

Professor Sheri Berman

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POLS 3505: Making Democracy Work

Monday 2:10-4pm

Beginning in the mid-1970s a democratic wave swept the globe. It started in Southern Europe, spread throughout Latin America, parts of East Asia and Africa, and engulfed the former Soviet bloc. In all, dozens of new democracies emerged during the late twentieth century. More recently, the “Arab Spring” raised hopes that democracy might finally come to a region of the globe that had previously seemed resistant to it. Many of these democratic experiments have, however, faltered or even failed, sliding back towards authoritarianism, or something close to it. This colloquium will examine the literature on democratic consolidation, providing students with an overview of the most important theories about what makes democracy work—or not.

Course Requirements: Students are expected to attend all class sessions, participate actively in discussions, and complete all readings before class.

All students will complete two short papers and a final research paper of 25-35 pages. For this final paper students will examine the development of democracy in a particular country over a particular time period.

The two short papers will each be worth 20% of the final grade, the final research paper 40%, and class participation 20%. **NO LATE EXAMS OR PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED WITHOUT A DOCTOR’S NOTE.**

Seniors: In addition to the above requirements, all seniors who have designated this colloquium to fulfill their Senior Capstone requirement will be required to present their final research paper in class at the end of the semester along with a poster summarizing their research questions, arguments, and findings. A portion of seniors’ final research paper grade will reflect the quality of their presentations. The poster will also be displayed at the senior end-of-year party. The poster will not be graded, but is required to receive a "Pass" for the senior requirement and will factor into Departmental considerations for Senior Project Distinction

Student Learning Objectives: By the end of this course students should be able to:

1. Define and analyze different types of political regimes.
2. Identify the key issues and debates in the study of democratic consolidation and backsliding.
3. Apply the key theories about democratic development developed by social scientists to analyze political development in particular cases.
4. Present their own ideas about what it takes to “make democracy work” both orally and in writing.
5. Better evaluate and make social scientific/causal arguments.

Course Readings: All readings will be available via courseworks.

Purchasing Larry Diamond's In Search of Democracy and Samuel Huntington's Political Order in Changing Societies is optional.

Disability accommodation: If you have a documented disability and require academic accommodation, you must register with the Office of Disability Services (ODS) and obtain a notification letter from ODS before meeting with your instructor to discuss accommodations. (You must register with ODS each semester.)

Week 1 (January 22): Introduction.

- Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2017."
https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FIW_2017_Report_Final.pdf
- Marc Plattner, "Is Democracy in Decline?" Journal of Democracy 26,1, January 2015.
- Arch Puddington and Tyler Roylance, "The Dual Threat of Populists and Autocrats," Journal of Democracy, 28, 2, April 2017.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "The Myth of Democratic Recession," Journal of Democracy, 26, 1, January 2015.
- Mélida Jiménez, "Is Democracy in a Worldwide Decline?" Monkey Cage, Washington Post, November 15, 2017.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/11/15/is-democracy-in-a-worldwide-decline-we-measured-it-heres-what-we-found/?utm_term=.2b145478243d

Week 2 (January 29): Defining Key Terms

- Essays by Schumpeter ("The Classical Doctrine of Democracy) and Diamond ("Defining and Developing Democracy") in The Democracy Sourcebook.
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," in Journal of Democracy, April 1996, 7, 2 (particularly pages 14-22, i.e. until section on "Two surmountable obstacles")
- Andreas Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?" Journal of Democracy, April 1998, 9, 2.
- Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, "The Quality of Democracy," in Diamond, In Search of Democracy.
- Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transitions Paradigm," Journal of Democracy, 13, 1, 2002.
- "In Elections Across the World, Democracy is a Matter of Definition," NYT, 6/5/2014.
http://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/05/world/middleeast/in-elections-across-the-world-democracy-is-a-matter-of-definition.html?_r=0

Optional but recommended:

- Diamond, "Measuring Democracy," in Diamond, In Search of Democracy
- Larry Diamond, "Thinking About Hybrid Regimes," Journal of Democracy, 13, 2, 2002.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," Journal of Democracy, 13, 2, 2002.
- Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, chapter two ("Defining Some Concepts") In Transitions from Authoritarian Rule, pages 6-14.

Week 3 (February 5): Economic Development and Democracy

- Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, pp 31-53.
- Carlos Boix, "The Roots of Democracy," Policy Review, February/March 2006.
- Evelyn Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," in The Democracy Sourcebook, pp. 71-75.
- Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, "How Development Leads to Democracy," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2009.
- Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," World Politics, 49, January 1997.

