III. Democratization: The Fundamentals
Prof. William Crotty

William Crotty is the Thomas P. O'Neill Chair in Public Life and Professor of Political Science at Northeastern University. He teaches in the areas of American and Comparative Political Parties, Democratization and Comparative Democracies. He is a recipient of the Lifetime Achievement Award of the Parties and Organizations Section of the American Political Science Association.

Course Introduction
This course is divided into three parts. First, there will be a discussion of democratization and the democratization processes. Second, there will be a discussion of developing governance in different contexts, from Third World countries in the process of evolving into a democratic state to “failed” democracies to states attempting to reinstate democratic processes. The primary focus this term will be on Latin America. Third, we will look at alternative governing arrangements, including authoritarianism and totalitarianism. Attention will be given to both the prerequisites for democratic development and their application and relevance in different national contexts.

At different points in the class, there will be a discussion of the research process. Each student will be required to write an original and empirical term paper of approximately twenty typed pages on some aspect of the developments or institution-building in various countries (these would include constitutions; Parliaments; the comparative power of the executive; changes in the culture of systems; political parties; elections and electoral systems; etc). Reports on these papers will be given in class and the final typed copy of the term paper will be due at the class meeting (the research paper will be discussed further in class). In delivering the final terms paper in class, each student will be required to present their research to the other class members with a short (102 page) outline of their project.

Requirements
1. Students should read the assigned readings prior to the class meeting to be prepared to discuss them in the next class.
2. There will be a midterm quiz on all materials (readings, class lectures and discussions) up to the point of the quiz.
3. A term paper and class report (see above).
4. A final exam covering all course materials will be two hours in length and will be given at the time scheduled by the university during finals’ week.
5. Class discussions, lectures, reports, videos, and the assigned readings will all be part of the class materials.
6. Additional assignments may be given in class.
7. All students are required to attend each class.
8. Class time will be devoted to developing the conception and applications of a term paper. An emphasis will be placed on conceptualizing the approach to the research problem and then developing it within a context of empirical
data before making any assessment or judgments on the processes or institutions analyzed.

There will be a series of speakers coming to campus during the semester. They will be dealing with subjects directly relevant to an understanding of democratization and students are urged to attend the scheduled sessions.

Each class will normally be divided into two parts. In the first I will lecture on the materials and issues relevant to the subject under analysis. In the second part, a discussion of the assigned readings will take place in which the students in the class are expected to be familiar with the materials and make an active and informed contribution to the discussion.

**Grade Determination**

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**Required Readings for the Course:**


**Recommended Readings and of value to the Course:**


The format for the course will include lectures, class critiques of the assigned readings, guest speakers and selected videos on concentrated areas of development.

**Class Schedule**

**Week**  **Topics and Assignments**

1.  *Democratization and Its Meaning*
   - Introduction to Course
   - Overview of Approaches
   - Review of Requirements
   - Term paper and Exams
   - Introduction to Subject
**Assigned:**
Democracy Sourcebook: J. J. Rousseau, 2-4; Theda Skocpol, 65-70; Samuel P. Huntington, 93-98; James Madison, 118-122, 123-125; 93-194; Alexander Hamilton, 192; Louis Hartz, 126-132; Robert Putnam, 157-167; Robert A. Dahl, 206-216

**Recommended:**
David Held, *Models of Democracy*
James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers*
Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy*
Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy*
Robert A. Dahl, *Preface to Democratic Theory*
Robert A. Dahl, *Democracy and Its Discontents*
Carol Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory*
David Held, *Models of Democracy*
Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*
Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*
Alex Inkeles, ed., *On Measuring Democracy: Its Consequences And Concomitants*
Freedom House Surveys

2. **Conceptions of Democracy**

*The Liberal State*
*Populist Democracy (Participatory Democracy)*
*Capitalist Democracy*
*Consociational Democracy*
*Electoral Democracy (Minimalist Democracy)*

