

POLS 6331-01: Seminar in Democratization

Fall 2015

Instructor: Dr. Ryan Kennedy
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Class Time: 5:00 PM – 8:00 PM Tuesdays (PGH 310)

Office Hours: Tuesdays 11:00am-1:00pm

Course Description:

This is a graduate-level seminar on democracy and democratization. Perhaps more than any other field, democratization has been at the heart of comparative politics. An inordinate number of the “classics” in comparative politics have dealt in some way with the onset, survival, or effects of democracy. The topic, however, is a multifaceted one; combining economic, cultural, social, and psychological viewpoints. The topic is also one that has been addressed within the context of all geographic areas and countries. Thus, no single course can come close to covering all the important works on this topic.

This course is meant to provide a graduate-level introduction to the democratization literature. Students will be exposed to selections offering a wide variety of methodological approaches and conclusions. The ultimate goal is that the student comes away with a firm understanding of the key insights in the field and with the ability to put together a conference-quality research project on democracy and democratization.

Assignments and Grading:

In addition to a relatively heavy reading load, students will be expected to do a substantial amount of independent writing. First, all students will be expected to turn in a weekly 1 to 2 page critique of one of that week’s reading. This critique will consist of a one to two paragraphs summarizing the reading for the week, followed by a short discussion of the shortcomings and relationship with other works. These will be graded on a 3-level scale (good, acceptable, unacceptable/missing) and should be distributed to your classmates on the Monday before class meets.

Every week some students will be assigned to present a particular reading the next week. This will involve preparing an explanation of the reading, how it relates to other readings for the week, and questions for class discussion. [Take these seriously. This exercise will be useful when you start preparing for general exams.]

This is a seminar class. Students are expected to come to class having done the readings and being ready for active discussion. A substantial portion of the student’s grade will depend on being present and being active in discussion.

Finally, students will be expected to design (and preferably carry out) a conference-quality research project on the course subject. This will include a full literature review

(beyond class readings) and a clear discussion of how the research is/will be conducted. Students who have not had a previous experience with this type of assignment should talk with the instructor as soon as possible to receive an overview of what this involves.

Readings:

No books are required for this course. All readings are available from the electronic journals available from the University of Houston (<http://info.lib.uh.edu>) library website. This usually involves utilizing Jstor, EbscoHost, or the publisher's website as linked from the library website. Those articles and books not available through the university website are available on the Blackboard course website. **Students should familiarize themselves with the Blackboard website as soon as possible, and report any problems as soon as possible!!!**

Plagiarism and Academic Honesty:

Plagiarism is the representation of another's works or ideas as one's own: it includes the unacknowledged word for word use and/or paraphrasing of another person's work, and/or the inappropriate unacknowledged use of another person's ideas. The Department of Political Science adheres to the University Policy on Academic Honesty:

<http://www.uh.edu/academics/catalog/general/acade2.html#honesty>

Plagiarism via the internet is not only dishonest, it's also liable to be caught. Papers copied from the internet do not fit well with course-specific writing prompts and search engines make finding the plagiarized material very easy. In addition, faculty at University of Houston use a database (Turnitin) designed specifically to catch plagiarism from the internet (and purchased papers).

If you are caught plagiarising a paper, the standard punishment is failure in the course.

To protect yourself from charges of plagiarism, and to get in the habit of using proper citation, you should reference a style sheet for a major citation format (MLA, Tarabian, APA, APSA, etc.) and use it to properly cite your resources in your papers. A short APA style sheet is available for your reference on Blackboard.

Disability Services:

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Center for Students with DisABILITIES will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs. The CSD is located in CSD Building #568, Room#110; telephone (713)743-5400, TDD (713)749-1527; <http://www.uh.edu/csd/index.htm>.

Outline of Readings and Topics:

Week 1: Introduction to Course, Discussion of Final Project, and Overview of Democratization Literature (8/25)

- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What do we know about democratization after twenty years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 163-181.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2006. "How did Europe democratize?" *World Politics* 58: 311-338.
- Bunce, Valerie. 2000. "Comparative democratization: big and bounded generalizations." *Comparative Political Studies* 33: 703-734.
- King, Gary. 2006. "Publication, Publication." *PS*, 39(1): 119-125.
- Zigerell, L.J. 2011. "Of Publishable Quality: Ideas for Political Science Seminar Papers." *PS*, July: 629-633.

Recommended:

- Macridis, Roy C. 1992 (reprint). "Major Characteristics of the Traditional Approach." In Bernard Susser (ed.) *Approaches to the Study of Politics*. MacMillan.
- Munck, Geraldo. 2001. "The regime question: theory building in democracy studies." *World Politics*, 54: 119-144.
- Tilly, Charles. 2001 "Mechanisms in political processes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 21-41.

