

University of Notre Dame
Department of Political Science
POLS 60408: Comparing Democracies

Spring 2006
Tuesdays, 6:30-9:00 p.m., DeBartolo 246
Office hours: W 1:00-2:30, F 9:00-10:30
or by appointment in 248 Hesburgh Center

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This is a seminar on the nature and consequences of democracy. It is a companion course to "Comparative Research on Democratization," which examines causes of democracy. However, neither seminar is a prerequisite for the other.

"Comparing Democracies" is a semester-long workshop devoted to establishing rigorous criteria for evaluating how democratic "democracies" are and what difference it makes. During most of the post-war era, U.S. political science moved toward a consensus on a narrow, Schumpeterian concept of democracy that reduced a rich and complex tradition to electoral competition, broad suffrage, and certain attendant institutions. This was a useful concept for several decades, as it made possible an increasingly rigorous program of research on the causes and consequences of democracy. But at the end of the Third Wave, it has become hard to ignore the price that we paid for this productivity. Now there are many more countries that satisfy the minimal requirements for a narrow version of democracy. At the same time we are painfully aware that some democracies are much more "democratic" than others. Yet the concept we inherited does not provide us with clear criteria for making such judgments. The purpose of this seminar is to reconsider, in a more broad-minded frame of mind, what the essential components of democracy are, and to examine empirically their interrelationships and their consequences for other social and political values. We will read and discuss selected theoretical works—some old, some recent—that propose definitions of and justifications for democracy. We will break down the concepts into measurable components and function as a research team to produce qualitative and quantitative indicators of the quality of democracy. Students will also present and critique their own research on the consequences of these qualities of democracy for war and peace, political culture, governability, and economic policy and performance. The seminar includes practical instruction on concept formation, measurement theory, dimensional analysis, and other methodological tools that would be useful for analyzing many complex political phenomena besides democracy.

Grades are based on

- 10% checklist of essential components of democracy, due January 24
- 10% country ratings for Polyarchy Scale, due February 7
- 20% proposal presented at brainstorming session on March 21
- 10% performance as discussant April 25 or May 2
- 30% for the draft presented in class April 25 or May 2
- 20% for the revised, final version of the paper turned in by the exam date.

Please do not plan on taking an Incomplete for this course. It is almost always a bad idea, as you are not likely to have more time to devote to your paper later on, and late papers are rarely better than ones turned in on time. For this reason, I will deduct one sign (eg., A to A-) from the grade of any paper turned in over the summer, and two signs (eg., A to B+) for any paper turned in by the absolute deadline of exam week of the fall 2006 semester. Any paper not turned in by that date automatically becomes an F by Graduate School rules.

Books available for purchase at the bookstore are:

David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 2nd ed. (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996).

Richard S. Katz, *Democracy and Elections* (Oxford UP, 1997) (\$60 because not yet available in paperback)

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (Yale UP, 1999) (available later in the semester, as it was just published in August).

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (Cambridge University Press, 2000). ISBN 0521793793

Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge UP, 2003). ISBN 0521532671

and a limited number of copies of Marija J. Norušis, *SPSS Professional Statistics 6.1* (SPSS, Inc., 1994).

If anyone is interested in buying Robert F. DeVellis, *Scale Development: Theory and Applications*, 2nd ed. Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 26 (Sage, 2003) for \$26.95, I will place an order myself to expedite delivery if you tell me at the first class meeting.

Unless otherwise noted, required journal articles will be available through electronic journals and required book chapters will be available through electronic reserves. Recommended readings are not on reserve.

Schedule of Readings and Assignments

January 17. Introduction: Empirical Research on the Nature and Consequences of Democracy
No reading assignment.

January 24. Minimalist Concepts
**Exercise: Bring to class a checklist of essential components of democracy. 10% of grade.

David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 2nd ed. (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996), pp. 70-120 (Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Madison, J. Mill, Bentham, J.S. Mill, Wollstonecraft), and 157-198 (Weber and Schumpeter) and 199-232 (Dahl and his critics).

Richard S. Katz, *Democracy and Elections* (Oxford UP, 1997), pp. 3-66.

Recommended
Joseph Schumpeter, "The Classical Doctrine of

Democracy" and "Another Theory of Democracy," in Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (Harper and Row, 1950), pp. 250-83.

Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* (Yale UP, 1989), pp. 13-33 and 213-24.

Dahl, *On Democracy* (Yale UP, 1998).

January 31. Measurement Theory and Methods

**Instructions will be given for the measurement exercise for next week.

David Nachmias and Chava Nachmias, *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, second ed. (St. Martin's Press, 1981), chapters 6, "Measurement" (pp. 131-151); and 15, "Index Construction and Scaling Methods" (pp. 391-414).

