UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
POLITICAL SCIENCE 516A (001)
Issues in Comparative Politics: Comparative Democratization

Course Description

The literature on democratization of political regimes has grown exponentially over the past several decades. This interest in political science has grown in large part as a response to real-world events: during the so-called "third wave of democratization" that began in the 1970s, the number of countries with democratic regimes more than doubled to a peak around 2010. However, according to the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Institute, 2019 was the first year since 2001 when democracies constituted only a minority of political regimes in the world; we are now firmly in a "third wave of autocratization." Yet the autocracies of today look very different from those of the past, given a longstanding global normative context that encourages democratically elected governments. In recent years, an enormous number of "hybrid" electoral authoritarian regimes have developed in new and seemingly durable forms, leading scholars to question the initial theoretical paradigm of democratization that assumed full-fledged democracies as the outcome. Despite all of this scholarly scrutiny, we still possess inadequate knowledge of the dynamics causing the onset of democracy and different regime outcomes, and a great deal of disagreement persists among scholars concerning the best way to define democracy.

This is a theory- and reading-intensive course intended to provide political science graduate students with a solid background in the study of comparative democratization. One of the course objectives is to prepare those PhD students who plan to write in the democratization subfield in the Comparative Politics comprehensive exam. Hence, a major goal is to familiarize you with the key debates and concepts on this growing field and to think critically about the literature in this area. As such, with the partial exception of the final paper for the class, the assignments for this course will consist primarily of critical "think pieces" concerning literature on the reading list, rather than intensive investigations of particular case studies in which you are especially interested. Nonetheless, I encourage you to bring any case knowledge you possess into the class discussions and papers, and to use it in making arguments about the democratization literature. Indeed, I will require that you always ground your written arguments in some empirical examples (even if you are not a specialist on specific cases).

In this course, we begin by considering some controversies in defining democracy and the prominent theoretical schools of thought in explaining the emergence of democratic regimes. We will then move to examine specific factors complicating democratization processes: post-conflict situations, economic crises, natural resource dependence, civil society, and informal institutions. Next, we spend a few weeks examining sources of reversal from democracy and contemporary forms of authoritarianism, as well as the contemporary role of populism in shaping political regimes. This is followed by two weeks on international democracy and autocracy promotion, and one week on the very current impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on both democracies and autocracies. We end the course with a critical reflection on what we know about democratization and the future of democracy in the world.

Because of the time limits of the course, we will restrict ourselves to certain topics. Like the comparative democratization literature more widely in our discipline, the course focuses largely on transitions towards and away from democratic rule in countries that have relatively recently been ruled by authoritarian regimes, rather than the problems of insufficient democratic practices in countries that long ago established democratic regimes (although, in the current context of rising populism, nationalism, and the COVID-19 pandemic's impacts on longstanding democracies, we will draw comparisons at times). While I attempt to bring examples from as many diverse areas of the world as possible in our seminars, the examples I raise will often be drawn from the experiences of the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, which is my area of regional expertise. I welcome you to participate in class discussion and to raise interesting examples or counter-examples from any countries with which you may be familiar.

One glaring omission in this year's course is any concentrated focus on formal democratic institutional design, due to time constraints and the likelihood that you have studied or will study these questions in other political science courses. However, questions related to the roles of formal institutions will undoubtedly come up frequently in discussion, and I have listed a large number of suggested readings on institutional design and effects in the "recommended readings" for Week 3. I also encourage students to take other courses in the department that do include significant material on democratic institutions; we have several that do so.

We are forced to breeze through extremely important and complicated topics of discussion. However, it is my hope that this brief introduction to several topics will whet your appetite to read and learn more about democracy and authoritarianism around the world.

First Nations Land Acknowledgement

UBC's Point Grey Campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Musqueam (xʷməθkʷəy̓əm) people. The land it is situated on has always been a place of learning for the Musqueam people, who for millennia have passed on in their culture, history, and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.

Course Assignments and Evaluation

1) <u>**Weekly online reading responses**</u> **(due each week on Canvas by beginning of class) (15 percent):**

- Each class (starting in Week 1!), you must submit a brief online written response on the course Canvas site, in which you react to the week's readings. This post should be no more than a few paragraphs and certainly no longer than 500 words, and the online format allows all of your classmates to read it. The post is to be submitted on the Canvas course site discussion board that is located in that week's course module section of the site. Do not agonize over its elegance, since you will receive credit as long as you submit a response that refers to all of the readings at least briefly. You may submit your response any time prior to class but you must submit it by the start of class (not after class), or you will not receive credit for it. You must at least briefly mention all of the required readings and your reactions could include affirmation, criticism, or simply questions about some of the readings for the week. These responses will demonstrate to me that you have prepared for our discussion and will provide a participation avenue more suited to those students who experience discomfort speaking in class. Ideally they will also help you to formulate some points to raise in class.

- These responses are marked on a pass/ fail basis. As long as you submit your comment on time and mention all of the required readings, you will receive full credit for that week; if you do not, you will not receive credit. **You are not expected to submit a response on the week in which you present and submit a critical response paper on the readings, and you are permitted to skip two additional weeks of the term without notice or penalty.**

- The discussion board is located on UBC's Canvas online learning platform: go to https://canvas.ubc.ca and log in with your UBC CWL. You should find the Poli 516A course site there and find the discussion board forum for the particular week we are discussing.

2) <u>**Short critical reading paper**</u> **(5-7 pages, double-spaced) (15 percent).**

- The paper is to be based on your reading and analysis of the required readings for a particular week on the syllabus (Weeks 2-10). This paper is meant to be a critical response to the body of readings for the week – not merely summarizing, but considering the merits and flaws of the readings and establishing how they relate to one another. There should be only very minimal summary of the readings in your paper: only as much as necessary to make your points in response. If you have relevant knowledge and experience on a certain region of the world, please do put it to work in assessing how accurate the authors' arguments are, and/ or how they apply to regions beyond the author's purview.

- At the start of the term, you will sign up for a week in which to submit a paper (the same week as your presentation; see below); papers are **due to me by email at the start of class** that week.

