**Theories of Democratic Transitions and Good Governance (790:540)**

**Fall 2015**

Instructor: Robert Kaufman

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Thursdays, 6:00-8:40

**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 has 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 October 15, November 12, and December 17.

**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.

Ruth Berins Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America.* (Cambridge University Press 1999)

Thomas Carothers, *Critical Mission: Essays on Democracy Promotion*. Washington, D.C. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Sergio Bitar and Abraham F. Lowenthal, eds. *Democratic Transitions: Conversations with World Leaders.* Johns Hopkins University Press (**forthcoming on September 3, 2015**)

**Reading Assignments**

September 3: Background Reading.

I will be away the first week to attend the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. Students are strongly advised to consult the following background works. They raise analytic issues about the meanings and causes of democracy that will be taken up in the following weeks.

Larry Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies throughout the World*. Times Books, New York: Henry Holt and Company

Haggard and Kaufman, “Democratization During the Third Wave” *Annual Review of Political Science.*

September 10: Concept and Measurement: What do we mean by “democracy?” How do we measure it? Is democracy on the decline? Note: The first three readings deal with issues of concept and measurement. The last two debate contemporary trends in democratic development and backsliding.

Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, “The Quality of Democracy: An Overview,” *Journal of Democracy* 15, 4 (October 2004): 20-31.

Munck, Gerardo L., and Jay Verkuilen. "Conceptualizing and measuring democracy Evaluating alternative indices." *Comparative political studies* 35, no. 1 (2002): 5-34.

Marc F. Plattner, “A Skeptical Afterword,” *Journal of Democracy*, 15,4 (October 2004): 106-110.

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.

Recommended

Guillermo O’Donnell, “Why the Rule of Law Matters,” *Journal of Democracy*, 15,4 (October 2004): 32-46.

**Part One: Transitions**

September 17: Transitions: Debates on the Relation between Agency and Structure

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

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

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.

September 24: Transitions: Historical Perspectives: What Can We Learn from Europe?

Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy*

Daniel Ziblatt, “How Did Europe Democratize?” *World Politics* 58, (January 2006): 311-338.

October 1: The Effect of Authoritarian Institutions on Transitions: Does the Authoritarian Legacy Matter?

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

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. “What Do We Know About Democracy after Twenty Years?” *Annual*

*Review of Political Science*, 2 (June): 115-44.

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

October 8: 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

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

Haggard and Kaufman, “Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule.” *American Political Science Review*, August 2012.

Recommended

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”

**Part Two: Democratic Consolidation and Governance (FIRST PAPER DUE)**

October 15: Constitutional Debates: Are Parliamentary Regimes More Stable?

Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: The Case of Latin America (Comparative Perspectives* (Johns Hopkins 1994), pp. 3-151. (Linz critique of presidentialism, plus Valenzuela on Chile.

Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart, *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press 1997), Chapter 1 (pp. 12-55), Chapter 8 (pp. 300-321).

Robert Elgie, “From Linz to Tsebelis: Three Waves of Presidential/Parliamentary Studies? Cenre for International Studies, School of Law and Government, Dublin City University, Working paper 6, 2004.

October 22: Civil Society: What Do We Mean by Civil Society? How/to What Extent Does it Affect Democratic Stability?

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

Ottaway, Marina, and Thomas Carothers. 2000. *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Haggard and Kaufman, Chapter 2, 5, 7.

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.

October 29: Competitive Authoritarian Regimes

 Levitsky and Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism*

 Re-read the following:

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.

November 5: Democracy in Ethnically-Divided Societies: Does ethnic/religious pluralism undermine democratic stability?

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

November 12: International Influences (**SECOND PAPER DUE**)

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

November 19: Democracy and Governance: To what extent does the should establishment of effective states be a precondition of democratic transitions?

Mansfield, Edward D., and Jack Snyder. 2007. “The Sequencing ‘Fallacy,’” *Journal of Democracy* 18, 3: 5-10.

Carothers. 2007. “The ‘Sequencing’ Fallacy,” *Journal of Democracy*, 18, 1: 12-27

Francis Fukuyama, “Liberalism Versus State-Building,” *Journal of Democracy* 18, 3 (July 2007): 10-13.

Fukuyama, Francis. 2013. “What is Governance,” *Governance* 26, 3: 347-368.

Donald Emmerson, “Minding the Gap Between Democracy and Governance,” *Journal of Democracy* 23, 2 (April 2012):62-73

Recommended

Brancati, Dawn and Jack Snyder. 2012. “Time to Kill: The Impact of Election Timing on Postconflict Stability,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57, 5: 822-853.

Fortin, Jessica. 2012. “Is There a Necessary Condition for Democracy? The Role of State Capacity in Postcommunist Countries,” *Comparative Political Studies* 45, 7: 903-930.

Francis Fukuyama, “Why is Democracy Performing So Poorly?” *Journal of Democracy*, 26, 1, January 2015: 11-20.

Sheri Berman,”The Vain Hope for ‘Correct’ Timing,” *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 18, 3, (July 2007): 14-17.

November 26: Thanksgiving Break

December 3: Debates in Democracy Promotion

Carothers et al

December 10: Perspectives from Democratic Leaders

Bitar and Lowenthal, *Democratic Transitions: Conversations with World Leaders*.

**DECEMBER 17: LAST PAPER DUE**