

University of Aberdeen

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Spring 2013

Transitions to Democracy (Democratization) - Syllabus

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, MERCED
Spring 2013

POLI 140: Transitions to Democracy
Class Time: MWF 10:30-11:20
Location: SSM 104

Instructor: Dr. Jon D. Carlson
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Catalog Description: "Formation of democratic institutions and norms. Particular attention is paid to nations labeled as developing democracies."

Course Description and Objectives

Democracy means different things to different people. Sorting this out leaves us with a central question of this course: "How can people best rule themselves?" Empowering people to participate in their own governance via some sort of participatory democracy is generally accepted as the dominant answer to the above question, though some people do argue for alternative models such as benign dictatorship, or communal-based social utopias. Nevertheless, we will focus on issues dealing with our notions of 'democracy'. Over the last twenty-five years a "third wave" of democracy has spread across the world. Some argue a Fourth Wave is emerging, as characterized by the "Arab Spring". Countries in Latin America, Africa, East Asia, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union transitioned from authoritarian to democratic rule, and the same is now happening throughout the Middle East. These countries are working to maintain political stability, yet some are in danger of 'authoritarian backsliding'. Some states failed in the early post-transition years, unable to restructure government and incorporate civil society into new systems. Others face challenges from economic crisis, ethnic fragmentation, or military threat. Other states have been more successful in effectively consolidating democracy and increasing their political legitimacy in the global system. What explains these drastically different outcomes?

Questions to be addressed in this course include: What do we mean by "democracy", is it a variable or a constant, how do we measure it? Why did the 'third wave' occur, and are we witnessing a reversal of this wave? What are the causes of democratic transitions and who are the key actors associated with these transitions? How do countries effectively consolidate democratic gains? What are the political effects of democratization both within new democracies and in the world system more broadly, i.e., are we seeing the rise of a 'global democratic culture'? What does the future hold for new democracies – can states maintain their democratic status or will political instability overwhelm them and lead a return to authoritarian rule? By the end of the semester, students will be able to compose a cogent response to each of these questions, but more importantly will have developed a set of analytical tools that they can use to evaluate the role of democracy in its various guises throughout the world. Reading materials, lectures, focused discussions and a research project will help accomplish this goal.

The readings and course calendar are organized around four main thematic areas. **First**, we will examine the concept of democracy. We will discuss the range of definitions of democracy, methods for studying them, and some difficulties associated with this. **Second**, we will look at democratic transitions and their causes, focusing on key actors and motivations for transition. **Third**, we will examine the consolidation of democracy in newly democratic regimes; what is the role of political culture, institutions, economic development, military relations, international forces, and civil society? **Fourth**, we cast our gaze toward the future and discuss what the future may hold for new democracies as political institutions, and 'democratic values' in the system as a whole.

PROGRAM LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

The Program Learning Objectives (PLOs) for Political Science are for students to develop:

1. An understanding of the processes, theories, and empirical regularities of political institutions and political behavior in the student's chosen emphasis area: American politics, comparative politics, or international relations.
2. An ability to employ critical thinking and demonstrate social scientific literacy, including basic quantitative literacy.
3. A capacity to utilize contemporary social science research methods to conduct rigorous research on political phenomena.
4. Effective written communication skills, especially the ability to convey complex concepts and information in a clear and concise manner.
5. An ability to apply abstract theory and research methods to understand contemporary political events and public policies.

POLI 140: Student Learning Objectives (SLO)

1. Understand and identify characteristics of the dual processes of democratic transition and democratic consolidation. (Per PLO #1).
2. Use scientific methods to analyze the causal relationships of various forms of what is considered a "democracy" (Per PLO # 2, 3).
3. Develop concise argumentation and writing skills, while displaying critical thinking in discussion (written and verbal) of complex and contentious issues related to course material (Per PLO #4).
4. Recognize the interrelationship of institutions and norms for the formation of 'democracy', in context of existing data and research (Per PLO #5).

