

Comparative Democratization

POLI 246

Professor: Eric Mosinger
Office: Carnegie 203H
Office Hours: Thursday 2–4 pm
Email: emosinge@macalester.edu

Fall 2018
Monday, Wednesday & Friday
Time: 10:50–11:50 pm
Classroom: Carnegie 208



1 Course Summary

Welcome to Comparative Democratization. This course focuses on theories of democratic breakdown, regime transitions, and democratization in Southern Europe, Latin America, and Post-Communist Europe. Some of the cases we will study include Pinochet's coup and Chile's return to elections, the end of the Ben-Ali regime in Tunisia, and Russia's post-Cold War shift toward both democratic elections and new strands of authoritarianism. Building on the literatures on transitions, consolidation, civil society, and constitutional design, the course then examines the ongoing crisis in Nicaragua. Finally, the course culminates in an assessment of the shaky state of democracy in the United States and Europe.

2 Learning Objectives

By the end of the course, you will be able to:

- Use the method of comparison to analyze divergent outcomes and their causes across cases.
- Define and identify different types of regimes, from totalitarian to democratic and everything in between.
- Identify the key actors involved in transitions to (and from) democracy and understand how they typically interact.
- Produce a well-argued, written analysis assessing the likelihood that a given country will democratize given its institutions, actors, history, based on apt comparisons with other similarly-positioned countries.

3 Student Evaluation

Course Assessment		Grading Scale			
Assignment	% of Total	Grade	Range	Grade	Range
1) Participation	20%	A	93–100	C	73–76.9
2) Two Single-Point Papers	5% each	A-	90–92.9	C-	70–72.9
3) Analytic Paper	25%	B+	87–89.9	D+	67–69.9
4) Peer Review Memo	5%	B	83–86.9	D	63–66.9
5) Reviewer Response Memo	5%	B-	80–82.9	D-	60–62.9
6) Research Paper	35%	C+	77–79.9	F	Below 60

4 Readings

All of the readings are available in one of two places: either posted on the class Moodle page as a PDF, or (for academic articles) on Google Scholar. Macalester provides internet access to most academic journals, and if you don't already know how, I'd like you to learn how to search for them. So try this:

Step 1: Connect to Wi-Fi while you are on the Macalester campus (or through [Mac's VPN service](#) if you are off-campus)

Step 2: Go to <http://scholar.google.com>.

Step 3: Search for the reading: e.g. "Almond Capitalism and Democracy".

Step 4: Find our article and click on "MACLINKS FULL TEXT".

Step 5: Read the article, while taking careful notes filled with brilliant insights.

5 Expectations

The most important expectation is simple: be respectful of everyone in the class, and of each other's views. In an environment as diverse as Macalester's, everyone has a different perspective to offer, to teach, and to learn. Engage with the course fully and listen as carefully to your fellow students as you would to your professor.

This is an upper-division class, and it has a high reading load—between 25–50 pages per class, and sometimes more. Thus, you will need to *leap* into the readings with enthusiasm from the very first class. If we all do that, we'll have a lively classroom discussion. I also expect you to read *intelligently*. There won't be a final exam testing how well you've memorized each detail, and I don't expect you to puzzle your way through every statistical test each author presents. Rather, engage with the **big ideas**: read the important themes *closely* and *critically*, master the theories, understand (and critique) each author's use of evidence, but skim details and less central elements where appropriate.

It's essential to take notes as you read. Different methods work for different students: some try to create an outline of the main points, others may write a summary paragraph of the reading as soon as they finish it, while others might pull out five to seven quotes that capture key ideas. It would be a good idea to experiment with different styles throughout the course to learn what works best for you.

Arrive on time and ready to participate. **If you will be late or absent, please email me at least 30 minutes before class.** I will notice repeated absences and penalize your class participation grade accordingly.