Robert Adcock and David Collier,

“Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research,” *American Political Science Review* 95:3 (September 2001): 529-546.

Robert F. DeVellis, *Scale Development: Theory and Applications*, 2nd ed., Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 26 (Sage, 2003). 176 pp.

Marija J. Norušis/SPSS, Inc., “Factor Analysis,” *SPSS Professional Statistics 6.1* (SPSS, Inc., 1994), pp. 47-81.

Michael Coppedge and Wolfgang Reinicke, “Measuring Polyarchy,” in Inkeles, ed., *On Measuring Democracy*, pp. 47-68. Also published in *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25:1 (Spring 1990): 51-72.

Michael Coppedge, Angel Alvarez, and Claudia Maldonado, “Two Persistent Dimensions of Democracy,” unpublished ms. (January 2006).

Recommended

Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Conceptualization and Measurement in the Social Sciences* (SAGE, 1982), chapters 1-3 (pp. 11-107).

Joseph B. Kruskal and Myron Wish, “Multidimensional Scaling,” Sage University Paper series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 07-011 (Sage publications, 1978).

Richard A. Zeller and Edward G. Carmines, *Measurement in the Social Sciences: The Link between Theory and Data* (Cambridge UP, 1980), chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-101).

Roderick P. McDonald, *Factor Analysis and Related Methods* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1985).

William Jacoby, *Data Theory and Dimensional Analysis* [SAGE series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 07-078] (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE, 1991).

February 7. Exercise in Replicating the Polyarchy Scale

**Everyone will bring to class their country ratings for the polyarchy scale replication (10% of grade). In the first half of the class, we will do the scaling in class and assess internal and inter-coder reliability. In the second half of the class, we will explore Bollen’s compilation of democracy indicators. Prepare for this by scanning through:

Kenneth A. Bollen. 1998. “Cross-National Indicators of Political Democracy, 1950-1990,” University of North Carolina (producer) ICPSR (distributor), Chapel Hill, NC and Ann Arbor, Michigan. In course folder as BollenCodebook.pdf.

February 14. Indicators of Democracy
Freedom House, “Methodology.”

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=35&year=2005>

Monty G. Marshall and Keith Jagers, “Polity IV User’s Manual.”

<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity/polreg.htm> (requires registration).

Alvarez, Mike, José Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi and Adam Przeworski. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31 (Summer): 3-36.

Schneider, Carsten Q.; Schmitter, Philippe C., “Liberalization, Transition and Consolidation: Measuring the Components of Democratization.” *Democratization* 11:5 (December 2004): 59-90.

Axel Hadenius, *Democracy and Development* (Cambridge UP, 1992), pp. 36-71.

Kenneth A. Bollen, “Issues in the Comparative Measurement of Political Democracy,” *American Sociological Review* 45:3

(June 1980): 370-390.

Recommended

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53 (March 1959): 69-105.

Phillips Cutright, "National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis," *American Sociological Review* 28 (1963): 253-64.

M. Morris, *Measuring the Condition of the World's Poor: The Physical Quality of Life Index* (Pergamon, 1979)

Michael T. Hannan and Glenn R. Carroll, "Dynamics of Formal Political Structure: An Event-History Analysis," *American Sociological Review* 46 (1981): 19-35.

Tatu Vanhanen, *The Emergence of Democracy: A Comparative Study of 119 States, 1850-1979* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1984).

Vanhanen T. 1990. *The Process of Democratization*. New York: Crane Russak

Mark Gasiorowski, "An Overview of the Political Regime Change Dataset," *Comparative Political Studies* 29:4 (August 1996): 469-83.

Scott Mainwaring, Daniel Brinks, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36:1 (2001): 37-65.

February 21. Debates about Measuring Democracy

Giovanni Sartori, "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics," *American Political Science Review* 64 (1970): 1033-1053.

Zachary Elkins, "Gradations of Democracy? Empirical Tests of Alternative Conceptualizations," *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2000): 293-300

Paxton P. 2000. Women's Suffrage in the

Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35: 92-110

Joe Foweraker and R. Krznaric, "How To Construct a Database of Liberal Democratic Performance," *Democratization* 8:3 (Fall 2001): 1-25.

Munck GL, Verkuilen J. 2002. Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices. *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 5-34. (recommended: discussion following this article)

Kenneth Bollen, "Liberal Democracy: Validity and Method Factors in Cross-National Measures," *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1993): 1207-30.

Kristian Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward, "Double Take: A Re-examination of Democracy and Autocracy in Modern Polities," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41:3 (June 1997).

Recommended

David Collier and Robert Adcock, "Democracy and Dichotomies: Justifying Choices about Concepts," *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 2 (Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, 1999), pp. 537-565.

