POLS 5510 01: Democratization Saint Louis University Wednesday 7:15-10pm Spring 2018 Dr. Ellen Carnaghan Political Science, McGannon 140 carnagep@slu.edu (314) 977-3038

"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 or ethnically divided societies. We will test theories against available evidence from recent waves of democratization. For case studies, we will focus primarily on Eastern and Central Europe, but other countries will be discussed from time to time. 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 MA International Affairs tracks.

After completing this class, you should be able to:

- Explain how political systems operate: explain political and economic developments in the postcommunist world and in a variety of democratizing countries.
- Critique completing theoretical explanations: evaluate theories that aim to explain where democracy is likely to flourish or fail; synthesize various approaches in a scholarly literature review.
- Design original research: conceive and conduct a research project that uses comparison to test a proposition derived from scholarly writing about democracy; assess methodological challenges in testing theories of democratization.
- Present research in a public forum: explain your work and defend methodological choices both orally and in writing.
- Analyze values that inform political institutions, behavior and policies: judge the contribution of democracy to a just society; examine how popular values affect democratic institutions.
- Demonstrate honest and ethical research practices: evaluate how knowledge is advanced through constructive peer criticism.

REQUIRED BOOKS

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

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

Charles Tilly. Democracy. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

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

These books are available at the bookstore or through Amazon or other sellers. Additional readings are on e-reserve, and the password is demo18. (E-reserve may not be available at the start of the semester due to a fire in Pius library.)

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

OFFICE HOURS

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

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

ACADEMIC HONESTY. Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity." Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service through which SLU embodies its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern.

The governing University-level Academic Integrity Policy was adopted in Spring 2015, and can be accessed on the Provost's Office website: https://www.slu.edu/the-office-of-the-provost/academic-affairs-policies

Additionally, each SLU college, school and center has adopted its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. All SLU students are expected to know and abide by these policies, which detail definitions of violations, processes for reporting violations, sanctions, and appeals. Please direct questions about any facet of academic integrity to your faculty, the chair of the department of your academic program, or the dean/director of the college, school or center in which your program is housed.

Specific College of Arts and Sciences Academic Honesty Policies and Procedures may be found here: http://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/student-resources/academic-honesty.php.

TITLE IX. Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual misconduct (e.g. sexual assault, sexual harassment, stalking, domestic or dating violence), we encourage you to report this to the University.

If you speak with a faculty member about an incident of misconduct, that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX coordinator, Anna R. Kratky (DuBourg Hall, room 36; anna.kratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886) and share the basic fact of your experience with her. The Title IX coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK. View SLU's sexual misconduct policy here: http://www.slu.edu/general-counsel-home/office-of-institutional-equity-and-diversity/sexual-misconduct-policy.

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. The Student Success Center assists students with academic related services; it is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite 33) and the School of Nursing (Suite 114). 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

University-level support (e.g., tutoring/writing services, university writing services, disability services, academic coaching, career services and/or facets of curriculum planning) by visiting the Student Success Center.

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 http://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/academic-support/university-writing-services/index.php or call 977-3484.

DISABILITY SERVICES AND ACADEMIC ACCOMMODATIONS.

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations are encouraged to contact Disability Services to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements.

Please contact Disability Services, located within the Student Success Center, at disability_services@slu.edu or 314-977-3484 to schedule an appointment. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

Once approved, information about academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors via email from Disability Services and viewed within Banner via the instructor's course roster.

ASSIGNMENTS—70 percent of your course grade

One essay of ground 5 pages on a question I provide—15 percent of your grade, DUE MARCH 2

Atlas panel—10 percent of your grade, WEEK OF APRIL 11

Students will organize an Atlas panel, either on their research or a related topic. Proposals will be due early in the semester.

One longer research paper, 20 pages—30 percent of your grade, DRAFT DUE APRIL16, FINAL DUE MAY 4,

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 in the middle of the semester, but it is never too early to start thinking about what you want

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. MAY 9, 6:30-8:30.

READING PARAGRAPHS

to do.