I will ask a lot from you in this course, but you can expect to receive a lot from me in return. I hope that by the end of the semester, you will conclude that this was one of your most challenging courses at Macalester, and one of your best.

6 Evaluation

Format and Required Citation Style: Submit written work online through our Moodle (you will get my feedback through the Moodle as well) and use the [APSA style guide](#) to format citations and bibliography.

On-Time Work Policy: My expectation is that you will complete your work by deadlines listed on this syllabus. When sufficiently compelling circumstances arise, I will grant students an extension without imposing a grade penalty. I will only grant extensions that students request *prior* to the original deadline. Students should tell me when they expect to complete their work and *communicate* with me about its progress.

Summary of Assignments

1. **Class Participation:** Do the readings before class! On many occasions I will lecture, but more often, we will engage in class and group discussions in which students are expected to share their thoughts, ideas, and questions with the class. We also will engage in a handful of classroom simulations, each of which is based on the theories covered in the readings. Students who fail to do the readings will be at a decisive disadvantage in these simulations. But don't worry! There will be lots of opportunities—and different ways—to be engaged with the class, and I am happy to give feedback and discuss your participation during office hours. 20% of course grade.
2. **Two Single Point Papers:** This short paper is your response to an individual reading or set of readings. Think about the key ideas that you see emerging from your reading or your reading notes. Advance a single argument or assertion, which may be substantive, analytic, methodological, theoretic, or any combination of these. The first will be due on September 24th; the second at any point during the quarter. 250 words *maximum*. 5% of course grade each.
3. **Analytic Paper:** This paper should demonstrate your ability to synthesize and—naturally—analyze the material that we've covered in this class. I will present a set of possible topics, and will also give you the opportunity to develop your own. This paper will be graded on its argumentation, evidence, and written communication. Due on October 21st / October 28th. 8 pages. 25% of course grade.

Writing Workgroups: For your Analytical Paper, you'll be meeting up with a small group of peers to "workshop" your papers together. This means you must have your first draft of each paper written a week before the final due date. I'll divide you into groups and it will be up to you to arrange a meeting. I recommend that you begin the meetings by exchanging hard copies of your papers, and writing comments in the margins. Then you can talk over your comments and recommendations. Note that the due dates for the Analytic Paper above are presented as first draft/final draft.

4. **Research paper:** Ask a question about democratization in a country, a region, or the world. How have scholars tried to answer this question? What do you think is the answer to this question? What evidence would you need to collect to answer it? We will talk much more about how to conduct a comparative politics research project throughout the course. Due on December 2nd / December 16th. 10–12 pages. 35% of course grade.

Peer Review: Similar to the Writing Workgroups, for your Research Paper you will be paired with a "peer reviewer"—another student in the class who will give you a two-page written feedback on your paper (a Peer Review Memo). Using this feedback, you will revise the Research Paper, and along with the final draft, you will submit a Reviewer Response Memo, which explains how you addressed the Peer

Review Memo's comments in your revisions. Each memo is worth 5% of the course grade.

7 Academic Integrity

The academy is an ancient tradition founded on the pursuit of truth at all costs. Honesty, personal responsibility, and integrity are therefore core values indispensable to any academic pursuit. You will be judged, justly, on the extent to which you uphold these values for the rest of your life, and your integrity is far more important than your final grade in this course.

One common form of academic dishonesty will result in an automatic failure of any assignment, or more likely, an F in the course along with a referral to the university honor board: plagiarism, presenting another person's words, ideas, or work as if it were your own. Plagiarism is more than simply copying and pasting language found on the internet into your paper (although this is certainly plagiarism). Plagiarism also consists of taking someone's ideas, or paraphrasing their language, without proper attribution. That is, you must always cite the original author, even when not using their original words. Citing your sources does not detract from the originality of your argument; rather, it situates your contribution within a long conversation with other scholars. This long conversation, including your contribution, is the academic pursuit.

