

**Political Science 597:02**  
**Contemporary Political Problems: Democratization**  
**Spring 2009**

Tuesdays and Thursday 11:30am-1:18pm  
Caldwell Lab 0133  
Call # 18106-6

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Office hours:  
Tuesdays & Thursdays 2:00-3:00pm  
and by appointment

In the past 35 years both the number and the proportion of democracies in the world have more than doubled.<sup>1</sup> This course will focus on this “third wave” of democratization. We begin by asking what democracy is, before exploring theories that explain the third wave. Why and how do countries become democratic? Is this trend likely to continue?

### **Course Objectives**

This course fulfills the University’s GEC category 5: Capstone: Issues of the Contemporary World. The intention is that “[b]y drawing upon multiple disciplines, Issues of the Contemporary World coursework provides a capstone experience that helps students attain and enrich their experiences of the increasingly global nature of the contemporary world.” The GEC Learning Goals and Objectives are:

1. “Students synthesize and apply knowledge from diverse disciplines to contemporary issues.
2. Students demonstrate an understanding of the relationships between information derived from different disciplines by interacting with students from different majors.
3. Students write about or conduct research on the contemporary world.”

Students should leave this course with an increased understanding of the issues and debates surrounding democratization, and should be able to apply these ideas to contemporary situations. It is expected that students will contribute their own knowledge and ideas to class and small group discussions. Assignments require students to conduct research and to evaluate arguments and evidence about world events. The course should further the development of students’ analytical skills and capability to express ideas and arguments effectively.

### **A Note about Political Science and What We’re Doing Here**

I recognize that many students in this course have little background in political science. The course is designed to first provide some necessary background, so we can build upon that as the quarter progresses. I hope students see this course as an opportunity to fill in some gaps in their knowledge of the world and to practice some skills (such as writing formally) that may have atrophied. While I will do what I can to help students make the most of this opportunity regardless of each individual’s starting point, I also expect this class to fulfill its “capstone” task. That means that this is a course for upperclassmen, and I expect students to work accordingly and to use the many skills they have acquired in college.

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<sup>1</sup> Diamond, Larry. 2002. “Elections without Democracy: Thinking about Hybrid Regimes.” *Journal of Democracy*. (13: 2, April), pp. 21-35; p. 25.

Political science majors and others likely will find they see connections between what we are studying and material they have learned in other classes. (Indeed, I very much want you to make such connections.) I encourage students to contribute these observations to the class's discussions. As a result, it is likely that the class discussion will make reference to many events, countries, and ideas. If something is mentioned about which you are not familiar, ask questions! Asking a question is not a burden, but rather an indication that one is actively seeking to increase knowledge and understanding.

Occasionally students ask for some background on political science as a discipline. That is, they want to know what our standards of proof are, what "counts" as evidence, how we build theories, and the like. While I build some discussion of these issues into the course, interested students can take a look at two overviews of such subjects, posted on Carmen:

Patrick H. O'Neil. 2007. "What is Comparative Politics?" *Essentials of Comparative Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Norton), pp. 3-7.

Leanne C. Powner. "Reading and Understanding Political Science."

### **Texts & Resources**

There are no books required for purchase for this course. All daily reading assignments can be found online at the Carmen course page. *You should print the reading assignments so that you can make notes in the margins and refer to them in class.*

Students will make use of library databases and other online resources, to complete a short research paper and to choose an article for the review paper. We will review how to use the resources. Additionally, Professor David Lincove, the History, Political Science & Philosophy Librarian, can be contacted for help. His [resource guide](#) is posted on Carmen. He can be contacted at [lincove.1@osu.edu](mailto:lincove.1@osu.edu), 292-2393, or his office (280D Sullivan Library).

### **How to Use Carmen**

The course website is available through <http://carmen.osu.edu>. Readings, announcements, homework, and handouts will all be posted on the course page. The Student Guide to Carmen is at <http://telr.osu.edu/carmen-help/students/guide.html> (or click through from the main page).

### **Communication: Email and Carmen**

Please set both of my email addresses (@osu.edu and @polisci.osu.edu) to be accepted by any spam filter you may be using. If you send me an email, please put the course number in the subject line. Because of computer viruses, if I do not recognize the source of an email, I DELETE IT UNOPENED. I do not use Carmen's Pager function.