READINGS (Per SLO #1, 2, 4)

Readings for the course are:

1. Diamond, Larry and Marc Plattner (2001) *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, Johns Hopkins University Press. **"DP"**
2. **Haerpfer**, Christian, et al. (2009) *Democratization*, Oxford University Press.
3. Diamond, Larry, Marc Plattner and Daniel **Brumberg** (2003) *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Additional Readings as assigned (Freedom House, JSTOR articles, Journal of Democracy, etc.)

Recommended: A daily newspaper with international coverage (e.g., *The New York Times*).

STUDENT LEARNING ACTIVITIES¹

Most of us, if not all, know how to ride a bicycle. Think about how you learned to ride a bike – you did not attend lectures on bike riding. Rather, with the assistance of a parent, sibling or friend you got on the bike and started riding. You may have had learning wheels, you may have fallen off the bike many times, *but in the end you learned how to ride the bike* and you can still do that today! This is a good example of all learning. First, it was *active*, not passive. You did things rather than taking notes. Second, you were motivated to learn bike riding because your friends did it, it gave you greater freedom, or for any number of other good reasons. This course is like learning to ride a bike. We will be discussing and analyzing readings relating to political

¹ Learning metaphors courtesy of Patrick McGowan.

economy and development. You will also have to be ready to respond to my questions about my lectures that I may ask at any time. You will have to write three mini-essays on the course material, and a research essay based on your individual effort and outside material.

Another way to think about learning at a University is that it is like taking out a membership in a Health and Fitness Club. Your tuition at UC Merced gives you the right to attend a certain number of classes each semester. It also gives you the right to use the Library, the computer system, and other College facilities. Similarly, your Club membership fee allows you to use the exercise machines, swimming pool, and other Club facilities. *However*, if you never visit the Club and work out, your membership money is wasted. In the same fashion, if you just come to class most of the time without preparing and without participating, *without being active in class*, your tuition money is wasted too! So, as your teacher I am like a personal fitness trainer. It's my job to exercise your mind. And of course – *no pain, no gain*.

A WORD TO THE WISE: At Research Universities like Michigan, Stanford, and UC Berkeley and at quality Liberal Arts Colleges it is expected that undergraduate students will study one and one-half to two hours a week for each hour in class. Thus, in this class you are expected to spend from *four and one-half to six hours a week* studying – reading the textbooks, preparing for class discussion, researching and writing your essays, and reviewing material for exams. If you are enrolled 15 to 18 credit hours, to earn a grade of “C” or better in all your courses you should be studying for twenty-two to thirty-six hours a week. A typical student taking 15 credit hours and studying 30 hours a week has a time commitment of 45 hours. If you are working 20 hours or more a week to pay for your education and living expenses *and* also taking 15 or more hours of course work, you may well be overextending yourself – plan and pace accordingly.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Your performance in POLI 140 will be based on the following learning activities:

- 1. CLASS ATTENDANCE:** This is easy. I expect that you will attend all meetings of this class. Beginning the third class meeting, I will take roll throughout the semester. To avoid being marked absent you must be in your seat by the beginning of class. A class seating chart will be made beginning the 3rd class period, so be early in order to pick a ‘good’ seat. (10%)
- 2. CLASS PARTICIPATION:** This may be new to some of you and will be worth a portion of your grade. We will have regularly scheduled discussion topics and questions (usually Fridays); you will be responsible for preparing thoughtful responses and questions of your own. We will then have an insightful critique, commentary and exchange of fact-based views. Note: this does not mean that opening your mouth to spout random opinion constitutes a positive contribution to class discussion. How will your discussion be evaluated? Positive contributions will receive a point. If your contribution is indifferent or undeveloped, no mark will be made. If your contribution is factually wrong, illogical, incoherent, unrelated to the discussion or disruptive a point will be deducted. Most of the time I will call on students who raise their hands. However, I will also call upon students whose hands are not raised in order to see what they have to say. Remember, *no pain, no gain!* Please note: a positive contribution requires more from you than merely stating correctly a fact from the material or quoting from the text. Facts and quotes are evidence supporting your argument, they are not arguments themselves. (15%)

