

MA Seminar

DEMOCRATIZATION

300.565 (2SSt PS, SS 2020) 6 ECTS

Thursdays 13h00-15h00 HS 388 (RU42OG1.114)

COURSE DESCRIPTION

The purpose of this course is to offer a comparative study of the wave of democratization that swept much of Latin America, Southern Europe, East Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union during the past three decades.

In this course we will analyze the theoretical literatures on regime change and compare experiences of countries emerging from different circumstances and historical timing. In addition to dealing with democratization, we will also reflect on the recent waves of democratic erosion in various democratic countries, as well as regime stabilization short of democracy, tendencies that have been increasingly manifest during the past decade.

We will investigate, among other topics: the meaning of democracy and authoritarianism, the factors that facilitate or hinder democratization, the roles of civil society, elections, the significance of the state and constitutional arrangements, the importance of culture and the relationship between economic transformation and political regime change, as well as the role of international factors.

Class will meet every Thursday from 13h00 to 15h00 in HS 388 (RU42OG1.114) starting 05.03.2020 until 25.06.2020. The seminar and its evaluation will be conducted in English.

Sprechstunde: by appointment.

COURSE SCHEDULE

1. 05.03.2020: Introduction: Roadmap of the course
2. 12.03.2020: Thinking empirically about democracy
3. 19.03.2020: Historical explanations
4. 26.03.2020: The Modernization debate
5. 02.04.2020: The state
6. 23.04.2020: Obstacles to democratization and authoritarian Resilience: Resources
7. 30.04.2020: Political culture and civil society
8. 07.05.2020: Can democracy take root in non-Western cultures? The role of religion
9. 14.05.2020: Institutional design/constitutional engineering
10. 28.05.2020: Democratization by elections
11. 04.06.2020: International influences and pressures I: Diffusion
12. 18.06.2020: International influences and pressures II: interventions and democracy promotion
13. 25.06.2020: Closing perspectives: Democratic erosion and deconsolidation

REQUIREMENTS:

The following is required of all students enrolled in this course:

- To attend all class meetings;
- To do all required readings;
- To participate actively in the class discussions;
- To prepare a series of short handouts and questions;
- To select by March 19th one of 2 tracks;

Grade breakdown:

- a) Participation: 30%
- b) Short reaction papers : 10%
- c) Track option total: 60%

a) Participation 30%

You will be called upon to be active participants in this class. Participation is not some residual category, in which you automatically do well. Make no mistake, this participation is very real and could have an impact on your overall active learning grade, as it is a meaningful and critical component of the course. Hence you need to prepare for each session and be ready to discuss the texts in details (see note below about the readings). Take notes, look up words and concepts you are not familiar with, look at references in the text and consult other material cited and suggested by me. You should plan to spend about a working day per session. Those who do well in the active learning component will:

- Initiate discussion with questions and ideas that flow from the readings and prior discussion;
- Build creatively and productively on the comments of others in class;
- Demonstrate a well-informed stance towards the class material (by, for instance, being able to point to specific, relevant passages in the readings, or raise ideas for discussion that are overlooked by others, including your instructor);
- Muster enthusiasm for difficult intellectual content, and
- Work with others in the course in an enthusiastic, productive, contentious manner.
- Most important, you should bring 2-3 questions you would like to debate in class with your peers; this ensures a lively in-class experience.

If you miss one meeting, you will have to write a two-page summary of the seminar literature. In case you miss more than three seminars you will not pass the course.

b) Short reaction papers 10%

BA students: 2 reaction papers

Master students: every class

These should be concise reviews of the current week's required readings. Keep them to one/two-page, single-spaced maximum. Your short reviews do not need to be in a continuous text form, they can be a series of points. These are due in class, beginning on March 12th. Because they are meant to encourage you to think about the readings before you come to class, no late reviews will be accepted.

If you chose track 1, you do not have to submit a "weekly short review" if you submit a discussion paper in a given week.

