

Research Seminar: Comparative Democratization

Political Science 6446, sec. 701
Spring 2012, M 4:00-6:40, WWP 418
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“The experience of democracy is like the experience of life itself – always changing, infinite in its variety, sometimes turbulent and all the more valuable for having been tested by adversity.”

-- Jimmy Carter

“The best argument against democracy is a five minute conversation with the average voter.”

-- Winston Churchill

This course focuses on the comparative politics literature on democratization and related concepts. Democratization is one of the most significant challenges of political development in the world today. Democratizers must represent people’s opinions and protect people’s rights. At the same time, they must implement sometimes unpopular social and economic reforms while rebuilding political power, weakened by the collapse of the non-democratic system which came before.

In this course, we will briefly examine the two major forms of non-democratic systems (authoritarianism and totalitarianism), followed by an examination of democracy and its various forms. We will then turn to the transition from non-democracy to democracy, both in theory and in particular cases at different points in time and different regions of the world. Some of the central questions we will examine are: (1) What do we mean by democracy, authoritarianism, and totalitarianism?; (2) why do authoritarian and totalitarian regimes collapse?; (3) when and how democracy is “consolidated”?; (4) does democratization result from “structural” forces, or is it “made” by the effort of individuals?; (5) are there prerequisites that a country needs to be a successful democracy?; (6) how is democratization related to identity, ethnic conflict, and religion?; and (8) what does the future hold for democratization and for its study?

The course meetings will include a mixture of lecture and discussion, with the emphasis on the discussion of the week’s readings. I will begin with introductory comments on the topic for that session. You are expected to mention and critique the week’s readings during the discussion of the topic. We may also discuss particular readings, especially in the second half of the session. Your preparation for and willingness to participate in class discussions will be a significant part of your semester grade. I expect class discussions to carry over onto D2L for several days after each session. Discussion threads for each week are available under the “Discussion” tab on the course’s D2L site.

Readings: Some of the readings will come from four books you are required to purchase:

- C. Haerpfer, P. Bernhagen, R. Inglehart, and C. Welzel, eds., *Democratization* (Oxford University Press, 2009);
- R. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998);
- R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (Cambridge University Press, 2005);
- Charles Tilly, *Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

There will also be a large number of additional readings, many from the *Journal of Democracy* (abbreviated as *JOD* in the syllabus). The library has an electronic subscription to this journal. Other “reserve” readings will be on the D2L site for the class under the “Content” tab.

The readings will vary significantly in difficulty. The four books serve as “textbooks” and generally easier than the other required or recommended readings. Beyond doing the required readings (and some of the recommended ones) each week, it is expected that you will follow current events related to democratization – both for basic knowledge and to apply the ideas of the course on a regular basis. We will sometimes start the class with a discussion of relevant events.

Assignments and Determination of Grades: Four times during the semester, you will have responsibilities related to the readings beyond what I expect from you each week. You will sign up for these four weeks ahead of time. Two of these times, you will serve as a discussion facilitator. Prior to the class session of each of these two discussion facilitator weeks, you will write short (maximum two-page, double-spaced) critiques of that week’s readings. Your two critiques must come from at least two of the three “parts” of the course as laid out below in the Reading and Lecture Schedule. In these critiques, you will *not* summarize the readings. Instead, you will focus on their strengths and weaknesses – including similarities and differences in this regard across the readings – and what kind of questions they raise for discussion. You should also incorporate at least one of the recommended readings for that week into your review. *You will turn the readings critiques in by noon on Monday.* At the class session of each of these two weeks, you will also give the rest of the class a hand out with a one paragraph summary for each of *three* of the recommended readings. On weeks that you are not turning in reading critiques, you will still come to the session prepared to discuss the required readings.

For the other two weeks, you serve as a “contemporary research investigator.” You will find a research article, which has been published in a scholarly journal in 2011 or 2012 and not already on the syllabus or found by one of your colleagues in the class for a previous week as research investigator. You will do a short write up on this article and report on it to the class. In one page, discuss the central research question(s), hypotheses, research methods (design, type of data, and number of cases), findings, and questions for further study posed in the article. Be prepared to tell us what you liked and didn’t like about the article.

