

# POLS 395

## DEMOCRATIZATION



# DEMOCRATIZATION: SOME DEFINITIONS

- What is democratization?
  - A transition from an autocratic to a democratic regime
- So, three components:
  - Breakdown of the old authoritarian regime
  - Installation of a new democratic regime
  - Consolidation of the democratic regime

Uncertainty may well be, as Adam Przeworski has argued, a central characteristic of this type of regime, but it is a form of relative uncertainty.<sup>1</sup> For citizens to tolerate the possibility that unexpected persons or groups may occupy governance over them and that these newly empowered authorities may pursue different, possibly damaging, courses of action requires a great deal of mutual trust, backed by a great deal of structural reassurance.

Democratic consolidation can be conceptualized as the process – or processes – that underlies such trust and reassurance and, therefore, makes regular, uncertain, and yet circumscribed competition for office and influence possible. It seeks to institutionalize uncertainty in one subset of political roles and policy arenas, while institutionalizing certainty in others.

Excerpted from Schmitter, “Some basic assumptions about the consolidation of democracy”



# Fareed Zakaria: Why democracy took root in Tunisia and not Egypt



Supporters of the Nida Tunis party listen to speakers at a rally just west of the city in Tunis, Tunisia, Oct 23, 2014. (Michael S. Williamson/The Washington Post)

By **Fareed Zakaria**

October 30, 2014

More than 20 years ago, the scholar [Samuel Huntington](#) established his “[two-turnover test](#)” for fledgling democracies. A country can be said to be a consolidated democracy, he argued, only when there have been two peaceful transitions of power. This week, with its second parliamentary election, [Tunisia](#) passed Huntington’s test.



# WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

- Democracy was historically anomalous
  - Only 20 democracies in the world on the eve of WWI
- Even VERY recently, there was little optimism in the spread of democracy:

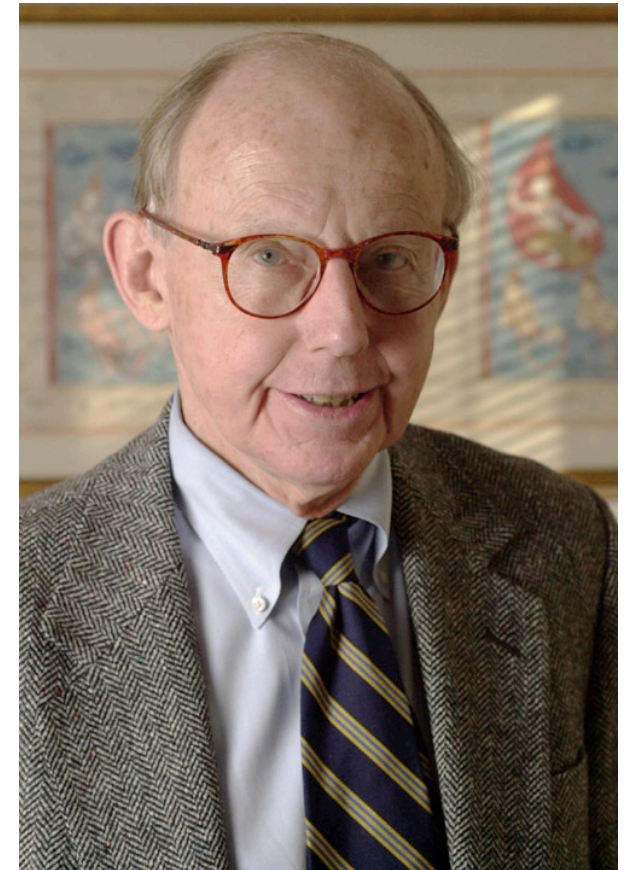
“The **likelihood of democratic development in Eastern Europe is virtually nil.**”