3) <u>**Seminar presentation and leading discussion**</u> **on the readings for one week (15 percent).**

- On the same week in which you write a short paper, you will be responsible for making a brief presentation on the readings at the beginning of the week's seminar. This

presentation should be 20-30 minutes in length and highlight key themes and debates among the readings, criticisms that you had of them, and questions that you wish the class to discuss during the seminar. You may be presenting with one other classmate (depending on how many students are in the class), and should coordinate with that person to ensure adequate coverage of the reading topics without significant duplication (each presenter may have 20 minutes to present). Then, during the course of the seminar that week, I will expect you to participate very actively to help guide and generate discussion. I will undoubtedly also have my own topics I wish to raise for discussion, but you will play a large role in shaping the week's discussion. You will be asked to sign up for your presentation during the first day of class on September 13.

4) <u>**Term Paper and Proposal**</u> **(Proposal 5 percent (pass/fail), due October 15; Paper 30 percent, due December 15). These assignments may be submitted to me via email by midnight.** Please feel free to hand them in earlier!

- In this paper, you may carry out either an original empirical research analysis on a topic engaging with the democratization literature, or a critical literature review of a specified area of the democratization literature. Ideally, try to choose a paper topic that will help you with your own longer-term research agenda (MA thesis, PhD qualifying paper or dissertation proposal… hint hint!).

- For an original research paper, the key will be to make the task feasible to complete as a course paper, for which you will likely have limited time available. You are welcome to use any social science methods (qualitative case study/ies, statistical analysis, or others), but you will need to define the scope narrowly enough to be able to complete it during the term. This may be, for instance, a small element of a topic you are considering for your PhD thesis, or a trial version of what you will hone for your MA thesis.

- For a critical literature review, you may choose a key debate, conceptual definition, or the "state of the field" in some substantive area. The paper should survey the literature in this area and forward an argument about gaps, puzzles, shortcomings, progress in theoretical understanding or lack thereof in the literature. The paper should certainly include empirical examples, whether from multiple countries or focusing on just one, to ground the analysis. If you have an interest in the politics of a particular country or region, you may organize the paper around one or several case studies, as long as the case studies respond in some way to a theoretical question in the democratization literature.

- **The proposal** should consist of a 3-page (double-spaced) outline of your proposed question/ puzzle and description of how you will go about your analysis (including draft titles of sections of the paper). Identify sources of data and/ or proposed case studies, and methods to be used. In addition (beyond the 3 pages), you should include a preliminary reference list of literature you plan to cite. **Due to me via email by midnight on Friday, October 15**.

- **The paper** should be 20-25 pages (double-spaced, plus references) long, and is **due via email by midnight on Wednesday, December 15**.

5) <u>**Class Participation**</u> **(20 percent):**

- Your class participation mark will be based on attendance and the quality of your in-class contributions to discussion. The success of a seminar course depends fundamentally on active and thoughtful participation by all students. Hence, there is a heavy weight placed

on this aspect of your work in the course. I wish to make clear that I do not consider quantity of speaking, but instead the quality of comments. Also, I know that some people initially might have difficulty speaking out in class, but hopefully you will gradually overcome this fear.

- ▪ I will send each student an email message halfway through the term to give them a sense of how they are doing with participation and how they may try to improve if necessary.

Summary of Key Due Dates

Mondays, start of class   Deadline for short papers for students presenting, via email;
Deadline for weekly comments on readings on Canvas

October 15, midnight   Deadline for term paper proposals, via email

December 15, midnight   Deadline for full term paper, via email

Course Canvas Site

I have created a modest, pared-down Canvas site for the course with some key informational elements. I will post key announcements about course logistics as they arise throughout the term via the Canvas "Announcements" function. Please set your Canvas account to allow these announcements to be sent to you via email as well so that you don't miss them! On the site you can find:

1. A link to download this syllabus.
2. A link to access the online readings (direct to the course section on the Library's LOCR site described below).
3. Weekly discussion boards for posting your reading responses.

Course and University Policies

COVID-19 Indoor Masking Policy

Provincial Health Orders and UBC policy now mandate that non-medical masks must be worn in all indoor public spaces on campus. These spaces include classrooms, hallways, residence halls, libraries, and common areas. For our in-person meetings in this class, it is important that all of us feel as comfortable as possible engaging in class activities while sharing an indoor space. Non-medical masks that cover our noses and mouths are a primary tool for combating the spread of COVID-19. There may be students who have medical accommodations for not wearing a mask. Please maintain a respectful environment as outlined in the UBC Respectful Environment policy discussed below. Students who wish to request an exemption to the indoor mask mandate must do so based on one of the grounds for exemption detailed in the PHO Order on Face Coverings (COVID-19). Such requests must be made through the Centre for Accessibility (Vancouver campus), as discussed below.

Academic Integrity and Responsibility

The academic enterprise is founded on honesty, civility, and integrity. As members of this enterprise, all students are expected to know, understand, and follow the codes of conduct regarding academic integrity. At the most basic level, this means submitting only original work done by you and acknowledging all sources of information or ideas and attributing them to others as required. This also means you should not cheat, copy, or mislead others about what is your work. Violations of academic integrity (i.e., misconduct) lead to the breakdown of the academic enterprise, and therefore serious consequences arise and harsh sanctions are imposed. For example, incidences of plagiarism or cheating may result in a mark of zero on the assignment or exam and more serious consequences may apply when the matter is referred to the Office of the Dean. Careful records are kept in order to monitor and prevent recurrences. A more detailed description of academic integrity, including the University's policies and procedures, may be found in the UBC Calendar: Student Conduct and Discipline.

Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities

Academic accommodations help students with a disability or ongoing medical condition to overcome challenges that may affect their academic success. Students requiring academic accommodations must register with the Centre for Accessibility (previously known as Access & Diversity). The Centre will determine that student's eligibility for accommodations in accordance with Policy 73: Academic Accommodation for Students with Disabilities. Academic accommodations are not determined by your instructors, and instructors should not ask you about the nature of your disability or ongoing medical condition, nor request copies of your disability documentation. However, I may request that you provide a letter from the Centre for Accessibility to confirm any course accommodations you request.