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.

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 preannounced 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.

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

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

January 17 Defining democracy and the scope of our course

Michael Coppedge, "Defining and measuring democracy," in *Democratization and Research Methods* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 11-33 (e-reserve).

No reading paragraphs this week.

Additional readings if you are really interested in this topic:

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.

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

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.

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

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

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

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.

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

Munck, Gerardo. 2016. What is Democracy? A Reconceptualization of the Quality of Democracy. Democratization, 23 (1).

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.

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

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

Tocqueville, Alexis de. 1956. Democracy in America. New York: New American Library.

January 24 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
- 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).
- 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
- 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).

Some resources:

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

THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION

January 31 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).
- Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Concluding (but not Capitulating) with a Metaphor," from Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 65-72 (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, Guiseppe. 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.
- 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.
- Lichbach, Mark I. 2013. Democratic Theory and Causal Methodology in Comparative Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 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.
- 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.

February 7 Social forces—Structure and Strategy

- ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.
- 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).
- Evelyne Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John D. Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Demoracy," *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.)
- 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.
- Bernhard, Michael. 1993. The origins of democratization in Poland: workers, intellectuals, and oppositional politics, 1976-1980. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 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.
- Laba, Roman. 1991. The Roots of Solidarity: A Political Sociology of Poland's Working-class Democratization.

 Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lee, Ching Kwan. 2007. Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 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, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. 1992. Capitalist Development and Democracy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Skocpol, Theda. 1979. States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China. New York: Cambridge University 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.

February 14 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.

- 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.
- Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." World Politics 44 (October): 7-48.
- 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.

February 21 Process

Charles Tilly, Democracy (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), read the whole book.

Abdelali, Abdelkader. 2013. "Wave of change in the Arab world and chances for a transition to democracy." Contemporary Arab Affairs 6, no. 2: 198-210.

- Bellin, Eva. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." Comparative Politics 44, no. 2 (January): 127-149.
- Bermeo, Nancy. 1997. "Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict during Democratic Transitions." Comparative Politics 29 (3): 305-22.
- Brancati, Dawn. 2014. "Pocketbook Protests: Explaining the Emergence of Pro-Democracy Protests Worldwide." Comparative Political Studies 47, no. 11: 1503-1530.
- Byman, Daniel. 2012. "Regime Change in the Middle East: Problems and Prospects." *Political Science Quarterly* 127, no. 1: 25-46.
- Giughi, Marco, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly, eds. 1998. From Contention to Democracy. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Holliday, Ian. 2008. "Voting and Violence in Myanmar: Nation Building for a Transition to Democracy." Asian Survey 48, no. 6 (November/December): 1038-58.
- Lindberg, Staffan, ed. 2009. Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nashashibi, Sharif. 2013. "The Arab Spring and the Limits of People Power." Middle East 445 (July): 12-16.
- Oberschall, Anthony. 2000. "Social Movements and the Transition to Democracy." Democratization 7, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 25-45.
- Pollack, Detlef, and Jan Wielgohs. 2004. Dissent and Opposition in Communist Eastern Europe: Origins of Civil Society and Democratic Transition. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Salih, Osman, and Kamal Eldin. 2013. "The Roots and Causes of the 2011 Arab Uprisings." Arab Studies Quarterly 35, no. 3 (Spring): 184-206.
- Ulfelder, Jay. 2005. "Contentious Collective Action and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes." International Political Science Review 26, no. 3: 311-334.
- Welzel, Christian. 2013, Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2000. Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Yashar, Deborah J. 2005. Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge. New York: Cambridge University Press.

TESTING THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

February 28 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.

ESSAY ONE DUE FRIDAY MARCH 2, 5PM, BY E-MAIL

- 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.
- 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.

March 7 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.

- Alvarez, Michael, Jose Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, and Adam Przeworski. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes." Studies in Comparative International Development 31, no. 2 (Summer): 1-37.
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March 14 SPRING BREAK—no class

March 21 No class

Instead, we will have individual meetings to discuss the final papers. By March 28, e-mail a one-page statement that contains the question you will ask, why it is interesting, the thesis you hope to support, and the comparison you will employ.

