

# International Studies 305

/ Political Science 305

## Democracy & Democratization

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Fall Term: September-December 2014

Tuesday & Thursday: 0830-1000

Classroom: Maathai 305

Office: Maathai 310

Office Hours: 10-1100 or by appointment



### THE COURSE

What is democracy? Why is democracy good for society? Is it good for society? What causes democracy—does it come from within a country or from global influences? How do countries transition to democracy? Is democracy better suited to some peoples than others? How does democracy vary across world regions? Who benefits from it? What are the alternatives?

This course addresses these and other questions in a comparative context. Students are expected to leave the course with a critical, nuanced view of democracy and in-depth knowledge of both democratic and non-democratic countries. We will become familiar with a number of key texts in democracy and democratization. We will also keep tabs on elections from around the world. Above all, I want students to understand more fully why we have democracy and why people die to create it, but also to recognize its shortcomings.

This course is best viewed as a companion to INTS 365, State and Society. While INTS 365 looks at political institutions (such as electoral and party systems), INTS 305 explores the big conceptual and ethical questions surrounding democracy.

## **POLICIES**

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First: I place great emphasis on constructive participation. The classroom is a place to share ideas / opinions and to challenge each other, but always respectfully: listen to fellow students; communicate effectively regarding assignments; arrive on time; avoid gender, racial, or religious insensitivities; and complete the required readings. The best participation tends to come in the form of insightful questions. Quantity is not always the same thing as quality.

Second: Teacher-student communication. I am always available via email, but if you have a question, other students may want to hear the answer, so ask it in class to gain the participation mark that you deserve. For assignments, email is no substitute for face to face chats. So come and talk to me. In the event of an illness or personal emergency, you must contact me BEFORE a given deadline. Late assignments will be deducted 5% per day, including weekends, beginning at the end of class.

Third: I expect professionalism in all assignments. Avoid casual internet sources (i.e. wiki), avoid contractions, include page numbers, and present a clear argument. Essays must include a clear, formal research question. Students should consult with the instructor regarding the research question, argument, and organization of major written assignments.

Fourth: The course has a considerable online presence via Angel. Here, you will find the syllabus (which may be updated), a course calendar, and links to useful pages. Under the 'Material' tab, you will find links to all readings as well as overviews of previous days' lectures.

Fifth: All written assignments must be submitted to the instructor in hard and electronic copies, as well as submitted to Turnitin via Angel. I actually do not like turnitin, but also see plagiarism as a serious academic offense. I hope turnitin can be seen as an educational tool, helping students understand the different between citation, paraphrasing, and plagiarism.

## **GRADING**

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Soka grading is organized in terms of letter grades: A, B+, C-, etc, as well as a 0-4 grade point average. This is how the percentage points in this course will translate into these scales:

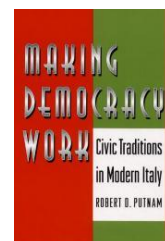
90-100	A+	4.0	65-69	B-	2.7
85-89	A	4.0	60-64	C+	2.3
80-84	A-	3.7	55-59	C	2.0
75-79	B+	3.3	50-55	C-	1.7
70-74	B	3.0	>50	F	1.0

## **READINGS**

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Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*

This classic study provides innovative ways to gauge levels of democracy and theorizes what makes it tick. Students must purchase a copy early on in the class.



### *Academic Journal Articles*

Most readings are selected from academic journals or chapters from core texts. I have provided direct links to all assigned articles and chapters through the class Angel site.

### *Core Texts*

Students will read one classic study of democracy (see assignments).

## EVALUATION

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20%	Participation	Ongoing
20%	Book Review and Presentation	Ongoing
10%	Presentation: Elections	Ongoing
30%	Comparative Essay	02 December (Tuesday)
20%	Final Exam	09-15 December

**Participation:** 20% of your grade will be based on respectful participation. This means asking insightful questions, engaging with colleagues, punctuality, attendance, not playing on the internet, and communicating with me regarding assignments. **Evaluation ongoing**

**Book Review & Presentation:** 20% of your grade will be earned through writing a 3-5 page review of a major study of democracy, and then presenting it briefly in class. Remember, a good book review is not a wikipedia-style summary, but instead an analysis of what the book offers or where it falls short. I have provided recommended books throughout the course calendar; those with hyperlinks are available at Ikeda Library and I have noted (with this symbol 📖) which ones I can lend to students. No more than two students may present per week and only one student per book. This is on a first-come, first-serve basis. **Ongoing**

