

Political Science 361
Problems of Democracy and Democratization
Northwestern University
Fall 2012

Time: Mondays and Wednesdays, 2:00-3:20 pm

Place: Harris Hall 107

Professor: Edward Gibson

Office Hours: Wednesdays 9:30-11:30

Office: 236 Scott Hall

Tel.: 491-2629

E-mail: egibson@northwestern.edu

Teaching Assistants: Hye Yun Kang
Mert Arslanalp

Political thinkers have been wondering about the origins and dynamics of democracy for over 2000 years. Much blood and treasure has been spent over the centuries in conflicts over democracy as well. However, the remarkable surge of global democratic development in the last few decades has put the search for the origins of democracy and the sources of democratic stability at the heart of contemporary Political Science debates. In this course you will get a taste of these debates. Throughout the course we will be asking some fundamental questions. These include: What factors promote or hinder the emergence of democracy? What are the tradeoffs between democracy and other goals sought by peoples and states? Is democracy an “end” to which the human race is evolving? Is the world really, as one observer noted, “condemned to democracy?”

The purpose of the course will not be to provide you with definitive answers to those questions, but rather to expose you to the complex debates about what they might be. By introducing you to those debates, and asking you to grapple with them intellectually, this course may help you to make some sense of the wave of democratization that is sweeping large parts of the contemporary world.

The first part of the course will focus on some conceptual "building blocks" in the study of democracy, and will examine theoretical explanations commonly advanced to explain democratization. Then we will turn to the examination of specific country cases where the transition from authoritarianism to democracy has been one of the major challenges of politics. In the first half of the course we will study Spain, a "paradigmatic" case of successful democratization. In the second half of the course we

will study some problems of contemporary democracy focusing on experiences in the Western Hemisphere, the Middle East, and the ex-Soviet Union.

Course Requirements:

Course requirements include timely reading of weekly assignments, regular attendance at class lectures, regular attendance and participation in discussion sections, a mid-term, a final exam, and an eight-page written assignment (details about this assignment will be provided early in the quarter).

The weekly reading load will vary, but you should expect a range of about 100-150 pages per week. You are expected to have completed the readings before the class lecture and the discussion section for the week. Keeping up with the readings will be vital to your overall course performance, and it will be difficult to catch up if you fall behind. The knowledge acquired in the readings will be cumulative. That is, each week you will be introduced to new issues and theories that will become part of the "tool-box" you will use to analyze readings and lectures in subsequent weeks. Also, timely reading of the assignments will be vital to your participation in the discussion sections each week. Your participation in discussion sections will provide a measure of your progress in keeping up in a timely way with the readings.

Distribution of final grade:

Discussion sections: 20 percent.

Mid-term: 25 percent.

Paper: 30 percent.

Final: 25 percent.

The final exam will be held on the scheduled exam day for our class, Monday December 10 at 9 am.

The paper assignment will be due on Friday, November 30 at 12:00 noon.

You will be responsible for making it to the final exam at the scheduled date and time. **No exceptions will be granted except in documented cases of illness or family crisis, and requests must be made to the professor before the exam date.**

Course Readings:

The following books are required for the course, and are on sale at the university bookstore at Norris:

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. Yale University Press, 1971.

Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century*.

Oklahoma University Press, 1991.

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

All assigned readings other than the books listed above will be posted on a “Blackboard Courseinfo” website set up specifically for this class. The web site is accessible to all students registered for the course. It will contain information on the course which will be updated regularly, the course syllabus, announcements, and some of the assigned readings. From time to time I will assign additional relevant readings from the press and other sources that come up during the quarter. These will be made available for downloading on the web page. Be sure to bookmark this site in your browser and check it on a regular basis. You can navigate to the site from: <http://courses.northwestern.edu>

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES AND READINGS:

I. INTRODUCTION

October 1: Introduction to the class

October 3: What is Democracy? In Search of Workable Definitions

Readings:

- Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, Chapters 1 and 2.
- Joseph Shumpeter, “Another Theory of Democracy,” excerpts from *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (Harper, 1942): pp. 250-258 (from Chapter XXI, “The Classical Doctrine of Democracy”), and pp. 269-273 (from Chapter XXII, “Another Theory of Democracy”).
- Terry Lynn Karl and Philippe Schmitter, “What Democracy Is...and Is Not,” *Journal of Democracy* 3 (1991): 75-88.
- Fareed Zakaria, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy,” *Foreign Affairs* November/December 1997.