**Assigned:**
Democracy Sourcebook: Joseph Schumpeter, 5-11; Adam Przeworski, 12-17; Larry Diamond, 29-29; Carole Pateman, 40-47; Robert A. Dahl, 48-54
Larry Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy*, chs. 1-3

**Recommended:**
Lisa Anderson, ed., *Transitions to Democracy*, Irving
3. **Building a Democratic State**
*Conditions*
*Prerequisites*
*Evolution*
*Term Paper Topic*

**Assigned:**
Democracy Sourcebook: Huntington, 93-98; Lipset, 565-64; Skocpol, 65-70; Lijphart, 142-146; Putnam, 157-167.

**Recommended:**
Sylvia Chang, *Liberalism, Democracy and Development*
Democracy Sourcebook, Horowitz, 147-152
Samuel Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*
G. Bingham Powell, Jr., *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence*

4. **Building Blocks of Democracies**
*Development Indicators*

**Assigned:**
Democracy Sourcebook: Seymour Martin Lipset, 56-64; Inglehart and Baker, 168-181.
Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy*

**Recommended:**
Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, eds., *The Civic Culture Revisited*
Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man*
Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*
Larry Diamond, *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*
Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*
Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations*
Charles Tilly, *Democracy*
Arend Lijphart, *Democracies: Patterns of Majoritarian and Consensual Government in Twenty-One Countries*

5. **Democratization and Political Culture and Civic Society**

*Shared Democratic Values*
- *Political Trust*
*Systemic Support*
*Tolerance of Opposition*
*Pluralism of Views and Groups*
*Pragmatic Politics*

**Assigned:**
*Democracy Sourcebook*: Ronald Inglehart and Wayne E. Baker, 168-180

**Recommended:**
Charles Tilly, *Trust and Rule*
Wendy Griswold, *Cultures and Societies in a Changing World*
John Ehrenberg, *Civil Society: The Critical History of An Idea*
Brian O’Connell, *Civil Society: The Underpinnings of American Democracy*
Larry Diamond, ed., *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*
Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*
Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post, eds., *Civil Society and Government*
Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy*
Henry Milner, *Civic Literacy: How Informed Citizens Make Democracy Work*
Mark E. Warren, *Democracy and Association*

6. **The Economic Foundations of the Democratic State**

**Assigned:**
*Democracy Sourcebook*: Evelyne Huber Stephens,
Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John D. Stephens, 71-75; Adam Przeworski, 76-92; Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, 108-116.

**Recommended:**
- Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*
- *Democracy Sourcebook*: Miller, 133-141; Horowitz, 147-152
- Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John P. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy*
- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*
- Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Institutions*
- Stephen Haggard, *Pathways From the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrialized Nations*
- Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Economic Reform and Democracy*
- Michael Bratton, Robert Mattes and E. Gyimah-Boadi, *Public Opinion, Democracy, and Market Reform in Africa*

**7. The Institutional Basis of the Democratic State**

- *Presidential Systems*
- *Parliamentary Systems*
- *Constitutionalism*
- *National Assemblies*
- *Dispersal vs. Concentrations of Power*

**Assigned:**
- *Democracy Sourcebook*: Dahl, 207-216; Linz, 258-265; Mill, 312-314; Riker, 317-320; Soberg and Carey, 272-276
Recommended:
Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *Civil Military Relations and Democracy*

8. **Elections and Political Parties as Critical to Democratic Representation**

*Forms of Electoral Arrangements*

- Multiparty States
- Two Party States
- Single Party States

*Tying the Citizenry to Accountable and Representative Leadership*

Assigned:

**Democracy Sourcebook:** Mainwaring, 266-271; Foweraker, 296-303; Figuerido and Limongi, 304-310; Rae, 343-349

Recommended:

Richard Katz and William Crotty, eds., *Handbook of Political Parties*
David Throup and Charles Hornsby, *Multi-Party Politics in Kenya*
Mary Ellen Fischer, ed., *Establishing Democracies*
Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*