The other activities will relate to the research paper. You will present your ideas for the research paper during a “brainstorming session” on March 4th. The following week, you will turn in a three-page summary of your research paper topic to me *and to the other students in the class*. You will also summarize the topic in a paragraph and post it on D2L in a special discussion section for the research papers. In addition to my feedback on the paper summary, I expect you to provide comments, questions, and suggestions about each other’s proposed projects during the second half of the semester.

Your readings critique write-ups will make up 15% of your semester grade, your “contemporary research investigator” write-ups and presentations 10%, your presentation at the brainstorming session and your paper summary 10%, and your overall participation during the semester 25%. The remaining 40% of your grade will come from a 20–25 page paper. Your research project can be a case study, a comparative analysis of several states, or one using statistical analysis. It should address a question or “gap” in the democratization literature, should state clearly the hypothesis/es that you are examining, should employ primary source data to some extent, and should defend the methodology that you choose – including the selection of the case(s). Its literature review will require you to examine much more than the works covered in class. *Your paper is due on May 9th, at 4:00 p.m.*

READING AND LECTURE SCHEDULE (* = book to be purchased; # = reading on D2L)

PART I: DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND TOTALITARIANISM

Session 1 (Jan 23): Introductory session.

Readings:

Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” *JOD* 13, no. 1 (Jan 2002): 5–21.

Question: What are the most and least convincing arguments that Carothers makes?

Question: Is it appropriate to call the “transition” approach a “paradigm”?

Session 2 (Jan. 30): Regime Types, Part I: Totalitarianism, Authoritarianism, and Semi-Authoritarianism

Readings:

- #S. Lawson, "Conceptual Issues in the Comparative Study of Regime Change and Democratization," *Comparative Politics* 25, no. 2 (Jan. 1993): 183–205.
- #C. Friedrich and Z. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), chs. 1, 27.
- #B. Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), ch. 8 ("Revolution from Above and Fascism").
- #E. Ginzburg, *Journey into the Whirlwind* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1967), pp. 3–97.
- *C. Tilly, *Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter 7 ("Alternative Paths").
- *R. Rose, ch. 2 in C. Haerpfer, P. Bernhagen, R. Inglehart, and C. Welzel, eds., *Democratization* (Oxford University Press, 2009), (hereafter, Haerpfer, *Democratization*), **pp. 15–21 only**.
- S. Levitsky and L. Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *JOD*, 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 51–65.
- #L. Diamond, "The Democratic Rollback: The Resurgence of the Predatory State," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2008.
- #E. Schatz, "The Soft Authoritarian Tool Kit: Agenda-Setting Power in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan," *Comparative Politics* 41, no. 2 (January 2009).

Question: In what ways did people lead normal lives under totalitarian systems?

Question: How would features of a totalitarian system create problems for a subsequent democracy?

Question: Despite our thinking that democracy is "best," authoritarian systems often have a great deal of support. Why have some authoritarian systems been so popular?

Recommended readings/viewings:

- Juan Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2000), ch. 2.
- G. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1987), ch. 7.
- G. Orwell, *Animal Farm* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946).
- G. Orwell, *1984* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949).
- The film *Closet Land* (1991), with Madeleine Stowe and Alan Rickman.
- J. Linz and A. Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1978).
- J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), ch. 4.
- F. Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (Nov/Dec 1997): 22–43.
- L. Diamond, "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," *JOD* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 21–35.
- M. Ottaway, *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003), ch. 1: "The Challenges of Semi-Authoritarianism: An Introduction." At: http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/DemChallenged_Intro.pdf
- D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 5.
- A. Schedler, ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2006)
- J. Keane, *The Life and Death of Democracy* (W.W. Norton, 2009).

Session 3 (Feb 6): Regime Types, Part II: Democracy and Its Various Forms

Readings:

- *R. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), chs. 4–7, 10, and 11.
- *C. Tilly, *Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chs. 1–2.
- *P. Berhagen, ch. 3 in Haerpfer, *Democratization*.
- #A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), chs. 2–3 (pp. 9–47).
- #D. Collier and R. Adcock, “Democracy and Dichotomies: Justifying Choices about Concepts,” *Annual Review of Political Science* (Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, 1999), pp. 537–565.
- A. Armony and H. Schamis, “Babel in Democratization Studies,” *JOD* 16, no. 4 (October 2005): 113–128.