Michael Coppedge, "Defining and Measuring Democracy," draft chapter 2 for *Approaching Democracy: Research Methods in Comparative Politics* (under contract to Cambridge University Press; available on request).

February 28. Critiques Inspired by the Real World

**Please plan to discuss your paper with me privately, alone or as a team, before spring break.

David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World*

Politics 49:3 (April 1997): 430-51.

Phillippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is. . . and Is Not" *Journal of Democracy* 2 (Summer 1991): 75-88.

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

Daniel Brinks, "Informal Institutions and the Rule of Law: The Judicial Response to State Killings in Buenos Aires and São Paulo in the 1990s," *Comparative Politics* 36:1 (2003): 1-19.

David Altman and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness and Participation in Eighteen Latin American Countries," *Democratization* 9:2 (Summer 2002): 85-100.

Igor Mayer, Jurian Edelenbos, and René Monnikhof, "Interactive Policy Development: Undermining or Sustaining Democracy?" *Public Administration* 83:1 (March 2005): 179-200.

Aníbal Pérez Liñán, "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Citizens' Perspective," in Miguel Gutiérrez-Saxe and Jorge Vargas Cullell, eds., "A Citizens' Audit on the Quality of Democracy: A Proposal," unpublished ms., The Helen Kellogg Institute of International Studies, University of Notre Dame, April 1998. 16 pp. +19 pp. of tables.

Recommended

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (January 1994): 55-69;

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7:2 (April 1996): 34-51; and the debate on it in *JoD* 7:4 (October 1996): 151-68.

Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*

(Yale UP, 1996), pp. 62-104.

E. Huber, D. Rueschemeyer, and J.D. Stephens, "The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Dimensions," *Comparative Politics* 29:3 (April 1997): 323-342.

Luis Roniger and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata, *Democracy, Clientelism, and Civil Society* (Lynne Rienner, 1994).

Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies* (Lynne Rienner, April 1999).

Joseph L. Staats; Shaun Bowler; Jonathan T. Hiskey. Measuring judicial performance in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society*, Winter 2005 v47 i4 p77-106.

March 7 Theoretical Support for Broadening the Concept

Katz, *Democracy and Elections*, pp. 67-99.

David Held, *Models of Democracy* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1987), pp. 13-69 (Athena, Augustine, Aquinas, Machiavelli, Rousseau, Wollstonecraft), 121-154 (Marx and Engels), 233-253 (Marcuse and Habermas), 253-273 (Hayek, Nozick, Poulantzas, MacPherson, Pateman), and 295-334 (Held).

Burt L. Monroe, "Fully Proportional Representation," *American Political Science Review* 89:4 (December 1995): 925-940.

David Held, "The Transformation of Political Community: Rethinking Democracy in the Context of Globalization," in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, eds., *Democracy's Edges* (Cambridge UP, 1999), pp. 84-111.

Recommended

Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge UP, 1970);

John Dunn, "Democratic Theory," in Dunn, *Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future*

(Cambridge UP, 1979), pp. 1-28.

Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (University of California Press, 1984).

William H. Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1982).

Arthur Lupia and Mathew D. McCubbins, *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* (Cambridge UP, 1998), part I.

David Beetham, ed., *Defining and Measuring Democracy* (Sage Publications, 1994).

March 14. No class due to spring break.

March 21. Brainstorming Session

**Write a proposal of 500-1000 words that defines a neglected component of democracy, justifies its inclusion in the concept of democracy, suggests how it might be operationalized, and proposes a consequence of possessing or lacking this component. Present this in class. Students with similar interests are welcome to collaborate on the seminar paper, especially if they have complementary skills or backgrounds. 20% of grade.

March 28. Consequences of Democracy: War and Peace

**Please plan to discuss your paper with me privately again, alone or as a team, before this class.

Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Alliance, Contiguity, Wealth, and Political Stability: Is the Lack of Conflict among Democracies a Statistical Artifact?" *International Interactions* 17 (1992): 245-67.

Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security*

19:2 (Autumn 1994): 5-49.

James Lee Ray, *Democracy and International Conflict: An Evaluation of the Democratic Peace Proposition* (University of South Carolina Press, 1995), chapter 3 (pp. 86-130).

David L. Rousseau, Christopher Gelpi, Dan Reiter, and Paul K. Huth, "Assessing the Dyadic Nature of the Democratic Peace, 1918-88," *American Political Science Review* 90:3 (September 1996): 512-33.

Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97:4 (November 2003): 585-602.

Michael W. Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99:3 (August 2005): 463-466.

Andrew J. Enterline and J. Michael Greig, "Beacons of Hope? The Impact of Imposed Democracy on Regional Peace, Democracy, and Prosperity," *Journal of Politics* 67:4 (November 2005): 1075-1098.

