, 307–35. London: William Hone.
- Canovan, Margaret. 2005. *The People*. Cambridge: Polity. Cap. 1-2 (pp. 1-39).
- Waldron, Jeremy. 1998. "Participation: The Right of Rights." *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 98: 307–37.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1994. "Three Normative Models of Democracy." *Constellations* 1 (1): 1–10. [Versión en español.](#)

## Poder Constituyente y Constitucionalismo Liberal

### Semana 3 [Agosto 22 – 24]

- Schmitt, Carl. 1982. "'El Poder Constituyente', 'Legitimidad de una Constitución', 'Consecuencias de la doctrina del Poder Constituyente y en particular, del Poder Constituyente del Pueblo.'" In *Teoría de la constitución*, 93–114. Madrid: Alianza.
- Shklar, Judith N. 1993. "El liberalismo del miedo." En *El liberalismo y la vida moral*, edited by Nancy L. Rosenblum. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.
- Dahl, Robert Alan. 2001. *How Democratic Is the American Constitution?* New Haven: Yale University Press. Cap. 2 (pp. 7-20).
- Wolin, Sheldon S. 2016. "Norm and Form: The Constitutionalizing of Democracy" y "Fugitive Democracy". En *Fugitive Democracy And Other Essays*, edited by Nicholas Xenos. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Cap. 4-5, pp. 77-113.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2001. "Constitutional Democracy: A Paradoxical Union of Contradictory Principles?" *Political Theory* 29 (6): 766–81.

### Recomendadas:

- Lefort, Claude. 1991. "La cuestión de la democracia." En *Ensayos sobre lo político*, 17–29. Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara.
- Kalyvas, Andreas. 2005. "Popular Sovereignty, Democracy, and the Constituent Power." *Constellations* 12 (2): 223–44.
- Honig, Bonnie. 2007. "Between Decision and Deliberation: Political Paradox in Democratic Theory." *American Political Science Review* 101 (1): 1–17.
- Näsström, Sofia. 2007. "The Legitimacy of the People." *Political Theory* 35 (5): 624–58.
- Brubaker, William Rogers. 1989. "The French Revolution and the Invention of Citizenship." *French Politics and Society* 7 (3): 30–49.
- Arato, Andrew. 2016. *Post Sovereign Constitution Making: Learning and Legitimacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Levinson, Daryl J. 2011. "Parchment And Politics: The Positive Puzzle of Constitutional Commitment." *Harvard Law Review* 124 (3): 657–746.
- Holmes, Stephen. 2004. *Passions and Constraint: On the Theory of Liberal Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Elster, Jon, and Rune Slagstad, eds. 1993. *Constitutionalism and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Negretto, Gabriel L., and Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer. 2021. "Constitutional Origins and Liberal Democracy: A Global Analysis, 1900–2015." *American Political Science Review* 115 (2): 522–36.

## **Conceptualización y medición**

### **Semana 4 [Agosto 29 – 31]**

- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. Routledge. "The Classical Doctrine of Democracy" and "Another Theory of Democracy", pp. 250-283.
- Dahl, Robert Alan. 1989. *La poliarquía: participación y oposición*. Madrid: Tecnos. Cap. 1, pp. 13-39.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1997. "Una defensa de la concepción minimalista de la democracia." *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 59 (3): 3–36.
- Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research." *World Politics* 49 (3): 430–51.
- Coppedge, Michael et al. 2011. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach." *Perspectives on Politics* 9 (2): 247–67.

## **Desempeño**

### **Semana 5 [Septiembre 5 – 7].**

- Morlino, Leonardo. 2004. "What Is a 'Good' Democracy?" *Democratization* 11 (5): 10–32.
- Mazzuca, Sebastián L. 2010. "Access to Power Versus Exercise of Power: Reconceptualizing the Quality of Democracy in Latin America." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45 (3): 334–57.
- Gerring, John, Carl Henrik Knutsen, and Jonas Berge. 2022. "Does Democracy Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 25 (1): 357–75.
- Albertus, Michael, and Victor Menaldo. 2018. *Authoritarianism and the Elite Origins of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1-62.

