Democratic transitions are easy to see in the moment—they are often shown on CNN. But the consolidation of democracy is much trickier. It is difficult to settle on indicators of it, and even harder to determine its causes. As with many concepts in social science, many take the attitude that “we know it when we see it.” This course will examine a number of countries from across Eastern Europe (Poland, Russia, and Ukraine), Southern Europe (Portugal and Greece), and Latin America (Brazil, Argentina, and Perú) that experienced democratic transitions as part of the Third Wave to determine where we do and do not see democratic consolidation, and then use these cases to inform theoretical discussions of why democracy is consolidated in some places, but not in others. We will focus especially on the trajectories of electoral cycles and political competition, constitutional development, and political crises.

Evaluation

**Final Paper: 30%** The main portion of the class grade will be a research paper (15 pages, due December 17th, during of reading period) which should seek to develop a theoretical perspective on the concepts discussed in the course and then compare 2-3 countries (from at least two world areas) using such a perspective to draw conclusions about the theme of democratic transition and consolidation. A rough draft of the paper is due December 5th. **Final Presentation 15%** A presentation will be made by each student to class the first two weeks of December on the topic and results thus far of his or her final research paper. **Three Response Papers 10% each**. Students will write three two-page response papers on the readings in any unit they choose and should include reflections on both theory and case-studies. Response papers are due at the beginning of class the day that the given unit will be covered. Response papers will not be accepted on any unit after the lecture on that unit has been given. At least one of the response papers must be completed by October 9, and the rest must be completed by November 19. **Two Pop-Quizzes 10% each**. These quizzes will be given unannounced in class, with simple (fill-in-the blank, true-false, matching, etc) questions designed to check students command of the ideas and events covered in class. **Class Participation 15%** Discussion in class is a critical part of the course. **Note:** Requirements add up to 110%. Students have the opportunity of reducing the weight of any component by 10% (effectively this means dropping one quiz grade or writing only two response papers, or reducing the weight of their presentation grade to 5% or final paper grade to 20%). **Exception:** students may not reduce the weight of participation grades. Also note if a student choses to reduce final paper grade this election will have to be made before the student knows what that grade will be. **Late Policy:** For either the rough draft or final version of the research paper, 1/3 of a letter grade (B+ ==> B) will be deducted from the final paper grade for each day the assignment is late.
Course Readings

The following books will be on reserve at Rush Rhees Library and have been ordered at the bookstore:


The following books have not been ordered, but will be on reserve at the Rush Rhees Library:


The rest of the readings are from academic journals, all of which should be available in hard copy at the Rush Rhees Library and most of which are available electronically through the university as well. Abbreviations:

CP: *Comparative Politics*
CPS: *Comparative Political Studies*
JoD: *Journal of Democracy*
* Coming soon to E-reserves

Part I: Democracy and Democratic Transition (2-3 lectures: Weeks 1-2)

Unit 1. Democracy


Larry Diamond, *“Thinking about Hybrid Regimes,”* JoD 13, 2 (4/02), pp 21-35

Unit 2. Transition
Samuel Huntington, “Democracy's Third Wave,” JoD 2, 2 (Spring, 1991), pp 12-34
Larry Diamond, “Is the Third Wave Over?” JoD 7, 3 (7/96), pp 20-37
Gerardo Munck & Carol Skalnik Leff, “Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective,” CP 29, 3 (1/97), pp 343-362
Nancy Bermeo, “Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict during Democratic Transitions” CP 29, 3 (1/97), pp 305-322
Lawrence Whitehead, “The Drama of Democratization” JoD 10, 4 (10/99) pp 84-98
Stephan Haggard & Robert Kaufman, “The Political Economy of Democratic Transition” CP 29, 3 (1/97), pp 263-283
Steven Levitsky & Lucan Way, “International Linkage and Democratization” JoD 16, 3 (7/05), pp 20-34

Part II: Transitions in Eight Countries (5-6 lectures: Weeks 2-4)

Unit 1. Portugal
Linz & Stepan, pp 116-129
Nancy Bermeo, “Redemocratization and Transition Elections: A Comparison of Spain and Portugal” CP 19, 2 (1/87), pp 213-231

Unit 2. Greece
Clogg, 55-65
Linz & Stepan, 130-139

Unit 3. Perú
Mauceri, Philip “Ch 1. The Transition to 'Democracy' and the Failures of Institution Building” in Cameron & Mauceri, pp 13-36
Carol Wise, “Ch 3. State Policy and Social Conflict in Perú” in Cameron & Mauceri, pp 71-82
Francisco Durand, “Ch 6. The Growth and Limitations of the Peruvian Right” in Cameron & Mauceri, pp 154-165

