

## **THE POLITICS OF DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION (AND DECONSOLIDATION)**

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**May 18-June 12, 2020**

### **Course Overview**

This course offers a comprehensive theoretical and empirical overview of the politics of regime transitions and democratic consolidation in developing states. The focus will be on the challenge of moving beyond processes of negotiation and “pact making” in transitioning systems to consolidating democratic institutions, laws, rules, processes and norms. The first section of the class will address different arenas through which dynamics of consolidation typically unfold, including the rebuilding of legislatures, electoral systems and political parties, private sector market reforms, the restructuring of security sectors, and the shift from transitional to sustained justice and judicial independence. Topics such as corruption, peace building in divided societies, and the role of international institutions in supporting consolidation will also be explored. Class readings will also feature case studies of a range of cases drawn from different regions including Eastern Europe, Latin America, Southeast Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. Cases of both successful and failed consolidation will be included to help identify policy choices, contexts and sequences that advance or undercut consolidation.

To enhance the students’ understanding of the theory and practice of democratic consolidation students will spend one week in Tunisia. In the wake of the 2011 Arab political uprisings, Tunisia was the only country that experienced an actual transition from autocracy to democracy. 2014 marked the end of the transition period and the beginning of democratic consolidation, a process that is still unfolding today. In conjunction with the academic exchange foundation “Tunis Exchange” over a period of six days, students will meet with a diverse range of actors: political leaders from government, the parties and the parliament, NGO social activists, scholars, security reform experts, journalists, business leaders, American embassy officials and representatives from international assistance groups based in Tunisia. These meetings will not be limited to the capital Tunis. Students will undertake a one day trip to a rural town, where they will meet with governmental leaders, business people, and social activists who are grappling with a range of developmental challenges. On the seventh day of the Tunis trip students will spend one full day reviewing the lessons and insights gained from the field research. This overseas section of the course will build on the highly successful Tunis program that Georgetown University Government Department conducted in June 2019. Empirically, the focus will be on the challenge of democratic consolidation in the wake of the October 2019 presidential and parliamentary elections. The 2020 Tunisia Trip will take place from June 6 to June 14, 2020, and will be led by Professor Daniel Brumberg, Director of Democracy and Governance Programs at Georgetown University, in conjunction with other academics including Tunisia specialist Professor Monica Marks. It should be noted that most of our meetings will be conducted in English but when they are not, simultaneous translation will be provided. There is thus no need for Arabic or French but some knowledge of one or both of these languages will enhance the Tunisia based experience.

**Course Requirements:** Two in class presentations of readings by students, and one 25 page final paper integrating readings and field experience and research in Tunisia.

**Class Materials:** To be provided in Zip file to all the students.

## **COURSE READINGS:**

### **Class One: What is Democratic Consolidation?**

Schedler, Andreas. "What is Democratic Consolidation?," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1998), pp. 91-107.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7, No.2 (1996), pp. 34-51.

Mainwaring, Scott. "Transitions to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative Issues," *Working Paper*, No. 130 (1989). Retrieved from [https://kellogg.nd.edu/sites/default/files/old\\_files/documents/130\\_0.pdf](https://kellogg.nd.edu/sites/default/files/old_files/documents/130_0.pdf).

### **Classes Two and Three: Democratic Transitions and Consolidation**

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," in Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu and Hung-mao Tien, eds., *Consolidating the* Schedler, Andreas. "What is Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1998), pp. 91-107.

Diamond, Larry. "Consolidating Democracy," in *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 64-116.

\_\_\_\_\_. Consolidating Democracy in the Americas Author(s): Larry Diamond Source: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 550, NAFTA Revisited: Expectations and Realities (Mar., 1997), pp. 12-41

Richard Gunther, Hans-Jurgen Puhle, and P. Nikiforos, "Introduction," in their *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 1-23.

### **Classes Four and Five: Institutional Design: Parties and Parliaments**

#### **Elections and Political Parties:**

John M. Carey, "Institutional Design and Party Systems," in Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu and Hung-mao Tien, eds., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 67-92.

Gebethner, Stanislaw. "Free Elections and Political Parties in Transition to Democracy in Central and Southeastern Europe." *International Political Science Review*, vol. 18, no. 4 (1997), pp. 381–399.

Lindberg, Staffan I. *Democratization by Election : A New Mode of Transition* . (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009)

Ellen Lust and David Waldner, "Parties in Transitional Democracies: Authoritarian Legacies and Post-Authoritarian Challenges in the Middle East and North Africa," in Nancy G. Bermeo and Deborah J. Yashar, eds., *Parties, Movements and Democracy in the Developing World*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 157-189.

### **Class Six: Parliaments and Presidents**

Linz, Juan J. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 1, no. 1, (1990), pp. 51–69.

Remington, Thomas F., ed., *Parliaments in Transition: The New Legislative Politics in the Former USSR and Eastern Europe*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994)

Fish, M. Steven. "Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 17, no. 1 (2006), pp. 5–20.

### **Class Seven: Law and Judiciary and Transitional Justice**

Nalepa, Monika. "Captured Commitments: An Analytic Narrative of Transitions with Transitional Justice." *World Politics*, vol. 62, no. 2 (2010), pp. 341–80.

Stotzky, Irwin P., *Transition to Democracy in Latin America: The Role of the Judiciary* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993)

Gibler, Douglas M., and Kirk A. Randazzo. "Testing the Effects of Independent Judiciaries on the Likelihood of Democratic Backsliding." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 55, no. 3 (2011), pp. 696–709.

### **Classes Eight and Ninet: The Security Sector**

Aguero, F. "Legacies of Transitions: Institutionalization, the Military, and Democracy in South America." *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 42 (1998), pp. 383–404.

Rubin Luckham, "Democratic Strategies for Security in Transition and Conflict," on *Governing Insecurity, Democratic Control of Military and Security Establishments in Transitional Democracies*, (St. Martin's Press, 2003), pp. 3-14 PLUS Chapters on South Africa and Chile that follow.

Mietzner, Marcus. "Successful and Failed Democratic Transitions from Military Rule in Majority Muslim Societies: The Cases of Indonesia and Egypt." *Contemporary Politics*, vol. 20, no. 4 (2014), pp. 435–452.

### **Classes Ten and Eleven: Civil Society**

Philippe Schmitter, "Civil Society East and West," in Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu and Hung-mao Tien, eds., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 239-262.

Way, Lucan. "Civil Society and Democratization." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2014), pp. 35–43.

Diamond, Larry. "Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation," in *In Search of Democracy*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 118-131.

### **Classes Twelve and Thirteen: The Political Economy of Consolidation**

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 29, no. 3 (1997), pp. 263–283.

Roland, Gérard. "The Political Economy of Transition." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2002), pp. 29–50.

Houle, Christian. "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization." *World Politics*, vol. 61, no. 4 (2009), pp. 589–622.

Nova, Eszter. "Economic Crisis and Democratic Consolidation." *International Relations Quarterly*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2011), pp. 1-9. Retrieved from [http://www.southeast-europe.org/pdf/06/DKE\\_06\\_A\\_E\\_NOVA\\_EC.pdf](http://www.southeast-europe.org/pdf/06/DKE_06_A_E_NOVA_EC.pdf).

### **Class Fourteen: Deconsolidation Versus Democratic "Backsliding"**

Please refer to the Brumberg Memo, the USAID report on Tunisia and the 2 reports on Democratic Backsliding in Tunisia that will be included in the Zip file of class materials.