

Princeton University
Woodrow Wilson School of Public & International Affairs

WWS-571a
Fall 2007
Thursdays 1-4pm

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Democratic Change and Authoritarian Resilience

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. Explanations are scrutinized in light of evidence from cross-national studies and country cases. Students will assess the domestic and international policy implications of the competing views of why democratic change and authoritarian resilience occur.

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. A week prior to each class meeting, discussion questions will be distributed to allow students to reflect on them as they complete the readings.
2. Student class presentations and final debate (15%): At the beginning of weeks 2 through 11, 5-10 minutes will be allotted for students to refresh the key themes of the readings. Each student will help lead the presentations twice during the term. In addition, in week 12, all students will engage in a debate on if and how policy interventions should be taken to promote democratic change abroad. The specific debate topic, and debate teams, will be chosen based on student interests and current affairs.
3. Weekly reflection paragraph (15%): Each evening before class meetings, students will be asked to submit a short paragraph reflecting on the assigned readings. Reflection paragraphs might highlight key themes; clarify implicit assumptions in the major arguments; raise counterarguments or question ambiguities; develop new hypotheses; draw policy lessons; compare and contrast the readings to outside evidence acquired through study, personal experience or otherwise; etc. Reflection paragraphs will simply be graded as full credit (submitted on time) or no credit (not done or late).
4. Final paper (40%): Students will write a 12-15 page paper on an approved topic of their choice that responds to one of the following topic questions:

- a. In light of the experiences of 2 (or 3) countries, as well as relevant political theories, analyze the relationship between economic change and democratic change. What does this imply for how domestic and international *economic* policy interventions might be most effective? What questions remain unresolved and what turns on these questions?
- b. In light of the experiences of 2 (or 3) countries, as well as relevant political theories, analyze the relationship between culture and democratic change. What does this imply for how domestic and international *social* policy interventions might be most effective? What questions remain unresolved and what turns on these questions?
- c. In light of the various theories of why, when and how countries democratize, analyze the prospects for democratic change in one currently non-democratic country. How could domestic or international policy interventions help – or hinder – democratic progress? What questions remain unresolved and what turns on these questions?

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. They represent a variety of different approaches to research and policy; and they include excerpts from books, academic journals, policy journals or publications, and news sources. The assigned readings for each week total approximately 100 pages.

Required Book:

The Democracy Sourcebook. 2003. Edited by Robert A. Dahl, Ian Shapiro and José Antonio Cheibub.

1. September 20

Defining Features of Democratic and Authoritarian Regimes

Evelyn Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, John D. Stephens. “The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory & Social Dimensions.” *Comparative Politics*, 29:3 (April 1997), 323-342.

Fareed Zakaria, “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy.” *Foreign Affairs* (November 1997).

Adam Przeworski. “Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense.” In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 12-17.

Larry Diamond. “Defining and Developing Democracy.” In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 29-39.

Robert Dahl. “Polyarchal Democracy.” In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 48-54.

Discussion Cases: U.S. & Iran

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

Iran: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. *Read "Politics" section; skim the rest.*

Iran: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

Siavash Abghari. "Political Economy of Political Power of the Islamic Regime in Iran." *Journal of Third World Studies*. 24:1 (Spring 2007), 247-266.

Ali M. Ansari. "Iran: Continuous Regime Change from Within." *Washington Quarterly*. 26:4 (Autumn 2003), 53-68.

2. September 27

Patterns & Puzzles of Democratization

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.

Carles Boix. *Democracy and Regime Transition*. Cambridge University Press (2003). 1-18.

3. October 4

Patterns & Puzzles of Authoritarian Resilience

Jason Brownlee. "Ruling Parties and Durable Authoritarianism." Working Paper, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. Stanford Institute on International Studies Number 23 (October 28, 2004), 1-31.

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

Barbara Geddes. "Why Parties and Elections in Authoritarian Regimes?" Prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington DC (2005), 1-20.

Dan Slater. The Architecture of Authoritarianism: Southeast Asia and the Regeneration of Democratization Theory. *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*. 2:2, 1-22.

Discussion Case: Jordan

Jordan: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. *Read "Politics" section; skim the rest.*
Jordan: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

Ellen Lust-Okar. "Elections under authoritarianism: Preliminary lessons from Jordan." *Democratization*, 13:3 (2006), 456-471.

4. October 11

The Role of the Economy in Democratic Change & Authoritarian Resilience

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. "Economic Development and Political Regimes." *Democracy Sourcebook*, 108-116.

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

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

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

Discussion Case: China

China: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. *Read "Politics" section; skim the rest.*
China: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

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.

Joseph Kahn. *The New York Times*. June 27, 2007. "China's Leader Vows to Uphold One-Party Rule"

– April 20, 2007. "In China, Talk Of Democracy Is Simply That"

– March 16, 2007. "China Approves Property Law, Strengthening Its Middle Class"

5. October 18

The Role of Culture in Democratic Change & Authoritarian Resilience

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

Abdou Filali-Ansary. "Muslims and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 10:3 (July 1999), 18-31.

Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba. *The Civic Culture*. Sage Publications (1963) Chapter 1, 1-12.

Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker. "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values." In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 168-180.

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.

Discussion Case: Taiwan

Taiwan: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. Read "Politics" section; skim the rest.
Taiwan: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

Daniel A. Bell. *Beyond Liberal Democracy: Political Thinking for an East Asian Context*. Princeton University Press (2006). 1-22, 152-179.

Richard C. Bush. "Democratic Gridlock on Taiwan: Domestic Sources and External Implications." Talk at Stanford University (November 30, 2006), 1-9.

6. October 25

The Role of Social Cleavages in Democratic Change & Authoritarian Resilience

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

Donald L. Horowitz. "Structure and Strategy in Ethnic Conflict." April 1998. Paper prepared for the Annual World Bank Conference on Development Economics, Washington, D.C., April 20-21, 1998, 1-42.

