



## IN THIS ISSUE

## *“Subnational Democracy”*

- 1 Editorial Note  
*Michael Bernhard*
- 1 Subnational Comparative Research on Democracy  
*Eduardo Moncada and Richard Snyder*
- 1 Turning Points and the Cross-national Diffusion of Popular Protest  
*David Patel and Valerie J. Bunce*
- 2 Sisyphean Endeavor or Worthwhile Undertaking?  
*Tomila Lankina*
- 2 Scaling Down and Up  
*Aseema Sinha*
- 3 Subnational Democracy: Lessons from Latin America  
*Agustina Giraudy*
- 3 Studying Local Democracy and Studying Democracy Locally  
*Daniel Berger*
- 29 Section News
- 36 New Research
- 42 Editorial Committee

### FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

In this issue, we again feature a more topical article and a symposium devoted to an important development in the literature on democracy and democratization. The featured article, by David Patel and Valerie Bunce, looks at the phenomenon of the regional diffusion of democracy. The authors propound a theory of critical cases whose impact go beyond national politics and become exemplars of the possible for

*(continued on page 4)*

## SUBNATIONAL COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON DEMOCRACY: TAKING STOCK AND LOOKING FORWARD,

**Eduardo Moncada**, *Rutgers University*  
**Richard Snyder**, *Brown University*



What has the recent turn toward subnational analysis in comparative politics contributed to knowledge about democracy? A decade ago Snyder argued that the subnational comparative method, that is, the systematic analysis of a small number of territorially-defined subnational cases, such as cities, provinces, states and regions, offered a powerful tool both for getting beyond the “whole nation bias” in the field of comparative politics and for avoiding some of the methodological pitfalls that routinely arise in “small-N” research.<sup>1</sup> At that time a first generation of studies that had appeared over the course of the 1990s was leveraging the subnational comparative method to shed light on a broad set of questions with important implications for the study of democracy. Since then, the use of the subnational comparative method has increased notably and the range of questions addressed with

1. Richard Snyder, “Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (2001): 93-110. On “whole nation bias” see Stein Rokkan, *Citizens, Elections, Parties: Approaches to the Comparative Study of the Processes of Development* (New York: David McKay Company, 1970).

*(continued on page 4)*

## TURNING POINTS AND THE CROSS-NATIONAL DIFFUSION OF POPULAR PROTEST,

**David Patel**, *Cornell University*  
**Valerie J. Bunce**, *Cornell University*



It is far easier to explain why protests against authoritarian rulers erupt in one country than to explain why, in a few cases, these anti-regime mobilizations spread to other countries in the same region. While both processes require ordinary citizens and oppositions to surmount the familiar obstacles to collective action, which are particularly formidable in the case of authoritarian regimes, the second one introduces an additional constraint. If oppositions and their allies are emboldened by the protests that have erupted in neighboring countries, so authoritarian leaders are quick to draw lessons from these dangerous precedents and take preemptive action.<sup>1</sup> Just as these leaders have significant resources at their disposal to block diffusion, so they have strong interests in doing so because their jobs, financial interests, legacies and even lives are at stake.

1. See Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, “Double Diffusion: The Co-Evolution of Police and Protest Behavior with an Application to Transnational Contention” Unpublished manuscript, 2010.

*(continued on page 10)*

## Articles

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### SISYPHEAN ENDEAVOR OR WORTHWHILE UNDERTAKING? TRANSCENDING WITHIN-NATION, WITHIN REGION SUB-NATIONAL DEMOCRACY ANALYSIS,

Tomila Lankina

Leicester Business School



A decade ago, Richard Snyder made an eloquent plea for the merits of “scaling down” to the sub-national level while lamenting the pitfalls associated with “mean-spirited,” “center-centered” perspectives dominating research on political and economic liberalization and democracy.<sup>1</sup> Snyder’s sentiments were well received by analysts of sub-national change in territorially large democratizing or liberalizing polities. They have been echoed by other scholars of Latin America, China, India, and Russia. The substantial spatial variations in income inequalities, historical pathways, ethno-linguistic divisions, religion, legacies of empire, and regional political regimes in many settings understandably make sub-national analysts uncomfortable with the widespread practice of relying on national-level generalizations and data. In this essay, I discuss the merits and challenges of sub-national analysis based on my experiences of research into sub-national politics in developing democracies, as well as in hybrid regimes like Russia for which the label “democracy” or “democratizing” may be inappropriate.<sup>2</sup> I also suggest some ways of addressing common issues in the practice of sub-national research, such as a tendency toward within-nation and regional specialization.

There is now a growing community of scholars doing rigorous work on sub-national democracy. The bulk of this work, including Robert Putnam’s earlier path-breaking study of social capital, has either been set in a single nation or, occasionally, in

1. Richard Snyder, “Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (Spring 2001): 93-110.

2. Henry E. Hale, “Eurasian Polities as Hybrid Regimes: The Case of Putin’s Russia,” *Journal of Eurasian Studies* 1 (January 2010): 33-41.

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### SCALING DOWN AND UP: CAN SUBNATIONAL ANALYSIS CONTRIBUTE TO A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF MICRO-LEVEL AND NATIONAL LEVEL PHENOMENA?,

Aseema Sinha

Claremont McKenna College



While cross-national analysis dominates comparative politics, many scholars have moved to the subnational level to test hypotheses generated at the national level. Subnational studies allow researchers to control for variation in a way that even the most sophisticated cross-national statistical studies are unable to. Accordingly, scholars have sought to leverage this advantage to gain new insight into topics as diverse as democracy, industrialization, regionalism, neoliberalism, welfare and poverty policies, social capital, and ethnicity and riots.<sup>1</sup> Scholars interested in Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Mexico, Russia, Spain, even Japan have incorporated the subnational level in their analysis. Local factors were key to both China’s and India’s rapid transformations, each well recognized as significant turning points in the global system.<sup>2</sup> The subnational focus also moved to international politics as a small literature on foreign policies of provinces further opened the black box of domestic states, enhancing the dialogue between comparative politics and international relations.<sup>3</sup> Importantly, decentralization initiatives across the globe have mobilized new interest in sub-state level

1. I cite only a few representative references here, as the literature is quite extensive. Richard Locke, *Remaking the Italian Economy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Aseema Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India: a Divided Leviathan* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (Yale University Press, 2002); Richard Snyder, *Politics after Neoliberalism: Reregulation in Mexico* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Bryon Moraski, *Elections by Design: Parties and Patronage in Russia’s Regions* (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006).

2. Jean C. Oi, *Rural China Takes Off: Institutional Foundations of Economic Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Dali, L. Yang, *Beyond Beijing: Liberalization and the Regions in China* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), and Rob Jenkins, *Democracy and Economic Reform in India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

3. David Crikemans, ed., *Regional Sub-State Diplomacy Today*, (Leiden; Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010); Purnendra Jain, *Japan’s Subnational Governments in International Affairs* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Darel E. Paul, *Rescaling International Political Economy: Subnational States and the Regulation of the Global Political Economy* (New York: Routledge, 2005).

(continued on page 19)

## SUBNATIONAL DEMOCRACY: LESSONS FROM LATIN AMERICA,

Agustina Giraudy

Harvard University



Social and political processes rarely unfold evenly across a territory. Rather, they occur in geographically uneven patterns and are likely to produce within-country variation. Democracy and democratization are not exceptions. Indeed, as Robert Dahl and Guillermo O'Donnell noted years ago, the unfolding of democracy in different regions of the world over time has been territorially uneven both across levels of government and subnational units.<sup>1</sup> Precisely for this reason, the study of democracy requires us to take issues of space seriously.

Echoing this claim, recent works by comparativists around the world have focused increasing attention on how territoriality shapes democratic development. In particular, these works have centered on the limited territorial reach of national democracy in subnational jurisdictions, challenging in important ways our previous understanding of national democratization processes. This essay focuses on Latin America, a region of the world that due to the prevalence of “regime juxtaposition”<sup>2</sup>—i.e., the existence of subnational undemocratic regimes<sup>3</sup> (SURs) alongside a democratic national government—has produced a

1. Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971); Guillermo O'Donnell, *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

2. Edward Gibson, “Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries” *World Politics* 58 (October 2005): 101-132.

3. The term “undemocratic” is employed to refer to regimes that are neither democratic nor authoritarian – after all, the “bounded” character of these regimes (embedded within a nationally democratic regime) forces subnational units to be minimally democratic. For the sake of clarity, these regimes are not referred to as “hybrid” because this is a generic term usually employed to denote different regime types, such as electoral authoritarianisms, competitive authoritarianisms, semi-democracies, or semi-authoritarianisms, among others.

(continued on page 23)

## STUDYING LOCAL DEMOCRACY AND STUDYING DEMOCRACY LOCALLY,

Daniel Berger

University of Essex



Over the past several years, empirical micro-level studies have assumed an increasingly prominent place in political science in general and comparative politics in particular. Some of these papers are purely local in scope while others try to use well identified micro-level research designs to draw inferences about macro-level policies. In this short paper

I consider how the applied micro-tools used in studying local democracy inform what we know about democracy at all levels. In particular, in addition to considering national effects of national democracy and local effects of local democracy this literature reminds us that national democracy can have different local effects in different places, and that local democracy can impose externality costs (or benefits) on other parts of a country.

The empirical study of democracy has traditionally been difficult for reasons ranging from the problem of finding a precise and uncontroversial definition of the concept to that of devising plausible cross-national identification strategies. Micro-level studies circumvent these issues by focusing on identification and internal validity within a specified domain. So while the line between weak democracy and soft authoritarianism is difficult to locate precisely, the papers examined here do not require the acceptance of a particular definition. Instead they are structured to extract the effect of a well-defined institution, rule, or other entity as it behaves within the hard to fully characterize political environment of a specific country, region, or even city.

The newly flowering micro-level literature on democracy, and especially the within-country literature, generates valuable insights. This research clearly answers small questions as opposed to vaguely answering big questions. Instead of wondering

(continued on page 26)

**Editors/Moncada and Snyder****FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD, CONTINUED***(continued from page 1)*

neighboring countries. They explore the logic of this across three different periods of regional diffusion – 1989 in Eastern Europe, the color revolutions in Eurasia, and the current episode of regime changes across the Middle East. The symposium concerns the emerging literature on subnational democratization. We are again lucky to have a nice mix of established and emerging scholars addressing this important new literature. Pieces by Eduard Moncado

and Richard Snyder, Agustina Giraudy, Tomila Lankhina, Aseema Sinha, and Daniel Berger cover a number of important topics including a survey of the research of this nature and its major findings, what subnational research contributes to our understanding of democratization processes, how it differs from and complements cross-national research, and what kinds of inferential advantages and pitfalls research of this nature offers. Thanks are due to my

co-editor Bryon Moraski who recruited the authors and coordinated the symposium.

On behalf of the Editorial Committee,

*Michael Bernhard*

*bernhard@ufl.edu*

**Moncada and Snyder, CONTINUED***(continued from page 1)*

this method has expanded.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, a second generation of subnational comparative research on democracy has now emerged, distinguished by its focus on a new set of substantive questions, its use of mixed research designs that combine qualitative and quantitative methods, and the notable presence of scholars based in the global south. In this article, we take stock of how the subnational comparative method has produced insights about key factors that fortify and, alternatively, challenge our knowledge about democracy. We also consider the opportunities and difficulties that spatially complex and unbound phenomena pose for future research on democracy using the subnational comparative method.

**The First Generation of Subnational Comparative Research on Democracy**

Ten years ago, scholars had already started to open the “black box” of national-level analysis by focusing on subnational political units.<sup>3</sup> As

2. Lily Tsai and Daniel Ziblatt, “The Rise of Subnational and Multilevel Comparative Politics” *Annual Review of Political Science* (forthcoming).

3. These studies stood on the shoulders of earlier subnational comparative works, such as Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in 1950 Saskatchewan*

shown in Table 1, the first generation of subnational comparative research focused on a diverse range of subjects. Despite their different substantive foci, these studies shared a fundamental, though often implicit, assumption: major outcomes of interest, including democracy, governance, economic reform, and violence, are territorially uneven phenomena whose causes and effects vary significantly at the subnational level. Consequently, making valid causal inferences and, in turn, building strong theories about these spatially uneven phenomena require a focus on the subnational level.

*Subnational Authoritarian Regimes*

A prominent early line of research in the first generation of subnational comparative analysis explored the tensions between national-level efforts to consolidate democracy and the

(Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1950); Juan J. Linz and Amando de Miguel, “Within-Nation Differences and Comparisons: The Eight Spains” in Richard L. Merritt and Stein Rokkan, eds., *Comparing Nations: The Use of Quantitative Data in Cross-National Research* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966): 269-319; Atul Kohli, *The State and Poverty in India: The Politics of Reform* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press 1987). See also Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli, and Vivienne Shue, eds. *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

persistence of non-democratic political practices at the local-level. O’Donnell called attention to the presence of “brown areas” – territorial zones within formal democracies that lacked both effective state bureaucracies and the rule of law and where the “circuits of power” ran on corruption and clientelism.<sup>4</sup> Others pointed to the existence of full-fledged subnational authoritarian regimes, such as Fox’s finding that authoritarian enclaves in Mexico threatened the country’s democratization.<sup>5</sup> Snyder explored how different types of subnational authoritarian regimes, defined in terms of the varying coalitional support bases of state governors, the nature of governors’ ties to national-level elites, and their styles of leadership, emerged across Mexico.<sup>6</sup> Analysis of subnational

4. Guillermo A. O’Donnell, “On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries” *World Development* 21 (August 1993), 1350.

5. Jonathan Fox, “Latin America’s Emerging Local Politics” *Journal of Democracy* 5 (April 1994), 106.

6. Richard Snyder, “After the State Withdraws: Neoliberalism and Subnational Authoritarian Regimes in Mexico,” in Wayne A. Cornelius, Todd A. Eisenstadt, and Jane Hindley, eds. *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico* (La Jolla, CA: The Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1999a): 295-341.



Table 1: Two Generations of Subnational Comparative Research on Democracy: An Inventory of Key Findings

First Generation		Second Generation	
Area of Research	Key Findings	Area of Research	Key Findings
Subnational Authoritarian Regimes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The reach of the central state is territorially uneven.</li> <li>Subnational authoritarian regimes can thrive in countries with national-level democracy.</li> </ul>	Clientelism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The incentives politicians face to engage in clientelism are a function of local socioeconomic and political conditions.</li> </ul>
Social Capital, Governance and the Quality of Democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Social capital and democracy are mutually reinforcing.</li> <li>Public-private collaboration at the local level facilitates economic development.</li> </ul>	Participatory Policy Reforms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Local political institutions have a crucial impact on the intensity and quality of political participation.</li> </ul>
Decentralization and Neoliberalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Decentralization and neoliberal economic reforms are territorially uneven processes.</li> <li>The effects of decentralization and neoliberal economic reforms on the quality of representation, public policy and service delivery depend on subnational variation in the power of political elites and societal actors.</li> </ul>	Recentralization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subnational financial distress can jeopardize national economic stability and, in turn, catalyze recentralization efforts.</li> <li>The political fortunes of recentralization depend on the incentives and power subnational actors have to oppose or support it.</li> </ul>
Federalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subnational political units are potentially autonomous policy jurisdictions.</li> </ul>	Intergovernmental Relations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vertical relations between governments at distinct levels of the political system, as well as horizontal relations across governments at the same level, have a powerful effect on citizen security, democracy, and development.</li> </ul>
Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cities, not just rural areas, can breed political and ethnic violence.</li> <li>Associational networks at the local level strongly affect the likelihood of violence.</li> </ul>	Micro-dynamics of Violence and Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Local violence is often driven by cleavages and rivalries that are quite distinct from the "master cleavages" that divide national actors.</li> </ul>

authoritarian regimes, in turn, helped explain the slow and territorially uneven progress of democratization.

*Social Capital and Governance*

Putnam’s landmark study of sharp and puzzling variation in subnational government performance across a dozen policy areas between the Northern and Southern regions of Italy launched a research program on “social capital.” According to Putnam, the North’s higher level of associational life, or social capital, enabled it consistently to outperform the South.<sup>7</sup> Tandler’s

7. Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993).

research on the Brazilian state of Ceará found that collaboration between civil society organizations and government bureaucrats across several public-service policy domains explained good government performance. Her work helped set a fruitful research agenda on how “synergistic” cooperation between public and private sectors influences local development and democracy.<sup>8</sup>

*Decentralization and Neoliberalism*

The twin waves of political

8. Judith Tandler, *Good Government in the Tropics* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); See John Ackerman, “Co-Governance for Accountability: Beyond ‘Exit’ and ‘Voice’” *World Development* 32 (March 2004), 449-50. For a set of studies on synergy – many with a subnational focus – see the special issue of *World Development* (Vol. 24, No. 6, 1996) edited by Peter Evans.

decentralization and neoliberal economic reforms that swept the globe in the 1980s and 1990s sparked numerous studies that aimed to explain the spatially uneven implementation and consequences of these policy reforms for development and democracy. Willis et al. looked at bargaining between national and subnational political actors as a way to correct for the dominance of economic theories of decentralization and advance their alternative theory of its political determinants. The authors concluded that cross-national variation in patterns of fiscal decentralization was shaped by the degree of political party centralization across national and subnational governments.<sup>9</sup> DeMelo’s study of intergovernmental fiscal relations in the context of decentralization across 30 countries highlighted how newly empowered subnational politicians could challenge national economic policies and, in turn, jeopardize national macroeconomic stability.<sup>10</sup> Although decentralization was conventionally expected to improve local governance and, ultimately, democracy, by narrowing the gap between policymakers and citizens, subnational studies found that the consequences of decentralization depended on the nature of local-level informal institutions.<sup>11</sup> Snyder exploited striking subnational variation in institution-building across Mexican states to show how and why strategic

9. Eliza Willis, Christopher da C.B. Garman, and Stephan Haggard, “The Politics of Decentralization in Latin America” *Latin American Research Review* 34 (1999): 7-56.

10. Luis R. DeMelo, “Fiscal Decentralization and Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations: A Cross-Country Analysis” *World Development* 28 (February 2005): 365-80.

11. Alfred Montero and David Samuels, ed., *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004); Guillermo A. O’Donnell, Jorge Vargas Culler, and Osvaldo Miguel Iazzetta, eds., *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications* (South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

## Moncada/Snyder

interaction between subnational politicians and civil society drove the politics of reregulation after neoliberalism.<sup>12</sup> Research on the unfolding of national-level political and economic reforms across subnational units thus showed how subnational forces can have an important impact on the fortunes of national political projects.