In your reviews, you should:

1. Summarize the main arguments of the readings for the week. What are the readings about? How do they relate to each other? (Keep this part short – half of the page, maximum)
2. Critique the readings – consider methodology, logic, biases, omissions, etc. Do the authors prove what they propose convincingly? Why or why not?
3. Identify at least 3 questions that you would like to discuss in class.

c) Track option 60%

TRACK 1: Series of discussion papers (60%)

BA students: 4 Discussion Papers

Master students: 5 Discussion Papers + 1 Discussion co-leadership

Discussion Leadership (only MA students are required to do this, BA can volunteer)

You will serve as the class discussion leader or co-leader once during the semester. After I give a short, general overview of the week's topic, we will discuss the readings individually. You will briefly (in 2-3 minutes) introduce each reading by reminding the class of the author's main argument and the method(s) he/she uses to support that argument. Then you will help lead the discussion by raising questions about the readings. Think of this as an extension of your one-page review – deal with the same issues, but in more detail.

Discussion papers

Discussion papers are about 5-6 pages each (7-8 pages for MA students), and focus on the required readings of the week (BA students = 2 core + pick 1 thematic in applicable weeks, MA students = 2 core + pick 2 recommended/or thematic). The papers should be literature reviews of the readings with a twist. That is, they present a sketch of the major theories (explanations) and the results of your own assessment, focused around a question of your choice (think about something to really unite the readings to a common theme, some time that could be asked at an exam, for example). Some of the best examples of this type of literature review of several books appear in *World Politics* and *The Annual Review of Political Science*. You may want to look at some of review essays in journals before you write your own. You should address the 3 following points.

1) What are the authors trying to demonstrate? Summarize the arguments using the following criteria:

- a. What are the main hypotheses defended by the authors? Are there sub-hypotheses?
- b. What are the main variables? What is the theoretical argument that links the variables?
- c. What level of analysis is used? (Micro or macro) Who performs the action: people, institutions, states?
- d. What is the type of analysis used (Deductive/inductive)
- e. What kind of method is the author employing? (Case studies, comparison of many cases, qualitative, quantitative, a mix of methods)

2) Evaluate the theory: are these pieces of literature convincing? Below are some examples of evaluation criteria to help you make your point. You do not need to deal with all these items at once, just those you feel are relevant to your argument.

- a. Originality: new findings? New theory?
- b. Simplicity/parsimony (uses many or few variables to make a point?)
- c. Coherent/internally consistent (no propositions that contradict each other)
- d. pertinent/useful (you can apply this to real world cases)
- e. Predictive (you can make predictions using this theory, and if the predictions coming from it are validated by facts)

- f. Is this generalizable to many cases/countries, or just applicable to a single/few cases? Are there obvious cases that do not fit the theory?
- g. Does it seem normative or objective? (Do the authors speak about how things are in the real world, or how things should be?)
- h. Are the variables adequately conceptualized and operationalized? Are the concepts clear? Were the measures chosen to evaluate concepts adequate?
- i. Was the choice of design acceptable, or could you recommend a better way to test the theory?

3) What links the articles together? Which of the theories proposed is most adequate and why, at least with respect to the question you have posed. Keep in mind that mature scholarship asks not so much whether someone is right or wrong but under what kinds of circumstances a theory is useful... What do we know about a particular topic, what do we still need to find out? Do authors agree? On which themes to they disagree (theory, empirics, etc.).

Papers are due no later than class time. I cannot accept late papers because that would put those who complied with the deadline at a disadvantage (e.g. after the class discussion on the topic). If you think you will fail to meet the deadline, then you should plan to submit a later paper. You have the control over which papers you choose to write, and that flexibility should be sufficient to make sure you plan your schedule so that all your deadlines do not coincide. You should write at least one paper before March 26th.

TRACK 2: Literature Review (60%) (Deadline July 25 2020)

Master students: 20 pages + written proposal

BA students: 17-18 pages + written proposal

The literature review should be a synthesis on a topic you have negotiated with me, of course, related to this class (e.g. If you decide to write a literature review, you should meet with me to discuss the topic). Your paper should examine the relevant literature with a critical viewpoint regarding theoretical and empirical developments. You should discuss the strengths and limitations of methodological or conceptual conventions in that literature, as well as the importance and relevance of the questions around which it is organized. Your literature review should therefore have a *critical* core, and not just be descriptive. It goes without saying that I expect you to expand significantly on the required + recommended readings. Recommended readings may be a good start for further reading, but the review should not be limited to the readings in the syllabus. Be creative.

Note: This option makes most sense if you are thinking of writing a Master's thesis on one of the topics.

You should submit a written proposal of what you intend to work on by May 7th.

Possible TRACK 3: BA Thesis, or research design for an MA thesis. Consult with me individually.