As a final note, Macalester punishes academic dishonesty severely. Professors count on extremely sophisticated data analysis tools to detect most forms of plagiarism, and after thousands of exams and essays, most of us are able to spot plagiarism and other forms of cheating at a glance. The consequences may include expulsion from the college—a serious penalty in exchange for the possibility of a minor advantage on an assignment.

8 Laptop Policy

Students are permitted laptops in this course. However, I strongly discourage them. Electronic devices, with all their flashy lights and noises, distract your attention from where it belongs: your professor, your fellow students, and the incisive arguments flying around the classroom. It would be best to write notes in your notebook with pen and ink. If you would like your notes digitized, you can always photograph them after class. Great political thinkers from Aristotle to Hobbes to Skocpol made do with pen and ink (or in Aristotle's case, most likely a wax tablet and stylus), and you can too. Your most important role in the classroom is not passive notetaker, but active interlocutor. **The best way to incorporate a laptop in the classroom—if you must—is to tilt the screen down whenever you are not using it.** If you require the use of any electronic device for accessibility reasons, I'm more than happy to accommodate your needs in this regard.

9 Other Resources for Students

Writing Help

The Macalester Academic Excellence (MAX) Center, located in Kagin Commons, has peer tutors available for assisting students in all stages of their writing. Hours are 9:00am–4:30pm Mon-Fri and 7-10pm Sun-Thur. Becky Graham and Jake Mohan also provide writing assistance to students during the daytime hours, Mon-Fri. You may drop in for help or call x6121 (day) or x6193 (evening) to schedule an appointment.

Students with Special Needs

I am committed to providing assistance to help you be successful in this course. Students seeking accommodations based on disabilities should meet with Lisa Landreman, Associate Dean of Students. Call x6220 for an appointment. I encourage you to address any special needs or accommodations with me as soon as you become aware of your needs. More info [here](#).

10 Schedule of Classes and Assignments

Wednesday, September 5th

Introduction to the Course

- No reading.

Friday, September 7th

Let's Debate Democracy and Capitalism!

- Gabriel A. Almond, "Capitalism and Democracy," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 24, no. 3 (1991): 467–474
- Philippe C Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is. . . and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 3 (1991): 75–88
- In-class: We're jumping right into the course with a classroom debate on the causal claims about democracy and capitalism in Gabriel Almond's article. Take careful notes and prepare to argue!

Monday, September 10th

Linz & Stepan's Framework

- Juan J Linz and Alfred C Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Chapters 3–5

STUDY CYCLE I: Democratic Breakdown and Transition in Chile

Wednesday, September 12th

Hypermobilization and Coup

- Jacobo Timerman, *Chile: Death in the South* (London: Picador, 1989), Chs. 4–5
- Christopher Hitchens, *The Trial of Henry Kissinger* (London; New York: Verso, 2002), pp. 55–76
- Peter Kornbluh, “Opening up the Files Chile Declassified,” *NACLA Report on the Americas* 37, no. 1 (2003): 25–43

Friday, September 14th

Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in Chile

- Paul Sigmund, “Chile: Alternative Approaches to Development,” in *Latin American Politics and Development*, ed. Harvey F Kline, Christine J Wade, and Howard J Wiarda (New York: Westview Press, 2017), Ch. 8: pp. 127–154

Monday, September 17th

Chile’s Transition in Linz & Stepan’s Framework

- Juan J Linz and Alfred C Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Chapter 13: “Incomplete Transition/Near Consolidation? Chile.”

Wednesday, September 19th

Analyzing Chile’s Transition

- Patrick S. Barrett, “The Limits of Democracy: Socio-Political Compromise and Regime Change in Post-Pinochet Chile,” *St Comp Int Dev* 34, no. 3 (1999): 3–36

Friday, September 21st

Political Institutions in Post-1990 Chile

- Peter M. Siavelis, “Electoral System, Coalitional Disintegration, and the Future of Chile’s Concertación,” *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 1 (2005): 56–82

Monday, September 24th

Film Break I

- In-class film: “NO” (directed by Pablo Larraín; 2013), first half

- **DUE before class on September 24th: Single-Point Paper #1.** Note that you may turn in Single-Point Paper #2 at any point after this, until November 19th.

