

Problems of Democracy in Comparative Perspective: A Graduate Seminar

Politics 210 • Spring 2016 • 62933
University of California, Santa Cruz
Prof. Benjamin L. Read
Syllabus

Email: bread (at) ucsc (dot) edu
Instructor's web site: <http://benread.net>
Course web site: <http://ecommons.ucsc.edu/>
Course meetings: Merrill 134, Mondays, 5pm to 8pm
Office hours: Wednesdays noon to 2pm, and by appointment
Date of this syllabus: April 15, 2016. Subject to change; check websites for latest version.

Overview:

Democracy is among the most essential of political concepts, and a fundamentally contested one. Since the 1980s, scholars of comparative politics have given much attention to explaining why and when countries transition from authoritarianism and adopt democratic institutions. Yet even where this has taken place, regime change at the national level only sets the stage, leaving us with a set of deeper questions about what democracy really means in practice — how it plays out (or is undermined) throughout the state and at subnational levels, whom it includes and excludes, what options it opens and what possibilities it forecloses. These relate to, and give us points of entry into, long debates about the potential and the limitations of democracy in general.

This course engages with central concepts and works of political theory, but is empirical in overall orientation. The questions democracy poses are often universal, and many of its problems and flaws are manifest in “early democratizers” as well as in new democracies. Therefore, while the course aims for broad geographic scope, focusing on a variety of developing-world and post-authoritarian settings, it also includes studies of the United States and Europe.

We begin by examining core concepts such as *democracy* and *representation*; here and through the “quality of democracy” literature we begin a theme of identifying strengths and weaknesses in political arrangements. We then turn to the particular topics of colonial and authoritarian legacies, clientelism, and corruption, all of which are seen as vitiating democracy in one way or another. Finally, we examine democracy in particular sites and forms: parties and legislatures, cities and neighborhoods, and in institutions of direct participation.

This course is intended for graduate students in Politics and related social science disciplines, though it may be of interest to students in history, the humanities, and other fields. Highly motivated undergraduates with strong academic records are also welcome to request to take the course. There are no prerequisites for this seminar. We aim to familiarize ourselves with parts of the vast relevant literatures while also identifying opportunities for new research contributions.

Assignments and ground rules:

- Actively help build an enthusiastic, far-ranging, thoughtful, critical and constructive discussion.
- Do the required readings prior to each class session and come prepared to contribute to the conversation. Acquire the readings well in advance of class so as to avoid logistical problems.
- Attend each class session unless unavoidable circumstances make it impossible to do so. Given that we have only ten class meetings, please plan to attend every one and do not schedule things that conflict with class.
- Present a reading occasionally, per arrangements that will be made collectively the week before. Participation and presentations together constitute 30% of the quarter grade.
- Write five reading responses, at least two pages and six hundred words each (30%). My web site has a page providing guidance for these. You may choose the weeks you wish to address, and the first week of class is fair game. On those weeks, turn in your response paper by 9 a.m. on the day of class, via email attachment (Word or PDF format).
- Students will also submit a final paper (40%). Please suggest a topic to me before Week 5. The paper should be at least 12 pages in length and turned in both via email and in hard copy; it should be work that you have written this quarter and not used in other classes for academic credit.
- The paper could be a literature review of one or two issues related to the course, drawing on a reasonably wide

selection of material. This could (for instance) explore theoretical, conceptual, and/or definitional questions.

- It could be a substantive/empirical paper on a relevant topic
- Other formats can be discussed.

Academic integrity:

- Excerpts from UCSC's Policy on Academic Integrity for Graduate Students (http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic_integrity/graduate_students/): "Academic misconduct includes but is not limited to cheating, plagiarism, fabrication, falsification, research fraud, or facilitating academic dishonesty or as further specified in campus policies and regulations, including the Campus Policy on Research Integrity. ... In cases in which academic misconduct has been determined to occur, sanctions may include dismissal, suspension for a specified period, and notation of academic misconduct on a student's transcript, including all external copies, for a specified period."
- I take academic integrity very seriously and I expect all students to do the same.
- Concerning the use of sources in your writing, and understanding and avoiding plagiarism, the single most thorough (though it is concise) and illuminating discussion I know of is Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students*, 2nd edition (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008). A copy will be available on eCommons. I strongly recommend that you obtain and read this inexpensive book, both for your own use and for your work as an instructor.

Special accommodations:

If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please submit your Accommodation Authorization from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me during my office hours in a timely manner, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. Contact DRC at 459-2089 (voice), 459-4806 (TTY).