LATE PAPER POLICY:

I understand that printers break, dogs/uncles/grandmas sometimes die, and hard drives/printers/internet connections often fail around final paper due dates. I will accept late (final) research papers, but each late day will cost you 5% of your grade. Short seminar papers cannot be handed-in late for the above cited reasons.

READINGS:

I have selected sections from a various amount of articles and books to cover topics in order to permit interesting comparisons and some disagreement on certain issues. I have also suggested some “recommended” readings. These are there to help you deepen your understanding of a given topic, so don’t be afraid to take a look at them. The secret to cope with a bulk of reading is to read strategically: Knowing how to *skim* readings is an important professional skill for students (you can’t realistically be expected to read ALL the materials for each class you are taking, right?). In most cases, you can skim the empirical details, especially if they are buried in complex formulas. For this, you need to read purposefully, look out for the important “stuff” in a text, and keep tidy notes about:

- The central question or puzzle the author seeks to answer or resolve;
- The definition of the dependent variable, or what the author wants to explain;
- The main independent variables the author(s) thinks are at work;
- The theory, or the rationale, that links independent to dependent variables; why should certain things be related?
- The author’s research design: the types of evidence used to test hypotheses, where the evidence comes from, and if you are convinced by it all.

ACADEMIC HONESTY:

A note on plagiarism. Full citations must be included for every source you utilize, including those you paraphrase even loosely. Citations must be included if you paraphrase another author, or if you use another’s ideas, even if not the exact words. You should select a standard citation style and stick to it. Lifting papers from the internet will be punished by a failing grade and reported to the appropriate authorities.

SPECIAL NEEDS:

Students requiring access to learning tools/special arrangements due to disabilities should contact me at the beginning of the course.

COURSE READINGS AND CONTENT:

NOTE: Readings must be completed for the dates assigned below.

WEEK 1 (5 March): Introduction: Roadmap of the course**Required readings:**

- Teorell, Jan. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

WEEK 2 (12 March): Thinking empirically about democracy**Be prepared to discuss the following questions:**

- What alternative definitions do we have of the concept of democracy?
- What alternative ways do we have to measure democracy?
- What are some of the difficulties associated with measurement?
- Can we conceptualize and measure democracy to make meaningful comparisons through time and across countries?
- What are the trade-offs of using minimal concepts vs. larger definitions of democracy?
- What are some of the central elements of democracy we need in a definition?

Required readings:

- Mike Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, Adam Przeworski. 1996. Classifying Political Regimes. *Studies in Comparative International Development*. Volume 31(2):3-36.
- Munck, Gerardo L. and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. “Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy. Evaluating Alternative Indices.” *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 35(1):5-34.

- Teorell, J., Coppedge, M., Lindberg, S. et al. 2019. "Measuring Polyarchy Across the Globe 1900–2017." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 54, 71–95.

Recommended:

- Coppedge, M., Gerring, J., Lindberg, S., Skaaning, S-E, Teorell, J. 2017. "V-Dem Comparisons and Contrasts with Other Measurement Projects." V-Dem Working Papers series 2017:45 (April 2017).
- Diamond, Larry. 2002. "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2):21-35.
- Hogstrom, John. 2013. "Does the Choice of Democracy Measure Matter?" *Government and Opposition* 48:202-21.
- Morlino, Leonardo. 2009. "Are There Hybrid Regimes? Or are they just an Optical Illusion?" *European Political Science Review* 1 (2):273-96.
- Coppedge, Michael. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. 2012. Where to Draw the Line? From Degree to Dichotomy in Measures of Democracy. *Democratization* 19 (4):690–712.
- Marc Bühlmann, Wolfgang Merkel, Lisa Müller and Bernhard Weßels, (2012), "The Democracy Barometer: A New Instrument to Measure the Quality of Democracy and its Potential for Comparative Research" *European Political Science*, 11:509-536.
- Staffan I. Lindberg, Michael Coppedge, John Gerring, Jan Teorell, et al. 2014. V-Dem: A New Way to Measure Democracy. "Journal of Democracy 25(3): 159-169.
- Bjørn Høyland, Karl Moene, Fredrik Willumsen. 2012. "The Tyranny of International Index Rankings." *Journal of Development Economics* Vol 97(1): 1-14.
- Schmitter, Philippe and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is... And is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2(3):75-88.

