

# Democratization

PLSC 348/GLBL 213/EP&E 352

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*Instructor:* Milan Svolik, Department of Political Science

*Class Meetings:* Wednesdays, 3:30-5:20, in RKZ 102

*Office Hours:* Fridays 3-5pm, 330 Rosenkranz Hall, or by appointment

*Email:* milan.svolik@yale.edu

*Course Web Page:* [canvas.yale.edu](https://canvas.yale.edu)

*Midterm Book Review Due:* October 25 (in class)

*Final Topics Announced:* November TBD

*Final Paper Due:* December 20

**Description:** This course examines the process, causes, and consequences of democratization. We begin by reviewing key explanations for transitions to democracy and democratic breakdowns. We then apply these insights to key moments in the history of democratization: the emergence of modern democracy in the 19th century, the rise of fascism in inter-war Europe, the breakdown of democracy in Latin America, the collapse of communism and the resurgence of authoritarianism in Eastern Europe, and the Arab Spring and its aftermath. Our ultimate goal is to use insights from the scientific study of democratization to evaluate the public policy discourse on democratization.

**Course Requirements:** Students are required to attend classes, read the assigned material, and discuss assigned research articles. The final grade will be composed as follows: class participation 30%, midterm book review 30%, and final research paper 40%. Class participation includes serving as a discussion leader of an assigned article (and includes preparing a handout/summary) (10%), a paragraph-per-reading summary of the readings assigned for each meeting (10%), and participation in class activities and discussion (10%).

**Academic Integrity:** Plagiarism is the use of someone else's work, words, or ideas as if

they were your own – including in exams and problem sets. Plagiarism is a serious offense that is punished severely at Yale. The most common penalty is a suspension from the University. Please be sure to review [Yale's Academic Integrity Policy](#).

**Attendance:** Regular attendance is required. Notify me in advance if you will be absent.

**Email summaries:** I will ask you to prepare a paragraph-per-reading summary/discussion of the readings assigned for each meeting and post it under “Reading Summaries” on Canvas by the noon on the day of the class. The purpose of these summaries is to facilitate your preparation for the class and encourage you to participate in class discussions. You can also use these summaries as an opportunity to provide feedback on the assigned readings.

**Participation in class discussion:** I will keep notes of your participation in class discussion. I will not post these, but you can always ask me about how you are doing.

**Class discussion:** A part of your participation will be to serve as discussion leader for a reading of your choice from the syllabus. This entails preparing a one-page handout of the reading with issues/questions for discussion. If you email your handout to me in advance (by noon of the day of your presentation), I will make copies for the class.

**The midterm book review:** A five-page review and discussion of one among the following books (all have been placed on 24-hour reserve at Bass library):

Cagaptay, Soner. 2017. *The new sultan: Erdogan and the crisis of modern Turkey*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Carroll, Rory. 2013. *Comandante: Hugo Chávez's Venezuela*. New York: Penguin Press.

Dawisha, Karen. 2014. *Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia?* New York: Simon & Schuster.

Gessen, Masha. 2012. *The Man Without a Face: The Unlikely Rise of Vladimir Putin*. New York: Riverhead Trade.

- Godwin, Peter. 2011. *The fear: Robert Mugabe and the martyrdom of Zimbabwe*. New York: Little, Brown and Company.
- Kallina, Jr., Edmund F. 1988. *Courthouse Over White House: Chicago and the Presidential Election of 1960*. Orlando: University of Central Florida Press.
- Lim, Louisa. 2014. *The People's Republic of Amnesia: Tiananmen Revisited*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Myers, Steven Lee. 2015. *The New Tsar: The Rise and Reign of Vladimir Putin*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Nelson, Brian A. 2009. *Silence and the scorpion: The coup against Chávez and the making of modern Venezuela*. New York: Nation Books.
- Ober, Josiah. 2017. *Demopolis: Democracy before Liberalism in Theory and Practice*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Plokhly, Serhii. 2014. *The Last Empire: The Final Days of the Soviet Union*. New York: Basic Books.
- Pomerantsev, Peter. 2014. *Nothing is true and everything is possible: The surreal heart of the new Russia*. New York: PublicAffairs.
- Royko, Mike. 1971. *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago*. Dutton: New York.
- Zeldin, Theodore. 1958. *Political system of Napoleon III*. London: Macmillan.
- Ziblatt, Daniel. 2017. *Conservative parties and the birth of democracy in Europe*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

