“The experience of democracy is like the experience of life itself – always changing, infinite in its variety, sometimes turbulent and all the more valuable for having been tested by adversity.”
-- Jimmy Carter

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

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

In this course, we will briefly examine the two major forms of non-democratic systems (authoritarianism and totalitarianism), followed by an examination of democracy and its various forms. We will then turn to the transition from non-democracy to democracy both in theory and in particular cases at different points in time and different regions of the world. Some of the central questions we will examine are: (1) What do we mean by democracy, authoritarianism, and totalitarianism?; (2) why do authoritarian and totalitarian regimes collapse?; (3) does democracy result from “structural” forces, or is it “made” by the effort of individuals?; (4) are there prerequisites that a country needs to be a successful democracy?; (5) when and how democracy is “consolidated”?; (6) what is the relationship between market economics and democracy?; (7) how is democratization related to identity, ethnic conflict, and religion?; and (8) what does the future hold for democratization and for its study?

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

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

- P. Brooker, Non-Democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2000);
- R. Dahl, On Democracy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998);
- R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence (Cambridge University Press, 2005), and

The Acemoglu and Robinson book will be difficult, as much of the theoretical discussion is formal (i.e., mathematical). There will also be a large number of additional readings, many from the Journal of Democracy. The library has an electronic subscription to this journal for volumes after 1994. Other “reserve” readings will be on the D2L site for the class under the “Content” tab.

Beyond the required readings, it is expected that you will follow current events related to democratization – both for basic knowledge and to apply the ideas of the course on a regular basis. We will sometimes start the class with a discussion of relevant events.
**Assignments and Determination of Grades:** Three times during the semester, you will write short (maximum two-page, double-spaced) critiques of a week’s readings. Your critiques must come from at least two of the three “parts” of the course as laid out below in the Reading and Lecture Schedule. In these critiques, you will not summarize the readings. Instead, you will focus on their strengths and weaknesses – including similarities and differences in this regard across the readings – and what kind of questions they raise for discussion. You should also incorporate at least one of the recommended readings for that week into your review. On weeks that you are not turning in reading critiques, you will still come to the session prepared to discuss the required readings.

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

Your readings critique write-ups will make up 15% of your semester grade, your presentation at the brainstorming session and your paper summary 10%, and your overall participation during the semester 25%. The remaining 50% of your grade will come from a 20-25 page paper. Your research project can be a case study, a comparative analysis of several states, or one using statistical analysis. It should address a question or “gap” in the democratization literature, should state clearly the hypothesis/theses that you are examining, should employ primary source data to some extent, and should defend the methodology that you choose – including the selection of the case(s). Its literature review will require you to examine much more than the works covered in class. *Your paper is due on May 6th, at 4:00 p.m.*

**READING AND LECTURE SCHEDULE (七星 = book to be purchased; # = reading on D2L)**

**PART I: DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND TOTALITARIANISM**

**Session 1 (Jan 15): Introduction and Regime Types, Part I: Totalitarianism**

**Readings:**


*P. Brooker, *Non-Democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*, ch. 1 (pp. 7-20 only), ch. 6 (pp. 129-141 only).


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

**Question:** How would the features of a past totalitarian system present particular problems for a democracy that followed it?

**Recommended readings/viewings:**


The film *Closet Land* (1991), with Madeleine Stowe and Alan Rickman.
Session 2 (Jan 22): Regime Types, Part II: Authoritarianism and Quasi-Authoritarianism

Readings:
* Brooker, ch. 1 (pp. 21-35 only), ch. 6 (pp. 141-153 only), ch. 9.

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

Recommended readings:

Session 3 (Jan 29): Regime Types, Part III: Democracy and Its Various Forms

Readings:
* Acemoglu and Robinson, ch. 3.

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

Question: How well are the varieties of democracy captured by Lijphart’s “Westminster” and “consensus” categories?

