

McGill University

POLI: 522: Honours Seminar. Developing Areas
Fall 2014

DEMOCRATIZATION AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF DEMOCRACY

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Class meets: T 11:35am-2.25pm
Class location: Peel 3465 102
Office hours: Tuesday 10-11am,
Friday 10-11am, or by appointment

Course Description:

This course explores the causes of democratization and democratic consolidation (or lack thereof). Over the last thirty years the world has experienced a third wave of democratization, in which authoritarian regimes have collapsed in favor of varying degrees of democratic governance. This seminar will focus on the major approaches, themes, and debates surrounding regime change and consolidation. The seminar is organized thematically, and we will draw empirical cases from Latin America, Southern Europe, post-communist states, etc.

The first weeks will provide an overview of the field and the methods employed. Then, we will focus on different factors that have been argued to play a key role in fostering or undermining democracy. We will look at economic development, elites and social classes, inequality, economic policy, natural resources, religious and ethnic cleavages, political culture, international factors, etc.

This is a seminar, and as such the class will revolve around discussion. We will test authors' claims against the evidence they present, challenge the logic of their arguments, and question their conclusions.

Course Requirements:

The final grade will be determined as follows:

Attendance and Participation	30%
Analytical Essays	30%
Paper idea (due on October 14th) & Paper outline (due on November 18th)	5%
Final Paper/Research Design (due on December 16th)	35%

Attendance and Participation:

There will be 150-300 pages of reading for each week. You are expected to come to class having completed all readings.

-Regular class attendance: I will hand out a sign-in attendance sheet at the beginning of each class. You may miss two classes—or parts of two classes—for whatever reason (excused or unexcused) over the course of the semester without incurring any penalty. After that, absences will affect your participation grade.

-Class presentation: throughout the semester, each student will be assigned to present on a class session. The two students assigned on each week will coordinate as a team and will be in charge of leading discussion. You are not required to present, but rather, you are in charge of organizing the discussion, clarifying points, and posing discussion questions. The students assigned need to send all seminar participants a 2-page (double-spaced, 2/3 summary, 1/3 critique) summary of the readings and review indicating the main points they will cover at noon on the day before the

seminar to facilitate discussion in class. Each student will present at least one time throughout the semester.

Analytical Essays:

Each student is required to write two critiques (5 double-spaced pages, worth 15% each) concerning the issues covered in the assigned readings on a particular week. Unlike seminar presentation review, critiques focus on strength and weakness of assigned readings. There is no summary of readings unless necessary to illustrate your comments. Critiques will only be accepted in electronic version (via email) by noon the day before class because their other purpose is to enhance the quality of class discussions. No extension or incompletes will be given. Critiques will be written for weeks in which you are not presenting.

Final Paper/Research Design:

For the final assignment of the course you have two options.

One option is to write a 15-page, double-spaced, research paper. The paper should propose a research question, advance an argument in response, and provide an empirical analysis to evaluate the argument. Of course, given that this is a term paper, the research for the paper will necessarily be limited to the use of secondary sources.

The second option is to prepare a research design, also 15 pages double-spaced. Students should pick an event, a phenomenon, an action, or an organization of their interest, develop an inquiry, and design a research agenda. You will be expected to apply to some extent theories discussed in this course.

Only electronic versions of the final paper submitted through email will be accepted. Paper will be due on December 16th, at midnight. 1/3 of a letter grade will be deducted from your final grade for every day it is late.

To make sure you are making progress towards this final paper, I ask that you submit first a paper idea on October 14th, and then a revised paper idea with more specific development (an outline, preferably) by November 18th. Both of these should be submitted by email. For these documents we will assign “discussants.” Everybody will be responsible for providing feedback to another student in the class, meaning that everybody will receive both my comments as well as the—written—comments of a fellow student. For each of these documents we will assign randomly who is giving feedback to each student. The feedback provided is not graded, but it IS required and will count towards your participation grade.

