

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
POLITICAL SCIENCE 390 (001)
Third-Year Honours Seminar on Comparative Democratization

Term 1, 2017-18

Thursdays 9:00-12:00, Liu Institute 3rd Floor Boardroom

Professor: Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom

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Course Description

The literature on democratization of political regimes has grown exponentially over the past couple of decades. This interest in political science has grown in large part as a response to real-world events: since the 1970s, the number of democratic regimes in the world has more than doubled, to total approximately 125 today (depending on whose definition of “democratic” we use), down from a high-water mark of approximately 140 in the early 2000s. In recent years an enormous number of “grey zone” regimes and electoral authoritarian regimes have developed in new and seemingly durable forms, leading scholars to question the initial theoretical paradigm of democratization that assumed full-fledged democracies as the outcome. Yet the Arab Spring of 2010-2011 renewed interest in the apparent relevance of democratic transitions. Despite all of the scholarly scrutiny, we still possess inadequate knowledge of the dynamics causing the onset of democracy and different regime outcomes, and a great deal of disagreement persists among scholars concerning the best way to define democracy.

In this course, we begin by considering some controversies in defining democracy and how universalizable it is, as well as the dominant schools of thought in explaining the emergence and “consolidation” of democratic regimes. We will then move to examine specific factors influencing democratization: formal institutional design, civil society, economic crisis and post-conflict environments, rival authoritarian options, and the international environment and foreign aid. We end the course with a critical examination of the dominant paradigm focused on “transition” and “consolidation” of new democracies.

Because of the time limits of the course, we will restrict ourselves to certain topics. The course focuses on transitions to democratic rule in countries that have recently been ruled by authoritarian regimes, rather than the problems of insufficient democratic practices in countries that long ago established democratic regimes. Thus, we largely leave aside questions such as voter apathy, lack of political participation, inequality, and the rise of nationalist populism in Western longstanding democracies (although no doubt these issues will come up in discussion!). I will bring examples from many diverse areas of the world, with cases of attempted democratization from the beginning of the third wave through today. Countries of the former

Soviet Union, particularly Russia, are my area of regional expertise, so these countries will be discussed frequently, as will recently salient cases around the world. I welcome you to participate in class discussion and to raise interesting examples or counter-examples from any countries in transition with which you may be familiar. For your group presentations in the course, you will also be tasked with researching the politics of a select set of countries that are currently undergoing challenges to democracy in significant ways.

We are forced to breeze through extremely important and complicated topics of discussion. However, it is my hope that this brief introduction to several topics will whet your appetite to read and learn more about processes of democratization around the world.

We have a teaching assistant for the course, named Stefano Burzo. Stefano is a PhD student in political science, who will be assisting by coaching you in developing and revising your research papers for the class, marking the research proposals and papers, and organizing and assisting with peer evaluation and group work. In addition, he will be attending some class sessions and meeting with you one-on-one in office hours to assist you.

Beyond the substantive topic of the course, there are several additional goals for this seminar. One is to “gel” your class as a cohort who will carry on together through your fourth year in the honours program. For that reason, we will be doing a great deal of small group work together and responding to one another’s ideas. We will also have a potluck lunch celebrating the end of the course following the last class of the term. In addition, during the course we will endeavor to strengthen your skills of academic writing and argumentation in the disciplinary style of political science. We will also work to increase your awareness of the variety of research methods scholars use in political science, and the advantages and drawbacks of them, as you head towards thinking about the question you will study and methods you will use to do so in your honours thesis. As such, throughout we will be attentive to how scholars in comparative politics select and analyze evidence, construct their arguments, and write about their research. Student assignments will emphasize critical engagement with this literature and peer-group discussions of one another’s ideas and arguments.

Course Requirements and Evaluation

1. Weekly online reading responses (due each week by the beginning of class) (10 percent total):

- Each class, you must submit a brief online written response on the course Canvas site, in which you react to the week’s readings. This post should be no more than a few paragraphs and certainly no longer than 500 words, and the online format allows all of your classmates to read it. The post is to be submitted on the Canvas course site discussion board that is located in that week’s course module section of the site. Do not agonize over its elegance, since you will receive credit as long as you submit a response that refers to all of the readings. You may submit your response any time prior to class but you must submit it by the start of class (not after class), or you will not receive credit for it. You must at least briefly mention all of the required readings and your reactions could include affirmation, criticism, or simply questions about the readings for the week. These responses will demonstrate to me that you have

prepared for class and will provide a participation avenue more suited to those students who experience discomfort speaking in class. Ideally they will also help you to formulate some points to raise in class. These responses are marked on a pass/ fail basis. You are not expected to submit a response on the week in which you submit a critical response paper on the readings, or on weeks when there are no assigned readings, and you are permitted to skip one additional week of the term without notice or penalty.

