POLS 4510/5510: Democratization
Saint Louis University
Thursday 6-8:45pm
Fall 2021

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"It has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except for all the others that have been tried from time to time." Winston Churchill

In the contemporary world, democracies are under siege; authoritarian regimes are on the rise. Even in the U.S., we have seen losing candidates contest election outcomes. U.S. government efforts to promote democracy abroad have failed in Iraq and Afghanistan and run into reverses elsewhere. In this global context, we might raise questions like:

- Does it matter whether a regime is democratic? What is democracy good for?
- Are there certain conditions that are necessary to establish democratic regimes?
- Are there combinations of institutions that are particularly prone to failure?
- Can democracies be established in highly unequal or diverse societies?
- Why do democratic governments fail?

In this class, we will try to answer these questions and more. We will examine theories of democratic transition and test them against available evidence from recent waves of democratization. For case studies, we will focus primarily on Eastern and Central Europe, but other countries will be discussed from time to time.

One goal of this class is to help you enter into an ongoing scholarly conversation about democratization. To enter that conversation, you will need to assess a variety of competing explanations to decide which makes the most sense of the facts we can observe.

Another goal is to help you develop the skills you will need to engage in research about democratization. During the second half of the semester, you'll complete a research paper about some aspect of democratization in any area or areas of the world that interests you.

A final goal is for you to reflect on the value of democracy in your own life and to think about ways to preserve it.

COURSE OBJECTIVES
After completing this class, you should be able to:

- Explain political and economic developments in the post-communist world and in a variety of democratizing countries.
- Evaluate theories that aim to explain where democracy is likely to flourish or fail.
- Evaluate how knowledge is advanced through constructive peer criticism.
- Conceive and conduct a research project that uses comparison to test a proposition derived from scholarly writing about democracy
- Assess methodological challenges in testing theories of democratization.
- Judge the contribution of democracy to a just society
- Examine how popular values affect democratic institutions

In addition, graduate students should be able to produce a comprehensive literature review.

OFFICE HOURS
Tuesday and Thursday 2:15-3-30, and by appointment. E-mail me if you want to come outside office hours. I am often (but not always) in my office at other times. Feel free to drop by when the door is open.

If you prefer to meet on Zoom, you'll need an appointment. We can use this ink: https://slu.zoom.us/j/7172394449 (there is a waiting room set up, and you may need to wait a bit).

REQUIRED BOOKS

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

Graduate students will also read: Charles Tilly. *Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Additional readings are on e-reserve, and the password is demo21. To keep abreast of current developments in Eastern and Central Europe, try http://www.rferl.org/

CATALOG COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course examines the process of developing new democratic systems, with particular focus on Eastern and Central Europe, theories of democratic transition, and interconnections between democratic and market systems.

How will you know what you are learning?

So that you can tell what you're learning – and where you may need to put in more effort – we'll have three higher-stakes assessments and a bunch of low-stakes assessments throughout the semester. All assignments will be submitted through the Canvas assignment tool.

Higher-stakes assessments (55 percent of your final grade)

- One essay of around 5 pages on a question I provide at least two weeks before the essay is due—15 percent of your grade, DUE OCTOBER 8, 5pm

- One longer research paper, 15 pages for undergrads, 20 pages for grad students—30 percent of your grade, DRAFT DUE NOVEMBER 18, FINAL DUE DECEMBER 10

  This paper will test a theoretically-derived proposition through some form of comparison. The paper may focus on particular countries or groups of countries; it can rely on a small number of cases or a large-N dataset, either the same countries on which we focus in class or different ones. In any case, this paper will require a significant amount of outside research. More information on this paper will be provided in the middle of the semester, but it is never too early to start thinking about what you want to do.

- Final exam—10 percent. The final exam for grad students will be a single question of the sort that you might encounter in a field exam. Students may use well-organized notes during the exam but will not have time to rely on them heavily. DECEMBER 16, 6:10-8:00.

  For undergrads, the final exam will be a small group oral exam scheduled at your convenience during exam week.

Low-stakes assessments (45 percent of your final grade)

To give you a chance to practice the skills that you will need in order to do well in the higher-stakes assessments, there will be a variety of low-stakes assessments throughout the semester. These assignments and activities are designed to help you identity concepts that you may not fully understand or analytical skills that you may need to develop further. They will ask you to apply what you are learning in new ways and pull together concepts from across the semester. The more effort that you put into the low stakes assessments, the better you are likely to perform on the higher-stakes assessments.

Some of this work will be ungraded but useful to both you and me to tell what material may be more challenging to you. Some of this work will be graded, to provide you with an indication of how your understanding is progressing.

- Participation in class (25 percent of your final grade)

You should come to class prepared to engage the material. This daily participation will help you apply the concepts you are learning and expose where you still have questions. To participate effectively, you will need to keep up to date with the assigned reading and continually think about how ideas from one set of readings relate to the others. You should be prepared to critically evaluate arguments made by the various authors, by other students, and by me. (Of course, we'll practice how to do this.) Sometimes, participating will mean contributing to all-class discussions, whether by asking questions or adding insights; sometimes we will have short group activities. You will receive a discussion grade for every class. This grade will be based on your contributions to class discussion and any more formal presentations. Other short assignments, group projects and quizzes, both pre-announced and not, could occur and would be factored into this discussion grade.

- Discussion leadership. Once during the semester, you and another student together will serve as "chief interlocutors" for class. This will be part of your participation grade. You should be very confident about the readings for the day and prepare three to five overarching questions that tie together the readings for class discussion. Prior to this responsibility, your group must meet with me, having e-mailed me the questions beforehand. We'll sign up in class for this responsibility.

  Graduate students will also present on Charles Tilly's *Democracy* on September 30th.

- There will be a class Discussion Board open on Canvas throughout the semester. Participation in the discussion board is voluntary unless I direct otherwise. The discussion board is a place for you to process readings, raise questions that remain after our class discussions, or share insights. Insightful comments, especially those that advance our class discussion will earn class participation credit. These comments can be made after class, but you are especially likely to earn credit if you raise questions or comments about the day's readings before class starts.

- Reading paragraphs. To advance our discussion and to help you master and integrate the readings, you will write "reading paragraphs" during some weeks. These assignments will not count toward your final grade, but you cannot pass the class without seven assignments graded 2 or better (more information in the section below).

- Country specialization and website (20 percent of your final grade)
  Students will work in teams to develop expertise on the progress of democratization in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, and Hungary.