Recommended readings:
As much of *The Federalist Papers* as you want to read (but especially Nos. 10, 23, 29, 39, and 51).
Session 4 (Feb 5): Consequences of Democracy


**Question:** Does democracy really make peace more likely?

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

**Recommended readings:**

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


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

PART II: DEMOCRATIZATION: STAGES AND CAUSAL FACTORS

Session 5 (Feb 12): The Stages of Democratization: Breakdown, Establishment, Consolidation

**Readings:**

*Acemoglu and Robinson, ch. 6.


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

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

**Question:** How do we know when a democracy is “consolidated”?

**Recommended readings:**


Session 6 (Feb 19): Internal Structural Explanations of Democratization, Part I: Class Structure and Economic Development

Readings:
*Acemoglu and Robinson, chs. 1-2, 8-9.

Question: What’s new about Inglehart and Welzel’s “revised theory of modernization”?
Question: Can democracy develop without a middle class? Can it survive severe economic inequality?

Recommended readings:

Session 7 (Feb 26): Internal Structural Explanations, Part II: Political Culture and Civil Society

Readings:
*Inglehart and Welzel, chs. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 11.

Question: How convincing is Inglehart’s discussion of values, value change, and democracy?
Question: Is “civil society” crucial to consolidated democracy, or a useless pile of conceptual mush?
Question: Does it really matter if we are bowling alone?

Recommended readings:

Session 8 (Mar 4): Brainstorming Session on Papers

In class presentations on proposed paper topic, including a tentative review of the literature (and the “gap”) related to the topic, as well as likely case(s) and data to be examined.
Session 9 (Mar 11): Internal Structural Explanations, Part III: Identity and Social Cleavages

Three-page summary of your research paper due.

Readings:
* Inglehart and Welzel, ch. 12 (“Gender Equality, Emancipative Values, and Democracy”).

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

Recommended readings:

Mar 18, No class. Spring break. Work on your papers!!!

Session 10 (Mar 25) Internal Structural Explanations, Part IV: Political Structure

Readings:

Question: Which makes more sense for a new democracy, a presidential or parliamentary system?
Question: What are the main issues when considering a federal arrangement in a new democracy?

Recommended readings:
R. Kumar, Divide and Fall: Bosnia in the Annals of Partition (London: Verso, 1999), especially ch. 4.
Session 11 (Apr 1): Internal Agency Explanations of Democratization

Readings:

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

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

Recommended readings:

Session 12 (Apr 8): External Structural and Agency Explanations for Democratization

Readings:

Question: Which of Whitehead’s three dimensions – contagion, control, or consent – is most likely to lead to the establishment of democracy? To its consolidation?

Question: Who is most responsible for Communism’s collapse: Reagan, Gorbachev, or John Paul II?

Recommended readings:
R. Pinkney, Democracy in the Third World, ch. 2 (pp. 36-37 only), chs. 3 and 7.
Session 13 (Apr 15): From Underlying Causes to Timing: The Role of Triggering Events

Readings:

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

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

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

Recommended reading:

PART III: DEMOCRATIZATION’S PRESENT AND FUTURE

Session 14 (Apr 22): Islam, the Middle East, and Democracy Promotion

Readings:
* F. G. Gause, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?,” Foreign Affairs 84/5 (Sep/Oct 2005).

Question: Is “Western-style” democracy compatible with Islam?

Question: Is democratization a crucial front in the War on Terror?

Question: Setting aside the question of Islam, is democracy promotion an effective strategy?

Recommended readings:

**Session 15 (Apr 29): Whither Democracy and the Study of Democratization?**

*In class, brief presentations of research paper progress and tentative conclusions.*

**Readings:**
*Acemoglu and Robinson, ch. 11.
*Inglehart and Welzel, ch. 13 (and conclusion).

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

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

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

**Recommended readings:**

**May 6, 4:00 p.m.: RESEARCH PAPER DUE (in WWP 478 or Barrington’s mailbox).**
NOTE: In the past, this course had included a week on economic reform and democratization. For those considering doing a paper on that topic, the following are readings you should start with to help frame your research question(s) and hypothesis/es:


S. Horowitz, *From Ethnic Conflict to Stillborn Reform: The Former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2005), ch. 1 (pp. 3-26).


