GOV 390L: Democratization in Comparative Perspective – Spring 2012

Unique #: 38990
Time: M 12:30-3:30
Place: Batts 5.102
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Professor Robert Moser
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Description:

This seminar is designed to provide graduate students with an overview of the expansive literature on democratization. Over the last thirty years the world has experienced a "third wave" of democratization in which authoritarian regimes around the world have collapsed in favor of varying degrees of democratic governance. This seminar will examine the literature on democratization to discern the major approaches, themes, and debates surrounding regime change away from authoritarianism. The seminar will be organized thematically rather than regionally with empirical cases drawn primarily from Latin America, Southern Europe, post-communist states and the Middle East. After a survey of the major approaches to democratization, the seminar will focus on specific issues, actors, and processes important to successful democratization including: institutional design, elites, ethnicity, political economy, party systems, and civil society.

Requirements:

1) **Short papers (40% of grade):** Each student will write two short papers (5 pages, typed and double-spaced with citations) each dedicated to a week's readings. The papers are to summarize the central debate of the readings, their arguments, and their strengths and weaknesses. Each paper will be worth 20 percent of your grade.

2) **Final Assignment (40% of grade):** Each student will also complete <u>one</u> of the following final assignments in the course:

A) **Review essay/Research proposal:** Students can choose to write a longer paper (15-20 pages, typed and double-spaced with citations). These papers can follow one of two formats depending on the student's goals: a) a review essay discussing a debate not covered in class (or expanding on an issue covered using additional sources) or b) a research proposal that articulates a research question, discusses its significance, proposes hypotheses or arguments, and provides a research design outlining how you would go about examining the question. Due date, last seminar meeting, April 30th.

B) **Final Examination**: Student can take a final examination that compares, contrasts, and integrates competing perspectives on a particular issue or set of issues concerning democratization. This examination will be taken under a time constraint with the same parameters and rules used by the department for the comparative politics preliminary exams. Due date TBD (at the end of the semester).

3) **Participation (20% of grade):** Students writing on the week's readings will be asked to lead discussion. Students discussing readings should be in contact with one another to coordinate their presentations. A 20 percent participation grade will be based on the quality of these presentations and overall participation.

Grading Policy Percentage

I will be using the new +/- grading scale. Letter grades for the course will be based on the following scale.

A	93-100%
A-	90-92%
B+	87-89%
B	83-86%
B-	80-82%
C+	77-79%
C	73-76%
C-	70-72%
D	60-69%
F	Below 60%

Accommodations

The University of Texas at Austin provides upon request appropriate academic accommodations for qualified students with disabilities. For more information, contact the Office of the Dean of Students at 471-6259, 471-6441 TTY.

Academic Integrity

Students who violate University rules on scholastic dishonesty are subject to disciplinary penalties, including the possibility of failure in the course and/ or dismissal from the University. Since such dishonesty harms the individual, all students, and the integrity of the University, policies on scholastic dishonesty will be strictly enforced. For further information please visit the Student Judicial Services Web site: http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/sjs. Refer to the Dean of Students Student Judicial Services website or call 471-2841 for the official university policies and procedures on scholastic dishonesty.

Religious Holidays

A student who misses classes or other required activities, including examinations, for the observance of a religious holy day should inform the instructor as far in advance of the absence as possible, so that arrangements can be made to complete an assignment within a reasonable time after the absence.

Emergency Evacuation Policy

In the event of a fire or other emergency, it may be necessary to evacuate a building rapidly. Upon the activation of a fire alarm or the announcement of an emergency in a university building, all occupants of the building are required to evacuate and assemble outside. Once evacuated, no one may re-enter the building without instruction to do so from the Austin Fire Department, University of Texas at Austin Police Department, or Fire Prevention Services office.

Students should familiarize themselves with all the exit doors of each room and building they occupy at the university, and should remember that the nearest exit routes may not be the same as the way they typically enter buildings.

Students requiring assistance in evacuation shall inform their instructors in writing during the first week of class. Faculty members must then provide this information to the Fire Prevention Services office by fax (512-232-2759), with "Attn. Mr. Roosevelt Easley" written in the subject line.

