

Research Seminar: Comparative Democratization

Political Science 260, sec. 1701
Spring 2008, T 4:00-6:30, WWP 418
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“The experience of democracy is like the experience of life itself – always changing, infinite in its variety, sometimes turbulent and all the more valuable for having been tested by adversity.”

-- Jimmy Carter

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

-- Winston Churchill

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

In this course, we will briefly examine the two major forms of non-democratic systems (authoritarianism and totalitarianism), followed by an examination of democracy and its various forms. We will then turn to the transition from non-democracy to democracy both in theory and in particular cases at different points in time and different regions of the world. Some of the central questions we will examine are: (1) What do we mean by democracy, authoritarianism, and totalitarianism?; (2) why do authoritarian and totalitarian regimes collapse?; (3) 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
- D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006).

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/es that you are examining, should employ primary source data to some extent, and should defend the methodology that you choose – including the selection of the case(s). Its literature review will require you to examine much more than the works covered in class. *Your paper is due on May 6th, at 4:00 p.m.*

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

PART I: DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND TOTALITARIANISM

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

Readings:

- #S. Lawson, "Conceptual Issues in the Comparative Study of Regime Change and Democratization," *Comparative Politics* 25/2 (Jan. 1993): 183-205.
- *P. Brooker, *Non-Democratic Regimes: Theory, Government and Politics*, ch. 1 (**pp. 7-20 only**), ch. 6 (**pp. 129-141 only**).
- #C. Friedrich and Z. Brzezinski, *Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), chs. 1, 27.
- #B. Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), ch. 8 ("Revolution from Above and Fascism").
- #E. Ginzburg, *Journey into the Whirlwind* (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1967), pp. 3-97.

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:

- Juan Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reiner, 2000), ch. 2.
- G. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1987), ch. 7.
- G. Orwell, *Animal Farm* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946).
- G. Orwell, *1984* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949).
- The film *Closet Land* (1991), with Madeleine Stowe and Alan Rickman.

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.

*D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 5.

L. Diamond, "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy* 13/2 (April 2002): 21-35.

S. Levitsky and L. Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy*, 13/2 (April 2002): 51-65.

M. Ottaway, *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003), ch. 1: "The Challenges of Semi-Authoritarianism: An Introduction." At: http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/DemChallenged_Intro.pdf

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:

J. Linz and A. Stepan, eds., *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2000), ch. 4.

R. Pinkney, *Democracy in the Third World*, ch. 4.

F. Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76/6 (Nov/Dec 1997): 22-43.

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

Readings:

*R. Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), chs. 4-7, 10, and 11.

*Acemoglu and Robinson, ch. 3.

#A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), chs. 2-3 (pp. 9-47).

A. Armony and H. Schamis, "Babel in Democratization Studies," *Journal of Democracy* 16/4 (October 2005): 113-128.

Question: How do you define democracy? Given your definition, how easy is it to measure democracy? Using your definition, how democratic is the United States? Also, go to 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).

R. Dahl. *Polyarchy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1971), chs. 1-2.

G. Sartori, *The Theory of Democracy Revisited* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House, 1987), chs. 1, 5, and 6.

P. Schmitter and T. Karl, "What Democracy is...and is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2 (1991): 75-88.

A. Lijphart, "Majority Rule in Theory and Practice: The Tenacity of a Flawed Paradigm," *International Social Science Journal*, no. 129 (August 1991): 483-493.

S. Huntington, "The Modest Meaning of Democracy," in R. Pastor, ed., *Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum* (1989).

Nations in Transit, 2007: Democratization from Central Europe to Eurasia. Country reports available at: http://www.freedomhouse.hu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=84

Session 4 (Feb 5): Consequences of Democracy

J. Ray, "The Democratic Path to Peace," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1997): 49-64.

*M. Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Liberal Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99/3 (Aug. 2005): 463-466.

*S. Rosato, "Explaining the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99/3: 467-472.

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

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

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).

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

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.