For an example of a critical, analytical book review see e.g. Tony Judt's "Whose story is it? The Cold War in Retrospect", which is included in class readings, or the book reviews that regularly appear in journals like *The Economist*, *Perspectives on Politics*, *The New York Review of Books*, and *The New Yorker*.

**The final research paper:** The culmination of this course is a final research paper on a research question chosen by the instructor (maximum of 15 pages). Students can

choose from among several formats: an original data collection and analysis, an original analytical argument, a case study, and a critical synthesis of a literature. We will also hold a separate meeting dedicated to developing your ideas on the final paper and answering any questions. I will also distribute a handout with the criteria that I plan to use when grading the final paper.

**In-class behavior:** All cell phones and related devices must be stowed away during class. Laptop computers may only be used for class-related work.

**Readings:** You are required to bring any assigned readings or materials to class. The course readings are available either on reserve at the library (books) or on Canvas (articles and book chapters).

## Course Outline:

### 1. Transitions to Democracy: Modernization Theory and its Discontents (9/6)

Przeworski, Adam and Limongi, Fernando. 1997. Modernization: Theories and facts. *World Politics*, 49(3):155–83.

Boix, Carles. 2011. Democracy, development, and the international system. *American Political Science Review*, 105(4):809–828.

Inglehart, Ronald and Welzel, Christian. 2010. Changing mass priorities: The link between modernization and democracy. *Perspectives on Politics*, 8(2).

### 2. Transitions to Democracy: Further Explanations (9/13)

Chapter 7 in Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.

North, Douglass C. and Weingast, Barry R. 1989. Constitutions and commitment: The evolution of institutions governing public choice in seventeenth-century England. *Journal of Economic History*, 49(4):803–832.

Chapter 1 in Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chapters 1 and 2 in Acemoglu, Daron and Robinson, James A. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **3. Case Study: Oil and Democracy (9/20)**

Friedman, Thomas L. 2006. The first law of petropolitics. *Foreign Policy*, (154):28–36.

Ross, Michael L. 2015. What have we learned about the resource curse? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 18:239–259.

Haber, Stephen and Menaldo, Victor. 2011. Do natural resources fuel authoritarianism? A reappraisal of the resource curse. *American Political Science Review*, 105(1):1–26.

Treisman, Daniel. 2010. Is Russia cursed by oil? *Journal of International Affairs*, 63(2):85–102.

### **4. Democracy and Dictatorship: Concepts and Measures (9/27)**

Chapters 21 and 22 in Schumpeter, Joseph. 1942. *Capitalism, socialism, and democracy*. New York: Harper.

Chapter 1 in Dahl, Robert A. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Chapter 1, “Democracies and Dictatorships” in Przeworski, Adam, Alvarez, Michael E., Cheibub, Jose Antonio, and Limongi, Fernando. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Diamond, Larry. 2002. Thinking about hybrid regimes. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2):21–35.

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. What do we know about democratization after twenty years? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 2:115–144.

## 5. Repression, Protest, and Revolutions (10/4)

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

Chapters 1, 2, and 6 in Chenoweth, Erica and Stephan, Maria J. 2011. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Columbia University Press.

King, Gary, Pan, Jennifer, and Roberts, Margaret E. 2013. How censorship in china allows government criticism but silences collective expression. *American Political Science Review*.

Gladwell, Macolm, “Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted,” *The New Yorker*, October 4, 2010, Vol. 86 Issue 30, p. 42-49.

