



POLITIC4139: Democratisation / The Rise and Fall of Democracy

Semester 2, 2016-17

Course Handbook

Lectures

Mondays 1-2pm,
Room 108, Rankine Building

Seminars

Mondays 2-3pm,
Room 101 A/B, Sir Charles Wilson Building
or
Mondays 3-4pm,
Room 206, 9 University Gardens

Lecturer

Dr Christopher Claassen
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Room 1305, Adam Smith Building
Consultation and feedback time: Thursdays 1:00-2:30pm (or by email appointment)

Description

In the 1970s, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a United States Senator, argued that ‘democracy is where the world was, not where the world is going’. Yet just 20 years later the ‘third wave’ of democratisation had swept the globe, bringing democratic political systems to countries as diverse as Taiwan, Brazil, South Africa, Poland and Spain. Indeed, the rise of democracy was so inexorable that in 1989 Francis Fukuyama declared that humanity had reached ‘the end of history’, which is to say that liberal democracy had ‘won’.

The mood has darkened again. Scholars and analysts now claim that ‘democracy is in decline’, with autocrats in China and Russia resurgent on the world stage, and authoritarian populists resurgent in the domestic politics of established liberal democracies.

This course examines the rise and fall of democratic systems of government. In other words, we focus on the questions of why countries transition from autocracy to democracy, or take the reverse path, from democracy to autocracy. The course considers a wide variety of different explanations for these transitions, including levels of economic development, political culture, competing class interests, and foreign influence. These theoretical processes will be illustrated through discussion of historical and contemporary cases.

Intended Learning Outcomes

By the end of this course students will be able to:

- Understand the concepts of democracy and autocracy;
- Critically evaluate quantitative and qualitative measures of democracy;
- Understand the processes of democratisation and consolidation of democracy;
- Critically evaluate quantitative and qualitative research on democratisation;
- Critically apply theories of democratisation to explain historical or contemporary cases

Structure of Teaching

Students will be required to attend a one-hour lecture and a one-hour seminar every week for the ten weeks for which teaching will be held. Lectures and seminars will be based on the week’s assigned readings so students should come prepared. Discussion questions for each week’s seminar will be circulated in advance by the lecturer.

Assessment

Summative assessment (assessment for which grades or marks will be assigned) consists of:

- 1) A written essay, of 2,000 to 2,500 words in length, worth 50% of the total course grade, and due on 20 March 2017.
- 2) A written exam, of 90 minutes’ duration, worth 40% of the total course grade, and scheduled for the April / May 2017 exam window.
- 3) Oral participation in seminars, worth 10% of the total course grade.

1. Essay

Choose one of the following essay questions:

- 1) *Critically apply one of the theoretical processes of democratisation to a particular country. To what extent does this theory explain why the country transitioned to democracy or remained an autocracy?*
- 2) *Critically apply one of the theoretical processes of consolidation to a particular country. To what extent does this theory explain why the country remained a democracy or reverted to autocratic rule?*

You must apply *only one* theory in your essay. You need not argue that your selected theory is the ‘only one’ that matters, or even that it is the most important explanation.

A critical application means that you should consider ways in which the evidence of the case supports the theory, as well as ways in which the case departs from the theory. A classic way to write such an essay is to use the ‘dialectical method’. This begins with the evidence for the theory (the ‘thesis’), moves to consider the evidence against the theory (‘antithesis’) and concludes by adjudicating between the evidence for and against (‘synthesis’).

The essay should be submitted by 4pm on 20 March 2017. One copy should be submitted via the Urkund link on Moodle and an identical paper version should be placed in the Politics Drop Box together with an appropriate cover sheet (cover sheets can be downloaded from the [honours common room](#)). When submitting your work to Urkund, please use your student number as the file name, e.g., ‘222222.docx’.

The essay should be 2,000 to 2,500 words in length (excluding the list of references). Essays that are over the word limit will be penalised: 1 point for being 10-15% over the limit; 2 points for being 15-20% over the limit, etc. In other words, an essay that is 2,750 words in length will receive a 10% penalty. There is no specific penalty, other than for the quality of the case study, for being under-length.