Unit 4. Argentina
Linz & Stepan, 190-204

Unit 5. Brazil
Scott Mainwaring, “The Transition to Democracy in Brazil” Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs 28, 1 (Spring, 1986), pp. 149-179
Scott Mainwaring (1999), pp 83-100
Bolivar Lamounier, “Brazil's New Beginning” JoD 1, 2 (Spring, 1990), pp 87-98
Frances Hagopian “Democracy by Undemocratic Means” CPS 23, 2 (7/90), pp 147-170

Unit 6. Poland
Taras & Castle, pp 48-94
*Voytek Zubek “The Threshold of Poland’s Transition: 1989 Electoral Campaign as the Last Act of a United Solidarity” Studies In Comparative Communism 24, 4 (12/91), pp 355-376

**Unit 7. Russia**

McFaul (2001), pp 61-227

Leon Aron, “Boris Yeltsin and Russia's four Crises” JoD 4, 2 pp 3-16

**Unit 8. Ukraine**

D'Anieri, pp 74-85, 125-135

Serhii Holovatyi, “Ukraine a View from Within” JoD 4, 3 (7/93), pp 110-113

* Dyczok, Marta “Ukraine: the Road to Independence” The History of European Ideas 19, 1-3 (1994), pp 471-477

**Part III: Concepts and Building Blocks of Consolidation (3-5 lectures: Weeks 4-6)**

**Unit 1. Consolidology**

Linz & Stepan, pp 255-292

* Voytek Zubek “The Threshold of Poland’s Transition: 1989 Electoral Campaign as the Last Act of a United Solidarity” Studies In Comparative Communism 24, 4 (12/91), pp 355-376

**Unit 2. Formal Institutions, Electoral Institutions, and Parties**

Timothy Power & Mark Gasiorowski “Institutional Design and Democratic Consolidation in the Third World” CPS 30, 2 (4/97) pp 123-54

John Carey, “Parchment, Equilibria, and Institutions” CPS 33, 6-7 (9/00) pp 735-761


Seymour Martin Lipset, “The Indispensability of Policial Parties” JoD 11, 1 (1/00), pp 48-55

Mainwaring (1999) pp 1-60, 263-322


* Richard Gunther “Parties and Electoral Behavior in Southern Europe” CP 37, 3 (4/05), pp 253-

**Part IV: Records of Consolidation across Eight Countries (7-9 lectures: Weeks 7-10)**

**Unit 1. Greece**

Clogg, 66-181, 192-216


* Clive Nigel “The Dilemmas of Democracy in Greece” Government and Opposition 25, 1 (winter, 1990) 115-122


**Unit 2. Portugal**
Manuel (all—only about 75 pages)
* Corkill, David, “The Political System and the Consolidation of Democracy in Portugal” Parliamentary Affairs 46, 4 (10/93), pp 517-533


Susana Salgado, “The Political System and the Consolidation of Democracy in Portugal” Parliamentary Affairs 46, 4 (10/93), pp 517-533

Unit 3. Poland

Castle & Taras, pp 95-218


Frances Millard, “The presidential election in Poland, October 2000” Electoral Studies 21, 2 (6/02), pp 357-364

Frances Millard, “The parliamentary elections in Poland, September, 2001” Electoral Studies 22, 2 (6/03), pp 367-374


Anna Gwiazda “The Parliamentary Election in Poland, October 2007” Electoral Studies (forthcoming)

Unit 4. Brazil

Mainwaring (1999), pp 100-218


Camilla Bustani “The 1998 Elections in Brazil” Electoral Studies 20, 2 (6/01) pp 305-313


Wendy Hunter “Brazil's New Direction” JoD 14, 2 (4/03), pp 151-162

Jairo Nicolau “The presidential and congressional elections in Brazil, October 2006” Electoral Studies 27, 1 (3/08) pp 170-175

Leslie Elliot Armijo, Philippe Faucher, Magdalena Dembinska, “ Compared to what? Assessing Brazil's Political Institutions” CPS 39, 6 (8/06), pp 759-786

Unit 5. Argentina

Steven Levitsky, “The 'Normalization' of Argentine Politics” JoD 11, 2 (4/00), pp 56-69

Steven Levitsky & Victoria María Murillo “Argentina Weathers the Storm” JoD 14, 4 (10/03), pp 152-166

Steven Levitsky & Victoria María Murillo “Introduction”and “Ch 1. Building Castles in the Sand?”in Levitsky & Murillo (2005), pp 1-44

Sebastián Etchemendy, “Ch 3. Old Actors in New Markets: Transforming the Populist/Industrial