### Federalism

Studies of federalism also zoomed in on subnational units. Remmer and Wibbels flipped the causal arrow in research on the politics of economic adjustment by looking at how variation in subnational fiscal policies affected national-level macroeconomic stabilization.<sup>13</sup> Gibson and Calvo found that electoral overrepresentation of subnational political units in Argentina's federal system explained the public-spending strategies used by national executives to build support for economic reforms. National executives targeted public spending to "low maintenance" constituencies in overrepresented jurisdictions and shielded these groups from market-oriented economic reforms. By contrast, "high maintenance" constituencies in underrepresented jurisdictions located in the more urbanized and economically developed regions of the country saw reductions in public spending and bore the brunt of the economic reforms.<sup>14</sup>

12. Richard Snyder, "After Neoliberalism: The Politics of Reregulation in Mexico" *World Politics* 51 (January 1999b): 173-204; Richard Snyder, *Politics After Neoliberalism: Reregulation in Mexico* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001b).

13. Karen L. Remmer and Erik Wibbels, "The Subnational Politics of Economic Adjustment Provincial Politics and Fiscal Performance in Argentina" *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (May 2000): 419-51.

14. Edward L. Gibson and Ernesto Calvo, "Federalism and Low-Maintenance Constituencies: Territorial Dimensions of Economic Reform in Argentina" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (Fall 2000): 32-55. See also Edward

### Violence

Scholars also turned to the subnational comparative method to explore the challenges violence posed to democracy. Varshney's study of the relationship between associational life and Hindu-Muslim riots in eight Indian cities punctured the conventional view that political violence in India was mainly a rural phenomenon. Varshney showed instead that riot-related deaths were actually concentrated in several of India's urban centers and that the strength of local inter-communal associational networks explained cross-city variation in levels of violence.<sup>15</sup> The proliferation of intra-state conflict during the post-Cold War era would make subnational comparative analysis an increasingly important tool in the study of the causes and consequences of violence.

### The Second Generation of Subnational Comparative Research on Democracy

The second generation of subnational comparative research on democracy builds on its predecessor yet also breaks new ground in both substance and methods. Substantively, although important recent studies focus on topics that concerned the first generation, such as subnational authoritarian regimes and decentralization,<sup>16</sup> the focus of much research has shifted

L. Gibson, ed., *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

15. Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002).

16. Edward L. Gibson, *Boundary Control: Making and Unmaking Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (forthcoming); Robert W. Mickey, *Paths Out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South, 1944-1972* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming); Tullia Falletti, *Decentralization and Subnational Politics in Latin America* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

to new aspects of, and challenges to, democracy such as clientelism, participatory policy reforms, political recentralization, and intergovernmental relations. Methodologically, in contrast to the first generation of research, which seldom combined qualitative case studies and quantitative analysis, the second generation is far more likely to pursue mixed-method strategies, often by crafting a "nested" research design that combines small-N comparative case studies with large-N subnational quantitative analysis that situates the cases within the full universe of subnational political and administrative units in one or more countries.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the second generation includes many scholars based in the global south, who are increasingly turning to subnational comparative analysis as a way to advance knowledge about politics in their countries.<sup>18</sup> Because it offers a way to implement a comparative research design in one country, the subnational comparative method is an especially

17. On "nested" research strategies, see Michael Coppedge, "Explaining Democratic Deterioration in Venezuela through Nested Inference" in Francis Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring, eds., *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 289-318; and Evan S. Lieberman, "Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research" *American Political Science Review* 99 (August 2005): 435-52.

18. See, for example, Francisco Gutiérrez and Mauricio Barón, "Órdenes Subsidiarios: Coca, Esmeraldas: La Guerra y La Paz" *Colombia Internacional* (January-June 2008): 102-129; Yogendra Yadav and Suhas Palshikar, "Ten Theses on State Politics in India," *Seminar* 591 (November 2008): 14-22; Ralf Leitteritz, Carlo Nasi and Angelika Rettberg, "Para Desvincular los Recursos Naturales del Conflicto Armado en Colombia," *Colombia Internacional* (July-December 2009): 215-29; and Germán Lodola, "La Estructura Subnacional de las Carreras Políticas en Argentina y Brasil," *Desarrollo Económico* (July-September 2009): 247-86. For efforts by scholars based in the global south to explain why subnational undemocratic regimes persist despite national democratization, see Agustina Giraudy, "The Politics of Subnational Undemocratic Regime Reproduction in Argentina and Mexico" *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2 (2010): 53-84; and Carlos Gervasoni, "A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy, and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces" *World Politics*, 62 (April, 2010): 302-340.

attractive tool in the face of resource constraints that can make fieldwork in foreign countries and cross-national research prohibitively costly.

### *Clientelism*

Clientelism is a burgeoning research area where subnational comparative analysis plays a prominent role. Because clientelism is anchored in micro-level social and political ties and networks that are difficult to organize and exploit on a national scale, clientelism is especially well-suited to a subnational approach. Moreover, the observation and measurement of clientelistic practices is likely to be more feasible at a subnational-level. In her study of Argentine provinces, Stokes finds that political machines leverage their penetration of voters' social networks to mitigate the possibility that voters will use the secret ballot to renege on their commitments.<sup>19</sup> Weitz-Shapiro uses a subnational comparative analysis across Argentine municipalities to explore variation in strategies of political survival, focusing on why some politicians choose clientelistic strategies whereas others do not.<sup>20</sup> Recent work on clientelism in India, Mexico and Russia also employs subnational comparative analysis to advance our understanding of the political underpinnings of clientelism.<sup>21</sup>

19. Susan Stokes, "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina" *American Political Science Review* 99 (August 2005): 315-25.

20. Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro, "What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt Out of Clientelism" Unpublished manuscript (Providence, RI: Brown University, 2010).

21. Tariq Thachil, *The Saffron Wave Meets the Silent Revolution: Why the Poor Vote for Hindu Nationalism in India*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Government, Cornell University, 2009; Beatriz Magaloni, Alberto Diaz-Cayeros and Federico Estévez, "Clientelism and Portfolio Diversification: A Model of Electoral Investment with Applications to Mexico" in Herbert Kitschelt and Stephen I. Wilkinson, eds., *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition* (Cambridge University Press, 2007): 182-205; Henry

### *The Participation Revolution*

The last decade witnessed a tremendous proliferation of subnational institutions designed to expand local-level citizen participation in public policymaking. This, in turn, sparked a surge in studies of the origins and outcomes of participatory experiments. While municipal-level participatory budgeting is the focus of many works, scholars have also started looking at other participatory institutions. For example, Avritzer studies health councils in Brazil, concluding that successful participatory institutions result from cooperation between a robust civil society and a cohesive political society welcoming of increased participation.<sup>22</sup> Tsai finds that informal institutions that hold local bureaucrats accountable play a central role in the provision of public goods across Chinese villages.<sup>23</sup> And Heller et al. conclude that local planning councils in India, or *panchayats*, provide spaces not only for participatory consultation but also for the *implementation* of development projects proposed and designed through

Hale, "Correlates of Clientelism: Political Economy, Politicized Ethnicity, and Post-Communist Transition" in Herbert Kitschelt and Stephen I. Wilkinson, eds., *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 227-50.

22. Leonardo Avritzer, *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2009). On the politics of participatory budgeting, see Gianpaolo Baiocchi, *Militants and Citizens: The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005); Patrick Heller, "Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralization in Kerala, South Africa, and Porto Alegre" *Politics & Society* 29 (March 2001): 131-63; Brian Wampler, *Participatory Budgeting in Brazil: Contestation, Cooperation and Accountability* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University, 2007); and Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Patrick Heller, and Marcelo K. Silva, *Bootstrapping Democracy: Transforming Local Governance and Civil Society in Brazil* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, forthcoming).

23. Lily Tsai, *Accountability Without Democracy: Solidary Groups and Public Goods Provision in Rural China* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

participatory mechanisms.<sup>24</sup> These works offer a valuable window into state-society relations at the micro-level by using a subnational perspective to zoom in on the interaction among grassroots civil society, local government, and state officials.

### *From Decentralization to Recentralization*

Decentralization still offers fertile terrain for theory-building, as seen in Falleti's work, which uses subnational comparisons in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico to develop a novel sequential theory of decentralization.<sup>25</sup> At the same time, a new focus has emerged on the politics of *recentralization*. Eaton and Dickovick show how subnational fiscal imbalances produce strong incentives for national executives to try to rein in subnational governments in Brazil and Argentina.<sup>26</sup> And while McMann's work highlights the patchwork nature of regime types across Russian provinces, Russia is now undergoing a far-reaching process of recentralization initiated under former President Vladimir Putin with complex political implications.<sup>27</sup> In China, Yang finds that the national government has largely succeeded in recentralizing

24. Patrick Heller, K.N. Harilal, and Shubham Chaudhuri, "Building Local Democracy: Evaluating the Impact of Decentralization in Kerala, India" *World Development* 35 (April 2007): 626-48.

25. Tulia Falleti, *Decentralization and Subnational Politics in Latin America* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

26. Kent Eaton and J. Tyler Dickovick, "The Politics of Re-Centralization in Argentina and Brazil" *Latin American Research Review* 39 (February 2004): 90-122.

27. Kelly M. McMann, *Economic Autonomy and Democracy: Hybrid Regimes in Russia and Kyrgyzstan* (Cambridge University Press, 2006); Bryon J. Moraski and William M. Reisinger, "Eroding Democracy: Federal Intervention in Russia's Gubernatorial Elections" *Democratization* 14 (August 2007): 603-21; Gavril Bilev, *Checking the Boss: Legislative Autonomy and Executive Contestation in the Russian Regions, 1992-2005*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Brown University, 2011.



## Moncada/Snyder

fiscal policies that previously were decentralized to the provincial-level.<sup>28</sup> These and other studies show that recentralization, like decentralization, cannot be understood only through the prism of national-level politics: the varied political, economic and social resources available to subnational actors determine whether recentralization succeeds or fails and how it affects the quality of democracy.

### *Intergovernmental Politics*

Research on intergovernmental politics using subnational comparisons has advanced on two fronts: first, the study of *vertical* relations between governments located at distinct levels of the political system, and, second, the study of *horizontal* relations across governments situated at the same level of the political system. A focus on vertical relations sheds light on the factors that produce conflict or, alternatively, cooperation between national and subnational governments on a range of crucial policy issues. For example, Sinha develops a multilevel framework to explain variation in economic development across Indian states that centers on the interactions among national decision makers and regional politicians.<sup>29</sup> Citizen security in the face of growing urban crime and violence across the global south also offers fruitful terrain for the study of vertical intergovernmental relations. Urban violence in Colombia has generated puzzling variation in city government responses, ranging from traditional, hard-line coercive measures to reformist, redistributive policies that target the socioeconomic and

29. Asema Sinha, *The Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India: A Divided Leviathan* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005).

political roots of violence. To explain this cross-city variation in responses to urban violence, Moncada proposes a theoretical framework that focuses on the pivotal role of local business in the urban political arena and also as a key force that mediates the impact of national government policies on city politics.<sup>30</sup> As cities try to seize new opportunities opened by economic globalization, local governments are increasingly bypassing national governments to forge autonomous roles in accessing foreign investment and securing markets for locally-produced goods and services. The subnational comparative method offers an important tool for understanding these changes and their implications for development and democracy.

### *The Micro-Dynamics of Violence*

The study of the micro-dynamics of political violence is another burgeoning area where the subnational comparative method figures prominently. In his study of violence in villages during the Greek civil war, Kalyvas shows how the “master cleavage” dividing national political actors cannot explain variation in the dynamics of violence at the subnational-level, which is often driven by local political and personal rivalries.<sup>31</sup> Focusing on two towns in northern Nigeria divided along religious lines, Scacco finds that community-level networks strongly shape the propensity of individuals to participate in violent demonstrations.<sup>32</sup>

30. Eduardo Moncada, *Politics, Business and Violence: Urban Security in Colombia (1988–2008)* Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Brown University, 2011. See also Eduardo Moncada, “Toward Democratic Policing in Colombia? Institutional Accountability through Lateral Reform” *Comparative Politics* 41 (July 2009): 431–49; and Eduardo Moncada, “Counting Bodies: Crime Mapping, Policing and Race in Colombia” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (April 2010): 696–716.

31. Stathis Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

32. Alexandra Scacco, *Individual Participation in*

Subnational analysis has also facilitated the testing of competing theories of political violence, as seen in Humphrey and Weinstein’s appraisal of theories of individual participation in armed conflict using survey data drawn from ex-combatants and non-combatants in Sierra Leone.<sup>33</sup>

### **Challenges for Future Subnational Comparative Research: Coping with Spatially Complex, Uneven and Unbound Processes and Flows**

Future subnational comparative research on democracy faces two vital questions. First, what is a subnational unit? The definition of a city, for example, varies considerably across countries. This poses a significant challenge in terms of coding and ensuring unit homogeneity, especially when carrying out cross-national analysis of subnational units. Moreover, subnational political units often lack the hard borders conventionally attributed to nation-states.<sup>34</sup> For example, the boundaries of many cities in the global south are expanding, both strategically, as they absorb neighboring municipalities that harbor vital material resources, and in a haphazard and unplanned fashion, as demographic and economic pressures produce migration to the peripheries of urban centers. Likewise, regional level subnational boundaries are often unstable due to political manipulation, as evident in Africa and Russia, and this instability, in turn, may pose formidable challenges for the longitudinal study of subnational

*Violent Demonstrations in Nigeria*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, May 2007.

33. Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, “Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War” *American Political Science Review* 100 (August 2006): 429–47.

34. Of course, many putative nation-states also lack hard borders.



**Moncada/Snyder**

politics.<sup>35</sup> These fluid and shifting subnational boundaries raise questions not only about the composition of the subnational unit. They also make it more difficult to determine precisely which actors, interests and institutions should command attention in research on democracy. For example, Moncada's work on urban violence and citizen security in Latin America shows that security politics in major cities is often dominated by rural, landowning elites who are based well outside cities yet nevertheless manage to hold sway in urban centers.<sup>36</sup>

A second key issue concerns whether the phenomena we want to study adhere to the boundaries of subnational political and administrative units. Subnational elections may map more or less neatly

onto formal political boundaries. Still, many phenomena with key political implications, such as crime, public health problems, environmental degradation, and migration do not fit neatly inside the boundaries of subnational units.<sup>37</sup> Understanding these "unbound" processes and flows requires novel technologies for analyzing spatially complex phenomena. In conjunction with subnational comparisons, the use of geographic information systems (GIS) to generate spatially-coded data has proven fruitful in recent work on ethnic conflict and social-service provision.<sup>38</sup> Subnational research designs that combine comparative and spatial methodologies will provide a stronger foundation for understanding

the spatially complex, uneven and unbound processes and flows of the contemporary era.

*Eduardo Moncada is assistant professor of political science at Rutgers University, Newark and assistant professor/faculty fellow at New York University's Wagner Graduate School of Public Service. His current research focuses on the intersection between clientelism, business and urban violence in Latin America. Richard Snyder is professor of political science at Brown University. His research and teaching focus on comparative politics, with an emphasis on the political economy of development, political regimes, and Latin American politics. Richard Snyder is professor of political science at Brown University. He is also director of the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. Snyder is the author of Politics after Neoliberalism: Reregulation in Mexico (2001), Passion, Craft and Method in Comparative Politics (2007, with Gerardo L. Munck) and numerous articles on comparative politics, comparative political economy and Latin American politics.*

35. On how patronage politics has driven the creation of new districts in Uganda, see Elliot Green, "Patronage, District Creation, and Reform in Uganda" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45 (March 2010): 83-103. On the political origins of reductions in the number of regions in Russia, see Bryon J. Moraski and William M. Reisinger, "Spatial Contagion in Regional Machine Strength: Evidence from Voting in Russia's Federal Elections" Paper presented at the 2010 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, DC, September 2-5, 2010.

36. Moncada 2011.

37. On how variation in the spatial relationship between crime and the boundaries of subnational jurisdictions affects patterns of violence, see Richard Snyder and Angelica Duran-Martinez, "Does Illegality Breed Violence? Drug Trafficking and State-Sponsored Protection Rackets" *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 52 (September 2009): 253-73.

38. Melani Cammett and Sukriti Issar, "Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: Sectarianism and the Logics of Welfare Allocation in Lebanon" *World Politics* 62 (July 2010): 381-421; and Ravi Bhavnani, Dan Miodownik and Hyun Jin Choi, "Three Two Tango: Territorial Control and Selective Violence in Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza" *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Forthcoming in October 2011).



*Patel and Bunce***PATEL AND BUNCE, CONTINUED***(continued from page 1)*

The purpose of this brief article is to confront the puzzle of why protests against authoritarian rulers spread across state boundaries by comparing three cross-national waves of anti-regime mobilizations. The first is the ongoing protests in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), and the second is the rapid-fire spread of popular challenges to communist party rule that occurred in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe from 1989 to 1991. Our final case is the color revolutions in postcommunist Europe and Eurasia from 1996 to 2005. In this wave, oppositions and their allies in a group of competitive authoritarian regimes used a similar electoral toolkit in order to mount sophisticated challenges to authoritarian incumbents or their anointed successors. While all three waves involved the cross-national diffusion of large-scale popular challenges to authoritarian rulers, they differed with respect to the key drivers of diffusion. In 1989 as in the Arab uprisings, the process was largely driven by demonstration effects; that is, the ability of protest precedents set elsewhere in the region to encourage oppositions and their allies to mount similar actions. By contrast, the color revolutions were the product of more deliberate actions on the part of transnational networks that were committed to the electoral defeat of authoritarian rulers.<sup>2</sup>

Due to space limitations, we will focus our comparison on one less commonly analyzed aspect of diffusion: the movement of the innovation (in our case, a new repertoire of mass behavior) from its point of origin to a country that is well-suited to project the protests to

2. Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

a large number of countries within the region. Thus, we are interested in the transition within each of these waves from what promised to be at best a geographically limited process (given the constraints noted above) to one that invites widespread participation.

**Pivotal Cases**

The first countries to make a formal break with communism in 1989 were Poland and Hungary, where roundtables between communists and the opposition in the first half of that year were held in order to design the deregulation of the communist party's political monopoly. Given the combination in these two countries of a ripened opposition, soft authoritarianism, unusually blurred lines between the opposition and the communists, and a severe economic crisis, Poland and Hungary were ideally situated to capitalize on the political openings provided by the Gorbachev reforms and the subsequent spread of protests throughout the Soviet Union, as well as in Yugoslavia. However, precisely because of the distinctive aspects of these two regimes in comparison with their neighbors, it was logical to assume that Finlandization—that is, the creation of islands of more liberal political orders that would not rock the regional communist boat—would be the result of these roundtables. Instead, Poland and Hungary took on the unexpected role of serving as “early risers” within a much larger diffusion dynamic. This occurred because of the surprising outbreak of large-scale protests in East Germany in the late summer and early fall of 1989.