Note:

This is a draft syllabus. For some books listed below I have yet to determine exactly which chapters will be assigned.

Week 1: Introduction

Monday, March 28, 2016

Our goals in the first class session are as follows: Introduce the course; consider or acquaint ourselves with various definitions and purposes of democracy; start to consider "problems" or questions related to democracy; discuss particular topics of interest to students; customize the syllabus. Bring questions, topics, or cases that you are thinking about.

- Tom Christiano, "Democracy," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/democracy/>
- Charles Tilly, *Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, chapters 1 and 2
- Hawkins, Kirk A. "Chavismo, Liberal Democracy, and Radical Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19, no. 1 (2016)

Further reading

- Ringen, Stein, *Nation of Devils: Democratic Leadership and the Problem of Obedience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013)
- Runciman, David, *The Confidence Trap: A History of Democracy in Crisis from World War I to the Present* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2013)
- Adam Przeworski, "The Minimalist Theory of Democracy: A Defense," in Ian Shapiro and Hacker-Cordón, *Democracy's Value* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- McDonald, Michael, Silvia Mendes, and Ian Budge. 2004. "What are Elections For? Conferring the Median Mandate." *British Journal of Political Science* 34(1): 1-26.

Week 2: Democracy: Concepts and Problems

Monday, April 4, 2016

- Schumpeter, Joseph A., “The Classical Theory of Democracy,” “Another Theory of Democracy,” and “The Inference,” chapters 21-23 of *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, third edition (New York: Harper, 1950). Note that a version of this text is available via Cruzcat, from a 2010 edition of the book.
- Dahl, Robert A., *Democracy and Its Critics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), first three chapters of part III, “A Theory of the Democratic Process”
- Kiss, Elizabeth, ‘Democracy and the Politics of Recognition’, in *Democracy’s Edges*, ed. by Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón, Contemporary Political Theory (London ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 193–209
- Drakeley, Steven, “Indonesia’s Low-Quality Democracy Consolidated: The Dangers of Drift and Corrosion,” and Quimpo, Nathan Gilbert, “The Limits of Post-Plunder Reform in the Philippines’ Oligarchic Democracy,” in *Democracy in Eastern Asia: Issues, Problems and Challenges in a Region of Diversity*, ed. by Edmund S. K. Fung and Steven Drakeley, (Routledge, 2014), pp. 83–101, 119–138
- O’Donnell, Guillermo, ‘Delegative Democracy’, *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (1994), 55–69

Further reading

- Shapiro, Ian. “Introduction: Revisiting Democracy’s Place.” In *The Real World of Democratic Theory*, 1–38. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), full text available on Cruzcat.
- Ernesto Laclau, “Democracy and the Question of Power,” *Constellations* 8:1 (2001)
- C. Wright Mills, “The Mass Society,” chapter 13 in *The Power Elite* (1956)
- Claude Lefort, “The Question of Democracy,” in *Democracy and Political Theory*, translated by David Macey (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988)
- Scott Ashworth. 2012. “Electoral Accountability: Recent Theoretical and Empirical Work,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 15: 183-201

Week 3: Representation

Monday, April 11, 2016

- Suzanne Dovi, “Political Representation,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/political-representation/>.
- Manin, Bernard, Adam Przeworski, and Susan C. Stokes, ‘Elections and Representation’, in *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, ed. by Adam Przeworski, Susan Carol Stokes, and Bernard Manin (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 29–54
- Mala Htun, *Inclusion without Representation in Latin America: Gender Quotas and Ethnic Reservations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), chapters 1, 2, 3, 7, 8
- Ian Shapiro, et al. (eds.), *Political Representation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), short introduction and chapter by Pettit
- Urbinati, Nadia, and Mark E. Warren, ‘The Concept of Representation in Contemporary Democratic Theory’, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11 (2008), 387–412

Further reading

- Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).
- Lisa Disch, 2011. “Toward a Mobilization Conception of Democratic Representation,” *American Political Science Review*, 105 (1): 100–114.
- Mansbridge, Jane, 1999. “Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent ‘Yes’,” *The Journal of Politics*, 61: 628–57.
- Justin Grimmer, Sean J. Westwood, and Solomon Messing, *The Impression of Influence: Legislator Communication, Representation, and Democratic Accountability* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014)
- Mark Warren and Hilary Pearce (eds.), *Designing Deliberative Democracy: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Week 4: Quality of democracy