WEEK 3 (19 March) Historical explanations

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- Do explanations that worked to explain historical cases still can be used to day?
- Are there periods of democratization that are marked by different mechanisms that have cause democracy over time?
- If so, what causes these differences?
- Should expect the causes of democratization to be different across history?
- Do our explanations stand the crucial test of time?
- How well do our theories travel across time?

Required readings:

- Barrington Moore. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Beacon Press, preface and chapter 7, pages xvii-xxiv, 413-433.
- Bernhard, Michael. 2016. "The Moore Thesis. What's Left after 1989?" *Democratization* 23 (1), 118-140.
- Samuel Huntington. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, chapters. 1-2.

Recommended (clues: some of these are critiques!):

- Skocpol, Theda. 1973. A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy *Politics & Society* September 1973 4: 1-34.
- Møller, Jørgen and Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2013. *Democracy and Democratization in Comparative Perspective. Conceptions, Conjectures, Causes, and Consequences*. London: Routledge, Chapters: 5-6.
- Dietrich Rueschmeyer et al. 1992, *Capitalism, Development, and Democracy*. Chicago UP. chapters 1 and 7, pages 1-11, 269-296.

- Mahoney, James. 2003. "Knowledge accumulation in comparative historical research. The case of democracy and authoritarianism." In *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Science*, James Mahoney und Dietrich Rueschemeyer (Hrsg.). New York: Cambridge University Press: 131-176.

WEEK 4 (26 March): The Modernization Debate

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- Is there a relationship between development and democracy?
- How does it work? What are the causal mechanisms at work?
- In which direction does it go? Which is the egg, which is the chicken?
- What are the limits of Modernization theory? How is the more recent literature challenging Lipset?
- Which cases does it explain well?
- Which cases does it explain less well?

Required readings:

- Lipset, Seymour. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *The American Political Science Review* 53 (1), 69-105.
- Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics*, 49 (2), 155-183.
- Brownlee, Jason. 2016. "Why Turkey's authoritarian descent shakes up democratic theory" *Washington Post* (March 23 2016).

Recommended (clues: some of these are critiques!):

- Møller, Jørgen and Svend-Erik Skaaning. 2013. *Democracy and Democratization in Comparative Perspective. Conceptions, Conjectures, Causes, and Consequences*. London: Routledge, Chapter 7.
- Teorell, Jan. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.
- Boix, Carles and S. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55 (July): 517-49.

WEEK 5 (2 April): The state

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- How does the state relate to democracy?
- Which aspect of the state is important?
- Does state capacity cause democracy?
- Does democracy cause state capacity?
- Is the state a necessary condition?
- Should one come first? How do different authors position themselves in this debate?

Required readings:

- Carothers, Thomas. 2014. "The sequencing fallacy" *Journal of democracy*, Vol.18 (1):12-27.
- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. 2007. "The sequencing fallacy" *Journal of democracy*, Vol.18 (3):5-10.
- Bratton, Michael and Eric Chang. 2006. "State Building and Democratization in Sub-Saharan Africa: Forwards, Backwards, or Together?" *Comparative Political Science* 39(9): 1059-1083.
- Carbone, G., and V. Memoli. 2015. "Does Democratization Foster State Consolidation? Democratic Rule, Political Order, and Administrative Capacity." *Governance* Vol.28(1): 5-24.

Recommended

- Fortin, Jessica. 2012. "Is There a Necessary Condition for Democracy? The Role of state Capacity in Post-Communist Countries." *Comparative Political Studies*. Volume 45 (7): 903-930.
- Charron, Nicholas and Victor Lapuente (2010) Does Democracy Produce Quality of Government? *European Journal of Political Research* 49(4): 443-470.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2014. "States and democracy." *Democratization*, Vol.21 (7):1326-1340.
- Moller, Jorgen, and Svend-Erik Skanning. 2013. "Regime types and democratic Sequencing" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.24, no.1:142.155.
- Tang, Min, und Dwayne Woods. 2014. "Conditional Effect of Economic Development on Democracy - The Relevance of the State." *Democratization* 21 (3):411-433.
- Hairi, Jacob. 2012. "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106 (3):471-494.
- Andersen, David; Møller, Jørgen; Roerbaek, Lasse Lykke. 2014. State Capacity, and political regime stability. *Democratization*, Vol.21(7):1305-1325.

WEEK 6 (23 April): Obstacles to Democratization and Authoritarian Resilience: resources

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- What is the state of the evidence?
- Are there disagreements in the literature? About what?
- What is the causal linkage between resources and regime type?
- Does the theory apply in all regions of the world? Are there exceptions
- Do all resources harm democracy?

