

Theories of Democratic Transitions and Good Governance (790:540:01)
Spring 2018

Instructor: Robert Kaufman
Email: Kaufrutger@Aol.Com
Thursdays, 6:00-8:40pm
HCK 612/MMC N462

Description and Objectives

During the last three decades, the fall of military and one-party regimes and the rise of various forms of elected governments have brought about a sweeping transformation of the global political landscape. Among both political science theorists and democracy advocates, this transformation has provoked a lively debate about the causes of, and constraints on, transitions to political democracy. What are the conditions in which such transitions can occur? To what extent do they depend on structural factors such as economic development, and to what extent on political and institutional behaviors that can be more directly shaped by political actors? To what extent is stable democracy contingent on the prior establishment of effective underlying governance structures, and to what extent is democracy itself a precondition of good governance? The purpose of this course is to introduce students to alternative analytic perspectives on such issues. It draws both on the work of academic political scientists and on the more “applied” analysis of politically-engaged democracy advocates.

Grades for the course will be based on three 10-15 page papers on assigned topics, due February 15, March 8, and May 3.

Readings

The following books are recommended for purchase. All other reading assignments are available a) on reserve, b) on the Sakai page, or c) through the electronic journals collection of the library.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press 2010

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Johns Hopkins University Press 1986.

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *Dictators and Democrats: Masses, Elites, and Regime Change*. Princeton University Press. ISBN: 978-0-691-17215-6

Nancy Bermeo and Deborah Yashar, eds. *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World*. Cambridge University Press 2016

Reading Assignments

January 18: Background Reading and General Discussion: Students will be expected to be prepared to discuss these readings during the first class meeting.

USAID, “Theories of Democratic Change, Phase II.”

Haggard and Kaufman, “Democratization during the Third Wave”

PART ONE: STRUCTURAL THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY

January 25: Economic Development and Democracy. Does Development Lead to Democracy?

Seymore M. Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 1959. 53(1): 69-105.

Boix, Carles, and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55 (July): 517-49.

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. "Modernization: Theories and facts." *World politics* 49, no. 02 (1997): 155-183.

Haggard and Kaufman, "Democratization during the Third Wave"

February 1: Inequality and Transitions: Can Democracies Emerge/Survive in Conditions of High Economic Inequality?

Acemoglu and Robinson, *Economic Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship*, pp. 1-87

Gimpelson and Treisman, "Misperceiving Inequality"

Haggard and Kaufman, *Dictators and Democrats*, Chapter 1, pp. 29-26, Chapter 6, pp. 219-253.

Recommended

Ansell and Samuels, "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach" *Comparative Political Studies* 43:12 (December 2010).

Christian Houle, "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics* 61:4 (October 2009).

John R. Freeman and Dennis P. Quinn, "The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered," *American Political Science Review* 106, 1 (2012)

Carles Boix, "Democracy, Development and the International System," *American Political Science Review*, 105, 4 (2011).

R. Kaufman, "The Political Effects of Inequality: Some Inconvenient Facts"

February 8: Natural Resources and Rentier States: Does resource wealth impede democratic development?

Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53(3): 325-361.

Haber, Stephen and Victor Menaldo. 2011. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse." *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 1-26.

Andersen, Jørgen Juel and Michael L. Ross. 2014. "The Big Oil Change: A Closer Look at the Haber-Menaldo Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 47(7): 993-1021.

Sarah Brooks and Marcus Kurtz, Oil and Democracy: Endogenous Natural Resources and the Political 'Resource Curse'" *International Organization*, Vol 70: 2 (2016)

Recommended

Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

PART TWO: POLITICAL ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS

February 15: Political Agency and Strategic Choices (FIRST PAPER DUE)

O'Donnell and Schmitter, *Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracy*, pp. 1-73

Rustow, Dankwart. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2(3): 337-63.

Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13, 1 (January): 5-21.

February 22: The Impact of Authoritarian Institutions and Political Organization

Hadenius, Alex and Jan Teorell. 2007. "Pathways from Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 18, 1 (January): 143-157.

Haggard and Kaufman, *Dictators and Democrats*, Chapters 2 – 5.

Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 53, 3: 515-532.