Week 2: Definition of Democracy (9/1)

- Dahl, Robert. 1971. *Polyarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (p. 1-16.)
- Collier, David and Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with adjectives: conceptual innovation in comparative research." *World Politics* 49: 430-451.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What democracy is...and is not." *Journal of Democracy* 2: 75-88.
- Collier, David and Robert Adcock. 1999. "Democracy and dichotomies: a pragmatic approach to choices about concepts." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 537-565.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Anotnio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and development*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (p. 13-76)
- Wilson, Matthew C. 2014. "A Discreet Critique of Discrete Regime Type Data." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(5): 689-714.
- Treier, Shawn and Simon Jackman. 2008. "Democracy as a Latent Variable." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 201-217.

Recommended:

- Pemstein, Daniel, Stephen A. Meserve, and James Melton. 2010. "Democratic Compromise: A Latent Variable Analysis of Ten Measures of Regime Type." *Political Analysis* 19(2): 1-24.
- Bollen, Kenneth. 1990. "Political democracy: conceptual and measurement traps." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25: 7-24.

Week 3: Social Class and Democratization – The Classics (9/8)

- Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. 1946. *Manifesto of the communist party*. Chicago, IL: Charles H. Kerr & Co. (p. 12-30)
- Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press. (p. 414-508)
- Stephens, John D. 1989. "Democratic transitions and breakdown in Western Europe, 1870-1939." *American Journal of Sociology* 94: 1019-1077.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist development and democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. (p. 40-78, 155-225)
- Bellin, Eva. 2000. "Contingent democrats." *World Politics*, 52: 175-205.

Recommended:

- Paige, Jeffrey M. 1997. *Coffee and power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. (p. 13-52)

Week 4: Social Class and Democratization II – The “New Structuralists” (9/15)

- Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University. (p. 1-64)
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2008. "Does landholding inequality block democratization?" *World Politics* 60: 610-641.
- Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. 2010. "Inequality and democratization: A Contractarian Approach." *Comparative Political Studies* 43(12): 1543-1574.
- Houle, Christian. 2009. "Inequality and democracy." *World Politics* 61(4): 589-622.
- Slater, Dan, Benjamin Smith, and Gautam Nair. "Economic Origins of Democratic Breakdown? The Redistributive Model and the Postcolonial State." *Perspectives on Politics* 12(2): 353-374.
- Acemoglu, Daron, Suresh Naidu, Pascual Restrepo, and James A. Robinson. 2013. "Democracy, Redistribution and Inequality." MIT: Working Paper.

Recommended:

- Soifer, Hillel David. 2009. "The redistributive threat." BWPI Working Paper: Manchester, UK.
- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University.
- Morrison, Kevin. 2009. "Oil, Nontax Revenue, and the Redistributive Foundations of Regime Stability." *International Organization* 63: 107-138.
- Ardanaz, Martin and Isabela Mares. 2014. "Labor Shortages, Rural Inequality, and Democratization." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(12): 1639-1669.

Week 5: Modernization Theory and its Critics (9/22)

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1981. *Political man*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. (Chapter 2.)
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1973. *Modernization and bureaucratic authoritarianism*. Berkeley: Institute for International Studies, University of California. (p. 51-77)
- Diamond, Larry. 1992. "Economic development and democracy reconsidered." In *Reexamining democracy*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications. (p. 93-139)
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: theories and facts." *World Politics* 49(2): 155-183.
- Boix, Carles, and Susan C. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55: 517-549.
- Robinson, James A. 2006. "Economic development and democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9: 503-527.

Recommended:

- Epstein, David L., Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen, Sharyn O'Halloran. 2006. "Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 551-569.
- Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Anotnio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and development*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (p. 78-141)
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Week 6: Political Culture (9/29)

- Almond, Gabriel, and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The civic culture*. Boston: Little, Brown. (p. 1-44)
- Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, cultural change, and democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (p. 1-76)
- Fukuyama, Francis. 1995. "Confucianism and democracy." *Journal of Democracy*, 6: 20-33.
- Pharr, Susan, Robert D. Putnam, Russell J. Dalton. 2000. "A quarter century of declining confidence." *Journal of Democracy*, 11: 5-25.
- Tusalem, Rollin F. 2009. "The Role of Protestantism in Democratic Consolidation Among Transitional States." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(7): 882-915.

Recommended:

- Norris, Pippa (ed.). 1999. *Critical citizens: global support for democratic governance*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba (eds.). 1989. *The Civic Culture Revisited*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Muller, Edward N., and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1994. "Civic culture and democracy: the question of causal relationships." *American Political Science Review*, 88: 635-652.

- Dalton, Russell J. 2000. "Citizen attitudes and political behavior." *Comparative Political Studies* 33: 912-940.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1988. "The renaissance of political culture." *American Political Science Review*, 82: 1203-1230.