Monday, April 18, 2016

- Stein Ringen, "The Measurement of Democracy: Towards a New Paradigm," *Society*, 48/1 (2011), 12-16.
- Andrew Lawrence Roberts, *The Quality of Democracy in Eastern Europe: Public Preferences and Policy Reforms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), chapters 1, 2, 4, 5; pp 1-48, 73-109
- Levine, Daniel H., and José Enrique Molina, eds., *The Quality of Democracy in Latin America* (Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2011), chapters 1-3
- Philippe C. Schmitter, "The Ambiguous Virtues of Accountability," *Journal of Democracy*, 15/4 (October 2004), pp. 47–60
- Marc F. Plattner, "A Skeptical Afterword," *Journal of Democracy*, 15/4 (October 2004), pp. 106–110

Further reading

- Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Jorge Vargas Cullel, and Osvaldo Miguel Iazzetta, *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).
- McElwain, Kenneth Mori. 2008. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single Party Dominance." *American Journal of Political Science* 52 (1): 32-47.
- Brinks, Daniel, Marcelo Leiras, and Scott Mainwaring, eds., *Reflections on Uneven Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O'Donnell* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014)
- Robert Pinkney, *Democracy in the Third World* (Boulder, Col.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003).

Week 5: Clientelism

Monday, April 25, 2016

- Isabela Mares and Lauren Young. 2016. "Buying, Expropriating, and Stealing Votes," *Annual Review of Political Science*.
- Hilgers, Tina, "Clientelism and Conceptual Stretching: Differentiating among Concepts and among Analytical Levels," *Theory and Society*, 40 (2011), 567–88
- Javier Auyero, *Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), introduction and chapters 1, 3, 5, and conclusion, pp. 1-44, 80–118, 152–181, 205–214
- Tina Hilgers (ed.), *Clientelism in Everyday Latin American Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), chapters 1 (Tina Hilgers), 8 (Eduardo Canel), 10 (Jonathan Fox) [[available online via CruzCat](#)]
- Kate Baldwin. 2013. "Why Vote with the Chief? Political Connections and Public Goods Provision in Zambia," *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 794-809.

Further reading

- Stokes, Susan. 2007. "Political Clientelism." In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* by Boix and Stokes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson, "Citizen-Politician Linkages: An Introduction," in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson (eds.), *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-49.
- Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro. 2012. "What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt Out of Clientelism," *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 568-83.
- Riordon, William. *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*. New York: Signet, 1995.
- Miriam A Golden. 2003. "Electoral Connections: The Effects of the Personal Vote on Political Patronage, Bureaucracy and Legislation in Postwar Italy." *British Journal of Political Science* 33, no. 1: 189-212.
- Simeon Nichter. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot," *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 19-31.

Week 6: Direct Participation

Monday, May 2, 2016

- Barber, Benjamin R., *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), chapters 1 and 8, pp. 3–25, 163–212

- Daniel Martinez HoSang, *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), introduction, chapters 1 and 7, and conclusion; you may wish to read other chapters too [[full text available on CruzCat](#)]
- Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.), *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance* (London: Verso, 2003), these chapters:
 - 1, Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright, “Thinking about Empowered Participatory Governance”
 - 4, Archon Fung, “Deliberative Democracy, Chicago Style: Grass-roots Governance in Policing and Public Education”
 - 6, Jane Mansbridge, “Practice–Thought–Practice”
- Benjamin A. Olken. 2010. “Direct Democracy and Local Public Goods: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia,” *American Political Science Review* 104(2): 243–67.

Further reading

- Mansbridge, Jane J., *Beyond Adversary Democracy* (New York: Basic Books, 1980)
- Benjamin Goldfrank, *Deepening Local Democracy in Latin America: Participation, Decentralization, and the Left* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011)
- Lupia, Arthur, and John G. Matsusaka, ‘Direct Democracy: New Approaches to Old Questions’, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7 (2004), 463–82
- Carmen Sirianni, *Investing in Democracy: Engaging Citizens in Collaborative Governance* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2009).
- Rebecca Abers and Margaret E. Keck, *Practical Authority: Agency and Institutional Change in Brazilian Water Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Rebecca Neaera Abers, *Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil* (Boulder, Col.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000).

