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Pols 479: Democracy and Democratization

Despite the proliferation of nominally democratic countries in the past 20 years, scholarly attention to the questions of what is democracy, how it functions, and what contributes to stable transitions, are more relevant than ever, as current events, such as the Arab Spring and the Occupy Wall Street protests, indicate. This course, open to advanced undergraduate as well as graduate students, surveys main topics and readings on democracy and democratization within the field of comparative politics. The course starts with a discussion of the various ways that scholars define and measure democracy, then moving to factors that cause and facilitate democratic transition and consolidation. The course also addresses the literature on the kind of institutional arrangements that exist in modern democracies, as well as (briefly) the theoretical and empirical linkages between democracy and development. The course concludes with a section on democracy promotion as practiced by major world powers such as the United States and the European Union.

This course is open to both advanced undergraduate and graduate students. For the purpose of consistent discussion, all students will read the same material. However, graduate students will be responsible for presenting a book review from the list of selected readings. Additionally, graduate students enrolled in this course are required to produce a fully developed research paper on a topic related to the class.

Required Texts:

David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 3rd ed. (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2006), ISBN 978-0804728614

Additional **required** readings, listed under each week heading are available through Blackboard.

Finally, each topic has a selection of suggested additional readings that either complement the required texts or offer an alternative perspective. Readings for book reviews will be drawn from the suggested readings.

Grading Scale:

A: 90-100 B: 80-89 C: 70-79 D: 60-69 E: < 60

Course Requirements:

Weekly attendance and participation: 15%.

The seminar should be viewed as an opportunity for the exchange of ideas among scholars. We will discuss and evaluate the ideas and concepts presented in the weekly readings. Since students are expected to be able to critically assess the assigned readings, everyone should be able to contribute to the discussion.

Any absence requires an explanation. More than one unexcused absence will likely result in a zero for this component of the course grade.

Short Papers: 15%

Each week after week 2 (weeks 3-13 but except week 5) 1-2 students (depending on final class enrollment) will serve as discussion leaders. If enrollment is low, students will be asked to serve as discussants more than once. To prepare for this role, each discussion leader will write a short paper around 1500 words (4-5 double-spaced pages) paper on the week's readings. The paper should serve as a spring-board for the week's discussion and should address questions such as

What are the central issues at stake in the readings?

What are the principal arguments of the works under study?

How does each relate to the debates in the field?

What are the main theoretical or empirical strengths or weakness of each?

How valuable and viable is the theory or argument that each proposes?

How effectively is evidence marshaled in support of the argument?

Which scholarly disputes have been resolved?

What good further work lies ahead?

Short papers are due via Turnitin.com by 10:00am the day before class (i.e. each Monday before a class meeting). These papers will be graded on an A-F scale.

In addition to submitting a short paper on the readings, to prepare for discussion, each leader should submit **3-4 discussion questions** based on the week's readings. If there are weeks with no discussion leader, everyone is expected to submit discussion questions. Those are due via email to the instructor, also by **10:00am** on the day before class.

Critical Reaction Papers: 30%

This course requires active contribution by each student. To facilitate discussion, for each week, starting with week 2, each student, except the discussion leaders, will write a concise up to **600-650 words (two double-spaced pages)** critical reaction paper. Papers should be sent via Turnitin.com by **10:00am** the day before class (i.e. the Monday before a class meeting). In these reaction papers students are expected to critically assess the assigned readings. This means you should move beyond the description of main arguments and identify and evaluate the assumptions behind them. Through this approach and papers you will not only become familiar with the main ideas shaping the theoretical debates in the field but will also develop your own research questions. You will not receive a letter grade for this assignment. I will read each critical paper, note any obvious mistakes, and check it with '+' excellent, '√' satisfactory, or '-' for poor quality.

Book Review (graduate students only): 5%

To broaden the scope of readings covered in this course the graduate students in the class are required to read one of the books listed under suggested readings. You will be given 20 minutes of class time to present a critical assessment of the book's contents, emphasizing those parts that relate to the general topic for the week. Basically, your review should identify the assumptions or

arguments presented by the book, provide your assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the methods and conclusions and identify your position in relation to the author(s)'s. Each book review should be around **800-900 words (3 double-spaced pages)** long. Book reviews are due via Turnitin.com by **10:00am** on the day when class meets, i.e. each Tuesday. I will read each book review, note any obvious mistakes, and check it with '+' excellent, '√' satisfactory, or '-' for poor quality.

