

Winter Term 2020

Dr. Jan Sauermann

(14335.0104) Stability, quality, and performance of democracy

PO 2015: Basismodul Seminar Politikwissenschaft I (9 Leistungspunkte)

Time: Mondays 10:00 – 11:30

Room: **online via Zoom** (links for the meetings will be provided via ILIAS)

First session: 2 November 2020

Because of the current coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic the course will take place online via Zoom. Participants will receive further information (including links for the Zoom-Meetings) via ILIAS.

Course description

The course provides a broad overview of the literature on democracy in comparative politics. We will concentrate on two major topics; 1) factors influencing the quality and stability of democracy and 2) the effects of democracy, i.e. its performance. We will discuss the following questions:

Quality and stability:

- What is democracy? How can we define democracy?
- How can we measure the quality of democracy?
- Which factors promote transitions to democracy?
- Why do democracies fail?
- Which factors stabilize democracy?

Performance:

- What are the effects of democracy in comparison to authoritarian systems of government?

Prerequisites

Students should have a good knowledge of political science concepts, basic qualitative and quantitative methods, and an interest in current research. Since nearly all reading assignments are in English, this will be the general classroom language as well. Participants therefore must know enough English to be able to participate actively. Perfection is not required – you just need to understand and make yourself understood.

Relevance for study programmes

The course is open to master students of the WiSo-Faculty with an interest in political science.

Registration

The course will be taught on a weekly basis (first session 2 November 2020). Students should register via KLIPS.

Reading assignments

All required texts for the sessions of the seminar can be found on [ILIAS](#).

Most texts can only be accessed from within the UKLAN network of the University of Cologne. If you do not know how to obtain access to UKLAN, please consult the RRZK's websites: <http://rrzk.uni-koeln.de/netzzugang.html?&L=1>

Working requirements and assessment method

All participants are expected to:

- attend the seminar on a regular basis
- complete assigned readings according to schedule
- actively contribute to class discussions

Assessment

Your overall grade for this course will consist of three components. All three components are mandatory to pass the course.

- **Assignment A** (see session 4 below)
 - **1/3 of final grade**
 - **Deadline: 23 November 2020, 10:00 am**
 - Length: about 1.800-2.000 words
 - Submission: **pdf**-file via email to jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de
- **Assignment B** (literature review - see session 9 below)
 - **1/3 of final grade**
 - **Deadline: 4 January 2021, 10:00 am**
 - Length: about 1.800-2.000 words
 - Submission: **pdf**-file via email to jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de
- **Assignment C** (country report)
 - **1/3 of final grade**
 - **Deadline: 15 February 2021, 10:00 am**
 - Length: about 1.800-2.000 words
 - Submission: **pdf**-file via email to jan.sauermann@uni-koeln.de
 - **Task:**
 - Write a report on the state of democracy in a country of your own choice!
 - How did democratic quality and stability develop in the country in the past?
 - What is the current situation?
 - What are likely future developments?
 - What is currently the greatest threat to democracy or the greatest obstacle for further democratization in the country?
 - Which factors promote further democratization or further consolidation of democracy in the country?

Schedule and readings

I Quality and stability

1) 2 November 2020 – Introduction: What is democracy?

Required readings:

- Dahl, Robert A. 1971. *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 1-32.
- Schumpeter, Joseph. 2003. "Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy." In *The Democracy Sourcebook*, eds. Robert A. Dahl, Ian Shapiro and José Antonio Cheibub. Cambridge: MIT Press. 5-11.

Optional readings:

- Schmitter, Philippe C. und Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is ... And Is Not." *Journal of Democracy* 2 (3): 75-88.

Homework:

Define democracy in less than 50 words!

2) 9 November 2020 - Conceptualizing and measuring democracy

Required readings:

- Collier, David und Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research." *World Politics* 49 (3): 430-51.
- Munck, Gerardo L. und Jay Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (5): 5-34.