9. **The Alternatives to Democracy: Totalitarian Systems**

**Mid-Term Quiz**

*Total Control of a Society Through the State – Government, Politics, Economy, Media, Religion, Social Life, Education*

*Totalitarianism, Racism and Nationalism*

*A 20th Century Phenomena?*

Recommended:

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*
Richard Overy, *The Dictators: Hitler’s Germany and Stalin’s Russia*
Robert Gellately, *Lenin, Stalin and Hitler: The Age of Social Catastrophe*
Giles MacDonough, *After The Reich: The Brutal History of the Allied Occupation*
Mark Mazower, *Hitler’s Empire: How the Nazis Rules Europe*
Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich At War*
Wendy Z. Goldman, *Terror and Democracy in the Age of Stalin: The Social Dynamics of Repression*

10. **Alternatives to Democracy: Authoritarian Systems**

    **Assigned:**
    Elizabeth Wood, *Forging Democracy From Below*, p. 197-218

    **Recommended:**
    Jennifer I. McCoy and David J. Meyers, eds., *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*
    Andreas Schedler, ed., *Electoral Authoritarianism*
    Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America’s Century of Regime Change From Hawaii to Iraq*
    Theda Skocpol, ed., *Democracy, Revolution, and History*
    Barrington Moore, *The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*
    Ronald Wintobe, *The Political Economy of Dictatorships*

11. **Alternatives to Democracy: The Non-State**

    **Haiti as example**
    *The Republic of the Congo*
    *The Sudan and Civil War*
    *Somalia and War Lords*

    **Recommended:**
    Robert Fatton, Jr., *Haiti’s Predatory Republic: The Unending Transition to Democracy*
    Alex Dupuy, *Haiti in the Third World Economy: Class, Race and Underdevelopment Since 1700*
    Paul Collier, *Wars, Guns, and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*
    Joel Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States*

12. **A Contemporary Transition to a Democratic State: Post-Apartheid South Africa**

    **Assigned:**
    Elisabeth Wood, *Forging Democracy From Below*, p. 111-193
    *Democracy Sourcebook: Jung and Shapiro*, 99-107
13. **Democratic Development in Latin America**

**Recommended:**
- Michael Bratton and Nicholas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transition in Comparative Perspective*

**14. Case Study: El Salvador**

**Assigned:**
- Elisabeth Wood, *Forging Democracy From Below*, p. 3-107

**Recommended:**
- John Peeler, *Building Democracy in Latin America*
- Hugh Byrne, *El Salvador’s Civil War: A Study of Revolution*
- Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the People*
15. **Case Study: Argentina**

**Recommended:**
Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo, eds., *Argentine Democracy: The Politics of Institutional Weakness*

16. **Transitions to Democracy: The Weakness of Democracy**

*Problems in Institutionalizing and Consolidating a Democratic State*

*The Weakness of Democracy*

*Promoting Democratization*

**Assigned:**
Elisabeth Wood, *Forging Democracy From Below*, p. 197-208

**Recommended:**
Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*
Lisa Anderson, ed., *Transitions to Democracy*
Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu and Hung-mao Tien, eds., *Consolidating The Third Wave*

**Democracies: Regional Challenges**
Ted Robert Gurr and Barbara Harff, *Ethnic Conflicts in World Politics*
Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds., *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*
Joel S. Migdal, *Peasants, Politics and Revolution: Pressures Toward Political and Social Change in the Third World*
John L. Esposito and John O. Voll, *Islam and Democracy*
Penny Leroux, *People of God*
Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*
Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*
Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*

17. **Course Conclusion**

*Summary and Overview*

*Reports on Term Papers*

*Term Papers Due*
Assigned:
Review Class notes, readings and materials from course.

Recommended:
Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Association Networks in International Politics
Bruce Russett, Grasping the Democratic Peace: Principles for a Post-Cold World
In The Democracy Sourcebook: Bruce Russett, 492-496;
Pippa Norris, 510-515; David Held, 516-526.
Chalmers Johnson, The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic

Note: Changes and additions to the class schedule will be made in class. The discussions of the topics may carry over from one class to the next and are not tailored to a 2 hour class meeting time format.