*L. Whitehead, *Democratization: Theory and Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), ch. 1, "On 'Democracy' and 'Democratization,'" **pp. 26-35 only.**

D. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2 (1970): 337-363.

J. Linz and A. Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 7/2 (1996): 14-33.

G. O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7/2 (1996): 34-51.

R. Gunther, N. Diamandouros, and H-J Puhle, "O'Donnell's 'Illusions': A Rejoinder," *Journal of Democracy* 7/4 (1996): 151-159.

G. O'Donnell, "Illusions and Conceptual Flaws," *Journal of Democracy* 7/4 (1996): 160-168.

A. Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?," *Journal of Democracy* 9/2 (April 1998): 91-107.

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

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

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

Recommended readings:

J. Linz and A. Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

T. Clark, *Beyond Post-Communist Studies: Political Science and the New Democracies of Europe* (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2002), ch. 4.

S. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), ch. 4.

P. Schmitter, "The Consolidation of Political Democracies: Rhythms, Sequences, and Types," in G. Pridham, ed., *Transitions to Democracy* (Aldershot: Dartmouth University Press, 1995).

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

Readings:

- S. M. Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53 (1959): 69-104.
- #B. Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), ch. 7 ("The Democratic Route to Modern Society").
- *Acemoglu and Robinson, chs. 1-2, 8-9.
- *R. Inglehart and C. Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*, ch. 1.
- #B. Bueno de Mesquita and G. Downs, "Development and Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 84/5 (2005).
- T. Karl, "Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability," *Journal of Democracy* 11/1 (2000): 149-156.

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:

- A. Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), ch. 2.
- D. Rueschemeyer, E. Stephens, and J. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), chs. 1 and 3.
- L. Diamond, "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered," in G. Marks and L. Diamond, eds., *Reexamining Democracy* (London: Sage, 1992).
- A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), ch. 16.

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.
- R. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6/1(1995): 65-78.
- S. Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49/3 (1997): 401-429. At: http://0-muse.jhu.edu.libus.csd.mu.edu/journals/world_politics/v049/49.3berman.html
- M. Foley and B. Edwards, "The Paradox of Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* 7/3 (1996): 38-52.

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

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

Question: Does it really matter if we are bowling alone?

Recommended readings:

- E.S. Griffith, J. Plamentaz, and J. R. Pennock, 1956, "Cultural Prerequisites to a Successfully Functioning Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 50/1 (1956): 101-137.
- R. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work* (Princeton: NJ; Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 121-162.
- R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
- J. Gibson, "Social Networks, Civil Society, and the Prospects for Consolidating Russia's Democratic Transition," *American Journal of Political Science* 45/1: 51-66.
- W. Galston, "Civil Society and the 'Art of Association'," *Journal of Democracy* 11/1 (2000): 64-70.

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:

- #A. Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980), ch. 1, ch. 3 (“Favorable Conditions for Consociational Democracy”), **pp. 71-83 only**.
- #J. Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (2000), ch. 1 (“Transitions to Democracy and the Rise of Nationalist Conflict”), **pp. 27-39 only**, ch. 2 (“Nationalist Elite Persuasion in Democratizing States,”), **pp. 45-53 only**, and ch. 6 (“Nationalism and Democracy in the Developing World”).
- #D. Wurfel, “Democracy, Nationalism, and Ethnic Identity: The Philippines and East Timor Compared,” in S. Henders, ed., *Democratization and Identity: Regimes and Ethnicity in East and Southeast Asia* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2004), pp. 201-224.
- *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:

- A. De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2000), pp. 201-286.
- A. Gutmann, *Identity in Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).
- A. Shastri and A. J. Wilson, eds., *The Post-Colonial States of South Asia: Democracy, Development and Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

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

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

Readings:

- D. Horowitz, “Comparing Democratic Systems,” *Journal of Democracy* 1/4 (1990): 73-79.
- J. Linz, “Presidents vs. Parliaments: The Virtues of Parliamentary,” *Journal of Democracy* 1/4 (1990): 84-91.
- A. Lijphart, “Constitutional Design for Divided Societies,” *Journal of Democracy* 15/2 (April 2004): 96-109.
- D. Horowitz, “Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision-Makers,” *Journal of Democracy* 14/4 (2003): 115-127.
- N. Bermeo, “A New Look at Federalism: The Import of Institutions,” *Journal of Democracy* 13/2 (2002): 96-110.
- H. Hale, “Divided We Stand: Institutional Sources of Ethno-federal State Survival and Collapse,” *World Politics* 56 (January 2004): 165-93.

