

Democracy and Democratization
POLI 359 - Special Topics in Comparative Politics
College of Charleston, Fall 2017

Instructor: Dr. Max Kovalov E-mail: kovalovm@cofc.edu Class time: MW 2pm-3:15pm Classroom: Maybank 207	Office: 206A Ed. Center (ECTR) Office hours: WF, 11:00-11:45am and by appointment. Please email me to schedule a meeting.
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We think that democracy is the best form of government. Is it? Should we celebrate it and promote it around the world? Are there any problems inherent in democracy? What is democracy and how can we measure it? What do we mean by the quality of democracy? When do democracies breakdown and how do they emerge? Why are some countries democratic while others are not? How do culture, religion, ethnicity, economics, and international influence affect democracy survival and emergence? This course focuses on democracy and democratization in comparative perspective. It examines democracies and democratic development around the world. It focuses on the meaning of democracy, its origins, limits, and consequences in various regions.

By the end of the course students will have a general familiarity and understanding of the following developments:

- the meaning of democracy;
- the causal factors leading to the emergence of democracy;
- specific cases of democratic breakdown in various regions around the world.

The specific learning objectives are:

1. To demonstrate the ability to understand the meaning of democracy in different historical contexts.
2. To recognize and explain via oral and written assignments alternative explanations of democratic emergence and survival.
3. To demonstrate the ability to identify the elements of democracy and explain their deterioration or improvement by analyzing current periodicals.
4. To explore and understand the challenges and opportunities of democratic developments in different regions around the world.

Grading

1. Active participation in class discussions (10%).
2. Report on the status of democratic developments and problems in a country of choice (5%).
3. Reading quizzes (10%).
4. Paper proposal + annotated bibliography (10%). **Due on September 25** in class + uploaded to OAKS.
5. Research paper (15%). Paper topics must be discussed and approved by the instructor. **Due on December 4** in class. The paper should also be uploaded to Dropbox through OAKS.
6. Midterm exam (20%).
7. Final exam (20%). **December 8, 12:00pm-3:00pm.**
8. Model UN (10%)

Grade scale

A =94-100; A-= 90-93; B+=87-89; B=83-86; B-=80-82; C+=77-79; C=73-76; C-=70-72;
 D+=67-69; D=63-66; D-=60-62; F<60.

Course materials

1. Møller, J., & Skaaning, S. E. (2012). *Democracy and democratization in comparative perspective: conceptions, conjunctures, causes and consequences* (Vol. 22). Routledge.
2. Subscription to *The Economist* (instructions will be given in class)
3. Other reading materials are available through OAKS.

Assignments

1. *Participation in class discussions*

The success of this class depends on your active participation. I expect students to attend classes and participate in discussions. Students are expected to read the assigned material **prior to each class** and be ready for active participation in discussions.

2. *Reports on the status of democracy in a country of choice*

During the second week of the semester each student will select a country and will follow current events in this country throughout the semester. Once or twice a semester each student will give a 5-minute presentation on current events related to democratization in the selected country. You will be expected to have an in-depth knowledge of one recent event or phenomena rather than just a reporting a headline or give an overview of several events. You can select an event from the past 2 years. I suggest that you start looking for articles in *The Economist* and then Once you subscribe to the Economist you will have access to digital archives. Be prepared to describe and explain what happened and why (remember 5-Ws: who, where, when, what, and why). Use the following checklist to prepare for this assignment:

- Am I using an article from The Economist?
- Am I using articles from other major newspapers?
- Did I explain how the topic is related to democratization?
- Is the topic/phenomenon clearly stated and explained?
- Did I cover the 5-Ws (who, where, when, what, and why)?
- Did my report focus on one topic related to democratization or did I give an overview of several topics without providing much depth?
- Am I reading from my notes? (hint: you can consult your notes but don't read them).

3. *Reading quizzes*

Reading quizzes will be offered periodically throughout the semester.