#### Recomendadas:

- Bonica, Adam et al. 2013. "Why Hasn't Democracy Slowed Rising Inequality?" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 27 (3): 103–24.
- Scheve, Kenneth, and David Stasavage. 2010. "The Conscription of Wealth: Mass Warfare and the Demand for Progressive Taxation." *International Organization* 64 (4): 529–61.
- Soifer, Hillel. 2013. "State Power and the Economic Origins of Democracy." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48 (1): 1–22.
- Gerring, John, Strom C. Thacker, and Carola Moreno. 2005. "Centripetal Democratic Governance: A Theory and Global Inquiry." *American Political Science Review* 99 (4): 567–81.
- Moore, Will H. 2010. "Incarceration, Interrogation, and Counterterror: Do (Liberal) Democratic Institutions Constrain Leviathan?" *PS: Political Science & Politics* 43 (3): 421–24.
- Hill, Daniel W., and Zachary M. Jones. 2014. "An Empirical Evaluation of Explanations for State Repression." *American Political Science Review* 108 (3): 661–87.
- Davenport, Christian, and David A. Armstrong. 2004. "Democracy and the Violation of Human Rights: A Statistical Analysis from 1976 to 1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (3): 538–54.
- Peruzzotti, Enrique. 2012. "Broadening the Notion of Democratic Accountability: Participatory Innovation in Latin America." *Polity* 44 (4): 625–42.
- Peruzzotti, Enrique. 2014. "Accountability Deficits of Delegative Democracy." In *Reflections on Uneven Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O'Donnell*, edited by Daniel Brinks, Marcelo Leiras, and Scott Mainwaring, 269–84. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Usmani, Adaner. 2018. "Democracy and the Class Struggle." *American Journal of Sociology* 124 (3): 664–704.

### **Nacimiento y muerte**

#### **Semana 6 [Septiembre 12 – 14]**

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *The American Political Science Review* 53 (1): 69–105.
- Dahl, Robert Alan. 1989. *La poliarquía: participación y oposición*. Madrid: Tecnos. Cap. 3, 41–53.
- Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press. 413–432.
- Rustow, Dankwart. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2 (3): 337–63.
- G. O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. "Opening (and Undermining) Authoritarian Regimes" y "Negotiating (and Renegotiating) Pacts". En *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*, pp. 15–47.

### Semana 7 [Septiembre 19 – 21]

- Richard Evans. 2003. "The Failure of Democracy" (cap. 2) y "Towards the Seizure of Power" (cap. 4). En *The Coming of the Third Reich*. New York: Penguin.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2017. *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Cap. 8 y 9 (pp. 259-333).
- Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile (1978)*, pp. 81-110.
- Linz, Juan J., and Alfred C. Stepan. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1-61.
- Kurt Weyland, *Revolution and Reaction: The Diffusion of Authoritarianism in Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 3-10, 43-55, 75-87, 111-154.

### Semana 8 [Septiembre 26 – 28]

- Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Slater, Dan, Benjamin Smith, and Gautam Nair. 2014. "Economic Origins of Democratic Breakdown? The Redistributive Model and the Postcolonial State." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2): 353–74.
- Capoccia, Giovanni. *Defending democracy: Reactions to extremism in interwar Europe*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005, pp. 4-26; 108-137.
- Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2012. "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule." *American Political Science Review* 106 (3): 495–516.

#### Recomendadas:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1988. *Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Argentina, 1966-1973, in Comparative Perspective*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bermeo, Nancy G. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. 2014. *Inequality and Democratization: An Elite-Competition Approach*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1–35.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 2013. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Berman, Sheri. 2019. *Democracy and Dictatorship in Europe: From the Ancien Régime to the Present Day*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "The Nested Game of Democratization by Elections." *International Political Science Review* 23 (1): 103–22.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bromhead, Alan de, Barry Eichengreen, and Kevin H. O'Rourke. 2013. "Political Extremism in the 1920s and 1930s: Do German Lessons Generalize?" *The Journal of Economic History* 73 (2): 371–406.
- Morrison, Kevin M. 2009. "Oil, Nontax Revenue, and the Redistributive Foundations of Regime Stability." *International Organization* 63 (1): 107–38.
- Haber, Stephen, and Victor Menaldo. 2011. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse." *The American Political Science Review* 105 (1): 1–26.
- Stephens, John D. 1989. "Democratic Transition and Breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939: A Test of the Moore Thesis." *The American Journal of Sociology* 94 (5): 1019–77.
- Albertus, Michael. 2017. "Landowners and Democracy: The Social Origins of Democracy Reconsidered." *World Politics* 69 (2): 233–76.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2008. "Does Landholding Inequality Block Democratization?: A Test of the 'Bread and Democracy' Thesis and the Case of Prussia." *World Politics* 60 (4): 610–41.
- Acemoglu, Daron, and James Robinson. 2000. "Why Did the West Extend the Franchise? Democracy, Inequality, and Growth in Historical Perspective." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115 (4): 1167–99.
- Teele, Dawn Langan. 2018. "How the West Was Won: Competition, Mobilization, and Women's Enfranchisement in the United States." *The Journal of Politics* 80 (2): 442–61.
- Møller, Jørgen. 2018. "The Ecclesiastical Roots of Representation and Consent." *Perspectives on Politics* 16 (4): 1075–84.
- Capoccia, Giovanni, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2010. "The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda for Europe and Beyond." *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (8–9): 931–68.