Illness, Absence and Late Assignment Penalties

If you are sick, it is important that you stay home. Complete a self-assessment for COVID-19 symptoms here: https://bc.thrive.health/covid19/en. In this class, the marking scheme is intended to provide flexibility so that you can prioritize your health and still succeed. If you miss a class session due to illness, you will not lose marks for failure to attend the session.

If you are feeling ill and cannot attend class for your presentation date, please email me and any fellow co-presenting students right away. If you arrive for class and you are clearly ill, we will make alternate arrangements with you. It is better to email ahead of time and not attend.

If you are sick leading up to a paper deadline, please contact me. If you miss a submission deadline for marked coursework for the first time (assignment, exam, presentation, participation in class) and the course is still in-progress, please submit a Student Self-Declaration to me as soon as you are able, so that I can evaluate your in-term concession request and we can develop a revised plan. Any concessions that will result in a change to the student record will be referred to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies for evaluation. If this is not the first time you have requested concession or classes are over, please consult the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies' webpage on academic concession, and then contact me where appropriate.

If I (the instructor) am feeling ill: If I am unwell, I will not come to class. I will make every reasonable attempt to communicate plans for class as soon as possible (by email, or through Canvas announcement). Our classroom will remain available for you to sit in during the class time slot. In this instance, I may ask you to do an activity together or read something in place of class time. If I am well enough to teach, but am taking precautions to avoid infecting others, we may hold the class online. If this happens, you will receive an email or Canvas announcement informing you how to join the class.

For any late paper submissions that are not due to illness or personal/ family emergencies, I will deduct a **late penalty of 3% per business day**.

Reach Out And Ask For Help If You Need It

University students encounter setbacks from time to time that can impact academic performance. During the COVID 19 pandemic, this is particularly widespread and acute. We are all struggling at least from time to time in this period and often our goal is just to survive the next day or week. If you run into difficulties and need assistance, I encourage you to contact me by email and we can talk. I will do my best to support your success during the term. Since I am not trained as a counsellor myself, this support potentially includes identifying concerns I may have about your academic progress or wellbeing through Early Alert. With Early Alert, faculty members can connect you with advisors who offer students support and assistance getting back on track to health and success. Only specialized UBC advisors are able to access any concerns I may report, and Early Alert does not affect your academic record. For more information about Early Alert, visit earlyalert.ubc.ca .For information about addressing mental or physical health concerns, including seeing a UBC counselor or doctor, visit students.ubc.ca/livewell. But I am here to talk whenever you need it.

Respectful University Environment

UBC recognizes that "the best possible environment for working, learning and living is one in which respect, civility, diversity, opportunity and inclusion are valued." The full *UBC Statement on Respectful Environment for Students, Faculty and Staff* can be found at http://www.hr.ubc.ca/respectful-environment/files/UBC-Statement-on-Respectful-Environment-2014.pdf. Students should read this statement carefully and take note of both the protections and the responsibilities that it outlines for all members of the UBC community. Students should also review the Student Code of Conduct, at:
http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,750,0

This course values frank discussion, healthy debate, and the free and respectful exchange of ideas. Students are welcome to voice and defend their views, which may differ from those of other students or of the instructor. This may be experienced somewhat differently (for better or worse) in an online class format, and we are all adapting. However, disrespectful behavior, including bullying and harassment, will not be tolerated. I as instructor will be professional and respectful in all exchanges with students, and students will exercise similar professionalism and respect in their interactions with each other and with the instructor.

If you have any concerns about the class environment, please raise them with me. You also have the options of contacting the Head of the Political Science Department, UBC's Equity and Inclusion Office (http://equity.ubc.ca), or the UBC Ombudsperson for Students (https://ombudsoffice.ubc.ca/).

Resources in Cases of Discrimination, Harassment, or Sexual Assault

UBC is committed to equity (including but not limited to gender equity) and fostering a safe learning environment for everyone. All people should be able to study, work, and learn in a supportive environment that is free from sexual violence, harassment, and discrimination. UBC's Policy #3 on Discrimination and Harassment defines harassment as: "unwanted and unwelcome attention from a person who knows, or ought to know, that the behaviour is unwelcome. Harassment can range from written or spoken comments to unwanted jokes, gifts, and physical assault, and may be accompanied by threats or promises regarding work or study opportunities and conditions. Harassment can be either a single incident or a series of related incidents." Such behavior is not acceptable and will not be tolerated at UBC. If you have a concern about harassment or discriminatory treatment that is not sexual assault, you may turn to the UBC Equity and Inclusion Office. The Equity and Inclusion Office is committed to fostering a community in which human rights are respected and equity and diversity are integral to university life.

If you or someone you know has experienced or been threatened with sexual assault, you can find confidential support and resources at the UBC Sexual Violence Prevention and Response Office (SVPRO), and the AMS Sexual Assault Support Centre. The SVPRO is a safe place for students, faculty, staff who have experienced sexual violence, regardless of where or when it took place. This includes any attempt or act of a sexual nature without your consent. All gender identities, expressions and sexualities are welcome. The SASC is an all-genders service that serves the UBC-Vancouver campus community and is committed to creating a safer campus community, free from sexualized violence. Their work is informed by feminism, anti-oppression and recognition of intersectionality.

Resources are available at:

UBC Sexual Violence Prevention and Response Office
6363 Agronomy Road, ROOM 4071
Vancouver, BC Canada V6T 1T2
Tel 604-822-1588
https://svpro.ubc.ca

Sexual Assault Support Centre, (SASC)
249M, Student Union Building, UBC
604-827-5180
sasc@ams.ubc.ca
http://amssasc.ca

Equity and Inclusion Office
2306 – 1874 East Mall (Brock Hall)
604.822.6353

equity@equity.ubc.ca
http://equity.ubc.ca

Reading Requirements

The attached reading list is separated into two portions: required and recommended readings. You must read the required list each week. The literature on democratization is growing extremely large, so it is difficult to get away with reading less and having a competent knowledge of the subject. PhD students should keep in mind that this list encompasses many of the readings on the general and democratization reading lists for the comparative politics comprehensive exam, so it is worth reading them carefully now to have less to digest later! Some weeks have a heavier reading load, while some have less. If you are interested in pursuing any week's topics further, I strongly encourage you to look at the recommended readings.