Week 4 (February 12): The Resource Curse and Democracy

- Thomas Friedman, "The First Law of Petropolitics," Foreign Policy, October 2009.
<http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/16/the-first-law-of-petropolitics/>
- Michael Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" World Politics, 53, April 2001.
- Michael Ross, "Will Oil Drown the Arab Spring?," Foreign Affairs, 90, 5, 2011.
- Michael Ross, "Oil, Islam and Women," American Political Science Review, 102, 1, February 2008.
- Ahmet Kuru, "Authoritarianism and Democracy in Muslim Countries: Rentier States and Regional Diffusion," Political Science Quarterly, Fall 2014.
- Paul Stevens and Evelyn Dietsche, "Resource Curse: An Analysis of Causes, Experiences and Possible Ways Forward," Energy Policy, 26, 2008.
<http://archive.resourcegovernance.org/sites/default/files/Stevens%20&%20Dietsch%20-%20Resource%20Curse%20-%20Causes,%20Exp%20&%20Way%20Forward.pdf>
- Tina Rosenberg, "Avoiding the Resource Curse," NYT February 13, 2013.
<https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/02/13/avoiding-the-curse-of-the-oil-rich-nations/>

Week 5 (February 19): The State and Democracy

- Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, part 1.
- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood in the African Crisis," in Journal of Modern African Studies, 24, 1, 1986.

FIRST ESSAY TOPICS HANDED OUT

Make appointment with research librarian for end of next week (i.e. after Monday meeting with professor) to discuss topics.

Week 6 (February 26): Work on essays and discuss paper topics with Professor.

Week 7 (March 5): Sequencing and Democracy

- Robert Dahl, Polyarchy, pages 1-16, 33-47.
- Francis Fukuyama, "Good Government, Bad Government," The American Interest, X, 2, November/December 2014.
- Fareed Zakaria, Intro., chapters 2 and 3 in The Future of Freedom.
- Thomas Carothers, "The Sequencing Fallacy," Journal of Democracy, 18, 1, January 2007.
- Fukuyama, Carothers, Mansfield & Snyder, Berman, "The Debate on Sequencing," Journal of Democracy, 18, 3, July 2007.

HAND IN ESSAYS AND PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHIES**[March 12: Spring Break!]****Week 8 (March 19): Diversity and Democracy**

- Donald Horowitz, "Democracy in Divided Societies," in Journal of Democracy, 4, 4, 1993.
 - Robert Dahl, Polyarchy, pp. 105-121 ("Subcultures, Cleavage Patterns and Government Effectiveness").
 - Daniel Chirot, "Does Democracy Work in Deeply Divided Societies?" in Barany and Moser, eds., Is Democracy Exportable?
 - Lise Morjé Howard, "The Ethnocracy Trap," Journal of Democracy, 23, 4, 2012.
 - Ashutosh Varshney, Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society, World Politics, 53, April 2001.
 - Ravi Kanbur, Prem Kumar Rajaram, and Ashuosh Varshney, "Ethnic Diversity And Ethnic Strife," World Development, 39, 2, 2010.
 - Mark Beissinger, "A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization," Journal of Democracy, 3, 19, 2008.
 - Edward Miguel, "Tribe or Nation? Nation-Building and Public Goods in Kenya Vs. Tanzania," World Politics, 56, April 2004.
- Recommended:
- M. Steven Fish and Robin Brooks, "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" Journal of Democracy 15, 1, 2004.

HAND IN UPDATED BIBLIOGRAPHIES

Week 9 (March 26): Civil Society and Democracy

- Robert Putnam, "Democracy," in The Democracy Sourcebook, pp. 157-167.
- Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work, chapters 4 and 6.
- Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone," Journal of Democracy, January 1995, Volume 6, Number 1.
- Amaney Jamal, Barriers to Democracy, Introduction and Conclusion
- David Rieff, "The False Dawn of Civil Society," The Nation, Feb 22 1999.
- Thomas Carothers, "Civil Society: Think Again," Foreign Policy, Winter/1999-2000.
- Kendra Dupuy, James Ron and Aseem Prakash "Across the Globe Governments are Cracking Down on Civil Society," Washington Post, Monkey Cage, July 5, 2015.
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2017/07/05/_trashed-4/?utm_term=.d6b719b60ffd

Optional:

- Diamond, "Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation," in Diamond, In Search of Democracy.
- Michael Foley and Bob Edwards, "The Paradox of Civil Society," Journal of Democracy, 7, 3, July 1996.