If East Germany was the pivotal case in what subsequently became a wave that engulfed all of Eastern Europe and significant portions of the Soviet

Union as well, in the postcommunist era and in the context of hybrid, rather than communist regimes, Serbia played the same role in the spread of the color revolutions. Oppositions had succeeded through extraordinarily ambitious electoral efforts to wrest power from authoritarian leaders in Slovakia in 1998 and Croatia in 2000, and these efforts were closely connected to one another through the operation of a transnational network that provided the resources needed to launch unusually strong opposition bids for power. However, like Hungary and Poland during communism, these early challenges to authoritarian rule in the postcommunist world also took place in regimes that were by regional standards unusually vulnerable to such actions as a result, for example, of large and ripened oppositions confronting regimes that were less repressive than many of their neighbors.

The subsequent and much more surprising defeat of Milosevic in Serbia in the fall 2000 elections, however, proved to be, like the protests in East Germany eleven years earlier, a turning point in the diffusion process. Indeed, the reasons why these two countries were able to join the diffusion dynamic and thereby transform a process of modest cross-national transfer of innovative challenges to authoritarian rule into a much more ambitious one in a geographical sense were the same. Like East Germany, Serbia featured for a variety of reasons too complex to detail here the unusual combination of a relatively large and developed opposition facing off against a relatively hard-line regime.

What made mobilizations against

authoritarian rule in these two countries so critical for the subsequent magnification of each of these waves? One factor was that they demonstrated the portability of the innovation and the fact that popular mobilizations against authoritarian rule could work in far less supportive local contexts. Here, it is important to note that both East Germany and Serbia were governed by long-serving authoritarian political leaders who had important international allies and who were therefore in a position, far more than the early risers in their respective waves, to test the geographical limits of popular protests and the new, unorthodox and therefore not fully credible commitments of powerful international actors in the region, such as the Soviet Union in 1989 and the United States in the color revolutions. Moreover, these two states, again in contrast to the early risers, were powerful states within the region because of their geopolitical importance. At the same time, these pivotal states were more similar in their political economies to many other states in the region than was the case for the early risers.

In addition, it was in these cases that the innovation was modified and became, as a result, more easily transportable to other countries in the region. Thus, East Germany showed that protests could propel regime change (thereby breaking with the roundtable model used in Hungary and Poland), and Serbia later demonstrated that the electoral victories of the opposition could lead to regime change in more repressive political settings if post-election protests were added to the opposition's toolkit. As a result, what might have been a fluke from a regional vantage point—that is, the roundtables in Poland and Hungary and the electoral transitions in Slovakia

and Croatia—were transformed because of pivotal cases that led to the start of a much more far-reaching wave.

### **Egypt as a Pivotal Case**

The Tunisian protests, which began with the self-immolation of a street vendor, prompted several similar actions in other countries, as well as the eruption of small-scale protests in neighboring countries, such as Algeria and Libya. In fact, many of the same regional factors that propelled the European and Eurasian waves were also present in the MENA—for example, striking similarities among political and economic regimes in the region, a common language, and the presence of a large number of long-serving and very corrupt leaders (some of whom, at the time the wave began, were in the process of positioning their sons to be their successors). Also similar was the role of powerful international actors, such as the United States in the case of the MENA, in pursuing a two-track policy by combining long-term support for authoritarian incumbents with expanded democracy assistance and increased pressures on some of those leaders to introduce liberalizing reforms. At the same time, while Tunisia was widely viewed within the region as an atypical country, which worked against the transmission of its precedent, it was also unusually influential because protests had managed to take place and even succeed in such an authoritarian context. While these factors no doubt readied publics in the region to emulate the Tunisian model of removing authoritarian leaders from office, another factor played a more significant role in broadcasting the protest dynamic; that is, the eruption of large-scale and sophisticated demonstrations in the capital of Egypt.

Egypt was, in fact, a logical country to follow in the immediate footsteps of Tunisia, in part because these two countries had so much in common. For example, the cases both share membership in the Arab Socialist movement and a long history of centralized, fused and corporatist political economies.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, both countries experienced a shift in the 1970s and 1980s to a more liberalized economic system (which prompted popular protests in both countries), and their leaders carried out some short-lived and largely half-hearted experiments with political liberalization. In addition, like Tunisia but unusual for countries within the MENA, Egypt had well-established state borders, a strong national identity, and a relatively homogeneous population in ethnic and religious terms.<sup>4</sup> Finally, Egypt, far more than Tunisia and, indeed, virtually every other country in the MENA, had a rich history of political protests and strikes (especially in the few years leading up to 2011) and an unusually large civil society and strong labor movement.<sup>5</sup> Egypt, therefore, like Serbia and East Germany, featured the unusual mixture of a well-developed opposition confronting a highly repressive regime.

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3. See, for example, Stephen King, *The New Authoritarianism in the Middle East and North Africa* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009); Bruce K. Rutherford, *Egypt after Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam and Democracy in the Arab World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); and Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2008).

4. Lisa Anderson, 1987. "The State in the Middle East and North Africa," *Comparative Politics* 20 (October 1987): 1-18.

5. Marsha Pripstein Posusney, *Labor and the State in Egypt: Workers, Unions and Economic Restructuring, 1952 to 1996* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) and Solidarity Center, AFL-CIO, "Justice for All: The Struggle for Workers' Rights in Egypt: A Report by the Solidarity Center." February, 2010. Available at [http://www.solidaritycenter.org/files/pubs\\_egypt\\_wr.pdf](http://www.solidaritycenter.org/files/pubs_egypt_wr.pdf).

## Patel and Bunce

Like East Germany in 1989 and Serbia in 2000, Egypt contributed three key developments that made a possible wave much more likely to become a real one. First, without Egyptian participation in the wave, Tunisia would have been a solitary case of a popular uprising that overthrew a dictator. Second, Egypt demonstrated to interested parties throughout the region that the Tunisian precedent could travel and succeed, and, what is more, do so in a country that was far more important in terms of size, more similar to other countries in the region, and unusually close to the most influential international power in the region, the United States.

Finally and also like East Germany and Serbia in the two earlier waves, the Egyptian dynamic built upon the model first developed and applied in Tunisia, but amended it in ways that made the Egyptian efforts innovative, successful and easy for others elsewhere to emulate. In particular, while youth played a key role in Egypt as well as Tunisia (as they had in most of the color revolutions) and while they were joined by older or established opposition groups and figures as the protests continued, the eighteen days of Egyptian protests did not start with self-immolation and they targeted, from the beginning, large urban areas (as opposed to rural areas as in Tunisia) and the establishment of control over central squares. Moreover, the protests that took place in Egypt built upon past struggles, such as those waged by the Egyptian Movement for Change (Kifaya), the April 6 Youth Movement, and a large and increasingly active labor movement.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, the Egyptian protests were carefully orchestrated to have maximum

6. See, for example, Rabab El-Mahdi, Rabab. "Enough: Egypt's Quest for Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (February 2009): 1011-1039.

impact. For example, they chose National Police Day to begin the protests (January 25); gave specific names to major protest days (for example, "Day of Revolt" followed by "Friday of Anger," with the latter capitalizing on Friday congregational prayers) and used the internet to send out false rumors about the timing and location of the protests.

The toolkit that the Egyptian opposition deployed to take on the Mubarak regime had diverse origins, including, for example, a recycling of some of the practices used in the past by the Muslim Brotherhood and a sharing of experiences in dealing with regime repression with the Tunisian opposition.<sup>7</sup> Also critical, as in the case of the Serbian struggle against Milosevic, were innovations introduced by younger members of the Egyptian opposition. For instance, prior to the first protest on January 25, leaders of the younger opposition carried out some experiments. Thus, they held small-scale weekly protests, and they walked through some popular quarters of Cairo, yelling out complaints about the regime, and assessing how angry Egyptians of various backgrounds were with the regime and how willing they were to join the procession. As they discovered through their "fieldwork," there was considerable potential for a Tunisian-like dynamic in Egypt. This information in turn was fully in line with other indicators of popular dissatisfaction as revealed by the rapid and large-scale response of youth and educated people to messages relayed through Facebook and texting.

7. David D. Kirkpatrick, "Wired and Shrewd, Young Egyptians Guide Revolt." *New York Times*, February 9. Available at [nytimes.org/2011/102/10/world/middleeast/10youth.html](http://nytimes.org/2011/102/10/world/middleeast/10youth.html). and David D. Kirkpatrick and David E. Sanger, "A Tunisian-Egypt Link that shook Arab History," *New York Times*, February 14, 2011, A1, A9.

Thus, while the Egyptian model was influenced by deliberate diffusion and this also enhanced its ability to influence publics in other countries, the more important mechanism of diffusion to other countries seems to have been demonstration effects. Here, a key insight is, first, that the Egyptian protesters succeeded in pressuring their military to remove Mubarak from office. Second, and much like what happened in the case of East Germany in 1989 and Serbia following Milosevic's refusal to admit electoral defeat, the Egyptian protesters had managed to put together an ensemble of techniques that reduced the costs of protest while accomplishing the goal of removing an authoritarian leader from office. These feats in turn helped people throughout the MENA to overcome fundamental problems of coordination under authoritarianism by helping individuals believe that others would join the process and that, as a result, the personal benefit of joining protests would outweigh the expected personal costs.<sup>8</sup>

Thus, after the initial "Day of Revolt" in Egypt on January 25th, activists developed and circulated detailed plans on how others could join, and they circulated maps of where to mobilize after Friday prayers and how to move in groups to Cairo's central Tahrir Square. Knowing that large numbers of people would participate, tens of thousands of Egyptians joined the demonstrations on January 28th, the "Friday of Rage." Mass demonstrations occurred, despite efforts by the regime to shut down internet access, limit texting, and the use of force by police. This was the beginning of the Tahrir Square model that would

8. Susanne Lohmann, "The Dynamics of Informational Cascades: The Monday Demonstrations in Leipzig, East Germany, 1989-91." *World Politics* 47 (October 1994): 42-101 and Timur Kuran, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," *World Politics* 44 (October 1991): 7-48.



be emulated elsewhere: committed activists occupied the central square continuously, crowds of moderates periodically joined and reinforced the activists during organized days of protest that were named and highly organized, and once modest demands shifted to more radical ones, such as “go!” and “the people want the downfall of the regime.”

The value of the “square” model can be seen in a comparison of Egypt and Yemen. In Yemen, a diverse coalition of Islamist and secular opposition groups were also inspired by the Tunisian example and organized mass rallies around the same time that the Egyptian protests began. The Yemeni protests, however, occurred in different locations and lacked a geographic focus. On January 27th, the day Egyptians were planning their coordinated march on Tahrir Square, Yemenis demonstrated in several disparate locations in the capital. Although these fragmented Yemeni protests had led President Saleh by February 2nd to promise to step down in 2013 and not to position his son Ahmed to succeed him, Yemeni protests did not reach a bandwagon until Yemeni protesters emulated Egyptians’ tactics and began a continuous sit-in in a square near Sana’a University on February 20th. By that point, pro-Saleh groups had already occupied Sana’a’s Tahrir Square to prevent anti-Saleh protesters from moving there.

What made the transfer of these techniques easier, but what was missing from the European and Eurasian waves, was the fact that citizens throughout the MENA could watch Egyptian protests on satellite television and know that others in their country saw it as well. These reports, moreover, built upon the considerable emphasis that al-Jazeera

had placed in its programming over the years on political reforms.<sup>9</sup> The techniques, which were noted earlier, were sufficiently simple that people understood that others understood how something similar could unfold in their own country with similar results. For example, the initial protests in Egypt targeted issues of region-wide concern, such as low wages, police abuses, and the need to lift emergency laws.

### Conclusions

Students of diffusion have tended to restrict their analysis to one wave, treat its spread as a single process, and identify some general drivers of the dynamic, such as similarities among sites, demonstration effects and deliberate diffusion. Our approach has been different, largely in recognition of the fact that, while protests can erupt in one or several authoritarian regimes in a region, they are unlikely to spread because the remaining regimes in the region are less vulnerable and because their authoritarian leaders learn from threatening precedents and take necessary precautions. This fact of authoritarian life, however, must be placed alongside the demonstrated ability of such profoundly subversive actions to spread at times among regimes within regions, as we have seen in the Arab uprisings and earlier, 1989 and the color revolutions in the communist and postcommunist world.

This puzzle led us to compare these three waves with one another and pose one question: why was a likely isolated eruption of protest transformed into a larger regional dynamic? Our answer is that each wave became a wave because of the participation of a key country early in the dynamic: East

9. Marc Lynch, *Voices of the New Arab Public: Iraq, Al-Jazeera, and Middle East Politics Today* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006).

Germany in 1989, Serbia in the color revolutions, and Egypt with respect to the Arab uprisings. In all three cases, protests moved from vulnerable to less vulnerable regimes, yet regimes that nonetheless featured ripened oppositions. Moreover, these countries were, in comparison with the regimes that had first experienced popular mobilizations against authoritarian rule in their region, more important in geopolitical terms; more similar to other regimes in the region; and in a much better position to demonstrate that powerful external actors were willing to tolerate significant political change. Also critical for transforming “one small revolution,” as Robert Kaplan characterized the Tunisian events on the eve of the outbreak of protests in Egypt, into a much bigger one in geographical terms, were two other features of these cases.<sup>10</sup> In East Germany, Serbia and Egypt, citizens succeeded in bringing down authoritarian leaders, and opposition leaders developed innovative approaches to protest that were easily transportable to many other regimes in the region. In this sense, while waves of protest against authoritarian leaders must start somewhere and this justifies all the attention paid to “early risers,” the likelihood of a larger regional dynamic depends upon a second development: whether key countries in the region join the process.

*David Siddhartha Patel is an assistant professor of government at Cornell University. His research focuses on Middle Eastern politics and Islamic institutions. Valerie Bunce is professor of government at Cornell University and the Aaron Binenkorb Chair of International Studies.*

10. “One Small Revolution.” *New York Times*, January 23, 2011, p. 11.

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(continued from page 2)

multiple countries in one region.<sup>3</sup> One important reason for our reluctance to transcend regional specializations and pursue multi-country, sub-national comparative analysis is the issue of data. Gathering data at the sub-national level is nearly always a “from scratch” project. Those who study democracy at the national level enjoy the luxury of access to time-series cross-sectional datasets. Datasets at the sub-national level for more than one country are rare and the available sub-national data are often unreliable.

My past and ongoing research on the degree to which sub-national democracy varies in different national settings illustrates some of these challenges. For instance, currently, I am exploring how colonial and imperial legacies shape difference in human capital and democracy in Russian regions and Indian states. I found it intriguing that some of India’s and Russia’s most developed and democratic regions also have a shared legacy of exposure to Western Christian institutions, which are not rooted in the dominant indigenous religion and which were often at odds with the colonial/imperial authorities. Religion has featured prominently in cross-national, large-n analyses of democratic variation. However, the oversimplifications of this literature have also contributed to the perpetuation of a Huntingtonian master narrative categorizing India and Russia as civilizationally Hindu and Orthodox. It is the power of such categorizations, I believe, that explains the puzzling absence of theoretical and empirical work on the potential

democratic influence of non-dominant religions in these nations. In India, Christians constitute a mere 2.3 percent of the population. Yet, in Kerala, where indigenized Syrian and Roman Catholic Christianity facilitated the spread of reformist Christian movements in the 19th-early 20th centuries, 19 percent of the population is Christian. This state also has a reputation for being among the most literate, open, and democratic. In Russia, regions like St. Petersburg, Samara, and Volgograd have played host to successive waves of West European settlers, who in turn facilitated the spread of reformist Christianity. In both India and Russia, these communities are associated with developing the foundations for schooling and literacy. I hypothesize that this record has a path-dependent effect on levels of human capital and democracy today. Based on evidence from these outliers, I develop and test hypotheses on the whole universe of Indian and Russian sub-national territories.

The issues that I have encountered in the India-Russia research are probably recognizable to any scholar conducting sub-national analysis. India’s British rulers laboriously maintained detailed state- and district-level census records. This tradition continued into the post-colonial period, untainted by the ideological dogma or comprehensive overhauls seen in Russia’s communist and post-communist history. However, after India’s independence, the Indian government pursued administrative reorganization of states along linguistic lines. The boundaries of colonial states therefore do not match those of the new linguistic states. Fortunately,

data are available for lower levels of territorial administration, such as the district level. Since matching pre- and post-colonial districts is considerably easier than matching colonial state boundaries with post-colonial ones, I gathered district data on literacy, religion, and other socio-economic indicators. Matching colonial and post-colonial districts made possible the construction of a cross-sectional, time series dataset spanning both periods. District-level data also provide the additional advantage of having a much larger number of observations with which to work.

For Russia, the key comprehensive source of pre-communist socio-economic statistics is the first imperial census of 1897. Communist-era censuses were notoriously suspect as the regime under Stalin, in particular, inflated statistics for literacy and other achievements.<sup>4</sup> As a result, such data are not sufficiently reliable for the purposes of statistical analysis. There are similar problems with religious data in Russia. National-level estimates of Russia’s religious composition are available, but sub-national data on religion (census or otherwise) do not exist. The absence of these data makes the construction of a cross-sectional time series dataset that would be comparable to the India district-level dataset impossible. Without comparable datasets, it is difficult to systematically compare the effects of historical legacy over time in the two countries.

3. Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

4. The data from the first 1926 census are more reliable. Thomas F. Remington, “Accounting for Regime Differences in the Russian Regions: Historical and Structural Influences,” Paper presented at the Midwestern Political Science Association Conference, Chicago, Illinois, 2009.

Devising democracy indices may present additional data comparability issues. Even in cross-national analyses, scholars have had to exercise selectivity in the employment of democracy indicators because of data scarcity. Although most scholars agree that elections are but one indicator of the quality of democracy, electoral data are frequently employed in national democracy indices.<sup>5</sup> Simple electoral measures of democracy are often highly correlated with more complex indicators for which data may not be as readily available.<sup>6</sup> This suggests that the various indicators measure the same systematized concept.<sup>7</sup> The few studies that have conducted sub-national quantitative analyses of democracy in developing or “hybrid regime” settings have tended to validate the usage of electoral measures. One study of democracy in Indian states employed democracy scores comprised of electoral participation and party competition data.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, a team of experts on Russia’s regional politics made a more ambitious attempt at measuring sub-national democracy in Russia. They gathered data on civil society, judicial independence, local government strength, freedom of the press, political pluralism, and regional elections and find a relatively high

5. Kristian S. Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward, “A Reexamination of Democracy and Autocracy in Modern Polities.” *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41 (June 1997): 361-383; Axel Hadenius and Jan Teorell, “Assessing Alternative Indices of Democracy,” Paper presented at the International Political Science Association: Mexico City, 2005.