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

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

Recommended readings:

- S. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968).
- G. Lardeyret, “Proportional Representation: The Problems with PR,” *Journal of Democracy* 2/2 (Summer 1991): 30-35.
- S. M. Lipset, “The Indispensability of Political Parties,” *Journal of Democracy* 11/1 (2000): 48-55.
- R. Kumar, *Divide and Fall: Bosnia in the Annals of Partition* (London: Verso, 1999), especially ch. 4.
- A. Stepan, “Toward a New Comparative Politics of Federalism, (Multi)nationalism, and Democracy: Beyond Rikerian Federalism,” in Stepan, ed., *Arguing Comparative Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 315-161.

Session 11 (Apr 1): Internal Agency Explanations of Democratization

Readings:

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

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:

- J. Higley and M. Burton, "The Elite Variable in Democratic Transitions and Breakdowns," *American Sociological Review* 54/1 (1989): 17-32.
- G. DiPalma. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), chs. 4-5.
- D. Collier and D. Norden, "Strategic Choice Models of Political Change in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 24/2 (Jan. 1992): 229-243.

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

Readings:

- #L. Whitehead, "Three International Dimensions of Democratization," in Whitehead, ed., *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 3-25.
- *D. Acemoglu and J. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), ch. 10.
- #J. Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict* (2000), ch. 7 ("Transitions to Democracy and the Rise of Nationalist Conflict"), pp. 341-352 only.
- #A. Busch and E. Spalding, "1983: Awakening from Orwell's Nightmare," *Policy Review* 66 (Fall 1993): 71-75.
- #A. Lynch, "Does Gorbachev Matter Anymore?," *Foreign Affairs* 69/3 (Fall 1990): 19-29.
- #J. Kwitny, *Man of the Century: The Life and Times of Pope John Paul II* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1997), pp. 470-482, 560-594.

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

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

Recommended readings:

- R. Pinkney, *Democracy in the Third World*, ch. 2 (pp. 36-37 only), chs. 3 and 7.
- L. Whitehead, "Geography and Democratic Destiny," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 10, no. 1 (1999): 74-79.
- G. DiPalma. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), ch. 9, "Democracy by Diffusion, Democracy by Trespassing."

Session 13 (Apr 15): From Underlying Causes to Timing: The Role of Triggering Events

Readings:

- *Inglehart and Welzel, ch. 9 (“Social Forces, Collective Action, and International Events”).
- #G. Richards, “Stabilization Crises and the Breakdown of Military Authoritarianism in Latin America,” *Comparative Political Studies* 18 (1986): 447-85.
- #J. Markoff and S. R. Duncan Baretta, “Economic Crisis and Regime Change in Brazil: The 1960s and the 1980s,” *Comparative Politics* 22 (1990): 421-44.
- A. Przeworski and F. Limongi, “Modernization: Theories and Facts,” *World Politics* 49 (1997): 155-183.
- “Revolution Echoes around Russia: Kyrgyzstan’s People-power Revolt Spurs Other Protests against Corruption throughout the Region,” *Christian Science Monitor* (online edition), March 30, 2005: <http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0330/p06s01-wosc.htm>.

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:

- V. Bunce, “Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience” *World Politics* 55/2 (January 2003): 167-192.