Information regarding emergency evacuation routes and emergency procedures can be found at http://www.utexas.edu/emergency.

Seminar Schedule and Readings

Readings:

All readings are journal articles or portions of books. No books are assigned in this seminar.

All readings will be available electronically on the seminar's Blackboard website. Many of the readings are journal articles that can be accessed by entering the journal name in the UTnetCAT item search and then following the links provided. I will also provide a reading packet through Paradigm Copies if there is sufficient interest in purchasing a hard copy of the readings. I strongly recommend that each student attains a hard copy of every reading for class use so that he or she can bring copies to class.

Week 1 (Jan. 23rd): Introduction

Introduction to the class. Sign-up for short paper assignments.

Week 2 (Jan. 30th): Concepts and Definitions – Democracy and Democratic Consolidation

1) What is democracy and democratic consolidation? Can we operationalize and measure it?
2) Should we adopt a "minimal procedural" definition of democracy or a more elaborate one?
3) How do hybrid regimes complicate our understanding of democracy and democratization?
4) How should we measure democracy? Should it be a viewed as a dichotomy or a continuum?
5) What difference do measurement issues make in the study of democratization?

Definitions of Democracy and Democratic Consolidation:

*Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is...And Is Not," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (1996), pp. 49-62.
*F. Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* (1997), pp. 22-43.
*M. Plattner, "Liberalism and Democracy: Can't Have One Without the Other," *Foreign Affairs* (1998), pp. 171-180.
*A. Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy (JOD)* (1998), pp. 91-107.
*L. Diamond and L. Morlino, "Introduction," in *Assessing the Quality of Democracy* (2005), pp. ix-xliii.

Recommended: R. Dahl, *Polyarchy,* especially Ch. 1.
D. Collier and S. Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* (1997), pp. 430-451.
J. Linz and A. Stepan, *Problems in Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Ch. 1.

Classifying Regime Types/Hybrid Systems:

*S. Levitsky and L. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism* (2010), Ch. 1.
*A. Armony and H. Schamis, "Babel in Democratization Studies," *JOD* (2005), pp. 115-128.

Measuring Democracy:

*M. Coppedge, et al., "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach," *Perspectives on Politics* (2011), pp. 247-261.
*Z. Elkins, "Gradations of Democracy? Empirical Tests of Alternative Conceptualizations," *American Journal of Political Science*, (2000), pp. 293-300.

Week 3 (Feb. 6th): Competing Perspectives toward Democratization

1) What are the pros and cons of different perspectives to democratization? Can we discern whether structure, institutions or process, elites or masses, domestic or international, economic or political factors matter more in democratic consolidation?
2) Is an integrated and comprehensive theory of democratization possible and/or desirable?

Overviews of the Literature:

*B. Geddes, "What Do We Know about Democratization after 20 years? *Annual Review of Political Science* (1999), pp. 115-44.
*V. Bunce, "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations," *Comparative Political Studies* (2000), pp. 703-734.

Competing Perspectives:

*D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (2006), Chs. 1-2.
*H. Kitshelt, "Political Regime Change: Structure and Process-Driven Explanations?" *American Political Science Review* (1992), pp. 1028-1034.
*A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy* (1999), Ch. 16.
*G. O'Donnell and P. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions* (1986), Chs. 2, 3 & 4.

Recommended: S. Huntington, *The Third Wave*.

Week 4 (Feb. 13th): Modernization Theory, Macrohistorical Analysis, the Resource Curse

1) What is the relationship between economic development and democratization? Does democratic consolidation require a threshold of affluence? How, exactly, does development affect democratization?
2) Is there a particular constellation of social classes necessary for democracy to emerge?
3) How does a resource-dependent economy complicate the link between economic development and democratization?