Final Paper: 35% for graduate students; 40% for undergraduate students

Each student is expected to write a final paper at the end of the semester. Graduate students are expected to produce an original, fully developed, article length research paper (8,000-10,000 words, including bibliography). These papers should focus on a research question related to the topic of the class and should include a literature review, hypotheses, methodology/research design section, and data analysis. Papers could use qualitative or quantitative methods, case studies or cross-country comparisons, etc, or any combinations thereof.

The paper assignment for undergraduate students in this class are required to produce a shorter paper (around 5,000-6,000 words) that discusses a research question in light of the theories and concepts discussed in class. The paper should overview the theoretical expectations regarding the question of interest and then discuss how this question is addressed.

To give you an early start all students are encouraged to provide their paper topic, outline, and a short bibliography by **Feb 7**. Students will be asked to share their paper topics in class. To give you some practice in sharing your work with others, you will present your arguments during the final two class meetings on **April 17 and April 24**. To facilitate discussion and feedback, everyone will be expected to read all papers by fellow classmates and students will be randomly assigned to critique one paper. Draft papers should be turned in to the instructor and the rest of the class by **April 15**. Final papers are due via Turnitin.com by **2:00pm** on **April 30**. Final papers will be graded on an A-F scale.

The papers written for this class may not substantially duplicate a paper you have written for another class.

Turning late assignments is not acceptable. If for some reason a paper is turned after the cut-off point, the student will be required to write on an additional work of my choosing and the average grade across the two papers will receive a 10% penalty.

Incompletes will not be allowed for this class unless for a documented medical emergency resulting in hospitalization of the enrolled student.

Course Outline

Week 1 (Jan 10) *Introduction to the course*

No required readings.

DEFINITIONS AND MEASURES OF DEMOCRACY

Week 2 (Jan 17) *Definitions and conceptualizations of democracy I*

Held, David. 1996. *Models of Democracy*, Stanford: Stanford UP
 Classical democracy, pp. 11-28 (Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Pericles)
 Liberal democracy, pp. 56-96 (Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Madison, James Mill, Bentham, JS Mill)
 Competitive elitism, pp. 125-157 (Weber, Schumpeter)
 Pluralism, pp. 158-184 (Truman, Dahl; Neo-Pluralism)
 Legal democracy, pp. 201-209 (Hayek, Nozick)
 Participatory democracy, pp. 209-216 (Pateman, Macpherson)
 Deliberative democracy, pp. 231-255 (Habermas, Fishkin, Dryzek, Gutmann, Young, Beetham)
 Cosmopolitan democracy, pp. 290-311 (Held)

Recommended Readings:

Terchek, Ron and Thomas Conte, eds. 2001. *Theories of Democracy: A Reader*. Rowman & Littlefield.
 O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5:55-69
 Dahl, Robert. 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*, Yale UP.
 Dahl, Robert. 1998. *On Democracy*. Yale UP

Week 3 (Jan 24) *Definitions and conceptualizations of democracy II*

- Schmitter, Philippe and Terry Lynn Karl, 1991. "What Democracy Is...and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2(3): 75-88
 - Huber, Evelyn, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John Stephens. 1997. "The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Dimensions," *Comparative Politics* 29(3): 323-342
 - Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, chapter 1
 - Collier, David and Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49(3) 430-51.

Recommended Readings

Robert Dahl, 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Week 4 (Jan 31) *Measuring democracy I*

- Coppedge, Michael, Angel Alvarez, and Claudia Maldonado. 2008. "Two Persistent Dimensions of Democracy: Contestation and Inclusiveness," *Journal of Politics* 70(3): 632-647.
 - Treier, Shawn and Simon Jackman. 2008. "Democracy as a Latent Variable," *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 201-217

- Elkins, Zachary. 2000. "Gradations of Democracy? Empirical Tests of Alternative Conceptualizations," *American Journal of Political Science* 44(2): 293-300
- Coppedge, Michael, John Gerring, with David Altman, Michael Bernhard, Steven Fish, Allen Hicken, Matthew Kroenig, Staffan I. Lindberg, Kelly McMann, Pamela Paxton, Holli A. Semetko, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jeffrey Staton, and Jan Teorell. 2011. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(2): 247-267.