PART III: DEMOCRATIZATION’S PRESENT AND FUTURE

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

Readings:

- M. S. Fish, “Islam and Authoritarianism,” *World Politics*, 55/1 (October 2002): 4-37.
- L. Boroumand and R. Boroumand, “Terror, Islam, and Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy*, 13/2 (April 2002): 5-20.
- L. Goodson, “Bullets, Ballots, and Poppies in Afghanistan,” *Journal of Democracy* 16/1.
- #A. Al-Faqih, “Promoting Democracy and Fighting Terrorism: A Contradiction?,” in W. Crotty, ed., *Democratic Development and Political Terrorism: The Global Perspective* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2005), pp. 147-166.
- #F. G. Gause, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?,” *Foreign Affairs* 84/5 (Sep/Oct 2005).
- P. Burnell, “Democracy Promotion: The Elusive Quest for Grand Strategies,” *International Politics and Society*, no. 3 (2004): 100-116.
- M. McFaul, “Democracy Promotion as a World Value,” *Washington Quarterly*, 28/1 (Winter 2004/2005): 147-163.

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:

- W. Crotty, “Democratization and Political Terrorism,” in Crotty, ed., *Democratic Development and Political Terrorism: The Global Perspective* (Boston: Northeastern U. Press, 2005), pp. 3-16.
- A. Danchev and J. MacMillan, eds., *The Iraq War and Democratic Politics* (London: Routledge, 2005). See especially the chapters by Standfield and by Rangwala.
- J. Kurth, “Ignoring History: US Democratization in the Muslim World,” *Orbis* (Spring 2005): 305-322.

- L. Diamond, "What Went Wrong in Iraq," *Foreign Affairs* 83/5 (Sept/Oct 2004).
- A. Hawthorne, "Middle Eastern Democracy: Is Civil Society the Answer?," Carnegie Papers, no. 44 (March 2004), available at: http://www.ceip.org/files/publications/HTMLBriefs-WP/WP_Number_44_March_2004/2000a40cv01.html.
- M. Ottaway, "Promoting Democracy in the Middle East: The Problem of US Credibility," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace working paper, available at: <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/wp35.pdf>.
- M. Ottaway, T. Carothers, A. Hawthorne, and D. Brumberg, "Democratic Mirage in the Middle East." Available at: <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Policybrief20.pdf>.
- I. Lasota, "Sometimes Less is More," *Journal of Democracy* 10/4 (1999): 125-128.
- A. Somit and S. Peterson, *Failure of Democratic Nation Building: Ideology Meets Evolution* (New York: Palgrave/MacMillan, 2005), ch. 7.

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).
- A. Varshney, "Why Democracy Survives," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 9, no. 3 (1999): 36-50.
- S. Huntington, "After Twenty Years: The Future of the Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy*, 8/4 (1997): 3-12.
- #B. Geddes, "What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115-144.
- Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, 13/1 (Jan 2002): 5-21.

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

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

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

Recommended readings:

- L. Diamond, "Can the Whole World Become Democratic?: Democracy, Development, and International Politics," Center for the Study of Democracy paper, available at: <http://repositories.cdlib.org>.
- A. Waldron, "The End of Communism," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1998): 41-47.
- G. Nodia, "The End of Revolution?," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2000): 164-171.
- G. Nodia, "How Different Are Postcommunist Transitions?," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 7, no. 4 (1996): 15-29.
- A. Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), ch. 16.

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/ses:

- N. Bermeo, "Sacrifice, Sequence, and Strength in Successful Dual Transitions: Lessons from Spain," *Journal of Politics* 56/3 (August 1994): 601-627.
- B. Geddes, "Challenging the Conventional Wisdom," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (Oct. 1994): 104-18.
- 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).
- L. Whitehead, *Democratization: Theory and Experience* (Oxford University Press, 2002), ch. 6.
- Haggard and Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995).
- L. Diamond and M. Plattner, eds., *Economic Reform and Democracy*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
- D. Glinksy and P. Reddaway, "The Ravages of 'Market Bolshevism'," *Journal of Democracy* 10/2 (1999): 19-34.