2. Critical response paper and brief oral comments on one week's readings (5-7 pages, double-spaced) (20 percent)

- The paper is to be based on your reading and analysis of the required readings for the week for which you have signed up. If you have accumulated knowledge and experience on a certain region of the world, this will be your chance to put it to work! Refer to the more detailed description of the assignment at the end of this syllabus. Professor Sundstrom will be marking this assignment.
- **Initial submission (worth 5 percent, pass/fail basis):** You must write your paper on the material for the week in which you will present to the class on the week's readings. Papers are due to me at the **beginning of class on the date the readings are addressed in class**. The initial submission has low grade weight and is marked on a pass/ fail basis (full marks if submitted on time; zero marks if not submitted or submitted late). While the grade weight is low, the more effort and thought you put into your initial submission, the better comments I can offer for revision and the less work you are likely to have to do for the resubmission!
- **Revised resubmission (15 percent):** At some point in the term after receiving feedback and a mark from me on your initially submitted draft, you must revise and resubmit your paper to me, based on the feedback you have received. The latest date on which you are permitted to submit your revised paper to me is on **Monday, December 4 (UNLESS you wrote your paper for the final section of material, Week 12 – in that case you have until December 11 to submit the revised paper to me via email)**. You should submit your hard copy paper to me in person or in my department office mailbox, with an emailed copy to me to "date-stamp" your paper. I encourage you to submit it earlier if possible, to avoid having all your assignments bunch up at the end of term!
- **Brief oral comments on the readings:** On the week for which you write your response paper, you will be asked to launch discussion of the readings in class by presenting very brief (5 minutes) comments about your reactions to the readings – similar to the points you have made in your initial response paper draft. Your comments can identify key themes that the authors of the week address, outline how the readings intersect with one another on these themes, critically reflect upon the readings, and/ or locate the authors' arguments in the wider context of what we have learned so far in the course. This presentation is brief, fairly informal, and not separately graded (other than as part of your overall course participation grade). It is merely intended to launch discussion through students' eyes rather than the instructor's perspective alone.

3. Research paper proposal (4-5 pages, double-spaced, plus a preliminary bibliography) (5 percent)

- This is the proposal for the paper described below. The proposal is a pass/ fail assignment. That is, you either receive a perfect mark for this 5% of your grade, or you receive zero marks. The purposes of the proposal are to prompt you to think early about your major paper for the course, and to ensure that you receive concrete feedback on your ideas for the paper before handing in the final assignment.
- The proposal should sketch out your preliminary ideas on the puzzle or question motivating your paper, what your argument will be, and how the paper will proceed. If you will conduct a case study, which country are you selecting to study and on what basis? Where you can, throughout, cite sources that you are finding useful. Include a bibliography of all the sources you have located so far. *The more work you put into the proposal, the less work you will need to do later, and the more helpful comments the TA will be able to give you!*
- This proposal is due at the **beginning of class on October 5**. The course teaching assistant will be marking this assignment and giving you feedback. Two of your class peers will also provide feedback (see below under “Participation”).

4. Research paper on some aspect of democratization (12-15 pages, double-spaced) (30 percent)

- This paper will constitute your research into some element of the democratization literature. You choose the topic, whether it be a more theoretical question such as a conceptual definition, key debate, or the “state of the field” in some substantive area; or an empirical one, such as how the democratization literature applies (or not) to a particular country case or event. The paper should survey the literature in this area and, even if it is primarily a case study, forward an argument about gaps, puzzles, shortcomings, progress in theoretical understanding or lack thereof in the literature. Even if theoretically focused, the paper should certainly include empirical examples, whether from multiple countries or focusing on just one, to ground the analysis. If you have an interest in the politics of a particular country or region, you may organize the paper around one or several case studies, as long as the case studies respond in some way to a theoretical question in the democratization literature.
- The paper is due at the **beginning of class on November 16**. The course teaching assistant will be marking this paper.

5. Country Case Group Presentation (November 30, 20 minutes) (20 percent)

- During the final session of our course on November 30, you will give a group presentation. Five groups will be created, each with 3-4 students as members. Each group will sign up to study a particular country that has fairly recently attempted or undergone a transition from authoritarianism to democracy (or in some cases, back again to authoritarianism).

- Your group's task will be to investigate the history and context of the country as relevant for democratization. Present events and dynamics in this case, reflecting upon how the literature from the course informs your understanding of the country's political trajectory, as well as how the literature seems misdirected or unhelpful in explaining outcomes.
- You will present as a group to the class for 20 minutes, then each group will have 5 minutes to entertain questions from the class.
- You will have an opportunity to rank your preferences among available countries (selected by Prof. Sundstrom), and we will do our best to satisfy your preferences.