4. *Paper proposal + annotated bibliography*

A 1-page description of the research topic **must be submitted by September 25** in class and uploaded to OAKS. Topics for paper proposals **must be discussed with and approved by the instructor**. This description should clearly state:

- a. Your research question or puzzle related to democratization;
- b. The country (or countries) you examine and why you chose these countries;
- c. The importance of the research question for our understanding of democracy. In other words, why should we care about this topic? What's at stake?
- d. An annotated bibliography. See the template on the last page of the syllabus. Students will prepare five (5) one-page summaries of articles or book chapters chosen for the paper by filling out the table for each of the 5 sources of annotated bibliography. The template is also saved in OAKS under Content.

5. *Research paper*

Due on December 4 in class and in OAKS. You need to pick a topic related to democratization in a country (or countries) you are interested and explore it in a 7-8-page paper. The topic of your interest does not have to include the most recent developments in your countries of choice. For example, you may choose to examine the breakdown of democracy in one or more Latin American countries, or the transition from authoritarian rule in Asia, or deterioration of democracy in Eastern Europe. You can choose to research the choice of institutional arrangements (presidential or parliamentary system design) or compare similar (in most aspects) countries in order to explain differences in civic engagement, the role of the military and its impact on democracy, the role of gender, protest, or international influence for democracy. **Paper topics must be discussed with and approved by the instructor.** See paper guidelines in OAKS.

6. *Model UN*

Students will be required to participate in the College of Charleston Model UN representing one of the European countries. You will become a delegate of the country representing its interests and you will need to conduct research on its international relations and foreign policy. In order to do well on this assignment and to become an effective delegate, students will need to do background research on the selected European country (you can select the same country you've conducted research for other assignments in this class). Students will need to prepare a Position Paper on a specific topic. **Position Papers are due on November 2, 2017.** More information on this assignment will be provided in class. The annual College of Charleston Model UN will be held on November 3-4

(Friday 3pm-8pm and Saturday 9am-3pm). Students are responsible for making arrangements in case they have work conflict.

Late submissions

Late submissions will be penalized by 5% per day (including weekends). Assignments more than two weeks late will receive a “0.” Unexcused failure to show up for an exam will result in a grade of 0% on the exam.

Course/University Policies

Students with Disabilities: The College will make reasonable accommodations for persons with documented disabilities. Students with disabilities must be registered with the Center for Disability Services / SNAP, located on the first floor of the Lightsey Center, Suite 104 prior to receiving accommodations in this course. Any student in this course who has a disability that may prevent them from fully demonstrating their abilities should contact the instructor personally as soon as possible to discuss accommodations necessary to ensure full participation and facilitate their educational opportunities.

Academic Integrity: Lying, cheating, attempted cheating, and plagiarism are violations of our Honor Code that, when identified, are investigated. Each incident will be examined to determine the degree of deception involved. Incidents where the instructor determines whether the student’s actions are related more to a misunderstanding will be handled by the instructor. A written intervention designed to help prevent the student from repeating the error will be given to the student. The intervention, submitted by form and signed both by the instructor and the student, will be forwarded to the Dean of Students and placed in the student’s file.

Cases of suspected academic dishonesty will be reported directly by the instructor and/or others having knowledge of the incident to the Dean of Students. A student found responsible by the Honor Board for academic dishonesty will receive a XF in the course, indicating failure of the course due to academic dishonesty. This grade will appear on the student’s transcript for two years after which the student may petition for the X to be expunged. The F is permanent. The student may also be placed on disciplinary probation, suspended (temporary removal) or expelled (permanent removal) from the College by the Honor Board.

Students should be aware that unauthorized collaboration--working together without permission-- is a form of cheating. Unless the instructor specifies that students can work together on an assignment, quiz and/or test, no collaboration during the completion of the assignment is permitted. Other forms of cheating include possessing or using an unauthorized study aid (which could include accessing information via a cell phone or computer), copying from others’ exams, fabricating data, and giving unauthorized assistance. Research conducted and/or papers written for other classes cannot be used in whole or in part for any assignment in this class without obtaining prior permission from the instructor. Students can find the complete Honor Code and all related processes in the *Student Handbook* at <http://studentaffairs.cofc.edu/honor-system/studenthandbook/index.php>