Week 7: Civil Society and Social Forces (10/6)

- Putnam, Robert. 1993. *Making democracy work*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (p. 3-16, 83-120)
- Berman, Sheri. 1997. "Civil society and the collapse of the Weimar Republic." *World Politics*, 49: 401-429.
- Radnitz, Scott, Jonathan Wheatley, and Christoph Zurcher. 2009. "The Origins of Social Capital: Evidence from a Survey of Post-Soviet Central Asia." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(6): 707-732.
- Gibson, James. 2001. "Social networks, civil society, and the prospects for consolidating Russia's democratic transition." *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 51-66.
- Waylen, Georgina. 1994. "Women and democratization." *World Politics*, 46: 327-354.

Recommended:

- Krishna, Anirudh. 2002. *Active social capital*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling alone*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Letki, Natalia and Geoffrey Evans. 2005. "Endogenizing social trust: democratization in East-Central Europe." *British Journal of Political Science* 35: 515-529.

Week 8: Crisis, Choice, and Democratization (10/13)

- Rustow, Dankwart. 1970. "Transitions to democracy." *Comparative Politics* 3: 337-365.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1986. "Paths towards redemocratization." In *Transitions from authoritarian rule*. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University. (p. 64-86)
- Higley, John and Richard Gunther (eds.). 1992. *Elites and democratic consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*. (p. 1-37, 81-112).
- Linz, John J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of democratic transition and consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University. (p. 55-85).
- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the market*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (p. 51-99)

Recommended:

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1998. "George Washington and the founding of democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 9: 24-38.
- Herbst, Jeffrey. 1998. "Prospects for elite-driven democracy in South Africa." *Political Science Quarterly* 112: 595-615.

- Weingast, Barry. 1997. "The political foundations of democracy and rule of law." *American Political Science Review*, 91: 245-263.
- Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1986. "Some problems in the study of the transition to democracy." In *Transitions from authoritarian rule*. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University. (p. 47-63)

Week 9: Institutions and Democracy (10/20)

- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of democracy*. New York: Yale University Press. (p. 1-47)
- Linz, Juan J. 1990. "The perils of presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1: 51-69.
- Horowitz, Donald L., Seymour Martin Lipset, and Juan J. Linz. 1990. "Debate: presidents vs. parliaments." *Journal of Democracy* 1: 73-91.
- Cheibub, Jose Antonio and Fernando Limongi. 2002. "Democratic institutions and regime survival." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5: 151-179.
- Sing, Ming. 2010. "Explaining Democratic Survival Globally (1946-2002)." *Journal of Politics* 72: 438-455.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1998. "Horizontal accountability in new democracies." *Journal of Democracy* 9: 112-126.

Recommended:

- Maeda, Ko. 2010. "Two Modes of Democratic Breakdown: A Competing Risks Analysis of Democratic Durability." *Journal of Politics* 72(4): 1129-1143.
- Stepan, Alfred and Cindy Skach. 1993. "Constitutional frameworks and democratic consolidation." *World Politics* 46: 1-22.
- Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner. 1996. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University. (p. 162-193)
- Lijphart, Arend. 1977. *Democracy in plural societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. (p. 25-52)

Week 10: Authoritarian Resilience (10/27)

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, and George W. Downs. 2005. "The Rise of Sustainable Autocracy." *Foreign Affairs*, 84: 77-86.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403-422.
- Diamond, Larry. 2002. "Thinking about hybrid regimes." *Journal of Democracy* 13: 5-21.
- Gandhi, Jennifer and Adam Przeworski. 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies* 40(11): 1279-1301.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "The rise of competitive authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13: 51-65.

- Hellman, Joel. 1998. "Winner take all: the politics of partial reform in postcommunist transitions." *World Politics* 50: 203-234.
- Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(3): 515-532.
- Miller, Michael K. 2015. "Elections, Information and Policy Responsiveness in Autocratic Regimes." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(6): 691-727.
- Smith, Ian O. 2014. "Election Boycotts and Hybrid Regime Survival." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(5): 743-765.

Recommended:

- Bueno De Mesquita, Bruce and Alastair Smith. 2010. "Leader Survival, Revolutions, and the Nature of Government Finances." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(4): 936-950.
- Lust-Okar, Ellen, and Amaney Ahmad Jamal. 2002. "Rulers and Rules: Reassessing the Influence of Regime Type on Electoral Law Formation." *Comparative Political Studies* 35(2): 337-366.
- Lust-Okar, Ellen. 2006. "Elections under Authoritarianism: Preliminary Lessons from Jordan." *Democratization* 13(3): 456-471.
- Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. 2006. "Cooperation, Cooption, and Rebellion under Dictatorships." *Economics and Politics* 18(1): 1-26.
- Way, Lucan. 2002. "Pluralism by Default in Moldova." *Journal of Democracy* 13(4): 127-141.
- Fish, Steven, Stephen E. Hanson, and Philip G. Roeder. 2001. *Postcommunism and the theory of democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (p. 54-95)
- Gallagher, Mary E. 2002. "Reform and openness: why China's economic reforms have delayed democracy." *World Politics* 54: 338-372.
- Howard, Marc Morjé, and Philip G. Roessler. 2006. "Liberalizing Electoral Outcomes in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(2): 365-381.
- Brownlee, Jason. 2002. "And yet they persist: explaining survival and transition in neopatrimonial regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 37: 35-63.