It is your responsibility to maintain communication with me by checking the Carmen website [daily](#) to see if any announcements have been made. Please do not play the "my email must have got lost somehow" game. Honesty goes a long way to gain my sympathy.

I will make every effort to respond to email quickly, but please recognize that I do not spend all my time next to a computer. Allow at least 24 hours for a reply.

## Assignments and Grades

Preparation, Attendance, & Participation	15%	
‘Democratization in Your Country’ Research		
Prompt Selection of a Country	2%	April 14
Paper (~2 pages)	10%	April 21
In-class Exam	20%	April 23
Article Review (3-5 pages)		
prompt selection of an article	3%	May 14
paper	25%	May 28
Take-Home Final Essay (3-4 pages)	25%	June 9 at 1:30pm

All extra credit must be turned in by June 5 at 5pm.

The first exam will be given in class relatively early in the quarter to ensure students learn and consolidate the “groundwork” material. The format will be multiple choice and short answer. The exam is April 23.

For a short research paper, each student will select one country that democratized during the third wave to become an expert on this quarter. Students will use specific library databases and resources to learn particular information about that country relevant to the course at that point. This paper will be awarded points for completion, but full feedback will be given so students understand the expectations for written work in this class. The paper is due April 21.

For the article review, each student will write 3-5 pages briefly summarizing and critically analyzing an academic article or equivalent book chapter. Each student will choose an article that s/he wishes to read that is *not* one of the course readings, that reflects both the topic of the course and the student’s own interests. Students must inform the instructor of the full bibliographic information of the article they select no later than May 14, to ensure it is an appropriate choice. The paper is due May 28. *Failure to find an article in a timely manner will not be accepted as a reason for an extension on the paper. Reviewing an inappropriate article, because it was not approved, is grounds for a zero on the paper.*

The final essay will be 3-4 pages, responding to prompts distributed on June 2. It is due by 1:30pm on Tuesday, June 9.

There will be opportunities to earn extra credit, both on quizzes/exams and through additional research, readings, or activities. Details of specific opportunities will be provided separately. All extra credit must be turned in by 5pm on Friday, June 5.

### Preparation, Attendance, and Participation

Assigned readings should be read *before* that day’s class. **Lectures and discussions will cover information not found in the readings and vice versa.** You are responsible for both. **You should obtain a hard copy of each reading, write on it (underline, make notes in the margins, etc), and bring it to class.** We want to answer the following questions:

- What are the main questions the reading seeks to answer?
- What claim is made? (Can you identify the main thesis?)
- What evidence is provided in support of this claim?
- Is this evidence and the overall argument convincing? Why (not)?
- What alternative arguments are acknowledged and addressed? Are they more convincing?

To prepare you for the class discussions, there are homework assignments that will be announced in class and on Carmen, graded for completion only. There will be no makeups for such assignments. Missing class and not checking Carmen for announcements are not valid excuses for failing to complete them. There are also occasionally unannounced reading quizzes. Again, there are no makeups.

The University expects students in this course to share their different perspectives with one another. Therefore, there will be a component of the course grade based on attendance and participation. Participation and interaction with others is a vital aspect of the educational process (and the political process). Therefore, it is essential that you attend class and are engaged in discussions. Appointments should be made outside of class time. If you miss class, get the notes from a classmate, and then see me to ask about anything that remains unclear. **Students are responsible for making sure they sign in each day.**

I recognize that not everyone feels comfortable talking in large groups. If public speaking just isn't your thing, you can still be prepared, attentive, and contribute to smaller group discussions. Part of a good strategy is to make sure I know who you are. There are a number of ways you can participate: talk to me before or after class or in my office, or send me an e-mail, or post questions or comments to the Carmen discussion boards.

Note that merely making your voice heard may not result in a good participation grade. *Constructive* comments and listening to your *peers'* contributions are part of being a good classroom citizen.

I do not often interrupt everyone's thought processes to stop behavior I find distracting, rude, or simply an indication that you are not paying attention, but I do notice it. Don't text during class.

