

**POLS 551 01: Democratization**  
**Saint Louis University**  
**Monday 7-9:30**  
**Fall 2015**

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*"It has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all the others that have been tried from time to time." Winston Churchill*

### **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

By the end of this course, students should better understand both why people would want to establish democratic governments and the challenges they face along the way. We will examine theories of democratic transition, the role of institutional choice, and the difficulty of establishing democratic governance in highly unequal for ethnically divided societies. We will test theories against available evidence from recent waves of democratization. For case studies, we will focus on Eastern and Central Europe and other countries of student interest. Students will also address fundamental questions about what democracy is, why it matters, and whether democratic institutions can be established in seemingly infertile conditions. This is a core class for graduate International Affairs tracks.

After completing this class, you should be able to:

- *Demonstrate knowledge*: understand political and economic developments in the postcommunist world.
- *Evaluate, critique and synthesize completing theoretical explanations*: evaluate theories that try to explain where democracy is likely to flourish or fail; synthesize various approaches in a scholarly literature review.
- *Produce original and methodologically sound research*: conceive and conduct a research project that uses comparison to test a proposition derived from scholarly writing about democracy; appreciate methodological challenges in testing theories of democratization.
- *Present research in a public forum*: convey and defend ideas both orally and in writing.
- *Analyze values that inform political institutions, behavior and policies*: reflect on the contribution of democracy to a just society; consider how popular values affect the functioning of democratic institutions.
- *Demonstrate honest and ethical research practices*: appreciate how knowledge is advanced through constructive peer criticism.

### **REQUIRED BOOKS**

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. 2010. *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gerardo Munck. 2009. *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge Between Scholarship and Politics*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Jan Teorell. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

These books are available at the bookstore or through Amazon or other sellers. Additional readings are on e-reserve, and the password is demo15.

To keep abreast of current developments in Eastern and Central Europe, try <http://www.rferl.org/>

### **OFFICE HOURS**

Monday 4-5, Wednesday 2-3, and by appointment.

I am often (but not always) in my office at other times. Feel free to drop by.

**ACADEMIC HONESTY.** The University is a community of learning, whose effectiveness requires an environment of mutual trust and integrity. Academic integrity is violated by any dishonesty such as soliciting, receiving, or providing any unauthorized assistance in the completion of work submitted toward academic credit. While not all forms of academic dishonesty can be listed here, examples include copying from another student, copying from a book or class notes during a closed book exam, submitting materials authored by or revised by another person as the student's own work, copying a passage or text directly from a published source without appropriately citing or recognizing that source, taking a test or doing an assignment or other academic work for another student, securing or supplying in advance a copy of an examination or quiz without the knowledge or consent of the instructor, sharing or receiving the questions from an on-line quiz with another student, taking an on-line quiz with the help of another student, and colluding with another student or students to engage in academic dishonesty.

All clear violations of academic integrity will be met with appropriate sanctions. In this course, academic dishonesty on an assignment will result in an automatic grade of 0 for that assignment and a report of academic dishonesty sent to the Academic Honesty Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences. In the case of Class B violations, the Academic Honesty Committee may impose a larger sanction including, but not limited to, assigning a failing grade in the course, disciplinary probation, suspension, and dismissal from the University.

Students should refer to the following SLU website for more information about Class A and B violations and the procedures following a report of academic dishonesty: <http://www.slu.edu/x12657.xml>

**STUDENT LEARNING.** In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. Students who think they might benefit from these resources can find out more about *course-level support* (e.g., faculty member, departmental resources, etc.) by asking your course instructor, and more more *University-level support* (e.g., tutoring/writing services, Disability Services) by visiting the Student Success Center (BSC 331) or by going to [www.slu.edu/success](http://www.slu.edu/success).

Students who believe that, due to a disability, they could benefit from academic accommodations are encouraged to contact Disability Services at [314-977-8885](tel:314-977-8885) or visit the Student Success Center. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries. Course instructors support student accommodation requests when an approved letter from Disability Services has been received and when students discuss these accommodations with the instructor after receipt of the approved letter.

