

**This is a preliminary syllabus and is subject to change before the start of the Spring 2020 semester.**

**Theories of Democratic Transitions and Good Governance (790:516)  
Spring 2018**

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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 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 29, 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

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

Daniel Ziblatt, *Conservative Parties and the Origins of Democracy*

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Reading Assignments**

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

USAID, "Theories of Democratic Change, Phase II." (Note: this is a comprehensive survey and evaluation of political science theories of democratic transition, compiled for democracy-promotion practitioners).

**Recommended:** Haggard and Kaufman, "Democratization during the Third Wave"

**January 25:** Concept and Measurement: What do we mean by "democracy?" How do we measure it? How does this impact the debate over whether democracy is on the decline?

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, Chapter 1, pp. 1-17. (available at <https://books.google.com/books?id=JcKz2249POcC&printsec=frontcover&source>)

Read and be prepared to discuss efforts to measure democracy in ONE of the following data sets: Polity; Freedom House; Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland; V-Democracy as discussed in Luhrmann, Lindberg, and Tannenberg below.

Mechkova, Luhrmann, and Lindberg, "How Much Democratic Backsliding?" *Journal of Democracy* 28, 4 (October 2017): 162-169)

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:**

Luhrmann, Lindberg, and Tannenberg, "Regimes in the World (RIW): A Robust Regime Type Measure based on V-Dem" University of Gothenburg: Working Paper, Series 2017:47, The Varieties of Democracy Institute **(Wonky, but Important)**

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

## **PART ONE: STRUCTURAL THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION**

**February 1:** 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.

Nancy Bermeo and Deborah Yashar, eds. *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World*. Chapter One.

**February 8: Inequality and Transitions: Can Democracies Emerge in Conditions of High Economic Inequality?**

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

Haggard and Kaufman, *Dictators and Democrats*, Introduction and Chapter 1, pp. 1-58.

Hillel Soiffer, "State Power and the Economic Origins of Democracy," *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2013),48: 1-22.

**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).

Gimpelson and Treisman, "Misperceiving Inequality"

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

**February 15: 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.

Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2. Case studies in Chapters 5 and 6.

**Recommended**

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)

**PART TWO: POLITICAL ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONS**

**February 22: 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.

**March 1: Political Organization and Authoritarian Institutions**

Haggard and Kaufman, *Dictators and Democrats*, Chapters 2, 3, 4.

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

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 8: The Role of Parties and Civil Society: European Experience**

Daniel Ziblatt, *Conservative Parties and the Origins of Democracy*

**March 15: Spring Break**

**March 22: The Role of Parties and Civil Society: Contemporary Experiences**

Nancy Bermeo and Deborah Yashar, eds. *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World*. Cambridge University Press 2016, Chapters: 2, 4, 5, and 6.

Comment: Kaufman

Comment: Ziblatt

**Recommended:**

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

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Ekiert, Grzegorz 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 29: Religion, Ethnicity, and Democracy: Does ethnic/religious pluralism undermine democracy? (SECOND PAPER DUE)**

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

**April 5: 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

**PART III: DEMOCRATIC INSTABILITY**

**April 12: Competitive Authoritarian Regimes**

Levitsky and Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism*

**April 19: Democratic Backsliding in the Developing World**

Haggard and Kaufman, Chapters 6-8.

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

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

**April 26: The Threat to Democracy in the United States and Europe**

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 and Stephan Haggard, “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.