Extra credit Opportunity:

To encourage filling out course evaluations I will give everybody in the class an extra 1% if **every** student in the class fills out the course evaluations in time.

Readings:

I have compiled a course-pack, which is available for purchase at the University Bookstore. Many of the readings are available online for free through the McGill Library website, but some book chapters are not.

Also, the following books have been ordered at the University Bookstore. They are also available on Amazon, etc., often at lower prices for used copies. The chapters that we are reading out of these books are **NOT** in the course pack.

* Collier, Ruth Berins. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

* Coppedge, Michael. *Democratization and Research Methods*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

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

Course and University Policies:

Integrity: McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see www.mcgill.ca/integrity for more information).

Special Needs: If you have a disability, please contact the instructor to arrange a time to discuss your situation. It would be helpful if you contact the Office for Students with Disabilities at 514.398.6009 before you do this.

Language: In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. Note that this right applies to ALL written work that is to be graded, from one-word answers to dissertations.

Course-Evaluations: End-of-term course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the students' learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available on Mercury.

Note: In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change. **The privilege of additional work will not be granted.**

SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

- * denotes reading is in one of the books assigned.
- denotes reading is in course pack.
- > denotes reading is available online.

WEEK 1. September 2nd

Course Introduction. NO READING!

WEEK 2. September 9th

Concepts and Methods in the Study of Democracy.

What is democracy and democratic consolidation? How should we operationalize and measure it? What are the main advantages and disadvantages of the different methods used in the study of democracy?

Readings:

- * Coppedge, Michael. *Democratization and Research Methods*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Chs. 1-3, pp. 1-75.
- Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is... And Is Not," in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (1996), pp. 49-62.
- > A. Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy (JOD)* (1998), pp. 91-107.
- > Munck, Gerardo. 1998. "Canons of Research Design in Qualitative Analysis." *Studies in Comparative International Development* Vol. 33, no. 3, (Fall) pp. 18-45.

Total Pages: 115.

WEEK 3. September 16th

Democratization: The State of the Art.

What do we know about democratization and democratic consolidation? What are pros and cons of different perspectives to democratization? Can we discern what matters more in democratic consolidation? Where should the field go from here?

Readings:

- Geddes, Barbara. 2007. "What Causes Democratization?" In Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press: 317-339.
- > Bunce, V. "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations," *Comparative Political Studies* (2000), pp. 703-734.
- Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chs. 1-2, pp. 1-47.
- * Coppedge, Michael. *Democratization and Research Methods*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Ch. 10, pp. 310-328.

Total Pages: 134

WEEK 4. September 23rd

Economic development and democracy.

What is the relationship between economic development and democracy? Is it linear or non-linear? Is it endogenous or exogenous? Does it hold across time periods and regions? What types of causal mechanisms underlie the relationship?

Readings

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1983. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. William Heinemann Ltd. Ch. 2, pp. 27-63.

> O'Donnell, Guillermo. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*. (Berkeley, CA: Institute for International Studies, 1973). Chs. 1-2, pp. 1-111.

> Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics*, 49 (January 1997), pp. 155-183.

> Boix, Carles and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55 (July): 517-549.

> Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105, 4 (Nov.): 809-828.

Total Pages: 225

WEEK 5. September 30th

Social classes and democracy.

Who plays the key role in bringing about democracy? Are the masses or elites more important? Which social classes support and which classes oppose democracy? Under what circumstances do particular classes prevail? How important is agency versus structure in democratization?

Readings:

> O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Schmitter, Philippe C. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. All, pp. 3-78.

- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. 1993. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chs. 1-3, pp. 1-78.

* Collier, Ruth Berins. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1, pp. 1-32 & Ch. 5, pp. 166-197.

> Bellin, Eva. 2000. "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries." *World Politics* 52 (January), 175-205.

Total Pages: 236

WEEK 6. October 7th

Inequality and democracy.

What is the relationship between inequality and democracy? Does inequality have a different impact on democratic consolidation than on democratization? Does capital mobility mediate the relationship between inequality and democratization?