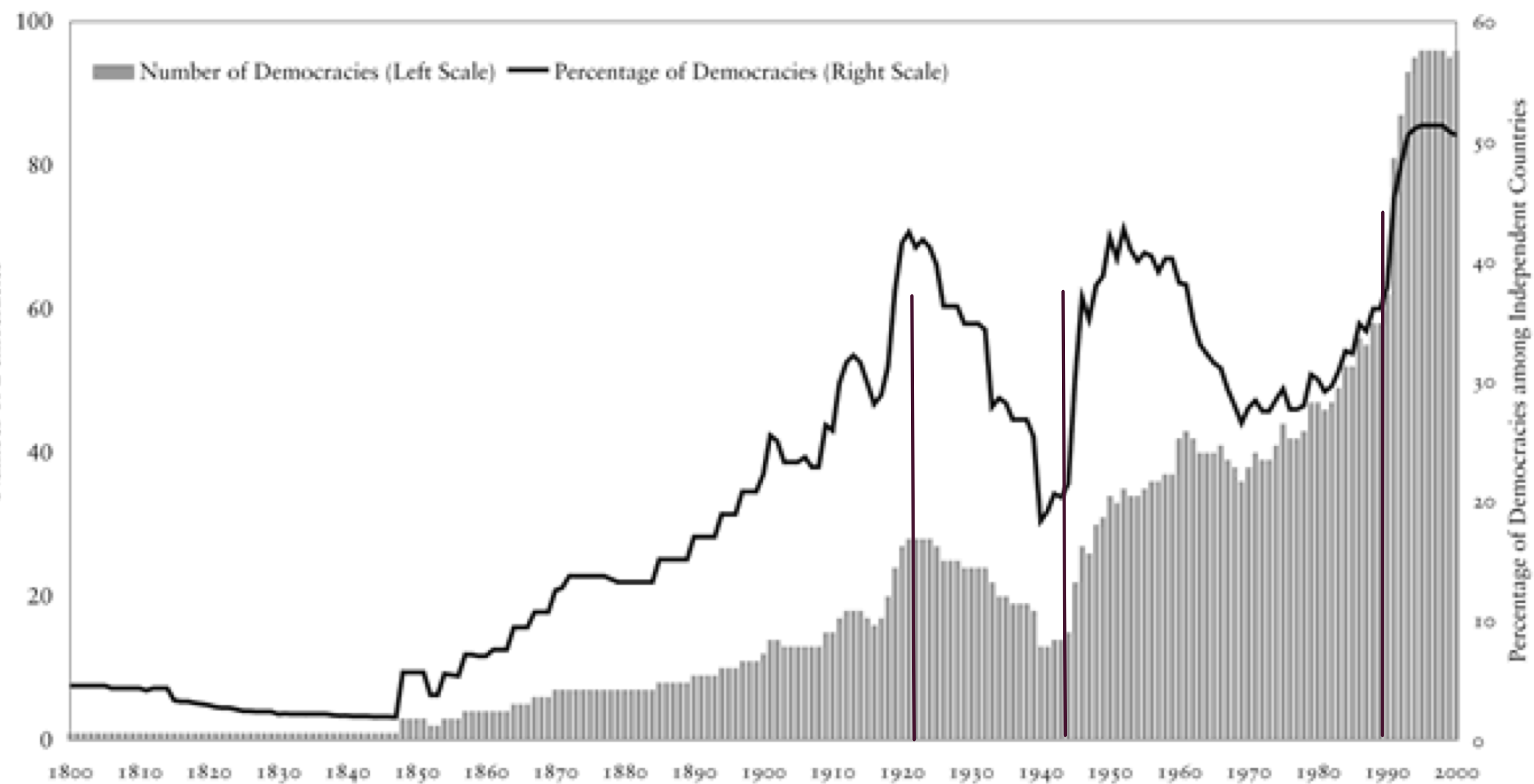
~ Samuel Huntington, *Will More Countries Become Democratic?* (1984)



# WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

- Then...the “Third Wave”
  - At least 30 countries democratize between 1974-1990
- What is a wave?
  - “A wave of democratization is a group of transitions from nondemocratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specified period of time and that significantly outnumber transitions in the opposite direction during that period of time.”
    - *The Third Wave* (pg 15)







# WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

- **First Wave of Democratization (1828—1926)**

- This wave had its roots in the American and French revolutions.
- Buoyed by the defeat of two major authoritarian forces in WWI
- Focused mainly in Western and Northern Europe and European settler countries (e.g., New Zealand, Australia)

- **First Reverse Wave (1922—1942)**

- Rise of Fascism
- Military coups in Italy (1922), Lithuania, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Greece (1936), Portugal (1926), Brazil (1930), Argentina (1930), Spain (1939), Japan (early-1930s)

# WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

- **Second Wave of Democratization (1943—1962)**
  - World War II: defeat of fascism and return to democracy in Western Europe
  - Significant shift to democracy in Latin America (Uruguay, Brazil, Costa Rica, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela)
- **Second Reverse Wave (1958—1974)**
  - Wave of military coups in Latin America
  - Failure of new democracies in recently decolonized countries in Africa especially but also in Asia

# WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

- Third Wave of Democratization (1974—??)
  - **Southern Europe** - Portugal (1974), Greece (1974), Spain (1975)
  - **Latin America** – Ecuador (1978), Peru (1980), Argentina (1983), Brazil (1985), Uruguay (1985), Chile (1990)
  - **South East and East Asia** – Philippines (1986), S. Korea (1987), Taiwan (1987), Thailand (1992), Indonesia [238 million, world's largest Muslim population] (1998)
  - **Eastern Europe/USSR** – Poland, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia (all in 1989), Bulgaria (1990), Albania (1991), USSR/Russia (1991-92)
  - **Africa (Sub-saharan)** – Benin (1991), Zambia (1991) Ghana (1992), South Africa (1994), Nigeria (1999)



# WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

- **Third Wave Distinctiveness**

- Re-democratization of previously democratic countries
- First time that Western Europe is homogenously democratic
- First time that democratization is a truly global phenomenon
- No major ideological challengers to liberal democracy (the historic opponents—Fascism, Nazism, and Communism—are all effectively vanquished)
- Full suffrage is granted from the start in democratized states
- Around the early 1990s, first time that a majority of countries are democratic

# KEYS TO STUDYING DEMOCRATIZATION

- Note the author's definition of democracy
- Rephrase their theory in one sentence
- Which aspect of democratization does their theory address? That is, what is their dependent variable?
  - Breakdown
  - Installation
  - Consolidation
- The Devil is in the data...