Required readings:

- Ross, Michael. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53:3, pp.325-361.
- Haber S., Menaldo V. 2011. "Do natural resources fuel authoritarianism? A reappraisal of the resource curse." *American Political Science Review* 105(1):1–24.

BA students: Pick **one** reading from a region/theme

MA students: Pick **two** readings from any region/theme

Latin America

- Mazzuca, Sebastian L. 2013. "The Rise of Rentier Populism." *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24(2): 5-18.
- Brooks, Sarah M., and Marcus J. Kurtz. 2016. "Oil and Democracy: Endogenous Natural Resources and the Political Resource Curse" *International Organization*, Vol 70(2):279-311.

Middle East (general)

- Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in comparative perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36:2, pp.139-157.

Iran

- Mahdavi, P. 2015. Explaining the Oil Advantage: Effects of Natural Resource Wealth on Incumbent Reelection in Iran." *World Politics*, Vol 67(2):226-267.

Africa

- Anyanwu, John C., and A. Erhijakpor. 2014. Does Oil Wealth Affect Democracy in Africa? *African Development Review*, Vol 26(1):15-37.

Recommended

- Anderson, J.J. and Ross. Michael L. 2014. The Big Oil Change. A close look at the Haber-Menaldo Thesis. *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol.47(7):933-1021.
- Andersen, JJ, Aslaksen S. 2013. Oil and political survival. *J. Dev. Econ.* 100(1):89–106.
- Michael Herb. 2005. "No representation without Taxation? Rents, Development and Democracy." *Comparative Politics*, Vol.37(3):297-316

- Ross, Michael. 2015. "What have we Learned about the resource curse." *Annual review of political science*.
- Wilson Prichard, Paola Salardi, Paul Segal. 2018. Taxation, non-tax revenue and democracy: New evidence using new cross-country data. *World Development*, Volume 109. Pages 295-312.

WEEK 7 (30 April) Political Culture and Civil Society

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- What is the link between attitudes and democracy?
- What is the status of the evidence?
- Are there disagreements between authors? Surrounding which points, theory, or empirics?
- Looking at different countries, what evidence do we have that civil society plays a role in democratization?
- What is the causal linkage?

Required readings:

- Welzel, Christian. 2007. Are Levels of Democracy Affected by Mass Attitudes? Testing Attainment and Sustainment Effects on Democracy. *International Political Science Review* 28 (4):397-424.
- Dahlum, S. and C. H. Knutsen. 2017. "Democracy by demand? Reinvestigating the effect of Self-expression values on political regime type." *British Journal of Political science*. Vol.47(2): 437-461.

BA students: Pick **one** reading from a region/theme

MA students: Pick **two** readings from any region/theme

Post-communism

- Howard, Marc Morjé. 2002. "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 13(2): 157-169.
- Pop-Eleches, Grigore, and Joshua A. Tucker. 2013. "Associated with the Past? Communist Legacies and Civic Participation in Post-communist countries." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, Vol. 27(1): 45-68.
- Ekiert, Grzegorz, and Jan Kubik. 2014. "Myths and Realities of Civil Society" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 25, no.1:46-58.
- Way, Lucan. 2014. "Civil Society and Democratization" *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 25, no.3 pp.35-43.
- Roberto Stefan Foa and Grzegorz Ekiert. 2017. "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society Reassessed", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 56(1)

Africa

- Gyimah-Boadi, E. 1996. "Civil Society in Africa." *Journal of Democracy*. Volume 7, Number 2, April 1996, pp. 118-132
- Levan, Carl. 2011. "Questioning Tocqueville in Africa: continuity and change in civil society during Nigeria's democratization" *Democratization*, Vol.18(1): 135-159

Latin America

- Brysk, Alison. 2000. "Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 11(3):151-165.

Germany

- Sheri Berman. 1997. "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49: 401-429.

If you are interested, Inglehart and Welzel's reply to Dhalum and Knutsen (hint: They are not happy).

- Pitfalls in the Study of Democratization: Testing the Emancipatory Theory of Democracy. *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol 47(2):463-472.

WEEK 8 (7 May): Can Democracy Take Root in non-Western Cultures?

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- Is democracy anchored in a specific culture?
- Can it be transferred to other cultures?
- Are cultures fixed entities or do they change?
- What do we learn by looking outside Christianity?
- Is scholarship Western-centric?