You can find all required readings on the syllabus (and some of the recommended readings) electronically through the UBC Library Online Course Reserves (LOCR) site. Go to https://courses.library.ubc.ca, and log in with your UBC CWL to access the online readings for the course. You will be able to access pdf versions of each journal article and book chapter listed as a required reading through that service. You will need to log in with your UBC CWL to access the library readings.

Week-by-Week Schedule of Topics and Readings:

PART I: DEFINING DEMOCRACY AND UNDERSTANDING ITS IMPACT

Week 1, September 13: Orientation and Introduction -- What is a "Democratic" Regime? How Far Can/ Should it Extend?

Required Readings:

Tilly, Charles. *Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-24). (24 pgs)

Schumpeter, Joseph, excerpt from *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, pp. 92-5 in *Democracy: A Reader*, edited by Ricardo Blaug and John Schwarzmantel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). (3 pgs)

Dahl, Robert, "Democratization and Public Opposition," pp. 1-16 in *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971). (16 pgs)

Phillips, Anne, "Must Feminists Give Up on Liberal Democracy?" *Political Studies* 40, no. 5: 68-82. (14 pgs)

Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49 (April 1997): 430-51. (21 pgs)

Sen, Amartya "Democracy as a Universal Value," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999): 3-17. (14 pgs)

Rice, Roberta. "How to Decolonize Democracy: Indigenous Governance Innovation in Bolivia and Nunavut, Canada." *Bolivian Studies Journal* 22 (2017): 220-242. (22 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Ackerly, Brooke A. 2005. "Is Liberalism the Only Way Toward Democracy?: Confucianism and Democracy." *Political Theory* 33 (4): 547–76.

Barber, Benjamin, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).

Benhabib, Seyla, ed., *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

Beetham, David. 1992. "Liberal Democracy and the Limits of Democratization," *Political Studies*, Vol. 40, no 1. pp. 40-53.

Bova, Russell, "Democracy and Liberty: The Cultural Connection," *Journal of Democracy* 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1997): 112-26.

Dalai Lama, "Buddhism, Asian Values, and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 1 (Jan. 1999): 3-7.

Filali-Ansary, Abdou, "Muslims and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999): 18-32.

Fukuyama, Francis, "Confucianism and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 2 (April 1995): 20-33.

Giannone, Diego, "Political and ideological aspects in the measurement of democracy: the Freedom House case", *Democratization* 17, no. 1 (Feb. 2010): 68-97.

Grugel, Jean, *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2002.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), Chapter 1 (pp. 3-30).

Parekh, Bhikhu, excerpt from "The Cultural Particularity of Liberal Democracy," pp. 424-9 in *Democracy: A Reader*, edited by Ricardo Blaug and John Schwarzmantel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Pateman, Carole, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

Pateman, Carole. 2012. "Participatory Democracy Revisited," *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 10, no. 1, pp. 7-19.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich. "Addressing Inequality." *Journal of Democracy* 15.4 (Oct. 2004): 76-90.

Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is… and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 3 (1994): 75-88.

Ware, Alan. "Liberal Democracy: One Form or Many?" *Political Studies* 40 (1992): 130-45.

Warren, Mark. 2017. "A Problem-Based Approach to Democratic Theory," *American Political Science Review*. Vol. 111, no. 1, pp. 39-53.

Yashar, Deborah J. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America," *World Politics*, 52(1): 76-104.

Young, Iris Marion, *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Zakaria, Fareed, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (Nov./ Dec. 1997): 22-43.

PART II: THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO DEMOCRATIZATION

Week 2, September 20: Structural Approaches to Democratization (Preconditions School)

Required Readings:

Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1 (March 1959): 69-105. (36 pgs)

Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (Jan. 1997): 155-84. (29 pgs)

Huber, Evelyne, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John D. Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 71-85. (14 pgs)

Hadenius, Axel, and Jan Teorell. 2005. "Cultural and Economic Prerequisities of Democracy: Reassessing Recent Evidence." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 39 (4): 87–106. (19 pgs)

Pop-Eleches, Grigore, and Graeme B. Robertson. 2015. "Structural Conditions and Democratization." *Journal of Democracy* 26 (3): 144–56. (12 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Diamond, Larry. "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered," *American Behavioral Scientist* 35, no. 4/5 (March/ June 1992): 450-99.

Epstein, David L., Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen and Sharyn O'Halloran, "Democratic Transitions," *American Journal of Political Science*, 50, no. 3 (Jul., 2006): 551-569.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 34-85.

Inglehart, Ronald and Wayne E. Baker, "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values," *American Sociological Review* 65 (Feb. 2000): 19-51.

Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Moore, Barrington, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), esp. pp. 413-32.

Norris, Pippa, and Ronald Inglehart. "Islamic Culture and Democracy: Testing the 'Clash of Civilizations' Thesis." *Comparative Sociology*, vol. 1, no. 3-4, 2002, pp. 235-263.

Ulfelder, Jay and Michael Lustik, "Modelling Transitions to and from Democracy," *Democratization*, 14, no. 3 (2007): 351 – 387. (36 pgs)

Przeworski, Adam, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, "Culture and Democracy," pp. 181-90 in *The Democracy Sourcebook*, edited by Robert A. Dahl, Ian Shapiro, and Jose Antonio Cheibub (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

Week 3, September 27: Actor-Based Approaches (Transition and Consolidation School)

Required Readings:

O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Opening (and Undermining) Authoritarian Regimes," pp. 15-36 in *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). (21 pgs)

Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 51-99. (48 pgs)

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson, "A Theory of Political Transitions," *American Economic Review* 91, no. 4 (2001): 938-963. (25 pgs)

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). Ch. 3, pp. 109-163. (54 pgs)

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 3-15. (12 pgs)

Carothers, Thomas, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13 no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 5-21.