Optional readings:

- Lindberg, Staffan I., Michael Coppedge, John Gerring, and Jan Teorell. 2014. "V-Dem: A New Way to Measure Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 25 (3): 159-169.
- Coppedge, Michael, John Gerring, David Altman, Michael Bernhard, Steven Fish, Allen Hicken, Matthew Kroenig, Staffan I. Lindberg, Kelly McMann, Pamela Paxton, Holli A. Semetko, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jeffrey Staton and Jan Teorell. 2011. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach." *Perspectives on Politics* 9 (2): 247-67.
- Högström, John. 2013. "Does the Choice of Democracy Measure Matter? Comparisons between the Two Leading Democracy Indices, Freedom House and Polity IV." *Government and Opposition* 48 (2): 201-21.

Online resources:

- **V-Dem:** <https://www.v-dem.net/en/>
- **Polity Project:** <https://www.systemicpeace.org/polityproject.html>
- **Freedom House:** <https://freedomhouse.org/>

3) 16 November 2020 - The boundary problem

Required readings:

- Dahl, Robert A. 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press: 193-209.
- Hainmueller, Jens, and Dominik Hangartner. 2013. "Who Gets a Swiss Passport? A Natural Experiment in Immigrant Discrimination." *American Political Science Review* 107 (1): 159-87.

Optional readings:

- Linz, Juan J. und Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press: 16-37.

4) 23 November 2020 - Waves of democratization

Required readings:

- Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1-40.
- Doorenspleet, Renske. 2000. "Reassessing the Three Waves of Democratization." *World Politics* 52 (3): 384-406.

Optional readings:

- Bunce, Valerie. 2000. "Comparative Democratization. Big and Bounded Generalizations." *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (6/7): 703-34.
- Kapstein, Ethan B., and Nathan Converse. 2008. Why Democracies Fail. *Journal of Democracy* 19 (4): 57-68.
- Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1): 5-21.

Assignment A (Deadline: 23 November 2020, 10:00 am):

Prepare the required readings for session 4. Write a report (about 1.800-2.000 words) on the current state of democracy in the world in the last 20 years (2000-2020). Concentrate on the following aspects:

- Are there general trends in the development of democratic stability and quality?
- Are there regional trends?
- Is there another wave or counterwave of democratization?
- What are currently the greatest threats to democracy?
- Which developments do you find interesting?

5) 30 November 2020 - Causes of democratization

Required readings:

- Olson, Mancur. 1993. Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development. *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 567-76.
- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, chapter 1 and 2.

Optional readings:

- Rustow, Dankwart A. 1970. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model." *Comparative Politics* 2 (3): 337-63.

6) 7 December 2020 - The impact of economic development on democratization

Required readings:

- Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1997. Modernization: Theories and Facts. *World Politics* 49 (2): 155-183.
- Boix, Carles, and Susan C. Stokes. 2003. Endogenous Democratization. *World Politics* 55 (4): 517-549.

Optional readings:

- Treisman, Daniel. 2015. "Income, Democracy, and Leader Turnover." *American Journal of Political Science*. 59 (4): 927-42.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy. *American Political Science Review* 53 (1): 69-105.
- Knutsen, Carl Henrik, John Gerring, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jan Teorell, Matthew Maguire, Michael Coppedge, and Staffan I. Lindberg. 2019. "Economic Development and Democracy: An Electoral Connection." *European Journal of Political Research* 58 (1): 292-314.

7) 14 December 2020 - The resource curse

Required readings:

- Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* 53 (3): 325-61.
- Herb, Michael. 2005. "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy." *Comparative Politics* 37 (3): 297-316.

Optional readings:

- Haber, Stephen, and Victor Menaldo. 2011. "Do Natural Resources Fuel Authoritarianism? A Reappraisal of the Resource Curse." *American Political Science Review* 105 (1): 1-26.
- Jensen, Nathan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2004. "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (7): 816-41.

8) 21 December 2020 - Democracy and Islam

Required readings:

- Fish, M. Steven. 2002. Islam and Authoritarianism. *World Politics* 55 (1): 4-37.
- Sarkissian, Ani. 2012. Religious Regulation and the Muslim Democracy Gap. *Politics and Religion* 5 (3): 501-527.