# CORE QUESTIONS

- What is the fundamental claims of Modernization Theory?



# ECONOMICS & POLITICS

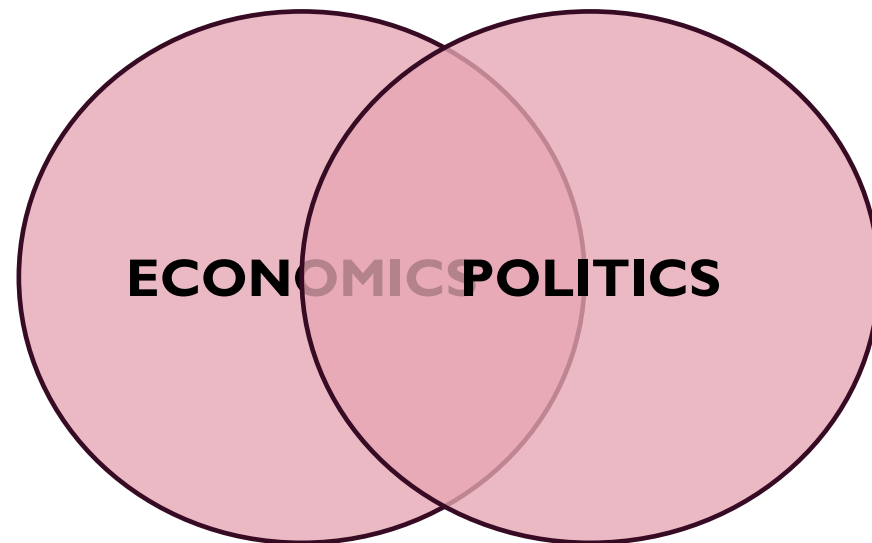


The diagram consists of two identical pink circles with dark red outlines, positioned side-by-side. The left circle contains the word 'ECONOMICS' and the right circle contains the word 'POLITICS'. Both circles are centered on the page below the title bar.