6. Participation (15 percent):

- Your participation mark is based upon your **attendance, quality of participation in class discussions**, and active contribution to **peer reviewing** activities. These three components will count equally towards your participation mark.
- **Peer reviewing:** You will be asked to review in writing two of your classmates' policy paper proposals, using an online peer reviewing function (PeerMark on Turnitin). At various other times during the course, you may be working together in small groups during class time to give feedback on your peers' work.
- **Participation in class discussion:** Quality of oral contributions, rather than quantity, will be the standard by which I evaluate participation in class discussions. It is crucial to keep in mind three criteria for participation in class discussions throughout the term: (1) *articulating clearly your own viewpoint*, taking positions in a manner that is persuasive to the class; (2) *active listening/ synthesis of classmates' viewpoints*, ensuring that you are taking into account the contributions of your fellow students and building on a flow of discussion; and (3) *incorporating the assigned readings into your contributions*, in order to build your argument or challenge others' points of view. **Note:** I will be providing each of you with interim feedback and advice on your quality of in-class participation halfway through the term.

Summary of Key Due Dates

Beginning of each class	Deadline to submit weekly online reading response
October 5	Deadline for research paper proposal
October 10	Deadline (midnight) to submit online peer review comments on two students' paper proposals (to be discussed in class on October 12)
November 16	Deadline for research paper
November 30	Group country case presentation in class
December 4	Deadline for revised short paper submission

Policy on Late Assignments

Unless you have a medical note from your doctor or a documented serious family emergency, there will be an automatic 3% grade penalty per business day for late papers. If you miss class to complete the paper and hand it in later in the day, your paper will be considered one day late. If you do hand in your paper late, please email it to me when it is completed in order to date-stamp the paper, then submit a hard copy to me either in class or in my department mailbox. The political science department office will not date-stamp papers that students hand in to professors' mailboxes; therefore, if you hand your paper into my mailbox without emailing it to me, I will have no way of knowing for sure when you handed your paper in, and I will date receipt of your paper from when I pick it up. Please do not submit papers under my office door for the same reason.

Plagiarism

The UBC Library website has a very helpful page on academic integrity guidelines at: <http://help.library.ubc.ca/planning-your-research/academic-integrity-plagiarism/>. If you have not already done so, please read the guidelines and explore some of the learning resources provided there, in order to avoid committing plagiarism. Since good scholarship depends on the original intellectual contributions of scholars, dishonestly representing someone else's ideas as your own is considered to be a serious affront to the spirit of academia.

Submitting Papers to Turnitin.com

In an effort to deter plagiarism, the Political Science Department requires that you submit an electronic copy of each of your papers to Turnitin.com. You will be required to submit your papers and proposals to Turnitin. This is a service that universities are using increasingly as a method to detect instances of plagiarism. This service compares student papers to thousands of published documents, "paper mills" of essays for sale, and to all of the other student papers submitted to the website, to detect levels of overlap in wording. You can find out more about Turnitin, and the Department's policy on it, at <http://politics.ubc.ca/undergraduate/program-information/plagiarism-and-turnitin/>. In order to submit your paper to Turnitin.com, you will need to create a user profile on the website at <http://www.turnitin.com/login.asp>. You will also need to enter the "course ID" and the "course password" for this course. The information you will need is:

Course ID: 16113263

Course enrollment key: polihonours

You can then upload your paper as a file. Please note if you are new to Turnitin.com that your paper will NOT be available to anyone to read as a public document (except your memo paper proposal strictly for classmates in the peer reviewing exercise) – so you do not need to worry about other students finding your paper on the internet and copying it for their own use.

Your paper must be uploaded to Turnitin.com by one day after the due date for handing in the paper to me. Otherwise, you will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day for each day you are late in submitting the paper. Note that if you are handing in the paper to me late anyway, you will only be penalized a total of 3% per day (not 6% per day) until you have handed in the paper to me and uploaded it to Turnitin.

Citations and Paper Formats

I am happy to accept any common style of citation in your papers, whether it uses in-text author-date-page citations, footnotes at the bottom of each page, or endnotes at the end of the essay. The key requirement is that you should be thorough and consistent in your citation style. If you need a reference guide, the UBC library website has basic style guides for the APA and MLA citation styles (<http://help.library.ubc.ca/researching/how-to-cite/>). Another more detailed reference is the well-known *Chicago Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press). In any case, in addition to individual citations, you should include a list of references at the end of your essay as a matter of standard practice, even though the sources are likely to be from the course syllabus itself. Please come and see me if you have any questions about styles of reference.

Papers must be double-spaced with one-inch margins and use 12-point font for the text.