**ASSIGNMENTS**—70 percent of your course grade

One essay of around 5 pages on a question I provide—approximately 20 percent of your grade

One longer research paper, 20-25 pages—approximately 35 percent of your grade

This paper will test a theoretically-derived proposition through some form of comparison. The paper may focus on particular countries or groups of countries; it can rely on a small number of cases or a large-N dataset, either the same countries on which we focus in class or different ones. In any case, this paper will require a significant amount of outside research. More information on this paper will be provided later in the semester, but it is never too early to start thinking about what you want to do.

Final exam—15 percent. The final exam will be a single question of the sort that students might encounter in a field exam. Students may use well-organized notes during the exam but will not have time to rely on them heavily. The exam will be on December 14, 6:30-8:30.

All students must complete a course evaluation for the class.

**ATTENDANCE, PARTICIPATION, AND READING**—30 percent of your final grade

This is a seminar class, and that means that it is grounded in discussion by students, not lecturing by me. You should think about class as a time for exploration: for figuring out what the readings mean; for critically evaluating arguments made by various authors, your classmates, and me; for connecting the assigned materials to other ideas. A number of things follow from this:

**Attendance is required.** There is no way to recreate this process of discussion by yourself. Absences should be avoided if at all possible. To get an absence excused, you will need an excuse that I accept AND you must complete the reading paragraphs, not for credit toward the required total. Students who miss more than three classes for any reason may not be able to finish the course.

You will receive a discussion grade for every class. This grade will be based on your contributions to class discussion and any more formal presentations. Other short assignments, group projects and quizzes, both pre-announced and not, could occur and would be factored into this discussion grade.

**Laptops (and, of course, phones) may not be used in class without express permission by me.** Unfortunately, laptops reduce uninterrupted focus on the discussion. You will need to bring copies of the readings to class or make notes on the main conclusions.

**Careful reading is essential.** Students must carefully read all assignments, noting questions or points that they want to raise in class. You should also keep up with significant current events in Eastern/Central Europe and other democratizing areas. There is a lot of reading, and one thing you should learn in this course is how to manage it.

**Discussion leadership.** Once during the semester, you will serve as “interlocutor number one.” You should be very confident about the readings for the day and prepare three to five overarching questions that tie together the readings for class discussion. Prior to this responsibility, you must meet with me, having e-mailed me the questions beforehand.

Students will become experts in the process of democratization in particular countries, in Eastern and Central Europe or in a part of the world that interests you more. Students will work together to construct a Google site with relevant information and should be able to contribute to class discussions with information from their chosen country throughout the semester.

**READING PARAGRAPHS**

To advance our discussion and to help you master and integrate the readings, you will write “reading paragraphs” during some weeks. These must not exceed two, double-spaced, typed pages. The first paragraph should **summarize each of the week’s readings in a couple sentences each.** Focus on conclusions and how they are reached.

The second paragraph should **analyze** the week’s readings. There are different ways you might do this. For instance, you might consider whether the evidence presented is persuasive, the degree to which the various arguments complement or conflict with each other, what the implications are concerning the construction of democratic institutions in various parts of the world. As we get into the semester, you might compare one week’s readings with arguments made in earlier weeks. The point is to provide thoughtful and empirically grounded analysis closely connected to the readings.

For credit, you need to e-mail the paragraphs to me *before* class. If you want to refer to your paragraphs in class, you’ll need to print out a copy.

Paragraphs will be graded on a three point scale (3—really good, 2—satisfactory, 1—inadequate). **All students must hand in at least seven paragraphs graded 2 or better.** You are welcome to hand in more than seven, and your added effort will be reflected in your participation grade. (This is a boost for shy people.) You can also use the paragraphs to give you a preview of how your work is likely to fare in the more conventionally graded essays. Needless to say, even if you don’t write the paragraphs for a given week, you are still responsible for doing and understanding the reading.

**WRITING CENTER.** I encourage you to take advantage of the Writing Center's services. The Writing Center provides feedback that benefits writers at all skill levels. They offer one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information, visit [www.slu.edu/writingservices.xml](http://www.slu.edu/writingservices.xml) or call 977-3484.

**GRADING SCALE**

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

**WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?****August 24 Defining democracy and the scope of our course**

Gerardo Munck, *Measuring Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), ch. 6, "Revisiting Concepts," pp. 120-132.