  On October 21, each team will have up to 30 minutes to present on their country. Focus on political developments since the fall of communism. All group members should have a speaking part, and you should have a Powerpoint presentation. Try to make your country's experience meaningful to the other students. Keep in mind that it is hard to process a lot of new facts, all at once.

  On October 21, each team will also share a website about your country. Provide information in a curated form that will be useful to the other students in the class. (A long list of articles won't help them.) This website can be updated throughout the semester. These websites will all link to our class Canvas page. You can use Canvas or another tool to create the website, as long as you link to our class Canvas page.

  The main purpose of the country specialization assignment is to create people able to contribute relevant information about the real experiences of individual countries to our class discussion. Part of your grade for this assignment will reflect on-going contributions during class.

READING PARAGRAPHS
Reading paragraphs must not exceed two, double-spaced, typed pages.

The first paragraph should **summarize each of the week's readings in a couple sentences each**. Focus on conclusions and how they are reached.

The second paragraph should **analyze** some of the week's readings. There are different ways to analyze readings. For instance, you might consider whether the evidence presented is persuasive, the degree to which the various arguments complement or conflict with each other, what the implications are concerning the construction of democratic institutions in various parts of the world. As we get into the semester, you might compare one week's readings with arguments made in earlier weeks. The point is to provide thoughtful and empirically grounded analysis closely connected to the readings. It is often more effective to focus this part of the assignment on one reading instead of trying to cover them all superficially.

For credit, you need to e-mail the paragraphs to me *before* class. If you want to refer to your paragraphs in class, you'll need to print out a copy.

Paragraphs will be graded on a three-point scale (3—really good, 2—satisfactory, 1—inadequate). **All students must hand in at least seven paragraphs graded 2 or better.** You are welcome to hand in more than seven, and your added effort will be reflected in your participation grade. (This is a boost for shy people.) You can also use the paragraphs to give you a preview of how your work is likely to fare in the more conventionally graded essays. Needless to say, even if you don't write the paragraphs for a given week, you are still responsible for doing and understanding the reading.

All students must complete a course evaluation for the class.

Course policies

Attendance. This is a seminar class, and that means that it is grounded in discussion by students, not lecturing by me. You should think about class as a time for exploration: for figuring out what the readings mean; for critically evaluating arguments made by various authors, your classmates, and me; for connecting the assigned materials to other ideas. Attendance is required at all class sessions, unless you have an approved reason for missing class. If you are going to miss class, please e-mail me *before* the class you need to miss. I will excuse absences consistent with SLU's absence policy (see the end of this syllabus), but you are responsible for the work the class does in your absence. In some cases – a missed quiz, presentation, or group activity – there may be no way to make up the work after the fact. If you have not had the absence pre-approved by me, you will receive a grade of 0 for that activity. You will receive a 0 for every unexcused absence and these zeroes will be calculated as part of your participation grade. If you have more than two unexcused absences, we will need to talk about whether it is possible for you to pass the class. If you arrive late or leave early, I may mark you as absent. The winning strategy is to come to class.

To get an absence excused, you will need an excuse that I accept AND you must complete the reading paragraphs, not for credit toward the required total. Students who miss more than three classes for any reason may not be able to finish the course.

Late work. This is my approach to late essays: if I am still reading your fellow students' essays when you hand in yours, I will not penalize you for lateness. Once I am finished, I will mark down late essays a full letter grade (for instance, an A will become a B). However, you don't know how long it will take me to read your fellow students' essays, so there is some risk involved in handing in the paper late. Given the other pressures in your life, you may consider that risk acceptable. The risk-free strategy is to hand in work on time. (Note, this policy does not apply to in-class work, where you will receive a 0 if you miss class without an approved reason.)

Civility. Sometimes we will discuss controversial issues in class, and you may disagree with things you hear in class. You are always welcome to disagree either with me or with other students, but you must do so in a respectful and informed manner, appropriate to an institution of higher learning.

Plagiarism. It is critical that all work that you hand in is your own work and correctly gives credit to other sources that you consult. Plagiarized work will receive a grade of 0. Copying sections from someone else's work, even if you change the words around, counts as plagiarism.

Technology. While the most self-disciplined among us will not be distracted by the wealth of entertainments provided by the internet, laptops tend to reduce uninterrupted focus on what is happening in class. Laptops can even be a physical barrier between you and the person behind the raised screen. Most of the time, I will ask you to keep your laptops and phones closed and stored away.

Tips for success
Do all the reading and think about it. It is very difficult to fully engage with the topics we will be examining without doing the reading. I provide a reading question for each day to help you focus your reading on aspects we are likely to talk about in class.

I always like to talk to you. If you are having trouble with the material or the way we use class time, let me know. Please come to my office hours or make an appointment for a better time to talk. We can try to identify the problem and explore new strategies that, hopefully, will lead to greater success for you. If there is something that you want to share with me anonymously, please put a note in my mailbox in McGannon 128.

I am happy to give you feedback on anything you are working on. For written assignments, I will read papers in any form (outlines, partial drafts, full drafts) *before* they are due, and I will give you oral feedback. Since my feedback will be oral, we will need to schedule an appointment (in person or on Zoom) for you to get my comments.

Some of the phenomena discussed in this course – and some of the readings about them – are disturbing. We need to think hard about these uncomfortable features of radical change and autocratic governments if we are to understand them. I have selected course materials and activities that I think will support your learning, but you may come across material that makes you uncomfortable, perhaps particularly uncomfortable as a result of your own past experiences. If this is the case, we have several ways to alleviate discomfort:

- Discuss the situation in class. Our task in this class is to come to terms with some difficult concepts and behavior. We can help each other through this process.
- Come talk to me privately if there is something about your own experience that makes it hard to handle this information.
- If you are not comfortable discussing the issue with me directly, perhaps you can notify me through your academic adviser, another trusted faculty member, or a friend.

GRADING SCALE

A	93-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D	60-70
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	F	below 60
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72		

- A Quality Work – work of superior quality. Class participation is voluntary, frequent, relevant, and demonstrates thoughtful reflection on the readings. Written work is clear, correct in content and presentation, well-organized and thought-provoking. Performance on exams demonstrates complete mastery of facts and concepts and the ability to apply concepts to new situations.

- B Quality Work – work of high quality. Class participation is voluntary, frequent, and reflects effort to understand the readings. Written work reflects a good understanding of the issues and concepts with minimal error. Performance on exams demonstrates mastery of facts and concepts.