Reading Requirements

The attached reading list is separated into two portions: required and recommended readings. You must read the required list each week. I must be honest: this is a heavy reading course, in keeping with honours program expectations that you are completing above-average work and receiving six academic credits for the course. This list averages a total of approximately one hundred pages per week. The literature on democratization is growing extremely large, so it is difficult to get away with reading less and having a competent knowledge of the subject. Some weeks have a heavier reading load than others, and there are several weeks with no assigned reading. Unfortunately, sometimes there are simply key writings that I feel are important for you to have in your repertoire. If you are interested in pursuing any week's topics further, I strongly encourage you to look at the recommended readings.

Required Texts

There is one book available at the UBC Bookstore, which we will read in considerable depth during the course:

1. Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991. (hereafter referred to as Huntington)

You can find all other required readings on the syllabus electronically through the UBC Library Reserves site. Go to <https://courses.library.ubc.ca>, and log in with your UBC CWL to access the

online readings for the course. You will be able to access pdf versions of each journal article and book chapter listed as a required reading through that service.

Week-by-Week Schedule of Topics and Readings

PART I: DEFINING DEMOCRACY AND WHY IT MATTERS

Week 1 (September 7): Introduction

Week 2 (September 14): What is Democracy? How Far Can/ Should it Extend?

Required Readings:

Tilly, Charles, "What is Democracy?," pp. 1-24 of *Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Schumpeter, Joseph, excerpt from *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, pp. 92-5 in *Democracy: A Reader*, edited by Ricardo Blaug and John Schwarzmantel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Dahl, Robert, "Democratization and Public Opposition," pp. 1-16 in *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

Huntington, Chapter 1 (pp. 3-30).

Phillips, Anne, "Must Feminists Give Up on Liberal Democracy?" *Political Studies* 40, no. 5 (1992): 68-82.

Sen, Amartya, "Democracy as a Universal Value," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999): 3-17.

Parekh, Bhikhu, excerpt from "The Cultural Particularity of Liberal Democracy," pp. 424-9 in *Democracy: A Reader*, edited by Ricardo Blaug and John Schwarzmantel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Recommended Readings:

Benhabib, Seyla, ed., *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

Bova, Russell, "Democracy and Liberty: The Cultural Connection," *Journal of Democracy* 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1997): 112-26.

Dalai Lama, "Buddhism, Asian Values, and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 1 (Jan. 1999): 3-7.

Filali-Ansary, Abdou, "Muslims and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999): 18-32.

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- Fukuyama, Francis, "Confucianism and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 2 (April 1995): 20-33.
- Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, "Toward Muslim Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 2 (April 2007): 5-13.
- Surain Subramaniam, "The Asian Values Debate: Implications for the Spread of Liberal Democracy," *Asian Affairs: An American Review* 27, no. 1 (2010): 19-35.
- Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is... and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 3 (summer 1991): 75-88.
- Barber, Benjamin, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984).
- Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49 (April 1997): 430-51.
- Grugel, Jean, *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2002.
- Pateman, Carole, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1970).
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich. "Addressing Inequality." *Journal of Democracy* 15.4 (Oct. 2004): 76-90.
- Ware, Alan. "Liberal Democracy: One Form or Many?" *Political Studies* 40 (1992): 130-45.
- Young, Iris Marion, *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- Zakaria, Fareed, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (Nov./ Dec. 1997): 22-43.

PART II: THEORETICAL SCHOOLS – PRECONDITIONS AND TRANSITOLOGY/ CONSOLIDOLOGY

Week 3 (September 21): Structural Approaches to Democratization

Required Readings:

- Huntington, Samuel, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 31-40, 59-85.
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (Jan. 1997): 155-83 .
- Huber, Evelyne, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John D. Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 3 (1993): 71-85.
- Inglehart, Ronald, "How Solid Is Mass Support for Democracy: And How Can We Measure It?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36, no. 1 (Jan. 2003),: 51-57.

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Recommended Readings:

- Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Bratton, Michael and Nicolas Van de Walle. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa." *World Politics* (July 1994): 453-89.
- Diamond, Larry. "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered," *American Behavioral Scientist* 35, no. 4/5 (March/ June 1992): 450-99.
- Dunning, Thad, *Crude Democracy : Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*, Ch. 1.
- Epstein, David L., Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen and Sharyn O'Halloran, "Democratic Transitions," *American Journal of Political Science*, 50, no. 3 (Jul., 2006): 551-569.
- Hadenius, Axel and Jan Teorell, "Pathways from Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 143-56.
- Karl, Terry Lynn, "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* (October 1990): 1-17.
- Karl, Terry Lynn, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), Ch. 10.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1 (March 1959): 69-105.
- Moore, Barrington, Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. 413-32.

