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**POL/CUL 360 Democracy and Democratization in Comparative Perspective  
(4 Credits)**

Instructor: Dr. Mikhail Beznosov

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***Course Description***

In the last 30 years, a “third wave” of democratization has spread across the world. Countries in Latin America, Africa, East Asia, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union transitioned from authoritarian to democratic rule. Now, these countries are working to maintain stable political institutions and legitimize democracy while facing economic crises and constant threats of democratic breakdown. Some new democracies failed in the early post-transition years unable to successfully restructure government and incorporate civil society into the new system. Other states have been effectively consolidating democracy and increasing their legitimacy in the world system. Why did the “third wave” occur at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century? What were the causes of democratic transitions around the world and who were the key actors? How successful have the transitions been? What have been the political effects of democratization both within new democracies and in the world system more broadly? What is the future for new democracies – can states maintain their democratic status or will political instability overwhelm them and lead to a return to authoritarian rule? By the end of this course, students will be able to answer each of these questions. Further, they will have developed a set of analytical tools to critically evaluate the role of democracy in today’s world and in the future. Carefully chosen reading materials, lectures, structured discussions, and case studies of particular interest to each student will help them reach these goals.

The course is organized around four key thematic areas. First, we will examine the concept of democracy. We will discuss the range of definitions of democracy, methods for studying democracies, and some of the difficulties associated with the concept. Second, we will analyze democratic transitions and their causes focusing on the key ways in which third wave democratizations occurred and the primary actors in the transitions. Third, we will examine the consolidation of democracy focusing on the role of political institutions, political economy and international forces, military relations, civil society, and political culture. Finally, we will discuss what the future may hold for new democracies. Although it is impossible to know what lies ahead for these states, what we have learned about democracy in the previous three sections will provide a solid foundation from which to make well-informed projections. Throughout the course, we will read and discuss case studies of democratization from the regions of Europe, Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and the Americas, with an aim to illustrate the applicability of key concepts and theories and to draw comparative conclusions about the third wave of democratization.

***Course Format***

This course is not designed to be a series of lectures followed by a final exam. Rather, it is intended to be highly interactive and student led. We will be using a lot of audio-visual material in class.



### *Attendance*

Students cannot miss more than **25%** of the scheduled class sessions and still pass a course. In this course, my policy is that students receive **2 unexcused absences** to be used at any point during the semester. After that, the student's **final grade** is reduced by **5** points for each additional absence.

### *Examinations and Grading*

There are two standard examinations throughout the semester. One will be scheduled near the midterm period, and the other as the final examination. Both will test your knowledge of the issues covered throughout the course. The *exams* will consist of a small number of essay questions, which call on you to integrate and apply material from throughout the course. The exam essays are to be completed in class. A comprehensive study guide will be provided one week prior to the examination date.

The course grade will be determined on the basis of the following graded components:

First Exam, 30%; required.

Participation, 40%; required.

Final Exam, 30%; required.

As a part of participation requirements, each student must present a case study reading. In the second week of class, I will ask students to sign-up for the case study reading that they would like to present. Two students will present each case study and must work together to integrate their presentation. Presenters should aim for a 10 minute presentation and must highlight 1) the thesis, argument, or research question, 2) evidence that the author uses to make his or her case, 3) key findings or conclusions of the case study, 4) questions that the author failed to address that will generate class discussion. The presentation will comprise 50% of the class participation grade. Students not doing the presentation are still required to read the case studies and should be prepared to discuss the cases and answer questions generated by the presenters.

Courtesy: I want to avoid disruptions and noise during our class meetings. Please do not talk during meetings, read newspapers, drift in to meetings late, or walk out early. Please turn off cell phones and pagers before class begins. If extraordinary circumstances require you leave early, please inform me before class begins and sit by the door. If you are late, please enter the room quietly, but don't make this a habit.

Writing standards are important in this course. Your ability to communicate clearly and concisely will directly affect your grade.

I would like to hear from any special needs students in this class who may require some modification of the seating, testing, or other class requirements. Please see me after class or during my office hours.

Please be aware that the university's policies and rules related to academic honesty and integrity apply to all work done in this course. All work that you turn in is assumed to be your work, prepared solely by you, and



prepared exclusively for this course. If there is any question about these rules and understandings, please see me.

#### REQUIRED TEXTBOOKS:

Robert Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, 2000).

Georg Sørensen, *Democracy and Democratization: Processes and Prospects in a Changing World* (Westview Press, 1998).

Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds. *The Global Divergence of Democracies*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001). Referred to by D&P

Marina Ottaway, *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003)

#### Readings

The following books are available on reserve at the School of Sociology Library:

Carothers, Thomas. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999)

Diamond, Larry, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999)

Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995)

Howard, Marc Morjé, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991)

Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999)

Linz, Juan J., *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000)

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

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

Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)



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

Putnam, Robert D. Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy (Princeton: Princeton  
University Press, 1993)

Putnam, Robert D. Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community (New York: Simon &  
Schuster, 2000)

Several additional readings may be assigned and distributed occasionally.