Wednesday, September 26th

Film Break I

- In-class film: "NO" (directed by Pablo Larraín; 2013), second half

Friday, September 28th

Chile 40 Years Later: The Politics of Memory and the Memory of Politics

- Steven S. Volk, "The Politics of Memory and the Memory of Politics," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46, no. 3 (2013): 18–22
- Ximena de la Barra, "Chile: A Schizophrenic Country," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46, no. 3 (2013): 23–27
- Joshua Frens-String, "A New Politics for a New Chile," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46, no. 3 (2013): 28–33
- Peter D'Amato, "Today's Student Movement and the Popular Unity," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46, no. 3 (2013): 32–33
- Patricia Richards, "The Mapuche Movement, the Popular Unity, and the Contemporary Left," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 46, no. 3 (2013): 34–38

STUDY CYCLE II: The Arab Spring in Tunisia

Monday, October 1st

The Uprising

- Adeed Dawisha, *The Second Arab Awakening: Revolution, Democracy, and the Islamist Challenge from Tunis to Damascus* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2013), Chapter 1

Wednesday, October 3rd

Deep Causes

- F. Gregory Gause, "Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring: The Myth of Authoritarian Stability," *Foreign Affairs* 90, no. 4 (2011): 81–90
- Habib Ayeb, "Social and Political Geography of the Tunisian Revolution: The Alfa Grass Revolution," *Review of African Political Economy* 38, no. 129 (2011): 467–479

Friday, October 5th

The Military during Protest & Transition

- Risa Brooks, "Abandoned at the Palace: Why the Tunisian Military Defected from the Ben Ali Regime in January 2011," *Journal of Strategic Studies* 36, no. 2 (2013): 205–220

Monday, October 8th

Civil Society during Protest & Transition

- Michele Penner Angrist, "Understanding the Success of Mass Civic Protest in Tunisia," *The Middle East Journal* 67, no. 4 (2013): 547–564

Wednesday, October 10th

Islam & Democracy in Tunisia

- Kasper Ly Netterstrøm, "The Islamists' Compromise in Tunisia," *Journal of Democracy* 26, no. 4 (2015): 110–124
- Alfred Stepan, "Tunisia's Transition and the Twin Tolerations," *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 2 (2012): 89–103

Friday, October 12th

Gender Dynamics of Democratizing Tunisia

- Mounira M. Charrad and Amina Zarrugh, "Equal or Complementary? Women in the New Tunisian Constitution after the Arab Spring," *The Journal of North African Studies* 19, no. 2 (2014): 230–243
- Trials of Spring – watch at least 2 of the short films, available at:
<http://www.trialsofspring.com/stories/tunisia>

Monday, October 15th

Film Break II

- In-class film: "A Revolution in Four Seasons" (directed by Jessie Deeter; 2016), first half

Wednesday, October 17th

Film Break II

- In-class film: "A Revolution in Four Seasons" (directed by Jessie Deeter; 2016), second half

Friday, October 19th

Tunisia Seven Years Later: The Promise and Pitfalls of Democracy

- Rached Ghannouchi, "Islam and Democracy in Tunisia," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 3 (2018): 5–8
- Geoffrey Macdonald and Luke Waggoner, "Dashed Hopes and Extremism in Tunisia," *Journal of Democracy* 29, no. 1 (2018): 126–140
- George Packer, "The Fall After the Arab Spring," *The New Yorker*

DUE at NOON on Sunday, October 21st: First Draft of Analytical Paper

- Schedule and attend writing workgroup meeting.