- C Quality Work – work that minimally meets the course requirements. Class participation is occasional and/or rarely voluntary, with comments that reveal only a superficial grasp of issues and concepts. Written work may be disorganized or contain errors. Performance on exams demonstrates knowledge of facts and concepts.

- D Quality Work – work that has minimal clarity and comprehension. Class participation is minimal, never voluntary, and reveals a lack of preparation and/or understanding. Absences are frequent. Written work is confusing, contradictory, repetitive, and/or not well supported. Writing is marred with errors. Performance on exams demonstrates minimal mastery of facts and concepts.

- F Quality Work – Unsatisfactory performance along most measures, often including missing assignments and excessive absence.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

August 26 Defining democracy and the scope of our course

Gerardo Munck, *Measuring Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), ch. 6, "Revisiting Concepts," pp. 120-132 (on Canvas).

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2021: Democracy under Siege," https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2021/democracy-under-siege

No reading paragraphs this week. There is a lot of country-based information in the Freedom House piece. There's no need to memorize it all.

Graduate students should get started reading Charles Tilly, *Democratization* (see September 30).

Additional readings if you are really interested in this topic:

Benhabib, Seyla, ed. 1996. *Democracy and Difference.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research." *World Politics* 49 (April): 430-521.

Dahl, Robert A. 1989. *Democracy and its Critics*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Dahl, Robert A. 2000. *On Democracy.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gutmann, Amy, and Dennis Thompson. 2004. *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Held, David. 1987. *Models of Democracy.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Inkeles, Alex, ed. 1991. *On Measuring Democracy: Its Consequences and Concomitants* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers).

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April): 51-65.

Locke, John. 1985 [1690]. *The Second Treatise on Government.* New York: Macmillan.

Mainwaring, Scott, Daniel Brinks, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2001 "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no. 1 (Spring): 3.

Montesquieu, Charles. 1984. *The Spirit of the Laws*. Birmingham, AL: Legal Classics Library.

Munck, Gerardo. 2016. What is Democracy? A Reconceptualization of the Quality of Democracy. *Democratization*, 23 (1).

Polletta, Francesca. 2014. "Participatory Democracy's Moment." *Journal of International Affairs* 68, no. 1 (Fall/Winter): 79-92.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1973 [1762]. *The Social Contract and Discourses*. London: Everyman's Library.

Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is…and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 3 (Summer): 75-88.

Schaffer, Frederic Charles. 2014. "Thin Descriptions: The Limits of Survey Research on the Meaning of Democracy." *Polity* 46, no. 3 (July): 303-330.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1950. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy.* New York: Harper & Row.

September 2 Democracy: What is it good for?

ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.

Amartya Sen, "Democracy as a Universal Value," in *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3, 1999: 3-17 (e-reserve).

Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 3 (September 1993): 567-576 (e-reserve).

Adam Przeworski, 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), pp. 269-278 (e-reserve).

Vaclav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," chapters I-IX or pp. 1-26 in the version on e-reserve from the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (https://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/resource/the-power-of-the-powerless/).

Some resources:

Crozier, Michael J., and Samuel P. Huntington, and Joji Watanuki. 1975. *The Crisis of Democracy: Report on the Governability of Democracies to the Trilateral Commission*. New York: New York University Press.

Dawood, Yasmin. 2015. "Campaign Finance and American Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 329-48.

Gerring, John, Strom C. Thacker, and Rodrigo Alfaro. 2012. "Democracy and Human Development." *Journal of Politics* 74, no. 1 (January): 1-17.

Ganghof, S. 2016. "Reconciling Representation and Accountability: Three Visions of Democracy Compared." *Government and Opposition*, 51(2), 209-233.

Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* 12, no. 3 (September 2014): 564-581.

Gould, Carol C. 2000. "Racism and Democracy Reconsidered." *Social Identities* 6, no. 4 (December): 425-439.

Hamilton, Alexander, and James Madison, John Jay. 1961 [1787-1788]. *The Federalist Papers.* New York: New American Library.

Hibbing, John R., and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2002. *Stealth Democracy: Americans' Beliefs about How Government Should Work.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, Pippa. 2011. *Democratic Deficit.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Waylen, Georgina. 2015. "Engendering the 'Crisis of Democracy': Institutions, Representation and Participation." *Government and Opposition* 50, no. 3: 495-520.

Wu, Chin-en. 2012. "When is Democracy Better for Economic Performance and when Is It Not: the Interaction Between Polity and Structural Factors." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 47: 365-388.

THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION

September 9 Founding Scholars

ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53 (March 1959): 69-105 (e-reserve).

Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2 (1970): 337-63 (e-reserve).

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Concluding (but not Capitulating) with a Metaphor," from *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 65-72 (e-reserve).

Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1995): 65-77 (e-reserve).

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 1-5 (e-reserve).

Di Palma, Guiseppe. 1990. *To Craft Democracies: An Essay on Democratic Transitions*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1991-2. "How Countries Democratize." *Political Science Quarterly* 106 (Winter): 579-616.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. "Democracy's Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 2: 12-34.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Karl, Terry Lynn, and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1991. "Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe." *International Social Science Journal* May: 269-284.

Lichbach, Mark I. 2013. *Democratic Theory and Causal Methodology in Comparative Politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1981. [1959]. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*. Expanded edition. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

Muller, Edward N., and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1994. "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships." *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September 1994): 635-652.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Schmitter, Philippe C., with Terry Lynn Karl. 1994. "The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far East Should They Attempt to Go?" *Slavic Review* 53 (Spring): 173-185.

September 16 Social forces—Structural explanations

ALL STUDENTS MUST COMPLETE THE READING PARAGRAPHS THIS WEEK.

Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), ch. 7, "The Democratic Route to Modern Society," pp. 413-432 (e-reserve). Make sure you understand the theoretical argument and pay attention to the historical detail insofar as it helps you make sense of the theoretical argument.

Evelyne Huber, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John D. Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1993): 71-86 (e-reserve).

Michael L. Ross, "What Have We Learned about the Resource Curse?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (2015): 239-259 (e-reserve).

Bellin, Eva. 2000. "Contingent Democrats: Industrialists, Labor, and Democratization in Late-Developing Countries." *World Politics* 52 (January): 175-205.

Bermeo, Nancy. 2010. "Interests, inequality, and Illusion in the Choice for Fair Elections," *Comparative Political Studies* 43, nos. 8/9 (2010): 1119-1147.

