

GOVT 634 – Democracy: Past, Present, and Future

Professor Todd A. Eisenstadt

Class meets in Ward 105, Tuesday 5:30-8:00 p.m.

Instructor Office - Ward 213, phone 202-885-6493

Office Hours Tuesday 11:00 a.m.-noon, Friday 9:00-11:30 a.m., 2:00-4:30 p.m.

Alternate Tuesdays (starting Sept 5), instructor also available 10 a.m.-11 a.m.

Or by appointment arranged via e-mail

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This course is a graduate seminar, and requires extensive preparation, as it endeavors to help graduate students construct a cognitive “road map” of an extensive literature. We will mostly address recent processes of democratization (those of the last 25 years), which have been concentrated in the developing world. While each of you will be responsible for all readings, you are encouraged to share notes and summaries, and in fact will be required to distribute your memos electronically prior to class. Of course, everyone must do his/her own work, as only when we each approach the subject matter fully prepared can we have fruitful discussions. In other words, feel free to share thoughts and ideas, but write your own papers. Also, since this is a seminar, your constant presence and full participation are required.

“Amendability” clause: By taking this class, you agree to adhere to the rules and obligations presented on this syllabus, but also acknowledge the instructor’s right to alter them, as necessary, and accept that while I will seek to notify all students of any changes via Blackboard, these changes will first be announced in class, and all students are responsible for all material covered in class, as well as for the readings.

Since this is a graduate course, we will not spend too much time discussing conduct in class. Needless to say, any acts which are disrespectful of anyone else’s efforts to express themselves, or which interrupt the class will not be tolerated (and this includes cell phone interruptions and consistent tardy arrival). If you have some extenuating circumstance, please discuss this with the instructor.

You are strongly encouraged to bring questions, comments, and criticisms of the material to class. Electronic reserves are available through the course Blackboard site, where I will also post assignments and announcements, and where you will disseminate your class discussion notes. And while I do encourage the use of e-mail to address procedural and administrative questions, I would very much prefer that substantive questions be raised in person. If you cannot make it to my scheduled office hours, let me know and we will schedule a time to meet.

BASIC READINGS

There are three books to be purchased or consulted in the library, where they are on two-hour reserve, and the instructor will make his book available to you at a deep discount (and a copy is also on library reserve). They are:

Dahl, Robert A., Ian Shapiro and José Antonio Cheibub, eds. 2003. *The Democracy Sourcebook*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Phillippe Schmitter. 1991. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Bermeo, Nancy. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The rest of the course readings may be found on e-reserves (with a paper copy on reserve in the library).

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

This course will make extensive use of Blackboard, so please sign onto the class website ASAP, posting a message on the discussion board to inform everyone you have accessed the site.

Requirements for Everyone (1 through 4):

1. A 3-5 page critical review of written comments on the course readings for **three separate** seminar sessions. Circulate your paper by e-mail to all course participants ***no later than on the Monday before class at 4 p.m.; that is, 25.5 hours before the session in which we will discuss the materials you cover in your comment.*** Each critical summary, distributed to your colleagues on the day before class will be worth 8 percent of the course grade. This will count for 24 percent of your grade overall.
2. During the sessions when you are not submitting a critical review, you will be required to submit a question or two – via e-mail – to all of us, by 4 p.m. on the Monday before class. Questions may be factual in nature, but the best questions provoke thought and criticism, seek to reckon with the material in a manner relating to other questions raised in class, or consider methodologies and their application. Satisfactory completion of these questions, and their timely e-mail posting, each and every week you are not writing full review papers, and active participation in class every week, will account for 11 percent of your grade.
3. A midterm exam. This will consist of three essays you will be asked to answer over a one-week period. The mid-term will be worth 20 percent of your grade.
4. A final exam during the designated final exam period. The instructor will provide guidance for your studying, and the exam will be “open book,” but you will have to write your exam essays (probably two or three), during the time allotted. This exam will be worth 20 percent of your grade and will be given on the designated final exam date.
5. MA Students Only: A 10-12-page paper on how a selected case of democratization fits into the democratization literature or a paper on the challenges to democratic consolidation facing the case you have selected, with special reference to a political institution within your case (i.e. the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, truth commissions, etc.). This paper will be worth 25 percent of your grade and will be due – in electronic submission to the entire class - on the Monday before class at 4 p.m.; that is, 25.5 hours before the session in which we will discuss the materials you cover in your paper. You will be asked to present your principal conclusions to the class, and how they relate to broader course themes. MA students will be given eight minutes to do so; the instructor will also leave time for a few minutes of questions and comments