Avoiding Plagiarism

“Plagiarism falls into two categories: using someone else’s *words* or using someone else’s *ideas* as if they were your own. You must be scrupulous in avoiding both categories of plagiarism in your writing. Properly cite all quotations, paraphrases, and summaries of information from other sources. The only exception to this rule is common knowledge, or information commonly known and accessible to your audience... If you are unsure whether certain information constitutes common knowledge, document it. Collusion, a form of plagiarism, occurs when two or more people agree to devise a piece of writing that will be attributed to only one of them... For any individual writing assignment, the idea and the organization of ideas in your paper must be your own... You can incorporate into your writing ideas that have arisen from class discussion [and] lectures... You may revise and edit your writing with other people... but you should not have others do your writing or revising for you.”¹

Laptop and digital device policy

I request that students not use laptops, tablets, phones, or other digital devices in class, unless I ask to do so. If you need to use a laptop due to a medical condition, I will need a note from the SNAP center. ß

Changes to syllabus

I reserve the right to make changes to the syllabus during the semester. Any changes will be announced in class and via email.

¹ Frank O’Hare and Edward A. Kline, *The Modern Writer’s Handbook, Fourth Edition*, 1996, pp. 447-450.

Calendar of Readings and Assignments

There may be changes in this calendar. Check your email and OAKS regularly.

Date	Reading and writing assignments
Wednesday, Aug. 23	Course Introduction
Monday, Aug. 28	<p>Venezuela’s slide</p> <p><i>The Economist</i>. 2017. “How to Deal with Venezuela,” July 29. <i>The Economist</i>. 2017. “Nicolás Maduro Tries to Make Thugocracy Permanent in Venezuela,” July 29.</p>
Wednesday, Aug 30	<p>Class debate: Is democracy in decline?</p> <p>Discussion questions: Is democracy in decline? Is the concern about democratic decline in recent years overblown? What’s the evidence to support our claims? Are people disillusioned with democracy? What do “democracy scores” tell us?</p> <p>Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2015. “The Myth of Democratic Recession.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 26 (1): 45–58. Diamond, Larry. 2015. “Facing up to the Democratic Recession.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 26(1): 141–155.</p>
Monday, Sept. 4	<p>Democracy and liberty</p> <p>Discussion questions: How does Zakaria explain the emergence of liberty? Do liberty and democracy have the same meaning? Does liberalism depend on culture? Can any culture become liberal? Why or why not?</p> <p>Zakaria, Fareed. 2003. “A Brief History of Human Liberty.” In <i>The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad</i>, 29–58.</p>
Wednesday, Sept. 6	<p>What is democracy?</p> <p>Discussion questions: How does the understanding of democracy differ in Ancient Greece from that in Ancient Rome? Which elements of democracy did classical definitions emphasize? How do contemporary scholars define democracy and how is it different from classical understandings?</p> <p>Møller and Skaaning (2013) Ch. 1-2 (pp. 13-38)</p>
Monday, Sept. 11	<p>Classifying regimes & measuring democracy</p> <p>Møller and Skaaning (2013) Ch. 3, Typologies of democratic and autocratic regimes, pp. 39-49 Browse through the Freedom House website, read about Freedom in the World, click on the methodology link, and skim through the 2017 report. https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2017/ https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2016/methodology/ https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FIW_2017_Report_Final.pdf/</p>
Wednesday, Sept. 13	<p>The Third Wave of democratization</p> <p>Discussion questions: What is a “wave of democratization?” How does Huntington explain the Third Wave of transitions to democracy? What are the obstacles to democratization? What’s that conversation about the Fourth Wave all about?</p> <p>Møller and Skaaning (2013) Ch. 5-6 (pp.65-89) Recommended Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. “Democracy’s Third Wave.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 2 (2): 12–34.</p>
Monday,	Democracy and Economic Development