Recommended:

Dawn Brancati, *Democracy Protests: Origins, Features, and Significance* Cambridge University Press, 2016

March 1: The Role of Parties and Civil Society

Nancy Bermeo and Deborah Yashar, eds. *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World*. Cambridge University Press 2016

Recommended:

Grzegorz Ekiert and Jan Kubik, "Myths and Realities of Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* 25, 1 (January 2014): 46-58.

1

Ekiert, Gzegorz and Jan Kubik. 1998. "Contentious Politics in New Democracies: East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, 1989-1993." *World Politics* 50, 4 (July): 547-581.

Lucan Way, "Civil Society and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 25, 3 (July 2014): 35-43.

March 8: (Second Paper Due) Religion, Ethnicity, and Democracy: Does ethnic/religious pluralism undermine democracy?

Daniel Philpott, Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion,” *American Political Science Review*, 101, 3 (August 2007): 505-525.

Fish, M. Steven, and Matthew Kroenig. 2006. “Diversity, Conflict and Democracy: Some Evidence from Eurasia and East Europe.” *Democratization* 13, 5: 828-842.

Donald L. Horowitz, “Ethnic Power Sharing: Three Big Problems,” *Journal of Democracy* 25, 2 (April 2014): 5-20

PART III: DEMOCRATIC INSTABILITY

March 19: Spring Break

March 26: Competitive Authoritarian Regimes

Levitsky and Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism*

April 3: Is there a democratic recession?

Larry Diamond, “Facing up to the Democratic Recession,” *Journal of Democracy* 26 (January 2015): 140-154.

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, “The Myth of Democratic Recession,” *Journal of Democracy*, 26 (January 2015): 45-58.

Nancy Bermeo, “On Democratic Backsliding,” *Journal of Democracy* January 2016: 5-19

April 10: The Threat to Democracy in Developed Countries

Robert Mickey, Steven Levitsky, and Lucan Ahmad Way, “Is America Still Safe for Democracy? Why the United States is in Danger of Backsliding.” *Foreign Affairs*. 2017.

Robert Kaufman, “Notes on Democratic Decline”

Foa, Roberto Stefan and Yascha Mounk 2016. “The Democratic Disconnect.” *Journal of Democracy* 27, 3 (July):5-17.

Inglehart, Ronald F. “How Much Should We Worry?” *Journal of Democracy* 27, 3 (July): 18-23.

Inglehart, Ronald F. and Pippa Norris 2016. “Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash,” Harvard, John F. Kennedy School of Government Faculty Research Working Paper Series RWP16-026, August.

Recommended

Haggard and Kaufman, *Dictators and Democrats*, Chapters 6 and 8.

April 17: International Influences

Gunitsky, Seva. 2014. "From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century." *International Organization* 68, 3 (Summer): 561-97.

Pevehouse, Jon C. 2002. "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization." *International Organization* 56 (Summer): 515-49.

Poast, Paul and Johannes Urpelainen. 2015. "How International Organizations Support Democratization: Preventing Authoritarian Reversals or Promoting Consolidation?" *World Politics* 67, 1: 72-113.

Whitehead, Lawrence. 2015. "Anti-Democracy Promotion: Four Strategies in Search of a Framework," *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 10, 2: 1-24

April 26: How much do we know about why democracies emerge and what makes them stable?

Reread: USAID, "Theories of Democratic Change, Phase II."

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity means, among other things that you as a student must:

- Develop and write all of your own assignments.
- Show in detail where the materials you use in your papers come from. Create citations whether you are paraphrasing authors or quoting them directly. Be sure always to show source and page number within the assignment and include a bibliography in the back.
- Do not fabricate information or citations in your work.
- Do not facilitate academic dishonesty for another student by allowing your own work to be submitted by others.

The consequences of scholastic dishonesty are very serious. If you are in doubt about any issue related to plagiarism or scholastic dishonesty, please discuss it with the instructor. Students are also advised to consult the following links that provide more information and plagiarism tutorials:

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/>

<http://library.camden.rutgers.edu/EducationalModules/Plagiarism/>

http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/avoid_plagiarism

<http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/resources-for-students/>

Other Academic Support Services

Rutgers has a variety of resources for academic support. For more information, check <http://www.rutgers.edu/academics/academic-support>

Rutgers has Learning Centers on each campus where any student can obtain tutoring and other help. For information, check <http://lrc.rutgers.edu/>

Rutgers also has a Writing Center where students can obtain help with writing skills and assignments. Learn more here: <http://wp.rutgers.edu/tutoring/writingcenters>