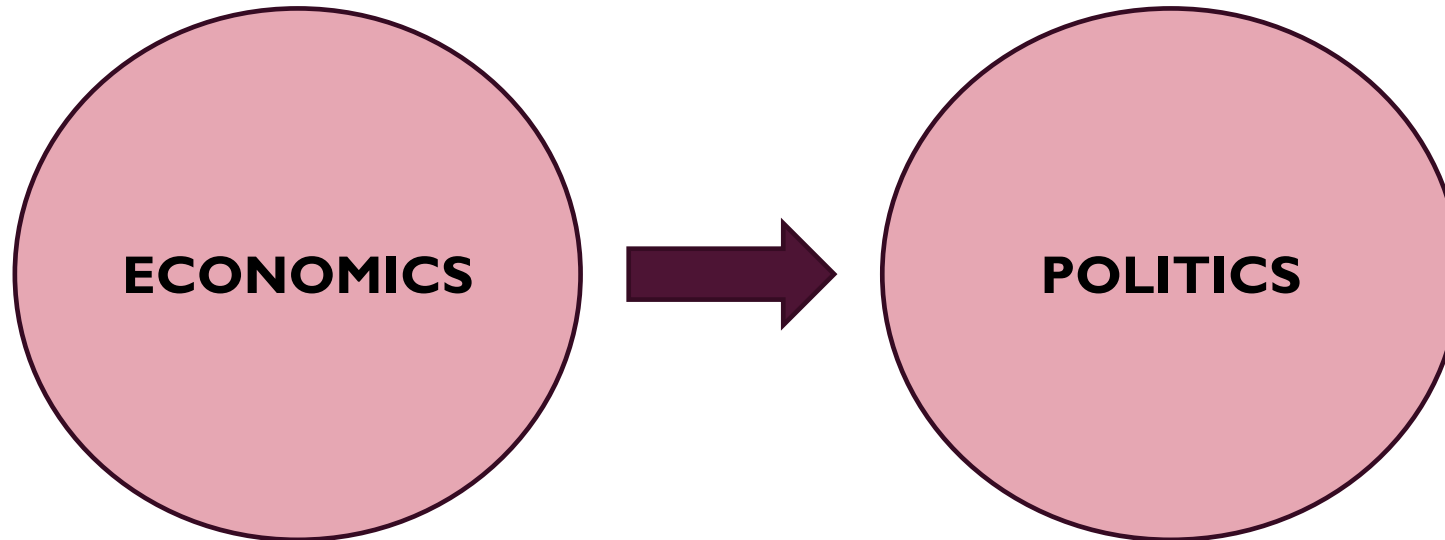
**ECONOMICS**

**POLITICS**

# ECONOMICS & POLITICS

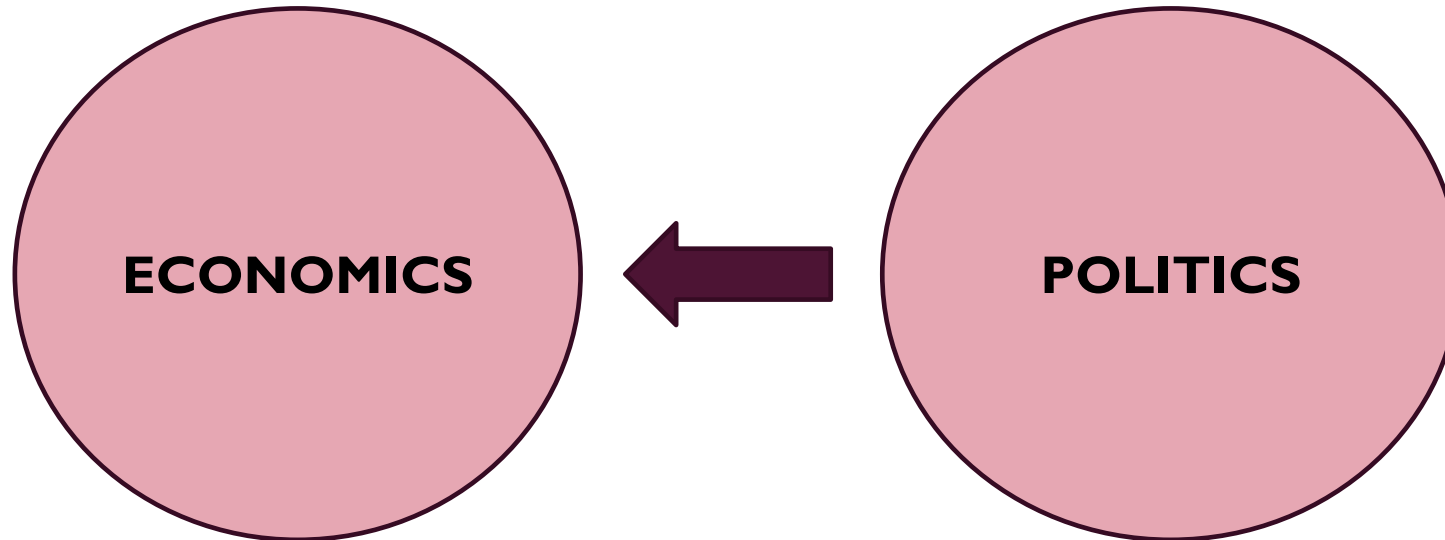


# ECONOMICS & POLITICS

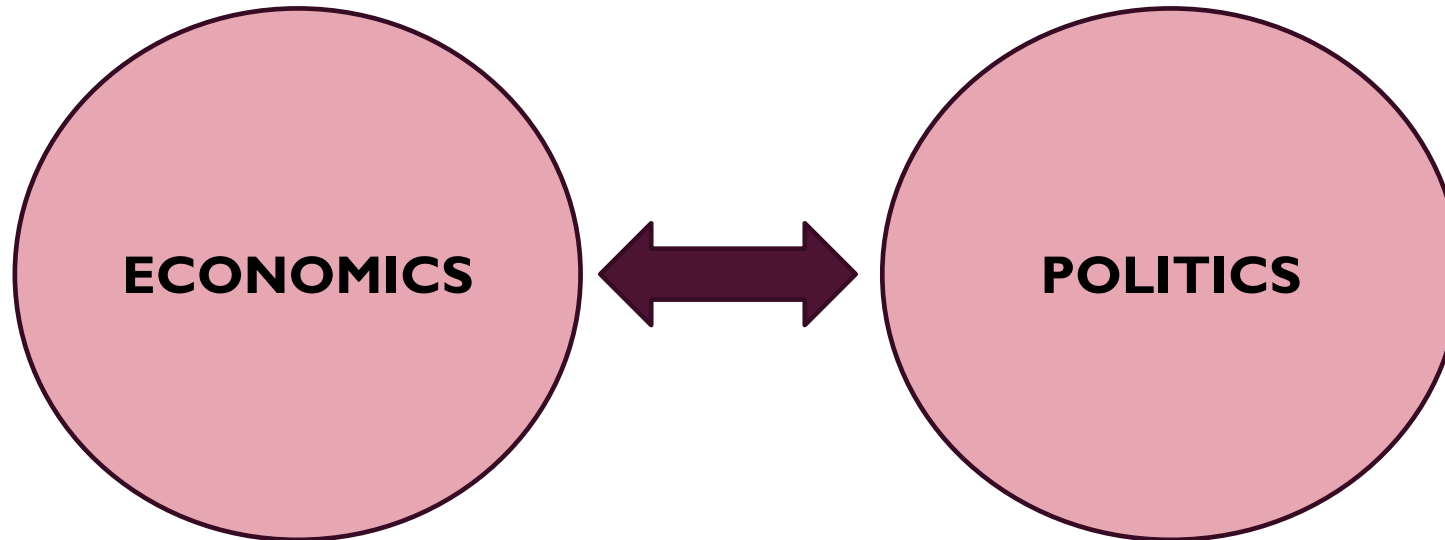


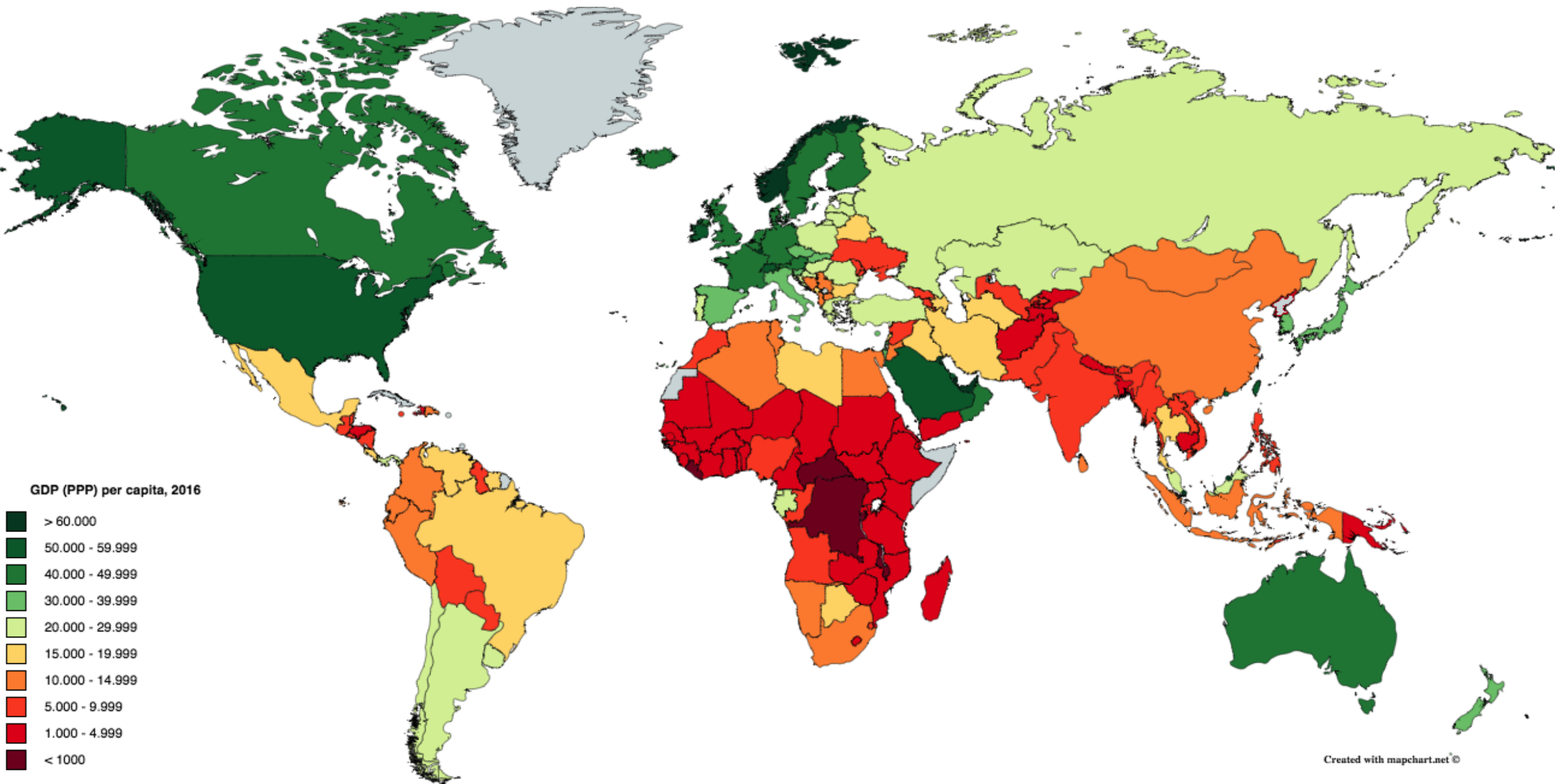


# ECONOMICS & POLITICS

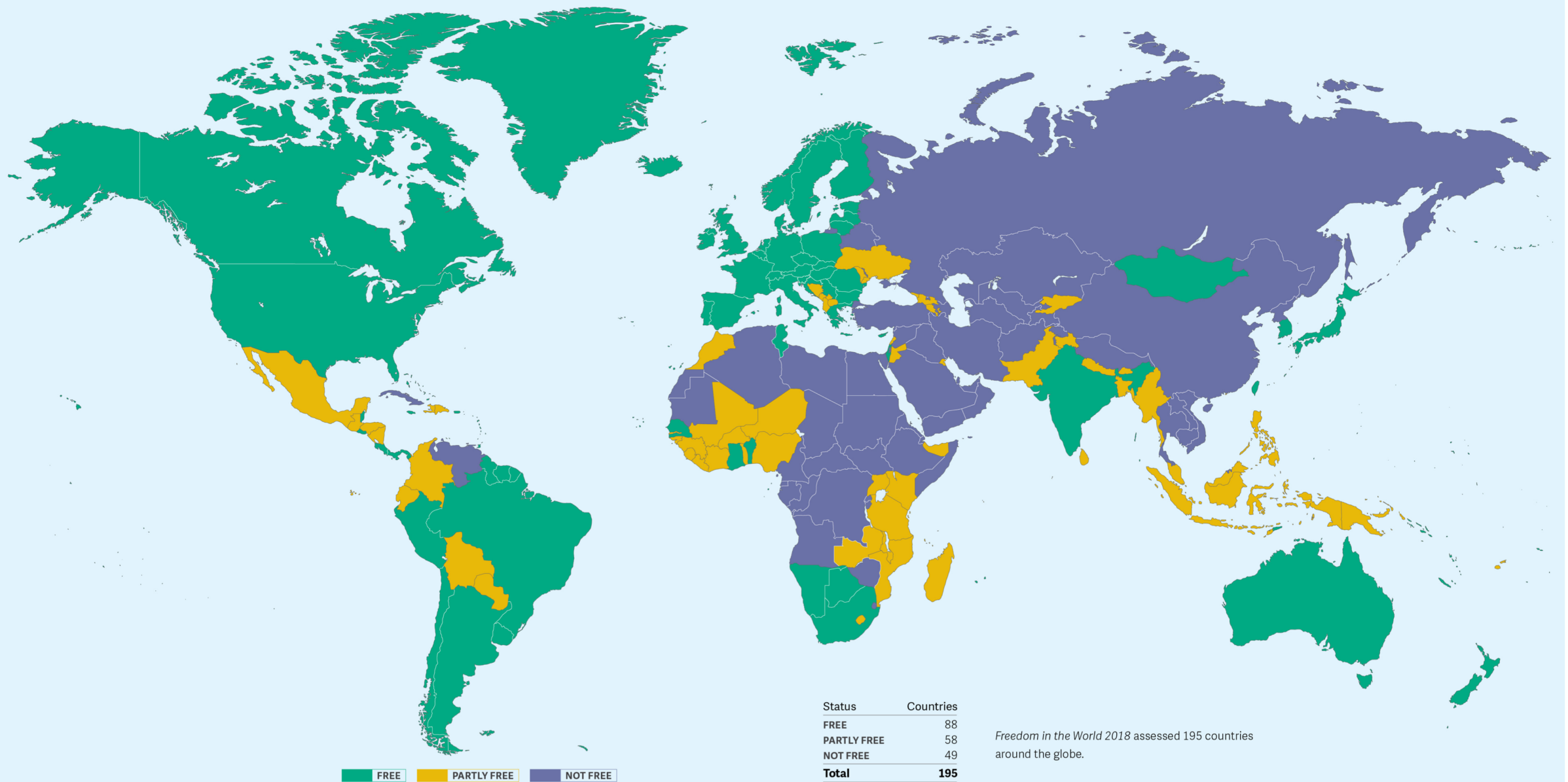


# ECONOMICS & POLITICS





# FREEDOM IN THE WORLD 2018



# ECONOMICS & POLITICS

“History clearly confirms... [that] ...modern democracy rose along with capitalism, and in **causal connection** with it...modern democracy is **a product of the capitalist process.**”

~Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (1942)





# ECONOMICS & POLITICS



“Few relationships between social, economic, and political phenomena are stronger than that between the level of economic development and the existence of democratic politics. **Most wealthy countries are democratic, and most democratic countries...are wealthy.** The correlation between wealth and democracy implies that **transitions to democracy should occur primarily in countries at the mid-level of economic development.** In poor countries democratization is unlikely; in rich countries it usually has already occurred.” (pg 97)

# FUNDAMENTALS OF MODERNIZATION THEORY

- Sociologist by training
- Regarded as the father of MT
- Everyone and their mama cites him

## **Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Legitimacy<sup>1</sup>**

SM Lipset - American political science review, 1959 - [cambridge.org](https://www.cambridge.org/core)

The conditions associated with the existence and stability of democratic society have been a leading concern of political philosophy. In this paper the problem is attacked from a sociological and behavioral standpoint, by presenting a number of hypotheses concerning ...