Question: How do you define democracy? Given your definition, how easy is it to measure democracy? Using your definition, how democratic is the United States? Also, go to websites such as Freedom House and Transparency International and examine their methodology for measurement of corruption and democracy.

Question: How well do Lijphart’s “Westminster” and “consensus” categories capture the variety of democracies around the world?

Recommended readings:

- As much of *The Federalist Papers* as you want to read (but especially Nos. 10, 23, 29, 39, and 51).
- R. Dahl, *Polyarchy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971), chs. 1–2.
- R. Dahl, *On Political Equality* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
- G. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1987), chs. 1, 5, and 6.
- P. Schmitter and T. Karl, “What Democracy is...and is Not,” *JOD* 2 (1991): 75–88.
- S. Huntington, “The Modest Meaning of Democracy,” in R. Pastor, ed., *Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum* (1989).
- A. Lijphart, “Majority Rule in Theory and Practice: The Tenacity of a Flawed Paradigm,” *International Social Science Journal*, no. 129 (August 1991): 483–493.
- D. Collier and S. Levitsky, “Democracy with Adjectives,” *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997): 430–451.
- G. Munck and J. Verkuilen, “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy,” *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 1 (2002): 5–34.
- G. Munck, *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge Between Scholarship and Politics* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).
- D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 3.

Recommended Data Sites:

- Freedom House*. Explore their website, but see especially <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2012>
- Polity IV*. See the information and links at <http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>
- Vanhanen’s Index of Democracy*. <http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Governance/Vanhanens-index-of-democracy/>
- Transparency International. Their main site is <http://transparency.org/>; their research information is at http://transparency.org/policy_research

Session 4 (Feb 13): Consequences of Democracy

Readings:

J. Ray, "The Democratic Path to Peace," *JOD* 8, no. 2 (1997): 49–64.

*M. Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (Aug. 2005): 463–466.

*S. Rosato, "Explaining the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3: 467–472.

*E. Mansfield and J. Snyder, *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005), chs. 1–2 (pp. 1–38).

*D. Bell, "Is Democracy the 'Least Bad' System for Minority Groups?," in S. Henders, ed., *Democratization and Identity: Regimes and Ethnicity in East and Southeast Asia* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2004), pp. 25–42.

J. Helliwell, "Empirical Linkages Between Democracy and Economic Growth," *British Journal of Political Science* 24, no. 2 (1994): 225–248.

M. Ross, "Is Democracy Good for the Poor?," *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 4 (2006): 860–874.

Question: Does democracy really make peace more likely?

Question: Does democracy help solve, or does it instead reinforce, sharp divisions in society?

Question: Does democracy help or hurt poverty and economic inequality?

Recommended readings:

D. Rousseau, *Democracy and War: Institutions, Norms, and the Evolution of International Conflict* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005), ch. 1 (pp. 1–17) and ch. 6 (pp. 268–306).

S. Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 4 (November 2003): 585–602.

K. Petersen, "There is More to the Story than 'Us-Versus-Them': Expanding the Study of Interstate Conflict and Regime Type," *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 14, no. 1.

A. Enterline and J. M. Grieg, "Beacons of Hope?: The Impact of Imposed Democracy on Regional Peace, Democracy, and Prosperity," *Journal of Politics* 67, no. 4 (November 2005): 1075–1098.

C. Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge University Press, 2003).

C. Mulligan, R. Gil, and X. Sala-i-Martin, "Do Democracies Have Different Policies Than Non-Democracies?," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (2004): 51–74.

A. Lijphart, *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice* (New York: Routledge).

W. Kymlicka, *Liberalism, Community and Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), ch. 9 ("Equality for Minority Cultures"), pp. 182–205.

G. Waylen, "Enhancing the Substantive Representation of Women: Lessons from Transitions to Democracy," *Parliamentary Affairs* 61, no. 3 (July 2008): 518–534.