Recommended

Kurt Taylor Gaubatz, *Elections and War: The Electoral Incentive in the Democratic Politics of War and Peace* (Stanford UP, 1999).

April 4. Consequences of Democracy: Culture, Public Opinion, and Human Development

Alexis de Tocqueville, "Author's Introduction," *Democracy in America* (Anchor Books, 1969), pp. 9-20.

Richard S. Katz, *Democracy and Elections* (Oxford UP, 1997), chapter 15 (pp. 278-310).

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (Yale UP, 1999), chapters 15 and 16 (pp. 275-309).

Michael K. Le Roy, "Participation, Size, and Democracy," *Comparative Politics* 27:3 (April 1995): 297-316.

Jim Granato and Ronald Inglehart, "Cultural Values, Stable Democracy, and Economic Development: a Reply," *American Journal of Political Science* 40:3 (August 1996): 680-96.

Christopher J. Anderson and Christine A. Guillory, "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: a Cross-national Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems," *American Political Science Review* 91:1 (March 1997): 66-81.

Arthur Lupia and Mathew D. McCubbins, *The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?* (Cambridge UP, 1998), pp. 205-227: "The Institutions of Knowledge."

Mishler, William and Richard Rose. 1999. "Five Years After the Fall: Trajectories of Support for Democracy in Post-Communist Europe." In Pippa Norris Ed., *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Recommended

James S. Fishkin, *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

G. Bingham Powell and Georg Vanberg, "Election Laws, Disproportionality and the Left-Right Dimension: Implications for Two Visions of Democracy." Paper prepared for delivery at the 1998 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, September 3-6, 1998.

April 11. Consequences of Democracy: Governability, Public Order, and Human Rights

**By this class meeting, each student will sign up to serve as a discussant for another student's paper. Coauthored papers will have

more than one discussant. Your performance as discussant will be 10% of the grade.

Bingham Powell, Jr., *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence* (Harvard UP, 1982), chapters 1 and 10.

Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chapters 14 and 15 (pp. 243-274).

Jeffrey J. Ryan, "The Impact of Democratization on Revolutionary Movements," *Comparative Politics* 27:1 (October 1994): 27-44.

Matthew Krain, "Contemporary Democracies Revisited: Democracy, Political Violence, and Event Count Models," *Comparative Political Studies* 31:2 (April 1998): 139-64.

Steven C. Poe, C. Neal Tate, and Linda Camp Keith, "Repression of the Human Right to Personal Integrity Revisited: a Global Cross-national Study Covering the Years 1976-1993," *International Studies Quarterly* 43:2 (June 1999): 291-324.

April 18. Consequences of Democracy: Economic Policy and Performance

Larry Sirowy and Alex Inkeles, "The Effects of Democracy on Economic Growth and Inequality: A Review," in Inkeles, *On Measuring Democracy*, pp. 125-56. Also published in *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25:1 (Spring 1990): 126-157.

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 142-278.

Yi Feng, *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Performance: Theory and Evidence* (MIT Press, 2003), pp. 93-121 and 295-312.

Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge UP, 2003), chapters 5 and 6 (pp. 171-232).

Recommended

Marc Lindenberg and Shantayanan Devarajan, "Prescribing Strong Economic Medicine: Revisiting the Myths about Structural Adjustment, Democracy, and Economic Performance in Developing Countries," *Comparative Politics* 25:2 (January 1993): 169-82.

John F. Helliwell, "Empirical Linkages Between Democracy and Economic Growth," *British Journal of Political Science* 24:2 (April 1994): 225-48.

José Antonio Cheibub, "Political Regimes and the Extractive Capacity of Governments: Taxation in Democracies and Dictatorships," *World Politics* 50:3 (April 1998): 349-76.

Leblang, David A. "Property Rights, Democracy and Economic Growth," *Political Research Quarterly* 49: 1 (March 1996): 5-26.

Marcus L. Crepaz, "Consensus versus Majoritarian Democracy: Political Institutions and Their Impact on Macroeconomic Performance and Industrial Disputes," *Comparative Political Studies* 29:1 (February 1996): 4-26.

Li Quan, "Democracy, Autocracy, and Tax Incentives to Foreign Direct Investors: A Cross-National Analysis," *Journal of Politics* 68:1 (2006): 62-74.

April 25 and May 2. Presentation of research papers

**You must email a copy of your draft paper to the class and me by the previous class meeting. This draft counts as 30% of your course grade, so it is crucial to have a good draft ready on time. Final drafts for grading will be due on the official exam date for this course. (There is no final exam.) The final draft counts 20%, and grading standards rise between the first and last drafts, so substantial improvement is expected.