Required readings:

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1996. "The West: Unique, Not Universal". *Foreign Affairs*. Vol 42(6): 28-46.
- Sen Amartya. 2003. "Democracy and its Global Roots". *The New Republic*. Pp.28-35.

BA students: Pick **one** reading from a region/theme

MA students: Pick **two** readings from any region/theme

Islam

- Fish, M. Stephen. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics* 55(1): 4-37.

Protestantism

- Woodberry, Robert D. 2004. "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy," *American Political Science Review*, Vol 106(2):244-274.

Catholicism

- Philpott, Daniel. 2004. "The Catholic Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 15(2): 32-46.

Asian Religions

- Chae-bong Ham. 2004. "The Ironies of Confucianism," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 15(3) : 93-107

Secularism

- Stepan, A. 2000. "Religion, democracy, and the twin tolerations" *Journal of democracy*, Vol 11(4):37-57.

Recommended

- Philpott, Daniel. 2007. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion." *American Political Science Review*, Vol 101(3): 505-525.
- Grzymala-Busse. 2012. "Why Comparative Politics Should Take Religion More Seriously," *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol.15: 421-442.

WEEK 9 (14 May): Institutional Design: Constitutional Engineering

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- What kind of institutions can influence consolidation?
- What is the effect of these institutions on democratization?
- What are the key debates/areas of disagreements?
- What is the state of the evidence?
- Is there a consensus, or do scholars disagree?
- What do the different regions tell us about the applicability of theories in different contexts?

Required readings:

- Donald Horowitz, Juan Linz, and S. M. Lipset, Debate, "Presidents vs. Parliaments," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds). *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp.124-161.
- Kapstein, N, Converse, N. 2008. "Why Democracies Fail" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol 19(4):57-68.

BA students: Pick **one** reading from a region/theme

MA students: Pick **two** readings from any region/theme

Latin America

- Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, Nicolás Schmidt & Daniela Vairo. 2019. "Presidential hegemony and democratic backsliding in Latin America, 1925–2016." *Democratization*, 26:4, 606-625.

Africa

- Reynolds, Andrew. 1995. "Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa" *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 6(2): 86-99.
- Barkan, Joel and Andrew Reynolds, Debate: PR and Southern Africa, *Journal of Democracy* 6 (4), October 1995, pp. 106-124.

(East) Asia

- Marco Bünte & Mark R. Thompson. 2018. "Perilous presidentialism in Southeast Asia?" *Contemporary Politics*, 24:3, 251-265.

Post-communism

- Fish, M. Steven. 2006. "Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 17(1):5-20.

Turkey

- Esen, B., & Gumuscu, S. 2018. The Perils of "Turkish Presidentialism". *Review of Middle East Studies*, 52(1), 43-53.

Recommended (hint! Some critiques in there!):

- Cheibub, Jose Antonio, and Fernando Limongi. 2002. "Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5:151–79.
- Cox, G. W., & Weingast, B. R. 2018. "Executive Constraint, Political Stability, and Economic Growth." *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(3), 279–303.
- Sangmpam, S. N. 2007. "Politics Rules: The False Primacy of Institutions in Developing Countries" *Political Studies* 55, 201-24.
- Dresden, J. R. and Howard, M. 2016. "Authoritarian Backsliding and the concentration of political power", *Democratization*, Vol. 23(7):1122-1143.

WEEK 10 (28 May): Democratization by Elections

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- How do elections influence democratization?
- What is the causal mechanism?
- Is there an exogenous influence of elections on democratization, or can there be an influence on authoritarian regimes as well?
- What is the state of the evidence on this question?
- What are the examples where elections had positive outcomes?
- Are all examples positive?

Required readings:

- Howard, M.M, and Roessler, P. G. 2006. "Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes" *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50 (2):365-381.
- Knutsen, C.H., HM Nygard, and T Wig. 2017. "Autocratic Elections: Stabilizing Tool or Force for Change?" *World Politics*, Vol.69(1):98-143.

BA students: Pick **one** reading from a region/theme

MA students: Pick **two** readings from any region/theme

Third Wave democratizations

- Flores, T. and I Nooruddin. 2016. *Elections in Hard Times: Building Stronger Democracies in the 21st century*. CUP, Chapter 1.