Readings:

Review Acemoglu and Robinson reading from week 3.

- > Freeman, John R., and Dennis P. Quinn. 2012. "The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered." *American Political Science Review* 106, 1 (February): 58-80.
- > 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: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation But Does Not Affect Democratization." *World Politics* 61 (4): 589-622.
- > Ziblatt, Daniel. 2009. "Shaping Democratic Practice and the Causes of Electoral Fraud: The Case of 19th Century Germany." *American Political Science Review* 103, 1 (February): 1-21.
- > Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2012. "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule." *American Political Science Review* 106, 3 (August): 495-516.

Total Pages: 126

WEEK 7. October 14th

Economic policies and democracy.

Is economic openness conducive to democracy? Can market reforms undermine democracy in certain instances? What is the relationship between economic openness and political participation?

Readings:

- > Li, Quan, and Rafael Reuveny. 2003. "Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis," *British Journal of Political Science* 33 (January): 29-54.
- > Rudra, Nita. 2005. "Globalization and the Strengthening of Democracy in the Developing World," *American Journal of Political Science* 49, 4 (October): 704-730.
- > Gans-Morse, Jordan, and Simeon Nichter. 2008. "Economic Reforms and Democratization," *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 10 (October): 1398-1426.
- > Gallagher, Mary Elizabeth. 2002. "Reform and Openness: Why China's Economic Reforms Have Delayed Democracy." *World Politics* 54, 3 (April): 338-372.
- > Kurtz, Marcus J. 2004. "Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy," *World Politics* 56, 2 (January): 262-302.
- > Gervasoni, Carlos. 2010. "A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces." *World Politics* 62, 2 (April): 302-340.

Total Pages: 191

WEEK 8. October 21st

International factors and democracy.

Does democracy diffuse? What sorts of mechanisms lead to the spread of democracy from one nation to another? Can foreign governments and international organizations help promote democracy?

Readings:

- > Brinks, Daniel, and Michael Coppedge. 2006. "Diffusion is No Illusion," *Comparative Political Studies*: 463-489.
- > Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede and Michael Ward. 2006 "Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization." *International Organization* 60:4, pp. 911-33.
- > Weyland, Kurt. 2010. "The Diffusion of Political Regime Contention in European Democratization, 1830-1940," *Comparative Political Studies*, 43, 8/9: 1148-1176.

- > Pevehouse, Jon. 2002. "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization," *International Organization* 56, 3 (Summer): 515-549.
- > Finkel, Steven E., Aníbal Pérez Liñan, and Mitchell A. Seligson. 2007. "The Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990-2003." *World Politics* 59, 3 (April): 404- 440.
- > Lankina, Tomila, and Lullit Getachew. 2006. "A Geographic Incremental Theory of Democratization: Territory, Aid, and Democracy in Postcommunist Regions." *World Politics* 58, 4 (July): 536-582.

Total Pages: 192

WEEK 9. October 28th

Natural resources and democracy.

Does oil wealth undermine democracy? If so, why? Are there other variables that mediate the impact of oil wealth on democracy? What impact does resource dependence more generally have on democracy?

Readings:

- * Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press. All (291 pp.), but skim Ch. 3, pp. 61-106.
- Ross, Michael. 2012. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Shapes the Development of Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Ch. 3, pp. 63-109.
- Haber, Stephen, and Victor Menaldo. 2011. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse." *American Political Science Review* 105, 1 (February): 1-26.

Total Pages: 311

WEEK 10. November 4th

Authoritarian institutions and democracy.

How are authoritarian regimes sustained? Does the type of authoritarian regime affect the prospects for democracy? Are certain types of regimes more conducive to democracy than other types of regimes? How do authoritarian institutions break down?