**Presentation: Contemporary Elections:** 10% of your grade will be earned through a brief (10 minute) presentation on a world election shortly after it takes place. The syllabus provides a number of election dates from around the world, all subject to change. Students are expected to provide some background on the country's democracy, describe the key issues in the lead-up to the elections, analyze the early results, and note some potential implications. **Ongoing**

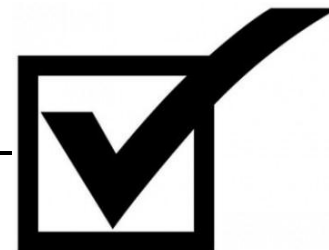
**Comparative Essay** 30% of your grade will be earned through a 12-15 page research essay comparing democratic and non-democratic cases. Students may compare a country at two time periods (before and after democracy) or similar authoritarian and democratic countries. The goal of the assignment is to assess the value-added of democracy—does it make life better for ordinary people? **Due in class on Tuesday, 02 December**

**Final Exam:** 20% of your grade will be assessed through an open-book final exam. It will consist of a single question, derived from the last few weeks of the course. **TBA, likely 09 December** (but do not book holiday travel between 09 and 15 December)

**“Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the others that have been tried.”**

**-Winston Churchill**

# CALENDAR



(📖 means the Professor owns a copy of a book)

## The Meaning of Democracy

<b>04 Sept</b> Thursday Session 01	<b>What is democracy?</b> Electoral vs ideal definitions, Majority rules vs minority rights
<i>Readings</i>	Joseph Schumpeter, <a href="#">Capitalism, Socialism, &amp; Democracy</a> (New York: Allen & Unwin, 1976); 1-7 <b>AND</b> Larry Diamond, " <a href="#">What is Democracy?</a> " Stanford Lecture (21 January 2004); 1-7 <b>AND</b> Excerpt from John Dewey, " <a href="#">Democracy &amp; Educational Administration</a> ," <i>School &amp; Society</i> 45 (April 1937); 1-4
<b>09 Sept</b> Tuesday Session 02	<b>(Why) Is Democracy Desirable?</b> Democratic peace, development, human rights, redistribution
<i>Readings</i>	Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, " <a href="#">Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-86</a> ," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 87:3 (September 1993); pp. 624-638
<i>Core Texts</i>	Amartya Sen, <a href="#">Development as Freedom</a> (London: Oxford University Press, 1999) 📖 Bruce Russett, <i>Grasping The Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold War World</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) 📖 Adam Przeworski et al, <a href="#">Democracy &amp; Development: Political Institutions &amp; Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990</a> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000)

## The Roots of Democracy

<b>11 Sept</b> Thursday Session 03	<b>Where does Classical Democracy Come From?</b> Athens vs Sparta, Plato on regimes & democracy
<i>Readings</i>	A.H.M. Jones, " <a href="#">The Athenian Democracy &amp; its Critics</a> ," <i>Cambridge Historical Journal</i> 11:1 (1953); pp. 1-26
<i>Core Texts</i>	P.J. Rhodes, editor, <i>Athenian Democracy</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) Plato, <a href="#">The Republic of Plato</a> (any edition), especially Part IV 📖
<b>16 Sept</b> Tuesday Session 04	<b>Where does Modern Democracy Come From?</b> House of Lords, levellers, suffrage, enfranchisement, parties, Declaration of the Rights of Man
<i>Readings</i>	Robert A. Dahl, <i>On Democracy</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Chapter Two, "Where and How Did Democracy Develop?"; pp. 7-25 <b>AND</b> Francisco O. Ramirez, Yasemin Soysal, & Suzanne Shanahan, " <a href="#">The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-National Acquisition of Women's Suffrage Rights, 1890-1990</a> ," <i>American Sociological Review</i> 62:5 (October 1997); pp. 735-745
<i>Core Texts</i>	Maurice Duverger, <a href="#">Political Parties, their Organization and Activity in the Modern State</a> 📖 Theda Skocpol, <a href="#">Protecting Soldiers &amp; Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States</a> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995)
14 September: Swedish Legislative Elections	