Term Paper Reports
Reports to be made in class. These reports on the term paper project should be abbreviated to 10-15 minutes (no longer). An outline should be prepared for all class members (1-2 pages). The topics and approach to the reports as well as the format for the oral class presentation and the final written version will be reviewed by the instructor in class. Typed final papers should be approximately 20 pages. Use standard social science reference format.

Final Exam
The exam will take place in the class meeting room during the regular class hours. It will be an essay exam and include all materials covered in the course.

Note: Videos and other materials on democratization, nation-building, totalitarianism, etc will be scheduled to be shown in class. These will be announced during the semester.

Recommended Readings for Class


**Relevant Readings**


**Semester Visitors**

a. **Topic: Barack Obama’s First Year**
   Presentations:
   Jerome Mileur, University of Massachusetts Amherst
   John Berg, Suffolk University
   William Crotty, Northeastern University

   Each has extensive publications on parties, elections, the presidency and policy concerns

b. **Topic: Democratization in El Salvador**
   Presentation: Jack Spence, University of Massachusetts Boston and author of numerous articles and reports on El Salvador, Nicaragua and Central America

c. **Topic: Democratization in Latin America**
   Presentation: John Peeler, Bucknell University and author, *Building Democracy in Latin America*
d. Topic: Presidentialism in Developing Countries (Latin America)
Presentation: Javier Corrales, Amherst College and author of Presidents Without Parties

Research Sources and Information

Citations Format


Useful Websites for Research
Data Sources for Comparative Social Science Research

United Nations Human Development Reports
http://hdr.undp.org/

Good source for economic and social indicators worldwide. Check in Library, CSD also has 2002 report in its library as well as the CD-Rom from 2001.

The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)
http://www.umich.edu/~cses/

A collaborative program of cross-national research among election study teams in over fifty states. This design allows researchers to conduct cross-level, as well as cross-national, analyses addressing the effects of electoral institutions on citizens' attitudes and behavior, the presence and nature of social and political cleavages, and the evaluation of democratic institutions across different political regimes.

ICPSR (Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research)
http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/index-medium.html

Run by the University of Michigan, this site hosts data on the US General Social Survey, the National Election Studies surveys, various European Union public opinion surveys, and more. Requires a special password for download of databases, see CSD for details.

Lijphart Elections Archive
http://ssdc.ucsd.edu/lij/pubs/

Datasets downloadable in SAS format for elections and parliamentary information; other more specific studies.
Elections Around the World
http://www.electionworld.org/

Includes parties, parliaments, electoral institutes, and political databases on the Web.

GESIS - German Social Science Infrastructure Services

GESIS provides services in support of social science research including the development and supply of databases with information on social science literature and research activities as well as the archiving and provision of survey data from social research. In German and English.

Eurobarometer
http://europa.eu.int/comm/public_opinion/
see also http://www.tufts.edu/~reichenb/recent/resch_euro_po/resch_euro_po.html

Eurobarometer data are stored at the ICPSR (see below, also see CSD for ICPSR password) and at the German Zentralarchiv and made available for social science research purposes by the Social Science Data Archives.

Latinobarómetro
http://www.latinobarometro.org/

Latinobarómetro is an annual public opinion survey carried out in 17 Latin American countries by the Corporación Latinobarómetro. It expresses the opinions, attitudes, and behaviours of the around 400 million inhabitants of the region.

Latin Focus
http://www.latin-focus.com/

Available in Spanish or English. Economic information on Latin American countries.

Harvard-MIT Data Center
http://data.fas.harvard.edu/

Includes the Virtual Data Center, an open-source, digital library to enable the sharing of quantitative research data, and the development of distributed virtual collections of data and documentation.

