

## **International Relations 555:**

### **Democracy and Democratization in Comparative Perspective**

**Spring 2013**

When: M 5:00-7:50 pm  
Where: VKC 104  
Office Hours: M 3:30-4:50 p.m.

Professor Gerardo Munck  
E-Mail: munck@usc.edu  
Office: VKC 326A

#### **1. Course Description**

This seminar mainly explores efforts to generate and test theories of democratization, though some attention is also given to the challenge of conceptualizing democracy. Some of the key works that have shaped the field will be read and some new lines of research will be explored. Much of what we will read reflects this literature's focus on Europe, Latin America, and post-Soviet Eurasia. But some African and Asian cases, and several global quantitative analyses, will be discussed. Emphasis will be put on the core theoretical and methodological issues addressed in this literature and less so on the historical facts they discuss.

#### **2. Requirements**

i) *Five analytical essays* (each essay is worth 10% of the final grade). These short essays (5 to 7 double-spaced pages) on the readings for one week will be due, at the latest, by Monday at 3 p.m. in my mailbox in VKC 330. I will ask that at least one student write an essay each week.

ii) *Class participation* (20% of the final grade) on the basis of the required readings, each and every week.

iii) *A take-home exam* (30% of the final grade). As a final assignment, students will be asked to write, as a sort of take-home exam, a roughly 10 page, double-spaced, paper, on a question to be assigned.

The following required books can be purchased at the university bookstore:

- Dunning, Thad, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
- Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter, *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
- Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Teorell, Jan, *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972 -2006* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Tilly, Charles, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

I have posted the readings for which I have electronic copies on the USC Blackboard, under course "Contents." The readings are in folders organized by the number of each meeting.

### **Meeting 1: Introduction (Jan. 14)**

Monday, January 21: No class; Martin Luther King's Birthday

## **I. Framing the Research Field and Setting the Terms of the Debate**

### **Meeting 2: The Nature and Value of Democracy (Jan. 28)**

Schumpeter, Joseph, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1942). Read only pages 240-73 (Start with the section on "A Mental Experiment" and end where the section on "The Principle Applied" begins).

Dahl, Robert A., *Polyarchy* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1971). Read only Chapter 1.

Dahl, Robert A., *Democracy and its Critics* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1989). Read only Chapters 8 and 9, and pp. 220-22.

Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Read only Chapter 1: "Democracies and Dictatorships," up to the top of page 36.

Dahl, Robert A., *Polyarchy* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1971). Read only Chapter 2: "Does Polyarchy Matter?" (pp. 17-32).

Dahl, Robert A., *On Democracy* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1998). Read only Chapter 5: "Why Democracy" (pp. 44-61).

Przeworski, Adam, "Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense," pp. 23-55, in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón (eds.), *Democracy's Value* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

### **Meeting 3: Economic Modernization, Political Culture and Class Structure (Feb. 4)**

Lipset, Seymour M., "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 53, N° 1 (1959): 69-105.

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963). Read only Chapter 1, up to the top of page 35.

Moore, Barrington, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966). Read only the Preface and Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Skocpol, Theda, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*," *Politics and Society* Vol. 4, N° 1 (1973): 1-34.

#### **Meeting 4: The State and External Factors (Feb. 11)**

Weber, Max, "Politics as a Vocation," pp. 77-128, in Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), *From Max Weber: Essay in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946 [1919]). Read only pages 77 to 79.

Hintze, Otto, "The Formation of States and Constitutional Development: A Study in History and Politics," pp. 157-177, in Felix Gilbert (ed.), *The Historical Essays of Otto Hintze* (New York Oxford University Press, 1975 [1902]).

Rokkan, Stein, "The Structuring of Mass Politics in the Smaller European Democracies: A Developmental Typology," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* Vol. 10, N° 2 (1968): 173-210.

Valenzuela, J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Development," *Comparative Politics* Vol. 10, N° 4 (1978): 535-52.

Gourevitch, Peter Alexis, "The International System and Regime Formation: A Critical Review of Anderson and Wallerstein," *Comparative Politics* Vol. 10, N° 3 (1978): 419-38.

Almond, Gabriel A., "The International-National Connection," *British Journal of Political Science* Vol. 19, N° 2 (1989): 237-59.

Monday, February 18: No class, Presidents' Day.

#### **Meeting 5: Actors and Strategic Choices (Feb. 25)**

Rustow, Dankwart, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* Vol. 2, N° 3 (1970): 337-63.

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter, *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).

Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Market. Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Read only Chapter 2.

#### **Meeting 6: Old Regimes and the State (March 4)**

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).

## II. Revisiting Lipset, Almond and Verba, Moore, and Rokkan

### Meeting 7: Economic Modernization (March 11)

Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* Vol. 49, N° 2 (1997): 155-83.

Boix, Carles and Susan C. Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," *World Politics* Vol. 55, N° 4 (2003): 517-49.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared, "Income and Democracy," *American Economic Review* Vol. 98, N° 3 (2008): 808-42.

Boix, Carles, "Democracy, Development and the International System," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 105, N° 4 (2011): 809-28.

Houle, Christian, "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics* Vol. 61, N° 4 (2009): 589-622.

March 18-23: Spring Break

### Meeting 8: Unpacking Economic Wealth (March 25)

Ross, Michael L., "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* Vol. 53, N° 3 (2001): 325-361.

Dunning, Thad, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

### Meeting 9: Modernization and Civic Culture (April 1)

Inglehart, Ronald and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Muller, Edward N. and Mitchell Seligson, "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of the Causal Relationships," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 88, N° 3 (1994): 635-52.

Przeworski, Adam, "Why do Political Parties Obey Results of Elections?" pp. 114-44, in Jose Maria Maravall and Adam Przeworski (eds.), *Democracy and the Rule of Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

### Meeting 10: Capitalism, Class and State Formation (April 8)

Stephens, John D., "Capitalist Development and Democracy: Empirical Research on the Social Origins of Democracy," pp. 409-47, in D. Copp, J. Hampton, and J. Roemer (eds.), *The Idea of Democracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Tilly, Charles, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990). Read only Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Mazucca, Sebastián, "Macrofoundations of Regime Change: Democracy, State Formation, and Capitalist Development," *Comparative Politics* Vol. 43, N° 1 (2010): 1-19.

### III. Summing Up and Looking Forward

#### Meeting 11: Foundations and Findings (April 15)

Schmitter, Philippe C., "Twenty-five Years, Fifteen Findings," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 21, N° 1 (2010): 17-28.

Teorell, Jan, *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972 -2006* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

#### Meeting 12: Making Sense of the MENA Cases (April 22)

Diamond, Larry, "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?" *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 21, N° 1 (2010): 93-104.

Fish, Steven, "Islam and Authoritarianism," *World Politics* Vol. 55, N° 1 (2002): 4-37.

Bellin, Eva, "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring," *Comparative Politics* Vol. 44, N° 2 (2012): 127-49.

Yom, Sean L. and F. Gregory Gause III, "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On," *Journal of Democracy* Vol. 23, N° 4 (2012): 74-88.

Schmitter, Philippe C., "Ambidextrous Democratization and Its Implications for MENA," Paper, European University Institute, September 2012.

#### Meeting 13: Framing a New Agenda (April 29)

Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Linz, Juan J. with Thomas Jeffrey Miley, "Cautionary and Unorthodox Thoughts about Democracy Today," pp. 227-52, in Douglas Chalmers and Scott Mainwaring (eds.), *Problems Confronting Contemporary Democracies: Essays in Honor of Alfred Stepan* (South Bend, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).