Week 4 (September 28): Actor-Based Approaches (Transition and Consolidation School)

Required Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Opening (and Undermining) Authoritarian Regimes," pp. 15-36 in *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
- Huntington, Samuel, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), pp. 121-63.
- Przeworski, Adam, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 51-99.
- Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 3-15.
- Tilly, Charles, Chapter 3 (pp. 51-79) of *Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Recommended Readings:

- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson, "A Theory of Political Transitions," *American Economic Review* 91, no. 4 (2001): 938-963.
- Alemán, José and David D. Yang, "A Duration Analysis of Democratic Transitions and Authoritarian Backslides," *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (2011): 1123-51.
- Cohen, Youssef. *Radicals, Reformers, and Reactionaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).
- Diamond, Larry, *Developing Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), Ch. 3 (pp. 64-116).
- Gunther, Richard, Hans-Jurgen Puhle, and P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
- Hale, Henry E., "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *World Politics* 58 (Oct. 2005): 133-65.
- Jung, Courtney and Ian Shapiro, "South Africa's Negotiated Transition: Democracy, Opposition, and the New Constitutional Order," *Politics and Society* 23, no. 3 (Sept. 1995): 269-308.
- Karl, Terry Lynn, "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* (October 1990): 1-17.
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (April 1996): 14-33.
- Mainwaring, Scott, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1992).
- McFaul, Michael, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship," *World Politics* 54 (Jan. 2002): 212-44.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2, no. 3 (April 1970): 337-63.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (April 1996): 34-51.

PART III: FACTORS INFLUENCING DEMOCRATIZATION

***** REMINDER: RESEARCH PAPER PROPOSALS
DUE IN CLASS ON OCTOBER 5 *****

Week 5 (October 5): Institutional Design for New Democracies

Required Readings:

- Lijphart, Arend, "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 72-84.
- Linz, Juan J., "The Perils of Presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 1 (1990): 51-69.
- Horowitz, Donald L., "Comparing Democratic Systems," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 4 (1990): 73-79.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, "The Centrality of Political Culture," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 4 (1990): 80-83.
- Reilly, Benjamin. "Introduction" (pp. 1-41) of *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Recommended Readings:

- Carey, John M., "Institutional Design and Party Systems," in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, edited by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
- Fish, M. Steven, "Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 1 (Jan. 2006): 5-20.
- Geddes, Barbara, "Initiation of New Democratic Institutions in Eastern Europe and Latin America," pp. 15-41 in *Institutional Design in New Democracies*, edited by Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).
- Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), Chapters 5 ("Party Systems: Two-Party and Multiparty Patterns") and 8 ("Electoral Systems: Majority and Plurality Methods vs. Proportional Representation").
- Mainwaring, Scott, "Party Systems in the Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 3 (July 1998): 67-81.
- Sartori, Giovanni, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
- Dawisha, Adeed, "The New Iraq: Democratic Institutions and Performance," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 35-49.
- Elster, Jon, "Ways of Constitution-Making," in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 123-42.
- Francis Fukuyama, Bjorn Dressel, and Boo-Seung Chang, "Facing the Perils of Presidentialism?" *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 2 (April 2005): 102-116.

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Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), Chapter 7 (“Executive-Legislative Relations: Patterns of Dominance and Balance of Power”).

Mainwaring, Scott, “Presidentialism, Multipartyism and Democracy: The Difficult Combination,” *Comparative Political Studies* 26 (July 1993): 198-228.

Nino, Carlos Santiago, “Hyperpresidentialism and Constitutional Reform in Argentina,” in *Institutional Design in New Democracies*, edited by Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

Shugart, Matthew and John Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

***** REMINDER: PEER REVIEW COMMENTS DUE ONLINE BY
MIDNIGHT ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 10 *****

Week 6 (October 12): Difficult Contexts – Economic Crisis and Post-Conflict Situations (and Peer Discussion of Paper Proposals)

Required Readings:

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufmann, “The Challenges of Consolidation,” *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 5-16.

Hellman, Joel S., “Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions,” *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (Jan. 1998): 203-35.

Kapstein, Ethan B. and Nathan Converse, “Why Democracies Fail,” *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 4 (Oct. 2008): 57-68.

Jarstad, Anna K., “Dilemmas of war-to-democracy transitions: theories and concepts”, pp. 17-36 in *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*, edited by Anna K. Jarstad and Timothy J. Sisk (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Recommended Readings:

Aslund, Anders, “The Case for Radical Reform,” *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 63-74.

Aslund, Anders, “Why Market Reform Succeeded and Democracy Failed in Russia,” *Social Research* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 1-28.

Bhalla, Surjit, “Freedom and Economic Growth: A Virtuous Cycle?” in *Democracy’s Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 195-241.

Dahl, Robert, “Why Free Markets are Not Enough,” *Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 3 (July 1992): 82-9.