Freedom House
http://www.freedomhouse.org/ratings/
Since 1972, Freedom House has published an annual assessment of state of freedom by assigning each country and territory the status of "Free," "Partly Free," or "Not Free" by averaging their political rights and civil liberties ratings. Country reports and ratings are available here.

University of Vancouver Political Science Data Resources page
www.vanderbilt.edu/~rtucker/methods/data/

Excellent collection of useful data archives and databases organized by category

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
http://www.sipri.org/
http://databases.sipri.org/

Provides military expenditure data, data relating to chemical and biological weapons, country profiles on security issues.

VIBES
http://libweb.uncc.edu/ref-bus/vibehome.htm

The Virtual Business & Economic Sources page provides links to Internet resources of international business and economic information that are in English and free of charge. From UNC-Charlotte.

International Economic Trends
http://research.stlouisfed.org/publications/iet/

From the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis. Economic information for G8 countries, more extensive data on US markets and economy.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)
http://www.imf.org/

Includes the World Economic Outlook and other reports.

The World Bank - Documents and Reports
http://www-wds.worldbank.org/

Previously known as World Development Resources. Contains more than 14,000 World Bank documents made available to the public.

World Bank Data & Statistics
http://www.worldbank.org/data/
Almost all the data reported in this site are derived, either directly or indirectly, from official statistical systems organized and financed by national governments. The World Bank, in collaboration with many other agencies is actively involved in improving both the coverage of and effectiveness of these systems.

Amnesty International
http://www.amnesty.org/

One of the leading human rights advocacy groups, its site provides links to a large documents collection and a list of related Web sites organized by topic.

Human Rights Watch
http://www.hrw.org/

Links to many of the organization's reports in addition to links to related sites.

University of Minnesota Human Rights Library
http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/

Extensive collection of resources, including links to treaties and international agreements, research guides, U.S. human rights materials, and refugee and asylum publications.

Sources for research about the US: (check out the Northeastern University Libraries reference pages: http://www.lib.neu.edu/nulis/subjects/politicalscience/)

Bureau of the Census
http://www.census.gov/

Provides a rich array of demographic, social, and economic statistics. Check Data Access Tools for a variety of data extraction and mapping resources, including American Factfinder which is the primary source for 2000 Census data. The site also provides full text access to a broad range of Census Publications.

FedStats
http://www.fedstats.gov/

Links the user with the Internet sites of over seventy federal agencies which collect, interpret, and publish statistics.

ICPSR (Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research)
http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/

Social Science Data on the Net
http://odwin.ucsd.edu/idata/
Provides links to over 800 data sites.

**Statistical Universe (NU only)**
[http://www.lib.neu.edu/nulis/dbases/statuniv.htm](http://www.lib.neu.edu/nulis/dbases/statuniv.htm)

Identifies federal statistical publications from 1973 to present with selected full text. Also includes links to selected association, business, and state statistics from 1980 onwards and to intergovernmental organization statistics from 1983 to present.

**U.S. Historical Census Data Browser, 1790-1970**
[http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/](http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/)

A project based on ICPSR files which provide state and county level Census data for the years specified. Users may select geographic and demographic variables to create customized tables.

**Opensecrets.org (Center for Responsive Politics)**

Search political contributions by industry, candidate, or geographic area. Also, reports on the effects of PAC contributions by broad topic (prescription drugs, gun control, etc.).

**Federal Election Commission**

Provides data about Presidential and Congressional campaign financing.

**Polling Report**

Provides access to current polls on a variety of social, political, and economic topics. The site provides a combination of free materials and subscriber restricted materials and services.

**Lexis-Nexis Academic Universe (NU only)**
[http://www.lib.neu.edu/nulis/dbases/lnau.htm](http://www.lib.neu.edu/nulis/dbases/lnau.htm)

Provides full text access to polls and surveys from the Roper Center for Public Opinion, 1936 to present. When connected to Lexis-Nexis, select Reference, then Polls and Surveys.
Reading Resources for Course and Research


**Further Readings**