Y. Takahashi, "Does Democracy Dampen Clientelism?" Political Economy of Redistribution in New Democracies," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, September 1, 2005, available at: http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p40435_index.html

A. Przeworski and F. Limongi, "Political Regimes and Economic Growth," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 3 (1993): 51–69.

NOTE: See also the extensive bibliography at: <http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/BIBLIO.HTML>

PART II: DEMOCRATIZATION: STAGES AND CAUSAL FACTORS

Session 5 (Feb 20): The Stages of Democratization: Breakdown, Establishment, Consolidation

Readings:

- *D. Berg-Schlosser (ch. 4) and J. Markoff (ch. 5) in Haerpfer, *Democratization*.
- #L. Whitehead, *Democratization: Theory and Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), ch. 1, "On 'Democracy' and 'Democratization,'" **pp. 26-35 only**.
- #D. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2 (1970): 337–363.
- C. Schneider and P. Schmitter, "Liberlization, Transition and Consolidation: Measuring the Components of Democratization," *Democratization* 11, no. 5 (December 2004): 59–09.
- J. Linz and A. Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," *JOD* 7, no. 2 (1996): 14–33.
- G. O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," *JOD* 7, no. 2 (1996): 34–51.
- R. Gunther, N. Diamandouros, and H-J Puhle, "O'Donnell's 'Illusions': A Rejoinder," *JOD* 7, no. 4 (1996): 151–159.
- G. O'Donnell, "Illusions and Conceptual Flaws," *JOD* 7, no. 4 (1996): 160–168.
- A. Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?," *JOD* 9, no. 2 (April 1998): 91–107.

Question: Most scholars do not include Rustow's "national unity" precondition in their stages of democratization. Is this a useful addition by Rustow?

Question: Why do some systems which were supported by the masses lose this support? In your answer, especially consider the idea of "legitimacy." Is this a useful concept?

Question: How do we know when a democracy is "consolidated"?

Recommended readings:

- J. Linz and A. Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Consolidation* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- T. Clark, *Beyond Post-Communist Studies: Political Science and the New Democracies of Europe* (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2002), ch. 4.
- S. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), ch. 4.
- P. Schmitter, "The Consolidation of Political Democracies: Rhythms, Sequences, and Types," in G. Pridham, ed., *Transitions to Democracy* (Aldershot: Dartmouth University Press, 1995).
- D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 6.

Session 6 (Feb 27): Brainstorming Session on Papers

In class presentations on proposed paper topic. In your presentation, provide a *tentative* review of the literature (and the "gap" you have identified) related to the topic, as well as likely case(s) and data to be examined.

Reading:

The only readings for this week, to set the stage for next week, are:

- *C. Welzel, ch. 6 in Haerpfer, *Democratization*.
- *C. Tilly, *Democracy*, ch. 3.

Session 7 (Mar 5): Internal Structural Explanations of Democratization, Part I: Class Structure and Economic Development

Readings:

- *R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*, ch. 1.
- *P. Bernhagen, ch.8 in in Haerpher, *Democratization*.
- S. M. Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53 (1959): 69–104.
- #B. Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), ch. 7 ("The Democratic Route to Modern Society").
- A. Przewoski and F. Limongi, "Modernization: Theory and Facts," *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (1997): 155-183.
- #B. Bueno de Mesquita and G. Downs, "Development and Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (2005): 77–86.
- M. Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy," *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April 2001): 325-61.
- T. Karl, "Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability," *JOD* 11, no. 1 (2000): 149–156.
- #B. Ansell and D. Samuels, "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach," *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 12 (December 2010): 1543-1574.

Question: What's new about Inglehart and Welzel's "revised theory of modernization"?

Question: Can democracy develop without a middle class? Can it survive severe economic inequality?

Question: Is the "Resource Curse" real?

Recommended readings:

- A. Przewoski, *Democracy and the Market* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), ch. 2.
- D. Rueschemeyer, E. Stephens, and J. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), chs. 1 and 3.
- A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), ch. 16.
- C. Boix and S. Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* 55 (2003): 517–549.
- D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), chs. 1–2.
- A. McMillan, "Deviant Democratization in India," *Democratization* 15, no. 4 (August 2008): 733–749.
- T. Dunning, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Mar 12, No class. Spring break. Work on your papers!!!