Modernization and Democratization:

*A. Przeworski and F. Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* (1997), pp. 155-183.
*C. Boix and S. Stokes, "Endogenous Modernization," *World Politics* (2003), pp. 517-549.
*S. Mainwaring and A. Perez-Linan, "Level of Development and Democracy - Latin American Exceptionalism, 1945-1996," *Comparative Political Studies* (2003), pp. 1031-1067.

Social Classes and Democratization:

*E. Bellin, "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries," *World Politics* (2000), pp. 175-205.
*C. Boix, "The Roots of Democracy," *Policy Review* (2006), pp. 3-21.

Recommended: B. Moore, *Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship* (1966).
D. Rueschemeyer, E. Stephens, J. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (1992).
C. Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (2003).

Resource Curse:

*M. Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* (2001), pp. 325-361.
*T. Dunning, *Crude Democracy* (2008), Ch. 1
*P. Jones Luong and E. Weinthal, "Rethinking the Resource Curse: Ownership Structure, Institutional Capacity, and Domestic Constraints," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2006), pp. 241-263.

Recommended: T. Dunning, *Crude Democracy* (2008).
P. Jones Luong and E. Weinthal, *Oil is not a Curse* (2010).

Week 5 (Feb. 20th): Political Culture

1.) What is political culture? How can we best capture and measure it?
2.) Are there cultural requisites that are necessary for democracy to emerge?
3.) If culture affects democratization what is the causal mechanism exactly?
4.) Is political culture a static or dynamic force? Is it a cause or effect of democratization?
5.) Is Islam (and other religious traditions) compatible with democracy?

Culture and Democratization:

*L. Diamond, *Developing Democracy Toward Consolidation* (1999), pp. 161-217.
*A. Stepan, "Religion, Democracy, and the 'Twin Tolerations'," *JOD* (2004), pp. 37-57.
*D. Philpott, "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion," *American Political Science Review* (2007), pp. 505-525.

Recommended: Inglehart, *Modernization and Post-Modernization* (1997)

Islam and Democratization:

*A. Filali-Ansary, "The Sources of Enlightened Muslim Thought," *JOD* (2003), pp. 19-33.
*B. Tibi, "Why They Can't Be Democratic," *JOD* (2008), pp. 43-48.
*M. S. Fish, *Are Muslims Distinctive?* (2011), Ch. 7.
*E. Yuchtman-Ya'ar and Y. Akalay, "Political Attitudes in the Muslim World," *JOD* (2010), pp. 122-134.

Week 6 (Feb. 27th): Civil Society

1.) What is civil society? What is its relationship to democratic consolidation?
2.) What is the inter-relationship between civil society, the state, and democratic consolidation?
3.) Can civil society be cultivated anywhere or is it historically and geopolitically bounded?

Civil Society as a Promoter of Democratization:

*L. Diamond, *Developing Democracy Toward Consolidation* (1999), pp. 218-260.
*R. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* (1993), Ch. 4.

Critics of Civil Society as a Promoter of Democratization:

*S. Berman, "Re-integrating the Study of State and Civil Society," in Z. Barany and R. Moser (eds.) *Is Democracy Exportable?* (2009), Ch. 2.
*S. Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* (1997), pp. 401-429.
*O. Encarnacion, "On Bowling Leagues and NGOs: A Critique of Civil Society's Revival," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2002), pp. 116-31.
*S. Chambers and J. Kopstein, "Bad Civil Society," *Political Theory* (2001), pp. 838-866.

Causes of Civil Society:

*R. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* (1993), Ch. 5.
*M. Howard, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society," *JOD* (2002), pp. 157-169.

Recommended: M. Howard, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Postcommunist Europe*.

Week 7 (March 5th): Institutional Design - Presidentialism vs. Parliamentarism

1.) Can democratization be encouraged by "getting the institutions rights"?

2.) What are the strengths and weaknesses of presidential versus parliamentary government?
3.) How have the critics of presidentialism been challenged?
4.) Can the weaknesses of presidentialism be mitigated by other factors?

Institutional Design and Democratization:

*P. Hall and R. Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," *Political Studies* (1996), pp. 936-957.
*A. George, "Institutions, Path Dependence, and Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* (2001), pp. 249-70.