Casper, Gretchen, and M. M. Taylor. 1996. *Negotiating Democracy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Cheibub, J. A., J. Gandhi, and J.R. Vreeland. 2010. "Democracy and dictatorship revisited." *Public Choice* 143 (1-2): 1-35.

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

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

Lee, Ching Kwan. 2007. *Against the Law: Labor Protests in China's Rustbelt and Sunbelt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Moore, Barrington, Jr. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Rosenfeld, Bryn. 2017. "Reevaluating the Middle-Class Protest Paradigm: A Case-Control Study of Democratic Protest Coalitions in Russia." *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 4: 637-652.

Ross, Michael. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April): 325-61.

Ross, Michael. 2012. *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Snyder, Richard. 2006. "Does Lootable Wealth Breed Disorder: A Political Economy of Extraction Framework." *Comparative Political Studies* October.

Wright, J., E. Frantz, B. Geddes. 2015. "Oil and autocratic regime survival." *British Journal of Political Science* 45: 287-306.

Zgurić, Borna. 2012. "Challenges for democracy in countries affected by the 'Arab Spring.'" *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 23, no. 4 (October): 417-434.

September 23 Rational Choice Approaches

Barbara Geddes, "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999):115-144 (e-reserve).

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson 2001. "A Theory of Political Transitions." *American Economic Review* 91: 938-963 (e-reserve).

For these articles, focus on the authors' main conclusions. Read the game theory parts for explanations of how they reached those conclusions. Do not worry about understanding each equation.

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *American Economic Review* 91: 1369-1401.

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

Albertus, Michael, and Victor Menaldo. 2013. "Gaming Democracy: Elite Dominance during Transition and the Prospects for Redistribution," *British Journal of Political Science* 44: 575-603.

Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boix, Carles, and Susan Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55: 517-549.

Brownlee, Jason. 2010. "Unrequited Moderation: Credible Commitments and State Repression in Egypt." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45, no. 4 (December): 468-489.

Gandhi, Jennifer, and Adam Przeworski. 2007. "Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats." *Comparative Political Studies* 40, issue 11 (November): 1279-1301.

Gandhi, Jennifer, and Ellen Lust-Okar. 2009. "Elections under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 403-22.

Gandhi, Jennifer. 2013. "The incentives for pre-electoral coalitions in non-democratic elections." *Democratization* 20, issue 1 (January): 137-159.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44 (October): 7-48.

Nalepa, Monika. 2010. "Captured Commitments: An Analytic Narrative of Transitions with Transitional Justice." *World Politics* 62, 2 (April): 341-380.

Schedler, Andreas. 2002. "The Nested Game of Democratization by Election." *International Political Science Review* 23(1): 103-22.

Svolik, Milan W. 2013. "Learning to Love Democracy: Electoral Accountability and the Success of Democracy." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, no. 3 (July): 685-702.

Svolik, Milan. 2019. "Democracy as an equilibrium: rational choice and formal political theory in democratization research." *Democratization* 26, no. 1 (January): 40-60.

September 30 Popular action and belief

Bermeo, Nancy. 1997. "Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict during Democratic Transitions." *Comparative Politics* 29 (3): 305-22 (e-reserve).

Chenoweth, Erica. 2020. "The Future of Nonviolent Resistance." *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 3 (July 2020): 69-84 (e-reserve).

Mark R. Beissinger, "The Semblance of Democratic Revolution: Coalitions in Ukraine's Orange Revolution," *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3 (August 2013): 574-592 (e-reserve).

Christian Welzel, "Why the Future is Democratic," *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 2 (April 2021): 132-144 (e-reserve).

GRADUATE STUDENT PRESENTATION on Charles Tilly, *Democracy (*New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Beissinger, Mark R. 2002. *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*. New York: Cambridge..

Bernhard, Michael. 1993. *The origins of democratization in Poland: workers, intellectuals, and oppositional politics, 1976-1980*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Brancati, Dawn. 2014. "Pocketbook Protests: Explaining the Emergence of Pro-Democracy Protests Worldwide." *Comparative Political Studies* 47, no. 11: 1503-1530.

Giughi, Marco, Doug McAdam, and Charles Tilly, eds. 1998. *From Contention to Democracy*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Hale, Henry E. 2019. "How Should We Now Conceptualize Protest, Diffusion, and Regime Change? *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63 (10): 2402-2415.

Lindberg, Staffan, ed. 2009. *Democratization by Elections: A New Mode of Transition*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamics of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Oberschall, Anthony. 2000. "Social Movements and the Transition to Democracy." *Democratization* 7, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 25-45.

Ortmann, S. 2015. "The Umbrella Movement and Hong Kong's Protracted Democratization Process." *Asian Affairs*, 46(1), 32-50.

Sharp, Gene. 1993. *From Dictatorship to Democracy: A Conceptual Framework for Liberation*. Boston: Albert Einstein Institution.

Ulfelder, Jay. 2005. "Contentious Collective Action and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes." *International Political Science Review* 26, no. 3: 311-334.

Welzel, Christian. 2013, *Freedom Rising: Human Empowerment and the Quest for Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Zelinska, Olga. 2020. "How Protesters and the State Learn From One Another: Spiraling Repertoires of Contention and Repression in Ukraine, 1990-2014," *American Behavioral Scientist* 64, no. 9: 1271-1298.

October 7 International Democracy Promotion

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no.3 (July 2005): 20-34 (e-reserve).

Eva Bellin, "The Iraqi Intervention and Democracy in Comparative Historical Perspective." *Political Science Quarterly* 119, no. 4 (Winter 2004-5): 595-608 (e-reserve).

Mark Beissinger, "Promoting Democracy: Is Exporting Revolution a Constructive Strategy?," *Dissent* (Winter 2006): 18-24 (e-reserve).

ESSAY ONE DUE FRIDAY OCTOBER 8, 5PM, VIA CANVAS

Bring a draft of your essay to class. We will exchange them and offer comments.

Beetham, David. 2009. "The contradictions of democratization by force: the case of Iraq." *Democratization* 16, no. 3 (June): 443-54.

Brinks, Daniel, and Michael Coppedge. 2006. "Diffusion is no illusion: Neighbor emulation in the third wave of democracy." *Comparative Political Studies* 39: 463-89.

Bush, S. S. 2015. *The taming of democracy assistance: Why democracy promotion does not confront dictators.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Carnegie, A., and Marniov, N. 2017 "Foreign aid, human rights, and democracy promotion: Evidence from a natural experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* 61, no. 3: 671-683.