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

Discussion Case: India

India: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. Read “Politics” section; skim the rest.

India: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

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

Atul Kohli. “Introduction.” *The Success of India’s Democracy*. Series: Contemporary South Asia (No. 6), 1-20.

Ashutosh Varshney, “India’s Democratic Challenge,” *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2007).

7. November 8

The Role of Political Institutions in Democratic Change & Authoritarian Resilience

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

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

Theda Skocpol. “Social Revolutions in the Modern World.” In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, pp. 65-70.

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

Discussion Case: Mexico

Mexico: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. Read “Politics” section; skim the rest.

Mexico: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

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.

[Fall Recess]

8. November 15

Negotiating Democratic Transition and the Aftermath

Amartya Sen. Freedom Favors Development. In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 444-446.

Alexis de Tocqueville. Democracy in America. In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 455-459.

Przeworski, Alvarez, Cheibub & Limongi. "Political Regimes & Economic Growth." In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 447-454.

Larry Diamond. "Democracy Development and Good Governance." Annual Democracy and Governance Lecture. Center for Democratic Development. At the British Council Hall, Accra, Ghana (March 1, 2005) http://www.stanford.edu/%7Eldiamond/papers/CDD_lecture_05.htm

Andreas Schedler. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9.2 (1998) 91-107.

Discussion Case: South Africa

South Africa: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. Read "Politics" section; skim the rest.

South Africa: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

Courtney Jung and Ian Shapiro, "South Africa's Negotiated Transition: Democracy, Opposition and the New Constitutional Order." In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 99-107, 350-354.

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.

Marian L. Tupy. "Troubling Signs for South African Democracy under the ANC." Cato Institute: Center for Global Liberty & Prosperity. Development Policy Briefing Paper 3 (April 25, 2007), 1-11.

9. November 29

Risks of Reversion

Jose Antonio Cheibub. "Minority Governments, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracies." In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, 277-283.

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.

M. Steven Fish. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics (2005), 1-14.

Discussion Case: Chile

Chile: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. Read "Politics" section; skim the rest.

Chile: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

Nancy Bermeo. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times. The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton University Press (2003). Chapter 5: The Tragedy of Democracy in Chile, 138-176.

Manuel Antonio Garretón. "Redemocratization in Chile." *Journal of Democracy* 6.1 (1995) 146-158.

Manuel Antonio Garretón. "Chile's Elections: Change and Continuity." *Journal of Democracy* 11:2 (April 2000), 78-84.

Arturo Fontaine Talavera. "Chile's Elections: The New Face of the Right." *Journal of Democracy* 11:2 (April 2000), 70-77.

Arturo Valenzuela and Lucía Dammert. "A 'Left Turn' in Latin America? Problems of Success in Chile." *Journal of Democracy* 17:4 (October 2006), 65-79.

[Thanksgiving Recess]

10. December 6 Justifying Democracy Promotion

Michael McFaul. Winter 2004/5. "Democracy Promotion as a World Value." *The Washington Quarterly* 28.1 (2004-2005), 147-163.

Michael Doyle. "Peace, Liberty and Democracy: Realists and Liberals Contest a Legacy" in *American Democracy Promotion, Impulses, Strategies and Impacts*. ed.: Cox, Ikenberry & Inogushi. Oxford University Press (2000), 21-40.

Edward Newman and Roland Rich. *The U.N. Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Realities*. United Nations University Press (2004), 3-31.

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

Thomas Carothers, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2006).

Discussion Case: Egypt

Egypt: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. Read “Politics” section; skim the rest.
Egypt: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

“The 2005 Egyptian Elections: How Free? How Important?” Saban Center Middle East Memo #8, August 24, 2005. Tamara Cofman Wittes, Research Fellow, Saban Center for Middle East Policy.

Jason Brownlee. “A New Generation of Autocracy in Egypt.” *Brown Journal of World Affairs*. (Fall 2007).

11. December 13 Democracy Promotion Tools

Stephen Knack. “Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?” *International Studies Quarterly*. 48:1 (March 2004), 251-266.

Jason Brownlee. “Can America Nation-Build?” *World Politics* (January 2007), 314-340.

Marina Ottaway and Bethany Lacina. “International Interventions and Imperialism: Lessons from the 1990s.” *SAIS Review* 23.2 (2003) 71-92

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

Discussion Case: Ukraine

Ukraine: Country Profile. Economist Intelligence Unit. Read “Politics” section; skim the rest.
Ukraine: Country Report (2007 update). Economist Intelligence Unit.

Taras Kuzio. “Ukraine's Orange Revolution. The Opposition's Road to Success.” *Journal of Democracy*, 16:2 (April 2005), 117-130.

Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr. “Revolution Reconsidered.” *Journal of Democracy* 18:1 (January 2007), 42-57.

12. December 17 (Monday)

Democracy Promotion in Practice:

Current Affairs Debate (60 minutes) & Working Paper Discussions (110 minutes)

This week, all students will engage in a formal debate on if and how policy interventions should be taken to promote democratic change abroad. The specific debate topic, and debate teams, will be chosen based on student interests and current affairs.

In addition, students will discuss their seminar paper topics with the class, in order to obtain a range of feedback and ideas that may shape the paper's final form. By the Friday before class, each student should circulate a one-page outline of their chosen paper topic, which clearly and concisely outlines the topic of inquiry, the main hypothesis being investigated, key counterarguments, and their plan of research/investigation. Students should read the working paper summaries prior to class and come prepared to provide critical and constructive feedback on each.

Assignment: Classmates' working paper summaries. Debate preparation.

[Winter Recess]

Papers will be due in January (date to be announced).