Ph.D. Students Only: A 25-30-page research design, on an issue you choose in consultation with the instructor related to and integrating course readings. More guidance will be given in class by the ninth week of the semester. This will account for 25 percent of your grade and will be due on the Monday before class at 4 p.m.; that is, 25.5 hours before the session in which we will discuss

the materials you cover in your paper. PhD students will be given twelve minutes for their presentations; the instructor will also leave time for a few minutes of questions and comments.

Note that class presentations will be graded. The instructor will evaluate you parting from your written paper grade, but your presentation can affect your overall grade for this assignment by as much as a full letter grade. In other words, while the written paper will generate **most** (but not all) of the assignment grade, you will be expected to execute an organized and well-conceived presentation.

TOPIC AND READING SCHEDULE

August 29: Normative Virtues of Democracy: Why We Should Care

Recommended Only: Sen, Amartya in Diamond, Larry and Marc Platner, eds. 2001. *The Global Divergence of Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 3-17. (also in *Journal of Democracy* July 1999).

Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, in Diamond, Larry and Marc Platner, eds. 2001. *The Global Divergence of Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 167-184. (also in *Journal of Democracy* January 1996).

Mintz, Alex and Nehemia Geva. 1993. "Why Democracies Don't Fight Each Other," in *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37 (3, 484-503).

September 5: Concepts of Democracy and Authoritarianism, and Classifying Cases How is democracy defined by different scholars? What do we mean by "democratic government"? Are we satisfied with minimalist definitions (that democracy is a *means*) or must we demand something more (i.e. that democracy is not only a *means* but an *end* in and of itself)? What is the range of acceptable conditions for a country to be deemed "democratic"? How do we measure how "democratic" a society is?

Dahl, Shapiro, and Cheibub, eds. 1-55.

Geddes, Barbara, "What do we know about democratization after Twenty Years?" in *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2.1.115

Armony, Ariel C. and Hector E. Schamis. 2005. "Babel in Democratization Studies," in *Journal of Democracy* 16 (4).

Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy - Evaluating Alternative Indices," in *Comparative Political Studies* 35(1) 2002. pgs. 5-34.

"Comments on Munck and Verkuilen" [listing in Blackboard] by Coppedge, Michael and Monty G. Marshall, et. al. in *Comparative Political Studies* 35(1) 2002, pgs. 35-57.

September 12: What is Democracy? Institutional Variations, and Measurement Problems

Assuming agreement on what democracy is (perhaps still in dispute), how can we properly measure democracy and democracies? Why have so many authoritarian systems around the world collapsed in the last 25 years?

Kenneth Bollen, "Political Democracy: Conceptual and Measurement Traps." In Alex Inkeles, ed., *On Measuring Democracy*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1993.

Collier, David and Steven Levistky, "Democracy With Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research" in *World Politics*, 1997

Munck and Verkuilen XXXX

Krastev, Ivan. 2006. "Democracy's "Doubles," in *Journal of Democracy* 17 (2, April 2006).

September 19: Are Democratic Values Universal? Is widespread adherence to democratic values an essential prerequisite for democratization and democratic consolidation? Are these values universal or culturally relative?

The Dalai Lama, Fukuyama, and Filali-Ansary in Diamond, Larry and Marc Platner, eds. 2001. *The Global Divergence of Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 18-51. (also in *Journal of Democracy* January 1999, April 1995, and July 1999).

Dahl, Shapiro, and Cheibub, eds., 181-190.

Bellin, Eva. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective," in *Comparative Politics* 36 (2), January 2004.

September 26: Socio-Economic Preconditions for Democracy? What are the different social, cultural, political, and economic explanations for the emergence of democracy? What can this tell us about the prospects for democracy in any given country, and for the prospects for further additions to the democratic "family" around the world?