Session 8 (Mar 19): Internal Structural Explanations, Part II: Political Culture, Civil Society and the Media

Readings:

- *Inglehart and Welzel, chs. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 11.
- *R. Inglehart and C. Welzel (ch. 9), N. Letki (ch. 11), and K. Voltmer and G. Rawnsley (ch. 16) in Haerpher, *Democratization*.
- *C. Tilly, *Democracy*, ch. 4.
- E. Muller and M. Seligson, "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships," *American Political Science Review* 88 (1994): 635–652.
- S. Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997): 401–429.
- M. Foley and B. Edwards, "The Paradox of Civil Society," *JOD* 7, no. 4 (1996): 38–52.

Question: How convincing is Inglehart's discussion of values, value change, and democracy?

Question: Is "civil society" crucial to consolidated democracy, or a useless pile of conceptual mush?

Question: Is Tilly talking about interpersonal trust, civil society, or something else?

Recommended readings:

E.S. Griffith, J. Plamentaz, and J. R. Pennock, "Cultural Prerequisites to a Successfully Functioning Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 50/1 (1956): 101–137.

R. Inglehart, *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press, 1990).

R. Inglehart, *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

C. Bicchieri, *The Grammar of Society: The Nature and Dynamics of Social Norms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Y. Chu, *How East Asians View Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

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

R. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *JOD* 6, no. 1 (1995): 65–78.

M. Foley and B. Edwards, "Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and Social Capital in Comparative Perspective," *American Behavioral Scientist* 42, no. 1 (1998): 5–20.

R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).

J. Gibson, "Social Networks, Civil Society, and the Prospects for Consolidating Russia's Democratic Transition," *American Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 1: 51–66.

M. Howard, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

P. Kubicek, "Civil Society, Trade Unions, and Post-Soviet Democratization: Evidence from Russia and Ukraine," *Europe-Asia Studies* 54 (June 2002): 603–624.

W. Galston, "Civil Society and the 'Art of Association'," *JOD* 11/1 (2000): 64–70.

L. Roniger and A. Gunes-Ayata, *Democracy, Clientelism, and Civil Society* (Lynne Rienner, 2004).

R. Gunther and A. Mughan, eds., *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

A. Brunetti and B. Weder, "A Free Press is Bad News for Corruption," *Journal of Public Economics* 87, nos. 7–8 (2003): 1801–1824.

J. Becker, "Lessons from Russia: A Neo-authoritarian Media System," *European Journal of Communication* 19, no. 2 (2004): 138–163.

Session 9 (Mar 26): Internal Structural Explanations, Part III: Identity and Social Cleavages

Readings:

*C. Tilly, *Democracy*, ch. 5.

*P. Paxton, ch. 10 in Haerpher, *Democratization*.

*Inglehart and Welzel, ch. 12 ("Gender Equality, Emancipative Values, and Democracy").

M. Fish, "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics*, 55/1 (October 2002): 4–37.

#A. Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980), ch. 1, ch. 3 ("Favorable Conditions for Consociational Democracy"), **pp. 71-83 only**.

#J. Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (2000), ch. 1, **pp. 27-39 only**, ch. 2, **pp. 45-53 only**, and ch. 6.

M. Beissinger, "A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization," *JOD* 19, no. 3 (July 2008): 85–97.

#D. Wurfel, "Democracy, Nationalism, and Ethnic Identity: The Philippines and East Timor Compared," in S. Henders, ed., *Democratization and Identity: Regimes and Ethnicity in East and Southeast Asia* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2004), pp. 25–42.

Question: How do democracy and identity interact in complementary and contrasting ways?

Recommended readings:

- A. De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2000), pp. 201–286.
A. Shastri and A. J. Wilson, eds., *The Post-Colonial States of South Asia: Democracy, Development and Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).
A. Gutmann, *Identity in Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).
M. Ross, “Oil, Islam, and Women,” *American Political Science Review* 102, no. 1 (2008): 107–123.
A. Harel-Shalev, *The Challenge of Sustaining Democracy in Deeply Divided Societies: Citizenship, Rights, and Ethnic Conflicts in India and Israel* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010).
M. Cammett, “Bricks and Mortar Clientelism: Sectarianism and the Logics of Welfare Allocation in Lebanon,” *World Politics* 62, no. 3 (2010): 381–421.