October 8 and 10: Building block concepts in the study of democracy

Authoritarianism

Democracy and democratization

State, Government, and Regime

Liberalization, Transition, and Consolidation

Legitimacy

Civil Society

Nation, social cleavages, and the question of “Stateness”

Readings:

- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Transition and Consolidation*, Chapters 1-3.
- Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy*, pp. 33-47

II. EXPLAINING DEMOCRATIZATION: DOES DEMOCRACY COME, OR IS IT MADE?

October 15 and 17: Socioeconomic Structure and Long-term patterns

The “Three Waves” of Democratization

Socioeconomic Explanations of Democratization:

- Economic Development and Democratization
- Class Power and Democratization

Culture and Beliefs

Getting to Democracy in Sequences

Readings:

- Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave*, pp. 3-108.
- D. Rueschemeyer, E. H. Stevens, J. D. Stevens, Chapter 1 and pp. 40-51 of Chapter 3 in *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chicago, 1992).

October 22: Institutional and Leadership determinants of democratization

Readings

- Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave*, Chapter 3.
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Transition and Consolidation*, Chapters 4 and 5.
- Dankwart Rustow, “Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model,” *Comparative Politics* 2:3 (1970), pp. 337-363.
- Adam Przeworski et al., “What Makes Democracies Endure?” *Journal of Democracy* 7:1 (1996) pp. 39-55.

October 24, 29, 31: Spain, The Paradigmatic case of “The Third Wave”: Was it socioeconomics, leadership, or just plain luck?

Readings:

- Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero, and Joan Botella, *Democracy in Modern Spain: Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 6*.
- Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Transition and Consolidation*, Chapter 6.
- At home assignment: watch documentary *Franco Franco Franco*, streamed from the library.

MIDTERM: November 5

III. PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACY

November 7, The Military and Democratization: Theory and a Brief Look at South America:

Readings:

- Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave*, Chapter 5, pp. 208-252.
- Alfred Stepan, excerpts from *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 68-102

November 12, 14 and 19: The Middle East: The “No Democracy” Region and the Arab Uprisings of 2011-2012

Readings:

The “Why No Democracy” Literature:

- Alfred Stepan and Graeme Robertson, “An ‘Arab’ More than ‘Muslim’ Electoral Gap,” *Journal of Democracy* 14:3 (July 2003), pp. 30-44.
- Alfred Stepan, “Religion, Democracy, and the ‘Twin Tolerations.” *Journal of Democracy* 11:4 (October 2000), pp. 37-57.
- Michael Ross, “Does Oil Hinder Democracy?” *World Politics* 53, 3 (2001)

The “Why No Democracy” Literature Reconsidered:

- Gause, F. Gregory. 2011. “Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability,” *Foreign Affairs* 90 (4), pp. 81-90.
- Bellin, Eva. 2012. “Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring” *Comparative Politics* 44 (2): Read especially pp. 127-129 and pp. 136-144.

Perspectives of the Arab Uprisings, 2011-2012:

- Anderson, Lisa. 2011. “Demystifying the Arab Spring” *Foreign Affairs* 90 (3), pp. 2-7
- Zoltan Barany, “The Arab Uprisings: The Role of the Military,” *Journal of Democracy* Volume 22, Number 4 October 2011.
- Alfred Stepan, “Tunisia’s Transition and the Twin Tolerations,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 23, No. 2, April 2012.
- Atef Said, “The Paradox of Transition to ‘Democracy’ Under Military Rule,” *Social Research*, 79.2 (Summer 2012).
- Ahmed Abd Rabou, “Egypt After Elections: Towards the Second Republic?” *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (2012)

- Paul Amar, “Why Mubarak is Out” Ch. 12 in Bassam Haddad, Rosie Bsheer, and Ziad Abu-Rish, *The Dawn of the Arab Uprisings* (2012).
- Saba Mahmoud, “The Architects of the Egyptian Uprising and the Challenges Ahead, Ch. 15 in Bassam Haddad, Rosie Bsheer, and Ziad Abu-Rish, *The Dawn of the Arab Uprisings* (2012).
- Bassam Haddad, “Why Syria is Not Next...So Far,” Ch. 27 in Bassam Haddad, Rosie Bsheer, and Ziad Abu-Rish, *The Dawn of the Arab Uprisings* (2012).

November 26 and 28: Problems of Post-Communism, State Building, and Multi-Nationalism: The Soviet and Russian experience

Readings:

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*, Introduction: pp. 3-13; 16-20.
- Carol Skalnik Leff, “Democratization and Disintegration in Multinational States: The Breakup of the Communist Federations,” *World Politics* 51.2 (1999) 205-235.
- Dale Herspring, “Introduction,” in Dale Herspring, Editor, *Putin’s Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).
- Colton and McFaul, “Russian Democracy Under Putin.” *Problems of Post-Communism*, July/August 2003.
- Nikolai Petrov and Darrell Slider, “Putin and the Regions,” Chapter 4 of Dale Herspring, Editor, *Putin’s Russia: Past Imperfect, Future Uncertain* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2007).
- Clifford J. Levy, “Putin’s Iron Grip on Russia Suffocates Opponents,” *The New York Times*, February 24, 2008.
- Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, “An Autopsy of Managed Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 3 July 2012.
- Lilia Shevtsova, “Implosion, Atrophy, or Revolution?” *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 3 July 2012.