Africa

- Cheeseman, N. 2010. "African Elections as Vehicles for Change" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.21(4):139-153.
- Wahman, M. 2014. "Democratization and Electoral Turnovers in Sub-Saharan African and Beyond." *Democratization*, Vol.21(2):220-243.
- Morse, Yonatan L. 2018. Presidential Power and Democratization by Elections in Africa." *Democratization* (forthcoming).

Latin America

- Levitsky, S. and Loxton, J. 2013. "Populism and Competitive authoritarianism in the Andes" *Democratization*, Vol 20(1):107-136.

Asia

- Ufen, A. 2009. "The Transformation of political party opposition in Malaysia and its implications for the electoral authoritarian regime." *Democratization*, Vol.16 (3):604-627.
- Teehankee, J., Thompson, M. 2016. "The Vote in the Philippines: Electing a Strongman" *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 27. No. 4.

Post-communism

- Kaya, R., M. Bernhard. 2013. "Are Elections Mechanisms of Authoritarian Stability or Democratization? Evidence from Postcommunist Eurasia," *Perspectives on politics*, Vol.11(3):734-752.

Recommended

- Zavadskaya, M. and C Welzel. 2015. "Subverting autocracy: emancipative mass values in competitive authoritarian regimes." *Democratization*, Vol 22(6):1105-1113.
- Gandhi, J. and E. Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under authoritarianism". *Annual Review of political science*.

WEEK 11 (4 June) International Influences and pressures I: Diffusion

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- Does democracy diffuse?
- Do other ideas diffuse?
- By which mechanisms does democracy diffuse?
- Who are the key actors?
- What is the state of the evidence?
- What are the limits to these theories? Do they apply in all contexts? Are there obstacles?
- What are contexts conducive to democracy?

Required readings:

- Gleditsch, K. and Michael D. Ward. 2006. "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization*. Vol. 60: 911-933.
- Von Soest, Christian. 2015. "Democracy Prevention: the International Collaboration of Authoritarian Regimes" *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol 54(4): 623-637.

BA students: Pick **one** reading from a region/theme

MA students: Pick **two** readings from any region/theme

Post-communism

- Bunce, Valerie J. and Sharon Wolchik. 2006. "International Diffusion and Post-communist Electoral Revolutions." *Communist and Post-communist Studies*. Vol.39 (3): 283-304.
- Way, L. 2010. Resistance to contagion: Sources of authoritarian stability in the former Soviet Union. In Bunce, V., McFaul, M., Stoner-Weiss, K. (Eds.), *Democracy and authoritarianism in the postcommunist world* (pp. 229-252). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Third Wave democratizations

- Brinks, Daniel, and Michael Coppedge. 2006. "Diffusion is no illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy," *Comparative Political Studies* 39:4, pp.463-489.

The role of social media

- Rane, Halim, and Sumra Salem. 2012. "Social media, social movements, and the diffusion of ideas in the Arab Uprisings" *The Journal of International Communications*, Vol. 18(1):97-111.

Protests

- Brancati, D., & Lucardi, A. 2019. "Why Democracy Protests Do Not Diffuse." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 63(10), 2354–2389.

Africa

- Kraxenberger, Brennan M. 2007. "Failed States: temporary Obstacles to democratic diffusion or Fundamental Holes in the World Political Map? *Third World Quarterly*. Vol. 28(6): 1055-1071.

Recommended

- Starr, Harvey. 1991. "Democratic Dominoes: Diffusion Approaches to the Spread of Democracy in the International System." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 35(2):356-381.
- Kopstein, Jeffery and David Reilly. 2000. "Geographic diffusion and the transformation of the postcommunist world," *World Politics* 53:1, pp.1-37.

WEEK 12 (18 June) International Influences and pressures II: interventions and democracy promotion

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- Who are the key actors involved in democracy promotion?
- What are the main differences in democracy promotion approaches?
- What are the key successes of each?
- What are the limits of each?
- Where are we now in democracy promotion policy? What have we learned?

Required readings:

- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2006 "Linkage vs. Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change" *Comparative Politics*, Vol.38(4): 379-400.
- Kopstein, Jeffrey. 2006. "The Transatlantic Divide over Democracy Promotion." *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 29(2): 85-98.