Week 7: Cities and local democracy

Monday, May 9, 2016

- Richard Gendron and G. William Domhoff, *The Leftmost City: Power and Progressive Politics in Santa Cruz* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2009).
- Clarence N. Stone and Robert Phillip Stoker, *Urban Neighborhoods in a New Era: Revitalization Politics in the Postindustrial City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), chapter on Chicago by Betancur, Mossberger, and Zhang
- Trounstein, Jessica, ‘Representation and Accountability in Cities’, *Annual Review of Political Science*, 13 (2010), 407–23

Further reading

- G. William Domhoff, “Who Really Ruled in Dahl’s New Haven?” (2014) http://whorulesamerica.net/local/new_haven.html
- Pierre, Jon, ‘Can Urban Regimes Travel in Time and Space? Urban Regime Theory, Urban Governance Theory, and Comparative Urban Politics’, *Urban Affairs Review*, 50 (2014), 864–89
- Benjamin R. Barber, *If Mayors Ruled the World: Dysfunctional Nations, Rising Cities* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
- Stone, Clarence N., *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1989)
- Pasotti, Eleonora, *Political Branding in Cities: The Decline of Machine Politics in Bogotá, Naples, and Chicago* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- Logan, John R., and Harvey L. Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987)
- Stone, Clarence N., ‘Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach’, *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 15 (1993), 1–28
- Archon Fung, *Empowered Participation: Reinventing Urban Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
- Berry, Jeffrey M., Kent E. Portney, and Ken Thomson, *The Rebirth of Urban Democracy* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1993)

Week 8: Parties and legislatures

Monday, May 16, 2016

- Gryzmala-Busse, Anna. 2006. "Authoritarian Determinants of Democratic Party Competition." *Party Politics* 12: 415-437
- Tavits, Margit. 2005. "The Development of Stable Party Support: Electoral Dynamics in Post-Communist Europe." *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 283-298.
- Luna, Juan Pablo, "Segmented Party-voter Linkages in Latin America: The Case of the UDI," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 42 (2010), 325-56
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk A. Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas, Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. *Latin American Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Further reading

- Bonnie N. Field and Peter M. Siavelis. 2008. "Candidate Selection Procedures in Transitional Polities" *Party Politics* 14, no. 5: 620-39
- Desposato, Scott W. 2006. "Parties for Rent? Ambition, Ideology and Party Switching in Brazil's Chamber of Deputies." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50: 62-80.

Further reading

Week 9: Colonial and authoritarian legacies

Monday, May 23, 2016

- Allen Hicken, Erik Martinez Kuhonta, and Meredith L. Weiss (eds.), *Party System Institutionalization in Asia : Democracies, Autocracies, and the Shadows of the Past* (Cambridge University Press, 2014) [chapters to be selected from this and other books]
- Christine Keating, *Decolonizing Democracy: Transforming the Social Contract in India* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).
- Allyson Lucinda Benton, "Bottom-up Challenges to National Democracy: Mexico's (Legal) Subnational Authoritarian Enclaves," *Comparative Politics*, 44/3 (April 2012), 253-71.
- Edward L. Gibson, *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies* (Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
- Robert Mickey, *Paths out of Dixie: The Democratization of Authoritarian Enclaves in America's Deep South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

Further reading

- Xinhuan Xia and Laurence Whitehead (eds.), *Democracy or Alternative Political Systems in Asia: After the Strongmen* (Routledge Contemporary China Series, 2014)

Week 10: Corruption

Monday, May 30, 2016

- Mireille Razafindrakoto and Francois Roubaud. 2010. "Are International Databases on Corruption Reliable? A Comparison of Expert Opinion Surveys and Household Surveys in Sub-Saharan Africa," *World Development* 38(8): 1057-69.
- Benjamin A. Olken. 2007. "Monitoring Corruption: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia," *Journal of Political Economy* 115(2): 200-49.
- Eric Chang, Miriam Golden, and Seth J. Hill. 2010. "Legislative Malfeasance and Political Accountability," *World Politics* 62(2): 177-220.
- Jong-sung You, *Democracy, Inequality and Corruption: Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines Compared* (Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Further reading

- Susan Rose-Ackerman, *Corruption: Causes, Consequences, and Reform*. Cambridge: CUP, 1999
- Jana Kunicova and Susan Rose-Ackerman. 2005. "Electoral Rules as Constraints on Corruption." *British Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 4: 573-606.

- Gabriella Montinola and Robert Jackman. 2002. "Sources of Corruption: A Cross-country Study." *British Journal of Political Science* 32, no. 1: 147-70.
- Waterbury, John. "Endemic and Planned Corruption in a Monarchical Regime," *World Politics* July 1973, vol 25 issue 4: 533-555.
- Alberto Chong, Ana L. De La O, Dean Karlan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2015. "Does Corruption Information Inspire the Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field Experiment in Mexico on Voter Turnout, Choice, and Party Identification," *Journal of Politics* 77(1): 55-71.