Recommended Readings

Paxton, Pamela. 2000. "Women's Suffrage in the Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35: 92-110.

Week 5 (Feb 7) Measuring democracy II – only the first two items are on Blackboard. Students should access the rest of the readings individually

Most of the readings for this week are various indexes of democracy. Read through the coding manuals and come to class prepared to discuss each of the indexes.

- Bollen, Kenneth. 1980. "Issues in the Comparative Measurement of Political Democracy," *American Sociological Review* 45(3): 370-390.
- Alvarez, Mike, José Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi and Adam Przeworski. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31(2): 3-36
- Freedom House, "Methodology." <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=35&year=2005>
- Marshall, Monty and Keith Jaggers, "Polity IV Project Dataset User's Manual." <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/polity/> (requires registration), esp. pp. 16-32; skim appendices and addenda, pp. 48-83.
- Cingranelli, David and David L. Richards, "The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Database Coder Manual," (2004), http://ciri.binghamton.edu/documentation/web_version_7_31_04_ciri_coding_guide.pdf.
- Kekic, Laza "The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy," http://www.nd.edu/~mcoppedg/crd/EIUDEMOCRACY_INDEX_2007_v3.pdf.
- Quality of Governance dataset, University of Gothenburg, Sweden <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se/>

ORIGINS AND TRANSITIONS: Where does democracy come from? Where does it end up? (selected approaches)

Week 6 (Feb 14) Transition and Consolidation

- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-86.
- Mainwaring, Scott, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela. 1992. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, pp. 17-152.

Schedler, Andreas. 1998. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9: 91-107.

- Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13: 5-21.

Recommended Readings

- Anderson, Leslie E. and Lawrence C, Dodd. 2005. *Learning Democracy: Citizen Engagement and Electoral Choice in Nicaragua, 1990-2001*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The Third Wave, Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, Oklahoma University Press.

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

- Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Schiemann, John. 2005. *The Politics of Pact-making*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

- Lindberg, Staffan. 2006. *Democracy and Elections in Africa*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Week 7 (Feb 21) Comparative Historical Analysis

- Berman, Sheri. 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49(3):401-429.

- Mahoney, James. 2001. "Radical, Reformist and Aborted Liberalism: Origins of National Regimes in Central America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33(2): 221-256

- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2008. "Does Landholding Inequality Block Democratization? A Test of the "Bread and Democracy" Thesis and the Case of Prussia," *World Politics* 60(4): 610-641.

- Capoccia, Giovanni and Daniel Ziblatt. 2010. "The Historical Turn in Democratization Studies: A New Research Agenda for Europe and Beyond," *Comparative Political Studies* 43(8-9): 931-968.

- Weyland, Kurt. 2010. "The Diffusion of Regime Contention in European Democratization, 1830-1940," *Comparative Political Studies* 43(8-9): 1148-1176.

Recommended Readings

- Moore, Barrington. 1964. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston, Beacon.

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1973. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies.

- Collier, Ruth. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Week 8 (Feb 28) Economic Determinants

- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49(2):155-183.

- Boix, Charles and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* 55(4): 517-549.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared. 2008. "Income and Democracy," *The American Economic Review* 98(3): 808-842.
- Gasiorowski, Mark 1995. "Economic Crisis and Political Regime Change: An Event History Analysis," *The American Political Science Review* 89(4): 882-897.
- Haggard, Steven and Robert R. Kaufman. 1997. "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," *Comparative Politics* 29(3): 263-284.
- Houle, Christian. 2009. "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics* 61(4): 589-622.