Session 10 (Apr 2): Internal Structural Explanations, Part IV: Political Structure

Readings:

- *C. Tilly, *Democracy*, ch. 6.
*L. Morino, ch. 14 in Haerpher, *Democratization*.
D. Horowitz, “Comparing Democratic Systems,” *JOD* 1, no. 4 (1990): 73–79.
J. Linz, “Presidents vs. Parliaments: The Virtues of Parliamentaryism,” *JOD* 1, no. 4 (1990): 84–91.
A. Lijphart, “Constitutional Design for Divided Societies,” *JOD* 15, no. 2 (April 2004): 96–109.
N. Bermeo, “A New Look at Federalism: The Import of Institutions,” *JOD* 13, no. 2 (2002): 96–110.
J. Erk, “Does Federalism Really Matter?” *Comparative Politics* 39, no. 1 (2006).
H. Hale, “Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethno-federal State Survival and Collapse,” *World Politics* 56 (January 2004): 165–93.
D. Horowitz, “Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision-Makers,” *JOD* 14, no. 4 (2003): 115–127.
R. Bhavnani, “Do Electoral Quotas Work after They are Withdrawn?: Evidence from a Natural Experiment in India,” *American Political Science Review* 103, no. 1 (2009): 23–35.

Question: Does Tilly convincingly demonstrate that state capacity (a part of political structure) is a necessary factor in successful democratization?

Question: Which makes more sense for a new democracy, a presidential or parliamentary system?

Question: What are the main issues when considering a federal arrangement in a new democracy?

Recommended readings:

- S. M. Lipset and S. Rokkan, *Party Systems and Voter Alignments* (New York: Free Press, 1967).
S. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).
G. Lardeyret, “Proportional Representation: The Problems with PR,” *JOD* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 30–35.
J. Ishiyama, “The Sickle or the Rose – Previous Regime Type and the Evolution of the Ex-Communist Parties in Post-Communist Politics,” *Comparative Political Studies* 30 (June 1997): 299–330.
R. Kumar, *Divide and Fall: Bosnia in the Annals of Partition* (London: Verso, 1999), especially ch. 4.
S. M. Lipset, “The Indispensability of Political Parties,” *JOD* 11, no. 1 (2000): 48–55.
P. Norris, *Electoral Engineering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
S. Lindberg, *Democracy and Elections in Africa* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
M. Beliaev, “Presidential Power and the Consolidation of New Post-Communist Democracies,” *Comparative Political Studies* 39, no. 3 (2006): 375–398.
J. Cheibub, *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
A. Grzymala-Busse, *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
R. Rose and N. Munro, *Parties and Elections in New European Democracies* (European Consortium for Political Research Press, 2009).

Session 11 (Apr 9): Internal Agency Explanations of Democratization

Readings:

- #M. Burton, R. Gunther, and J. Higley, "Introduction: Elite Transformations and Democratic Regimes," in Higley and Gunther, eds., *Elites and Democratic Consolidation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1–37.
- #A. Suarez, "The Transition to Democracy in Spain," speech at Harvard-MIT Seminar, May 25, 1983.
- #D. Levine, "Venezuela Since 1958: The Consolidation of Democratic Politics," in J. Linz and A. Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).
- T. Karl, "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela," *Latin American Research Review* 22/1 (1987): 63–94.
- *F. Rossia and D. della Porta (ch. 12) and I. McAllister and S. White (ch. 13) in Haerpher, *Democratization*.

Question: Who is more important to democratization's success, the elites or the masses?

Question: Who is more persuasive about Venezuela, Karl or Levine?

Question: If the actions of individuals cause democratization, how can we ever develop models and theories that can predict its occurrence and prospects for survival?

Recommended readings:

- A. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).
- J. Higley and M. Burton, "The Elite Variable in Democratic Transitions and Breakdowns," *American Sociological Review* 54/1 (1989): 17–32.
- G. DiPalma. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), chs. 4–5.
- D. Collier and D. Norden, "Strategic Choice Models of Political Change in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 24/2 (Jan. 1992): 229–243.
- N. Bermeo, "The Myths of Moderation: The Role of Radical Forces in the Transition to Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 29, no. 3 (1997): 305–322.