*NO READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.*

*Some resources:*

Barber, Benjamin R. 1984. *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Benhabib, Seyla, ed. 1996. *Democracy and Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Bohman, James, and William Rehg, eds. 1997. *Deliberative Democracy: Essays on Reason and Politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Dahl, Robert A. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dahl, Robert A. 2000. *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis Thompson. 2004. *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Held, David. 1987. *Models of Democracy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Locke, John. 1985 [1690]. *The Second Treatise on Government*. New York: Macmillan.

Montesquieu, Charles. 1984. *The Spirit of the Laws*. Birmingham, AL: Legal Classics Library.

Polletta, Francesca. 2014. "Participatory Democracy's Moment." *Journal of International Affairs* 68, no. 1 (Fall/Winter): 79-92.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1973 [1762]. *The Social Contract and Discourses*. London: Everyman's Library.

Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is...and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 3 (Summer): 75-88.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1950. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.

**August 31 Democracy: What is it good for?**

ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.

Amartya Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value," in *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3, 1999: 3-17.  
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v010/10.3sen.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v010/10.3sen.html)

Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (September 1993): 567-576 (e-reserve).

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 269-278 (e-reserve).

Caroline Beer, "Democracy and Gender Equality," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44: 212-227 (e-reserve). PLEASE PRINT BEER'S ARTICLE AND BRING TO CLASS.

Vaclav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," chapters I-IX, in William M. Brinton and Alan Rinzler, eds., *Without Force or Lies: Voices of the Revolution of Central Europe in 1989-1990* (San Francisco: Mercury House, 1990), pp. 43-69 (e-reserve).  
 Or [http://vaclavhavel.cz/showtrans.php?cat=eseje&val=2\\_aj\\_eseje.html&typ=HTML](http://vaclavhavel.cz/showtrans.php?cat=eseje&val=2_aj_eseje.html&typ=HTML)

Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane L. Curry, "Democracy, the Market, and the Return to Europe: From Communism to the European Union and NATO, from *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy*, ed. by Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane L. Curry (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2011), pp. 3-27 (e-reserve).

*Additional readings if you are really interested in this topic:*

Beetham, David. 2009. "The contradictions of democratization by force: the case of Iraq." *Democratization* 16, no. 3 (June): 443-54.

Bellin, Eva. 2004-5. "The Iraqi Intervention and Democracy in Comparative Historical Perspective." *Political Science Quarterly* 119, no. 4 (Winter): 595-608.

Carothers, Thomas. 2006. "The Backlash against Democracy Promotion." *Foreign Affairs* 85/2: 55-68.

Crozier, Michael J., and Samuel P. Huntington, and Joji Watanuki. 1975. *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission*. New York: New York University Press.

Dawood, Yasmin. 2015. "Campaign Finance and American Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 329-48.

Gerring, John, Strom C. Thacker, and Rodrigo Alfaro. 2012. "Democracy and Human Development." *Journal of Politics* 74, no. 1 (January): 1-17.

Hassan, Oz, and Andrew Hammond. 2011. "The rise and fall of America's freedom agenda in Afghanistan: counter-terrorism, national-building and democracy." *International Journal of Human Rights* 15, no. 4 (May): 532-551.

Hibbing, John R., and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2002. *Stealth Democracy: Americans' Beliefs about How Government Should Work*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, Pippa. 2011. *Democratic Deficit*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wu, Chin-en. 2012. "When is Democracy Better for Economic Performance and when Is It Not: the Interaction Between Polity and Structural Factors." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 47: 365-388.

**September 7 No class – Labor Day**

There's a lot of reading for next week, and you may want to get started early.

**THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION****September 14 Founding Scholars**

*ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.*

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53 (March 1959): 69-105 (e-reserve).

Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2 (1970): 337-63 (e-reserve).

Rafael Khachaturian, "Uncertain Knowledge and Democratic Transitions: Revisiting O'Donnell and Schmitter's *Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*," *Polity* 47, no. 1 (January 2015): 114-139 (e-reserve).

Samuel Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 2 (1991): 12-34 (e-reserve).

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), ch. 6, "Social Capital and Institutional Success," pp. 163-185 (e-reserve).