ISSUES IN POST-COMMUNIST DEMOCRATIZATION

March 28 Institutional Choice

- Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism, Journal of Democracy 1, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 51-69 (e-reserve).
- Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," Comparative Political Studies 26, no. 2 (July 1993): 198-228 (e-reserve).
- Przeworski, Alvarez, and Cheibub, Democracy and Development, pp. 128-136 (e-reserve).
- M. Steven Fish, "Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 1 (January 2006), pp. 5-20 (e-reserve).
- Benjamin A. Graham, Michael K. Miller, and Kaare W. Strøm, "Safeguarding Democracy: Powersharing and Democratic Survival," *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 4 (2017): 686-704 (e-reserve).
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April 4 Mobilization

Tsveta Petrova, "A Postcommunist Transition in Two Acts: The 1996-7 Antigovernment Struggle in Bulgaria as a Bridge between the 1989-92 and 1996-2007 Democratization Waves in Eastern Europe," in Bunce et al., pp. 107-133.

- 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.
- Michael McFaul, "Importing Revolution: Internal and External Factors in Ukraine's 2004 Democratic Breakthrough," in Bunce et al., pp. 189-225.
- Bryn Rosenfeld, "Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia," American Political Science Review 111, no. 4 (2017): 637-652 (ereserve).
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April 11 Markets and Democracy - Atlas Week

Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," World Politics 50, no. 2 (January 1998): 203-34 (e-reserve).

- 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).
- Steven Erlanger, "In Eastern Europe, Populism Lives, Widening a Split in the E.U.," New York Times, 28 November 2017. https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/28/world/europe/populism-eastern-europe.html
- Mihai Varga, "Hungary's 'anti-capitalist' far right: Jobbik and the Hungarian Guard," *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 5 (2014), pp. 791-807 (e-reserve).
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April 16 Student reports on final papers

Draft of ESSAY TWO due; no reading assignment.

April 25 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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May 2 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.

- Rogers Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America," American Political Science Review 87, no 3 (September 1993): 549-566 (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).
- Baldez, Lisa. 2003. "Women's movements and democratic transition in Chile, Brazil, East Germany, and Poland." Comparative Politics 35, no. 3 (April): 253-+.
- Fish, Steven M. and Matthew Kroenig. 2006. "Diversity, Conflict and Democracy," Democratization 13, no. 5 (December): 828-842.
- Ganev, Venelin. 2013. "Post-Accession Hooliganism: Democratic Governance in Bulgaria and Romania after 2007." East European Politics and Societies and Cultures 27, no. 1 (February): 26-44.
- Ganghof, S. 2016. "Reconciling Representation and Accountability: Three Visions of Democracy Compared." Government and Opposition, 51(2), 209-233.
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- Gwiazda, Anna. 2015. "Women's representation and gender quotas: the case of the Polish Parliament." Democratization 22, no. 4 (June): 679-697.
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- Moller, Jorgen, and Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2009. "The three worlds of post-communism: revisiting deep and proximate explanations." *Democratization* 16, no. 2 (April): 298-322.
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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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- Waylen, Georgina. 2015. "Engendering the 'Crisis of Democracy': Institutions, Representation and Participation." Government and Opposition 50, no. 3: 495-520.

May 4	ESSAY TWO DUE (no class)
May 9	FINAL EXAM 6:30-8:30

Datasets: Measures of Democracy and More

<u>www.freedomhouse.org</u>. 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.

<u>www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm</u>. 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.

https://www.idea.int/data-tools. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance has collected a number of information databases on different areas of democracy and elections worldwide.

<u>www.worldvaluessurvey.org</u>. 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.

<u>www.ipu.org</u>. 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. The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems data project has data available for download

www.europeansocialsurvey.org. The European Social Survey offers public opinion data for download.

<u>www.broadleft.org</u>. Leftist Parties of the World contains summary information on leftist parties and organizations.

<u>www.politicsresources.net/</u>. 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.