Presidential vs. Parliamentary Systems:

*J. Linz, "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does It Make a Difference?" in J. Linz and A. Valenzuela (eds.), *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: Comparative Perspectives* (1994), pp. 3-75.
*M. S. Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia* (2005), Ch. 7.
*M. Shugart and J. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies* (1992), Chs. 2 and 3.
*S. Mainwaring and M. Shugart, "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal," *Comparative Political Studies* (1997), pp. 449-471.
*J. Cheibub, *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy* (2007), Chs. 1 and 7.

Week 8 (March 12th): Spring Break – No Class

Week 9 (March 19th): Institutional Design II – Political Parties and Electoral Systems

1.) What roles do political parties play in democracy?
2.) What is party institutionalization and how does it affect democratization?
3.) What is Durverger's Law? Why does it matter how many parties exist in a country?
4.) What is the effect of the interaction of social diversity and electoral systems on party systems?
5.) How does the sociopolitical context condition electoral system effects?
6.) Is "electoral engineering" possible?

Political Parties and Democratization:

*S. M. Lipset, "The Indispensability of Political Parties," *JOD* (2000), pp. 48-55.
*S. Mainwaring and T. Scully, *Building Democratic Institutions* (1995), Ch. 1.
*F. Thames, "Discipline and Party Institutionalization in Post-Soviet Legislatures," *Party Politics* (2007), pp. 456-477.

Electoral Systems Effects:

*G. Cox, *Making Votes Count* (1997), Ch. 4.
*W. Clark and M. Golder, "Rehabilitating Duverger's Theory," *Comparative Political Studies* (2006), pp. 679-708.

*R. Moser and E. Scheiner, *Electoral Systems and Political Context* (forthcoming), Chs. 1, 3, 4, 6 and conclusion.

Week 10 (March 26th): Elites and Elite Decisions

1.) How do elites affect the democratization process?
2.) What is the connection between elites and masses? How does this affect the influence of elites?
3.) How do elites in authoritarian regimes resist pressures for democratization?
4.) How do political pacts influence democratization?

The Elite Paradigm:

*J. Higley and M. Burton, *The Elite Foundations of Liberal Democracy* (2006), Chs. 1-2.
*M. McFaul, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship," *World Politics* (2002), pp. 212-244.

Resilient Authoritarianism:

*K. Greene, "The Political Economy of Single-Party Dominance," *Comparative Political Studies* (2010), pp. 807-834.
*J. Brownlee, *Authoritarianism in the Age of Democratization* (2007), Ch. 1 and conclusion.
*L. Way, "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Political Competition in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine" *World Politics* (2005), pp. 231-261.

Modes of Transition and Democratic Consolidation:

*T. L. Karl, "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* (1990), pp. 1-21.
*O. Encarnacion, "Do Political Pacts Freeze Democracy? Spanish and South American Lessons," *West European Politics* (2005), pp. 182-203.

Week 11 (April 2nd): Economic Reform and Democratization

1.) What is the relationship between capitalism and democracy?
2.) Are authoritarian or democratic regimes better able to conduct economic reforms?
3.) How does economic reform impact political actors in new democracies?

The Relationship between Capitalism and Democracy:

*G. Almond, "Capitalism and Democracy," *PS* (1991), pp. 467-474.

Democratization's Impact on Market Reform:

*B. Geddes, "Challenging the Conventional Wisdom," *JOD* (1994), pp. 104-118.
*J. Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics*, (1998), pp. 203-234.

*K. Weyland, "The Political Fate of Market Reform in Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe," *International Studies Quarterly* (1998), pp. 645-674.

Economic Reform's Impact on Democratization:

*J. Gans-Morse and S. Nichter, "Economic Reforms and Democratization," *Comparative Political Studies* (2008), pp. 1398-1426.
*M. S. Fish, *Democracy Derailed in Russia* (2005), Ch. 6.
*M. Kurtz, "Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy, *World Politics* (2004), pp. 262-302.