6. Michael Coppedge, “Defining and Measuring Democracy,” Paper presented at the International Political Science Association: Mexico City, 2005.

7. Robert Adcock and David Collier, “Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research.” *The American Political Science Review* 95 (September 2001): 529-546.

8. Caroline Beer and Neil J. Mitchell, “Comparing Nations and States: Human Rights and Democracy in India.” *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (October 2006): 996-1018.

correlation between the non-electoral and electoral measures.<sup>9</sup> In another study, Lankina and Getachew find that Indian states with high electoral turnout also tend to have better educated populations, which is what one might expect elsewhere.<sup>10</sup> This finding also appears to validate the use of electoral participation measures as a democracy proxy.<sup>11</sup>

Russia illustrates how even electoral measures could be misleading or inadequate however. High electoral turnout in Indian states may be indicative of an active electorate and an institutional environment that enables participation. The same does not necessarily apply to Russia’s regions. In fact, electoral turnouts in the magnitude of 80-90 percent may point to the ghastly state of the democratic process in some regions. Such high turnouts result from coercive voter mobilization or plain old-fashioned fraud by the governors’ henchmen.<sup>12</sup> Other electoral measures therefore may be more valid.<sup>13</sup> Bryon Moraski

9. Michael McFaul, Nikolai Petrov and Andrei Riabov, *Between Dictatorship and Democracy: Russian Post-Communist Political Reform* (Washington, D.C.:Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2004).

10. Large metropolitan areas may have lower turnouts than smaller rural units however. Jefferey M. Sellers, “Beyond Subnational Comparison: The Transnational Comparative Method,” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting and Exhibition of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2010.

11. Tomila Lankina and Lullit Getachew, “Mission or Empire, Word or Sword? Colonial-Era Education Legacy in India’s Democratic Development,” *Second International Symposium of Comparative Research on Major Regional Powers in Eurasia* (Tokyo, Hosei University; and Osaka, Osaka University, Japan, 2010).

12. Joseph Deckert and Mikhail Myagkov, “How are Elections Fixed? An Agent-Based Model of Russia’s Regional Politics,” Paper presented at the Annual Convention and Exhibition of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2010.

13. Carlos Gervasoni, “A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy, and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces.” *World Politics* 62 (April 2010): 302-340.

and William Reisinger in their study of electoral competitiveness in Russia’s regions employ the measures of effective candidates for the post of governor in each race and gubernatorial turnover.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, the replacement of the election of governors with a system of presidential appointment in 2004 limits the applicability of this indicator to the 1990s and early 2000s. Dominant party measures could be another useful indicator of democracy in sub-national settings. They have been applied to Latin American contexts, and could be appropriate even in countries with extremely limited forms of electoral contestation like China.<sup>15</sup> In Russia, the dominant United Russia (UR) party has succeeded in colonizing many regional and local elected assemblies. The extent of UR colonization of elected representative bodies or loss of UR assembly majority could be employed as indicators of regional electoral competitiveness. Such measures could be only employed for the time period coinciding with UR ascendancy in the 2000s however. These variations in Russia’s institutional environment present challenges for my comparative project on India and Russia. While for India, electoral measures could be consistently employed for several post-colonial decades, democracy measures for Russia would have to be restricted to a much narrower time frame as they would not be consistent across the various time periods. This is another example of the difficulties of ensuring democracy data equivalence over time in the context of cross-national sub-

14. Bryon J. Moraski and William M. Reisinger, “Explaining Electoral Competition across Russia’s Regions.” *Slavic Review* 62 (Summer 2003): 278-301.

15. David Altman and Anibal Perez-Linan, “Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness and Participation in Eighteen Latin American Countries.” *Democratization* 9 (Summer 2002): 85-100.

## Lankina

national analysis.

The third set of problems in conducting cross-national sub-national analysis relates to changes in administrative boundaries. Sub-national boundaries are altered more often than national ones. In both India and Russia there were several rounds of regional reorganization in the 20th century. Such boundary changes make it difficult to uncover the long-term democracy effects of historical legacies, in particular. This is because the panel structure of a cross-sectional time series dataset would require sub-national regional unit equivalence over time. Even a small district added to a sub-national region profoundly alters its demographic, ethnic, socio-economic, or political/ voting profile. In fact, such changes in a district's profile are often rationales for administrative reorganization. While district-level data may help ensure sub-national unit equivalence over time,<sup>16</sup> when two countries are being compared the issue of cross-national equivalence in data availability becomes even more acute. For instance, in Russia district level data are less readily available than in India. Even when ample district data are available, matching districts could be an exceptionally time consuming process. Scholars relying on district data for the Russian Empire have had to conduct archival research in some former USSR countries, for example.<sup>17</sup>

The issues of data availability, comparability, and administrative continuity in cross-national sub-

16. Sellers 2010.

17. See Leonid Peisakhin, "Living Historical Legacies: The 'Why' and 'How' of Institutional Persistence, the Case of Ukraine," Paper presented at the Midwestern Political Science Association Annual Conference, Chicago, 2010.

national analysis exacerbate the known challenges of conducting single-country work on sub-national democracy. The somewhat enclavized nature of the scholarly networks focusing on the various geographic regions and the resulting paucity of cross-fertilization in research does not help.<sup>18</sup> At APSA's September 2010 annual meeting, many of the scholars who attended the panel on Russia's sub-national democratization were also seen at the other talks on post-communist states. The audience at the panel on comparative democracy and development in Indian states was different from the audience of the Russia sub-national democracy panel. Most likely, it overlapped with scholars who packed to hear the eminent Susanne and Lloyd Rudolph speak at the panel on ethnographic approaches in studies of India and the Middle East. The speaker at another panel presenting a compelling rationale for sub-national cross-country analysis largely concentrated on localities within the EU and OECD states. There is likewise little cross-fertilization in research among the communities of scholars working on these advanced democracies and scholars focusing on developing, democratizing, or liberalizing settings.

How then do we move beyond single-, within-country analysis to cross-country sub-national comparisons of democratization transcending regional disciplinary boundaries? A number of recent studies have identified new and promising directions in theorizing on sub-national authoritarianism and democracy that could be applicable

18. Archie Brown makes a similar point with respect to another disciplinary cleavage: "The mutual isolation of comparative politics and international relations is both intellectually and politically damaging," he writes. "Comparative Politics: A View from Britain," *Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Section of the American Political Science Association* 16, 1 (2005), 1-5.

to a variety of settings. Although they are mostly single country- or geographic region-bound, they could be useful starting points for extending sub-national comparisons to multiple geographic regions. These works build on Guillermo O'Donnell's pioneering theorizing on how the nature of interactions of sub-national regimes with the center may influence sub-national quality of democracy.<sup>19</sup> For instance, Richard Snyder shows how in Latin America a national government's neo-liberal policies may contribute to illiberal reforms in the periphery.<sup>20</sup> Carlos Gervasoni demonstrates how national fiscal transfers may account for variations in the quality of sub-national democratic process in Argentina. The latter finding points to the hitherto undertheorized links between fiscal federalism and sub-national regime types.<sup>21</sup>

At the same time, spatial variations in policy and democracy may contribute to the "hybridization" of national regimes. Vladimir Gel'man, drawing on examples from Mexico, Russia, and Italy shows how strong party-based sub-national authoritarianism could perpetuate national authoritarianism.<sup>22</sup> Bryon Moraski and William Reisinger suggest another promising way of exploring these mechanisms of sub-national influence on the quality of national democracy. Their work illustrates how a minority of "deferential" regional authoritarian

19. Guillermo O'Donnell, *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

20. Snyder 2001.

21. Gervasoni 2010.

22. Vladimir Gel'man, "The Dynamics of Subnational Authoritarianism: Russia in Comparative Perspective," in: Vladimir Gel'man and Cameron Ross, eds., *The Politics of Subnational Authoritarianism in Russia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).



regimes may tip the electoral balance in favor of authoritarian revival at the center.<sup>23</sup> This electoral analysis of Russia's regions could be replicated in other settings. Other sub-national democracy researchers have drawn on international relations theorizing to make links between external influences and local democracy. Gel'man and Lankina and Lankina and Getachew employ sub-national data on foreign aid and democracy to conduct multivariate analyses of democratic institutional development and survival across Russia's regions. Their findings demonstrate how soft powers like the Council of Europe and EU may impact regional and federal resilience against authoritarian encroachment.<sup>24</sup>

The validity of findings from the above-discussed studies of determinants of sub-national democratic variation could be substantially enhanced if we were to extend the analysis beyond one national setting. Sub-national units drawn from the same polity are vulnerable to the well-known Galton's problem.<sup>25</sup> Units in a political system are inter-connected and subject to similar influences from the wider political and institutional environment. The resulting problem of auto-correlation in the data could be better addressed when units from different political systems are employed. Because scholars may not possess equal familiarity of several geographic

23. Bryon J. Moraski and William M. Reisinger, "Spatial Contagion in Regional Machine Strength: Evidence from Voting in Russia's Federal Elections," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting and Exhibition of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 2010.

24. Vladimir Gel'man and Tomila Lankina, "Authoritarian Versus Democratic Diffusions: Explaining Institutional Choices in Russia's Local Government." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 24 (January-March 2008): 40-62.; Tomila V. Lankina and Lullit Getachew, "A Geographic Incremental Theory of Democratization: Territory, Aid, and Democracy in Post-Communist Regions." *World Politics* 58 (July 2006): 536-582.

25. Sellers 2010; Snyder 2001.

regions, the process of cross-national sub-national analysis could be pursued inductively. Scholars could begin their analysis by identifying shared features among sub-national authoritarian units and democratic achievers in various countries. I adopted this strategy during the early stages of the Russia-India project. I found that Indian states and Russian regions that stood out because of better quality of democracy had higher human capital, which could be in turn traced to external influences. A favorable geographic location or proximity to an important regional power may affect the likelihood of exposure to socially transformative external institutions during the imperial/ colonial eras. The precise nature of these legacy and external effects will vary depending on the setting explored. For instance, in Latin America, beneficial or detrimental influences from the United States as a regional power or earlier patterns of European colonization could be considered.

The merits of sub-national, as compared to national, analysis is that it sensitizes us to the spatially uneven nature of these contemporary and legacy effects. This fact is often overlooked in cross-national democracy scholarship employing national-level coding. Recent research on India is a case in point. India is routinely coded as a British colony although one third of its territory had not been subjected to direct administration. Yet the work of Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer draws attention to the importance of within-nation differences in colonial administrative patterns. They discuss how within one colonial setting, variable patterns of land tenure could have implications for post-colonial public goods provision, human capital,

and democracy.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, based on a natural experiment, Leonid Peisakhin demonstrates how Russian and Habsburg imperial institutions had a variable effect on democratic orientations of sub-national populations in post-communist Ukraine.<sup>27</sup> Thomas Remington, meanwhile, finds that tsarist and early Soviet human capital stocks in Russia's provinces have an effect on sub-national democratic variation in Russian regions today.<sup>28</sup> The persistence of these human capital effects over time boosts evidence of the importance of sub-national spatial variations in historical legacies for current outcomes. Communist planners, after all, pursued large-scale social modernization that was meant to obliterate prior spatial developmental variations. In my work on historical legacies in Russian regions, I show how in the 18-19th centuries, the Russian Empire actively promoted self-government for European settlers with distinct sets of institutions, rights, and privileges.<sup>29</sup> I hypothesize that these variable institutional legacies likewise have implications for current spatial variations in human capital and democracy. Similar findings from such "most different" national systems as Ukraine and India or Russia and India provide useful material for generating cross-national theory on the origins and persistence of sub-national democracy.

Another strategy for moving beyond

26. Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer, "Colonial Land Tenure, Electoral Competition, and Public Goods in India," in: Jared Diamond and James A. Robinson, eds., *Natural Experiments of History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 185-220.

27. Peisakhin 2010.

28. Remington 2009.

29. Tomila Lankina, "Regional Democracy Variations and the Forgotten Legacies of Western Engagement," in: Vladimir Gel'man and Cameron Ross, eds., *The Politics of Subnational Authoritarianism in Russia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

**Lankina**

single-nation within-country comparisons would be to make wider use of the geographical mapping and analysis software such as GIS. Jeffrey Kopstein and David Reilly's innovative, albeit national-level, work on the importance of EU proximity for post-communist democratization, has demonstrated the utility of this approach.<sup>30</sup> Cross-national sub-national comparisons could begin with simple exploration of the spatial positioning and clustering of regions based on some defined regime criteria in countries of interest. Then, layers of potentially significant data could be added to the analysis, such as resource endowments, urbanization, proximity to regional powers, the regime types of neighboring powers, fiscal dependence on the national center, political proximity of regional incumbents to the national party in power, historical legacies of imperial/colonial tutelage, or religion. Mapping and visualizing variations will help provide the building blocks for further theory building. Geo-spatial software would also facilitate the matching of sub-national boundaries across several time periods.

30. Jeffrey S. Kopstein and David A. Reilly, "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World." *World Politics* 53 (October 2000): 1-37.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly for systematizing our cross-regional knowledge, we ought to come up with measures of sub-national democracy and authoritarianism applicable in various settings. Such data could be used to construct multi-country datasets on democracy in which sub-national regions would be employed as observations in pooled cross-sectional time series, OLS, geo-spatial, or other statistical analyses. Jeffrey Sellers in his discussion of the merits of what he calls the trans-national comparative method identifies several sources of multi-country, sub-national data. Examples of such multi-country datasets include the Rodden and Wibbels dataset on political and economic variations and the International Metropolitan Observatory Project's international dataset of electoral behavior.<sup>31</sup> These datasets either cover developed OECD states or focus on a select group of federations. Nevertheless, they could be a valuable template for constructing sub-national democracy datasets for other settings.

This limited review of recent sub-national work highlights the conceptual richness of the literature. Because of sub-national scholarship's tendency

31. Sellers 2010.

to be within-nation and geographic area-bound, its potential for cross-national and cross-regional theorizing and empirical work has not been fully realized. One way of systematizing approaches to the study of sub-national democracy and authoritarianism would be to establish a repository of sub-national data. The repository could serve as an online source on various geographic regions, and a virtual forum for developing shared measurements applicable across various national settings. Clearly, the magnitude of data gathering for cross-national within-nation comparisons would require us to pool together the expertise and resources of the various scholarly communities hitherto focusing on one geographic region. This timely symposium in the Comparative Democratization Newsletter will hopefully bring us closer to fulfilling that aspiration.

*Tomila Lankina is a reader in politics in the department of politics and public policy at the Leicester Business School. She has published two books and several studies on comparative sub-national democratisation.*



## SINHA, CONTINUED

*(continued from page 2)*

analyses.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, scholars have analyzed the effects of decentralization on markets and attempts to measure fiscal and subnational indicators have burgeoned.<sup>5</sup> With the popularity of decentralization, subnational institutions have come to occupy both policy and scholarly attention as the World Bank and Asian Development Bank launched subnational structural adjustment programs and the World Bank began collecting databases on subnational indicators.<sup>6</sup>

Until now, the value of subnational analysis has been recognized largely for its methodological advantages. Such an approach increases the number of units and observations. Yet, this advantage presupposes an independence of units that may be misleading both for cross-national work and for within-country studies. In this article, I review the value of the subnational method and argue that we need to move beyond methodological justifications to a truly *comparative theory of subnational variation*. Such a comparative theory

4. Tullia G. Faletti, *Decentralization and Subnational Politics in Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Kathleen O'Neill, *Decentralizing the State: Elections, Parties and Local Power in the Andes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

5. Jonathan A. Rodden, *Hamilton's Paradox: the Promise and Peril of Fiscal Federalism* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Aseema Sinha, "Political Foundations of Market-Enhancing Federalism: Theoretical Lessons from India and China," *Comparative Politics*, 37, (April 2005): 337-356; and Barry, L. Weingast, "The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development," *Journal of Law, Economics, & Organization*, 11, (April 1995):1-31.

6. Jason A. Kirk, *India and the World Bank: The Politics of Aid and Influence* (Anthem Press, 2011); World Bank, *Subnational Data Requirements for Fiscal Decentralization: Case Studies from Central and Eastern Europe* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2003).

should allow us to develop generalizable conclusions about how subnational institutions, actors, and ideas vary across countries and across time.

In order to build a comparative theory of subnational variation, I offer three alternative justifications for the subnational method. First, the subnational method forces scholars to develop more micro-level definitions and to operationalize concepts more precisely. Such requirements can produce greater gradation in existing concepts and emphasize the degree to which they vary not just across states, but also within them.<sup>7</sup> Second, I call for a stronger link between studies of democracy and studies of development, which can better be analyzed at the subnational level. Lastly, I argue that a focus on the subnational level can change the way we understand the national or systemic level and, to that end, authors conducting research on the subnational level must strive to inform the broader comparative politics literature by highlighting the implications of their work for those engaged in cross-national studies. The research agenda I propose is an ambitious one, though, as data gathering at the subnational level is less common and more difficult. The success of such an enterprise will most likely require more collaboration among scholars with diverse regional expertise but with higher payoffs in developing a comparative theory of subnational variation.

7. David Collier and Robert Adcock, "Democracy and Dichotomies: A Pragmatic Approach to Choices about Concepts," *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2 (June 1999): 537-565.

**Real-World Democracies and Theories of Democracy**

The study of the subnational practice of democracy can be useful for the larger theoretical debates about democracy and contribute to a truly comparative theory of democratic practice. This method can tell us a lot about the actual practice of democracies all over the world and by doing so, enable us to modify and add nuance to the theoretical concepts with which we work. For example, in an innovative extension of the subnational method Jenkins adopted a two state analysis for a wide range of issues drawing upon India's regional diversity.<sup>8</sup> In most cross-national studies, democracy is usually measured by adding different dimensions of democracy but such indiscriminate addition is too crude and simplistic.<sup>9</sup> Subnational analysis, by contrast, can allow us to examine how the levels of democracy vary within a larger context. The end result should be more refined assessments of the concept of regime type. Thus, subnational studies can lead to a search for better micro-level concepts and, as our understanding of the causal mechanisms associated with these concepts improve, so too will the empirical grounding of our categorizations and comparisons.

In the larger literature the distinction between substantive and procedural concepts of democracy has been well understood. Democracy can be defined in terms of the rules of the game or the outcome of democratic institutions.