**Topical Course Outline, Tentative Class Schedule, and Reading Assignments**

**Date                      Topic**

*Segment I: What is Democracy...And Why?*

Week 1                      *Course Introduction and Overview*

Weeks 2-4                  *What Democracy Is*

Dahl, On Democracy, chs.1-3, Sorensen, pp. 3-16

Robert Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition (New Haven: Yale University  
Press, 1971), pp. 1-32

Diamond, Developing Democracy, Ch. 1

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is ... and Is Not," Ch. 4 in  
Diamond and Plattner, eds., The Global Resurgence of Democracy (pp. 49-62)

Dahl, On Democracy, chs.4-7

Weeks 5-6                  *What Democracy Is Not*

D&P, chs.1-3

D&P, chs.6-7

Juan J. Linz, Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000)

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," Ch. 7 in The Global Resurgence of  
Democracy (pp. 94-108)

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," in Foreign Affairs, Vol. 76, No. 6  
(November/December 1997), pp. 22-43

Richard Rose and Doh Chull Shin, "Democratization Backwards: The Problem of Third-



Wave Democracies,” in *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (2001), pp. 331-354

Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (January 2002), pp. 5-21

Larry Diamond, “Thinking About Hybrid Regimes,” Andreas Schedler, “The Menu of Manipulation,” Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism,” and Nicolas van de Walle, “Africa’s Range of Regimes,” all part of a special section entitled “Elections Without Democracy,” in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (April 2002), pp. 21-80

Weeks 7-8     *Democracy and Political Institutions*

Dahl, *On Democracy*, chs.8-12

Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*

Scott Mainwaring, “Party Systems in the Third Wave,” Ch. 14 in *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (pp. 185-199)

Jørgen Elklit and Palle Svendsen, “What Makes Elections Free and Fair?,” Ch. 15 in *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (pp. 200-214)

Juan J. Linz, “The Perils of Presidentialism,” Ch. 9 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 124-142)

Donald L. Horowitz, “Comparing Democratic Systems,” Ch. 10 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 143-149)

Seymour Martin Lipset, “The Centrality of Political Culture,” Ch. 11 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 150-153)

Juan J. Linz, “The Virtues of Parliamentarism,” Ch. 12 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 154-161)

Arend Lijphart, “Constitutional Choices for New Democracies,” Ch. 13 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 162-174)

Guy Lardeyret, “The Problem with PR,” Ch. 14 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 175-180)

Quentin L. Quade, “PR and Democratic Statecraft,” Ch. 15 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 181-186)

Arend Lijphart, “Double-Checking the Evidence,” Ch. 16 in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (pp. 187-193)

Weeks 9-10     *Measuring democracy*

Sorensen, pp. 16-23

Mike Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, and Adam Przeworski, “Classifying Political Regimes,” in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Summer 1996), pp. 3-36



David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," in *World Politics*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (April 1997), pp. 430-451

David Collier and Robert Adcock, "Democracy and Dichotomies: A Pragmatic Approach," in *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 2 (1999), pp. 537-565

Zachary Elkins, "Gradations of Democracy? Empirical Tests of Alternative Conceptualizations," in *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (April 2000), pp. 287-294

Gerardo L. Munck, "The Regime Question: Theory Building in Democracy Studies" in *World Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (October 2001), pp. 119-144

Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices," in *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (February 2002), pp. 5-34 (also read the comments by Michael Coppedge, Monty Marshall et al., Michael D. Ward, and the response by Munck and Verkuilen in the same issue)

Week 11      Midterm exam

*Segment II: Democratization*

Week 12      *Conceptualizing Democratization*

D&P, Introduction, Sorensen, chs.2, 3

Week 13      *Democracy and Development*

Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. 413-432

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, No. 2 (1959), pp. 69-105

Larry Diamond, "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered," in Gary Marks and Larry Diamond, eds., *Reexamining Democracy* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1992), pp. 93-139

Przeworski et al., *Democracy and Development*

Week 14      *Democratic Transition*

D&P, ch.8



Dankwart A. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," in  
Comparative Politics, Vol. 2, No. 3 (April 1970), pp. 337-363  
O'Donnell and Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule  
Di Palma, Giuseppe, To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions  
(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 1-26  
Huntington, The Third Wave  
Diamond, Developing Democracy, Ch. 2

Week 15      *Democratic Consolidation and Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*

D&P, chs.9, 10, 11, 12, 13,15, 21

Sorensen, ch.5

Ottaway, Introduction, chs.1-5

Linz and Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation

Diamond, Developing Democracy, Ch. 3

Week 16      *Democracy Assistance*

Ottaway, chs.6-9

Carothers, Aiding Democracy Abroad

Marina Ottaway and Theresa Chung, "Toward a New Paradigm," Elizabeth Spiro Clark,

"A Tune-up, Not an Overhaul," E. Gyimah-Boadi, "The Cost of Doing Nothing,"

Irena Lasota, "Sometimes Less Is More," all part of a special section entitled

"Debating Democracy Assistance," in The Journal of Democracy, Vol. 10, No. 4

(October 1999), pp. 99-128

Peter Burnell, "Democracy Promotion: The Elusive Quest for Grand Strategies," in

International Politics and Society, No. 3 (2004), pp. 100-116

Week 17      Conclusions

D&P, ch.23-25, overview

Dahl, On Democracy, chs.8-12

Week 18      Final Exam

The information contained in the course syllabus may be subject to change with reasonable advance notice, as deemed appropriate by the instructor.