Di Palma, Giuseppe. 1990. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

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

Huntington, Samuel P. 1991-2. "How Countries Democratize." *Political Science Quarterly* 106 (Winter): 579-616.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. New York: Touchstone.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Karl, Terry Lynn, and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1991. "Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe." *International Social Science Journal* May: 269-284.

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1981. [1959]. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Expanded edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Muller, Edward N., and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1994. "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal

- Relationships." *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September 1994): 635-652.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics*, vol. 49, no. 2 (January): 155-83.
- Schmitter, Philippe C., with Terry Lynn Karl. 1994. "The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far East Should They Attempt to Go?" *Slavic Review* 53 (Spring): 173-185.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. 1992. "The Consolidation of Democracy and Representation of Social Groups." *American Behavioral Scientist* 35: 422-39.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. 1956. *Democracy in America*. New York: New American Library.

### September 21 Social forces

- Theda Skocpol, *Social Revolutions in the Modern World* (New York: Cambridge, 1994), "A critical review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*," pp. 25-54 (e-reserve).
- Evelyn Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John D. Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 71-86 (e-reserve).
- Barbara Geddes, "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999):115-144 (e-reserve).
- Monika Nalepa, "Captured Commitments: An Analytic Narrative of Transitions with Transitional Justice," *World Politics* 62, 2 (April 2010): 341-380 (e-reserve). (Read the game theory parts for understanding, not so that you would be able to reproduce them.)
- Country specialization*: You should know the process by which communism collapsed in your country and the basic outlines of post-communist politics.

- Bellin, Eva. 2000. "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries." *World Politics* 52 (January): 175-205.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 2010. "Interests, inequality, and Illusion in the Choice for Fair Elections," *Comparative Political Studies* 43, nos. 8/9 (2010): 1119-1147.
- Brownlee, Jason. 2010. "Unrequited Moderation: Credible Commitments and State Repression in Egypt." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45, no. 4 (December): 468-489.
- Casper, Gretchen, and M. M. Taylor. 1996. *Negotiating Democracy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Epstein, David L., and Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen, and Sharyn O'Halloran. 2006. "Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3 (July): 551-569.
- Moore, Barrington, Jr. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyn Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Zgurić, Borna. 2012. "Challenges for democracy in countries affected by the 'Arab Spring.'" *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 23, no. 4 (October): 417-434.

### September 28 Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Focus particularly on pp. 1-87, but skim the rest of the book as well.

*Country specialization:* Does Acemoglu and Robinson's argument help us understand transition in your country?

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2001. "A Theory of Political Transitions." *American Economic Review* 91: 938-963.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91: 1369-1401.

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2001. "A Theory of Political Transitions." *The American Economic Review* 91, no. 4 (September): 938-963.

Albertus, Michael, and Victor Menaldo. 2013. "Gaming Democracy: Elite Dominance during Transition and the Prospects for Redistribution," *British Journal of Political Science* 44: 575-603.

Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boix, Carles, and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55: 517-549.

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, John Jay. 1961 [1787-1788]. *The Federalist Papers*. New York: New American Library.

Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. 2006. "Cooperation, Cooptation, and Rebellion under Dictatorship." *Economics & Politics* 18 (1): 1-26.

Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies* 40, issue 11 (November): 1279-1301.

Gandhi, Jennifer, and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403-22.

Gandhi, Jennifer. 2013. "The incentives for pre-electoral coalitions in non-democratic elections." *Democratization* 20, issue 1 (January): 137-159.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "The Nested Game of Democratization by Election." *International Political Science Review* 23(1): 103-22.

Svolik, Milan W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Svolik, Milan W. 2013. "Learning to Love Democracy: Electoral Accountability and the Success of Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, no. 3 (July): 685-702.



## TESTING THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

**October 5 Lessons from postcommunist regions**

Valerie Bunce, "Rethinking recent democratization - Lessons from the postcommunist experience," *World Politics* 55, no. 2 (January 2003): 167-192 (e-reserve).

Michael McFaul, "The Missing Variable: The 'International System' as the Link between Third and Fourth Wave Models of Democratization," in Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, eds., *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 3-29.

Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, "A Regional Tradition: The Diffusion of Democratic Change under Communism and Postcommunism," in Bunce *et al.*, pp. 30-56.