Session 12 (Apr 16): External Structural and Agency Explanations for Democratization

Readings:

- *H. Yilmaz, ch. 7 in Haerpher, *Democratization*.
- #L. Whitehead, "Three International Dimensions of Democratization," in Whitehead, ed., *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 3–25.
- M. Beissinger, "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 2 (June 2007): 259–276.
- #D. Beetham, "The Contradictions of Democratization by Force: The Case of Iraq," *Democratization* 16, no. 3 (June 2009): 443–54.
- #F. G. Gause, "Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?," *Foreign Affairs* 84, no. 5 (Sep/Oct 2005).
- #M. McFaul, "Democracy Promotion as a World Value," *Washington Quarterly*, 28/1 (Winter 2004/2005): 147–163.
- #A. Busch and E. Spalding, "1983: Awakening from Orwell's Nightmare," *Policy Review* 66 (Fall 1993): 71–75.
- #A. Lynch, "Does Gorbachev Matter Anymore?," *Foreign Affairs* 69/3 (Fall 1990): 19–29.
- #J. Kwitny, *Man of the Century: The Life and Times of Pope John Paul II* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1997), pp. 470–482, 560–594.

- Question:** Which of Whitehead's three dimensions – contagion, control, or consent – is most likely to lead to the establishment of democracy? To its consolidation?
- Question:** Who is most responsible for Communism's collapse: Reagan, Gorbachev, or John Paul II?
- Question:** Is "Western-style" democracy compatible with Islam?
- Question:** Is democratization a crucial front in the War on Terror?
- Question:** Setting aside the question of Islam, is democracy promotion an effective strategy?

Recommended readings:

- R. Pinkney, *Democracy in the Third World*, chs. 3 and 7.
- L. Whitehead, "Geography and Democratic Destiny," *JOD* 10, no. 1 (1999): 74–79.
- G. DiPalma. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), ch. 9, "Democracy by Diffusion, Democracy by Trespassing."
- J. Pevehouse, "Democracy from the Outside-In?: International Organizations and Democratization," *International Organization* 56, no. 3 (2002).
- A. Al-Faqih, "Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terrorism: A Contradiction?," in W. Crotty, ed., *Democratic Development and Political Terrorism: The Global Perspective* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2005), pp. 147–166.
- L. Boroumand and R. Boroumand, "Terror, Islam, and Democracy," *JOD*, 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 5–20.
- L. Goodson, "Bullets, Ballots, and Poppies in Afghanistan," *JOD* 16, no. 1.
- W. Crotty, "Democratization and Political Terrorism," in Crotty, ed., *Democratic Development and Political Terrorism: The Global Perspective* (Boston: Northeastern U. Press, 2005), pp. 3–16.
- A. Danchev and J. MacMillan, eds., *The Iraq War and Democratic Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005). See especially the chapters by Standfield and by Rangwala.
- J. Kurth, "Ignoring History: US Democratization in the Muslim World," *Orbis* (Spring 2005): 305–322.
- L. Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 5 (Sept/Oct 2004).
- A. Somit and S. Peterson, *Failure of Democratic Nation Building: Ideology Meets Evolution* (New York: Palgrave/MacMillan, 2005), ch. 7.
- A. Hawthorne, "Middle Eastern Democracy: Is Civil Society the Answer?," Carnegie Papers, no. 44 (March 2004), available at: http://www.ceip.org/files/publications/HTMLBriefs-WP/WP_Number_44_March_2004/2000a40cv01.html.
- M. Ottaway, "Promoting Democracy in the Middle East: The Problem of US Credibility," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace working paper, available at: <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/wp35.pdf>.
- M. Ottaway, T. Carothers, A. Hawthorne, and D. Brumberg, "Democratic Mirage in the Middle East." Available at: <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Policybrief20.pdf>.
- P. Burnell, "Democracy Promotion: The Elusive Quest for Grand Strategies," *International Politics and Society*, no. 3 (2004): 100–116.
- J. Pevehouse, *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- T. Carothers, "The Backlash against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no.2 (2006): 55–68.
- R. Rotberg, *Building a New Afghanistan* (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2007).
- T. Carothers, "Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental?" *JOD* 20, no. 1 (January 2009): 5–19.
- R. Keohane, S. Macedo, and A. Moravcsik, "Democracy-Enhancing Multilateralism," *International Organization* 63, no. 1 (2009): 1–31.