Readings:

- Wintrobe, Ronald. 2007. "Dictatorship: Analytical Approaches." In Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press: 363-394.
- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chs. 1-2, pp. 1-83.
- > Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 53, 3 (July): 515-532.
- > Greene, Kenneth F. 2010. "The Political Economy of Single-Party Dominance," *Comparative Political Studies* 43, 7: 807-834.
- > Magaloni, Beatriz. 2008. "Credible Power-Sharing and the Longevity of Authoritarian Rule." *Comparative Political Studies* 41, 4/5: 715-741.
- > Bunce, Valerie, and Sharon L. Wolchik. 2010. "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes." *World Politics* 62, 1 (January): 43-86.

Total Pages: 226

WEEK 11. November 11th

Democratic institutions and democracy.

Are presidential systems more prone to breakdown than parliamentary systems? How do constitutions shape democracy? What other types of political institutions effect democracy?

Readings:

- > Stepan, Alfred, and Cindy Skach. 1993. "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation? Parliamentarism versus Presidentialism." *World Politics* 46 (1): 1-22.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and Scott Mainwaring. 1997. "Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America: Rethinking the Terms of the Debate." In Mainwaring and Shugart, eds. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, Ch. 1, pp. 12-40.
- > Hale, Henry. 2011. "Formal Constitutions in Informal Politics: Institutions and Democratization in Post-Soviet Eurasia." *World Politics* 63, 4 (October): 581-617.
- > Gerring, John, Strom C. Thacker, and Carola Moreno. 2005. "Centripetal Democratic Governance: A Theory and Global Inquiry." *American Political Science Review* 99, 4 (November): 567-581.
- > Alexander, Gerard. 2001. "Institutions, Path Dependence, and Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 13, 3: 249-70.
- > Hariri, Jacob Gerner. 2012. "The Autocratic Legacy of Early Statehood." *American Political Science Review* 106, 3 (August): 471-494.

Total Pages: 143

WEEK 12. November 18th

Political Culture, Religion and Democracy.

How does religion and political culture more generally shape the prospects for democracy? Are protestant countries more likely to be democratic? Are Islamic countries less likely to be democratic? If so, why?

Readings:

- Welzel, Christian, and Ronald Inglehart. 2007. "Mass Beliefs and Democratic Institutions." In Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press: 297-316.
- > Philpott, Daniel. 2007. "Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion," *American Political Science Review* 101, 3 (August): 505-525.
- > Woodberry, Robert D. 2012. "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106, 2 (May): 224-274.
- > Tusalem, Rollin F. 2009. "The Role of Protestantism in Democratic Consolidation among Transitional States." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, 7 (January): 882-915.
- > Donno, Daniela, and Bruce M. Russett. 2004. "Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What Are the Linkages?" *World Politics* 56, 4 (July): 582-607.
- > Somer, Murat. 2011. "Does It Take Democrats to Democratize? Lessons from Islamic and Secular Elite Values in Turkey." *Comparative Political Studies* 44, 5: 511-545.

Total Pages: 181

WEEK 13. November 25th

Ethnic diversity and democracy.

What is the impact of ethnic diversity on democracy? Why might ethnic diversity undermine

democracy? Under what circumstances might ethnic diversity be good for democracy?

Readings:

- Rabushka, Alvin, and Kenneth Shepsle. 2009 [1972]. *Politics in Plural Societies: A Theory of Democratic Instability*. New York: Pearson / Longman, Ch. 3, pp. 62-92.
- Horowitz, Donald. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press: Chs. 7-8, pp. 291-364.
- > Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. "Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 3, 2 (June): 235-252.
- > Fish, M. Steven, and Robin S. Brooks. 2004. "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 15, 1 (January): 154-166.
- > Beissinger, Mark. 2008. "A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy*, 19, 3: 85-97.
- > Kopstein, Jeffrey S., and Jason Wittenberg. 2010. "Beyond Dictatorship and Democracy: Rethinking National Minority Inclusion and Regime Type in Interwar Eastern Europe." *Comparative Political Studies* 43, 8/9: 1089-1118.

Total Pages: 163

WEEK 14. December 3rd

Conclusions and discussion on Final Projects.

NO READING!