3. MINI-ESSAYS: You will write three mini-essays, each at least three double-spaced pages long on subjects related to the text, lectures, and discussions for each section of the course. Each essay should comprise a well-written analysis of the assigned questions with a thesis, a body of the essay that develops the thesis and a conclusion. The essays should include references and, when appropriate, quotations from text material. *Please take these instructions seriously, as experience shows that students do not do their best work on their first essay.* Topics for your essays correspond to sub-headings in a term paper project. (15%, 5% each), (3-5pgs):

Essay One: Prepare a country report in which you describe the general status of political rights in your country. Relate this to our discussion of ‘illiberal democracy’. **Due 02/08. (SLO #1, 3)**

Essay Two: Analytic paper (Transition) – Explain an aspect of democratization in your country (*e.g.*, why did the transition occur?) or why/how it is occurring. Alternately, Discuss/describe the Party System in your country or *potential* for democratic transition. **Due 03/08. (SLO #1, 3)**

Essay Three: Analytic paper (Consolidation) – Explain an aspect of democratic consolidation (*e.g.*, what impact do institutional configurations have on democratic stability?) or potential for consolidation and analyze in context of your country. **Due 04/12. (SLO #1, 3)**

4. TERM PROJECT: Relating to the various topics discussed in the course, your term project is self-initiated and self-directed. It may take the form of a traditional research paper or may manifest itself in some other manner; however it should reflect serious engagement with the material and exhibit significant effort on your part. A ‘standard’ term paper approach would include selecting a ‘third wave’ or recently transitioning Arab Spring country and then crafting a country report on the status of democracy in that country, including a history of and potential for effective democracy, explanation of the democratic transition – including a discussion of relevant actors, institutions, and a treatment of democratic consolidation or challenges to consolidation. **DUE Monday 04/29 (20%)**

If you choose NOT to do a traditional ‘country report’, you must gain instructor approval for your project. (SLO #2, 3, 4).

5. MIDTERM & FINAL EXAMS: Format for the exams will likely consist of a mixture of multiple choice, short answer, and essay questions. **MIDTERM (03/20): (20%) FINAL (05/11): (20%) (SLO #1, 4).**

GRADING SCHEME

Your final grade will be based on the following criteria:

Class Attendance --	100 points
Three Mini-Essays --	150 points
Term Project --	200 points
Participation --	150 points
Midterm --	200 points
Final Exam --	200 points → TOTAL: 1000 points

Final course grades will follow the pattern:

925 – 1000 points:	A				
900 – 925 points:	A-	867 – 899 points:	B+	825 – 866 points:	B
800 – 825 points:	B-	767 – 799 points:	C +	725 – 766 points:	C
700 – 725 points:	C-	667 – 699 points:	D+	625 – 666 points:	D
600 – 625 points:	D-	Below 600 points:	F		

Course Administrative Details:

Cheating

Cheating on any quiz, exam, or written assignment will result in an automatic failing grade for that assignment and possibly an 'F' for the entire course; in addition, notation will be made in your transcript to this effect. Extreme cases may also result in expulsion from the University, as discussed guidelines for academic honesty. Cheating includes, but is not limited to, copying any part of a classmate's work and plagiarism – inadequately citing published material or using material without permission. Furthermore, plagiarism will be taken *extremely* seriously and any and all cases will be referred to the Dean for administrative action.

Special Needs

If you have special needs or a disability, please be sure to contact the UC Disability Services Specialist, for help in clarifying and obtaining appropriate accommodations.

Late Assignments

All assignments are due in class on the date they are due. You are responsible for printing and stapling a hard copy for submission. An electronic copy must ALSO be uploaded to your Dropbox on CROPS. Late papers will be penalized 1/3 of a letter grade *per day* (not class meeting) they are late.

COURSE SCHEDULE (15 Weeks of Class)

CONCEPT & MEASUREMENT OF DEMOCRACY

Week 1: JANUARY 23: Course organization, discussion of syllabus. Democracy exercise.