Carothers, Thomas. 2020. "Rejuvenating Democracy Promotion." *Journal of Democracy* 31, no. 1 (January): 114-123.

Castaldo, Antonino. Forthcoming. "External Democracy Promotion in Time of Democratic Crisis: Linkage, Leverage, and Domestic Actors' Diversionary Behaviors." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures.*

Diamond, Larry. 2016 "Democracy in Decline: How Washington can Reverse the Tide," *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 1: 151-159.

Fisher, Julie. 2013. *Importing Democracy: The Role of NGOs in South Africa, Tajikistan, and Argentina.* Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation Press.

Hassan, Oz, and Andrew Hammond. 2011. "The rise and fall of America's freedom agenda in Afghanistan: counter-terrorism, national-building and democracy." *International Journal of Human Rights* 15, no. 4 (May): 532-551.

Knack, S. 2004. "Does foreign aid promote democracy?" *International Studies Quarterly* 48: 251-266.

Letiz, Philip, and Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2010. "Why No Backsliding? The European Union's Impact on Democracy and Governance Before and After Accession." *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 4: 457-485.

Pevehouse, J. C. 2005. *Democracy from above: Regional organizations and democratization.* Oxford University Press.

Poast, P., and Urpelainen, J. 2015. "How international organizations support democratization: Preventing authoritarian reversals or promoting consolidation?" *World Politics* 67, no. 1: 72-113.

Wejnert, Barbara. 2014. *Diffusion of Democracy: The Past and Future of Global Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Wolff, Jonas, and Iris Wurm. 2011. "Towards a theory of external democracy promotion: A proposal for theoretical classification." *Security Dialogue* 42, no. 1 (February): 77-96.

Wright, Joseph. 2009. "How Foreign Aid Can Foster Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(3): 552-72.

TESTING THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

October 14 Empirical test

Jan Teorell, *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010). Read the whole book, making sure that you keep track of Teorell's empirical findings. Teorell provides a summary on pp. 142-144.

ONE PAGE PROPOSAL ON FINAL PAPER DUE BY OCTOBER 15, 5pm

Alvarez, Michael, Jose Cheibub, Fernando Limongi, and Adam Przeworski. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31, no. 2 (Summer): 1-37.

Boix, Carles. 2011. "Democracy, Development, and the International System." *American Political Science Review* 105, no. 4 (November): 809-828.

Carnaghan, Ellen. 2011. "The Difficulty of Measuring Support for Democracy in a Changing Society: Evidence from Russia," *Democratization* 18 (June): 682-706.

Coppedge, Michael. 2012. *Democratization and Research Methods (Strategies for Social Inquiry)*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cornell, Agnes. 2013. "Does regime type matter for the impact of democracy aid on democracy?" *Democratization* 20, no. 4: 642-667.

Doorenspleet, R. 2015. Where Are the People? A Call for People-Centered Concepts and Measurements of Democracy. *Government and Opposition*, 50(3), 469-494.

Gerry, Chrisopher J. and Tomasz M. Mickiewicz. 2008. "Inequality, Democracy, and Taxation: Lessons From the Post-Communist Transition." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60, no. 1: 89-111.

Houle, Christian. 2009. "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics* 61, no. 4 (October): 589-622.

Munck, Gerardo. 2009. *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge Between Scholarship and Politics.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Przeworski, Adam; Michael E. Alvarez; Jose Antonio Cheibub; Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, Michael. 2001. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review* 102 (1): 107-23.

October 21 Lessons from post-communist regions

Valerie Bunce, "Rethinking recent democratization - Lessons from the postcommunist experience," *World Politics* 55, no. 2 (January 2003): 167-192 (e-reserve).

Paul Betts, "1989 at Thirty: A Recast Legacy," *Past & Present* 244, no. 1 (August 2019): 271-305 (e-reserve).

Kim Scheppele, "The Rule of Law and the Frankenstate: Why Governance Checklists Do Not Work," *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 26, no. 4 (October 2013): 559-562 (e-reserve).

TEAM COUNTRY REPORTS: Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary
Some country resources are available on Canvas.

Argentieri, Federigo. 2015. "Hungary: From Postcommunism to Populist Nationalism," in *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy*. Third Edition. Ed. By Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane Leftwich Curry. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 293-311.

Bunce, Valerie. 2000. "Comparative democratization - Big and bounded generalizations." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (August-September): 703-734.

Bunce, Valerie. 1999. *Subversive institutions: the design and destruction of socialism and the state*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Burawoy, Michael, and Katherine Verdery, eds. 1999. *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., pp. 125-150.

Ganev, Venelin. 2013. "Post-Accession Hooliganism: Democratic Governance in Bulgaria and Romania after 2007." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 27, no. 1 (February): 26-44.

Gwiazda, Anna. 2015. "Women's representation and gender quotas: the case of the Polish Parliament." *Democratization* 22, no. 4 (June): 679-697.

Grzymala-Busse. 2007. *Rebuilding leviathan; Party competition and state exploitation in post-communist democracies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Herman, L. E. 2015. "Re-evaluating the post-communist success story: Party elite loyalty, citizen mobilization and the erosion of Hungarian democracy." *European Political Science Review* 8: 251-284.

Jakubowska, Urszula, and Krzysztof Kaniasty. 2014. "Post-communist transformation in progress: Poles' attitudes toward democracy." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 47: 399-407.

Stoner, Kathryn, and Michael McFaul, eds. 2013. *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tomini, Luca. 2014. "Reassessing Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe and the Role of the EU" *Europe Asia-Studies* 66, no. 6: 859-891.

Wolchik, Sharon. 2015. "The Czech and Slovak Republics: Two Paths to the Same Destination," in *Central and East European Politics: From Communism to Democracy.* Third Edition. Ed. By Sharon L. Wolchik and Jane Leftwich Curry. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 265-288.

October 28 FALL BREAK—No class

ISSUES IN POST-COMMUNIST DEMOCRATIZATION

November 4 Markets and Democracy

Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (January 1998): 203-34 (e-reserve).

Mitchell Orenstein, "What Happened in East European (Political) Economies? A Balance Sheet for Neoliberal Reform," *East European Politics & Societies* 23, no. 4 (Fall 2009): 479-490 (e-reserve).

Kristen Ghodsee, "Three Bulgarian Jokes," and "Democracy for the Penguins," From *Red Hangover: Legacies of Twentieth-Century Communism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2017), pp. 149, 179-200 (e-reserve).