Recommended Readings

- Boix, Charles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Hadenius, Axel. 1992. *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Kapstein, Ethan and Nathan Converse. 2008. *The Fate of Young Democracies*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

Week 9 (Mar 6) Resources and Chances for Democracy

- Ross, Michael. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(3) :325-36.
- Smith, Benjamin. 2004. "Oil Wealth and Regime Survival in the Developing World, 1960-1999," *American Journal of Political Science* 48(2): 232-246.
- Ross, Michael. 2008. "Oil, Islam, and Women," *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 107-123.
- Morrison, Kevin. 2009. "Oil, Non-tax Revenue, and the Redistributive Foundations of Regime Stability," *International Organization* 63(1):107-138
- Ross, Michael. 2009. "Does Oil Wealth Hurt Women? A Reply to Caraway, Charrad, Kang, and Norris," *Politics and Gender*, 5(4):575-582

Recommended Readings

- Jones, Pauline Luong and Erika Weinthal. 2010. *Oil Is Not a Curse: Ownership Structure and Institutions in Soviet Successor States*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Benjamin. 2007. *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia* Ithaca, Cornell University Press
- Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Week 10 (Mar 13) Institutions I

- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew J. Shugart. 1997. "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 29(4): 449-472.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1993. "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* 26(2): 198-228.

- Cheibub, José Antonio and Fernando Limongi. 2002. "Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered," *Annual Review of Political Science* 5: 151-179.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1999. "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model," *Journal of Democracy* 10(4): 19-34.
- Kim, Young Hun and Donna Bahry. 2008. "Interrupted Presidencies in Third Wave Democracies." *The Journal of Politics* 70(3): 807-822.

Recommended Readings

- Powell, Bingham Jr. 1982. *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence*, Harvard University Press
- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Shugart. 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press

Week 11 (Mar 27) Institutions II

- Bernhard, Michael, Timothy Nordstrom, and Christopher Reenock. 2001. "Economic Performance, Institutional Intermediation, and Democratic Survival," *Journal of Politics* 63(3): 775-803.
- Ahmed, Amel. 2010. "Reading History Forward: The Origins of Electoral Systems in European Democracies," *Comparative Political Studies* 43(8-9): 1059-1088.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 2010. "Interests, Inequality, and Illusion in the Choice for Fair Elections," *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (8-9): 1119-1147.
- Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "The Nested Game of Democratization by Elections," *International Political Science Review* 23(1): 103-122.
- Elkins, Zachary. 2010. "Diffusion and the Constitutionalization of Europe," *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 969-999.

Recommended Readings

- Shugart, Matthew and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Elster, Jon, Claus Offe, and Ulrich K. Preuss. 1998. *Institutional Design in Post-Communist Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bernhard, Michael. 2006. *Institutions and the Fate of Democracy*. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press

CURRENT ISSUES IN DEMOCRATIZATION FIELD (selected topics)

Week 12 (Apr 3) Spread of Democracy: role of international assistance

- Most, Benjamin and Harvey Starr. 1990. "Theoretical and Logical Issues in the Study of International Diffusion," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 2(4): 391-412.

- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2006. "Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change," *Comparative Politics* 38(4): 379-400.
- Rudra, Nita. 2005. "Globalization and the Strengthening of Democracy in the Developing World," *American Journal of Political Science* 49(4): 704-730.
- Gleditsch, Kristian and Michael D. Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization," *International Organization* 60(4): 911-933.
- Schimmelfennig, Frank and Hanno Scholtz. 2008. "EU Democracy Promotion in the European Neighbourhood Political Conditionality, Economic Development and Transnational Exchange", *European Union Politics* 9(2): 187-215

Recommended Readings

- Carothers, Thomas. 1999. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Youngs, Richard. 2002. *The European Union and the Promotion of Democracy — Europe's Mediterranean and Asian Policies*, Oxford University Press.

Week 13 (Apr 10) The 'Color' Revolutions

- McFaul, Michael. 2007. "Ukraine Imports Democracy: External Influences on the Orange Revolution," *International Security* 32(2): 45-83.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2007. "Linkage, Leverage and the Post-Communist Divide," *East European Politics and Societies* 27(1): 48-66.
- Beissinger, Mark. 2007. "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of the Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics* 5(2): 259-276.
- Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik. 2006. "International Diffusion and Postcommunist Electoral Revolutions," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*, 39(3): 283-304.
- D'Anieri, Paul. 2005. "What Has Changed in Ukrainian Politics? Assessing the Implications of the 'Orange Revolution,'" *Problems of Post-Communism* 52(5): 82-91.

Week 14 (Apr 17) Paper Presentations

Week 15 (Apr 24) Paper Presentations