## **Antidemocracia**

### **Semana 9 [Octubre 3 – 5]**

- Paxton, Robert O. 2004. *The anatomy of fascism*. New York: Knopf. Cap. 1 y 2, pp. 1-54.
- Finchelstein, Federico. 2019. *Del fascismo al populismo en la historia*. Barcelona: Taurus.
- Holmes, Stephen. 1993. "La estructura permanente del pensamiento antiliberal." In *El liberalismo y la vida moral*, edited by Nancy L. Rosenblum. Buenos Aires: Nueva Visión.

### **Semana 10 [Octubre 10 (12 de octubre no hay clases)]**

- Urbinati, Nadia. 2021. *Yo, el pueblo: Cómo el populismo transforma la democracia*. Grano de Sal. Introducción, cap. 1.
- Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal. 2012. "The Ambivalence of Populism: Threat and Corrective for Democracy." *Democratization* 19 (2): 184–208.

- Rancière, Jacques. 2016. "The Populism That Is Not to Be Found." In *What Is a People?*, 101–5. New York: Columbia University Press.

## **Personalismo, populismo y partidos**

### **Semana 11 [Octubre 17 – 19].**

- G. O'Donnell: "[Democracia delegativa](#)" en *Journal of Democracy en Español* vol. 1, 7/2009.
- Kalyvas, Andreas. 2008. *Democracy and the Politics of the Extraordinary: Max Weber, Carl Schmitt, and Hannah Arendt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 17-78.
- Andrews-Lee, Caitlin. 2021. *The Emergence and Revival of Charismatic Movements: Argentine Peronism and Venezuelan Chavismo*. Cambridge University Press. 3-50.

### Recomendadas:

- Gramsci, Antonio. "El Príncipe moderno" (Cuaderno 13 1932-1934. Notas breves sobre la política de Maquiavelo). En *Cuadernos de la Cárcel*.
- Sánchez Talanquer, Mariano, ed. 2019. [¿La Venganza Del Pueblo? La Democracia Frente a Sí Misma](#). Configuraciones 48-49. Número Especial. Ciudad de México: IETD-Fundación Carlos Pereyra.
- Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017. *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kurt Weyland. 2001. "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics." *Comparative Politics* 34(1): 1–22.
- Ostiguy, Pierre. 2014. "Exceso, representación y fronteras cruzables: 'institucionalidad sucia', o la aporía del populismo en el poder." *Postdata* 19 (2): 345–75.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2006. "Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 38 (2): 127–48.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 1995. "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case." *World Politics* 48 (1): 82–116.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2019. "Variedades de Capitalismo y Subtipos de Populismo: Las Bases Estructurales de La Divergencia Política." *Configuraciones* 48–49: 88–99.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2017. "Why Populism?" *Theory and Society* 46 (5): 357–85.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2010. "Revisando La Democracia Delegativa." *Casa Del Tiempo*, no. 31: 2–8.
- Murillo, María Victoria. 2018. "La historicidad del pueblo y los límites del populismo." *Nueva Sociedad*, no. 274 (April): 165–75.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 2000. "¿Qué es un pueblo? Sobre la autocomprensión política de las ciencias humanas en el «Vormarz». *El ejemplo de la Asamblea de Germanistas celebrada en Francfort en 1846*." *La constelación posnacional: ensayos políticos*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Arditi, Benjamín. 2010. *La política en los bordes del liberalismo: diferencia, populismo, revolución, emancipación*. 1a ed. México, D.F.: Gedisa.



- Barr, Robert R. 2009. "Populists, Outsiders and Anti-Establishment Politics." *Party Politics* 15 (1): 29–48.

### **Semana 12 [Octubre 24 – 26]**

- Mair, Peter. 2006. "Ruling the Void." *New Left Review* 42: 25–51.
- Schmitter, Philippe. 2001. "Parties Are Not What They Once Were." In *Political Parties and Democracy*, edited by Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 67–89.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2013. "Market Reform, Programmatic (De)Alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (11): 1422–52.
- Hanson, Stephen E., and Jeffrey S. Kopstein. 2022. "Understanding the Global Patrimonial Wave." *Perspectives on Politics* 20 (1): 237–49.
- Houle, Christian, and Paul D. Kenny. 2018. "The Political and Economic Consequences of Populist Rule in Latin America." *Government and Opposition* 53 (2): 256–87.