Be prepared to talk about the process of economic reform in your specialization country.

Five-minute presentations on research projects (for those who signed up for this date).

Cordero, G. and Simón, P. 2016. "Economic Crisis and Support for Democracy in Europe." *West European Politics*, 39(2), 305-325.

Frye, Timothy. 2000. *Brokers and Bureaucrats: Building Market Institutions in Russia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Frye, Timothy. 2010. *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gilens, Martin. 2005. "Inequality and Democratic Responsiveness." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 69 (5): 778-796.

Jackson, John E., Jacek Klich, and Krystyna Poznanska. 2003. "Democratic Institutions and Economic Reform: The Polish Case." *British Journal of Political Science* 33, no. 1 (January): 85-108.

Kaufman, Robert R. 2007. "Market Reform and Social Protection: Lessons from the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland." *East European Politics and Societies* 21, no. 1: 111-125.

Mason, David S. 2000. *Marketing Democracy: Changing Opinion about Inequality and Politics in East Central Europe*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Mueller, John. 1999. *Capitalism, Democracy, and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Orenstein, Mitchell A. 2001. *Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

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

Sachs, Jeffrey. 1992. "Building a Market Economy in Poland." *Scientific American* 266 (March): 34-40.

Shields, Stuart. 2012. "Opposing Neoliberalism? Poland's renewed populism and post-communist transition." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 2: 359-381.

Weiner, Elaine. 2007. *Market Dreams: Gender, Class, and Capitalism in the Czech Republic*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

November 11 Institutional Choice

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

Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* 26, no. 2 (July 1993): 198-228 (e-reserve).

Przeworski, Alvarez, and Cheibub, *Democracy and Development,* pp. 128-136 (e-reserve).

M. Steven Fish, "Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 1 (January 2006), pp. 5-20 (e-reserve).

Benjamin A. Graham, Michael K. Miller, and Kaare W. Strøm, "Safeguarding Democracy: Powersharing and Democratic Survival," *American Political Science Review* 111, no. 4 (2017): 686-704 (e-reserve).

Be prepared to talk about institutional choices in your specialization country.

Five-minute presentations on research projects (for those who signed up for this date)

Bernhard, Michael. 2005. *Institutions and the Fate of Democracy.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Cheibub, Jose Antonio. 2007. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chiva, Cristina. 2007. "The Institutionalization of Post-Communist Parliaments: Hungary and Romania in Comparative Perspective." *Parliamentary Affairs* 60, no. 2 (April): 187-211.

Conrad, Courtney Ryals, and Sona N. Golder. 2009. "Measuring government duration and stability in Central Eastern European democracies." *European Journal of Political Research* 49: 119-150.

De Raadt, Jasper. 2009. "Contested Constitutions: Legitimacy of Constitution-making and Constitutional Conflict in Central Europe." *East European Politics & Societies* 23, no. 3 (Summer): 315-338.

Elkins, Zachary, and John Sides. 2007. "Can Institutions Build Unity in Multiethnic States?" *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4 (November): 693-708.

Frye, Timothy. 1997. "A Politics of Institutional Choice—Post Communist Presidencies." *Comparative Political Studies* 30 (5): 523-552.

Grotz, Florian, and Till Webber. 2012. "Party Systems and Government Stability in Central and Eastern Europe." *World Politics* 64, no. 4 (October): 699-740.

Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2007. *Rebuilding Leviathan: Party Competition and State Exploitation in Post-Communist Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Grzymala-Busse, Anna. 2010. "The Best Laid Plans: The Impact of Informal Rules on Formal Institutions in Transitional Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45, no. 3 (September): 311-333.

Hartzell, Caroline A., and Matthew Hoddie. 2015. "The Art of the Possible: Power Sharing and Post-Civil War Democracy." *World Politics* 67, no. 1 (January): 37-71.

International IDEA. 2002. *International Electoral Standards: Guidelines for Reviewing the Legal Framework of Elections* (Stockholm: International IDEA).

Ishiyama, John T., and Mathew Velten. 1998. "Presidential Power and Democratic Development in Post-

Communist Politics." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 31 (3): 217-33.

Kitschelt, Herbert, Z. Mansfeldova, R. Markowski, and Gabor Toka. 1999. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lijphart, Arend. 1960. "Consociational Democracy." *World Politics* 21, no. 2 (January): 207-225.

Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Linz, Juan J., and Arturo Valenzuela. 1994. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Luong, Pauline Jones. 2000. "After the Break-Up: Institutional Design in Transitional States." *Comparative Political Studies* 33, no. 5: 563-92.

Mainwaring, Scott, and Matthew Soberg Shugart, eds. 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Mansfeldova, Zdenka 2011. "Central European Parliaments over Two Decades – Diminishing Stability? Parliaments in Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 17, no. 2 (June): 128-146.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1997. *Comparative Constitutional Engineering: An Inquiry into Structures, Incentives and Outcomes*. New York: New York University Press.

Rose, Richard, and Neil Munro. 2009. *Parties and Elections in New European Democracies*. European Consortium for Political Research Press.

Tavits, Margit. 2008. "Party Systems in the Making: The Emergence and Success of New Parties in New Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 1 (January): 113-133.

Tiemann, Guido. 2012. "The Nationalization of political parties and party systems in post-communist Eastern Europe." *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45: 77-89.

November 18 Student reports on final papers

No reading assignment.

Draft of ESSAY TWO due in class (we will exchange).

Be prepared to give a five-minute presentation on your research project if you have not already done so.

November 25 Thanksgiving break—No class

December 2 Diversity and Populism

Francisco E. Gonzales and Clifford Young, "The Resurgence and Spread of Populism?," *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 37, no. 1 (Winter-Spring 2017): 3-18 (e-reserve).

Mitchell A. Orenstein and Bojan Bugarič, "Work, family, Fatherland: the political economy of populism in central and Eastern Europe, *Journal of European Public Policy* (pre-publication, 2020): 1-20 (e-reserve).

Lenka Bustikova, *Extreme Reactions: Radical Right Mobilization in Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 1-14 (e-reserve).

Anthony Oberschall, excerpt on Serbia from "Social Movements and the Transition to Democracy," *Democratization* 7, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 39—41 (e-reserve).

Be prepared to talk about how your specialization country has handled diversity and populism.

Bieber, F. 2003. "The Serbian transition and civil society: roots of the delayed transition in Serbia." *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society* 17 (Fall): 73-90.

