“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) when and how democracy is “consolidated”?; (4) does democratization result from “structural” forces, or is it “made” by the effort of individuals?; (5) are there prerequisites that a country needs to be a successful democracy?; (6) 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 discussion of the week’s readings. 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 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:
- C. Haerpfer, P. Bernhagenm, R. Inglehart, and C. Welzel, eds., Democratization (Oxford University Press, 2009);
- 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);

There will also be a large number of additional readings, many from the Journal of Democracy (abbreviated as JOD in the syllabus). The library has an electronic subscription to this journal. Other “reserve” readings will be on the D2L site for the class under the “Content” tab.

The readings will vary significantly in difficulty. The four books serve as “textbooks” and generally easier than the other required or recommended readings. Beyond doing the required readings (and some of the recommended ones) each week, 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: Four times during the semester, you will have responsibilities related to the readings beyond what I expect from you each week. You will sign up for these four weeks ahead of time. Two of these times, you will serve as a discussion facilitator. Prior to the class session of each of these two discussion facilitator weeks, you will write short (maximum two-page, double-spaced) critiques of that week’s readings. Your two 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. You will turn the readings critiques in by noon on Monday. At the class session of each of these two weeks, you will also give the rest of the class a hand out with a one paragraph summary for each of three of the recommended readings. On weeks that you are not turning in reading critiques, you will still come to the session prepared to discuss the required readings.

For the other two weeks, you serve as a “contemporary research investigator.” You will find a research article, which has been published in a scholarly journal in 2011 or 2012 and not already on the syllabus or found by one of your colleagues in the class for a previous week as research investigator. You will do a short write up on this article and report on it to the class. In one page, discuss the central research question(s), hypotheses, research methods (design, type of data, and number of cases), findings, and questions for further study posed in the article. Be prepared to tell us what you liked and didn’t like about the article.

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 “contemporary research investigator” write-ups and presentations 10%, your presentation at the brainstorming session and your paper summary 10%, and your overall participation during the semester 25%. The remaining 40% 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 9th, 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 23): Introductory session.
Readings:

Question: What are the most and least convincing arguments that Carothers makes?
Question: Is it appropriate to call the “transition” approach a “paradigm”?
Session 2 (Jan. 30): Regime Types, Part I: Totalitarianism, Authoritarianism, and Semi-Authoritarianism

Readings:

Question: In what ways did people lead normal lives under totalitarian systems?
Question: How would features of a totalitarian system create problems for a subsequent democracy?
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/viewings:
The film *Closet Land* (1991), with Madeleine Stowe and Alan Rickman.
Session 3 (Feb 6): Regime Types, Part II: Democracy and Its Various Forms

Readings:
*P. Berhagen, ch. 3 in Haerpfer, Democratization.

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 websites such as Freedom House and Transparency International and examine their methodology for measurement of corruption and democracy.

Question: How well do Lijphart’s “Westminster” and “consensus” categories capture the variety of democracies around the world?

Recommended readings:

Recommended Data Sites:
Freedom House. Explore their website, but see especially
Polity IV. See the information and links at http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm
Transparency International. Their main site is http://transparency.org/; their research information is at:
http://transparency.org/policy_research
Session 4 (Feb 13): Consequences of Democracy

Readings:

Question: Does democracy really make peace more likely?
Question: Does democracy help solve, or does it instead reinforce, sharp divisions in society?
Question: Does democracy help or hurt poverty and economic inequality?

Recommended readings:

NOTE: See also the extensive bibliography at: http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/BIBLIO.HTML
PART II: DEMOCRATIZATION: STAGES AND CAUSAL FACTORS

Session 5 (Feb 20): The Stages of Democratization: Breakdown, Establishment, Consolidation

Readings:
*D. Berg-Schlosser (ch. 4) and J. Markoff (ch. 5) in Haerpfer, Democratization.


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 27): Brainstorming Session on Papers

In class presentations on proposed paper topic. In your presentation, provide a tentative review of the literature (and the “gap” you have identified) related to the topic, as well as likely case(s) and data to be examined.

Reading:
The only readings for this week, to set the stage for next week, are:
*C. Welzel, ch. 6 in Haerpfer, Democratization.
*C. Tilly, Democracy, ch. 3.

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Session 7 (Mar 5): Internal Structural Explanations of Democratization, Part I: Class Structure and Economic Development

Readings:
* P. Bernhagen, ch.8 in in Haerpher, Democratization.

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?
Question: Is the “Resource Curse” real?

Recommended readings:

Mar 12, No class. Spring break. Work on your papers!!!

Session 8 (Mar 19): Internal Structural Explanations, Part II: Political Culture, Civil Society and the Media

Readings:
* Inglehart and Welzel, chs. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 11.
* R. Inglehart and C. Welzel (ch. 9), N. Letki (ch. 11), and K. Voltmer and G. Rawnsley (ch. 16) in Haerpher, Democratization.
*C. Tilly, Democracy, ch. 4.
The image contains a page of text with questions and recommendations for readings. The questions are:

**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:** Is Tilly talking about interpersonal trust, civil society, or something else?

**Recommended readings:**


**Session 9 (Mar 26): Internal Structural Explanations, Part III: Identity and Social Cleavages**

**Readings:**

*C. Tilly, Democracy*, ch. 5.

*P. Paxton, ch. 10 in Haerpher, Democratization.*

*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:**


**Session 10 (Apr 2): Internal Structural Explanations, Part IV: Political Structure**

**Readings:**

*C. Tilly, Democracy, ch. 6.*

*L. Morino, ch. 14 in Haerpher, Democratization.*


**Question:** Does Tilly convincingly demonstrate that state capacity (a part of political structure) is a necessary factor in successful democratization?

**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:**


Session 11 (Apr 9): Internal Agency Explanations of Democratization

Readings:
*F. Rossia and D. della Porta (ch. 12) and I. McAllister and S. White (ch. 13) in Haerpher, Democratization.

Question: Who is more important to democratization’s success, the elites or the masses?
Question: Who is more persuasive about Venezuela, Karl or Levine?
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?

Recommended readings:

Session 12 (Apr 16): External Structural and Agency Explanations for Democratization

Readings:
*H. Yilmaz, ch. 7 in Haerpher, Democratization.
*F. G. Gause, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?,” Foreign Affairs 84, no. 5 (Sep/Oct 2005).
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?

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:
R. Pinkney, Democracy in the Third World, chs. 3 and 7.
Session 13 (Apr 23): 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 readings:

PART III: DEMOCRATIZATION’S PRESENT AND FUTURE

Session 14 (Apr 30): Whither Democracy and the Study of Democratization?

Readings:
* Inglehart and Welzel, ch. 13 (and conclusion).
* C. Tilly, *Democracy*, ch. 8.
* M. S. Fish and J. Wittenberg (ch. 17) and Haerpfer et al. (ch. 24) in Haerpfer, *Democratization*.

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 9, 4:00 p.m.: RESEARCH PAPER DUE (in WWP 478 or Barrington’s mailbox).