Week 12 (April 9th): Ethnicity and Democratization

1.) Does democratization exacerbate ethnic conflict?
2.) Is democratization possible in ethnically divided states?
3.) Can robust civil society or certain elite decisions mitigate ethnic conflict?

Ethnic Diversity and Democracy:

*K. Chandra, "What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* (2006), pp. 397-424.
*J. Snyder, *From Voting to Violence* (2000), Chs. 1-2.
*S. Wilkinson, *Votes and Violence* (2004), Chs. 1 and 2.

Elites, Civil Society and Ethnic Conflict:

*A. Varshney, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics* (2001), pp. 362-398.
*R. Hislope, "Ethnic Conflict and the Generosity Moment," *JOD* (1998), pp. 140-153.
*D. Chirot, "Does Democracy Work in Deeply Divided Societies," in *Is Democracy Exportable?* (2009), pp. 85-109.

Week 13 (April 16th): Managing Ethnic Conflict with Institutions

1.) Can democratic institutions mitigate ethnic conflict? If so, how?
2.) Does PR represent ethnic minorities better than SMD elections? Does increased representation lead to increased regime legitimacy among minorities?
3.) Should electoral engineers strive to co-opt minorities through consensual democracy or overcome ethnic divisions with institutions designed to promote multi-ethnic coalitions?
4.) Does federalism mitigate or exacerbate ethnic conflict?

Democratic Institutions and Ethnic Conflict Management:

*A. Reynolds, *Designing Democracy in a Dangerous World* (2011), Chs. 2, 3, 4.
*S. Saideman, D. Lanoue, M. Campanni, S. Stanton, "Democratization, Political Institutions, and Ethnic Conflict - A Pooled Time-Series Analysis, 1985-1998," *Comparative Political Studies* (2002), pp. 103-129.

*Z. Elkins and J. Sides, Can Institutions Build Unity in Multiethnic States?" *American Political Science Review* (2007), pp. 693-708.

Electoral Systems and Ethnic Representation:

*A. Lijphart, "Constitutional Choices for Divided Societies," *JOD* (2004), pp. 96-109.
*B. Reilly, "Electoral Systems for Divided Societies," *JOD* (2002), pp. 156-170.
*R. Moser, "Electoral Systems and the Representation of Ethnic Minorities: Evidence from Russia," *Comparative Politics* (2008), pp. 273-292.

Federalism and Ethnic Conflict:

*N. Bermeo, "The Import of Institutions," *JOD* (2002), pp. 96-110.
*D. Brancati, *Peace by Design* (2009), Chs. 1-2.

Week 14 (April 23rd): International Forces: Globalization, Diffusion, Democracy Assistance

1) How does globalization influence democratization?
2) What is diffusion? Does it affect democratization? If so, how?
3) Can the West export democracy through foreign assistance?

Globalization and Democratization:

*Q. Li and R. Reuveny, "Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis," *British Journal of Political Science* (2003), pp. 29-54.
*N. Rudra, "Globalization and the Strengthening of Democracy in the Developing World," *American Journal of Political Science* (2005), pp. 704-730.

Diffusion:

*D. Brinks and M. Coppedge, "Diffusion in No Illusion," *Comparative Political Studies* (2006): 463-489.
*K. Weyland, "The Diffusion of Political Regime Contention in European Democratization, 1830-1940," *Comparative Political Studies* (2010), pp. 1148-1176.

International Organizations, Linkage, and Democracy Promotion:

*J. Pevehouse, "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization," *International Organization* (2002), pp. 515-549.
*S. Levitsky and L. Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *JOD* (2005), pp. 20-34.
*V. Bunce and S. Wolchik, "Bringing Down Dictators: American Democracy Promotion and Electoral Revolutions in Postcommunist Eurasia," Working Paper (2007), pp. 1-25.
*S. Finkel, A. Perez Linan, M. Seligson, "The Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990-2003," *World Politics* (2007), pp. 404-440.

Week 15 (April 30th): Conclusions

1.) What factors are the most and least important determinants of democratization?

**** Final Papers Due in Class ****