Week 10 (April 2): Culture and Democracy

- Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, chapters 1 and 15.
- Edward Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society, Intro., chapters 1 and 9.
- Ronald Inglehart, "Culture and Democracy," in Lawrence Harrison and Samuel Huntington, eds., Culture Matters (NY: Basic Books, 2000). Also review the Inglehart reading from week 6.
- Adam Przeworski, et al, "Culture and Democracy," in Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro and JoseAntonio Chubb, eds., The Democracy Sourcebook, pp. 181-189.
- Fareed Zakaria, "Culture is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew," Foreign Affairs, 73, 2, March/April 1994.
- Kim Dae Jung, "Is Culture Destiny? The Myth of Asia's Anti-Democratic Values," Foreign Affairs, 73, 6, November/December 1994.

SECOND ESSAY TOPICS HANDED OUT

Research paper introductions and outlines due to me via email by 5pm FRIDAY APRIL 6.

Week 11 (April 9): Work on essays, discuss intros with Professor.

Week 12 (April 16): Student Presentations and discussion of International Factors

- Hakan Yilmaz, "The International Context," in Democratization, pages 92-100.
- Daniel Brinks and Michael Coppedge, "Diffusion is no Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy," Comparative Political Studies, 39, 4, 2006.
- Jeffrey Kopstein and David Reilly, "Geographic Diffusion and the Transformation of the Postcommunist World," World Politics, 53, 1, 2000.
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimensions of Regime Change," Comparative Politics, 38, 4, 2006.
- Marc Plattner, "Globalization and Self-Government," Journal of Democracy, 13, 3, 2002.

Week 13 (April 23): Democratic Backsliding

- Nancy Bermeo, "On Democratic Backsliding," Journal of Democracy, 27, 1, January 2016.
- Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, How Democracies Die, Introduction and chapters 4 and 5.
- Ellen Lust and David Waldner, "Unwelcome Change: Understanding, Evaluating and Extending Theories of Democratic Backsliding," USAID
http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PBAAD635.pdf
- Jason Brownlee, "The Limited Reach of Authoritarian Powers," Democratization, 24, 7, 2017.
- Dan Slater, "Democratic Careening," World Politics, 65, 4, October 2013.

Week 14: (April 30): Democracy Promotion and the Future of Democracy

- George Bush, "Inaugural Address," (plus commentaries).
- Marc Plattner, "Introduction" (pp. 1-4) and Thomas Pangle, "The Morality of Exporting Democracy: A Historical-Philosophical Perspective," in Barany and Moser, eds., Is Democracy Exportable?
- Robert Tucker, "Exemplar or Crusader?: Reflections on America's Role," The National Interest, Fall 1986..
- Jeffrey Kopstein, "The Transatlantic Divide Over Democracy Promotion," Washington Quarterly, 29, 2, 2006.
- Amartya Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value," in Journal of Democracy, 10, 3, 1999.
- "What's Gone Wrong with Democracy," The Economist, March 1, 2014.
<http://www.economist.com/news/essays/21596796-democracy-was-most-successful-political-idea-20th-century-why-has-it-run-trouble-and-what-can-be-do>
- Francis Fukuyama, "At the End of History Still Stands Democracy," Wall Street Journal, June 6, 2014.
<http://online.wsj.com/articles/at-the-end-of-history-still-stands-democracy-1402080661>
- Thomas Carothers, "Democracy Aid at 25: Time to Choose," Journal of Democracy, 26, 1, January 2015.

Here are some online resources to check out. They should be especially helpful in identifying the current status of democracy as well as the existing democracy aid programs in the country you chose to focus on for your final project:

The National Endowment for Democracy: <http://www.ned.org/> and its World Democracy resource guide: <http://www.ned.org/research/democracy-research-guide>

U.S Dept of State, Advancing Freedom and Democracy
<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/afdr/2014/index.htm>

World Movement for Democracy: <http://www.wmd.org/>

Columbia International Affairs online: <http://www.ciaonet.org/main/wps.html>

Democracy Digest: <http://www.demdigest.net/blog/>

Freedom House: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/> especially their “Nations In Transit” series: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=17> and their blog: <http://blog.freedomhouse.org/>

Democracy Web: <http://www.democracyweb.org/>

Journal of Democracy: <http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/>

US AID: <http://www.usaid.gov/>

NDI: <http://www.ndi.org/> and IRI: <http://www.iri.org/>

Carnegie Endowment (esp work on democracy promotion):
<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/topic/?fa=list&id=355>

Comparative Democratization Project (Stanford): <http://democracy.stanford.edu/>

Network of Democracy Research Institutes: <http://www.ndri.ned.org/>

UNDP program on governance: <http://www.undp.org/governance/>

Democracy Reporting International: <http://democracy-reporting.org/>

The Democracy Report (The Atlantic): <http://www.theatlantic.com/special-report/democracy/>