Elkins, Zachary, and John Sides. 2007. "Can Institutions Build Unity in Multiethnic States?" *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4 (November): 693-708.

Fish, Steven M. and Matthew Kroenig. 2006. "Diversity, Conflict and Democracy," *Democratization* 13, no. 5 (December): 828-842.

Fomina, Joanna, and Jacek Kucharczyk. 2016. "The Specter Haunting Europe: Populism and Protest in Poland." *Journal of Democracy* 27, no. 4 (October): 58-68.

Ganev, Venelin. 2013. "Post-Accession Hooliganism: Democratic Governance in Bulgaria and Romania after 2007." *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 27, no. 1 (February): 26-44.

Ganghof, S. 2016. "Reconciling Representation and Accountability: Three Visions of Democracy Compared." *Government and Opposition*, 51(2), 209-233.

Gill, Graeme. 2006. "Nationalism and the Transition to Democracy: The Post-Soviet Experience." *Demokratiatsiya* 14, no. 4 (Fall 2006): 613-626.

Gould, Carol C. 2000. "Racism and Democracy Reconsidered." *Social Identities* 6, no. 4 (December): 425-439.

Kreko, Peter, and Zsolt Enyedi. 2018. "Explaining Eastern Europe: Orban's Laboratory of Illiberalism." *Journal of Democracy* 29, no 3 (July): 39-51.

Matache, Margareta. 2014. "The Deficit of EU Democracies: A New Cycle of Violence Against Roma Population." *Human Rights Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (May), pp. 325-348.

Radnitz, Scott. 2004. "The Tyranny of Small Differences: The Relationship between Ethnic Diversity and Democracy in the Former Socialist Bloc." *Demokratizatsiya* 12, no. 4 (Fall): 575-606.

Rupnik, Jacques. 2016. "The Specter Haunting Europe: Surging Illiberalism in the East." *Journal of Democracy* 27, no. 4 (October): 77-87.

Szelewa, Dorota. 2020. "Recurring ideas: Searching for the roots of right-wing populism in Eastern Europe." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 23, no. 6: 989-997.

Varga, Mihai. 2014. "Hungary's 'anti-capitalist' far right: Jobbik and the Hungarian Guard," *Nationalities Papers* 42, no. 5: 791-807.

December 9 Backsliding

Nancy Bermeo, "On Democratic Backsliding." *Journal of Democracy*, 27, no. 1 (2016): 5-19 (e-reserve).

Milan Svolik, "Polarization versus Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 30, no. 3 (2019): 20-32 (e-reserve).

Ethan B. Kapstein and Nathan Converse, "Why Democracies Fail," J*ournal of Democracy* 19, no. 4 (October 2008): 57-68 (e-reserve).

Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt, *How Democracies Die* (New York: Crown, 2018), pp. 1-10 (e-reserve).

Be prepared to talk about backsliding in your specialization country.

ESSAY TWO DUE DECEMBER 10, BY 5PM

Bermeo, Nancy. 2003. *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Brownlee, Jason. 2009. "Portents of Pluralism: How Hybrid Regimes Affect Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 3 (July): 515-32.

Fish, M. Steven. 2005. *Democracy Derailed in Russia: The Failure of Open Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gill, Graeme, and Roger D. Markwick. 2000. *Russia's Stillborn Democracy? From Gorbachev to Yeltsin*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Hale, Henry E. "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia." *World Politics* (October 2005): 133-165.

Krastev, I. 2016. "Liberalism's Failure to Deliver." *Journal of Democracy*, 27(1), 35-38.

Linz, Juan J. 1978. *Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan, eds.. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Luhrmann, A., and S.I. Lindberg. 2019. "A third wave of autocratization is here: What is new about it?" *Democratization* 26, no. 7: 1095-1113.

Meyerrose, Anna. 2020. "The Unintended Consequences of Democracy Promotion: International Organizations and Democratic Backsliding." *Comparative Political Studies* 53, no. 10-11: 1547-1581.

Plattner, M. 2015." Is Democracy in Decline?" *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1), 5-10.

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

Smith, Hanna. 2014. "Democratization and War: The Chechen Wars' Contribution to Failing Democratization in Russia." *Demokratizatsiya* 22, no. 4: 627-645.

Varol, Ozan. 2015. "Stealth Authoritarianism." *Iowa Law Review* 100: 1673-1742.

Waldner, David, and Ellen Lust. 2018. Unwelcome Change: Coming to Terms with Democratic Backsliding." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21: 93-113.

December 16

Grad students: written FINAL EXAM 6:10-8:00 pm

Undergrad students: We will schedule small group oral exams earlier during exam week as they fit in your schedule.

Datasets: Measures of Democracy and More

www.freedomhouse.org. Freedom House is a non-profit, non-partisan organization publishing the annual *Freedom in the World* surveys and the Freedom House Index of Political Rights and Civil Liberties.

www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm. The Polity IV project web site contains information on, and access to, the most recent update of the Polity data series.

http://www.prio.no/Data/Governance/Vanhanens-index-of-democracy/. Tatu Vanhanen's index of democracy and Polyarchy dataset.

http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Data/Data.htm. Pippa Norris' website provides an integrated dataset merging four democracy measures.

https://www.idea.int/data-tools. The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance has collected a number of information databases on different areas of democracy and elections worldwide.

www.worldvaluessurvey.org. This is the homepage of the World Values Survey Association. It presents and offers for download survey data from some 80 societies covering a period from 1981 to 2014.

http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/ The International Consortium for Political and Social Research offers access to all kinds of social science data.

www.ipu.org. The IPU Parline Database archives data on women's representation in parliaments and on the most recent parliamentary elections in most countries.

www.cses.org. The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems data project has data available for download

www.europeansocialsurvey.org. The European Social Survey offers public opinion data for download.

www.broadleft.org. Leftist Parties of the World contains summary information on leftist parties and organizations.

www.politicsresources.net/. This website has many resources relevant to the study of politics and government, including most constitutions.

http://psephos.adam-carr.net. Adam Carr's Election Archive contains election statistics from 182 countries.

http://www.afrobarometer.org/. An African-led series of national public attitude surveys on democracy and governance in Africa.

Available services

University Counseling Center
The University Counseling Center (UCC) offers free, short-term, solution-focused counseling to Saint Louis University undergraduate and graduate students. UCC counselors are highly trained clinicians who can assist with a variety of issues, such as adjustment to college life, troubling changes in mood, and chronic psychological conditions. To make an appointment, call 314-977-8255 (TALK), or visit the clinic on the second floor of Wuller Hall.