Monday, October 22nd

International Causes of Democratization

- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (2005): 20–34
- Raymond Hinnebusch, "Globalization, Democratization, and the Arab Uprising: The International Factor in MENA's Failed Democratization," *Democratization* 22, no. 2 (2015): 335–357

Wednesday, October 24th

Comparing Democratization Across Many Cases: Spain, Portugal, Greece, Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, Poland, and Romania

- On October 10th, each student will sign up to read two country cases from Linz and Stepan in preparation for today's class.
- Juan J Linz and Alfred C Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). Chapters to choose from:
 - "The Paradigmatic Case of Reforma Pactada—Ruptura Pactada: Spain" (pp. 87-115).
 - "From Interim Government to Simultaneous Transition and Consolidation: Portugal" (pp. 116-129).
 - "Crisis of a Nonhierarchical Military Regime: Greece" (pp. 130-138).
 - "A Risk-Prone Consolidated Democracy: Uruguay" (pp. 151-165).
 - "Crises of Efficacy, Legitimacy, and Democratic State 'Presence': Brazil" (pp. 166-189).

- "From an Impossible to a Possible Democratic Game: Argentina" (pp. 190-204).
 - "Authoritarian Communism, Ethical Civil Society, and Ambivalent Political Society: Poland" (pp. 255-292).
 - "The Effects of Totalitarianism-cum-Sultanism on Democratic Transition: Romania" (pp. 344-365).
-

October 25th–28th: Fall Break

DUE at NOON on Sunday, October 28th: Analytic Paper Final Draft

STUDY CYCLE III: Russia, Once Almost a Democracy?

Monday, October 29th

From the Russian Revolution...

- Pussy Riot (Musical group), *Pussy Riot!: A Punk Prayer for Freedom : Letters from Prison, Songs, Poems, and Courtroom Statements, plus Tributes to the Punk Band That Shook the World*. (New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2013), excerpts
- Graeme Roberston, "Russia," in *Case Studies in Comparative Politics*, ed. David Samuels (Boston, Mass.: Pearson Education, 2013), 277–319

Wednesday, October 31st

...to Soviet Collapse

- Christian W Haerpfer, "Post-Communist Europe and Post-Soviet Russia," in *Democratization*, ed. Christian W Haerpfer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), Chapter 20: pp. 309–320
- David Foglesong and Gordon M. Hahn, "Ten Myths about Russia: Understanding and Dealing with Russia's Complexity and Ambiguity," *Problems of Post-Communism* 49, no. 6 (2002): 3–15

Friday, November 2nd

Russia's Transition in Linz & Stepan's Framework

- Juan J Linz and Alfred C Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Chapter 19: "The Problem of 'Stateness' and Transitions: The USSR and Russia"

Monday, November 5th

Competitive Authoritarianism in Russia

- Linda J Cook, *Labor and Liberalization: Trade Unions in the New Russia* (New York: Century Foundation, 1997)
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (2002): 51–65

Wednesday, November 7th

Russian Democracy in Eclipse

- Liliia Fedorovna Shevtsova, "The Limits of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 15, no. 3 (2004): 67–77
- Andrey S. Makarychev, "Politics, the State, and De-Politicization: Putin's Project Reassessed," *Problems of Post-Communism* 55, no. 5 (2008): 62–71

Friday, November 9th

Putinism Under Siege

- Lilia Shevtsova, "Implosion, Atrophy, or Revolution?," *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 3 (2012): 19–32
- Ivan Krastev and Stephen Holmes, "An Autopsy of Managed Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 23, no. 3 (2012): 33–45

Monday, November 12th

The Kremlin Emboldened I

- M. Steven Fish, "The Kremlin Emboldened: What Is Putinism?," *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 61–75
- Leon Aron, "The Kremlin Emboldened: Putinism After Crimea," *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 76–79
- Vladislav Inozemtsev, "The Kremlin Emboldened: Why Putinism Arose," *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 80–85

