

# **Govt 720: Democracy and Democratization**

Fall 2005, Thursdays 2:15 – 4:05 p.m. in 412 New North

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## **Course Description**

This graduate seminar addresses the main topics and readings on democracy and democratization within the field of comparative politics. Although I presume that many students have a particular geographic focus in their own research, the course is intentionally organized along substantive lines, rather than by country or region. This will allow us to maintain a common ground for discussion and debate throughout the semester. Within this broad structure, however, we will be covering a wide variety of democratic and democratizing countries, and the discussion should not shy away from specific examples. In fact, it is expected that students will become familiar with, and knowledgeable about, an array of different regions around the world. The more important objective of the course, however, is to familiarize students with the central topics, arguments, and scholars in the literature on democracy and democratization.

Each week, we will be covering a different theme, and we will read and discuss multiple works (often several books) within that theme. Although I have usually assigned books in their entirety, it is essential that you learn to “read” them in a way that allows you to understand the main argument, structure, and context of the book, without necessarily reading every word.

Overall, the course is intended to provide students with a broad and comprehensive foundation in this important subfield of comparative politics.

## **Course Requirements**

The following is required of all students enrolled in this course: 1) to attend all class meetings; 2) to participate actively in the class discussions; 3) to co-lead the class discussion at least twice in the semester; 4) to submit seven short (no more than one single-spaced page) “reaction papers” to the readings over the course of the semester, and to post them on Blackboard by 9am on Thursdays; and 5) to write an original research paper—focusing either on the theoretical and conceptual issues covered in the course or on the application of these theories and concepts to one or more case studies that fit students’ own research interests—of approximately 20-25 pages. As part of the research paper, students will briefly introduce and discuss their topics during the “brainstorming session” on October 20. The final paper will be due on Tuesday, December 20, the last day of exams.

## Readings

The following books are available for purchase at the Georgetown University Bookstore (and on reserve at Lauinger Library):

- Carothers, Thomas. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999)
- Dahl, Robert A. *On Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)
- Diamond, Larry, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999)
- Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)
- Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001)
- Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)
- Howard, Marc Morjé, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
- Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991)
- Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999)
- Linz, Juan J., *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000)
- Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986)
- Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)
- Putnam, Robert D. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993)
- Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000)

The other readings are available in PDF format on the Blackboard [Bb] website, under “Course Documents.” Several additional readings may be assigned and distributed occasionally.

## Course Sequence

### **Thursday, September 1: Introduction to the Course**

### **Thursday, September 8: What Democracy Is**

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), pp. 1-32 [Bb]

Dahl, *On Democracy*

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, Ch. 1

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is ... and Is Not," Ch. 4 in Diamond and Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 49-62)

### **Thursday, September 15: What Democracy Is Not**

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

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," Ch. 7 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 94-108)

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 6 (November/December 1997), pp. 22-43 [Bb]

Richard Rose and Doh Chull Shin, "Democratization Backwards: The Problem of Third-Wave Democracies," in *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (2001), pp. 331-354 [Bb]

Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (January 2002), pp. 5-21 [Bb]

Larry Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," Andreas Schedler, "The Menu of Manipulation," Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," and Nicolas van de Walle, "Africa's Range of Regimes," all part of a special section entitled "Elections Without Democracy," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (April 2002), pp. 21-80 [Bb]

Marc Morjé Howard and Philip G. Roessler, "Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes," in *American Journal of Political Science* (forthcoming in 2006) [Bb]

### **Thursday, September 23: Measuring Democracy**

Mike Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, and Adam Przeworski, "Classifying Political Regimes," in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Summer 1996), pp. 3-36 [Bb]

David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," in *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (April 1997), pp. 430-451 [Bb]

- David Collier and Robert Adcock, "Democracy and Dichotomies: A Pragmatic Approach," in *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2 (1999), pp. 537-565 [Bb]
- Zachary Elkins, "Gradations of Democracy? Empirical Tests of Alternative Conceptualizations," in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (April 2000), pp. 287-294 [Bb]
- Gerardo L. Munck, "The Regime Question: Theory Building in Democracy Studies" in *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (October 2001), pp. 119-144 [Bb]
- Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices," in *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 5-34 (also read the comments by Michael Coppedge, Monty Marshall et al., Michael D. Ward, and the response by Munck and Verkuilen in the same issue) [Bb]
- Michael Coppedge, "How the Large N Could Complement the Small in Democratization Research," unpublished manuscript [note: this piece expands upon his article entitled "Thickening Thin Concepts and Theories: Combining Large N and Small in Comparative Politics," in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (July 1999), pp. 465-476] [Bb]

#### **Thursday, September 30: Democracy and Development**

- Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. 413-432 [Bb]
- Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (1959), pp. 69-105 [Bb]
- Larry Diamond, "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered," in Gary Marks and Larry Diamond, eds., *Reexamining Democracy* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1992), pp. 93-139 [Bb]
- Przeworski et al., *Democracy and Development*