Week 11: Democratic Consolidation (11/3)

- Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. 1996. "What makes democracies endure?" *Journal of Democracy* 7: 39-55.
- Fish, Steven, Stephen E. Hanson, and Philip G. Roeder. 2001. *Postcommunism and the theory of democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (p. 126-151)
- Schedler, Andreas. 1998. "What is democratic consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9: 91-107.
- Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University. (p. 64-116)
- Przeworski, Adam. 2015. "Acquiring the Habit of Changing Governments Through Elections." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(1): 101-129.

- Cho, Wonbin and Carolyn Logan. 2014. "Looking Toward the Future: Alternations in Power and Popular Perspectives on Democratic Durability in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(1): 30-54.
- Houle, Christian. 2015. "Ethnic Inequality and the Dismantling of Democracy: A Global Analysis." *World Politics* 67(3): 469-505.

Recommended:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1996. "Illusions about consolidation." *Journal of Democracy* 7: 34-51.
- Gunther, Richard, P. Nikoforos Diamandouros, and Hans-Jurgen Puhl. "O'Donnell's illusions: a rejoinder." And Guillermo O'Donnell "Illusions and conceptual flaws." *Journal of Democracy* 7: 151-168.

Week 12: International Aspects of Democratization (11/10)

- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The third wave*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press. (p. 3-108)
- Kopstein, Jeffrey S. and David A. Reilly. 2000. "Geographic diffusion and the transformation of the postcommunist world." *World Politics* 53: 1-37.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. *Competitive Authoritarianism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University. (p.37-85.)
- Kadera, Kelly M., Mark J.C. Crescenzi, and Megan L. Shannon. 2003. "Democratic Survival, Peace, and War in the International System." *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(2): 234-247.
- Poast, Paul and Johannes Urpelainen. 2015. "How International Organizations Support Democratization: Preventing Authoritarian Reversals or Promoting Consolidation?" *World Politics* 67(1): 72-113.
- Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105(4): 809-828.

Week 13: Democracy and Economic Development (11/17)

- Wright, Joseph. 2008. "Do Authoritarian Institutions Constrain? How Legislatures Affect Economic Growth." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 332-343.
- Bunce, Valerie. 2001. "Democratization and economic reform." *Annual Review of Political Science* 4: 43-65.
- Glaeser, Edward L., Rafael La Porta, Florencio Lopez-de-Silanes, and Andrei Shleifer. 2004. "Do Institutions Cause Growth?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 9: 271-303.
- Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1993. "Political Regimes and Economic Growth." *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7(3): 51-69.
- Barro, Robert J. 1996. "Democracy and Growth." *Journal of Economic Growth* 1: 1-27.
- Milner, Helen V. and Bumba Mukherjee. 2009. "Democratization and Economic Globalization" *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 163-181.

- Gerring, John, Philip Bond, William T. Barndt, and Carola Moreno. 2005. "Democracy and Economic Growth." *World Politics* 57: 323-364.
- Knutsen, Carl Henrik and Tore Wig. 2015. "Government Turnover and the Effects of Regime Type: How Requiring Alternation in Power Biases Against the Economic Benefits of Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 48(7): 882-914.

Recommended:

Doucouliafos, Hristos and Mehmet Ali Ulubasoglu. 2008. "Democracy and Economic Growth: A Meta-Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 61-83.

11/24 - Practice Presentations.

Week 14: New Frontiers in Democratization Studies (12/1)

- Bueno de Mesquita, and Alastair Smith. 2009. "Political survival and endogenous institutional change." *Comparative Political Studies* 42: 167-197.
- Gibson, Edward L. 2005. "Boundary control: subnational authoritarianism in democratic countries." *World Politics* 58: 101-132.
- Ahmadov, Anar K. 2014. "Oil, Democracy, and Context: A Meta-Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(9): 1238-1267.
- Aksoy, Deniz, David B. Carter, and Joseph Wright. 2015. "Terrorism and the Fate of Dictators." *World Politics* 67(3): 423-468.

Recommended:

-- Heller, Patrick. 2000. "Degrees of Democracy: Some Comparative Lessons from India." *World Politics* 52: 484-519.