Optional readings:

- Ross, Michael L. 2008. Oil, Islam, and Women. *American Political Science Review* 102 (1): 107-123.
- Philpott, Daniel. 2007. Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion. *American Political Science Review* 101 (3): 505-525
- Fox, Jonathan. 2006. World Separation of Religion and State Into the 21st Century. *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (5): 537-569.
- Fish, Steven M., and Robin S. Brooks. 2004. Does Diversity Hurt Democracy? *Journal of Democracy* 15 (1): 154-166.

9) 11 January 2021 - Parliamentary vs. presidential political systems

Required readings:

- Linz, Juan J. 1990. The Perils of Presidentialism. *Journal of Democracy* 1 (1): 51-69.

Optional readings:

- Stepan, Alfred, and Cindy Skach. 1993. Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarianism versus Presidentialism. *World Politics* 46 (1): 1-22.
- Cheibub, José Antonio. 2002. Minority Governments, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracies. *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (3): 284-312.

Assignment B (Deadline: 4 January 2021, 10:00 am):

Read the article "The Perils of Presidentialism" by Juan Linz! In short, Linz makes the theoretical argument that politics in presidential systems are more likely to result in political deadlock than politics in parliamentary systems. Deadlock increases the probability of democratic breakdown. Therefore, presidentialism is less likely to sustain stable democratic governance than parliamentarism. Prepare a literature review (about 1.800-2.000 words) of the empirical evidence of Linz's argument! What is your conclusion? Is Linz's argument right or wrong?

II Performance

10) 18 January 2021 - Democratic peace

Required readings:

- Kant, Immanuel. 2003. "Perpetual Peace." In *The Democratic Sourcebook*, Robert A. Dahl, Ian Shapiro und José Antonio Cheibub (Hrsg.). Cambridge: MIT Press. 490-91.
- Gartzke, Erik. 2007. The Capitalist Peace. *American Journal of Political Science* 51 (1): 166-191.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith. 1999. An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace. *American Political Science Review* 93 (4): 791-807.

Optional readings:

- Oneal, John R., and Bruce Russett. 1999. The Kantian Peace. The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992. *World Politics* 52 (1): 1-37.
- Ray, James Lee. 1998. Does Democracy Cause Peace? *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 27-46.

11) 25 January 2021 - The economic performance of democracy

Required readings:

- Gerring, John, Philip Bond, William T. Barndt, and Carola Moreno. 2005. Democracy and Economic Growth. A Historical Perspective. *World Politics* 57 (3): 323-364.

- Baum, Matthew A., and David A. Lake. 2003. The Political Economy of Growth: Democracy and Human Capital. *American Journal of Political Science* 47 (2): 333-347.

Optional readings:

- Desai, Raj M., Anders Olofsgård, and Tarik M. Yousef. 2003. Democracy, Inequality, and Inflation. *American Political Science Review* 97 (3): 391-406.

12) 1 February 2021 - Democracy and development

Required readings:

- Ross, Michael L. 2006. Is Democracy Good for the Poor? *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (4): 860-874.
- Gerring, John, Strom C. Thacker, and Rodrigo Alfaro. 2012. Democracy and Human Development. *Journal of Politics* 74 (1): 1-17.

Optional readings:

- Stasavage, David. 2005. Democracy and Education Spending in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 343-358.
- Olson, Mancur. 1993. Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development. *American Political Science Review* 87 (3): 567-576.
- Paglayan, Agustina S. 2020. "The Non-Democratic Roots of Mass Education: Evidence from 200 Years." *American Political Science Review* online first: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055420000647>.
- Gerring, John, Carl Henrik Knutsen, Matthew Maguire, Svend-Erik Skaaning, Jan Teorell, and Michael Coppedge. 2020. "Democracy and Human Development: Issues of Conceptualization and Measurement." *Democratization* online first: DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2020.1818721.

13) 8 February 2021 – Democracy and the COVID-19 pandemic

Guiding questions for this session:

- How does the current COVID-19 pandemic affect democracy?
- Are democracies more/less successful in their management of the pandemic in comparison to authoritarian systems?

Task for this session:

Propose readings for this session! Please submit your proposal(s) until 29 January 2021, 10:00 am. I will select the readings for the session from your proposals.