The essay should be well written, grammatically correct, free of spelling errors, and correctly referenced using some variant of the author-date referencing system, such as the Harvard system. Work that does not meet these standards will be penalised. The essay should also be typed and printed on A4 paper with pages numbered consecutively and securely stapled. Please use double-spacing, 2.5cm margins, and 12-point Times New Roman font.

The essay will be marked according to the Politics grading schedule, which is available in the Politics Honours Handbook in the [honours common room](#).

Students are permitted and encouraged to submit a plan or proposal for the essay as formative assessment (assessment designed to help student learning and where no grades are assigned). There is no set format for such a plan or proposal, but a document of around 1,000 words is recommended to enable students to receive useful feedback. These proposals should be emailed to the lecturer at least two weeks before the final essay deadline: i.e., on or before 6 March.

2. Exam

The exam is scheduled for the April-May exam period in 2017. You will have 90 minutes to write two essays selected from a choice of six topics. The six topics will reflect material covered in all ten weeks of the course.

3. Class participation

Half of our class time is taken up by seminars. These are fora for active learning, and active learning is facilitated by regular participation. As such, student participation in seminars will be graded according to the Politics Seminar/Class Participation Grading Schedule, provided in the Politics Honours Handbook. Quality of participation matters more than quantity.

Examples of high quality class participation include:

- applying the theoretical processes covered in class to current events;
- applying the theoretical processes covered in class to examples of democratisation that are familiar to you;
- offering a critique or broader reflection on the material covered in class;
- linking different topics covered in the course.

An ideal way to prepare for class participation is to reflect on the discussion questions that are provided each week, in advance of the seminar, by the lecturer.

Feedback

There are several ways in which students can receive feedback in this course:

- 1) Students will receive verbal feedback from the lecturer when participating in seminar discussions.
- 2) Students will receive written feedback on formative and summative assessment. Written feedback is returned within three working weeks in line with University policy.
- 3) Students are encouraged to make use of the lecturer's weekly consultation and feedback hours. These permit students to seek guidance on research or discuss any aspect of coursework or assessments. Regular consultation and feedback times are on Thursdays from 1pm to 2:30pm. The lecturer can also meet at other times during the week – please email to set up an appointment.
- 4) Students can also make use of the range of tailored support made available by Student Learning Services (see [here](#) for more information).

Extensions and Penalties

Failure, without good reason, to submit coursework on time will result in the loss of 2 points per working day, up to five working days. After five working days, failure to submit the coursework will result in the award of an 'H' grade (0) for the coursework and may result in the refusal of credit for the course. You must submit an essay if you want to get credit for this course. See [here](#) for more information on the university-wide penalty system.

Students may need to apply to defer their coursework deadline or to have late penalties lifted. All such applications for an extension must be submitted to Maggie Nicol (Maggie.Nicol@glasgow.ac.uk). Further details are in the Politics Honours Handbook.

Plagiarism and Urkund

This course applies the university rules on plagiarism. The university defines plagiarism as ‘the submission or presentation of work, in any form, which is not one’s own, without acknowledgement of the sources’ (see [here for the full university statement on plagiarism](#)). All written assignments must be accompanied by a ‘[Declaration of Originality Form](#)’.

The university has introduced Urkund to help students avoid plagiarism. Please see the [Frequently Asked Questions](#), [this information sheet](#), and the politics Honours handbook for more information on Urkund.

Copyright

Please note that lectures, recordings thereof, and course materials are for students’ own personal use and can only be used in relation to students’ studies. Any unauthorised distribution of course materials, including uploading them onto public websites or social media such as YouTube or Course Hero, will be considered in breach of the code of conduct and will be subject to disciplinary action.

Required Readings

The core text for this course is:

- *Democratization*, edited by Haerpfer, Bernhagen, Inglehart and Welzel. (Oxford University Press, 2009)

Copies are available in the library, in the campus bookstore, and at your favourite online retailer. Other readings are also required. These will be accessible through hyperlinks supplied in the [online reading list](#).