*Recommended:* Watch one of the following: “60 minutes: Tiananmen Papers (2001),” “The Act of Killing (2012),” “Ai Weiwei: Never Sorry (2012),” or “Winter on Fire (2015).”

## 6. Case study: The Arab Uprisings and their Aftermath (10/11)

Brownlee, Jason, Masoud, Tarek, and Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. Why the modest harvest? *Journal of Democracy*, 24(4):29–44.

Chapter 1 in Hamid, Shadi. 2014. *Temptations of power: Islamists and illiberal democracy in a new Middle East*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 1 in Lynch, Mark, editor. 2014. *The Arab uprisings explained: new contentious politics in the Middle East*. West Sussex, England: Columbia University Press.

Packer, George. “Exporting Jihad: Tunisia and the Fall After the Arab Spring,” *New Yorker*, March 28, 2016.

Hessler, Peter. “The Shadow General,” *The New Yorker*, January 2, 2017.

*Recommended:* Watch “The Square (2013).”

## **7. Midterm Book Discussion (10/25)**

### **8. Democratic Breakdowns I: Executive Takeovers (11/1)**

Cornell, Agnes, Møller, Jørgen, and Skaaning, Svend-Erik. 2017. The real lessons of the Interwar Years. *Journal of Democracy*, 28(3):14–28.

Chapter 2, “Ordinary People and the Breakdown of Democracy in Interwar Europe,” in Bermeo, Nancy. 2003. *Ordinary people in extraordinary times: The citizenry and the breakdown of democracy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Chapters 1-3 in Levitsky, Steven and Way, Lucan A. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Recommended:* Watch “La ley de Herodes (1999)” or “Triumph des Willens (1935).”

### **9. Democratic Breakdowns II: Military Intervention (11/8)**

Linz, Juan J. 1990. The perils of presidentialism. *Journal of Democracy*, 1(1):51–69.

Chapter 1 and 6 in Cheibub, José Antonio. 2007. *Presidentialism, parliamentarism, and democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chapter 9, “The Antirevolutionary Military Regimes” in Wright, Thomas C. 2001. *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*. Westport: Praeger.

*Recommended:* Watch one of the following: “The Battle for Chile (1975, 1976, 1979),” “Chile: Hasta Cuando? (1986),” “No (2012),” or “Z (1969).”

### **10. Case Study: Venezuela (11/15)**

Chapters 1, 2, and 6 in Corrales, Javier and Penfold, Michael. 2015. *Dragon in the tropics*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.

Hsieh, Chang-Tai, Miguel, Edward, Ortega, Daniel, and Rodriguez, Francisco. 2011. The price of political opposition: Evidence from Venezuela’s *maisanta*. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(2):196–214.

*Recommended:* Watch one of the following: “The Hugo Chávez Show (2008),” “The Revolution Will Not Be Televised (2003),” “X-Ray of a Lie (2004),” “Dawn of a Dictator in Venezuela” (Vice 2017).

### **11. Case Study: Russia (11/15)**

Chapter 7, “The Logics of Politics,” and 10, “The Russia That Has Returned,” in Treisman, Daniel. 2011. *The return: Russia’s journey from Gorbachev to Medvedev*. New York: Free Press.

Frye, Timothy, Gehlbach, Scott, Marquardt, Kyle L., and Reuter, Ora John. 2016. Is putin’s popularity real? *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 33(1):1–15.

*Recommended:* Watch: “Putin’s Way (2015).”

### **12. Electoral Fraud (11/29)**

Schedler, Andreas. 2002. The menu of manipulation. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(2):36–50.

Tucker, Joshua A. 2007. Enough! Electoral fraud, collective action problems, and post-communist colored revolutions. *Perspectives on Politics*, 5(4):535–551.

Chapters 4-5 and 8-9 in Bunce, Valerie and Wolchik, Sharon L. 2011. *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders in Postcommunist Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chapters 4-5 in Hyde, Susan D. 2011. *The Pseudo-Democrat’s Dilemma: Why Election Observation Became an International Norm*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

### **13. Final Paper Meeting (12/6)**