Milada Anna Vachudova, "Democratization in Postcommunist Europe: Illiberal Regimes and the Leverage of the European Union," in Bunce *et al.*, pp. 82-104.

*Country specialization*: What were particular challenges to establishing democratic government in the post-communist world?

Brinks, Daniel, and Michael Coppedge. 2006. "Diffusion is no illusion: Neighbor emulation in the third wave of democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 39: 463-89.

Bunce, Valerie. 2000. "Comparative democratization - Big and bounded generalizations." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (August-September): 703-734.

Bunce, Valerie. 2005. "The National Idea: Imperial Legacies and Post-Communist Pathways in Eastern Europe." *East European Politics and Societies* 19 (3): 406-442.

Burawoy, Michael, and Katherine Verdery, eds. 1999. *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp. 125-150.

Fisher, Julie. 2013. *Importing Democracy: The Role of NGOs in South Africa, Tajikistan, and Argentina*. Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation Press.

Jakubowska, Urszula, and Krzysztof Kaniasty. 2014. "Post-communist transformation in progress: Poles' attitudes toward democracy." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47: 399-407.

Letiz, Philip, and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2010. "Why No Backsliding? The European Union's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession." *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 4: 457-485.

Stoner, Kathryn, and Michael McFaul, eds. 2013. *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. (on reserve at Pius)

Tomini, Luca. 2014. "Reassessing Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe and the Role of the EU" *Europe Asia-Studies* 66, no. 6: 859-891.

Wejnert, Barbara. 2014. *Diffusion of Democracy: The Past and Future of Global Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wolff, Jonas, and Iris Wurm. 2011. "Towards a theory of external democracy promotion: A proposal for theoretical classification." *Security Dialogue* 42, no. 1 (February): 77-96.

Wright, Joseph. 2009. "How Foreign Aid Can Foster Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(3): 552-72.

**October 12 Measuring Democracy**

Gerardo Munck, *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge between Scholarship & Politics* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), read the whole book, remembering that you already read ch. 6. The key arguments are in chapters 1-3.

**ESSAY ONE DUE**

Alvarez, Michael, Jose Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, and Adam Przeworski. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31, no. 2 (Summer): 1-37.

Beetham, David, ed. 1994. *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Carnaghan, Ellen. 2011. "The Difficulty of Measuring Support for Democracy in a Changing Society: Evidence from Russia," *Democratization* 18 (June): 682-706.

Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research." *World Politics* 49 (April): 430-521.

Coppedge, Michael. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods*. NY: Cambridge. (on reserve Pius)

Inkeles, Alex, ed. 1991. *On Measuring Democracy: Its Consequences and Concomitants* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).

International IDEA. 2002. *International Electoral Standards: Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections* (Stockholm: International IDEA).

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April): 51-65.

Mainwaring, Scott, Daniel Brinks, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2001 "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no. 1 (Spring): 3.

Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2014. "Thin Descriptions: The Limits of Survey Research on the Meaning of Democracy." *Polity* 46, no. 3 (July): 303-330.

**October 19 FALL BREAK—no class**

Please make an appointment to talk to me about your final project before October 29.

You might want to start reading Jan Teorell's book, *Determinants for Democratization*.

**October 26 Empirical test**

Jan Teorell, *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), read the whole book, making sure that you keep track of Teorell's empirical findings. Teorell provides a summary on pp. 142-144.

**DUE: one-page statement of the thesis you hope to support and the comparison you intend to employ in your final paper.** (E-mail to me by 5 pm on Thursday October 29<sup>st</sup>.)

- Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development, and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 4 (November): 809-828.
- Coppedge, Michael. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods (Strategies for Social Inquiry)*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cornell, Agnes. 2013. "Does regime type matter for the impact of democracy aid on democracy?" *Democratization* 20, no. 4: 642-667.
- Gerry, Christopher J. and Tomasz M. Mickiewicz. 2008. "Inequality, Democracy, and Taxation: Lessons From the Post-Communist Transition." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 1: 89-111.
- Houle, Christian. 2009. "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics* 61, no. 4 (October): 589-622.
- Przeworski, Adam; Michael E. Alvarez; Jose Antonio Cheibub; Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam, and Adam Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 1996. "What Makes Democracies Endure." *Journal of Democracy* 7, 1: 39-55.
- Ross, Michael. 2001. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102 (1): 107-23.

