

**Princeton University**  
**Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs**

Fall 2009  
Wednesdays 1-4pm  
Robertson 015 (tentative room assignment)

Mayling Birney  
mbirney@princeton.edu

**WWS 571a: Democratic Change and Authoritarian Resilience [Draft Syllabus]**

What types of forces contribute to democratic change and authoritarian resilience in non-democratic countries? What does this imply about the prospects for gradual democratic evolutions or sudden democratization to take place in existing authoritarian regimes? The course will identify different historical patterns, including revolutionary change, gradual democratization, partial democratic evolutions, and authoritarian stability. It will also consider various theoretical explanations for democratic change and authoritarian resilience, including economic, socio-political, cultural, historical, and international factors. Discussions will encompass how the factors may dynamically interact, including the possibility that limited democratic reforms may themselves contribute to authoritarian resilience when they buttress regime legitimacy or power. Students will be asked to assess the domestic and international policy implications of the competing views in the course.

**Requirements & Grading**

1. Participation in class discussions (30% of final grade): Active and well-prepared participation is expected, as is attendance at all class meetings.
2. Weekly reflection paragraph (15%): On the Monday before class meetings, students will be asked to submit a half-page commentary that identifies an unresolved issue or questionable conclusion from the readings and also suggests what evidence might help one come to a better formulation of the answer. At the end of term, one grade will be given for all of the reflection paragraphs written throughout term. Late or unfinished reflection papers will be penalized.
3. Case study presentations (15%): At some point during term, each student will be assigned to give a presentation on how one major theme in that week's readings relates to a specific country case. Outside research is required; and students' choices of cases must be approved in advance.
4. Final paper (40%): Students will write a 12-15 page paper on an approved topic of their choice. Paper topics must be approved in advance and should respond to one of the following questions:
  - a. In light of the experiences of two countries, and drawing on relevant political theories, analyze the implications of a rising middle class for democratic change or authoritarian resilience. What policy lessons should we draw from this?
  - b. In light of the experiences of two countries, and drawing on relevant political theories, analyze the relationship between the rule of law and democratic change. What policy lessons should we draw from this?
  - c. In light of theory and relevant evidence, analyze the prospects for democratic change in one currently non-democratic country. How could domestic or international policy interventions help – or hinder – democratic progress?

- d. Focusing on one country, make an argument about whether stable authoritarianism or democratic change would be preferable in the medium term. Draw upon relevant theories and comparative evidence. What policy lessons should we draw from this?

## Reading Assignments

Readings have been selected to provide a range of theoretical perspectives, cross-national empirical analyses, case investigations of specific countries, and policy lessons and questions. The assigned readings for each week total approximately 100 pages.

---

### 1. September 23

#### What are Democracy and Authoritarianism? Why do they matter?

*What are democracy and authoritarianism? Do they entail certain institutions, values, processes, or outcomes?*

Phillippe C. Schmitter & Terry Lynn Karl. "What Democracy Is...and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy*. Volume 2, Number 3, Summer 1991.

Please read the following excerpts from *The Democracy Sourcebook* (approx 30 pages):

Jean-Jacques Rousseau. "The Social Contract." 2-4.

Joseph Schumpeter. "Capitalism, Socialism & Democracy." 5-11.

Amy Gutmann & Dennis Thompson. "Democracy and Disagreement." 18-24.

Larry Diamond. "Defining and Developing Democracy." 29-39.

Robert Dahl. "Polyarchal Democracy." 48-53.

*What are the supposed benefits of democracy? Of authoritarianism?*

Please read the following excerpts from *The Democracy Sourcebook* (approx 30 pages):

Mancur Olson. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." 436-443.

Amartya Sen, "Freedom Favors Development." 444-447.

Rogers M. Smith. "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal & Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America." 480-488.

Immanuel Kant. "Perpetual Peace." 490-491.

Russell Hardin. "Democracy and Collective Bads." 504-509.

---

### 2. September 30

#### Patterns and Puzzles of Democratization

*What are the historical patterns of democratic and non-democratic regime change and endurance? What is the conventional wisdom about why some countries democratize and others don't?*

Samuel Huntington. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. University of Oklahoma Press; (March 1993 edition). 3-45, 280-293.

Barbara Geddes, What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years? *Annual Review of Political Science*. Vol. 2 (1999), 115-44.

Valerie Bunce. Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations. *Comparative Political Studies*. 33:6/7 (August/September 2000), 703-734.

Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* (November 1997), 22-41.

---

### **3. October 7**

#### **Authoritarian Resilience and Resistance**

*Why are some authoritarian regimes resilient? What strategies do they employ? When they adopt some democratic institutions, such as electoral or participatory ones, do they become less or more authoritarian? Can efforts at democratization also spur protracted violence or state failure, and why?*

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13.2 (2002), 51-65.