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS START TODAY

Dahl, Shapiro, and Cheibub, eds., 71-98, 108-116, 168-180..

Michael Coppedge, "Modernization and Thresholds of Democracy: Evidence for a Common Path and Process." In Manus Midlarsky (ed.), *Inequality, Democracy, and Economic Development*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" in *World Politics* 53 (April 2001), 325-61.

Robinson, James A. "Economic Development and Democracy," in *Annual Review of Political Science* 2006, 9:503-27.

October 3: Institutional Preconditions for Democracy? Are some political institutions more effective in establishing and maintaining democracy than others? Why or why not? What was unique about the *Federalist Papers* to theorizing about political institutions and democracy? What do authors say about the role of institutions in establishing democratic executive, legislative, and judicial branches?

Dahl, Shapiro, and Cheibub, eds. 191-310.

Siavelis, Peter M. "Democracy and Political Institutions in Latin America; Reconciling Approaches," in *Latin American Research Review* 39 (2): June 2004.

Fukuyama, Francis, et.al. "Challenge and Change in East Asia: Facing the Perils of Presidentialism?" *Journal of Democracy* 16(2): April 2005).

October 10: Transitions from Above: Pacts and Protracted "Electoral" Transitions What is so special about pacted transitions? Are they really more likely to yield democracies than non-pacted cases? What conditions must the pacts meet in order to be effective?

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter. 1991. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press. Skim book.

Adam Przeworski, 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 51-99.

Eisenstadt, Todd A. 2004. *Courting Democracy in Mexico: Party Strategies and Electoral Institutions*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 32-59.

Encarnación, Omar G. 2005. "Do Political Pacts Freeze Democracy? Spanish and South American Lessons." *West European Politics* 28 (1): 182-203.

October 17: Populism and Transitions from Below: When Elites Lose Control How are transitions from below distinguished from other forms of democratic transition? Under what conditions – if any - might democratization be achieved through rebellion?

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Fish, Steven M. "Postcommunist Subversion: Social Science and Democratization in East Europe and Eurasia," in *Slavic Review* 58 (4, Winter 1999), 794-823.

Roberts, Kenneth M. 2006. "Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America," in *Comparative Politics* 38 (2, January 2006).

Wood, Elizabeth. 2001. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador," *Comparative Political Studies*.

"Chapter 9: Contentious Democratization," in McAdam, Doug, et. al. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 264-304.

Take-Home Midterm to be Handed Out

October 24: Consolidation Versus Collapse and Reversion How can new democracies avoid a collapse back into authoritarianism? Can they "consolidate" democratic rule? What is "consolidation" anyway? Does the path of democratization affect the extent of or quality of consolidation? How do we know if a democracy has been consolidated?

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

O'Donnell and Gunther et. al. debate on democratic consolidation in Diamond, Larry and Marc Plattner, eds. 2001. *The Global Divergence of Democracy*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 113-148. (also in *Journal of Democracy* April and October 1996).

Bermeo, Nancy. 2003. *Ordinary People In Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1-99, 177-256.

October 31: Issues in the Consolidation of Democracies (1): Authoritarian Overhang How can new democracies put militaries under civilian authority? How can they address issues of past human rights violations? How can new democracies ensure the rule of law, free and fair elections, accountable government, and equal access to justice for all citizens?

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Brian Loveman. 2001. "When You Wish upon the Stars: Why the Generals (and Admirals) Say 'Yes' to Latin American 'Transitions' to Civilian Government." In Paul Drake and Matthew McCubbins, eds. *The Origins of Liberty*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Hagopian, Frances, "Conclusions: Government Performance, Political Representation, and Public Perceptions of Contemporary Democracy in Latin America," in Hagopian and Mainwaring. 319-362.

Bratton, Michael, and Nicolas van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa – Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 61-96.

Levitksy, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," in *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2, April 2002).

November 7: Issues in the Consolidation of Democracies (2): Citizenship, Enfranchisement, and "Stateness" How does ethnic conflict render new challenges to the establishment of democracy? Are these challenges different from those required for consolidation of such conflictive regimes? How?

