

Professor Sheri Berman

Office hours: Mondays, 11-1

Telephone: 212 854 2158

Email: sberman@barnard.edu

Office: Lehman 411

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” has brought democracy to the region of the globe that had previously seemed most resistant to it. Many of these new democracies, however, have run into trouble, and quite a number of them have “slid” back towards authoritarianism, or something close to it. This colloquium will examine the literature of democratic consolidation, providing students with an overview of the most important theories about what makes democracy work.

Course Requirements: Students are expected to attend all class sessions, participate actively in discussions, and complete all readings before class. For each week’s readings, students will prepare a few questions or comments to share with the class and spur discussion. In addition, all students will be required to make arrangements for personal sessions with a research librarian to help prepare for their final project. Any student that does not receive an “A” grade on his/her first two papers will also be required to make an appointment with the writing center to go over his/her research paper draft.

All students will complete two short papers and a final research paper of 25-35 pages. For this final paper students will choose a country that is formally democratic but not yet fully consolidated and analyze the problems democracy faces in this country.

The two short papers will each be worth 20% of the final grade, the final research paper 40%, and class participation 20%.

Seniors: In addition to the above requirements, all seniors who have designated this colloquium to fulfill their Senior Capstone requirement will also participate in a peer partner arrangement. Seniors will hold meetings, in consultation with the instructor, to discuss and provide constructive criticism on assignments, e.g. research proposals, research methods, rough drafts with their peer partner(s). A portion of seniors’ class participation grade will reflect the quality of their work as peer mentors.

Seniors will also 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 in May 2014. 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.
3. Apply the key theories about democratic consolidation 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. Evaluate and make social scientific/causal arguments.

Course Readings: All readings will be available via courseworks.

Week 1 (January 26): Introduction

Week 2 (February 2): 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.
- Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transitions Paradigm,” Journal of Democracy, 13, 1, 2002.

Optional but recommended:

- 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 9): 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.
- George Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, “China’s Coming Transformation,” Foreign Affairs, 80, 4, July/August 2001.
- George Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, “China’s Dilemma: Social Change and Political Reform,” Foreign Affairs online, October 2010.

Week 4 (February 16): 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, Introduction and chapter 3, skim chapter 2 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.

FIRST PAPER HANDED OUT

Week 5 (February 23): Discussion of paper topics and meetings with research librarian

- Arch Puddington, “Freedom in the World 2014.”

FIRST PAPER DUE!

Week 6 (March 2): 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.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND PAPER TOPICS DUE**Week 7 (March 9): The Resource Curse and Democracy**

- Terry Lynn Karl, "Understanding the Resource Curse," in Svetlana Tsalik and Anya Schriffirin, eds., Covering Oil, Open Society Institute, 2005.
- Michael Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" World Politics, 53, April 2001.
- Michael Ross, "Oil, Islam and Women," American Political Science Review, 102, 1, February 2008.
- Thad Dunning, Crude Democracy, chapter 1.

DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH PAPER TIMELINES AND STRATEGIES**Spring Break!****Week 8 (March 23): 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.

REVISED BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPHS DUE**Week 9 (March 30): 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.
- Michael Foley and Bob Edwards, "The Paradox of Civil Society," Journal of Democracy, 7, 3, July 1996.
- David Rieff, "The False Dawn of Civil Society," The Nation, Feb 22 1999.
- Thomas Carothers, "Civil Society: Think Again," Foreign Policy, Winter/1999-2000.

Week 10 (April 6): 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.
- Mark Beissinger, "A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization," Journal of Democracy, 3, 19, 2008.
- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," American Political Science Review, 97, 1, February 2003.

Recommended:

- M. Steven Fish and Robin Brooks, "Does Diversity Hurt Democracy?" Journal of Democracy 15, 1, 2004.

Week 11 (April 13): Arab/ Muslim Exceptionalism?

- Abdou Filali-Ansary, "Muslims and Democracy," Journal of Democracy, 10, 3, 1999.
- Saad Eddin Ibrahim, "Toward Muslim Democracies," Journal of Democracy, 18, 2, 2007.
- Bernard Lewis, "A Historical Overview," Journal of Democracy, April 1996.
- Lisa Anderson, "The State in the Middle East and North Africa," Comparative Politics, 20, 1987.
- Ahmet Kuru, "Authoritarianism and Democracy in Muslim Countries: Rentier States and Regional Diffusion," Political Science Quarterly, Fall 2014.
- Michael Ross, "Will Oil Drown the Arab Spring?," Foreign Affairs, 90, 5, 2011.

SECOND PAPER HANDED OUT

Week 12 (April 20): HAND IN SECOND PAPER AND PAPER OUTLINES (should include bibliographies and introductory section).

Week 13 (April 27): 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.

(APPOINTMENTS WITH WRITING CENTER SHOULD BE HAPPENING THIS AND/OR NEXT WEEK)

Week 14: (May 4): 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.
- Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," Foreign Affairs, March/April 2006.
- 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>

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/>