Recommended Readings:

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Bratton, Michael and Nicolas Van de Walle. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa." *World Politics* 46, no. 4 (July 1994): 453-89.

Brownlee, Jason, "Executive Elections in the Arab World: When and How Do They Matter?" *Comparative Political Studies* 44, no. 7 (2011): 807-28.

Cohen, Youssef. *Radicals, Reformers, and Reactionaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

Diamond, Larry, *Developing Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), Ch. 3 (pp. 64-116).

Jung, Courtney and Ian Shapiro, "South Africa's Negotiated Transition: Democracy, Opposition, and the New Constitutional Order," *Politics and Society* 23, no. 3 (Sept. 1995): 269-308.

Karl, Terry Lynn, "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* (October 1990): 1-17.

Rustow, Dankwart A. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2, no. 3 (April 1970): 337-63.

Schedler, Andreas, "Measuring Democratic Consolidation," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 66-92.

Tilly, Charles, Chapter 3 (pp. 51-79) of *Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. *Forging Democracy from Below: Contested Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Recommended readings especially on institutional design debates (we have skipped this due to time constraints!):

Juan Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (1990): 51-69.

Donald Horowitz, "Comparing Democratic Systems," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 1, no. 4 (1990): 73-79.

Stepan, Alfred and Cindy Skach, "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarism versus Presidentialism," *World Politics*, Vol. 46, no. 1. (1993): 1-22.

Mainwaring, Scott, "Presidentialism, Multipartism and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* 26 (July 1993): 198-228.

Reilly, Benjamin, *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 14-41.

Clark, Terry D. and Jill N. Wittrock, "Presidentialism and the Effect of Electoral Law in Postcommunist Systems: Regime Type Matters," *Comparative Political Studies* 38, no. 2 (March 2005): 171-188.

Geddes, Barbara, "Initiation of New Democratic Institutions in Eastern Europe and Latin America," pp. 15-41 in *Institutional Design in New Democracies*, edited by Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

Carey, John M., "Institutional Design and Party Systems," in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, edited by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

Cheibub, José Antonio, and Fernando Limongi. "Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered." *Annual Review of Political Science* 5 (2002): 151-179.

Elster, Jon, "Ways of Constitution-Making," in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 123-42.

Lijphart, Arend, *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensus Government in Twenty-One Countries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984).

Linz, Juan and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, volume 1: Comparative Perspectives, Ch. 3 by Sartori.

Mainwaring, Scott, "Party Systems in the Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 3 (July 1998): 67-81.

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Soberg Shugart. "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 29 (4) 1997: 449-472.

Nino, Carlos Santiago, "Hyperpresidentialism and Consitutional Reform in Argentina," in *Institutional Design in New Democracies*, edited by Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

Reynolds, Andrew, "Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 2 (April 1995): 86-99.

Sartori, Giovanni, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Shugart, Matthew and John Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Tavits, Margit, "Party Systems in the Making: The Emergence and Success of New Parties in New Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 1 (January 2008): 113-33.

Van de Walle, Nicolas. "Presidentialism and clientelism in Africa's emerging party systems." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41, no. 2 (2003): 297-321.

PART III: FACTORS AFFECTING THE SUCCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION

Week 4, October 4: Difficult Contexts – Economic Crisis, Natural Resource Dependence, and Post-Conflict Situations

Required Readings:

Kapstein, Ethan B. and Nathan Converse, "Why Democracies Fail," *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 4 (Oct. 2008): 57-68. (11 pgs)

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman, "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule," *American Political Science Review* 106 (2012): 495- 516. (21 pgs)

Hellman, Joel S., "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (Jan. 1998): 203-35. (32 pgs)

Fortna, Virginia Page, and Reyko Huang. 2012. "Democratization after Civil War: A Brush-Clearing Exercise." *International Studies Quarterly* 56 (4): 801–808. (7 pgs)

Karl, Terry Lynn, "Commodities, Booms, and States Revisited," pp. 222-42 in *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997). (20 pgs)

Dunning, Thad, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*, Ch. 1, pp. 1-36. (36 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Aslund, Anders, "The Case for Radical Reform," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 63-74.

Bhalla, Surjit, "Freedom and Economic Growth: A Virtuous Cycle?" in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 195-241.

Dahl, Robert, "Why Free Markets are Not Enough," *Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 3 (July 1992): 82-9.

Evans and Whitefield, "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies," *British Journal of Political Science* 25 (1995): 485-514.

Fish, M. Stephen, "The Hazards of Half-Measures: Perestroika and the Failure of Post-Soviet Democratization," *Demokratizatsiya* 13, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 241-53.

Gallagher, Mary Elizabeth, "'Reform and Openness': Why China's Economic Reforms have Delayed Democracy," *World Politics* 54, no. 3 (April 2002): 338-72.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufmann, "The Challenges of Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 5-16.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman, "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 3, Transitions to Democracy: A Special Issue in Memory of Dankwart A. Rustow. (Apr., 1997), pp. 263-283.

Jarstad, Anna K., "Dilemmas of war-to-democracy transitions: theories and concepts", pp. 17-36 in *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*, edited by Anna K. Jarstad and Timothy J. Sisk (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Maravall, Jose Maria, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Advantage," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 17-31.

Nelson, Joan M., "Linkages Between Politics and Economics," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 49-62.

Pei, Minxin, "Microfoundations of State-Socialism and Patterns of Economic Transformation," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 29, no. 2 (June 1996): 131-45.

Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Market* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991): Ch. 4.

Przeworski, Adam, "The Neoliberal Fallacy," *Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 3 (July 1992): 45-59.

Robertson, Graeme B. "Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes," *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4 (Nov. 2007): 783-98.

Vanhuysse, Pieter, "Preventing Protests: Divide and Pacify as Political Strategy," pp. 49-72 in *Divide and Pacify: Strategic Social Policies and Political Protests in Post-Communist Democracies* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006).