Course Schedule and Deadlines

Week	Date	Topic
		<i>Introduction</i>
1	9 January	Introduction, processes and trends
2	16 January	Conceptualising democracy and autocracy
3	23 January	Measuring democracy and autocracy
		<i>Becoming and Staying Democratic</i>
4	30 January	Economic development
5	6 February	Class conflict
6	13 February	Oil and the resource curse
7	20 February	Mass support
8	27 February	Culture, religion and democracy
9	6 March	Social movements and democratic revolutions
10	13 March	International influences
		<i>End of teaching</i>
11	20 March	Reading week; no class; essay due

Reading List

Week 1: Introduction: processes and trends

Required reading:

- Haerpfer et al. (eds). 2009. *Democratization*, chs. 1 & 5
- Plattner. 2015. 'Is democracy in decline?' *Journal of Democracy*

Further reading:

- Huntington. 1991. 'Democracy's Third Wave.' *Journal of Democracy*
- Fukuyama. 1989. 'The End of History?' *The National Interest*
- Linz and Stepan. 1996. 'Toward Consolidated Democracies.' *Journal of Democracy*
- Fukuyama. 2015. 'Why is Democracy Performing So Poorly?' *Journal of Democracy*
- Puddington and Roylance. 2016. 'Anxious Dictators, Wavering Democracies: Global Freedom under Pressure'. https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/FH_FITW_Report_2016.pdf
- Economist Intelligence Unit. 2015. 'Democracy Index 2015: Democracy in an age of anxiety.' <http://www.eiu.com/Handlers/WhitepaperHandler.ashx?fi=EIU-Democracy-Index-2015.pdf&mode=wp&campaignid=DemocracyIndex2015>

Week 2: Conceptualising democracy and autocracy

Required reading:

- Haerpfer et al. (eds). 2009. *Democratization*, ch. 2
- Schmitter and Karl. 1991. 'What Democracy is ... And is Not.' *Journal of Democracy*
- Levitsky and Way. 2002. 'The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism' *Journal of Democracy*
- Ezrow and Frantz. 2011. *Dictators and Dictatorships: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and Their Leaders*, ch. 1

Further reading:

- Haerpfer et al. (eds). 2009. *Democratization*, ch. 10
- Dahl. 2005. 'What Political Institutions Does Large-Scale Democracy Require?' *Political Science Quarterly*
- Brownlee. 2009. 'Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions.' *American Journal of Political Science*
- Gandhi and Lust-Okar. 2009. 'Elections Under Authoritarianism.' *Annual Review of Political Science*
- Pepinsky. 2014. 'The Institutional Turn in Comparative Authoritarianism.' *British Journal of Political Science*
- Morse. 2012. 'The Era of Electoral Authoritarianism.' *World Politics*
- Magaloni and Kricheli. 2010. 'Political Order and One-Party Rule.' *Annual Review of Political Science*
- Collier and Levitsky. 1997. 'Democracy with adjectives - Conceptual innovation in comparative research.' *World Politics*
- O'Donnell. 1994. 'Delegative Democracy?' *Journal of Democracy*

Week 3: Measuring democracy and autocracy

Required reading:

- Haerpfer et al. (eds). 2009. *Democratization*, ch. 3
- Coppedge and Gerring. 2011. 'Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach.' *Perspectives on Politics*
- Polity IV project. Examine democracy index (<http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>) and methodology (<http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/p4manualv2015.pdf>)
- Freedom House. Examine democracy index (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2016>) and methodology (<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2016/methodology>).

Further reading:

- Munck and Verkuilen. 2002. 'Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices.' *Comparative Political Studies*
- Coppedge. 2002. 'Democracy and Dimensions: Comments on Munck and Verkuilen.' *Comparative Political Studies*
- Elkins. 2000. 'Gradations of Democracy? Empirical Tests of Alternative Conceptualizations.' *American Journal of Political Science*
- Collier and Adcock. 1999. 'Democracy and Dichotomies: A Pragmatic Approach to Choices about Concepts.' *Annual Review of Political Science*
- Clark, Golder and Golder. 2013. *Principles of Comparative Politics, 2nd ed.*, ch. 5
- Bogaards. 2012. 'Where to draw the line? From degree to dichotomy in measures of democracy.' *Democratization*
- Coppedge, Alvarez and Maldonado. 2008. 'Two Persistent Dimensions of Democracy: Contestation and Inclusiveness.' *Journal of Politics*
- Alvarez, Cheibub, Limongi and Przeworski. 1996. 'Classifying political regimes.' *Studies In Comparative International Development*

Week 4: Economic development

Required reading:

- Przeworski and Limongi. 1997. 'Modernization: Theories and Facts.' *World Politics*
- Clark, Golder and Golder. 2013. *Principles of Comparative Politics, 2nd ed.*, pp. 171-184

Further reading:

- Lipset. 1959. 'Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy.' *American Political Science Review*
- Przeworski, et al. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*
- Boix and Stokes. 2003. 'Endogenous Democratization.' *World Politics*
- Epstein, et al. 2006. 'Democratic Transitions.' *American Journal of Political Science*
- Svobik. 2008. 'Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation.' *American Political Science Review*
- Acemoglu, et al. 2008. 'Income and Democracy.' *American Economic Review*
- Teorell. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006*, ch. 3

Week 5: Class conflict

Required reading:

- Huber, Rueschemeyer and Stephens. 1993. 'The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy.' *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*
- Acemoglu and Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, chs. 2 & 3.

Further reading:

- Moore. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*
- Acemoglu and Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*
- Skocpol. 1973. 'A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy' *Politics and Society*
- Ziblatt. 2006. 'How Did Europe Democratize?' *World Politics*
- Collier. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy*
- Luebbert. 1991. *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe*
- Acemoglu and Robinson. 2000. 'Why Did the West Extend the Franchise?' *Quarterly Journal of Economics*
- Houle. 2009. 'Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization'. *World Politics*

Week 6: Oil and the resource curse

Required reading:

- Ross. 2001. 'Does Oil Hinder Democracy?' *World Politics*
- Bates. 1991. 'The Economics of Transitions to Democracy.' *PS: Political Science and Politics*

Further reading:

- Clark, Golder and Golder. 2013. *Principles of Comparative Politics, 2nd ed.*, pp. 185-203
- Boix. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*, ch. 1
- North and Weingast. 1989. 'Constitutions and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth-Century England.' *The Journal of Economic History*
- Kiser and Barzel. 1991. 'The Origins of Democracy in England.' *Rationality and Society*
- Tilly. 1992. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1992*
- Jensen and Wantchekon. 2004. 'Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa.' *Comparative Political Studies*
- Ulfelder. 2007. 'Natural Resource Wealth and the Survival of Autocracies.' *Comparative Political Studies*
- Dunning. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*
- Ross. 2009. 'Oil and Democracy Revisited.' working paper
(<https://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/polisci/faculty/ross/papers/working/Oil%20and%20Democracy%20Revisited.pdf>)
- Diamond. 2010. 'Why Are There No Arab Democracies?' *Journal of Democracy*
- Haber and Menaldo. 2011. 'Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse.' *American Political Science Review*
- Ahmadov. 2014. 'Oil, Democracy, and Context: A Meta-Analysis.' *Comparative Political Studies*

Week 7: Mass support

Required reading:

- Norris. 2011. *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*, pp. 19-37
- Haerpfer et al. (eds). 2009. *Democratization*, ch. 9

Further reading:

- Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer. 1998. *Democracy and its Alternatives: Understanding Post-Communist Societies*.
- Norris (ed.). 1999. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*
- Dalton. 2004. *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*
- Booth and Seligson. 2009. *The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support and Democracy in Eight Nations*
- Mattes and Bratton. 2007. 'Learning about Democracy in Africa: Awareness, Performance, and Experience.' *American Journal of Political Science*
- Inglehart. 2003. 'How Solid is Mass Support for Democracy: And How Can We Measure It?' *PS: Political Science and Politics*

Week 8: Culture, religion and democracy

Required reading:

- Inglehart and Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*, pp. 1-5 & 149-172
- Fish. 2002. 'Islam and Authoritarianism.' *World Politics*

Further reading:

