

## Course Description

The notion of democratic transitions has become a “buzzword” in political science. This course examines the conceptual framework surrounding this idea. Because this term is of recent origin, having proliferated after the collapse of communism, the question needs to be addressed whether the idea of a democratic transition represents a moment of Western triumphalism in the wake of communism’s collapse or a legitimate theory applicable across time and space. To interrogate the notion of democratic transitions suggests a number of questions: First, what is the nature of the two core concepts that comprise this theory, namely “democracy” and “transition.” Is the concept of democracy subject to a universal definition? Did it mean the same thing in ancient Athens, for example, as it does in the modern era, e.g., in contemporary United States, India, Spain and Japan? Second, what do we mean by the concept of transition? Do all transitions assume the same form? Is the notion of transition the same in early modern Europe as it is in post-communist Eastern Europe and non-Western societies of the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Finally, how do we know when a transition is successful? What do we mean by a democratic consolidation? Are democracies ever fully consolidated? Alexis de Tocqueville predicted an imminent universalization of democracy in the 1840s. After the “war to end all wars,” and the defeat of fascism during World War II, further predictions were forthcoming that the ascendancy of democracy was right around the corner.

What this course suggests is that the theorist who is committed to democracy in a normative as well as analytic sense needs to be extremely cautious about accepting formulaic propositions about the long-term sustainability of democratic governance. It also suggests the need to explore the antithesis of democratic governance, namely the causes of authoritarian rule. While we may want to develop a more “open-ended” approach to democratic change, this does not mean that we cannot formulate testable hypotheses about the causal factors that promote democracy as well as those that impede its implementation and lead instead to political repression. Finally, how can we synthesize “small N,” case study oriented research on democratic transitions with larger structural and especially quantitative research on the topic?

Course requirements entail periodic presentation of readings in class and the submission of a research paper of at least 20 pages, irrespective of footnotes and bibliography. While the instructor has generated two-thirds of the course readings, seminar participants are expected to submit the remaining one third of the readings that reflect their own research interests. It is assumed that seminar participants will write their research papers with an eye to submitting them, either as single authors, or in collaboration with another seminar member(s). Because this seminar will continue during the Spring 2007 Semester as 790:686 Advanced research in Comparative Politics: “Legitimacy, Hegemony and the State,” seminar participants may want to wait to submit their work for publication until May 2007. An article accepted for publication prior to completion of the dissertation will benefit the student. However, seminar participants are under no obligation to submit their course work for publication.

My office hours are Wednesday from 10:30-12:00 in Hickman Hall 512; my email is: <[emdavis@rci.rutgers.edu](mailto:emdavis@rci.rutgers.edu)>. All students will be assigned to the seminar listserv.

## Course Readings

Available at the Douglass Coop Bookstore, Nichol Ave., (732)932-9017 (contact: Deb Nilson)

- Binder, Leonard, *Islamic Liberalism: A Critique of Development Theory* (Chicago)  
Davis, Eric, *Memories of State: Politics, History and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq* (California)  
Dahl, Robert, *Polyarchy* (Yale)  
Held, David, *Models of Democracy* (Stanford)  
Moore, Barrington, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Beacon)  
Tocqueville, Alexis de, *Democracy in America* (Harper-Collins/J.P. Mayer ed.)

## Course Outline

- I. Introduction (January 19, 26)  
Dahl, *Polyarchy*, 1-32  
Diamond, Larry, "Universal Democracy?", *Policy Review* 119 (June 2003):  
<http://www.policyreview.org/jun03/diamond.html>  
Juan Linz & Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, 3-15  
Recommended:  
Dankwart Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy," in Lisa Anderson, *Transitions to Democracy*, 14-41  
Larry Diamond et al, *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, xiii-xlvi
- II. Classical conceptualizations of democracy (January 26)  
Held, *Models of Democracy*, 16-120  
Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 31-98  
Recommended:  
Robert Dahl, *On Democracy*, 35-43
- III. Transitions to democracy I: Early modern Europe (Feb. 2, 9)  
Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, 3-110  
Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*, 1-61  
Tocqueville, *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, 97-120, 138-148  
Recommended:  
Skocpol, Theda, *States and Social Revolutions*, 47-111
- IV. Transitions to Democracy II: an American exceptionalism? (Feb. 9)  
Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 246-315, 572-584  
Huntington, Samuel, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, 93-139  
Moore, *Social Origins*, 111-155  
Recommended:  
Hartz, Louis, *The Liberal Tradition in America*, 89-144
- V. Transitions to Democracy III: Non-Western Countries Under Colonial Rule (Feb. 16)  
Davis, E., *Challenging Colonialism: Bank Misr and Egyptian Industrialization, 1920-*

1941, 12-79

Davis, *Memories of State*, 29-108

Recommended:

Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 34-127

E. Davis, "Representations of the Middle East at American Worlds' Fairs, 1876-1904," in Abbas Amanat and Magnus Berhardsson, eds., *The United States and the Middle East: Cultural Encounters*, <http://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/~davis>

VI. Modern theories of authoritarianism and democracy: Western and Non-Western Models (Feb.3, Mar 2)

Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 305-340

Dahl, *Polyarchy*, 62-104

Wendy Brown, *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*, 166-196

Binder, "The Natural History of Development Theory," *Islamic Liberalism*, 24-84

Ronald Inglehart, "Culture and Democracy," in Lawrence Harrison and Samuel

Huntington, eds., *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*, 80-97

Francis Fukuyama, "Social Capital," in Harrison and Huntington, *Culture Matters*, 98-111

Recommended:

Held, *Models of Democracy*, 231-273

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Economic Development and Democracy," in *Political Man*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., 1960, 28-63.