8. Rob Jenkins, *Regional Reflections: Comparing Politics Across India's States* (Oxford University Press, 2004).

9. Shawn Treier and Simon Jackman, "Democracy as a Latent Variable," *American Journal of Political Science*, 52, (January 2008): 201-217.

## Sinha

Moving the level of analysis to the subnational or local levels can help us address important issues related to the differential effects of procedural and substantive concepts of democracy that have been unaddressed so far. For example, what is the relationship between democratic procedures and substantive outcomes, such as the benefits that democracy might accord to lower income groups? A purely cross-national study of regime types may, among other things, mask the effects of elections versus other types of accountability mechanisms. It may be hypothesized that accountability institutions other than elections are more beneficial for lower income groups since the electoral process can be captured by elites. Such assessments of democracy's effects cannot be explored in a cross-national analysis where both democracies and authoritarian governments may be part of the sample but subnational analysis allows us to test the effects of different dimensions of a democracy especially when democracy and decentralization go together.

The subnational method also allows us to explore debates around the quality of democracy. For example, we can look at the actual experience of democracy across subnational units in a democratic country like India. Many scholars have argued that, despite the success of Indian democracy, we need more fine-grained empirical measures to assess its quality of democracy. Questions related to the quality of democracy include: Do politicians use their offices to benefit citizens or to benefit only elite groups? Do corrupt officials get elected more than non-corrupt officials? Does the acquisition of political office increase the propensity for corruption? While nothing prevents scholars from analyzing these questions across

nation-states, many of these questions have not been addressed because scholars tend to focus on macro-level democratic differences across regimes rather than finer variables that vary at local levels. Analytically, it is more insightful to compare how a well-functioning democracy performs across its local levels as one can control for macro-level factors such as rules, party systems, electoral systems, and the like.

A related point emerges: we lack a theory of democracy's linkages with society, that is, where democracy meets social institutions. We do not have enough studies of how boundaries between citizens and political society in democracies are created, sustained and restructured. The political culture research project has found that civil and democratic values are important but we do not know enough about how such values are created and sustained.<sup>10</sup> Studies of local political values can allow us to focus more closely on the linkages between society and democracy. This explication and examination of how democratic citizens and democratic values are produced and reproduced at societal levels can best be done through fine-grained local studies working with tools of political sociology and political anthropology. A subnational orientation in such endeavors can enhance the variation in otherwise focused micro-studies by bringing in a comparative dimension—the creation of democratic citizens across different or similar localities—within as well as across nation-states.

### Explicating Missing Puzzles about Democracies and Economic Development

While there is a huge literature linking

10. G. Almond, and S. Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (California: Sage, 1989).

political variables like regime types and economic development indicators, the causal mechanisms underlying the linkages between economic development and regime type have not been adequately researched.<sup>11</sup> We need to go beyond blunt, macro-level concepts like democracy or globalization to consider the effect of democratization on economic outcomes. For example, how democratization influences different social groups—business, interest groups, labor—deserves a more differentiated analysis. It may be possible to use the subnational method to disaggregate different kinds of social groups such as manufacturing versus service sector elites, skilled and unskilled workers, agricultural and industrial labor, and different kinds of voters located in different regional arenas. In India, for example, manufacturing and service industries are located in different provinces. Simultaneously, the eastern part of the country is less well developed and largely agricultural. Such regional differentiations can allow us to tease out the variable effects of democratic procedures on different socio-economic groups. In China, the regional differences between coastal and inland provinces could also be studied in this way.

Research on the effect of economic globalization on the level of democracy also warrants much more attention.<sup>12</sup> Does economic growth create a middle class helping democracy, as argued by Lipset, or does it increase income inequality endangering

11. John Gerring, Peter Kingstone, Mathew Lange, and Aseema Sinha, "Democracy, History, and Economic Performance: A Case-Study Approach," *World Development*, 39 (October 2011).

12. Helen, V. Milner, and B. Mukherjee, "Democratization and Economic Globalization," *Annual Review of Political Science*, (June 2009): 163-181.



democracy?<sup>13</sup> What about the power of business classes in democracies? Does increasing concentration of economic assets influence elections and other procedures of democratic accountability? Given geographic concentrations of assets, industries, and skills, economic variation at the subnational level can be used to test more nuanced hypotheses about the effect of economic change on the level and quality of democracy. Subnational work, then, has the potential to explore lingering puzzles in the link between democracy and economic development.

### **Using Subnational Analysis to Understand National and Global Phenomena**

One weakness of subnational analysis is its inability to scale up. Comparativists might argue that subnational analysis is good for going deeper but it does not help them understand social phenomena at higher levels of aggregation. Moreover, subnational actors and institutions may have different effects across nations, necessitating the need to link cross-national analysis with subnational work. I urge scholars interested in the subnational level to use disaggregation to theorize about how their analysis affects the nature of politics and political economy at the national level. Specifically, what is the link between regional politics and national politics? Is national policy a product of bargaining or coalition formation between regional and subnational actors? How do the incentives of regional politicians vary under different institutional rules? How does the national party system shape regional actions?

13. S.M. Lipset, "Some Social and Economic Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Development," *American Political Science Review* 53 (March 1959): 69–105 and D. Acemoglu and Robinson, J. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press).

An analysis of national politics that accounts for subnational factors is likely to be different than conventional cross-national work. Subnational disaggregation suggests the need to focus analytical attention on how subnational elites perceive their interests, and their incentives. But, we also need to know how the actions of local actors are shaped by both local and national incentives. Towards this end, scholars interested in subnational processes should focus on the interactions among subnational, national, and global levels of analysis as well as diffusion processes. In studies of economic outcomes, for example, one important question is whether national considerations can outweigh local interests. This possibility raises an important issue: Are there overlapping or linkage institutions that allow the construction of larger incentives and actions? Linkage arises when local elites, politicians or voters have relationships with nation-wide institutions, or shape developments at the national level. Weingast et. al. argue that hard budget constraints force governments to match revenues with expenditure.<sup>14</sup> And, rules that ensure a national common market force all actors—regional and national—to pursue goals that are beneficial for the national common good. Sinha posits alternative mechanisms of authority, personnel, and institutional linkages that make local and national incentives consistent.<sup>15</sup> Authority linkage mechanisms refer both to the formal roles conferred to subnational and central actors as well as the exercise of real power. In China for example, central leaders make recruitment decisions according them unprecedented power. This, then, affects the scope of local and subnational autonomy creating

14. Weingast 1995, op.cit.

15. Weingast, 1995 op. cit. and Sinha, 2005 op.cit.

particular incentives and pathways of career mobility and institutional change in China. Institutional linkages refer to organizations that exist separate from the levels of government, but allow subnational rulers to interact with national level actors. For example, in India, the National Development Council (NDC) and the Interstate Council are institutional bodies that include the provinces' and the center's representatives and meet regularly to discuss overlapping issues. Examples of such linkage exist in all federal systems wherein local interests or voices are represented in national institutions. Personnel linkages refer to circulation of elites: Do subnational politicians, for example, hold central posts and vice versa?<sup>16</sup> The participation of provincial elites in the Chinese Politburo is one such linkage mechanism. These concepts and examples suggest the need to expand beyond purely subnational analyses to examine how the subnational structure of power affects the nature of the national political economy and vice versa.

One advantage of the extension of subnational foci to national levels is that results can be compared across different countries. In order to do that, though, scholars need to ask: What can the presence of subnational divisions say about the nature of national institutions and policy processes? How does the national context shape the nature of subnational divisions? Asking these questions would expand the value of subnational analysis and also allow scholars interested in the subnational level to theorize and build arguments about other cases (i.e. combine within case analyses with cross-case analyses).

For example, work on ethnic divisions

16. This section is drawn from Sinha. 2005, Op.cit.

**Sinha**

in India or Russia might do well to ask how the political organization of federalism in the relevant country affects the transformation of ethnicity into national outcomes, such as consociationalism or persistent ethnic conflict? Research on party systems can analyze how they differ across regions at the subnational level but also aggregate to develop weaker or stronger mechanisms of career and institutional development at the national level. Moraski's work alludes to this possibility by highlighting how the design of regional electoral systems impeded regional party development, which in turn, may have contributed to the weakness of the Russian party system.<sup>17</sup>

In a similar vein Latin American scholars have argued that subnational party systems affect national party systems.<sup>18</sup> In work on economic growth a focus on fiscal transfers has implicitly addressed this question but political economy analysis also must ask how political authority is distributed across different levels of the polity. Are there ways for local politicians to advance

17. Bryon Moraski, *Elections by Design: Parties and Patronage in Russia's Regions* (DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2006).

18. Fernando Luiz Abrucio and David Samuels, "Federalism and Democratic Transitions: The "New" Politics of the Governors in Brazil," *Publius*, 30, 2 (Spring 2000): 43-61; Erika Moreno, "Subnational Determinants of National Multipartyism in Latin America," *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 28 (2003): 179-201.

to the national level and vice versa? How does such advancement affect local incentives to pursue democracy or growth or investment promotion? Such theoretical and empirical extensions must be done more explicitly, so that scholars of subnational politics can contribute to theory building at the national level. Doing so will lead to the next step of comparing the nature of regional and national phenomenon across cases. Such cross-national analysis would more fully capture political developments by taking into account subnational differentiation but also by theorizing about national patterns and trajectories.

**Conclusion**

In sum, the subnational method must be linked to a substantive comparative theory of subnational variation across countries. This expansion can tell us a lot about the actual practice of democracies all over the world and by doing so, enable us to modify and add nuance to the theoretical concepts with which we work. A subnational orientation can especially be useful in analyzing crucial and unaddressed puzzles about the effect of democracies on changing economic outcomes and the interests and preferences of actors in their economic and political roles. Lastly, subnational studies must pay

conscious attention to scaling up to the national and global level. Subnational work has highlighted the need to disaggregate the nation-state into its lower level units (provinces, regions, local level units, or districts). In order to deploy the scaling down for a larger comparative theory of subnational variation, we must scale up and develop a theory of the nation-state that makes explicit the interaction across levels within it rather than assume independence of units. Then, scholars can compare both within and across countries. Such an approach would be different from both traditional comparative analysis that takes the nation-state as the unit of analysis as well as the excellent first generation subnational work that compares within countries. Nation-states or subnational units are not "bounded wholes" and a subnational orientation can help us disaggregate as well as aggregate.

*Dr. Aseema Sinha is the Wagener Chair of South Asian Politics at Claremont McKenna College. She is the author of Regional Roots of Developmental Politics in India: A Divided Leviathan (2005). She has written journal articles in World Development, British Journal of Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Comparative Politics, and Polity.*



## GIRAUDY, CONTINUED

*(continued from page 3)*

wealth of novel and insightful studies on subnational democracy (SD) (see footnote 5).<sup>4</sup> The essay argues that while Latin Americanists have made key contributions that advance our knowledge of SD, important theoretical, conceptual, and methodological voids still need to be filled. By highlighting these shortcomings, this essay also seeks to chart new paths for future research on territorial democracy in Latin America and beyond.

**Contributions from Latin America**

During the past three decades a growing number of Latin American countries have moved away from autocracy and military dictatorship towards democracy. Still, despite the progressive consolidation of national democracy, at the subnational level elections are still severely manipulated, the civic liberties of the local populations are partially suppressed, and varying degrees of harassment and violence, which usually result from the capture of subnational governments by organized crime, skew the playing field in favor of incumbents. Additionally, in various lower-tier governments, ruling officials exert a tight grip over the legislative branch, local agencies of control, subnational party organizations, the local media, as well as local civic organizations.

One of the major contributions of Latin Americanists to the study of territoriality and SD has been the systematic documentation of instances of regime juxtaposition. These new

4. The proliferation of studies on SD has also been spurred by the methodological advantages associated with the "subnational comparative method," among which are the possibility of increasing the number of observations for analysis, and constructing controlled comparisons (see Richard Snyder, "Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method" *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (March 2001): 93-110).

studies, which range from in-depth, qualitative single case-studies to medium-N, within-country studies have provided detailed descriptions of SURs in countries as diverse as Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico, thus empirically confirming that democratic advancement in Latin America has been territorially uneven both across levels of government and subnational units.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, and as importantly, scholars have identified and documented the specific tactics employed by subnational undemocratic incumbents in nationally democratic countries to entrench their position in power. We now know that undemocratic governors and mayors engage in strategies of institutional engineering that deeply affect the distribution of provincial and local power in favor of incumbents by limiting the number of entrants in the electoral arena and reducing intraparty factionalism. Gerrymandering to overrepresent rural districts against the more competitive capital districts

5. Some illustrative works include, Jonathan Fox, "Latin America's Emerging Local Politics" *Journal of Democracy* 5 (April 1994): 105-116; Wayne Cornelius, "Subnational Politics and Democratization: Tensions between Center and Periphery in the Mexican Political System," in Wayne Cornelius, Todd A. Eisenstadt, and Jane Hindley, eds., *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico* (La Jolla: Center for US-Mexican Studies, University of California San Diego, 1999); Richard Snyder, "After the State Withdraws: Neoliberalism and Subnational Authoritarian Regimes in Mexico," in Wayne Cornelius, Todd A. Eisenstadt, and Jane Hindley, eds., *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico* (La Jolla: Center for US-Mexican Studies, University of California San Diego, 1999); Gibson (2005); Alfred Montero, "Uneven Democracy? Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Brazil," Paper delivered at Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Quebec, Canada 2007; Carlos Gervasoni, "A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy, and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces" *World Politics* 62 (April 2010): 302-40; Allyson Benton, "Bottom-Up Challenges to National Democracy: Latin America's (Legal) Subnational Authoritarian Enclaves, the Case of Mexico" *Comparative Politics* (forthcoming).

and changes in electoral rules that alter district magnitudes, are only some examples of the institutional reforms carried out by incumbents to consolidate their ruling position. Other examples include the frequent and arbitrary reshuffling of provincial/state-level supreme courts, the capricious removal of opposition mayors from office, the denial of funding to municipalities controlled by the opposition, the arbitrary commission of provincial/state-level audits to investigate contrived financial misdeeds of opposition mayors, and the co-optation or division of local organized groups, such as small unions, social movements, and street vendors, that could potentially exert societal control over undemocratic incumbents.

Another important contribution of the Latin American scholarship on SD has been the identification of the causes that underpin the continuity and change of undemocratic regimes in nationally democratic countries. Interestingly, most studies conducted in this region implicitly build on the idea that subnational democratic continuity and change are shaped by, and thus should be understood by looking at the dynamics taking place between the center and the peripheral units of the political system.<sup>6</sup>

For instance, Snyder shows that events occurring at the federal level of government, such as the

6. This dynamic has been referred to by Tarrow as "territorial politics," and recently by Gibson as "sub-systemic interaction" (see Sidney Tarrow, "Introduction," in Peter Katzenstein and L. Graziano, ed., *Territorial Politics in Industrial Nations* (New York and London: Praeger Publishers, 1978); Edward Gibson, "Subnational Authoritarianism and Territorial Politics: Charting the Theoretical Landscape," Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Annual Congress, August 30, 2008.

## Giraudy

implementation of neoliberal (market) reforms, can contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of SURs. These reforms, as occurred in Mexico, triggered reregulation projects in the states through which undemocratic incumbents generated rents and resources to consolidate their ruling position.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, Cornelius, and Montero and Samuels argue that the processes of decentralization that swept the region during the late 1980s and 1990s, and which shifted political, fiscal, and administrative power away from the national government toward subnational units, gave undemocratic state-level rulers greater autonomy, resources, and leverage to maintain SURs in power.<sup>8</sup> Alternatively, Gibson demonstrates that authoritarian incumbents and regimes prevail when the scope of conflict is localized and opposition groups are cut off from allies and resources in the national polity. By contrast, they are threatened and overthrown when provincial conflict becomes nationalized.<sup>9</sup> Gervasoni's analysis of Argentina shows that the institutions of fiscal federalism shape the prospects for democratization in subnational arenas, as provinces that are highly dependent on federal transfers are better equipped to maintain SURs in place.<sup>10</sup> Montero's study of Brazil reveals that the building of national-local alliances between the national ruling Worker's Party and urban-based opposition forces in undemocratic states, are critical to challenging the hegemony of long-standing authoritarian caudillos.<sup>11</sup> Finally, analyzing Mexico

7. Snyder 1999.

8. Cornelius 1999; Alfred Montero and David Samuels, eds. *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).

9. Gibson 2005.

10. Gervasoni 2010.

11. Alfred Montero, "No Country for Leftists?"

and Argentina, Giraudy shows that the uneven territorial reach of the nation-state determines national incumbents' capacity and incentives to either strengthen or weaken SURs "from above."<sup>12</sup>

In sum, three of the contributions of Latin Americanists to the study of SD have been the systematic and detailed documentation of instances of regime juxtaposition in a variety of countries of the region, the identification of the specific tactics employed by subnational incumbents to entrench their ruling position, and the careful specification of the structural, strategic, and institutional sub-systemic interactions across levels of government that shape the continuity and change of SD. Despite these achievements, scholars of Latin American SD have left important theoretical, conceptual, and methodological issues unattended.

### Shortcomings of the Literature

Recent scholarship on SD in Eastern Europe has shown that internal structural factors, such as levels of capitalist development and economic autonomy, or external variables, such as patterns of international aid, are key factors in shaping the prospects of SD in several post-communist countries.<sup>13</sup> Conversely, due to their predominant focus on the effects of sub-systemic interactions on SD, scholars from Latin America still know very little Clientelist Continuity and the 2006 Vote in the Brazilian Northeast" *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2 (2010): 113-153.

12. Agustina Giraudy, *Subnational Undemocratic Regime Continuity after Democratization: Argentina and Mexico in Comparative Perspective* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009).

13. See Kelly McMann, *Economic Autonomy and Democracy: Hybrid Regimes in Russia and Kyrgyzstan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Tomila Lankina and Getachew Lullit, "A Geographic Incremental Theory of Democratization. Territory, Aid, and Democracy in Postcommunist Regions" *World Politics* 58 (July 2006): 536-82.

about whether internal structural variables or external (international) factors undermine or aid the continuity of Latin American SURs. Future works exploring the effects of these variables on SD are needed to expand our knowledge about the causes that determine subnational political regime continuity and change in Latin America. Still, more importantly, these new works can trigger a new and much needed scholarly debate on whether SD and subnational democratization should be theorized from a "sub-systemic interaction" perspective (as proposed by Gibson) or whether they should be assessed by focusing on internal or external variables that are usually stressed in theories of national democracy and democratization.