### **Respect**

This is a course about politics, and there will be many different views among us. It is imperative that all members of the class are treated with respect. I encourage all students to openly discuss their views, as long as you also listen to the views of others respectfully and with an open mind. As the instructor, I promise to do the same. Please realize that often I will "play devil's advocate," asking you to defend your position regardless of my personal views. I will take whatever action I deem appropriate if anyone shows disrespect either to myself or to another student. This policy extends outside the official class time; for example, the same standards apply to the Carmen discussion boards.

### **Disability Accommodations**

I am committed to providing reasonable accommodations to students with documented disabilities. Any student who feels s/he may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss your specific needs. Please contact the Office for Disability Services at 614-292-3307 in room 150 Pomerene Hall to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities. Please speak with me as soon as possible so that we can make appropriate arrangements.

## **Academic Misconduct**

No cheating or plagiarism will be tolerated. If I suspect that a student has committed academic misconduct in this course, I am obligated by University Rules to report my suspicions to the Committee on Academic Misconduct. If COAM determines that you have violated the University's *Code of Student Conduct* (i.e., committed academic misconduct), the sanctions for the misconduct could include a failing grade in this course and suspension or dismissal from the University. More information can be found at <http://oaa.osu.edu/coam/faq.html>.

**If you are unfamiliar with how to properly cite sources and provide references, the library provides guides: <http://www.lib.ohio-state.edu/help/faq/html#citations>. Please talk with me if you need further help.**

All work turned in for this class should be done for this class and none other, and should be your own work. If you want to use the assignments in this class to build towards something (like an honors thesis), talk to me about how to do this in a manner that is sufficient both to meet the course requirements and to avoid academic misconduct.

## **Late Work and Missed Exam Policies**

Homework assignments will not be accepted late. There will be no makeups for them or for quizzes.

### Missed in-class exam:

You need to make every effort to take the exam with the class. If you will miss an exam, you must inform me as soon as possible before the class and provide documentation (letter from your student group advisor, funeral program, doctor's note, accident report, etc). You are required to make up the exam promptly, within one week, at a mutually acceptable time. Make-ups will not be given to students who do not follow this policy.

### Late papers and research assignments:

Assignments are due at the *beginning* of class on their due dates. For every day a paper is late (including weekends), 2/3 of a grade (so from an A- to a B, for example) will be deducted. Being significantly tardy to class the day an assignment is due, having missed class in order to complete it, will cause a deduction of 1/3 of a grade.

If you turn in a paper to my mailbox in Derby Hall 2140 *after* the time it was due, ask one of the office staff to note on it what time it was turned in. Otherwise I will assume it was placed in my box five minutes before I found it there. Please do not email papers to me; except under extraordinary circumstances, I only accept hard copies. If you email a paper to me, *I will send a confirmation email that I received it*. If you do not receive such an email, assume that I do not have your paper.

### Technical Glitches:

Technical glitches – a computer possessed by gremlins, a printer that unsympathetically runs out of ink, etc – happen. However, it is your responsibility to plan for such eventualities; they should not be an excuse for not turning in your work. If you are unable to print your paper before class, do what you can: email it to me or bring me a flash drive, and then print it out immediately after class to get me the hard copy.

***My bottom line on attendance and late work: be reasonable and honest, keep me informed, and work hard, and I'm likely to be flexible. Don't, and I'm likely not to be.***

Optional readings: Optional readings are of two categories. First, some I will draw on for my lecture that day. If you miss class or want another source from which to review the material, these readings may be a good place to start. Second, some optional readings are simply what I would have required, if we lived in an ideal world with infinite quantities of time.

I reserve the right to make adjustments to the course as needed as the quarter progresses. Announcements of such changes will be made on Carmen and in class.

## Schedule

**Reading should be completed *before* the class for which they are listed.**

### **WHAT: THE THIRD WAVE**

#### **March 31**

*Introductions and overview*

*The “third wave” of democratization*

Optional readings: Samuel P. Huntington. 1991. “The Waves of Democratization.” in *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. (U. of Oklahoma Press), pp. 13-26.