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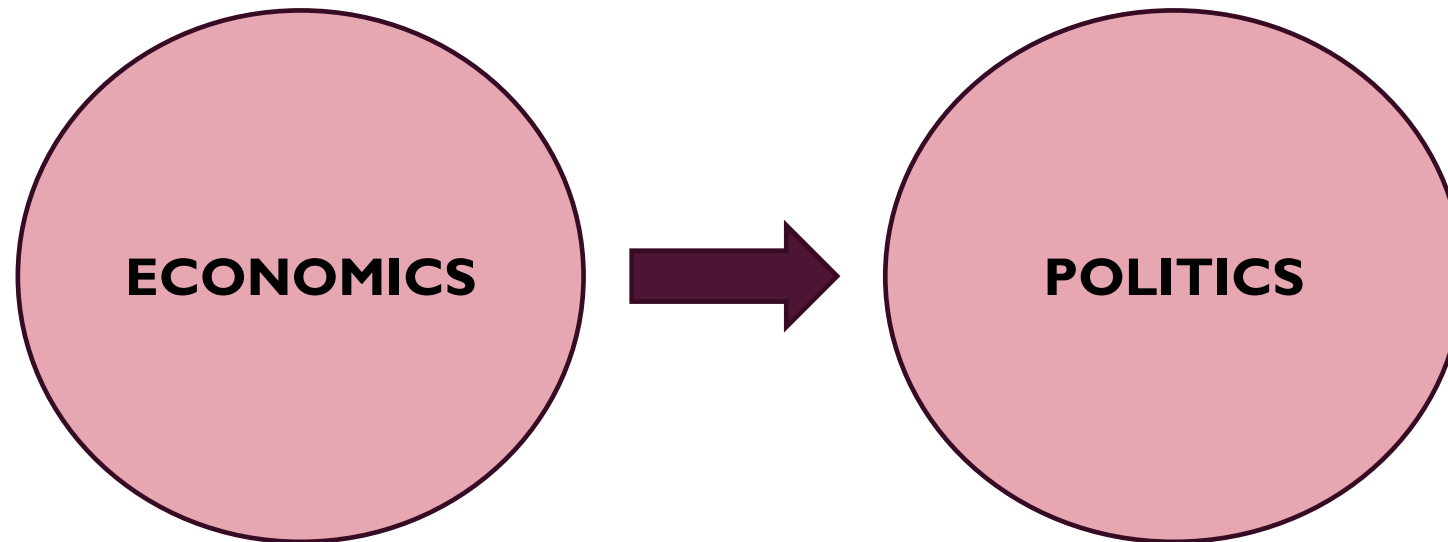
# FUNDAMENTALS OF MODERNIZATION THEORY

- **CONCEPT:** Democracy in a complex society may be defined as a political system which supplies regular constitutional opportunities for changing the governing officials, and a social mechanism which permits the largest possible part of the population to influence major decisions by choosing among contenders for political office....
- Minimalist...but...

TABLE I. CLASSIFICATION OF EUROPEAN, ENGLISH-SPEAKING AND LATIN AMERICAN  
NATIONS BY DEGREE OF STABLE DEMOCRACY

<i>European and English-speaking Nations</i>		<i>Latin American Nations</i>	
Stable Democracies	Unstable Democracies and Dictatorships	Democracies and Unstable Dictatorships	Stable Dictatorships
Australia	Austria	Argentina	Bolivia
Belgium	Bulgaria	Brazil	Cuba
Canada	Czechoslovakia	Chile	Dominican Republic
Denmark	Finland	Colombia	Ecuador
Ireland	France	Costa Rica	El Salvador
Luxemburg	Germany (West)	Mexico	Guatemala
Netherlands	Greece	Uruguay	Haiti
New Zealand	Hungary		Honduras
Norway	Iceland		Nicaragua
Sweden	Italy		Panama
Switzerland	Poland		Paraguay
United Kingdom	Portugal		Peru
United States	Rumania		Venezuela
	Spain		
	Yugoslavia		

# FUNDAMENTALS OF MODERNIZATION THEORY



# FUNDAMENTALS OF MODERNIZATION THEORY

- So what *is* economic development?
  1. Wealth
  2. Industrialization
  3. Education
  4. Urbanization



*A. Indices of Wealth*

Means	Per Capita Income <sup>2</sup> in \$	Thousands of Persons Per Doctor <sup>3</sup>	Persons Per Motor Vehicle <sup>4</sup>	Telephones Per 1,000 Persons <sup>5</sup>	Radios Per 1,000 Persons <sup>6</sup>	Newspaper Copies Per 1,000 Persons <sup>7</sup>
European and English-speaking Stable Democracies	695	.86	17	205	350	341
European and English-speaking Unstable Democracies and Dictatorships	308	1.4	143	58	160	167
Latin American Democracies and Unstable Dictatorships	171	2.1	99	25	85	102
Latin American Stable Dictator- ships	119	4.4	274	10	43	43

### B. *Indices of Industrialization*

Means	Percentage of Males in Agriculture <sup>8</sup>	Per Capita Energy Consumed <sup>9</sup>
European Stable Democracies	21	3.6
European Dictatorships	41	1.4
Latin American Democracies	52	.6
Latin American Stable Dictatorships	67	.25