Look up and peruse Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2011" (34pgs)

<http://www.freedomhouse.org>

Friday: Review Freedom House data and methodology.

Haerpfer Ch 1 Introduction; Ch 3 Measuring; Diamond Intro.

Week 2: JANUARY 28: Finish measurement (Freedom House and others)

Discussion: Fareed Zakaria, "Illiberal Democracy" *Foreign Affairs* (November 1997)

<http://www.fareedzakaria.com/articles/other/democracy.html>

Week 3: FEBRUARY 4:

ESSAY ONE DUE 02/08

Diamond & Plattner (DP) Intro, Chs 1-4 (Democracy & Liberty: Universal Values?) approx. 50pp.

DP Ch 7: Plattner, "Liberalism to Liberal Democracy" (skim through & review)

Discussion: Anwar Ibrahim "Universal Values and Muslim Democracy" JOD (July 2006)

<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Ibrahim-17-3.pdf> ;

Week 4: FEBRUARY 11:

Catch up if needed

Haerpfer Ch 5, Ch 6

Brumberg Intro

Discussion: Scott Mainwaring “Party Systems in the Third Wave” (DP14)
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v009/9.3mainwaring.html

CAUSES & DIMENSIONS

Week 5 FEB 18: (No Class Monday)

Haerpfer Ch 7 (International), **9** (PolCulture), **10** (Gender & Dem)

Discussion: Robert Kaplan “Was Democracy Just a Moment?” *Atlantic Monthly* (December 1997) www.theatlantic.com/issues/97dec/democ.htm;

ACTORS & INSTITUTIONS

Week 6:FEB 25: **Haerpfer Ch 14** (Political Parties),
Brumberg Ch 20

Discussion: DP Ch 13 “What Makes Democracies Endure?”

Week 7:MARCH 4:

MINI #2 Due Fri 03/08

Haerpfer 15 (Electoral Systems), **Haerpfer 16** (Media)

Discussion: DP Ch 15 “What Makes Elections Free & Fair?”

Brumberg Ch 21

Week 8:MARCH 11

Haerpfer Ch 17 (Failed)

Discussion: **Brumberg Ch 23, 24**, Review for Midterm

Week 9: MARCH 18

MIDTERM WEDNESDAY 03/20

Monday: Haerpfer Ch19 (Latin America)

Discussion: DP Ch 17 “Markets, Law & Democracy”

Week 10: MARCH 25

SPRING BREAK – woot!

REGIONS & TRANSITIONS

Week 11: APRIL 1

Monday & Wednesday Haerpfer Ch20 (Post Communist)

Fri: – video: *Beyond Elections*

Discussion: Anna Seleny “Communism’s Many Legacies in East-Central Europe” JOD
http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v018/18.3seleny.pdf (July 2007);

Week 12: APRIL 8

Mini #3 Due 04/12

Haerpfer Ch 21 (ME & NAf), **Brumberg Ch 25, 26**

Vali Nasr “The Rise of ‘Muslim Democracy’” JOD (April 2005)

<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Nasr-16-2.pdf>

Discussion: Zeyno Baran “Turkey Divided” JOD (January 2008)

<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Baran-19-1.pdf>

Week 13: APRIL 15

Haerpfer Ch 22 (Sub Sah Afr)

Penda Mbow “Senegal: The Return of Personalism” JOD (January 2008)

http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v019/19.1mbow.pdf

Brumberg Ch 27,28

Discussion: Daniel Posner & Daniel Young “Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa” JOD http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v018/18.3posner.pdf

Week 14: APRIL 22

Haerpfer Ch 23 (East Asia)

“Pathways from Authoritarianism” JOD (January 2007)

http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v018/18.1hadenius.pdf ;

Brumberg 29, 30

Discussion: DP Ch25 - China

Week 15: APRIL 29

Papers Due Monday April 29

Haerpfer Ch 24

Week 16: MAY 6

Arab Spring retrospective (TBD), Documentary (Wed), Review (Fri)

Instruction Ends May 10.

FINAL EXAM: Saturday May 11, 8-11am