The vast majority of Latin American studies on regime juxtaposition focus on the post-third wave democratization period and are spatially limited to provincial/state-level, second-tier governments. While entirely justified, these temporal and spatial demarcations may pose at least two important limitations for our understanding of subnational political regime dynamics.

First, as the literature on temporal politics notes, a variety of aspects of time may be relevant to understanding important political outcomes. Subnational democratization may be a slow-moving process that takes a long time to unfold. Hence, it is very likely that the causal mechanisms that are responsible for its emergence are rooted in past events and follow a path-dependant pattern. Unfortunately, due to the short-time span of extant studies and databases, our understanding of how these mechanisms may (or may not) shape subnational regime dynamics is still very limited. A first step to help



fill this gap is to dig into historical archives to assess the evolution of SD over longer periods of time. Doing so would allow one to produce longer time-series, which could be used to pin down the historical factors that may contribute to SUR resilience.

Second, the predominant focus on provincial/state-level governments may mask important aspects of territorial democracy in Latin America, thus further limiting our understanding of regime juxtaposition in the region. For instance, the absence of studies on democracy conducted at the local, i.e., municipal level of government, has prevented scholars from assessing the actual territorial reach of this type of political regime.<sup>14</sup> Subnational undemocratic enclaves may be far more ubiquitous at the municipal than at provincial/state levels of government, thereby revealing that the territorial unevenness of democracy may be more severe than it is often thought to be. Until new studies and data on municipal democracy are produced, scholars of regime juxtaposition will lack the tools necessary to increase their descriptive accuracy and assess the magnitude of the phenomenon they are studying.

Despite the proliferation of works on regime juxtaposition, scarce attention has been devoted to issues of

conceptualization and measurement.<sup>15</sup> Most works on SD in Latin America do not offer clear conceptual definitions of how they conceive political regimes, much less a discussion of their dimensions, sub-dimensions, and indicators. Moreover, they only rarely provide rules for coding democratic versus undemocratic subnational units, and perhaps more worryingly, only some of them measure the degree or level of democracy across all subnational units of a given country and over time. Complicating things further, Latin American analysts of regime juxtaposition use a variety of conceptual forms, such as hybrid, authoritarian, neopatrimonial, or 'closed-game' to refer to subnational political regimes that are not democratic. Each of these labels, in turn, is employed to denote a different set of empirical cases.

One of the major drawbacks of this conceptual murkiness for the study of SD is that scholars are severely prevented from specifying the domain of empirical cases for analysis. This in turn is problematic because the identification of the universe of cases is essential for crafting theories, testing hypotheses, and assessing causal relations.<sup>16</sup> The 15. Exceptions are Solt (2003), Gervasoni (2010), and Giraudy (2010). These analysts employ different conceptualizations and strategies to measure SD. Whereas Gervasoni adopts a "thick" definition of democracy that incorporates both electoral and liberal dimensions, Solt and Giraudy subscribe to a Schumpeterian, electoral conception of democracy. In terms of measurement strategies, Gervasoni conducts a Survey of Experts on Provincial Politics that assesses experts' subjective evaluations; Solt and Giraudy, by contrast, employ objective indicators. The three authors measure SD across all districts, although they differ in terms of the number of countries covered. Whereas Solt and Gervasoni limit their measurement to one country (Mexico and Argentina, respectively), Giraudy gauges levels of SD in both Mexico and Argentina. See Frederick Solt, *Explaining the Quality of New Democracies: Actors, Institutions, and Socioeconomic Structure in Mexico's States* (Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003); Agustina Giraudy, "The Politics of Subnational Undemocratic Regime Reproduction in Argentina and Mexico" *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2 (2010): 53-84.

current lack of agreement among Latin American scholars of SD about what constitutes the proper domain of empirical cases for analysis is thus worrying as it may prevent them from making further progress toward theory testing and theory refinement. In effect, because researchers are unable to assess the same object of study, explanations cannot be considered as competing, making it impossible to adjudicate among them. A necessary step to help expand knowledge accumulation in the subfield of regime juxtaposition is thus to promote a more self-conscious and careful use of concepts and measurement strategies among scholars.

Another important step towards expanding our knowledge on SD is to move past current works that assume unit homogeneity across SURs. Much writing on territorial democracy has taken for granted that SURs within countries are homogenous or uniform entities, all deemed to be analyzed and treated as equivalents, especially with regard to the relation they maintain with national rulers or national institutions. However, while sharing important political features, these regimes vary considerably among each other with these differences being crucial to explain regime continuity and change. For instance, subnational regimes can be differentiated in terms of the power bases of incumbents within states as well as rulers' distinct styles of leadership. Alternatively, they can be distinguishable by their levels of financial dependency on the central government and the intrinsic characteristics of subnational state-administrations.<sup>17</sup> These provincial/state-level differences are critical for

14. It should be noted however, that in the last few years, there has been a boom in comparative studies of cities. While these works do not focus on democracy per se, they shed important light on problems related to SD, such as "participatory policymaking," crime, violence, and "urban governance" (see, for instance, Gianpaolo Baiocchi, *Militants and Citizens: The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005); Richard Snyder and Angelica Duran-Martinez, "Does Illegality Breed Violence? Drug Trafficking and State-Sponsored Protection Rackets" *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 52 (September 2009): 253-73; Eduardo Moncada, "Counting Bodies: Crime Mapping, Policing and Race in Colombia" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (April 2010): 696-716.

16. Gerardo Munck, "Tools for Qualitative

Research," in Henry Brady and David Collier, eds., *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

17. See Snyder 1999; Giraudy 2009, 2010.

## Giraudy/Berger

determining undemocratic incumbents' clout in their dealing with central state elites, and play a decisive role in explaining how, and under what conditions, undemocratic subnational regimes continue to survive. Future research on SD will have to acknowledge how cross-subnational differences among undemocratic regimes shape the prospects of SUR resilience and change.

Finally, as noted earlier, Latin Americanists have, for the most part, carried out within-country comparisons of subnational undemocratic units in single countries while paying little to no attention to cross-national comparisons among countries where democracy

is territorially uneven. This can have important implications for knowledge accumulation because we are prevented from assessing whether the uneven territorialization of democracy is more or less pronounced in, say, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Bolivia, Peru or Argentina. As a result, little theoretical progress can be made to evaluate how levels of subnational democratic territorial unevenness are affecting the viability of national democracy.

In sum, the Latin American scholarship on SD has made major contributions to the study of regime juxtaposition, thus helping in important and novel ways to push the research agenda on

territorial democracy forward. Despite this progress, important theoretical, conceptual, and empirical gaps still need to be filled. The issues raised in this essay are only some of the topics that will need to be addressed in the future in order to advance our knowledge about how space and territory shape democracy and democratization.

*Agustina Giraudy is an Academy Scholar at the Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies at Harvard University. Her research focuses on subnational democracy, subnational institutions, federalism, and the state in Latin America.*

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## BERGER, CONTINUED

(continued from page 3)

how *democracy* affects some outcome, we can study who is affected by specific institutions, where and under what circumstances (both at the individual and societal levels). In addition to telling us when democracy matters this might even help us understand what democracy is.

Discussions of micro-level studies of democracy encompass several different types of research designs. I consider papers that use field experiments, natural experiments, regression discontinuities and instrumental variable strategies. In field experiments the researcher directly manipulates the variable she is interested in, which allows her to ensure overlap in other covariates of interest and be certain that there is no reverse causation.<sup>1</sup> Natural experiments require the author to show that while she cannot manipulate the

variable she is interested in studying, some external force manipulated it *as if at random*. When she can establish the as-if randomness of the treatment and the comparability of the treatment and control groups, she can answer questions that field experiments would be unable to ethically address.<sup>2</sup> Regression discontinuities exploit rules that enforce a sharp division of treatments at a specific point of a running variable. For example, a Swedish law in the first half of the last century permitted direct democracy in villages of under 700 people while mandating representative democracy in villages with 700 or more inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

2. Thad Dunning, "Improving Causal Inference: Strengths and Limitations of Natural Experiments," *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (June 2008): 282-293; Jasjeet Sekhon and Rocio Titiunik, "When Natural Experiments Are Neither Natural Nor Experiments," *American Political Science Review* (forthcoming) available at <http://sekhon.berkeley.edu/papers/SekhonTitiunik.pdf>.

3. Bjorn Tyrefors Hinnerich and Per Pettersson-Lidbom, "Democracy, Redistribution, and Political Participation: Evidence from Sweden 1919-1950," *R&R Econometrica* (October 20, 2010) available at <http://people.su.se/~pepet/econdirect.pdf>.

A regression discontinuity approach has the advantage of clearly showing what forces the choice of treatment at the cost of ensuring no covariate overlap on the running variable.<sup>4</sup> While the use of instruments--variables correlated with the outcome of interest purely through the treatment--has long been a part of the comparativist's toolbox, recent work has focused on correct interpretation of its estimate. Instrumental variables estimate the local average treatment effect (LATE), which is interpreted as the effect of the treatment on the subpopulation whose treatment status was changed by the instrument (called compliers).<sup>5</sup> The LATE is not the

4. The lack of overlap is a cost since it means that by construction one cannot exactly compare like with like along the running variable.

5. An example of this from labor economics comes from the attempt to measure the effect of having more children on mothers' labor supply decisions. Two different instruments for having 3 or more children--twins on the second birth and first two children of the same sex--reveal different LATEs as the instruments can be shown to create different sets of compliers. Joshua D. Angrist and William N. Evans, "Children and Their Parents' Labor Supply: Evidence

1. Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Field Experiments and the Political Economy of Development," *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (June 2009): 367-378.

same as the population average effect, and different instruments could give different LATEs by driving different sets of compliers. Best practices have moved to both calculating the local average treatment effect (LATE) on compliers and characterizing who the compliers are.<sup>6</sup>

The combination and comparisons of different LATEs on the same independent and dependent variables can be especially illuminating. Where multiple approaches to the same question in different localities give the same answer one can draw a more general conclusion than we could from any of the individual studies since differences between them allow us to exclude the possibility that any of the facets they differ on are necessary conditions for observing the effect. Similarly, when different studies disagree, understanding why can be a source of insight that none of the works on their own could have provided.

Several recent papers such as Banerjee and Iyer (2004) and Dell (2008) have used clever instrumentation strategies to recover the effects of local institutions.<sup>7</sup> Instead of claiming to find universal truths, both of these studies recover LATEs within the particular institutional and democratic frameworks of the countries in which they are conducted. While these two studies focus on things other than democracy, the observations about democracy are nonetheless extremely

from Exogenous Variation in Family Size" *The American Economic Review* 88 (June 1998): 450-477.

6. Joshua D. Angrist and Jorn-Steffen Pischke, *Mostly Harmless Econometrics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). See especially chapter 4.

7. Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer, "History, Institutions and Economic Performance," (October 2004) available at <http://econ-www.mit.edu/files/51>. Melissa Dell, "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita" *Econometrica* 78 (November 2010): 1863-1903.

revealing. The two studies mentioned above find opposite effects of the interaction of local inequality with democracy. The different *national* institutional frameworks caused *local* democracy to work in opposite ways in the two countries. Banerjee and Iyer demonstrate that in places where the British concentrated power in the hands of a few powerful landlords much weaker norms of collective action developed among local residents. While the landlords lost their formal authority after independence, the weak norms of local collective action did not change. Local residents were therefore unable to organize as effectively in the former landlord areas than in the non-landlord areas which discouraged development in the formerly landlord areas. A similar approach by Dell reveals different economic outcomes. Areas of Peru with large landlords are economically better off today than those without. However, she notes that the relevant level of negotiation in Peru is between the local government and higher levels, as opposed to the interaction between the local government and local citizens in Banerjee and Iyer, and that hacienda owners were thus more able to lobby successfully for roads and other public interest goods. Here we can see two democracies where the institutions of democracy map the same differences in the concentration of power onto opposite outcomes. The authors illustrate the value of not only looking at the micro-level, but looking across locations. In addition, one could imagine how such variation could be missed in studies of aggregate data. To the extent that these effects are offsetting each other, a reduced form of macro-level regression would reveal no effect.

Micro-level studies of democracy also

give us insight into when and how information can help citizens hold their governments accountable. The quality of the information available is the key to determining which equilibria are possible in both moral hazard and adverse selection models of electoral democracy, for example.<sup>8</sup> The two types of models, however, make different predictions about the behavioral responses of agents to changes in the informational environment. An ongoing project by Humphreys and Weinstein is creating and distributing scorecards of parliamentarians in Uganda to their constituents.<sup>9</sup> They expect to be able to use the response to the scorecards to tease out both the effects of information on voting behavior and the effects of anticipation of the information's release on behavior in parliament.

Local level studies also shed light on the limits on information. Berry and Howell examine the effects of elections in the low-information setting of school boards in South Carolina.<sup>10</sup> They find that voters lack the information to successfully punish poorly performing school boards, and that district performance does not affect the probability of reelection. The danger of poor information to the ability of voters in developing countries to credibly threaten their elected officials is clearly an area for greater study. One

8. Moral hazard models of democracy are broadly those where facing the electorate disciplines homogeneous politicians who would otherwise appropriate government funds for themselves. Adverse selection models are those where voters are trying to choose high quality candidates from a heterogeneous population.

9. Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy Weinstein, "Policing Politicians: Citizen Empowerment and Political Accountability in Uganda," (March 12, 2010) available at <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/government/research/PSPE/pdf/Humphreys.pdf>.

10. Christopher R. Berry and William G. Howell, "Accountability and Local Elections: Rethinking Retrospective Voting," *Journal of Politics* 69 (June 2007): 844-858.

## Berger

question of practical significance is how disinterested the parties providing the information need to be to remain sufficiently credible.

Reinikka and Svensson (2004, 2005) show that even data released by a relatively unconstrained semi-authoritarian government can have strong incentive effects on local governments.<sup>11</sup> The central government of Uganda released to local newspapers information on the date and sizes of transfers to schools. The authors show that parents use this information to hold their local schools accountable and generate improved outcomes. The large response to information released by the central government is especially important since it shows that the informational treatments necessary to improve local governance do not have to come from agents outside the political system. Local democracy and national level governments here complement each other in providing effective local governance, even when the central government is semi-authoritarian.

One case where several studies of local democracy combine to tell us more than any specific study would is the literature showing that local accountability in cases of strong information asymmetries induce local political business cycles. In places as diverse as rural Indonesia and Kansas the proximity of an election causes local officials to temporarily shift behavior from their personal preference to that which they believe will be less likely to upset voters.<sup>12</sup> In the former, Ben

11. Ritva Reinikka and Jakob Svensson, "Local Capture: Evidence From a Central Government Transfer Program in Uganda," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119 (May 2004): 679-705. Ritva Reinikka and Jakob Svensson, "Fighting corruption to improve schooling: Evidence from a newspaper campaign in Uganda," *Journal of the European Economic Association* 3 (April-May 2005):1-9.

12. Ben Olken, "Monitoring Corruption: Evidence

Olken uses a field experiment to show that as the quality of information about corruption improves, local district heads who are facing reelection, and only the ones facing reelection, become significantly less corrupt. In the second paper, Sandy Gordon demonstrates that judges become increasingly punitive as elections approach. In both cases the agents modify their behavior to reduce the probability of a single highly negative event occurring, despite the behaviors and environments being very different. The fact that one study examines changes over the strength of the informational signal, and the other considers differences in time to an election but that both find substantively similar effects allows us to be much more certain that constituents can effectively constrain local politicians.

De Janvry, Finan, and Sadoulet further explore the ability of local democracy to induce a local political business cycle.<sup>13</sup> They examine how local level democracy impacts the implementation of Brazil's conditional cash transfer programs. They demonstrate that first-term mayors (who can run for reelection) implement more transparent and much more effective programs than second term mayors who are not eligible for reelection due to term limits. Voters in turn reward the local officials who implement these policies which demonstrates the importance of local democracy for actually achieving major efficiencies from decentralization. Local democracy interacts with the

from a Field Experiment in Indonesia," *Journal of Political Economy* 115 (April 2007): 200-249. Sanford Gordon and Gregory A. Huber, "The Effect of Electoral Competitiveness on Incumbent Behavior" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2 (May, 2007): 107-138.

13. Alain de Janvry, Frederico Finan, and Elisabeth Sadoulet. "Local Electoral Incentives and Decentralized Program Performance," (December 2010) available at [http://www.econ.berkeley.edu/finan/Finan\\_Bolsa.pdf](http://www.econ.berkeley.edu/finan/Finan_Bolsa.pdf).

decentralization decision from above to produce much higher returns than either on their own would produce. While the discussion in the paper largely centered on the decentralization debate (i.e. When should a central government decentralize a program?), the results speak strongly to local democracy questions like when and how can citizens hold their local representatives accountable.

Burgess et al. continue in a similar vein, focusing on disentangling the effects of local democracy from those of decentralization and devolution.<sup>14</sup> In 2004 Indonesia passed a law transforming the position of district head from appointed to elected, but incumbent appointed heads were permitted to serve out the balance of their term. The authors argue that the asynchronous implementation of local elections in Indonesia provides a natural experiment on the effects of local democracy. They demonstrate that converting local district heads from being appointed to elected induces a previously nonexistent political business cycle in illegal logging, significantly increasing the number of clear-cut hectares in election years, possibly in response to local demand for logging jobs in protected areas. They also observe competition between local areas for access to illegal logging rents. While it is not surprising that politicians respond to local pressure (and it would be normatively awkward to thereby claim that democracy is suspect), we can see that when the populations of sufficiently small areas are given the ability to make decisions with large externality costs on their neighbors the results can be suboptimal.

14. Robin Burgess, Matthew Hansen, Benjamin Olken, Peter Potapov, and Stefanie Sieber, "The Political Economy of Deforestation in the Tropics," (January 2011) available at <http://econ-www.mit.edu/files/6121>.



The finding reminds us that the local and national effects of local democracy are not necessarily the same.

There are, of course, limitations to what we can learn from micro-level studies. Generalization from these studies to the effect of large-scale democracy requires care. As Imbens points out, there are macro-level questions where the random assignment of policies is not possible and no natural experiment or instrument presents itself.<sup>15</sup> The virtues of micro-level studies, the focus on a clearly defined LATE and internal validity, work against the

15. Guido Imbens, "Better LATE than nothing: Some comments on Deaton (2009) and Heckman and Urzua (2009)," NBER Working Paper 14896 (April 2009) available at <http://www.nber.org/papers/w14896>.

external validity and generalization to higher levels of government. These issues cannot be solved statistically beyond the bounds of Manski's partial identification. Further generalization requires the application of specialized subject knowledge by experts.<sup>16</sup> This does not argue against the use of micro-level studies, only in favor of bringing in a diverse set of scholars to help understand and generalize them.