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Kitschelt, Herbert. 2000. "Linkages between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities." *Comparative Political Studies* 33(6/7):845–879.

“Lijphart Horowitz [Blackboard listing],” Lijphart, Arendt and Donald Horowitz chapters in Reynolds, Andrew, ed. 2003. *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management, and Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press. 15-54.

Reynolds, Andrew. 2006. “The Curious Case of Afghanistan,” in *Journal of Democracy* 17 (2, April 2006).

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 2003. “Presidentialism and clientalism in Africa’s emerging party systems,” in *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41 (2, 2003), 297-321.

November 14: The Consolidation of Democracies (3): Delegative Democracy Versus Civil Society What is meant by the concept of a 'civic culture'? How can this concept be measured and compared? What are the primary problems of civil society and how critical is a vibrant civil society to the consolidation of democracy? Are the new forms of citizen participation normatively better than or worse than prior forms of democratic participation?

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Robert A. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Global Resurgence of Democracy*, pp. 290-303.

Fiorina, Morris. 1999. “Extreme Voices: A Dark Side of Civic Engagement,” in Skocpol, Theda and Morris P. Fiorina, eds. 1999. *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press. 395-426.

O’Donnell, Guillermo, “Horizontal Accountability: The Legal Institutionalization of Mistrust,” in Mainwaring, Scott and Christopher Welna, eds. 2003. *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 34-54.

Peruzzotti, Enrique. 2001. “The Nature of the New Argentine Democracy: The Delegative Democracy Argument Revisited,” in *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33 (1, February 2001): 133-155.

Rothstein, Bo. 2005. “Social capital in the social democratic welfare state,” Chapter 4 in Rothstein, Bo. *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 71-91.

November 21: “Tuesday classes cancelled; Friday classes meet.” Happy Thanksgiving

November 28: The Consolidation of Democracies (4): Checks, Balances, and Accountability How important are formal checks and balances to establishing and conserving democracies? Do democracies deliver policy consistency? Should rational and consistent policies be part of the scope of democracies? Is accountability essential? Is federalism part of “checks and balances”?

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS

Moreno, Erika, Brian F. Crisp, and Matthew Soberg Shugart, "The Accountability Deficit in Latin America," in Mainwaring, Scott and Christopher Welna, eds. 2003. *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. New York: Oxford.

Alfred Stepan. 2001. "Toward a New Comparative Politics of Federalism, (multi)Nationalism, and Democracy: Beyond Rikerian Federalism," in Stepan, Alfred, ed., *Arguing Comparative Politics* New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 315-361.

Stokes, Susan. 1999. "What Do Policy Switches Tell Us about Democracy?" in Susan Stokes, ed. *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Holmes, Stephen, 1988. "Precommitment and the paradox of democracy," in Jon Elster and Rune Slagstad, eds. *Constitutionalism and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 195-239.

December 5: The Normative Virtues of Social Democracy: Getting to Marshall's Ideal?

Are there any alternative models of interest group representation between citizens and the state? What factors contribute to lasting democracy? Has the pendulum of regime change finally stopped? How can institutions be designed to make democratization more likely to be sustained ?

Oxhorn, Philip. 2003. "Social inequality, civil society, and the limits of citizenship in Latin America," in Eckstein, Susan Eva and Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, eds. *What Justice? Whose Justice? Fighting for Fairness in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Philippe C. Schmitter, "More Liberal, Preliberal, or Postliberal?" in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, pp. 328-335.

T. H. Marshall. 1950. "Citizenship and Social Class," in T. H. Marshall and Tom Bottomore. 1992. *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Pluto Perspectives. 3-27.

Iversen, Torben, and David Soskice. 2006. "Electoral Institutions and the Politics of Coalitions: why Some Democracies Redistribute More Than Others," in *American Political Science Review* 100 (2: May 2006).

Leeper Piquero, Nicole and Alex R. Piquero. 2006. "Democracy and Intellectual Property: Examining Trajectories of Software Piracy," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 605 (May 2006):

Final Exam Study Guides Handed Out and Discussed

FINAL IN CLASS DEC 12 5:30-8 P.M.