

**PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY**  
**MARK O. HATFIELD SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT**  
**DIVISION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**PS 479/579**  
**(CRN #14862/14863)**

# **TRANSITIONS TO DEMOCRACY**

**Fall Quarter, 2013**

**M, W, and F 11:30am-12:35pm**

**Room: TBA**

**Professor Bruce Gilley**

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**Office Hours: Mondays 1-3pm, Or By Appointment**

Updated: 10 September 2013

## Introduction

The democratic transformation of regimes has been a major issue in global politics since the beginning of the so-called “Third Wave” of democratizations in the 1970s. While two-thirds of states hold democratic elections, many lack the broader features of a liberal democracy, such as the rule of law or effective accountability. There is also talk of a resurgence of authoritarianism because of the attractions of the China model or because of the imperative of terrorism or climate change. The Arab Spring – Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, and Syria -- as well as events in Myanmar have reinvigorated discussions about the inevitability of democratic change. Thus the question of transitions to, and from, democracy remains a pressing issue in world politics. Understanding the meaning of democracy and the causes of transitions toward and away from democracy is a major subject of scholarly research and policy practice. Could the whole world become democratic one day or is democracy destined to be only a façade in most countries? If we wish to support democratization abroad, what are the options?

## Readings

There is one textbook for the course: Larry Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (New York: Times Books, 2008).

Other readings will be posted on the course D2L site.

## Course Aims

This course intends to introduce students to the substantive field of democratization studies. At the end of this course, students should be familiar with the theory of democratization and its application to a wide number of cases. They should be able to formulate policy analysis and proposals that could be implemented by real-world actors, state and non-state alike.

In addition, this course aims to improve three skills: critical thinking, research methods, and communications.

Finally, like all higher education, this course aims to provide feedback to students about their academic standing relative to others, and to introduce students to the social norms through which societies think about and take action to address issues of common concern.

### Course Evaluation

20%: Participation and Attendance

50%: Two in-class tests (undergraduates); Two review essays (graduates) (25% each)

30%: Case study written report

### Undergraduate Tests

These will be “authentic evaluation” tests. Students will be provided with a real-world contemporary policy problem relating to democratization and will be expected to use the tool-kit developed in the first and second halves of the course respectively to work out a practical solution. Emphasis will be placed on the range and mastery of the tools provided by the research on comparative democratization.

### Case Study

Each student will focus their research activity on a single 15-20 page country case study of democratization. The case study will be an opportunity to apply the lessons of the course to understanding the causes, nature, and consequences of a particular country’s democratization experience. Students will make use of scholarly and policy research. There will be two research inquiry sessions in the class – intended as “formative evaluation” opportunities -- in which students will present and discuss drafts of their case studies in order to get a sense of where they stand in their learning and to discuss common issues and challenges.

### Course Expectations

This is a senior/graduate seminar. It is not a lecture course. Students need to be prepared for a high-level of course discussions. Reading in advance of seminar sessions is critical. Quality participation (meaning participation in the discussion of the issues with evidence of advance preparation) and attendance are important. Case study reports need to show evidence of significant learning from the course materials and from other scholarly published materials (in academic journals and published books).

In order to maximize the value of seminars and to minimize disruptions to other students, there will be no use of any electronic devices (netbooks, laptops, etc.) in this class. Please power-down and enjoy!



## **Schedule**

### **Week 1: Defining and Measuring Democracy**

- Diamond: pp. 1-51.
- David Beetham, “Defining and Justifying Democracy” in *Democracy and Human Rights* (1999), 1-29.

### **Week 2: Authoritarian Regimes in Practice**

- Diamond: 74-79, 201-207, 208-213, 238-252.
- Bruce Gilley, “Democratic Enclaves in Authoritarian Regimes”, *Democratization* (2010).
- Leah Gilbert and Payam Mohseni, “Beyond Authoritarianism: The Conceptualization of Hybrid Regimes”, *Studies in Comparative International Development* (2011).

### **Week 3: Internal Causes of Democratic Transitions**

- Diamond:, Ch. 4 and pp. 340-344.
- Seymour Martin Lipset, “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy” (1959), **read 69-85 only**.

### **Week 4: External Causes of Democratic Transitions**

- Diamond: Chs. 5 & 6.
- Hakan Yilmaz, "External-Internal Linkages in Democratization: Developing an Open Model of Democratic Change," *Democratization* (2002).

### **Week 5: The Arab Spring**

(Monday, Oct. 28 only)

- Diamond: Ch. 12
- Gregory Gause, “Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring”, *Foreign Affairs* (2011).
- Bruce Gilley, “Did Bush Democratize the Middle East?,” *Political Science Quarterly* (2014)

### **Mid-Term Student Evaluations**

Wednesday Oct. 30: Undergraduates Test #1/ Graduates Review Essay #1 Due

Friday, Nov. 1: Research Inquiry Session #1

### **Week 6: Democratic Transition Processes**

- Diamond: pp. 51-55, 90-94.
- Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions* (1986), 15-36.
- Dankwart Rustow, “Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model”, *Comparative Politics* (1970).

### **Week 7: Democratic Consolidation**

- Diamond: Chs. 7, 8, & 13; pp.190-201, 216-227, 252-262.
- Lipset, “Some Social Requisites of Democracy”, **read 91-100 only**.
- Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm”, *Journal of Democracy* (2002).

### **Week 8: Democratic Breakdowns**

- Diamond: Ch. 3.
- Lipset, “Some Social Requisites of Democracy” **read 86-91 only.**
- Wolfgang Merkel, “Are Dictatorships Returning? Revisiting the 'Democratic Rollback' Hypothesis.”, *Contemporary Politics* (2010).
- Milan Svobik, “Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation,” *American Political Science Review* (2008).

**Week 9: Promoting and Assisting Democracy**

- Diamond: Ch. 14 to p. 340.
- Larry Diamond, “Why Wait for Democracy?”, *Wilson Quarterly* (2013)
- Steven Finkel, Anibal E. Pérez-Liñan, and Mitchell Seligson, “The Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990–2003”, *World Politics* (2007).
- Ronald Reagan, “Address to the British Parliament”, Royal Gallery at the Palace of Westminster, London, 8 June 1982.

**End-Of-Term Student Evaluations**

Monday, Dec. 2: Undergraduates Test #2/ Graduates Review Essay #2 Due

Wednesday, Dec. 4: Research Inquiry Session #2

Case Study Paper Due Monday, Dec. 9 by 4pm in D2L dropbox