There are also further advantages that I have not explored in this piece. One example is in capturing competing 16. In partial identification, instead of imposing sufficiently strong assumptions to make point predictions about parameters of interest, the researcher considers how the set of credible predictions changes as a function of continuously strengthening her assumptions. See Charles Manski, *Partial Identification of Probability Distributions* (New York: Springer, 2003).

effects often suggested by theory. By focusing as finely-grained as possible, these studies give us the chance to observe both sides of what might be offsetting effects. Often theory makes ambiguous, reduced-form predictions; many of these theories can now be tested. Another advantage is that a large part of this literature is flowing from outside the boundaries of traditional comparative politics, encouraging communication and collaborations that can only be good for the discipline.

*Daniel Berger is a Lecturer at the University of Essex. He studies the political economy of development with a particular focus on Africa.*

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## SECTION NEWS

The Comparative Democratization Section will present five awards for scholarly work at the 2012 APSA annual meeting in New Orleans: the Linz Prize for Best Dissertation, Best Book, Best Article, Best Field Work, and Best Paper prizes. Members are strongly encouraged to submit nominations (including for several awards self-nominations) to the appropriate committees listed below. Please also forward this information to colleagues and graduate students. We ask you to note the eligibility criteria, deadlines for submissions, and materials that must accompany nominations; direct any queries to the committee chairs.

### 1. Juan Linz Prize for Best Dissertation in the Comparative Study of Democracy:

Given for the best dissertation in the Comparative Study of Democracy completed and accepted in the two calendar years immediately prior to the APSA Annual Meeting where the award will be presented (2010 or 2011 for the 2012 Annual Meeting). The prize can be awarded

to analyses of individual country cases as long as they are clearly cast in a comparative perspective. A hard copy of the dissertation, accompanied by a letter of support from a member of the dissertation committee should be sent to each member of the prize selection committee.

**Deadline: March 2, 2012**

#### Committee Chair:

Nancy Bermeo  
Nuffield Professor  
Department of Comparative Politics  
Nuffield College  
University of Oxford  
Oxford OX1 1NF  
UK  
[nancy.bermeo@nuffield.ox.ac.uk](mailto:nancy.bermeo@nuffield.ox.ac.uk)

#### Committee Members:

Tom Pepinsky  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Government  
Cornell University  
322 White Hall  
Ithaca, NY 14853

[thomas.pepinsky@gmail.com](mailto:thomas.pepinsky@gmail.com)

Pauline Jones Luong  
Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Brown University  
Box 1844  
36 Prospect Street  
Providence, RI 02912  
[pauline\\_luong@brown.edu](mailto:pauline_luong@brown.edu)

### 2. Best Book Award:

Given for the best book in the field of comparative democratization published in 2011 (authored, co-authored or edited). Copies of the nominated book should be sent to each committee member in time to arrive by March 2, 2012. Books received after this deadline cannot be considered.

**Deadline: March 2, 2012**

#### Committee Chair:

Michael Ross  
Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of California, Los Angeles

## Section News

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4289 Bunche Hall  
Box 951472  
Los Angeles, CA 90095  
mlross@polisci.ucla.edu

### Committee Members:

Thad Dunning  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
115 Prospect St.  
Rosenkranz Hall, Room 420  
Yale University  
New Haven, CT, 06520-8321  
thad.dunning@yale.edu

Benjamin Smith  
Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Florida  
Box 117325  
Anderson Hall  
Gainesville, FL 32611  
bbsmith@ufl.edu

### 3. Best Article:

Single-authored or co-authored articles focusing directly on the subject of democratization and published in 2011 are eligible. Nominations and self-nominations are encouraged. Copies of the article should be sent by postal mail to each of the committee members.

**Deadline: March 2, 2012**

### Committee Chair:

Daniel Posner  
Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of California, Los Angeles  
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1472  
dposner@polisci.ucla.edu

### Committee Members:

Anna Grzymala-Busse  
Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of Michigan  
505 S. State Street, Haven Hall  
Ann Arbor MI 48109  
abusse@umich.edu

Edmund Malesky  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of California, San Diego  
9500 Gilman Drive  
La Jolla, CA 92093-0519  
emalesky@ucsd.edu

### 4. Best Field Work:

This prize rewards dissertation students who conduct especially innovative and difficult fieldwork. Scholars who are currently writing their dissertations or who complete their dissertations in 2011 are eligible. Candidates must submit two chapters of their dissertation and a letter of nomination from the chair of their dissertation committee describing the field work. The material submitted must describe the field work in detail and should provide one or two key insights from the evidence collected in the field. The chapters may be sent electronically or in hard copy directly to each committee member.

**Deadline: March 2, 2012**

### Committee Chair:

Kenneth F. Greene  
Associate Professor  
Department of Government  
1 University Stn A1800  
University of Texas at Austin  
kgreene@austin.utexas.edu

### Committee Members:

Claire Adida  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
University of California, San Diego  
La Jolla, CA 92093  
cadida@ucsd.edu

Lily L. Tsai  
Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
77 Massachusetts Avenue  
Cambridge, MA 02139-4307  
l\_tsai@mit.edu

### 5. Best Paper Award

Given to the best paper on comparative democratization presented at the previous year's APSA Convention. Papers must be nominated by panel chairs or discussants. No self nominations are permitted. Nominated papers must be sent by email to each committee member listed below.

**Deadline: March 2, 2012**

### Committee Chair:

Marc Morjé Howard  
Professor of Government  
Georgetown University  
ICC 681  
Washington, DC 20057-1034  
mmh@georgetown.edu

### Committee Members:

Lisa Blaydes  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Stanford University  
616 Serra Street  
Encina Hall West Room 100  
Stanford, CA 94305-6044  
blaydes@stanford.edu

Christian Houle  
Assistant Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Trinity College  
2-3 College Green  
Dublin 2, Ireland  
HOULEC@tcd.ie

*Editors' Note: The information for the best paper prize was mistakenly omitted from the October 2010 APSA-CD. It appears below.*

**Best Paper Award:** Robert D. Woodberry (University of Texas at Austin) was awarded the Best Paper Award at the 2011 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association for his paper "Weber Through the Back Door: Protestant Competition, Elite Power Dispersion, and the Global Spread of Democracy." Thad Dunning (Yale University) and Susan Stokes (Yale

University) received an honorable mention for their paper “How Does the Internal Structure of Political Parties Shape Their Distributive Strategies?” (both papers were presented at the 2010 APSA meeting).

#### **Committee’s Remarks on the Award Winners:**

The committee awarded the prize to Robert D. Woodberry, of the sociology department at the University of Texas at Austin, for his paper “Weber Through the Back Door: Protestant Competition, Elite Power Dispersion, and the Global Spread of Democracy.” The paper addresses a core thesis of comparative politics, the relationship between mass religious affiliation and political development. Weber’s original design connected the orientation of Protestant dissenters to a specific orientation toward work and leisure. Woodberry refocuses Weber’s insight to account for variation in regime type and also moves the focus of attention beyond the particularities of European history. In this way, he reconnects modern social science with one of the classics of social theory, challenging current theories of democratization taken from political science and economics. The paper is beautifully written, thoroughly researched, and adds significantly to the corpus of knowledge in a key area of comparative politics. The committee therefore unanimously agreed that it should be awarded the prize for best paper in *Comparative Democratization*.

The committee also awarded an honorable mention to Thad Dunning and Susan Stokes, of Yale University, for their paper “How Does the Internal Structure of Political Parties Shape their Distributive Strategies?” The paper addresses an important question of distributive politics: do parties target loyal supporters or swing voters? The paper provides an answer using a multi-method approach. First, they present survey evidence from three countries, Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela,

concluding that parties tend to target loyal supporters and swing districts. Then, they explain their finding through a formal model, capturing the strategic interactions between party leaders and party brokers. The paper offers exciting possibilities for future research on this important question.

#### **NEWS FROM MEMBERS**

**Naazneen H. Barma**, assistant professor of national security affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, and Kai Kaiser, Tuan Minh Le, and Lorena Viñuela published *Rents to Riches? The Political Economy of Natural Resource-Led Development* (The World Bank). The authors focus on the political economy of the detailed decisions that governments make at each step of the natural resource management value chain. They contextualize micro-level outcomes with an emphasis on two central political economy dimensions: the degree to which governments can make credible inter-temporal commitments to both resource developers and citizens, and the degree to which governments are inclusive and inclined to turn resource rents into public goods. The book includes case study work from Africa, East Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean, and provides guidance for government clients, domestic stakeholders, and development partners committed to transforming natural resource rents into sustainable development riches.

**Eva Bellin**, Myra and Robert Kraft Professor of Arab Politics, Brandeis University, published “Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring” in the January 2012 *Journal of Comparative Politics*. Ms. Bellin examines the trajectory of the Arab Spring, which she believes highlights an empirical novelty for the Arab world, namely, the manifestation of huge, cross-class, popular protests in the name of political change, as well as a new factor that abetted the materialization of

this phenomenon—the spread of social media. She argues that this confirms earlier analyses that the behavior of the coercive apparatus, especially its varying will to repress, is pivotal to determining the durability of Arab authoritarian regimes.

**Michael Bernhard**, Raymond and Miriam Ehrlich Eminent Scholar Chair in Political Science, University of Florida, and Ekrem Karakoc published “Moving West or Going South? Economic Transformation and Institutionalization in Postcommunist Party Systems” in the October 2011 *Journal of Comparative Politics*, in which the authors argue that weak party system institutionalization in the region exists at high levels along three dimensions—volatility of representation, party extinction, and incumbency disadvantage—despite sustained economic growth. The authors analyze a sample of democratic elections from 1990 to 2006 to show that postcommunist countries whose reform strategies minimize increases in inequality have more institutionalized party systems.

**Catherine Boone**, associate professor of government, University of Texas at Austin, published “Politically Allocated Land Rights and the Geography of Electoral Violence: The Case of Kenya in the 1990s” in the October 2011 *Comparative Political Studies*. She considers the argument that regimes that support private property rights help strengthen liberal electoral regimes by constraining majoritarian politics, lowering the stakes of elections, and protecting “fundamental” or minority rights. Ms. Boone examines the issue in a Kenyan context, focusing on 1991–1992 electoral dynamics in rural zones in which the state itself has exercised direct prerogative over land allocation, and concludes that in these areas, politicians manipulated land rights to mobilize supporters and punish opponents.

**Archie Brown**, Emeritus Professor of Politics, Oxford University, published

## Section News

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*The Rise and Fall of Communism* (Ecco), which won the Mackenzie Prize of the UK Political Studies Association for the best political science book of 2011. Mr. Brown examines the origins of communist ideology, its development in different nations, its collapse in many of those countries following perestroika, and its current incarnations around the globe. He also published “The Gorbachev Factor Revisited” in the July–October 2011 *Problems of Post-Communism*.

**Nathan J. Brown**, professor of political science and international relations, George Washington University, published *When Victory is Not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics* (Cornell University Press), which examines Islamist movements in Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, and Palestine, and argues that Islamists do adapt their organizations and their ideologies do bend—some. But Islamist leaders almost always preserve a line of retreat in case the political opening fizzles or fails to deliver what they wish. The result is a cat-and-mouse game between dominant regimes and wily movements.

**Jason Brownlee**, associate professor of government, University of Texas at Austin, published “The Transitional Challenge to Arab Freedom” in the November 2011 *Current History*. He examines the historical evidence of U.S. support for autocratic regimes in the Middle East, and analyzes the Obama Administration’s response to the Arab Spring. Mr. Brownlee also published “Peace Before Freedom: Diplomacy and Repression in Sadat’s Egypt” in the Winter 2011–2012 *Political Science Quarterly*.

**Jon D. Carlson**, lecturer in the School of Social Sciences, Humanities & Arts, University of California, Merced, published *Myths, State Expansion, and the Birth of Globalization* (Palgrave). Mr. Carlson argues that myths are important, yet overlooked, and that myths, dreams,

desires, and false information prime the pump of imperial expansion, which explains how new regions of the world are absorbed into the expanding world system. He explores the role that information plays in the expansion of the state system, and concludes that not merely an artifact of history, accurate information acquisition and dissemination continues to be relevant, as myths still drive markets and political decision-making.

**Javier Corrales**, professor of political science, Amherst College, and Michael Penfold published *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela* (Brookings Institution Press). The book describes how the Chávez regime has revamped the nation, with a particular focus on its political transformation. The authors argue that liberal democracy as an institution was not to blame for the rise of *chavismo*, and assert that Venezuela’s economic ailments were not caused by neoliberalism. Instead they blame other factors, including a dependence on oil, which caused macroeconomic volatility; political party fragmentation, which triggered infighting; government mismanagement of the banking crisis, which led to more centralization of power; and the Asian financial crisis of 1997, which devastated Venezuela’s economy at the same time that Chávez ran for president. *Dragon in the Tropics* was listed as one of the “Best Books of 2011 on the Western Hemisphere” by *Foreign Affairs*.

**Larry Diamond**, coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy*, codirector of the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy, and director of the Freeman Spogli Institute’s Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University, published “Democracy’s Third Wave Today” in the November 2011 *Current History*. In light of the Arab Spring, Mr.

Diamond revisits the “third wave” of democratization that began in 1974 and argues that although democracy has ebbed worldwide since 2006, the Arab Spring and a careful examination of the character and trends of democracy around the world offer reason for optimism.

**John P. Entelis**, professor of political science and director of the Middle East Studies program, Fordham University, published “Morocco’s ‘New’ Political Face: Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose” in the December 5, 2011 Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED) Policy Brief; “Algeria: Democracy Denied, and Revived?” in the December 2011 *Journal of North African Studies*; “North Africa’s Intifadas: Is Algeria Next?” in the September 8, 2011, *EUROMESCO* Brief No. 8; and “Algeria, Revolutionary in Name Only” on September 8, 2011, on *Foreign Policy’s Middle East Channel*.

**Francis Fukuyama**, Olivier Nomellini Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute, Stanford University, published “Is There a Proper Sequence in Democratic Transitions?” in the November 2011 *Current History*. Mr. Fukuyama asserts that development is a complex process that takes place across multiple dimensions of human life. One dimension is economic growth, which involves increasing output per person, based on steadily growing productivity. Political development involves changes in three types of institutions: the state, which concentrates and deploys power to enforce rules across a territory; the rule of law, which limits governments’ ability to make arbitrary decisions; and mechanisms of democratic accountability, which ensure that governments reflect the will and interests of the people. He argues that positive change rarely occurs across all four dimensions simultaneously because casual connections exist among different dimensions of development.



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*Section News*


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**Bruce Gilley**, professor of political science, Portland State University, published “Could China Be the Next Wave?” in the November 2011 *Current History*. Mr. Gilley argues that three kinds of transformations—a pluralization of social values and interests, a waning belief among regime elites in their god-given right to rule, and international incentives that encourage democratization—are good predictors of democratic change, and analyzes these trends in the Chinese context.

**Tom Ginsburg**, Leo Spitz Professor of International Law and professor of political science, University of Chicago School of Law, published “Pitfalls of Measuring the Rule of Law” in the September 2011 *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*. He observes that the recent demand for new measures of the rule of law confronts several methodological challenges, and calls for careful attention to fundamental social science ideas of conceptualization and measurement in approaching the rule of law. Mr. Ginsburg highlights problems encountered by past rule of law researchers and suggests improvements in measurement approaches.

**Kenneth F. Greene**, associate professor of government, University of Texas at Austin, received a Mellon Foundation Summer Research Grant to serve as principal investigator for the study “Ethnographic Approaches to Studying Clientelism.” Mr. Greene also gave recent lectures at the National Elections Tribunal of Peru, the Federal Elections Tribunal of Mexico, FLACSO-Mexico, Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, and the Juan March Institute.

**Jennifer YJ Hsu**, assistant professor of political science, University of Alberta, Canada, and Dylan Sutherland published *HIV Aids in China – The Economic and Social Determinants* (Routledge). The authors analyze China’s HIV/AIDS epidemic, and focus on the nature and impact of current economic and social change and

how these changes may drive the epidemic. It examines aspects of income and gender inequality; rural-urban migration; commercial sex work; healthcare; and civil society organizations. Health care reforms and the role of NGOs are also considered, as well as general government policy.

**Manal A. Jamal**, assistant professor of political science, James Madison University, published “Democracy, Promotion, Civil Society Building, and the Primacy of Politics” in the January 2012 *Comparative Political Studies*. Drawing from original research in the Palestinian Territories and El Salvador, the article examines the relationship between political settlements and democracy promotion and the impact on the women’s sector of civil society in each of these cases.

**Richard Joseph**, professor of international history and politics, Northwestern University, published “Democracy and Reconfigured Power in Africa” in the November 2011 *Current History*. Mr. Joseph scrutinizes U.S. support for institution building and democratic reform in Africa and its relationship to the African political environment, and assesses the continent’s democratic prospects in light of global development.

**Judith Kelley**, associate professor of public policy and political science, Duke University, published “Do International Election Monitors Increase or Decrease Opposition Boycotts?” in the November 2011 *Comparative Political Studies*. Ms. Kelly suggests that international observers do not increase election boycotts, and that observers tend to go to elections with many problems, and it is primarily these, rather than monitors, that drive boycotts. In fact, she shows that international observers can actually deter boycotts, but only if the observers are reputable. Ms. Kelly also released a dataset on quality of elections and election monitoring, “Data on International Election Monitoring:

Three Global Datasets on Election Quality, Election Events and International Election Observation” through the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR).

**Sharon F. Lean**, assistant professor of political science, Wayne State University, recently received the university-wide 2011 President’s Award for Excellence in Teaching and the 2010–11 College of Liberal Arts and Sciences Excellence in Teaching Award. The awards are presented to outstanding faculty who, to an exceptionally high degree, demonstrate comprehensive knowledge of their subject, superior classroom performance, and high educational standards; communicate their subject matter accurately, clearly, and effectively; generate enthusiasm and respect for learning; motivate their students to excel; and are accessible to students.

**Thierry Luescher** was appointed Extraordinary Senior Lecturer in Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. Mr. Luescher also convenes the Master’s degree program in Higher Education Studies of the Centre for the Study of Higher Education at the University of the Western Cape.

**Jana Morgan**, associate professor of political science, University of Tennessee, published *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse* (Pennsylvania State University Press), which provides a detailed examination of Venezuela’s traumatic party system decay as well as comparative analysis of seven other countries. Ms. Morgan finds that collapse occurs when the party system as a whole is unable to provide adequate linkage between society and the state, failing to furnish programmatic representation, integration of major societal interests, or clientelistic exchanges.