Marina Ottaway. *Democracy Challenged: The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003. Pages to be assigned.

Ellen Lust. "Competitive Clientelism in the Middle East." *Journal of Democracy*, Jul2009, Vol. 20 Issue 3, 122-135.

Andrew J. Nathan. "Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy*, Jan2003, Vol. 14 Issue 1, p6, 12p.

David Shambaugh. *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*. Chapter 5: The Chinese Discourse on Noncommunist Party-States. Chapter 8: Staying Alive: Can the Chinese Communist Party Survive? University of California Press, 2008. pp. 87-102, 161-181.

---

### **4. October 14**

#### **The Role of Development (Overview)**

*What role does the economy play in democratic change and authoritarian resilience? Consider factors such as economic growth, the level of economic wellbeing, economic equality and inequality, the nature of resources, and the rise of a middle class. How do they influence the public, ruling elites, loyal groups and opposition groups?*

Seymour Martin Lipset. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy", *American Political Science Review*, 1959, Vol. 53.

Valerie Bunce. "Democratization & Economic Reform." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2001. Volume 4, 43-65.

Adam Przeworski. "Democracy and Economic Development." In Edward D. Mansfield and Richard Sisson (eds.), *Political Science and the Public Interest*. 1-12, 20-21.

James A. Robinson. "Economic Development and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2006: 9: 503-527.

Helen Milner & Bumba Mukherjee. "Democratization and Economic Globalization." *Annual Review of Political Science*; 2009, Vol. 12 Issue 1, p163-181, 19p

---

## **5. October 21**

### **The Role of Development (Focus on Commercial Interests and China)**

*Can we predict the role do business interests will play in democratic change and authoritarian resilience? What factors determine their ability and inclination to challenge a regime? Can a regime accommodate demands for freedom, rule of law, and policy input from commercial interests without accommodating a larger public?*

Theda Skocpol (on Barrington Moore). "Social Revolutions in the Modern World." In *The Democracy Sourcebook*. 65-70.

Kellee Tsai. *Capitalism Without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China*. Cornell University Press, 2007. 1-16, 105-149.

Henry S. Rowen. "When Will the Chinese People Be Free?" *Journal of Democracy*, 2007. 18:3, 37-52.

Dali L. Yang. "Economic Transformation and Its Political Discontents in China: Authoritarianism, Unequal Growth, and the Dilemmas of Political Development." *Annual Review of Political Science* 2006. Volume 9, 143-64.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita & George Downs. "Development and Democracy." *Foreign Affairs*, Sep/Oct2005, Vol. 84, Issue 5.

---

## **6. October 28**

### **The Roles of Civil Society and Social Movements**

*What role does civil society play in democratic change and authoritarian resilience? What brings about democratic social movements and electoral revolutions, and what determines whether or not they are successful? Are civil society actors and social movements always good for democratic change or democracy?*

Valerie J. Bunce and Sharon L. Wolchik. "Favorable Conditions and Electoral Revolutions." *Journal of Democracy* 17:4 (October 2006), 5-18.

Valerie Bunce. "Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Postcommunist Experience." *World Politics* 55.2 (2003), 167-192

Jeff Goodwin. *No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945–1991*. Series: Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (2001), 35-50.

Nancy Bermeo. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times. The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*, Princeton University Press (2003). Chapter 1: Heroes or Villains? Images of Citizens and Civil Society in the Literature on Democracy, 7-20.

---

[Fall Recess]

---

## **7. November 11**

### **The Role of Diversity and Fractures**

*Is diversity a good thing or a bad thing for democracy and authoritarianism? Do the patterns of diversity matter, and if so, how? How does this depend on the institutions that are used to manage diversity?*

James Madison. “The Federalist No. 10” & “The Federalist No. 14.” In *The Democracy Sourcebook* (2003), 118-125.

Ian Shapiro. “Democratic Justice.” In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 252-256.

Nicholas R. Miller. “Pluralism & Social Choice.” In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 133-141.

Amartya Sen. “Democracy as a Universal Value.” *Journal of Democracy* 10:3 (July 1999), 3-17.

Arend Lipjhart. “The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation.” *American Political Science Review*. 90:2 (June 1996), 258-268.

Mark R. Beissinger. “A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization.” *Journal of Democracy*. Jul2008, Vol. 19 Issue 3, 85-97.

---

## **8. November 18**

### **The Roles of Specific Cultures and Religions**

*Are there specific cultures, religions, or world views that are less compatible with democracy and more compatible with authoritarianism? What role can cultural and religious organizations or parties play in practice, and do they differ in these regards from secular organizations and parties?*

Sheri Berman. “How Democracies Emerge: Lessons from Europe.” *Journal of Democracy* 18:1 (January 2007), 29-41.