### **Semana 13 [Octubre 31 (2 de noviembre no hay clases)]**

- Rosenblum, Nancy L. 2010. *On the Side of the Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore. 2010. "Throwing Out the Bums: Protest Voting and Unorthodox Parties after Communism." *World Politics* 62 (2): 221–60.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Maxwell A. Cameron. 2003. "Democracy Without Parties?: Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori's Peru." *Latin American Politics and Society* 45 (3): 1–33.
- Mair, Peter. 2013. "Smaghi versus the Parties: Representative Government and Institutional Constraints." In *Politics in the Age of Austerity*, edited by Wolfgang Streeck and Armin Schäfer. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

### **Recomendadas:**

- Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Stein Rokkan. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York: Free Press.
- Schattschneider, E.E. 1942. *Party Government*. New York: Rinehart.
- Aldrich, John H. 2012. *Why Parties?: A Second Look*. University of Chicago Press.
- Mansfield, Harvey C. 2012. *Statesmanship and Party Government: A Study of Burke and Bolingbroke*. University of Chicago Press.
- Panebianco, Angelo. 1988. *Political Parties: Organization and Power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Mair, Peter. 1997. *Party System Change: Approaches and Interpretations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Selznick, Philip. 1952. *The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Shefter, Martin. 1994. *Political Parties and the State: The American Historical Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hale, Henry E. 2005. *Why Not Parties in Russia?: Democracy, Federalism, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- McAdam, Doug, and Sidney Tarrow. 2010. "Ballots and Barricades: On the Reciprocal Relationship between Elections and Social Movements." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (2): 529–42.
- Anria, Santiago. 2018. *When Movements Become Parties: The Bolivian MAS in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Edurne Zoco. 2007. "Political Sequences and the Stabilization of Interparty Competition: Electoral Volatility in Old and New Democracies." *Party Politics* 13 (2): 155–78.
- Levitsky, Steven et al., eds. 2016. *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Samuels, David, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers: How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bermeo, Nancy, and Deborah J. Yashar, eds. 2016. *Parties, Movements and Democracy in the Developing World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (6–7): 845–79.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2014. *Changing Course in Latin America: Party Systems in the Neoliberal Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- LeBas, Adrienne. 2006. "Polarization as Craft: Party Formation and State Violence in Zimbabwe." *Comparative Politics* 38 (4): 419–38.

## **Degradación democrática y regresión autoritaria**

### **Semana 14 [Noviembre 7 – 9].**

- Haggard, Stephan, and Robert Kaufman. 2021. *Backsliding: Democratic Regress in the Contemporary World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1-84.
- Slater, Dan. 2013. "Democratic Careening." *World Politics* 65 (4): 729–63.
- Graham, Matthew H., and Milan W. Svobik. 2020. "Democracy in America? Partisanship, Polarization, and the Robustness of Support for Democracy in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 114 (2): 392–409.
- Handlin, Samuel. 2017. *State Crisis in Fragile Democracies: Polarization and Political Regimes in South America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 3-54.

### Semana 15 [Noviembre 14 – 16]

- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1–36.
- Bunce, Valerie J., and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2010. “Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes.” *World Politics* 62 (1): 43–86.
- Greene, Kenneth F. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico’s Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanchez-Talanquer, Mariano, and Kenneth F. Greene. 2021. “Is Mexico Falling into the Authoritarian Trap?” *Journal of Democracy* 32 (4): 56–71.

### Semana 16 [Noviembre 23 (21 de noviembre no hay clases)]

- Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2016. “Democratization During the Third Wave.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 19 (1): 125–44.
- Przeworski, Adam. 2022. *Las crisis de la democracia: ¿Adónde pueden llevarnos el desgaste institucional y la polarización?* Buenos Aires: Siglo Veintiuno Editores.

### Recomendadas:

- Bermeo, Nancy. 2016. “On Democratic Backsliding.” *Journal of Democracy* 27 (1): 5–19.
- Khosla, Madhav, and Milan Vaishnav. 2021. “The Three Faces of the Indian State.” *Journal of Democracy* 32 (1): 111–25.
- Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, “Introduction,” “Chapter 1” & “Chapter 4” *How Democracies Die* (Crown, 2018), pp. 1-32; 72-96.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2013. *The Politics of Uncertainty: Sustaining and Subverting Electoral Authoritarianism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Scheppele, Kim Lane. 2022. “How Viktor Orbán Wins.” *Journal of Democracy* 33 (3): 45–61.
- Lührmann, Anna, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2019. “A Third Wave of Autocratization Is Here: What Is New about It?” *Democratization* 26 (7): 1095–1113.
- Marc J. Hetherington, “Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization,” in Richard Niemi, Herbert Weisberg, and David Kimball, eds. *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (CQ Press, 2011)
- Baturo, Alexander, and Jakob Tolstrup. 2022. “Incumbent Takeovers.” *Journal of Peace Research*, May.
- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, Nicolás Schmidt, and Daniela Vairo. 2019. “Presidential Hegemony and Democratic Backsliding in Latin America, 1925–2016.” *Democratization* 26 (4): 606–25.
- Kendall-Taylor, Andrea, Erica Frantz, and Joseph Wright. 2017. “The Global Rise of Personalized Politics: It’s Not Just Dictators Anymore.” *The Washington Quarterly* 40 (1): 7–19.
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