### C. *Indices of Education*

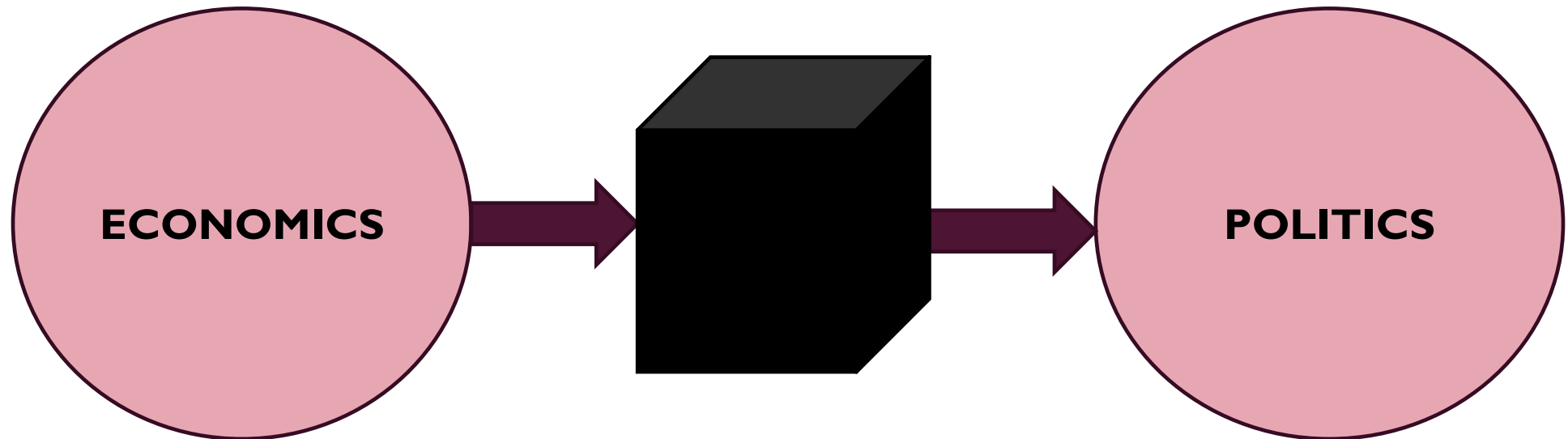
Means	Percentage Literate <sup>10</sup>	Primary Education Enrollment Per 1,000 Persons <sup>11</sup>	Post-Primary Enrollment Per 1,000 Persons <sup>12</sup>	Higher Education Enrollment Per 1,000 Persons <sup>13</sup>
European Stable Democracies	96	134	44	4.2
European Dictatorships	85	121	22	3.5
Latin American Democracies	74	101	13	2.0
Latin American Dictatorships	46	72	8	1.3

*D. Indices of Urbanization*

Means	Per Cent in Cities over 20,000 <sup>14</sup>	Per Cent in Cities over 100,000 <sup>15</sup>	Per Cent in Metropolitan Areas <sup>16</sup>
European Stable Democracies	43	28	38
European Dictatorships	24	16	23
Latin American Democracies	28	22	26
Latin American Stable Dictatorships	17	12	15

- TEST:
  - Cross-sectional
  - Compared only two regions (but also did some within region comparison)

# FUNDAMENTALS OF MODERNIZATION THEORY





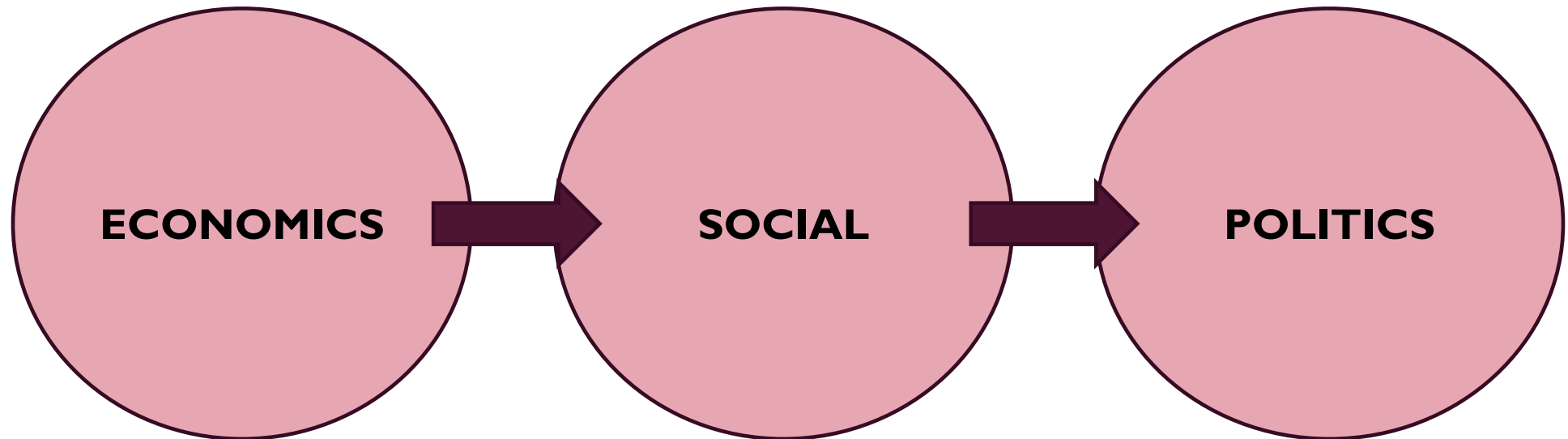
**WHAT'S  
IN THE  
BOX?!**



# FUNDAMENTALS OF MODERNIZATION THEORY

- What's in the box?
  - Vibrant Middle Class
    - “A large middle class plays a mitigating role in moderating conflict since it is able to reward moderate and democratic parties and penalize extremist groups.” (pg 108)
  - Fostering of intermediate organizations: Civil Society
    - “Such organizations serve a number of functions...” (pg 108)
  - Strengthening political culture
    - Education → democratic values

# FUNDAMENTALS OF MODERNIZATION THEORY



# FUNDAMENTALS OF MODERNIZATION THEORY