** LONG PAPER PROPOSALS DUE BY MIDNIGHT, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5 **

** NOTE: NO CLASS ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 11

DUE TO THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY **

Week 5, October 18: Civil Society and Informal Institutions

Required Readings:

Tilly, Charles. *Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Chapter 4 (pp. 80-105). (25 pgs)

Putnam, Robert D., "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1995): 65-78. (13 pgs)

Berman, Sheri, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (April 1997): 401-29. (28 pgs)

Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda," *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 4 (December 2004): 725-40. (15 pgs)

Collins, Kathleen, "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories," *World Politics* 56, no. 2 (Jan. 2004): 224-61. (47 pgs)

Bratton, Michael, "Formal Versus Informal Institutions in Africa," *Journal of Democracy*, 18 (no. 3) (July 2007): 96-110. (14 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Adler, Glenn and Eddie Webster, "Challenging Transition Theory: The Labor Movement, Radical Reform, and Transition to Democracy in South Africa," *Politics and Society* 23, no. 1 (March 1995): 75-106.

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney A. Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963).

Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture Revisited* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980).

Arato, Andrew and Jean L. Cohen, 2017. "Civil Society, populism and religion," *Constellations*, Vol. 24, pp. 283-295.

Black, Antony, *State, Community and Human Desire: A Group-Centred Account of Political Values* (New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988.

Borocz, Jozsef, "Informality Rules," *East European Politics and Societies* 14, no. 2 (2000): 348-80.

Diamond, Larry, "Toward Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 3 (1994): 4-17.

Evans, Alfred B., Laura A. Henry, and Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, *Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment* (Armonk, NY: ME Shrpe, 2005).

Green, Andrew T., "Nonprofits and Democratic Development: Lessons from the Czech Republic," *Voluntas* 10, no. 3 (Sept. 1999): 217-36.

Hall, John A., ed. *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1995).

Hooghe, Marc and Dietlind Stolle, *Generating Social Capital: Civil Society and Institutions in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Howard, Marc Morje, *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Jaquette, Jane S. and Sharon L. Wolchik, eds. *Women and Democracy: Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Jowitt, Kenneth, *New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1992), pp. 284-305.

Kopecky, Petr, "Civil Society, Uncivil Society and Contentious Politics in Post-Communist Europe," Ch. 1 in *Uncivil Society? Contentious Politics in Post-Communist Europe*, edited by Petr Kopecky and Cas Mudde (New York: Routledge).

Lauth, Hans-Joachin, "Informal Institutions and Democracy," *Democratization* 7, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 21-50.

Ledeneva, Alena, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking, and Informal Exchange* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Lindberg, Staffan, "'It's Our Time to "Chop": Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counter-Act it?" *Democratization* 10, no. 2 (2003): 121-40.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 1 (1994): 55-69.

Putnam, Robert D. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Seligman, Adam B., *The Idea of Civil Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

Stolle, Dietland and Marc Hooghe, "Review Article: Inaccurate, Exceptional, One-Sided or Irrelevant? The Debate about the Alleged Decline of Social Capital and Civic Engagement in Western Societies," *British Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 1 (January 2005): 149-67.

Tsai, Lily, "Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China," *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 2 (May 2007): 355-72.

Van Rooy, Alison, *Civil Society and the Aid Industry* (London: Earthscan Publications, 1998).

Varshney, Ashutosh, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April 2001): 362-398.

PART IV: SOURCES OF REVERSAL FROM DEMOCRACY

Week 6, October 25: Paths To and From Authoritarianism

Required Readings:

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (Cambridge University Press, 2010) (read whole book if possible, but especially Chapters 1, 2, and 8 and *some* case study chapters).

Hale, Henry E., "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *World Politics* 58 (Oct. 2005): 133-65. (32 pgs)

Frantz, Erica, and Andrea Kendall-Taylor. "The Evolution of Autocracy: Why Authoritarianism Is Becoming More Formidable." *Survival* 59, no. 5 (September 3, 2017): 57–68. (11 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

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

Hadenius, Axel and Jan Teorell, "Pathways from Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 143-56.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (April 1996): 34-51.

Tilly, Charles. *Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Chapter 3 (pp. 51-79).

Week 7, November 1: Contemporary Authoritarian Practices

Required Readings:

Nathan, Andrew J. 2018. "Authoritarian Resilience." *Journal of Democracy* 14 (1): 6–17. (11 pgs)

He, Baogang, and Mark E. Warren. 2017. "Authoritarian Deliberation: Public Deliberation in China." *Daedalus* 146 (3): 155–66. (11 pgs)

Gandhi, Jennifer, ad Ellen Lust-Okar. "Elections Under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1) (2009): 403–22. (19 pgs)

Gunitsky, Seva. "Corrupting the Cyber-Commons: Social Media as a Tool of Autocratic Stability." *Perspectives on Politics* 13, no. 1 (March 2015): 42–54. (12 pgs)

Guriev, Sergei, and Daniel Treisman. "The Popularity of Authoritarian Leaders: A Cross-National Investigation." *World Politics* 72, no. 4 (October 2020): 601–38. (37 pgs)

Koesel, Karrie J. and Valerie J. Bunce, "Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers," *Perspectives on Politics*, 11, no. 3 (2013): 753-768. (15 pgs)

Lorentzen, Peter L. "Regularizing Rioting: Permitting Public Protest in an Authoritarian Regime." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8, no. 2 (February 24, 2013): 127–58. (31 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Bunce, Valerie and Sharon Wolchik, "Defeating Dictators: Electoral Change and Stability in Competitive Authoritarian Regimes," *World Politics* 62, no. 1 (2010): 43-86.

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 20-34. Reuter, Ora John, and Graeme B. Robertson. "Legislatures, Cooptation, and Social Protest in Contemporary Authoritarian Regimes." *The Journal of Politics* 77, no. 1 (January 2015): 235–48.

Robertson, Graeme B. "Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes," *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4 (Nov. 2007): 783-98.

Schedler, Andreas. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.

Snyder, Richard, "Beyond Electoral Authoritarianism: The Spectrum of Nondemocratic Regimes," pp. 219-231 (Ch. 13) in *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, edited by Andreas Schedler (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 2006).