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- Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman, "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 3, Transitions to Democracy: A Special Issue in Memory of Dankwart A. Rustow. (Apr., 1997): 263-283.
- Kurtz, Marcus J., "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America," *World Politics* 56 (Jan. 2004): 262-302.
- Maravall, Jose Maria, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Advantage," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 17-31.
- Nelson, Joan M., "Linkages Between Politics and Economics," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 49-62.
- Przeworski, Adam, "The Neoliberal Fallacy," *Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 3 (July 1992): 45-59.
- Vanhuyse, Pieter, *Divide and Pacify: Strategic Social Policies and Political Protests in Post-Communist Democracies* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006).
- Verweij, Marco and Riccardo Pelizzo, "Singapore: Does Authoritarianism Pay?" *Journal of Democracy* 20, no. 2 (April 2009): 18-32.

Week 7 (October 19): Civil Society and Informal Institutions

Required Readings:

- Diamond, Larry, "Toward Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 3 (July 1994): 4-17.
- Putnam, Robert D., "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1995): 65-78.
- Berman, Sheri, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (April 1997): 401-29.
- Howard, Marc Morjé, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 157-69.
- Varshney, Ashutosh, "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond," *World Politics* 53, no. 3 (April 2001): 362-398.
- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda," *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 4 (December 2004): 725-40. =

Recommended Readings:

- Almond, Gabriel and Sidney A. Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963).
- Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture Revisited* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980).
- Borocz, Jozsef, "Informality Rules," *East European Politics and Societies* 14, no. 2 (2000): 348-80.
- Black, Antony, *State, Community and Human Desire: A Group-Centred Account of Political Values* (New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988).

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- Bratton, Michael, "Formal Versus Informal Institutions in Africa," *Journal of Democracy*, 18 (no. 3) (July 2007): 96-110. (14 pgs)
- Brysk, Alison, "Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America," *Journal of Democracy* 11, no. 3 (July 2000): 151-65.
- Collins, Kathleen, "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories," *World Politics* 56, no. 2 (Jan. 2004): 224-61.
- Evans, Alfred B., Laura A. Henry, and Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, *Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment* (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2005).
- Ledeneva, Alena, "From Russia with *Blat*: Can Informal Networks Help Modernize Russia?," *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 257-288.
- Ledeneva, Alena, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking, and Informal Exchange* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Lindberg, Staffan, "'It's Our Time to 'Chop': Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counter-Act it?," *Democratization* 10, no. 2 (2003): 121-40.
- Muller, Edward N., and Mitchell A. Seligson. "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships." *The American Political Science Review* 88(3) (1994): 635-652.
- Putnam, Robert D. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Democracy, Law, and Comparative Politics," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 7-37.
- Rose, Richard, "Postcommunism and the Problem of Trust," pp. 251-63 in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Seligman, Adam B., *The Idea of Civil Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).
- Stolle, Dietland and Marc Hooghe, "Review Article: Inaccurate, Exceptional, One-Sided or Irrelevant? The Debate about the Alleged Decline of Social Capital and Civic Engagement in Western Societies," *British Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 1 (January 2005): 149-67.
- Tsai, Lily, "Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China," *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 2 (May 2007): 355-72.
- Tusalem, R. F. "A Boon or a Bane? The Role of Civil Society in Third- and Fourth-Wave Democracies." *International Political Science Review*, 28(3) (2007): 361-386.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. *Forging Democracy from Below: Contested Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Week 8 (October 26): International Factors – Western Democracy Assistance

Required Readings:

- Carothers, Thomas. "Democracy Aid at 25: Time to Choose." *Journal of Democracy* 26(1) (2015): 59-73.
- Bush, Sarah Sunn, "The Argument: Structure, Agency, and Democracy Promotion" (Chapter 2), pp. 22-52 in *The Taming of Democracy Assistance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) (e-book).
- Youngs, Richard. "Misunderstanding the maladies of liberal democracy promotion," pp. 100-116 in *The Conceptual Politics of Democracy Promotion*, edited by Christopher Hobson and Milja Kurki (London: Routledge, 2012).
- Kurki, Milja. "Democracy promotion by non-state actors: alternative models in action?" pp. 173-194 in *Democratic Futures: Revisioning Democracy Promotion* by Milja Kurki (London: Routledge, 2013).
- Wolff, Jonas, "Democracy promotion in Bolivia: The 'democratic revolution' of Evo Morales," pp. 77-131 in *The Comparative International Politics of Democracy Promotion*, edited by Jonas Wolff, Hans-Joachim Spanger and Hans-Jurgen Puhle (London: Routledge, 2014).