Student Success Center
In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. The Student Success Center assists students with academic-related services and is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331). Students can visit https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/ to learn more about tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, and academic coaching.

University Writing Services
Students are encouraged to take advantage of University Writing Services in the Student Success Center; getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels. Trained writing consultants can help with writing projects, multimedia projects, and oral presentations. University Writing Services offers one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information, visit https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/ or call the Student Success Center at 314-977-3484.

Basic Needs Security
Students in personal or academic distress and/or who may be specifically experiencing challenges such as securing food or difficulty navigating campus resources, and who believe this may affect their performance in the course, are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office (deanofstudents@slu.edu or 314-977-9378) for support. Furthermore, please notify the instructor if you are comfortable in doing so, as this will enable them to assist you with finding the resources you may need.

University Policies

Academic Integrity
Academic integrity is honest, truthful and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity." Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service through which SLU fulfills its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern. The full University-level Academic Integrity Policy can be found on the Provost's Office website at: https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/academic-and-course/policy_academic-integrity_6-26-2015.pdf.

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. Information for the College of Arts and Sciences can be found here: https://www.slu.edu/arts-and-sciences/student-resources/academic-honesty.php

Disability Accommodations
Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must formally register their disability with the University. Once successfully registered, students also must notify their course instructor that they wish to use their approved accommodations in the course.

Please contact the Center for Accessibility and Disability Resources (CADR) to schedule an appointment to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Most students on the St. Louis campus will contact CADR, located in the Student Success Center and available by email at accessibility_disability@slu.edu or by phone at 314.977.3484. Once approved, information about a student's

eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors by email from CADR and within the instructor's official course roster. Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one also are encouraged to contact to CADR. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

Title IX
Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual harassment, including sexual assault, stalking, domestic or dating violence, we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident that involves a Title IX matter, **that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX Coordinator and share the basic facts of your experience**. This is true even if you ask the faculty member not to disclose the incident. The Title IX Coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

Anna Kratky is the Title IX Coordinator at Saint Louis University (DuBourg Hall, room 36; anna.kratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886). If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK or make an anonymous report through SLU's Integrity Hotline by calling 1-877-525-5669 or online at http://www.lighthouse-services.com/slu. To view SLU's policies, and for resources, please visit the following web addresses: https://www.slu.edu/about/safety/sexual-assault-resources/index.php and https://www.slu.edu/general-counsel.

IMPORTANT UPDATE: SLU's Title IX Policy (formerly called the Sexual Misconduct Policy) has been significantly revised to adhere to a new federal law governing Title IX that was released on May 6, 2020. Please take a moment to review the new policy and information at the following web address: https://www.slu.edu/about/safety/sexual-assault-resources/index.php. Please contact the Anna Kratky, the Title IX Coordinator, with any questions or concerns.

In-Person Class Attendance and Participation
The health and well-being of SLU's students, staff, and faculty are critical concerns, as is the quality of our learning environments. Accordingly, the following University policy statements on in-person class attendance are designed to preserve and advance the collective health and well-being of our institutional constituencies and to create the conditions in which all students have the opportunity to learn and successfully complete their courses.

1. Students who exhibit any potential COVID-19 symptoms (those that cannot be attributed to some other medical condition the students are known to have, such as allergies, asthma, etc.) shall absent themselves from any in-person class attendance or in-person participation in any class-related activity until they have been evaluated by a qualified medical official. Students should contact the University Student Health Center for immediate assistance.

2. Students (whether exhibiting any of potential COVID-19 symptoms or not, and regardless of how they feel) who are under either an isolation or quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official must absent themselves from all in-person course activities per the stipulations of the isolation or quarantine directive.

3. Students are responsible for notifying their instructor of an absence as far in advance as possible; when advance notification is not possible, students are responsible for notifying each instructor as soon after the absence as possible. Consistent with the University Attendance Policy, students also are responsible for all material covered in class and must work with the instructor to complete any required work. In situations where students must be absent for an extended period of time due to COVID-19 isolation or quarantine, they also must work with the instructor to determine the best way to maintain progress in the course as they are able based on their health situation.

4. Consistent with the University Attendance Policy, students may be asked to provide medical documentation when a medical condition impacts a student's ability to attend and/or participate in class for an extended period of time.

5. As a temporary amendment to the current University Attendance Policy, all absences due to illness or an isolation/quarantine directive issued by a qualified health official, or due to an adverse reaction to a COVID-19 vaccine, shall be considered "Authorized" absences

Face Masks (2021-2022)
Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, key safeguards like face masks have allowed SLU to safely maintain in-person learning. If public health conditions and local, state, and federal restrictions demand it, the University may require that all members of our campus community wear face masks indoors.

Therefore, any time a University-level face mask requirement is in effect, face masks will be required in this class. This expectation will apply to all students and instructors, unless a medical condition warrants an exemption from the face mask requirement (see below).

When a University-wide face mask requirement is in effect, the following will apply:

- Students who attempt to enter a classroom without wearing masks will be asked by the instructor to put on their masks prior to entry. Students who remove their masks during a class session will be asked by the instructor to resume wearing their masks.
- Students and instructors may remove their masks briefly to take a sip of water but should replace masks immediately. The consumption of food will not be permitted.
- Students who do not comply with the expectation that they wear a mask in accordance with the University-wide face mask requirement may be subject to disciplinary actions per the rules, regulations, and policies of Saint Louis University, including but not limited to those outlined in the *Student Handbook*. Non-compliance with this policy may result in disciplinary action, up to and including any of the following:
    - dismissal from the course(s)
    - removal from campus housing (if applicable)
    - dismissal from the University
- To immediately protect the health and well-being of all students, instructors, and staff, instructors reserve the right to cancel or terminate any class session at which any student fails to comply with a University-wide face mask requirement.

When a University-wide face mask requirement is not in effect, students and instructors may choose to wear a face mask or not, as they prefer for their own individual comfort level.

ADA Accommodations for Face Mask Requirements
Saint Louis University is committed to maintaining an inclusive and accessible environment. Individuals who are unable to wear a face mask due to medical reasons should contact the Office of Disability Services (students) or Human Resources (instructors) to initiate the accommodation process identified in the University's ADA Policy. Inquiries or concerns may also be directed to the Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity. Notification to instructors of SLU-approved ADA accommodations should be made in writing prior to the first class session in any term (or as soon thereafter as possible).