Week 8, November 8: Populism – Threat To or Version of Democracy?

Required Readings:

Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2017. "What Is Populism?" (Ch. 1) and "Populism and Democracy" (Ch. 5) In *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press. (39 pgs)

Berman, Sheri. "Populism Is Not Fascism: But It Could be a Harbinger," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, no. 6, (November-December 2016): 39-45. (6 pgs)

Cornell, A., Møller, J., & Skaaning, S. (2017). "The real lessons of the interwar years." *Journal of Democracy, 28*(3) (2017): 14-28. (14 pgs)

Levitsky, Steven, and Daniel Ziblatt. *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown, 2018. Introduction and Ch. 1, pp. 1-32. (32 pgs)

Slater, Dan. "Democratic Careening," *World Politics*, Vol. 65, no. 4 (2013): 729-763. (32 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Arato, A., & Cohen, J. L. (2017). Civil society, populism and religion. *Constellations*, *24*(3), 283–295.

Mudde, C. (2016). Europe's populist surge: A long time in the making. *Foreign Affairs*, *95*(6), 25–30.

O'Neil, S. K. (2016). Latin America's Populist Hangover: What to Do When the People's Party Ends. *Foreign Affairs*, *95*, 31–38.

PART V: INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES ON DEMOCRATIZATION

Week 9, November 15 : International Democracy Promotion

Required Readings:

Rich, Roland. "Bringing Democracy into International Law," *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 3 (2001): 20–34. (14 pgs)

Carothers, Thomas. "Democracy Aid at 25: Time to Choose." *Journal of Democracy* 26(1) (2015): 59-73. (14 pgs)

Bush, Sarah Sunn, "The Argument: Structure, Agency, and Democracy Promotion" (Chapter 2), pp. 22-52 in *The Taming of Democracy Assistance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). (30 pgs)

Youngs, Richard. "Misunderstanding the maladies of liberal democracy promotion," pp. 100-116 in *The Conceptual Politics of Democracy Promotion*, edited by Christopher Hobson and Milja Kurki (London: Routledge, 2012). (16 pgs)

Kurki, Milja. "Democracy promotion by non-state actors: alternative models in action?", pp. 173-194 in *Democratic Futures: Revisioning Democracy Promotion* by Milja Kurki (London: Routledge, 2013). (21 pgs)

Carnegie, Allison, and Nikolay Marinov. "Foreign Aid, Human Rights, and Democracy Promotion: Evidence from a Natural Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 3 (2017): 671–83. (12 pgs)

Kelley, Judith, "D-Minus Elections: The Politics and Norms of International Election Observation," International Organization 63, no. 4 (2009): 765-87. (22 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Barkan, Joel D. "Can Established Democracies Nurture Democracy Abroad? Lessons from Africa," in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 371-403.

Bunce, Valerie J. and Sharon L. Wolchik, "Favorable Conditions and Electoral Revolutions," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 4 (2006): 5-18.

Bunce, Valerie J. and Sharon L. Wolchik, "The Cross-National Diffusion of Democratizing Elections," pp. 278-306 in *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Carothers, Thomas, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999).

Cichowski, Rachel A., "Courts, Rights, and Democratic Participation," *Comparative Political Studies,* 39, no. 1 (2006): 50-75.

Crawford, Gordon, "Promoting Democracy from Without -Learning from Within (Part I)," *Democratization*, 10, no.1 (2003): 77-98.

Crawford, Gordon, "Promoting Democracy from Without -Learning from Within (Part II)," *Democratization*, 10, no.2 (2003): 1-20.

Diamond, Larry, *Promoting Democracy in the 1990s: Actors and Instruments, Issues and Imperatives* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, Dec. 1995).

Green, Andrew T. And Richard D. Kohl, "Challenges of Evaluating Democracy Assistance: Perspectives from the Donor Side," *Democratization* 14, no. 1 (2007): 151-165.

Henderson, Sarah L. *Building Democracy in Contemporary Russia: Western Support for Grassroots Organizations* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Hughes, Caroline, "Transnational Networks, International Organizations and Political Participation in Cambodia: Human Rights, Labour Rights and Common Rights," *Democratization* 14, no. 5 (2007): 834-52.

Kelley, Judith G. *Monitoring Democracy: When International Election Observation Work, and Why It Often Fails* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

Legler, Thomas, Sharon F. Lean, and Dexter S. Boniface, eds., *Promoting Democracy in the Americas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

Mendelson, Sarah, "Democracy Assistance and Political Transition in Russia: Between Success and Failure," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 68-106.

Morrison, Kevin M., "Natural Resources, Aid, and Democratization: A Best-Case Scenario," *Public Choice* 131 (2007): 365-86.

Ottaway, Marina and Thomas Carothers, eds., *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000).

Saul, Matthew, "From Haiti to Somalia: The Assistance Model and the Paradox of State Reconstruction in International Law," *International Community Law Review* 11 (2009): 119-148.

Sperling, Valerie, "Trials and Tribulations: Transnational Judicial Institutions," pp. 221-76 in *Altered States: The Globalization of Accountability* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009). (55 pgs)

Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh, "Foreign Assistance, International Norms, and NGO Development: Lessons from the Russian Campaign," *International Organization* 59, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 419-49.

Wolff, Jonas, "Democracy promotion in Bolivia: The 'democratic revolution' of Evo Morales," pp. 77-131 in *The Comparative International Politics of Democracy Promotion*, edited by Jonas Wolff, Hans-Joachim Spanger and Hans-Jurgen Puhle (London: Routledge, 2014).

Beetham, David, "The Contradictions of Democratization by Force: the Case of Iraq," *Democratization*, 16, no. 3 (June 2009): 443-454.

Bhagwati, Jagdish, "Globalization, Sovereignty, and Democracy," pp. 263-81 in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Franck, Thomas M., "The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance," *The American Journal of International Law* 86, no. 1. (Jan. 1992): 46-91.

Friedman, Thomas L., "Globalution," in *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999): 141-64.

Hellwig, Timothy and David Samuels, "Voting in Open Economies: The Electoral Consequences of Globalization," *Comparative Political Studies* 40, no. 3 (March 2007): 283-306.