## The Causes of Democracy

<b>18 Sept</b> Thursday Session 05	<b>Does culture cause democracy?</b> Civic cultures, Asian Values, universalism
<i>Readings</i>	Ronald Inglehart, " <a href="#">The Renaissance of Political Culture</a> ," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 82:4 (December 1988); pp. 1203-1230
<i>Core Texts</i>	Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, <i>The Civic Culture Revisited</i> (Boston: Little, Brown, & Company, 1980) 📖 Alexis de Tocqueville, <a href="#">Democracy in America</a> (any edition) 📖
17 September: Fiji Legislative Elections 18 September: Scotland Referendum	

<b>23 Sept</b> Tuesday Session 06	<b>Does development cause democracy?</b> Values, leisure, post-materialism
<i>Readings</i>	Seymour Martin Lipset, " <a href="#">Some Social Requisites of Democracy</a> ," <i>American Political Science Review</i> 53: 1 (March 1959); pp. 69-105
<i>Core Texts</i>	Ronald Inglehart, <a href="#">Human Values &amp; Social Change: Findings from the Values Surveys</a> (Leiden: Brill, 2003)
20 September: New Zealand Legislative Elections	

<b>25 Sept</b> Thursday Session 07	<b>Does the middle class cause democracy?</b> Creative classes, bourgeoisie, fascism, communism
<i>Readings</i>	Evelyne Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, & John D. Stephens, " <a href="#">The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy</a> ," <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i> 7:3 (Summer 1993); pp. 71-85
<i>Core Texts</i>	Barrington Moore Jr., <a href="#">Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy</a> (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966) 📖

### \*\*\*26-27 September: Optional Class Trip to International Studies Association West Annual Conference, Pasadena CA\*\*\*

<b>30 Sept</b> Tuesday Session 08	<b>Does capitalism cause democracy?</b> Complex societies, private power, globalization
<i>Readings</i>	Robert Dahl, " <a href="#">Why Free Markets are Not Enough</a> ," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 3:3 (1992); pp. 82-89 <b>AND</b> Adam Przeworski, " <a href="#">The Neoliberal Fallacy</a> ," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 3:3 (July 1992); pp. 45-59
<i>Core Texts</i>	Adam Przeworski, <i>Democracy &amp; the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe &amp; Latin America</i> (Cambridge University Press) 📖

<b>02 Oct</b> Thursday Session 09	<b>Does democracy in some countries cause it in others?</b> Contagion, democratic waves, the Arab Spring
<i>Readings</i>	Zachary Elkins, " <a href="#">Is Democracy Contagious? Diffusion &amp; the Dynamics of Regime Transition</a> ," in <i>International Perspectives on Contemporary Democracy</i> , edited by Peter F. Nardulli (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008); pp. 42-62
<i>Core Texts</i>	Samuel P. Huntington, <i>The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century</i> (Norman OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1991) 📖 Laurence Whitehead, editor, <a href="#">The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe &amp; the Americas</a> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001)

<b>07 Oct</b> Tuesday Session 10	<b>Does foreign policy cause democracy?</b> Sticks (invasion, conditionality) & carrots (democracy assistance)
<i>Readings</i>	Steven Levitsky & Lucan A. Way, " <a href="#">International Linkage &amp; Democratization</a> ," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 16:3 (July 2005); pp. 20-34 <b>AND</b> Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, " <a href="#">Foreign Assistance, International Norms, &amp; NGO Development: Lessons from the Russian Campaign</a> ," <i>International Organization</i> 59:2 (Spring 2005); pp. 419-449
<i>Core Texts</i>	Marina Ottaway & Thomas Caruthers, editors, <i>Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid &amp; Democracy Promotion</i> (Washington: Carnegie, 2000) 📖 Susan D. Hyde, <i>The Pseudo-Democrat's Dilemma: Why Election Observation became an International Norm</i> (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2011)
05 October: Brazil Presidential & Senate Elections, Referendum 05 October: Bosnia & Herzegovina Legislative Elections	

## The Shift to Democracy

<b>09 Oct</b> Thursday Session 11	<b>How do countries move to democracy?</b> Crises, wars, pacts, elite factions, stages of transition
<i>Readings</i>	Dankwart A. Rustow, " <a href="#">Transitions to Democracy: Towards a Dynamic Model</a> ," <i>Comparative Politics</i> 2:3 (April 1970); pp. 333-363.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan, <i>Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, &amp; Post-Communist Europe</i> (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) 📖