Adam Przeworski et al, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*,

Leonard Wantchekon, "The Paradox of 'Warlord' Democracy: A Theoretical Investigation", in *APSR* 98/1 (February 2004): 17 - 33

VII. The Antinomies of Authoritarian Rule: Spain and Iraq (Mar. 9, 23)

Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 189-220, 247-269

Pérez-Díaz, Victor, "From Civil War to Civil Society: Social Capital in Spain from the 1930s to the 1990s," in Robert Putnam, ed., *Democracies in Flux*, 245-287

Linz & Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transitions and Consolidations*, 87-115

Richard Gunther et al, *Democracy in Spain*, 1-130

Davis, *Memories of State*, 109-147

Recommended:

Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and Revolutionary Movements of Iraq*, 465-482, 764-807

VIII. Historical Memory, Religion and Democracy: Egypt and Iraq (Mar. 30)

Davis, *Memories of State*, 1-28

Tocqueville, *The Old Régime*, 5-14

Davis, Eric, "The Concept of Revival and the Study of Islam and Politics," in Barbara Stowasser, ed., *The Islamic Impulse*, <http://fas-polisci-rutgers.edu/~davis>

Binder, *Islamic Liberalism*, 243-335

Hanafi, Hasan, "Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society: A Reflective Islamic

Approach,” in Simone Chambers and Will Kymlicka, eds. *Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society*, 172-189

Recommended:

E. Davis, “The New Iraq: The Uses of Historical Memory,” *The Journal of Democracy*, 16/3 (July 2005): <http://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/~davis>

E. Davis, *Strategies for Promoting Democracy in Iraq*, US Institute of Peace Special Report, 153 (October 2005): <http://fas-polisci.rutgers.edu/~davis>

IX. Ethnic Conflict and Democratic Transitions: Spain and Serbia (Apr. 6)

Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 222-266

Stuart Kaufman, *Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War*, 1-48, 165-201

Montserrat Guibernau, *Catalan Nationalism: Francoism, Transition and Democracy*, 34-69

Matthew Colin, *Guerilla Radio*, 65-131

Recommended:

Robert Thomas, *Serbia Under Milošević*, 163-175

P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and F. Stephen Larrabee, “Democratization in South-Eastern Europe: Theoretical considerations and Evolving Trends”, in *Experimenting with Democracy: Regime Change in the Balkans*, 24 - 64

X.. Democratic Transitions: Participant Readings I (Apr. 13)

Nietzsche, *The Uses and Abuses of History*, 5-73

Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History,” in *Illuminations*, 253-264

Sheldon Wolin, “Norm and Form: The Constitutionalizing of Democracy,” in P.

Euben et al, *Athenian Political Thought and the Reconstruction of Democracy*, 29-58

Barry R. Strauss, “The Melting Pot, the Mosaic and the Agora,” in *Athenian political Thought*, 252-264

Isaiah Berlin, “Two Concepts of Liberty,” in *Four Essays on Liberty*, 119-172.

XI. Democratic Transitions: Participant Readings II (Apr. 20)

Partha Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed: Reflections on Popular Politics in Most of the World*, 53-78

David Collier and Robert Adcock, “Democracy and Dichotomies: A Pragmatic Approach to Choices About Concepts,” *APSR* (1999) 2: 537-565.

Evelyn Huber et al, “The Paradoxes of Formal Democracy: Formal, Participatory and Social Dimensions,” in L. Anderson, *Transitions to Democracy*, 168-192

Chris Zambelis, “The Strategic Implications of Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Middle East,” *Parameters* (Autumn 2005): 87-102

Pearl T. Robinson, “Democratization: Understanding the Relationship Between Regime Change and the Culture of Politics,” *African Studies Review* (1994) 1, 2: 39-67

XII. Democratic Transitions: Participant Readings III (Apr. 27)

Sheri Berman, “Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic,” *World Politics* 49/3 (1997): 401-429

Sheldon Garon, “From Meiji to Heisei: The State and Civil Society in Japan,” in Frank J.

Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr, *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, 42-62  
Katherine Verdery, "Theorizing Socialism: A Prologue to the 'Transition,'" *American Ethnologist* 18/3 (1991): 419-439.  
Robert Thomas, *Serbia Under Milošević: Politics in the 1990s*, 1-24  
Augustus Richard Norton, "Thwarted Politics: The Case of Egypt's Hizb al-Wasat," in Richard Hefner, *Remaking Muslim Politics*, 132-160.

XIII. Summations and course evaluation (May 2)