Matthew Cleary & Susan Stokes. *Democracy & the Culture of Skepticism*. Russell Sage Foundation (2006). Chapter 1: The Place of Trust in the Political Culture of Democracy, 3-18.  
Alexis de Tocqueville. *Democracy in America*. In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 455-459.

Tarek Masoud. "Islamist Parties: Are They Democrats? Does It Matter?" *Journal of Democracy* 19.3 (July 2008): 19-24.

Francis Fukuyama, "Confucianism and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 6.2 (1995) 20-33.

Samuel Huntington, "Will More Countries Become Democratic?" *Political Science Quarterly* 99 (1984): 193-218.

Ronald Inglehart. "Culture and Democracy." In *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress.* Basic Books, 2001. pp. 80-97.

---

## 9. November 25

### The Role of Political Institutions and Political Heritages

*How does a country's current set of political and legal institutions matter for democratic change and authoritarian resilience? Does past experience matter? What is the relationship between rule of law and democratic change?*

Thomas Carothers. "The 'Sequencing' Fallacy." *Journal of Democracy* 18:1 (January 2007), 12-27.

Edward D. Mansfield & Jack Snyder. "The Sequencing 'Fallacy.'" *Journal of Democracy*, Jul2007, Vol. 18 Issue 3, 5-9.

Beatriz Magaloni. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*, Cambridge University Press (2006), 1-43.

Dorothy J. Solinger. "Ending One-Party Dominance: Korea, Taiwan, Mexico," *Journal of Democracy* 12:1 (January 2001), 30-42.

Barry Weingast. "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law." *American Political Science Review*, 1997, 91:2.

Video: *The Wind of Change: the End of Colonialism in Africa*. 2003. PBS. 1 hour.

---

[Thanksgiving Recess]

---

## 10. December 2

### The Role of Elite Choices

*What role do elite choices play in democratic transition? What kinds of structural factors influence which elites have the power to influence democratic transition and the choices they make?*

Adam Przeworski, "Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991, 47-63.

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, Latin America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, 16-37.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "George Washington and the Founding of Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, October 1998, 9:4, 24-38.

Courtney Jung, Ellen Lust-Okar, and Ian Shapiro, "Problems and Prospects for Democratic Settlements: South Africa as a Model for the Middle East and Northern Ireland?" *Politics & Society* 33:2 (2005), 277-326.

Carles Boix & Susan C. Stokes. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55 (July 2003), 517-545. (no need to read the appendix on pages 546-549)

---

## 11. December 9

### The Role of the International Community

*What does the international community do to promote democracy or authoritarianism, and what determines whether or not these efforts matter? Do regimes, opposition leaders, and publics learn from the positive and negative examples of other countries?*

Mark Beissinger. "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of the Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions," *Perspectives on Politics*, 2007, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 259-276.

Steven Levitsky & Lucan A. Way. 2005. "International Linkage and Democratization." *Journal of Democracy* 16.3, 20-34.

Larry Diamond. Chapters 5-6: "What Drives Democracy: The External Factors." and "What Drives Democracy: The Regional Influence." In *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World*. Henry Holt & Company, 2008. pp. 88-152.

---

## 12. December 16

### The Politics of Democracy Promotion

*Should democracy be promoted by international actors? What approaches and methods are used to promote democracy in practice? Why and how are they chosen? Are they consistent with current understandings of democratic change and authoritarian resilience?*

Thomas Carothers. "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion." *Foreign Affairs*, Mar/Apr2006, Vol. 85 Issue 2, 55-68.

Jeffrey Kopstein. "The Transatlantic Divide over Democracy Promotion." *Washington Quarterly*, Spring2006, Vol. 29 Issue 2, 85-98.

Catherin E. Dalpino. *Deferring Democracy: Promoting Openness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Brookings Institution Press, 2000. Pages to be assigned.

C. Fred Bergsten, Charles Freeman, Nicholas R. Lardy, and Derek J. Mitchell. *China's Rise: Challenges and Opportunities*. Chapter 3: Democracy with Chinese Characteristics? Political Reform and the Future of the Chinese Communist Party. Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2008. 57-74.

Crawford Young. "The Heart of the African Conflict Zone: Democratization, Ethnicity, Civil Conflict, and the Great Lakes Crisis." *Annual Review of Political Science*; 2006, Vol. 9 Issue 1, 301-328.

Ian Shapiro. *Containment: Rebuilding a Strategy against Global Terror*. Princeton University Press. 2008. Pages to be assigned.

---

*[Winter Recess]*

---

**January 12**  
**Final Papers Due**

Final papers are due BY E-MAIL by 4pm EST on Tuesday, January 12<sup>th</sup>, 2010.

---