<b>14 Oct</b> Tuesday Session 12	<b>When can people demand democracy?</b> Philippine People Power, Tunisia & the Arab Spring, Failures in Burma & China
<i>Readings</i>	Terry Lynn Karl, " <a href="#">Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America</a> ," <i>Comparative Politics</i> 23:1 (October 1990); pp. 1-21
<i>Core Texts</i>	Elisabeth Jean Wood, <i>Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa &amp; El Salvador</i> (Cambridge University Press, 2000) 📖
12 October: Bolivia Presidential & Legislative Elections	

## The Life of Democracy

<b>16 Oct</b> Thursday Session 13	<b>What sustains democracy?</b> Revisiting development as a cause
<i>Readings</i>	Adam Przeworski & Fernando Limongi, " <a href="#">Modernization: Theories and Facts</a> ," <i>World Politics</i> 49:2 (January 1997); pp. 155-84 (29 pages)
<i>Core Texts</i>	
15 October: Mozambique Presidential Elections	

<b>21 Oct</b> Tuesday Session 14	<b>What Makes Democracy Work? Part 1</b> A close reading of Robert Putnam's Classic Study
<i>Readings</i>	Robert Putnam, <i>Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), Chapters 1-3; pp. 1-83
<i>Core Texts</i>	Alfred W. McCoy, editor, <i>Anarchy of Families: State &amp; Family in the Philippines</i> (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009) 📖

<b>23 Oct</b> Thursday Session 15	<b>What Makes Democracy Work? Part 2</b> A close reading of Robert Putnam's Classic Study
<i>Readings</i>	Robert Putnam, <i>Making Democracy Work</i> , Chapter 4-6; pp. 83-186
<i>Core Texts</i>	Barbara Arneil, <i>Diverse Communities: The Problem with Social Capital</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 📖 Robert Putnam, <a href="#">Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community</a> (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000) 📖

## The Affirmation of Democracy

<b>28 Oct</b> Tuesday Session 16	<b>What consolidates democracy?</b> Turnover, second elections, military reform
<i>Readings</i>	Juan Linz & Alfred Stepan, " <a href="#">Toward Consolidated Democracies</a> ," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 7:2 (April 1996); pp. 14-33
<i>Core Texts</i>	Larry Diamond, <a href="#">Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation</a> (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins university Press, 1999) 📖 Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, & J. Samuel Valenzuela, editors, <i>Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective</i> (Indiana: Notre Dame University Press) 📖
26 October: Uruguay Legislative & Presidential Elections 26 October: Tunisia Legislative Elections	

<b>30 Oct</b> Thursday Session 17	<b>When is democratization 'complete'?</b> Electoral democracies, apathy
<i>Readings</i>	Guillermo O'Donnell, " <a href="#">Illusions about Consolidation</a> ," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 7:2 (1996); 34-51
<i>Core Texts</i>	Eva Bellin, <i>Stalled Democracy: Capital, Labour, &amp; the Paradox of State-Sponsored Development</i> (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002) Robert Dahl, <a href="#">Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition</a> (Yale University, 1971) 📖 Edward Friedman & Joseph Wong, editors, <a href="#">Political Transitions in Dominant Party Systems: Learning to Lose</a> (New York: Routledge University Press, 2008) 📖

<b>04 Nov</b> Tuesday Session 18	<b>Why does democratization fail?</b> Reverse waves, ebbs
<i>Readings</i>	Larry Jay Diamond, " <a href="#">Is Pakistan the (Reverse) Wave of the Future?</a> " <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 11:3 (July 2000); pp. 91-106
<i>Core Texts</i>	Allan R. Brewer-Carias, <i>Dismantling Democracy in Venezuela: The Chavez Authoritarian Experiment</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) 📖 M. Steven Fish, <i>Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 📖
02 November: Romania Presidential Elections	

<b>06 Nov</b> Thursday Session 19	<b>Is democratization easier the second time around?</b> Political learning
<i>Readings</i>	Nancy Bermeo, " <a href="#">Democracy &amp; the Lessons of Dictatorship</a> ," <i>Comparative Politics</i> 24:3 (April 1992); pp. 273-291
04 November: USA Mid-Term Elections	