\*Howard Handelman. 2006. Excerpt from *The Challenge of Third World Development*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Pearson Prentice Hall), pp. 22-23 (the introduction of the chapter).

#### **April 2**

*Some vocabulary:*

*states, regimes, & governments*

*stages of democratization: breakdown/liberalization, transition, consolidation*

*the many meanings of ‘liberal’*

*Why would people support a non-democratic regime?*

Patrick O’Neil. 2008. *Essentials of Comparative Politics*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Norton), pp. 20-25, 118-124.

“There’s a word for that.” *Economist*. Nov. 6, 2005; p. 14.

\*Howard Handelman. 2006. “Democratic Transition and Consolidation.” Excerpt from *The Challenge of Third World Development*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Pearson Prentice Hall), pp.25-26.

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\* Handelman’s entire democratization chapter is posted on Carmen, as it is an excellent summary resource for the course. You will read more excerpts from it for April 28.

## WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

### **April 7**

*Defining democracy*

Robert A. Dahl. 1998. *On Democracy*. Ch. 4: "What is Democracy?", pp. 35-43.  
Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is...and Is Not."  
*Journal of Democracy*. (Summer), pp. 75-88. EXCERPTS from *Readings in Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*. Eds. Kesselman and Krieger. Pp. 160-171.

### **April 9**

*Defining democracy: electoral, liberal, and illiberal democracy*

Fareed Zakaria. 1997. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs*. (76: 6), pp. 22-43.

### **April 14: Select country for short research paper no later than today.**

*Consolidation, reversals, and competitive authoritarianism: Venezuela*

Javier Corrales. 2006. "Hugo Boss." *Foreign Policy*. (Jan/Feb), pp. 32-40

#### Optional reading:

Thomas Carothers. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy*. (13:1, January), pp. 5-18. EXCERPTS reprinted in *Readings in Comparative Politics: Political Challenges and Changing Agendas*. Eds. Kesselman and Krieger. Pp. 215-223.

### **April 16**

*Regime types and stages of democratization: how do we identify or measure them?*

"Measuring liberty: When freedom stumbles." *Economist*. January 17, 2008.  
Freedom House scale (posted on Carmen)  
2008 Freedom House Country Report for country selected for research paper

### **April 21: DUE: Short Research Paper**

*Why democracy? Why not democracy?*

*Review session.*

Amartya Sen. 1999. "Democracy as a Universal Value." *Journal of Democracy*. (10:3), pp. 3-17.

### **April 23: IN-CLASS EXAM**

Exam will cover the material listed here through April 16.

Format: multiple choice and short answer.

**WHY?**  
**PART 1: STRUCTURAL CAUSES OF DEMOCRATIZATION**

**April 28**

*Economic causes: modernization and development*

Howard Handelman. 2006. Excerpts from *The Challenge of Third World Development*:  
“Modernization Theory and the Importance of Cultural Values.” pp. 12-14.  
“Justifying Authoritarian Rule,” pp. 27-28.  
“Social and Economic Modernization” and “Class Structure.” pp. 32-34.  
(The second and third excerpts are part of Chapter 2, all of which is posted on Carmen as part of the first reading assignment. The first excerpt is posted by itself.)

**April 30**

*Economic causes continued: development continued.*

*Resource Curse: What is it? What are some hypotheses for why it exists?*

Review “Democracy and Economic Development” section of Sen, assigned April 21.  
Paul Collier. 2007. “The Natural Resource Trap.” Ch. 3 in *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. (Oxford Univ. Press), pp. 38-52.

Optional reading: Simon Romero, Michael Slackman, and Clifford J. Levy. “3 Oil-Rich Countries Face a Reckoning.” *The New York Times*. October 20, 2008. [about the effect of falling oil prices on Russia, Iran, & Venezuela]

**May 5**

*Culture as Cause: Are some cultures less conducive to democracy?*

Samuel Huntington. 1997. “After Twenty Years: The Future of the Third Wave.” *Journal of Democracy*. (8:4), pp. 3-12.  
Review “The Argument from Cultural Differences” section of Sen, assigned April 21.