**Leonardo Morlino**, president of the International Political Science Association

## Section News

(IPSA) and professor of political science, Libera Università Internazionale Degli Studi Sociali, Rome, Italy, published *Changes for Democracy* (Oxford University Press). Mr. Morlino identifies key features of a new definition of democracy and highlights the existence of a new type of regime: the hybrid regime. He also examines the main issues in the process of democratization in Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, and Latin America, including the transition toward democracy, installation, consolidation, and crisis.

**David M. Olson**, Professor Emeritus of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and **Gabriella Ilnoski**, professor of political science, Corvinus University of Budapest, edited *Post-Communist Parliaments: Change and Stability in the Second Decade* (Routledge). The volume compares parliaments in seven postcommunist countries: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Moldova, Poland, Russia, Slovenia, and Ukraine. Contributing authors compare Central European parliaments and post-Soviet parliaments, and cross-regional chapters address negative agenda control, internal organization, and interest representation. The editors find increasingly diverse paths of change over the initial two decades in party systems, executive-legislative relationships, and internal parliamentary organization, and review transitions, legacies, and international resources as contributing factors.

**Marc F. Plattner**, vice president for research and studies and coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy* at the National Endowment for Democracy, published "Comparing the Arab Revolts: Global Implications" in the October 2011 *Journal of Democracy*. Mr. Plattner describes the impact of the Arab Spring on the fortunes of democracy around the world, and argues that the protests of 2011 disprove the view that Arab nations are impervious to the spread of democracy, demonstrate the

universal appeal of democracy, prove that authoritarian regimes are not as strong as they appear, and exhibit the capacity of new communications technologies to promote democratic change. He asserts that individual rights and democracy will continue to be voiced in autocratic states—and that their rulers will respond with brutal repression to maintain their hold on power—but that the "superior legitimacy of democracy" portends a bright future for democrats around the world.

**Richard Rose**, director of the Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, Glasgow, launched a new project "The Experience of Corruption: A Global Analysis" that will analyze more than 500 sample surveys from more than 130 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and North America. Each survey asks a battery of key questions about contacts with health, education, police, and other municipal services, and whether any bribes were paid. Multi-level statistical modeling will test how individual vulnerability to corruption differs by national context within continents, including the European Union; between continents; and between developed and developing countries. The project will investigate why perceptions of corruption tend to be much higher than the experience of corruption. Mr. Rose, along with Patrick Bernhagen and Gabriela Borz, also contributed to "Representing Europeans," a research program that examined how European Union institutions attempt to represent Europeans, and what it means for the peoples of Europe.

**Bo Rothstein**, August Rohss Chair in Political Science, University of Gothenburg, Sweden, published *The Quality of Government: Corruption, Social Trust, and Inequality in International Perspective* (University of Chicago Press). Mr. Rothstein provides a theoretical foundation for empirical analysis on the connection between the quality of government and

important economic, political, and social outcomes, and argues that unpredictable actions constitute a severe impediment to economic growth and development—and that a basic characteristic of quality of government is impartiality in the exercise of power. Mr. Rothstein will also serve as principal investigator for a major comparative research project, ANTICORRP (Anticorruption Policies Revisited: Global Trends and European Responses to the Challenge of Corruption), which will be financed by the European Union. The project will investigate factors that promote or hinder the development of effective anti-corruption policies.

**Sebastian Royo**, professor of government and associate dean, Suffolk University, edited *Portugal in the 21st Century: Politics, Society, and Economics* (Lexington Books). The contributors analyze Portugal from two perspectives: political and sociological and economic and social. They identify basic economic and societal changes that occurred as a result of the democratization and European integration processes, and also assess the impact that these changes have had on the quality of Portuguese democracy, and on the country's economic development.

**Jae Hyeok Shin**, visiting assistant professor of political science, Duke University, published "The Choice of Electoral Systems in New Democracies: A Case Study of South Korea in 1988" in the December 2011 *Democratization*. Ms. Shin explains the choice of a single-member district plurality voting system by the South Korean legislative electoral system in 1988 as an example of electoral institution decisions in new democracies, which may be different from those in Western European countries. She reaches three conclusions: In new democracies, labor parties can only induce old parties to shift to a proportional representation system if they have mobilized the working class prior to democratization; parties in

Section News

the developing world at times face unusual systems that are neither majoritarian nor fully proportionally representative; and when parties choose a legislative electoral institution in a presidential system, they tend to prefer an institution that helps them in the subsequent presidential election even though the institution might harm them in the upcoming legislative election.

**Dan Slater**, associate professor of political science, University of Chicago, and Sofia Fenner published "State Power and Staying Power: Infrastructural Mechanisms and Authoritarian Durability" in the Fall/Winter 2011 *Journal of International Affairs*. The authors argue that state power is the most powerful weapon in the authoritarian arsenal, and discuss four "infrastructural mechanisms" through which authoritarian regimes stabilize and sustain their rule: coercing rivals, extracting revenues, registering citizens, and cultivating dependence. They claim that since state apparatuses are the institutions best geared for performing these tasks, their effectiveness underpins authoritarian durability in a way that no other institution can duplicate.

**Lars Svåsand**, professor of comparative politics, University of Bergen, Norway, published "Financing Elections in Malawi: Between National Processes and the International Community" in the November 2011 *Representation*. Mr. Svåsand analyses the extent of international involvement in Malawi's electoral processes, and places international support for elections within the general

category of support for democracy by documenting the extent and manner in which Malawi's elections are financed in part by the international community. The article was one of four papers on the internationalization of elections originally presented at the ECPR-IPSA conference in Sao Paulo in February 2011. The three other journal articles are "International Election Support: Helping or Hindering Democratic Elections" by Staffan Darnolf; "Does Political Party Aid Compensate for the Limitations of International Elections Observation?" by Peter Burnell; and "The Role of International Organizations During Electoral Crises: The Case of Kenya 2007-2008" by Jørgen Elklit.

**Gunes Murat Tezcur**, associate professor of political science, Loyola University Chicago, has received a research grant from the Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation. His project examines why ordinary people take extraordinary risks and join insurgencies

**Jay Ulfelder** contributed a chapter on "Democratic Transitions" to the *Routledge Handbook of Democratization*, which contrasts the processes and outcomes of democratic reform in a wide range of societies, and evaluates the influence of factors such as religion, economic development, and financial resources on democratization.

**Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro**, assistant professor of political science, Brown University, and **Matthew S. Winters**, assistant professor of political science,

University of Illinois-Urbana Champaign, published "The Link Between Voting and Life Satisfaction in Latin America" in the Winter 2011 *Latin American Politics and Society*. Ms. Shapiro and Mr. Winters use multilevel regression models to examine individual-level survey data, which shows a positive correlation between voting and happiness in Latin America. The authors also explore the causal direction of this relationship: while the existing literature points to voting as a possible determinant of individual happiness, it is also possible that happier individuals are more likely to vote. On balance, the evidence suggests that individual happiness is more likely to be a cause rather than an effect of voting in Latin America.

**O. Fiona Yap**, associate professor and director of undergraduate studies in the department of political science, University of Kansas, published "A Strategic Model of Economic Performance and Democratization in South Korea and Taiwan" in the *British Journal of Political Science*. The article provides a theoretical model showing that economic downturns lead to democratization, and systematically evaluates the conclusion with data from South Korea and Taiwan. The model and results corroborate the hypothesis that economic downturns motivate government and non-government actors to pursue political reforms and democratization and highlight several contributions. The article depicts democratization as the outcome of strategic responses pursued under weak economic conditions.

## NEW RESEARCH

### *Journal of Democracy*

The January 2012 (Volume 23, no. 1) issue of the *Journal of Democracy* features clusters of articles on China and East Asian democracy, Turkey under the AKP, corruption in India, and debating electoral systems, as well as individual articles on Morocco and Indonesia. The full text of selected articles and the tables of contents of all issues are available on the *Journal's* website.

### **China and East Asian Democracy**

I. "The Coming Wave" by Larry Diamond  
*If there is going to be a great advance of democracy in this decade, it is most likely going to emanate from East Asia.*

II. "The Patterns of History" by Francis Fukuyama  
*The legitimacy and appeal of democracy in East Asia will depend on how democratic countries in the region stack up against China.*

III. "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?" by Minxin Pei  
*Is "Authoritarian resilience" in China a passing phenomenon, or is it something more durable?*

IV. "The Taiwan Factor" by Yun-han Chu  
*If the PRC moves toward democracy, it is likely to be in some part due to the influence of Taiwan.*

"Morocco: Outfoxing the Opposition" by Ahmed Menchensi  
*Morocco was not immune to the 2011 upheavals in the Arab world, but the country's monarchy deftly managed the crisis through cosmetic constitutional reform.*

"Indonesia: The Benefits of Civic Engagement" by Danielle N. Lussier and M. Steven Fish  
*Indonesia, a populous, poor, predominantly Muslim society, has been able to maintain*

*democracy thanks to a vibrant associational life.*

### **Turkey Under the AKP**

*The AKP's 2011 election victory confirmed its status as the dominant force in Turkish politics, but also sparked fears that its unchecked power might threaten civil liberties. Now it must face the challenges of adopting a new constitution and dealing with the Kurdish question.*

I. "The Era of Dominant-Party Politics" by Meltem Müftüler-Baç and E. Fuat Keyman

II. "Civil Military Relations Transformed" by Ersel Aydinli

III. "Are Civil Liberties Safe?" by Berna Turam

IV. "The Kurdish Question" by Ragan Updegraff

"Democracy Assistance: What Recipients Think" by Joel D. Barkan  
*A groundbreaking new survey shows that democracy assistance is highly valued by its recipients but that there remains room for improvement.*

### **Corruption in India**

I. "An Enduring Threat" by Sumit Ganguly  
*Social activist Anna Hazare's hunger strike has helped turn the world's attention to India's rampant corruption.*

II. "Can Freedom of Information Help?" by Prakash Sarangi  
*India's Right to Information Act discourages corruption by giving every citizen the right to access information from any public authority.*

### **Debating Electoral Systems**

I. "Getting Majoritarianism Right" by Timothy M. Meisburger  
*Contrary to popular wisdom, emerging*

*democracies might be better off with a majoritarian electoral system rather than one based on proportional representation.*

II. "Getting Elections Wrong" by Andrew Reynolds and John M. Carey  
*Evidence from Waves of Democratization shows proportional election systems, however imperfect, to be the better option in most contexts.*

### **Democratization**

The December 2011 (Volume 18, no. 6) *Democratization* features articles on electoral systems in new democracies, democratic transition and social spending, and a series of book reviews.

"The Choice of Electoral Systems in New Democracies: A Case Study of South Korea in 1988" by Jae Hyeok Shin

"Democratic Transition and Social Spending: The Case of Pakistan in the 1990s" by Elisa Giunchi

Review of *Foundations and Frontiers of Deliberative Governance* by Kivanc Ulusoy

Review of *The Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behaviour* by Andrew Moran

Review of *Awakening Islam and Fault Lines in Global Jihad* by Jeffrey Haynes

Review of *Innovation in Islam. Traditions and Contributions* by Jeffrey Haynes

Review of *The Infernal Machine: An Alternative History of Terrorism* by Andrew Moran

The October 2011 (Volume 18, no. 5)



*Democratization* is a special issue on “Political Opposition and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa.”

“Political Opposition and Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa” by Emil Uddhammar, Elliott Green, and Johanna Söderström

“The ANC and Power Concentration in South Africa: Does Local Democracy Allow for Power-Sharing?” by Ragnhild Louise Muriaas

“Decentralization and Political Opposition in Contemporary Africa: Evidence from Sudan and Ethiopia” by Elliott Green

“Institutionalizing the Pro-Democracy Movements: The Case of Zambia’s Movement for Multiparty Democracy” by Lise Rakner

“Parties and Issues in Francophone West Africa: Towards a Theory of Non-Mobilization” by Jaimie Bleck and Nicolas van de Walle

“Dissent and Opposition among Ex-Combatants in Liberia” by Johanna Söderström

“Supporting the Opposition or the Ruling Party: Stark Choices in East Africa” by Emil Uddhammar

“Effective Opposition Strategies: Collective Goods or Clientelism?” by Keith R. Weghorst and Staffan I. Lindberg

#### SELECTED JOURNAL ARTICLES ON DEMOCRACY

This section features selected articles on democracy that appeared in journals received by the NED’s Democracy Resource Center, October 1–December 30, 2011.

*African Affairs*, Vol. 110, no. 441, October 2011

“Whores, Men, and Other Misfits: Undoing ‘Feminization’ in the Armed Forces in the DRC” by Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern

“Citizenship and the Logic of Sovereignty in Djibouti” by Samson A. Bezabeh

“Modern Chiefs: Tradition, Development and Return Among Traditional Authorities in Ghana” by Nauja Kleist

“Briefing: Nigeria’s 2011 Elections: The ‘Crippled Giant’ Learns to Walk?” by Sylvester Odion Akhaine

*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 44, no. 4, December 2011

“Populism, Nationalism, or National Populism? An Analysis of Slovak Voting Behaviour at the 2010 Parliamentary Election” by Ben Stanley

“Rise of Xenophobic Nationalism in Europe: A Case of Slovenia” by Alenka Kuhelj

“Czech Extreme Right Parties: An Unsuccessful Story” by Miroslav Mares

“Left-Wing Authoritarianism Is Not Myth, but a Worrisome Reality. Evidence from 13 Eastern European Countries” by Sabrina de Regt, Dimitri Mortelmans and Tim Smits

“Electoral-System Change in Latvia and the Elections of 2010” by Frances Millard

*Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, Vol. 44, no. 3, September 2011

“Hegemonic Political Parties in Post-Soviet Eurasia: Towards Party-Based Authoritarianism?” by Max Bader

“Money, Organization and the State: The Partial Cartelization of Party Politics in

Slovenia” by Alenka Krašovec and Tim Haughton

“Welfare Reforms and Socio-Economic Trends in the 10 New EU Member States of Central and Eastern Europe” by Jolanta Aidukaite

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*New Research*


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- “State Pride’: Politics of LGBT Rights and Democratization in ‘European Serbia’” by Marek Mikus  
*Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, Vol. 3, no. 2, 2011
- “Indices and Indicators of Justice, Governance, and the Rule of Law: An Overview” by Juan Carlos Botero, Robert L. Nelson, and Christine Pratt
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*Decolonizing Democracy: Transforming the Social Contract in India.* By Christine Keating. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011. 155 pp.

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*The Priority of Democracy: Political Consequences of Pragmatism.* By Jack Knight and James Johnson. Princeton University Press, 2011. 324 pp.

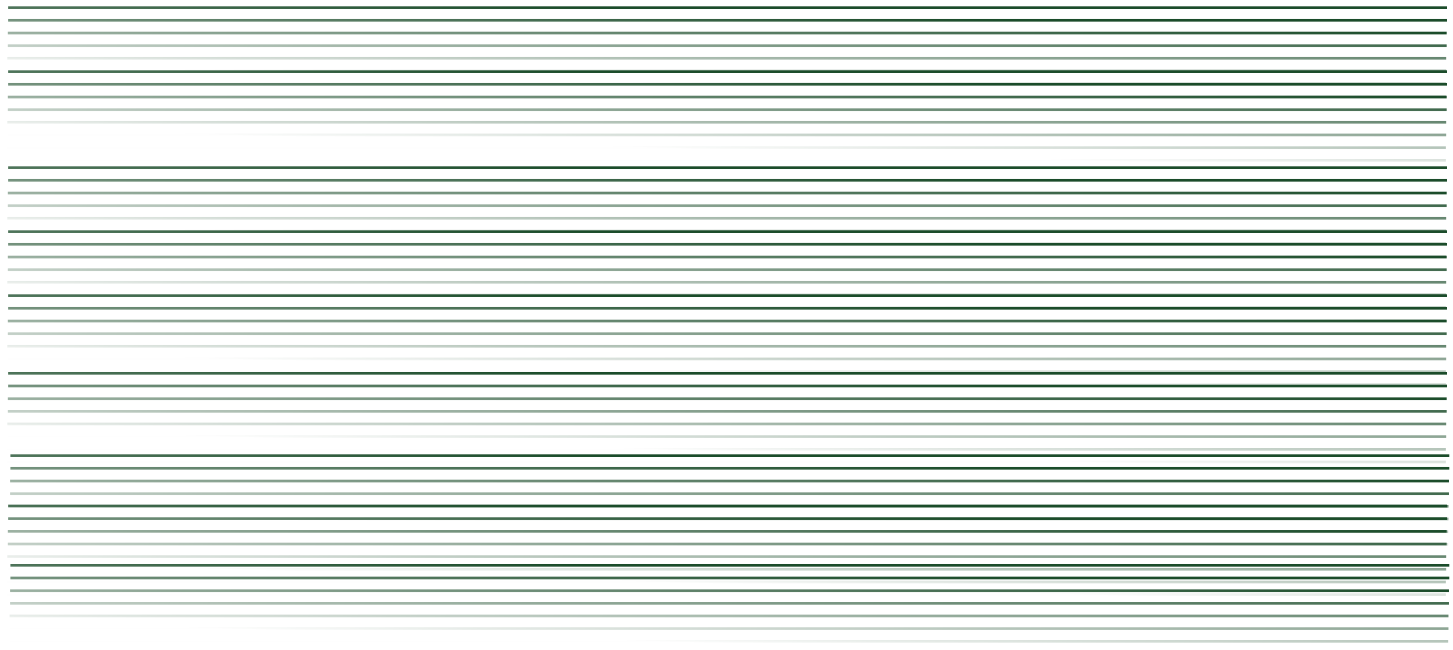
*Radical Democracy and Political Theology.* By Jeffrey W. Robbins. Columbia University Press, 2011. 230 pp.

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*Rewiring Regional Security in a Fragmented World.* Edited by Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall. U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2011. 587 pp.

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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 Board Members

### Executive Editor



**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.



**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.

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**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.



**Melissa Aten-Becnel** is the senior 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.



**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*.

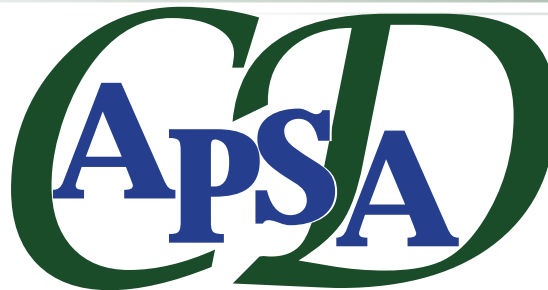


**Leonardo A. Villalón** is the director of the Center for African Studies and associate professor of political science at the University of Florida. His research has focused on Islam and politics and on democratization in

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.

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1025 F Street, NW, 8th Floor  
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