<p>Sept. 18</p>	<p>Discussion questions: How does Lipset explain democratization? Which structural conditions help bring democracy about? What’s the evidence to support modernization theory? If economic growth leads to democracy, are poor countries doomed to remain authoritarian? How does Lipset’s explanation differ from Przeworski’s explanation?</p> <p>Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1994. “The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited: 1993 Presidential Address.” <i>American Sociological Review</i> 59 (1): 1–22.</p> <p>Przeworski, Adam, Mansfield, and Sisson. 1993. “Democracy and Economic Development.” In <i>The Evolution of Political Knowledge</i>, 7:51–69.</p> <p>Acemoglu, Daron. 2013. “Development Won’t Ensure Democracy in Turkey.” <i>The New York Times</i>, June 5.</p> <p>Recommended Møller and Skaaning (2013) Ch. 7 Modernization Theory</p>
<p>Sept 19</p>	<p>Guest talk by Russian journalist and civil rights activist Masha Gessen</p>
<p>Wednesday, Sept. 20</p>	<p>Religion and democracy</p> <p>Discussion questions: Are there cultural prerequisites for democracy? Is culture a permanent obstacle to democracy? Is Catholicism democratic? What about Islam? What kind of changes has Catholicism undergone in the 20th century? How have these changes lead to changes in citizen and elite attitudes to democracy?</p> <p>Lipset and Lakin 2004 <i>The Democratic Century</i> (pp. 184-194, 207-208)</p> <p>Recommended: Stepan 2000 Religion, Democracy, and the Twin Tolerations</p>
<p>Monday, Sept. 25</p>	<p>Research Paper Proposal due at 2pm on Sept 25. Bring hard copy to class AND upload the electronic copy to OAKS.</p>
<p>Wednesday, Sept. 27</p>	<p>Colonial legacy in Latin America</p> <p>Discussion questions: How has colonial history shaped the path of the Latin American region? Are there differences in the values between North and Latin Americans? If colonial legacy has negatively affected Latin American prospects for democratization, does it mean that they are condemned for underdevelopment and authoritarianism?</p> <p>Lipset and Lakin 2004 <i>The Democratic Century</i> (pp. 241-246, 281-311)</p>
<p>Monday, Oct. 2</p>	<p>Leadership and Transitions</p> <p>Discussion questions: Why is modernization theory not sufficient to explain democratization? Can democracy emerge and survive under unfavorable economic conditions? What is the role of decisions made by key actors for the emergence of democracy? Who are the key actors?</p> <p>Møller and Skaaning (2013) Ch. 9 Transitology, pp. 127-135</p>
<p>Wednesday, Oct. 4</p>	<p>Democracy and International Factors</p> <p>Discussion questions: Why did scholars decide to focus on international factors to explain democratization in the 1990s? How does international influence help democratize a country? Why can democracy promotion programs be problematic? What has been the EU’s impact on democratic reforms in Turkey?</p> <p>Møller and Skaaning (2013) Ch. 10 International Factors, pp. 142-155</p> <p>Tocci, Nathalie. 2005. “Europeanization in Turkey: Trigger or Anchor for Reform?” <i>South European</i></p>