## ISSUES IN POST-COMMUNIST DEMOCRATIZATION

### November 2 Institutional Choice

- Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 51-69 (e-reserve).
- Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* 26, no. 2 (July 1993): 198-228 (e-reserve).
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*Country specialization:* You should be able to discuss the effects of institutional choices in your country.

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**November 9 Mobilization**

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Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, "Defining and Domesticating the Electoral Model: A Comparison of Slovakia and Serbia," in Bunce *et al.*, pp. 134-155.

Cory Welt, "Georgia's Rose Revolution: From Regime Weakness to Regime Collapse," in Bunce *et al.*, pp. 155-188.

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**November 16 Markets and Democracy**

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Mitchell Orenstein, "What Happened in East European (Political) Economies? A Balance Sheet for Neoliberal Reform," *East European Politics & Societies* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 479-490 (e-reserve).

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*Country specialization:* You should be able to describe the strategies of economic reform in your country and the short and longer-term consequences of those reforms.

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**November 23 Student reports on final papers**

Draft of ESSAY TWO due; no reading assignment.

**November 30 Backsliding**

Michael Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April 2001): 325-61 (e-reserve).

Ethan B. Kapstein and Nathan Converse, "Why Democracies Fail," *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 4 (October 2008): 57-68 (e-reserve).

Lucan Way, "Resistance to Contagion: Sources of Authoritarian Stability in the Former Soviet Union," in Bunce *et al.*, pp. 229-252.

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, "Comparing Oranges and Apples: The Internal and External Dimensions of Russia's Turn away from Democracy," in Bunce *et al.*, pp. 253-273.

Bermeo, Nancy. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

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**December 7 Democratic Deficits – Representation**

Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, "The Changing Character of the Global Struggle for Democracy," in Bunce, *et al.*, pp. 325-335.

Margareta Matache, "The Deficit of EU Democracies: A New Cycle of Violence Against Roma Population," *Human Rights Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (May 2014), pp. 325-348 (e-reserve).

Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* 12, no. 3 (September 2014): 564-581 (e-reserve).

Georgina Waylen, "Engendering the 'Crisis of Democracy': Institutions, Representation and Participation," *Government and Opposition* 50, no. 3 (2015): 495-520 (e-reserve).

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Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Race*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

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December 10	ESSAY TWO DUE (no class)
December 14	FINAL EXAM 6:30-8:30

### Datasets: Measures of Democracy and More

[www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org). Freedom House is a non-profit, non-partisan organization publishing the annual *Freedom in the World* surveys and the Freedom House Index of Political Rights and Civil Liberties.

[www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm](http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm). The Polity IV project web site contains information on, and access to, the most recent update of the Polity data series.

<http://www.prio.no/Data/Governance/Vanhanens-index-of-democracy/>. Tatu Vanhanen's index of democracy and Polyarchy dataset.

<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Data/Data.htm>. Pippa Norris' website provides an integrated dataset merging four democracy measures.

<http://www.idea.int/resources/databases.cfm>. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance has collected a number of information databases on different areas of democracy and elections worldwide.

[www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org). This is the homepage of the World Values Survey Association. It presents and offers for download survey data from some 80 societies covering a period from 1981 to 2014.

<http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/> The International Consortium for Political and Social Research offers access to all kinds of social science data.

[www.ipu.org](http://www.ipu.org). The IPU Parline Database archives data on women's representation in parliaments and on the most recent parliamentary elections in most countries.

[www.cses.org](http://www.cses.org). The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems data project has data available for download

[www.europeansocialsurvey.org](http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org). The European Social Survey offers public opinion data for download.

[www.broadleft.org](http://www.broadleft.org). Leftist Parties of the World contains summary information on leftist parties and organizations.

[www.politicsresources.net/](http://www.politicsresources.net/). This website has many resources relevant to the study of politics and government, including most constitutions.

<http://psephos.adam-carr.net>. Adam Carr's Election Archive contains election statistics from 182 countries.

<http://www.afrobarometer.org/>. An African-led series of national public attitude surveys on democracy and governance in Africa.