Optional reading (for some historical & philosophical background on the Muslim world): Ladan Boroumand and Roya Boroumand. 2002. “Terror, Islam, and Democracy.” *Journal of Democracy*. (13:2, April), pp. 5-20.

In-class video: “The Road to 9/11” (An overview of the past century in the Middle East, and the origins of Islamists. There’s not a good way to get the information in this video if you miss class.)

**May 7**

*A response to Huntington, with a few more hypotheses about structural & historical factors.*

M. Steven Fish. 2002. “Islam & Authoritarianism.” *World Politics*. (55, October), Reprinted in *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*, pp. 216-228.

**May 12**

*Catch-up day.* (Get ahead on reading as the assignment for May 19 is long.)



**WHY?**  
**PART 2: PEOPLE AS CAUSES OF DEMOCRATIZATION**

**May 14: ARTICLE SELECTION DUE**

*Democratization: Who?*

*Why do masses of people protest for change? What determines if they succeed?*

“A rainbow of revolutions: bloodless regime change.” *The Economist*. January 21, 2006.  
\*\*Try to “ignore” the Economist’s editorializing about current international relations; focus on the importance of ‘people power’ in many transitions.

Optional reading (on social networking sites as a protest organizing tool in Egypt): Samantha M. Shapiro. “Revolution, Facebook Style.” *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*. January 22, 2009.

In-class video: CNN’s *Cold War*, Episodes 23 & 24 on Eastern Europe’s democratic revolutions. (Again, there’s not a good way to make up this information if you miss class.)

**May 19**

*Democratization: Who? (continued)*

*What are the divisions among the leaders?*

*What are the issues facing negotiators?*

Instructor’s introductory material in the Reading Guide (required)  
Nelson Mandela. 1994. *Long Walk to Freedom*. (Little, Brown), pp. 517-558, 585-612.

In-class simulation: Negotiating the end of apartheid.

**May 21**

*Is democratization dangerous? Who or what might make it dangerous, under what circumstances?*

Mark R. Beissinger. 2008. “A New Look at Ethnicity and Democratization.” *Journal of Democracy*. (19:3, July), pp. 86-97.

**WHY?**  
**PART 3: EXTERNAL CAUSES OF DEMOCRATIZATION**

**May 26**

*International Environment (Cold War and post-Cold War)*  
*Sanctions*

David Baldwin. “Sanctions Have Gotten a Bum Rap...” *Los Angeles Times*. August 18, 2004.

Fareed Zakaria. “How to Change Ugly Regimes.” *Newsweek*. June 27, 2005.

**May 28: ARTICLE REVIEW DUE**

*Military intervention and occupation: peace-keeping versus nation-building*  
*Democracy Promotion Programs: What are they? What ideas are they based on? Do they work?*

- Francis Fukuyama. 2006. "Nation-Building and the Failure of Institutional Memory." *Nation-Building: Beyond Afghanistan and Iraq*. (John Hopkins Univ. Press), pp. 1-16.
- Steven E. Finkel, Anibal Perez-Linan, and Mitchell A. Seligson. 2007. "The Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building: 1990-2003." *World Politics*. (59: April). Read EXCERPTS ONLY as posted on Carmen.

**WHERE NEXT?  
CASE STUDIES**

**June 2**

*Given what we know about why democratization has happened elsewhere, is it likely to happen in China?*

- Minxin Pei. 2007. "How will China Democratize?" *Journal of Democracy*. (18:3, July), pp. 53-57.

In-class video: Frontline's *The Tank Man* (on China's modernization and Tiananmen Square)  
Episode website: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tankman/>

*Final essay prompts distributed today.*

**June 4**

*Think about each cause of democratization we've discussed this quarter and what the likelihood is that that cause could have an effect in Zimbabwe.*

- Samantha Power. 2003. "How To Kill A Country." *The Atlantic Monthly*. (December), pp. 86-100.

Optional reading: Celia W. Dugger. "Fragile Signs of Hope Emerging in the Gloom of Mugabe's Rule." *The New York Times*. March 19, 2009.

**Friday, June 5 - All extra credit due by 5pm.**

**Final Exam: Tuesday, June 9**

Final essay due at 1:30pm to my mailbox (Derby 2140).