	<p><i>Society and Politics</i> 10 (1): 73–83. Diamond, Linz, Lipset - Intl factors, pp. 47-52</p>
Monday, Oct. 9	No class. Online discussion of exam questions. Use the discussion board in OAKS to discuss democracy, its definitions, and causes. I will periodically review the discussion board but I encourage other students in class to answer questions and point to the relevant material.
Wednesday, Oct. 11	Midterm
Monday, Oct. 16	Fall Break. No class.
Wednesday, Oct. 18	<p>Gender and democratization</p> <p>Discussion questions: Have gender been mentioned in any definitions of democracy we’ve studied so far? Is that a problem? Why or why not? Are women represented in politics to the same extent as men? What’s the evidence? Are women in post-communist Europe better represented in politics?</p> <p>Paxton, Pamela. 2009. “Gender and Democratization.” In <i>Democratization</i>, edited by Christian W. Haerpfer, et al. 145–55.</p> <p>Rueschemeyer, Marilyn. 1994. Women in the Politics of Postcommunist Eastern Europe. In Wolchik and Curry, pp. 109-21</p>
Monday, Oct. 23	<p>Civil Society and civic engagement</p> <p>Discussion questions: Do Howard and Berman address the same question? What’s the difference in their explanations? Why is postcommunist civil society weak? Did weak civil society lead to the collapse of German democracy?</p> <p>Howard, Marc Morje. “The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 13, no. 1 (2002): 157–69.</p> <p>Berman, Sheri. “Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic.” <i>World Politics</i> 49 (1997): 401–429.</p>
Wednesday, Oct. 25	<p>Do democratic institutions matter?</p> <p>Discussion questions: What are the main elements of presidential and parliamentary systems? Which one is better and what is it better for?</p> <p>Mainwaring, Scott, and Matthew S. Shugart. 1997. “Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal.” <i>Comparative Politics</i>, 449–471.</p>
Monday, Oct. 30	<p>Democratic breakdown: Germany</p> <p>Allen, William Sheridan. 1984. <i>The Nazi Seizure of Power: The Experience of a Single German Town, 1922-1945</i>. (select pages)</p>
Wednesday, Nov. 1	<p>Democracy in the Middle East</p> <p>Cook, Steven. 2017. “RIP Turkey, 1921 – 2017.” <i>Foreign Policy</i>, April 16.</p> <p>Daadaoui, Mohamed. 2016. “The Rise of the Sultan in Turkey Is a Setback to Middle East Democracy.” <i>Huffington Post</i>. July 22.</p> <p>Fish, M. Steven. 2002. “Islam and Authoritarianism.” <i>World Politics</i> 55 (1): 4–37.</p>
Nov. 3-4	CofC Model UN
Monday,	Democratization in Latin America: Peru-1

Nov. 6	<p>Levitsky, Steven. 1999. “Fujimori and Post-Party Politics in Peru.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 10 (3): 78–92. Watch video: Peru: Shining Path, Fujimori and the Legacy of the Civil War. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hxCGf1LZXN4.</p>
Wednesday, Nov. 8	<p>Democratization in Latin America: Peru-2</p> <p>Conaghan. 2005. Fujimori's Peru: deception in the public sphere, pp. 221-241</p>
Monday, Nov. 13	<p>Venezuela</p> <p>Corrales, Javier, and Michael Penfold-Becerra. 2011. Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela. pp. 1-46</p>
Wednesday, Nov. 15	<p>Democracy in Russia?</p> <p>Discussion questions: Is Russia a democracy? Why or why not? Which Dahl's functions of polyarchy are met and which ones are violated in Russia?</p> <p>Kotkin, Stephen. 2015. “The Resistible Rise of Vladimir Putin.” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, February 16. BBC. 2013. “Is Democracy Overrated?,” August 9.</p>
Monday, Nov. 20	<p>Democratization in Eastern Europe: Color Revolutions</p> <p>Discussion questions: How does Way explain the success of color revolutions? What is success, according to Way? What does he mean by “state capacity?” Is international influence alone sufficient to explain successful color revolutions? What is the role of diffusion in Way's explanation?</p> <p>Way, Lucan. 2008. “The Real Causes of the Color Revolutions.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 19(3): 55–69.</p>
Wednesday, Nov. 22	<p>Thanksgiving Holiday. No class.</p>
Monday, Nov. 27	<p>Color revolutions</p> <p>Discussion questions: How does D'Anieri explain the success of color revolutions? How does D'Anieri's explanation differ from Way's explanation? How is it different from the account made by the documentary <i>Bringing Down the Dictator</i>?</p> <p>D'Anieri, P. 2006. “Explaining the Success and Failure of Post-Communist Revolutions.” <i>Communist and post-communist studies</i> 39(3): 331–50.</p>
Wednesday, Nov. 29	<p>Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine</p> <p>Kudelia, Serhiy. “The House That Yanukovych Built.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 25(3): 19–34. Kudelia, Sergiy. 2014. “Ukraine in Context: What Happens When Authoritarians Fall.” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, Feb 27.</p>
Monday, Dec. 4	<p>Final research paper due in class. Electronic copies should be uploaded to OAKS> Last day of classes</p>
Date TBD Friday, Dec. 8 12:00-3:00pm	<p>Final Exam Time TBD</p>