## The Practise of Democracy

<b>11 Nov</b> Tuesday Session 20	<b>Is democracy a local phenomenon?</b> Decentralization, grassroots democracy, town halls
<i>Readings</i>	Larry Diamond, <i>Developing Democracy: Towards Consolidation</i> (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); chapter four, "Size and Democracy," pp. 117-160.
<i>Core Texts</i>	Robert A. Dahl, <i>Who Governs? Democracy &amp; Power in an American City</i> (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) 📖 Baogang He, <i>Rural Democracy in China: The Role of Village Elections</i> (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007) Manoranjan Mohanty et al, <a href="#">Grass-Roots Democracy in India and China: the Right to Participate</a> (New Delhi: Sage, 2007)
09 November: Catalonia Referendum	

<b>13 Nov</b> Thursday Session 21	<b>Does democracy fight corruption?</b> No. It does not. Sorry.
<i>Readings</i>	Michael L. Ross, " <a href="#">Does Oil Hinder Democracy?</a> " <i>World Politics</i> 53:3 (April 2001); pp. 325-361 <b>OR</b> Mark Warren, " <a href="#">What Does Corruption Mean in a Democracy?</a> " <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> 48:2 (April 2004); pp. 328-343
<i>Core Texts</i>	Martin J. Bull and James L. Newell, editors, <a href="#">Corruption in Contemporary Politics</a> (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003) Atul Kohli, <a href="#">Democracy &amp; Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability</a> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 📖

## The Alternatives to Democracy

<b>18 Nov</b> Tuesday Session 22	<b>Who benefits from democracy?</b> Feminist & minority perspectives, inequality
<i>Readings</i>	Anne Phillips, " <a href="#">Must Feminists Give Up on Liberal Democracy?</a> " <i>Political Studies</i> 40:5 (August 1992); pp. 68-82 <b>AND</b> Dietrich Rueschemeyer, " <a href="#">Addressing Inequality,</a> " <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 15:4 (2004); pp. 76-90
<i>Core Texts</i>	Anne Phillips, <i>Democracy &amp; Difference</i> (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) 📖
16 November: Lebanon Legislative Elections	

<b>20 Nov</b> Thursday Session 23	<b>What does democracy look like?</b> Direct action, protest, state capacity, Battle of Seattle, Occupy, Tea Party
<i>Readings</i>	Sheri Berman, " <a href="#">Civil Society &amp; the Collapse of the Weimar Republic,</a> " <i>World Politics</i> 49:3 (April 1997); pp. 401-429 <b>AND</b> Michael Hardt & Antonio Negri, " <a href="#">The Fight for 'Real Democracy' at the Heart of Occupy Wall Street,</a> " <i>Foreign Affairs</i> (11 October 2011) (3 pages)
<i>Core Texts</i>	Susan Eckstein, editor, <a href="#">Power &amp; Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements</a> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001) 📖 Temma Kaplan, <a href="#">Taking Back the Streets: Women, Youth, and Direct Democracy</a> (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) 📖



25 Nov Tuesday Session 24	To be decided
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**\*\*\*Thursday, 27 November: No Class (Thanksgiving Holiday)\*\*\***

02 Dec Tuesday Session 25	<b>What are the alternatives to democracy?</b> Communism, anarchism, sub-types, quasi-democracy / semi-authoritarianism
Readings	Fareed Zakaria, " <a href="#">The Rise of Illiberal Democracy</a> ," <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 76:6 (1997); pp. 22-43 <b>AND</b> Andreas Schedler, " <a href="#">Elections without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation</a> ," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 13:2 (April 2002); pp. 36-50
Core Texts	William Case, <a href="#">Politics in Southeast Asia: Democracy or Less</a> (London: Routledge, 2002) 📖 Steven Levitsky & Lucan A. Way, <i>Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) Graeme B. Robertson, <i>The Politics of Protest in Hybrid Regimes: Managing Dissent in Post-Communist Russia</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
<b>***02 December: Comparative Essay Due***</b>	
23 November: Tunisian Presidential Elections	

## Conclusions

04 Dec Thursday Session 26	<b>Conclusions &amp; Review</b>
Readings	None (all?)

**\*\*\*FINAL EXAMINATION: TBA (9-15 December)\*\*\***  
(Likely Tuesday, 09 December)