Recommended Readings:

- Alesina, Alberto and Dollar, David "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?" *Journal of Economic Growth* 5 (2000): 33-63.
- Barkan, Joel D. "Can Established Democracies Nurture Democracy Abroad? Lessons from Africa," pp. 371-403 in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Brown, Stephen, "Foreign Aid and Democracy Promotion: Lessons from Africa," *European Journal of Development Research* 17, no. 2 (June 2005): 179-98.
- Burnell, Peter, "Democracy Assistance: The State of the Discourse," pp. 3-33 in *Democracy Assistance: International Co-operation for Democratization*, edited by Peter Burnell (London: Frank Cass, 2000).
- Carothers, Thomas, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999).
- Carothers, Thomas, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 2 (Mar-Apr 2006): 55-68.
- Diamond, Larry, *Promoting Democracy in the 1990s: Actors and Instruments, Issues and Imperatives* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, Dec. 1995).
- Grugel, Jean, "Democratization and Globalization," pp. 116-39 in *Democratization: A Critical Introduction* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2002).
- Henderson, Sarah L. *Building Democracy in Contemporary Russia: Western Support for Grassroots Organizations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

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- Hughes, Caroline, "Transnational Networks, International Organizations and Political Participation in Cambodia: Human Rights, Labour Rights and Common Rights," *Democratization* 14, no. 5 (2007): 834-52.
- Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).
- Legler, Thomas, Sharon F. Lean, and Dexter S. Boniface, eds., *Promoting Democracy in the Americas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).
- Mendelson, Sarah, "Democracy Assistance and Political Transition in Russia: Between Success and Failure," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 68-106.
- Ottaway, Marina and Thomas Carothers, eds., *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000).
- Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh. *Funding Civil Society: Foreign Assistance and NGO Development in Russia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).
- Youngs, Richard, "European Approaches to Democracy Assistance: Learning the Right Lessons?" *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (Feb. 2003): 127-138.
- Friedman, Thomas L. "Globalution," pp. 141-63 in *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999).
- Howard, Philip N. and Muzammil M. Hussain, "The Role of Digital Media," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 3 (July 2011): 35-48.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 20-34.
- Bhagwati, Jagdish, "Globalization, Sovereignty, and Democracy," pp. 263-81 in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Deibert, Ronald et al., eds., *Access Controlled: The Shaping of Power, Rights, and Rule in Cyberspace* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010)
- Meernik, James, "United States Military Intervention and the Promotion of Democracy," *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 4 (Nov. 1996): 391-402.
- Peceny, Mark, "Forcing Them to Be Free," *Political Research Quarterly* 52, no. 3. (Sept. 1999): 549-582.
- Whitehead, Laurence, ed., *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas*, expanded edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Week 9 (November 2): International Factors – International Institutions' Accountability Mechanisms

Required Readings:

- Franck, Thomas M. "The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance," *The American Journal of International Law* 86, no. 1 (1992): 46-91.

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Rich, Roland. "Bringing Democracy into International Law," *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 3 (2001): 20–34.

Kelley, Judith, "D-Minus Elections: The Politics and Norms of International Election Observation," *International Organization* 63, no. 4 (2009): 765-87.

Kim, Hunjoon, and Kathryn Sikkink. "Explaining the Deterrence Effect of Human Rights Prosecutions for Transitional Countries." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2010): 939–63.

Recommended Readings:

Sperling, Valerie, *Altered States: The Globalization of Accountability* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Pevehouse, Jon C. 2005. *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hecht, Catherine. 2016. The Shifting Salience of Democratic Governance: Evidence from the United Nations General Assembly General Debates. *Review of International Studies* 42(5): 915-938.

Moravcsik, Andrew. 2000. The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe. *International Organization* 54 (2): 217-252.

Week 10 (November 9): Session for Group Presentation Preparation

***** REMINDER: RESEARCH PAPERS DUE IN CLASS NOVEMBER 16 *****

Week 11 (November 16): Competitive Authoritarianism and Autocracy Promotion

Required Readings:

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51–65.

Gandhi, Jennifer, and Ellen Lust-Okar. "Elections Under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1) (2009): 403–22.

Koesel, Karrie J. and Valerie J. Bunce, "Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers," *Perspectives on Politics*, 11, no. 3 (2013): 753-768.

Way, Lucan A. "The Limits of Autocracy Promotion: The case of Russia in the 'near abroad'." *European Journal of Political Research* 54 (2015): 691-706.

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Vanderhill, Rachel. "Promoting Authoritarianism Abroad: How, When, and Where," pp. 1-34 in *Promoting Authoritarianism Abroad* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013).

Recommended Readings:

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (Cambridge University Press, 2010).

O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 1 (January 1994): 55-69.

Robertson, Graeme B. "Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes," *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4 (Nov. 2007): 783-98.

Schedler, Andreas. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.

Snyder, Richard, "Beyond Electoral Authoritarianism: The Spectrum of Nondemocratic Regimes," pp. 219-231 (Ch. 13) in *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, edited by Andreas Schedler (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 2006).