#### **Thursday, October 6: Democratic Transition**

- Dankwart A. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (April 1970), pp. 337-363 [Bb]
- O'Donnell and Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*
- Di Palma, Giuseppe, *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 1-26 [Bb]
- Huntington, *The Third Wave*
- Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, Ch. 2

#### **Thursday, October 13: Democratic Consolidation**

- Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*
- Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, Ch. 3

- Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," Ch. 9 in Diamond and Plattner, eds., *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (pp. 113-130)
- Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Hans-Jürgen Puhle, "O'Donnell's 'Illusions': A Rejoinder," Ch. 10 in *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (pp. 131-139)
- Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions and Conceptual Flaws: A Response," Ch. 11 in *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (pp. 140-148)
- Andreas Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?," Ch. 12 in *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (pp. 149-164)

**Thursday, October 20: "Brainstorming Session" for research papers**

There will be no readings for this session. Instead, students should spend the week preparing for their research papers. They should write and submit a 500-1000 word proposal for their paper, which they will also present (but not read!) in class. For each student, the rest of the class will *constructively* discuss/critique the strengths and weaknesses of the project, and suggest ways in which it could be carried out fruitfully. The goals of this session are for students to: 1) take a break from the intensive reading of previous weeks, 2) begin to shift their focus from reading/analyzing/discussing the work of others to actually *creating* their own project, and 3) regroup for five more weeks of intensive readings before the paper presentations.

**Thursday, October 27: Democracy and Political Institutions**

- Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*
- Scott Mainwaring, "Party Systems in the Third Wave," Ch. 14 in *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (pp. 185-199)
- Jørgen Elklit and Palle Svendsen, "What Makes Elections Free and Fair?," Ch. 15 in *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (pp. 200-214)
- Juan J. Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," Ch. 9 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 124-142)
- Donald L. Horowitz, "Comparing Democratic Systems," Ch. 10 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 143-149)
- Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Centrality of Political Culture," Ch. 11 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 150-153)
- Juan J. Linz, "The Virtues of Parliamentarism," Ch. 12 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 154-161)
- Arend Lijphart, "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies," Ch. 13 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 162-174)
- Guy Lardeyret, "The Problem with PR," Ch. 14 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 175-180)
- Quentin L. Quade, "PR and Democratic Statecraft," Ch. 15 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 181-186)
- Arend Lijphart, "Double-Checking the Evidence," Ch. 16 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 187-193)

Ken Gladdish, "The Primacy of the Particular," Ch. 17 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 194-206)

Donald L. Horowitz, "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (2003), pp. 115-127 [Bb]

Arend Lijphart, "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2004), pp. 96-109 [Bb]

### **Thursday, November 3: Democracy and Political Economy**

Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (1993), pp. 567-576 [Bb]

Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*

Haggard and Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*

### **Thursday, November 10: Democracy and Political Culture**

Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* [selections, along with several critiques, in Bb]

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, Ch. 5

Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*

Putnam, *Bowling Alone*

Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History," in *The National Interest*, Vol. 16 (Summer 1989), pp. 3-18 [Bb]

Ken Jowitt, "The New World Disorder," Ch. 2 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 26-35)

Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3 (1993), pp. 22-49 [Bb]

### **Thursday, November 17: Democracy and Civil Society**

Howard, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe*

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, Ch. 6

Lester M. Salamon et al., *Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies, 1999), pp. 3-39 [Bb]

Sheri Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," in *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (1997), pp. 401-429 [Bb]

Bob Edwards and Michael W. Foley, "Civil Society and Social Capital Beyond Putnam," in *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (1998), pp. 124-140 [Bb]

Theda Skocpol, "How Americans Became Civic," in Theda Skocpol and Morris P. Fiorina, eds., *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution Press and the Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), pp. 27-80 [Bb]

Chris Hann, "Introduction: Political Society and Civil Anthropology," in Chris Hann and Elizabeth Dunn, eds., *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 1-26 [Bb]

**\*\*\* NO CLASS on November 24—Thanksgiving \*\*\***

**Thursday, December 1: Democracy Assistance**

Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad*

Marina Ottaway and Theresa Chung, "Toward a New Paradigm," Elizabeth Spiro Clark, "A Tune-up, Not an Overhaul," E. Gyimah-Boadi, "The Cost of Doing Nothing," Irena Lasota, "Sometimes Less Is More," all part of a special section entitled "Debating Democracy Assistance," in *The Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (October 1999), pp. 99-128 [Bb]

Peter Burnell, "Democracy Promotion: The Elusive Quest for Grand Strategies," in *International Politics and Society*, No. 3 (2004), pp. 100-116 [Bb]

**\*\*\* RESEARCH PAPERS DUE ON DECEMBER 20 \*\*\***