Unit 6. Ukraine
D'Anieri pp 85-124, 136-214
Alexander Motyl “Structural Constraints and Starting Points: The Logic of Systemic Change in Ukraine and Russia” CP 29, 4 (7/97) pp 433-447
Nadia Diuk “Ukraine: a Land Between” JoD 9, 3 (7/98), pp 97-11
Nadia Diuk “Sovereignty and Uncertainty in Ukraine” JoD 12, 4 (10/01), pp 57-64
Nadia Diuk & Myroslava Gongadze “Post-Election Blues in Ukraine” JoD 13, 4 (10/02), pp 157-166
Lucan Way “Kuchma's Failed Authoritarianism” JoD 16, 2 (4/05), pp 131-145

Unit 7. Perú
Maxwell Cameron “Ch 2. Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru: The Eighteenth Brumaire of Alberto Fujimori” in Cameron & Mauceri, pp 37-69
Kenneth Roberts & Moisés Arce “Neoliberalism and Lower-class Voting Behavior in Peru” CPS 31, 2 (3/98) pp 217-246
Wise in Cameron & Mauceri, 82-92, 97-103
Carmen Rosa Balbi “Ch 5. Politics and Trade Unions in Peru” in Cameron & Mauceri, pp 134-151
Durand in Mauceri & Cameron, pp 164-175
Carlos Iván Degregori, “Ch 7. After the Fall of Abimael Guzmán: The Limits of Sendero Luminoso” in Cameron & Mauceri pp 179-191
Ernesto García Calderón “Peru's Decade of Living Dangerously” JoD 12, 2 (4/01), pp 46-58
Cynthia McClintock “An Unlikely Comeback in Perú” JoD 17, 4 (10/06) pp 95-109

Unit 8. Russia
McFaul (2001), 228-371
Sarah Oates “The 1999 Russian Duma Elections: The Dirty Road to the Duma.” Problems of Post-Communism 47, 3 (5-6/00), pp 3-14
Part V: Complexities of Consolidation (3-5 lectures: Weeks 11-12)

Unit 1. Economic Reform and Democratic Transition
Kurt Weyland “Neoliberal Populism in Latin America and Eastern Europe” CP 31, 4 (7/99) pp 379-401
Anders Aslund “The Case for Radical Reform” JoD 5, 4 (10/94), pp 63-74
Steven Fish & Omar Choudhry, “Democratization and Economic Liberalization in the Post-Communist World” CPS 40, 3 (3/07) pp 254-282
Moisés Arce “The Sustainability of Economic Reform in a Most Likely Case: Perú” CP 35, 3 (4/03) pp 335-354
Terry Karl “Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability” JoD 11, 1 (1/00) pp 149-156

Unit 2. Civil Society
Larry Diamond “Toward Democratic Consolidation” JoD 5, 3 (7/94) pp 4-17
Elizabeth Jay Friedman & Katherine Hochstetler “Assessing the Third Transition in Latin American Democratization: Representational Regimes and Civil Society in Argentina and Brazil” CP 35, 1 (10/2002) pp 21-42
Paulo J. Krischke “Church Base Communities and Democratic Change in Brazilian Society” CPS 24, 2 (7/91) pp 186-210
Steven Fish “Russia's Fourth Transition” JoD 5, 3 (7/94) pp 31-42
Smolar, Aleksander “From Opposition to Atomization” JoD 7, 1 (1/96) pp 24-38
Marc Morjé Howard “The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society” JoD 13, 1 (1/02) pp 157-169

Unit 3. Political Crises
Arturo Valenzuela “Latin American Presidencies Interrupted” JoD 15, 4 (12/04) pp 5-19
Aníbal Pérez-Liñán “Democratization and Constitutional Crises in Presidential Regimes: Toward Congressional Supremacy?” CPS 38, 1 (2/05) pp 51-74
José Antonio Cheibub “Minority Governments, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracies” CPS 35, 3 (4/02), pp 284-312
Michale McFaul “Transitions from Postcommunism” JoD 16, 3 (7/05), pp 5-19

Unit 4. Issues in Institutional and Constitutional Development
Steven Fish “Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies” JoD 17, 1 (1/06), pp 5-20
Lilia Shevtsova (Mark Ekhert, tr) “The Problem of Executive Power in Russia” JoD 11, 1 (1/00), pp 25-31
Timothy Colton and Cindy Skach “The Russian Predicament” JoD 16, 3 (2005) 113-126
Beliaev, Mikhail, “Presidential Powers and Consolidation of New Postcommunist Democracies” CPS 39, 3 (4/06), pp 375-398

Student Presentations: Weeks 13-14

Note on structure of the syllabus: Dates are approximate, since some topics may take more time to cover than planned. Based on which units we've covered in one lecture, students should prepare readings for the subsequent 1-2 units for the next lecture in order to stay up to date. Covering the readings before lecture will help students get the most of out of the lectures.