Wednesday, November 14th

The Kremlin Emboldened II

- Graeme Robertson and Samuel Greene, "The Kremlin Emboldened: How Putin Wins Support," *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 86–100

- Lilia Shevtsova, "The Kremlin Emboldened: Paradoxes of Decline," *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 101–109
- Vladimir V. Kara-Murza, "The Kremlin Emboldened: Putin Is Not Russia," *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 4 (2017): 110–116

Friday, November 16th

De-democratization in Hungary

- Matthijs Bogaards, "De-Democratization in Hungary: Diffusely Defective Democracy," *Democratization* 0, no. 0 (2018): 1–19

STUDY CYCLE IV: Nicaragua, or There And Back Again

Monday, November 19th

Film Break III

- John A Booth, Christine J Wade, and Thomas W Walker, *Understanding Central America: Global Forces, Rebellion, and Change* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010), 81–97
- In-class film: "Las Sandinistas!" (directed by Jenny Murray; 2018), first half
- Watch the second half over Thanksgiving Recess; film available on Moodle
- **DUE before class: Single-Point Paper #2**

November 21st–25th: Thanksgiving Recess

Monday, November 26th

Bullets and Ballots

- Reed Brody, *Contra Terror in Nicaragua: Report of a Fact-Finding Mission, September 1984-January 1985* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1985), pp. 3–27
- Susanne Jonas and Nancy Stein, "The Construction of Democracy in Nicaragua," *Latin American Perspectives* 17, no. 3 (1990): 10–37

Wednesday, November 28th

Why Did the Sandinistas Lose?

- Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, Guido Fernández, and Sonia Cruz de Baltodano, *Dreams of the Heart: The Autobiography of President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro of Nicaragua* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 246–259, 269–282
- Leslie Anderson and Lawrence C Dodd, *Learning Democracy: Citizen Engagement and Electoral Choice in Nicaragua, 1990-2001* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), Chapter 1

Friday, November 30th

Democracy at Last?

- Harry E. Vanden, “Democracy Derailed: The 1990 Elections and After,” in *The Undermining of the Sandinista Revolution*, ed. Gary Prevost and Harry E. Vanden (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1997), 45–73
- J. Mark Ruhl, “Civil-Military Relations in Post-Sandinista Nicaragua,” *Armed Forces & Society* 30, no. 1 (2003): 117–139

DUE at NOON on Sunday, December 2nd: Research Paper Rough Draft

Monday, December 3rd

The Struggle for the FSLN

- Salvador Martí i Puig, “The Adaptation of the FSLN: Daniel Ortega’s Leadership and Democracy in Nicaragua,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 52, no. 04 (2010): 79–106
- Mateo Jarquín Chamorro, working paper on party networks within the FSLN

Wednesday, December 5th

Governing From Below

- David Close, *Nicaragua: Navigating the Politics of Democracy* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2016), Chapter 6

Friday, December 7th

The New Authoritarianism

- Kai M. Thaler, “Nicaragua: A Return to Caudillismo,” *Journal of Democracy* 28, no. 2 (2017): 157–169
- Jonah Walters, “Capitalism a La Sandinista,” *NACLA Report on the Americas* 49, no. 1 (2017): 7–10

DUE at NOON on Sunday, December 9th: Research Paper Reviewer Memo

Monday, December 10th

A Civic Uprising

- Jon Lee Anderson, ““Fake News” and Unrest in Nicaragua,” *The New Yorker*
- Yerling Marina Aguilera Espinoza, Eric S Mosinger, and Kai M. Thaler, “In Massive Street Protests, Nicaraguans Are Using Ortega’s Revolutionary Symbols against Him,” 2018, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/05/14/in-massive-street-protests-nicaraguans-are-using-ortegas-revolutionary-symbols-against-him/>

Wednesday, December 12th

Concluding Reflections: Whither Democracy?

- No readings.

DUE at NOON on Sunday, December 16th: Research Paper Final Draft & Reviewer Response Memo