Li, Quan and Rafael Reuveny, "Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis," *British Journal of Political Science* 33, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 29-54.

Peceny, Mark, "Forcing Them to Be Free," *Political Research Quarterly* 52, no. 3. (Sept. 1999): 549-582.

Whitehead, Laurence, ed., *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas*, expanded edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Week 10, November 22: International Autocracy Promotion

Required Readings:

Way, Lucan A. "The Limits of Autocracy Promotion: The case of Russia in the 'near abroad'." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (2015): 691-706. (15 pgs)

Tansey, Oisín, Kevin Koehler, and Alexander Schmotz. 2017. "Ties to the Rest: Autocratic Linkages and Regime Survival." *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (9): 1221–54. (13 pgs)

Weyland, Kurt. 2017. "Autocratic diffusion and cooperation: the impact of interests vs. ideology," *Democratization*, Vol. 24, no. 7: 1235-1252. (17 pgs)

Vanderhill, Rachel. "Promoting Authoritarianism Abroad: How, When, and Where," pp. 1-34 in *Promoting Authoritarianism Abroad* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013). (34 pgs)

Walker, Christopher. "The Hijacking of 'Soft Power,'" *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 27, no. 1 (2016): 49-63. (14 pgs)

Cooley, Alexander. "Countering Democratic Norms, *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 26, no. 3 (2015): 49-63. (14 pgs)

Deibert, Ron. 2015. "Cyberspace Under Siege," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 64-78. (14 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Cooley, Alexander, John Heathershaw, and J. C. Sharman. "Laundering Cash, White Washing Reputations." *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 1 (2018): 39-53.

Schenkkan, Nate. "The Authoritarian Assault on Exiles," *Foreign Affairs,* May 27, 2021. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/belarus/2021-05-27/authoritarian-assault-exiles.

Week 11, November 29: COVID-19 Pandemic Impacts on Democracy and Authoritarianism

Required Readings:

Afsahi, Afsoun, Emily Beausoleil, Rikki Dean, Selen A. Ercan, and Jean-Paul Gagnon. 2020. "Democracy in a Global Emergency: Five Lessons from the COVID-19 Pandemic." *Democratic Theory* 7 (2): v–xix. (14 pgs)

Rapeli, Lauri, and Inga Saikkonen. 2020. "How Will the COVID-19 Pandemic Affect Democracy?" *Democratic Theory* 7 (2): 25–32. (7 pgs)

Repucci, Sarah, and Amy Slipowitz. "Democracy under Lockdown." Freedom House, October 2020. https://freedomhouse.org/report/special-report/2020/democracy-under-lockdown. (20 pgs)

Bol, Damien, Marco Giani, André Blais, and Peter John Loewen. 2021. "The Effect of COVID-19 Lockdowns on Political Support: Some Good News for Democracy?" *European Journal of Political Research* 60 (2): 497–505. (8 pgs)

Krieger, Nancy. "ENOUGH: COVID-19, Structural Racism, Police Brutality, Plutocracy, Climate Change—and Time for Health Justice, Democratic Governance, and an Equitable, Sustainable Future." *American Journal of Public Health* 110, no. 11 (November 2020): 1620–23. (3 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Whetstone, Anwar and Crystal Mhajne. "The Rise of the COVID Dictatorships." *Foreign Policy* (blog), October 16, 2020. https://foreignpolicy.com/2020/10/16/the-rise-of-the-covid-dictatorships/.

Kleinfeld, Rachel. "Do Authoritarian or Democratic Countries Handle Pandemics Better?" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. March 31, 2020. https://carnegieendowment.org/2020/03/31/do-authoritarian-or-democratic-countries-handle-pandemics-better-pub-81404.

Diamond, Larry. "Democracy Versus the Pandemic." *Foreign Affairs*, June 13, 2020. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2020-06-13/democracy-versus-pandemic.

Kolvani, Palina, Martin Lundstedt, Seraphine F Maerz, Anna Lührmann, Jean Lachapelle, Sandra Grahn, and Amanda B Edgell. "Pandemic Backsliding: Democracy and Disinformation Seven Months into the Covid-19 Pandemic." Policy Brief. V-Dem Institute, October 2, 2020. https://www.v-dem.net/en/publications/briefing-papers/.

Edgell, Amanda B, Sandra Grahn, Jean Lachapelle, Anna Lührmann, and Seraphine F Maerz. "An Update on Pandemic Backsliding: Democracy Four Months After the Beginning of the Covid-19 Pandemic." Policy Brief. V-Dem institute, June 30, 2020. https://www.v-dem.net/en/publications/briefing-papers/.

Urbinati, Nadia. "The Pandemic Hasn't Killed Populism." *Foreign Affairs*, August 6, 2020. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/2020-08-06/pandemic-hasnt-killed-populism.

PART VI: CONCLUSION

Week 12, December 6: Summing Up What We Know and The Future of Democracy

Required Readings:

Tilly, Charles. *Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Chapter 8 (pp. 186-205). (19 pgs)

Bunce, Valerie, "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations," *Comparative Political Studies* 33, no. 6/7 (Aug/Sept. 2000): 703-35. (32 pgs)

V-Dem Institute. "Democracy Report 2021: Autocratization Goes Viral." Gothenburg, Sweden: V-Dem institute, March 2020. https://www.v-dem.net/files/25/DR%202021.pdf. (40 pgs)

Recommended Readings:

Kaplan, Robert, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" *Atlantic Monthly* (Dec. 1997): 55-80.

Mishra, Pankaj. 2016. "The Globalization of Rage: Why Today's Extremism Looks Familiar," *Foreign Affairs,* Vol. 95, Issue 6, November-December pp. 46-55.

Munck, Gerardo L., "The Regime Question: Theory Building in Democracy Studies," *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (2001): 119-144.

International IDEA, 2018. *The Global State of Democracy*. https://www.idea.int/gsod/.

Levitsky, Steven, and Daniel Ziblatt. 2018. *How Democracies Die*. New York: Crown.