Thompson, Mark R. and Philipp Kuntz, "After Defeat: When Do Rulers Steal Elections?," pp. 113-128 (Ch. 7) in *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, edited by Andreas Schedler (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 2006).

PART IV: CONCLUSION

Week 12 (November 23): Taking Stock – Criticisms of the Existing Paradigm and New Challenges for Democracy

Required Readings:

Bunce, Valerie, "Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations," *Comparative Political Studies* 33, no. 6/7 (Aug/Sept. 2000): 703-35.

Geddes, Barbara. "What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115-44.

Huntington, pp. 253-316.

Carothers, Thomas, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13 no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 5-21.

Diamond, Larry, Francis Fukuyama, Donald L. Horowitz, and Marc F. Plattner. 2014. "Reconsidering the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 25(1): 86–100.

Berman, Sheri. 2017. "The Pipe Dream of Undemocratic Liberalism." *Journal of Democracy* 28(3): 29–38.

Nodia, Ghia. 2017. "The End of the Postnational Illusion." *Journal of Democracy* 28(2): 5–19.

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Puddington, Arch, and Tyler Roylance. 2017. "The Dual Threat of Populists and Autocrats The Freedom House Survey for 2016 The Dual Threat of Populists and Autocrats." 28(2): 105-19.

Recommended Readings:

Snyder, Timothy. *On Tyranny: Twenty Lessons from the Twentieth Century*. New York: Tim Duggan Books, 2017.

Alvarez, Michael, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, "What Makes Democracies Endure?" in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, edited by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997): 295-311.

He, Baogang and Mark E. Warren, "Authoritarian Deliberation: The Deliberative Turn in Chinese Political Development," *Perspectives on Politics* (June 2011): 269-289.

Kaplan, Robert, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" *Atlantic Monthly* (Dec. 1997): 55-80.

Nodia, Ghia, "The Democratic Path," *Journal of Democracy* 13 no. 3 (July 2002): 13-19.

Tilly, Charles, *Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Chapter 8 (pp. 186-205).

Week 13 (November 30): Group Country Presentations and Potluck Lunch (class extends to 1:00 pm**)**

Advice for Writing Short Reading Response Paper

You are required to write a short, 5-7 page paper (double-spaced) during the course of the term, based on the required readings from the reading list for a particular week. The paper is due to me at the beginning of class on the first day on which we are scheduled to discuss the topic according to the syllabus.

Your paper should primarily be a critical consideration of the questions and themes that the readings discuss. If some of the readings express differing points of view on particular topics, it would be a good idea to consider the controversies in the paper and to formulate your own opinion on the issues, backed up by evidence from the readings, lectures, or details you may know about particular countries from your own outside reading or experience.

While it is useful to provide a brief summary of the ways in which the readings covered the topics you consider in your paper, descriptive summary should only be a small part of the paper – say 1-2 pages of a 5-page paper or 2-3 pages of a 7-page paper. Even though the summary should be short, note that it is important that you briefly summarize the main point(s) of EVERY required reading for the week.

The bulk of the paper should be devoted to evaluating the arguments presented in the readings, pointing out priorities or values that the authors may be implicitly favoring or excluding in their discussions of democracy or democratic transitions, and raising interesting questions that remain unanswered by the authors. For example, if you choose to write on Week 5, which primarily discusses electoral systems and parliamentary versus presidential government in democratic regimes, you might briefly summarize the pros and cons of each institutional system that the authors discuss, but then move on to point out strengths and weaknesses of the arguments and perhaps any ideas you may have about why one or another institutional setup would or would not work well in one country or several countries you know about. In this critique section, you should feel free to concentrate on points raised in just one or two of the required readings, rather than having to respond to each of the readings. You can concentrate on one point or argument that one of the authors makes, or you may prefer to react to several smaller points that the readings raise. You might criticize them for exhibiting biases or oversight or their points not applying to other cases, or you might try to apply their arguments to another country case and see how they stand up. In other words, there is a great deal of flexibility in how you may approach your critique.

Please note: You are NOT expected to conduct much additional research to write this paper. You should be able to write excellent papers mostly based on the required readings and your own reasoning and prior background knowledge. However, it is always necessary to provide evidence to back up any argument or assertions that you are making, so in some cases, depending on your existing knowledge base, you will have to hunt for evidence to back up claims that you are making.

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The organization and clarity of your writing will count for 30 percent of the mark you receive on your final submitted paper, so please pay attention to the structure and style of your paper. The overall breakdown of marks for the paper will be as follows:

- 30 percent for quality of summary (coverage, accuracy);
- 30 percent for writing style and organization; and
- 40 percent for quality of critique (logic of argument, evidence brought to bear, signs of serious thought and attention to the readings).

I sincerely welcome you to come to my office and discuss the assignment with me if you have any questions or doubts about how to go about it. Please come to my office hours or set up an appointment with me.