Session 13 (Apr 23): Timing: The Role of Triggering Events

Readings:

- *Inglehart and Welzel, ch. 9 (“Social Forces, Collective Action, and International Events”).
- #G. Richards, “Stabilization Crises and the Breakdown of Military Authoritarianism in Latin America,” *Comparative Political Studies* 18 (1986): 447–85.
- #J. Markoff and S. R. Duncan Baretta, “Economic Crisis and Regime Change in Brazil: The 1960s and the 1980s,” *Comparative Politics* 22 (1990): 421–44.
- A. Przeworski and F. Limongi, “Modernization: Theories and Facts,” *World Politics* 49 (1997): 155–183.
- “Revolution Echoes around Russia: Kyrgyzstan’s People-power Revolt Spurs Other Protests against Corruption throughout the Region,” *Christian Science Monitor* (online edition), March 30, 2005: <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0330/p06s01-wosc.htm>.
- J. Tucker, “Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions,” *Perspectives on Politics* 5, no. 3 (September 2007): 535–551.

Question: Which are more important to democratization prospects, internal triggering events or external triggering events? Why?

Question: How devastating is Przeworski and Limongi’s argument to the endeavor of understanding democratic transitions?

Question: How is Przeworski and Limongi’s argument affected by a shift in focus from the establishment stage to the consolidation stage of democratization?

Recommended readings:

- V. Bunce, “Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience” *World Politics* 55, no. 2 (January 2003): 167–192.
- J. Ulfelder, “Contentious Collective Action and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes,” *International Political Science Review* 26, no. 3 (2005): 311–334.

PART III: DEMOCRATIZATION’S PRESENT AND FUTURE

Session 14 (Apr 30): Whither Democracy and the Study of Democratization?

Readings:

- *Inglehart and Welzel, ch. 13 (and conclusion).
- *C. Tilly, *Democracy*, ch. 8.
- *M. S. Fish and J. Wittenberg (ch. 17) and Haerpfer et al. (ch. 24) in Haerpfer, *Democratization*.
- #B. Geddes, “What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115–144.
- V. Bunce and S. Wolchik, “Getting Real About ‘Real Causes’,” *JOD* 20, no. 1 (Jan 2009): 69–73.
- A. Varshney, “Why Democracy Survives,” *JOD* 9, no. 3 (1999): 36–50.
- E. Kapstein and N. Converse, “Why Democracies Fail,” *JOD* 19, no. 4 (October 2008): 57–68.
- B. Gilley, “Is Democracy Possible?,” *JOD* 20, no. 1 (Jan 2009): 113–127.

Question: What are some of the problems that new democracies face? Will they be too difficult to overcome, or has democracy “won”?

Question: How useful is it to compare the recent transitions with those which came before? Is it an example of what Sartori calls “conceptual stretching” or are the cases comparable?

Question: At this point, which of the factors that scholars have used to explain the establishment of democracy and its consolidation seem most compelling, and why?

Recommended readings:

- L. Diamond, "Can the Whole World Become Democratic?: Democracy, Development, and International Politics," Center for the Study of Democracy paper, available at: <http://repositories.cdlib.org>.
- A. Waldron, "The End of Communism," *JOD* 9, no. 1 (1998): 41–47.
- G. Nodia, "The End of Revolution?," *JOD* 11, no. 1 (2000): 164–171.
- G. Nodia, "How Different Are Postcommunist Transitions?," *JOD* 7, no. 4 (1996): 15–29.
- S. Huntington, "After Twenty Years: The Future of the Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy*, 8, no. 4 (1997): 3–12.
- A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), ch. 16.
- D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 11.
- M. Signer, *Demagogue: The Fight to Save Democracy from Its Worst Enemies* (New York: Palgrave, 2009).

May 9, 4:00 p.m.: RESEARCH PAPER DUE (in WWP 478 or Barrington's mailbox).