- Clark, Golder and Golder. 2013. *Principles of Comparative Politics, 2nd ed.*, pp. 213-259.
- Inglehart and Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*
- Muller and Seligson. 1994. 'Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships.' *American Political Science Review*
- Jackman and Miller. 1996. 'A Renaissance of Political Culture?' *American Journal of Political Science*
- Hadenius and Teorell. 2005. 'Cultural and Economic Prerequisites of Democracy: Reassessing Recent Evidence.' *Studies in Comparative International Development*
- Dahlum and Knutsen. 2016. 'Democracy by Demand? Reinvestigating the Effect of Self-expression Values on Political Regime Type.' *British Journal of Political Science*
- Donno and Russett. 2004. 'Islam, Authoritarianism, and Female Empowerment: What Are the Linkages?' *World Politics*
- Inglehart and Norris. 2003. 'The True Clash of Civilizations?' *Foreign Policy*
- Lust. 2011. 'Missing in the Third Wave: Islam, Institutions, and Democracy in the Middle East.' *Studies in Comparative International Development*
- Ross. 2008. 'Oil, Islam, and Women.' *American Political Science Review*
- Hofmann. 2004. 'Islam and Democracy: Micro-Level Indications of Compatibility.' *Comparative Political Studies*
- Tessler. 2002. 'Islam and Democracy in the Middle East: The Impact of Religious Orientations on Attitudes toward Democracy in Four Arab Countries.' *Comparative Politics*
- Rose. 2002. 'How Muslims View Democracy: Evidence from Central Asia.' *Journal of Democracy*
- Woodberry. 2004. 'The Pioneering Protestants.' *Journal of Democracy*
- Philpott. 2004. 'The Catholic Wave.' *Journal of Democracy*
- Ham. 2004. 'The Ironies of Confucianism.' *Journal of Democracy*

Week 9: Social movements and democratic revolutions

Required reading:

- Haerpfer et al. (eds). 2009. *Democratization*, ch. 12
- Wood. 2001. 'An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador.' *Comparative Political Studies*
- Tucker. 2007. 'Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions.' *Perspectives on Politics*

Further reading:

- Della Porta and Rossi. 2013. "Democratization and Democratic Transition," in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*
- Wood. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*
- Schock. 2005. *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies*
- Brownlee, Masoud and Reynolds. 2013. 'Tracking the 'Arab Spring': Why the Modest Harvest?' *Journal of Democracy*
- Way. 2014. 'Civil Society and Democratization' *Journal of Democracy*
- Lansky and Suthers. 2013. 'Outlawing the Opposition.' *Journal of Democracy*
- Kalandadze and Orenstein. 2009. 'Electoral Protests and Democratization. Beyond the Color Revolutions.' *Comparative Political Studies*
- Güneş. 2012. 'Democracy Promotion, Authoritarian Resiliency, and Political Unrest in Iran'. *Democratization*
- Teorell. 2010. *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006*, ch. 5

Week 10: International influences

Required reading:

- Haerpfer et al. (eds). 2009. *Democratization*, ch. 7
- Pevehouse. 2005. *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*, ch. 2.

Further reading:

- Starr. 1991. 'Democratic Dominoes: Diffusion Approaches to the Spread of Democracy in the International System.' *Journal of Conflict Resolution*
- Brinks and Coppedge. 2006. 'Diffusion is No Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy.' *Comparative Political Studies*
- Gleditsch and Ward. 2006. 'Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization.' *International Organization*
- Leeson and Dean. 2009. 'The Democratic Domino Theory: An Empirical Investigation.' *American Journal of Political Science*
- Pevehouse. 2002. 'Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization.' *International Organization*
- Mansfield and Pevehouse. 2006. 'Democratization and International Organizations.' *International Organization*
- Donno. 2010. 'Who Is Punished? Regional Intergovernmental Organizations and the Enforcement of Democratic Norms.' *International Organization*
- Carothers. 1999. *Aiding Democracy Abroad*.
- Carothers. 2004. *Critical Mission: Essays on Democracy Promotion*.
- Knack. 2004. 'Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?' *International Studies Quarterly*
- Levitsky and Way. 2006. 'Linkage versus leverage: rethinking the international dimension of regime change.' *Comparative Politics*
- Kopstein. 2006. 'The Transatlantic Divide over Democracy Promotion.' *The Washington Quarterly*
- Finkel, Perez-Linan and Seligson. 2007. 'The effects of U.S. foreign assistance on democracy building, 1990-2003.' *World Politics*
- Orenstein and Schmitz. 2007. 'The New Transnationalism and Comparative Politics' *Comparative Politics*
- Wright. 2009. 'How Foreign Aid Can Foster Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes.' *American Journal of Political Science*
- Carnegie and Marinov. 2017. 'Foreign Aid, Human Rights, and Democracy Promotion: Evidence from a Natural Experiment.' *American Journal of Political Science*