BA students: Pick **one** reading from a region/theme

MA students: Pick **two** readings from any region/theme

The role of Europe in Eastern Europe

- Börzel, T. A. & F. Schimmelfennig. 2017, Coming together or drifting apart? The EU's political integration capacity In Eastern Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, forthcoming
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. 2014. "The Legacies of 1989: The transformative Power of Europe Revisited." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 25(1): 20-32.
- Ethier, Diane. 2003. "Is Democracy Promotion Effective? Comparing Conditionality and Incentives." *Democratization*, Vol. 10(1): 99-120.

The role of Europe in the Mediterranean

- Pace, M. 2009. "Paradoxes and Contradictions in EU democratic Promotion in the Mediterranean: the limits of EU normative Power" *Democratization*, Vol. 16(1):39-58.

Central Asia

- Schatz, Edward. 2006. "Access by Accident: Legitimacy Claims and Democracy Promotion in Authoritarian Central Asia". *International Political Science Review*, Vol. 27(3): 263-284.

The role of the United States, and military interventions

- Carothers, Thomas. 2006. "The Backlash against Democracy Promotion." *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85(2): 55-68.
- Meernik, James. 1996. "United States Military Intervention and the Promotion of Democracy" *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 33(4):391-402.
- Goldsmith, Arthur A. 2008. "Making the World Safe for Partial Democracy? Questioning the Premises of Democracy Promotion" *International Security*, Vol. 22(2): 120-147

Recent trends

- Carothers, Thomas. 2015. "Democracy Aid at 25: Time to Choose" *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 26(1):59-73.

WEEK 13 (25 June) Closing Perspectives: democratic erosion and deconsolidation

Be prepared to discuss the following questions:

- Reflecting on this semester, what do we know about democratization?
- What are the weaknesses of our field?
- What are the most pressing questions we need to address?
- Were we too quick to consider democracy as consolidated? Can it fail in older democracies?
- What are the main challenges facing democracy?

Required readings:

- Waldner, David and Ellen Lust. 2018. "Unwelcome Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding," *Annual Review of Political Science*.
- Anna Lührmann & Staffan I. Lindberg. 2019. "A third wave of autocratization is here: what is new about it?" *Democratization*, 26:7, 1095-1113.

BA students: Pick **one** reading from a region/theme

MA students: Pick **two** readings from any region/theme

OECD/USA:

- Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk. 2016. "The Danger of Deconsolidation: Democratic Disconnect", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 27(3):5-17.
- Inglehart, Ronald. "The Danger of Deconsolidation: how much should we worry?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 27(3): 18-23.
- Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk. 2017. "The signs of deconsolidation" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol.28(1): 5-16.

Africa

- Gyimah-boadi, E. 2015. "Africa's Waning Democratic Commitment." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 26. No. 1.
- Rakner, L. (2019). Democratic Rollback in Africa. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

Latin America

- Mainwaring, Scott and Anibal Perez-Linan. 2015. "Cross-Currents in Latin America." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 26. No. 1.
- Carlos de la Torre & Andrés Ortiz Lemos (2016) "Populist polarization and the slow death of democracy in Ecuador." *Democratization*, 23:2, 221-241.

Post-communist

- Matthijs Bogaards (2018) De-democratization in Hungary: diffusely defective democracy, *Democratization*, 25:8, 1481-1499.
- Daniel Bochsler & Andreas Juon (2019) Authoritarian footprints in Central and Eastern Europe, *East European Politics*.

Middle East

- Masoud, Tarek. 2015. "Has the Door Closed on Arab Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 26. No. 1.

Asia:

- Stepan, Alfred. 2015. "India, Sri Lanka, and the Majoritarian Danger." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 26. No. 1.
- Nathan, Andrew J. 2015. "China's Challenge" *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 26. No. 1.
- Oei, Minxin. 2016. "Transition in China? More Likely than you Think" *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 27. No. 4.

Recommended:

- Levitsky, S. and D. Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die*. Crown publishers.
- Fukuyama, Francis. 2015. "Why is Democracy performing so poorly?" *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 26. No. 1, pp.11-20.
- Cassani, A., Tomini, L. 2018. "Reversing regimes and concepts: from democratization to autocratization." *Eur Polit Sci*.
- Merkel, W. 2010. "Are Dictatorships Returning? Revisiting the 'Democratic Rollback' Hypothesis." *Contemporary Politics* 16, no. 1: 17–31.
- Norris, P. "Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks." *Journal of Democracy (Online Exchange)* (2017). <https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/online-exchange-%E2%80%9Cdemocratic-deconsolidation%E2%80%9D>.