

Contemporary Issues in Comparative Politics

Dr. Kerem Öge

Lecturer

Office Hours:

A011

Email: k.oge@uwtsd.ac.uk

5. An orchestra of 120 players takes 40 minutes to play Beethoven's 9th Symphony. How long would it take for 60 players to play the symphony?

Let P be number of players and T the time playing.

Last Week

- State – Why do we have states?
- Nationalism
- Why do we have ethnic conflict?
- Secessions – When is it more likely to happen?
- UPDATES:
- What happened in Catalonia?
- What happened in Kurdistan?
- When is it just to secede?

WEEK 3 – Democracy and Authoritarianism

- Understand how political scientists think about democratic regimes.
- Understand the diversity of views about what democracy is and how it is measured.
- Learn the major theories that try to explain patterns of democratization and democratic consolidation.

WEEK 3 – Democracy and Authoritarianism

- Understand how political scientists think about authoritarian regimes, including differences between many key types of authoritarian regimes.
- Learn the major theories that try to explain why some regimes are authoritarian.

Democracy and Democratization



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MM2qq5J5A1s>

What is democracy?

Democracy and Democratic Regimes

- *A form of regime associated with “rule by the people” with rights and liberties for citizens*
 - Political rights
(citizens can participate in elections)
 - Civil liberties
(freedom of speech, information, etc.)

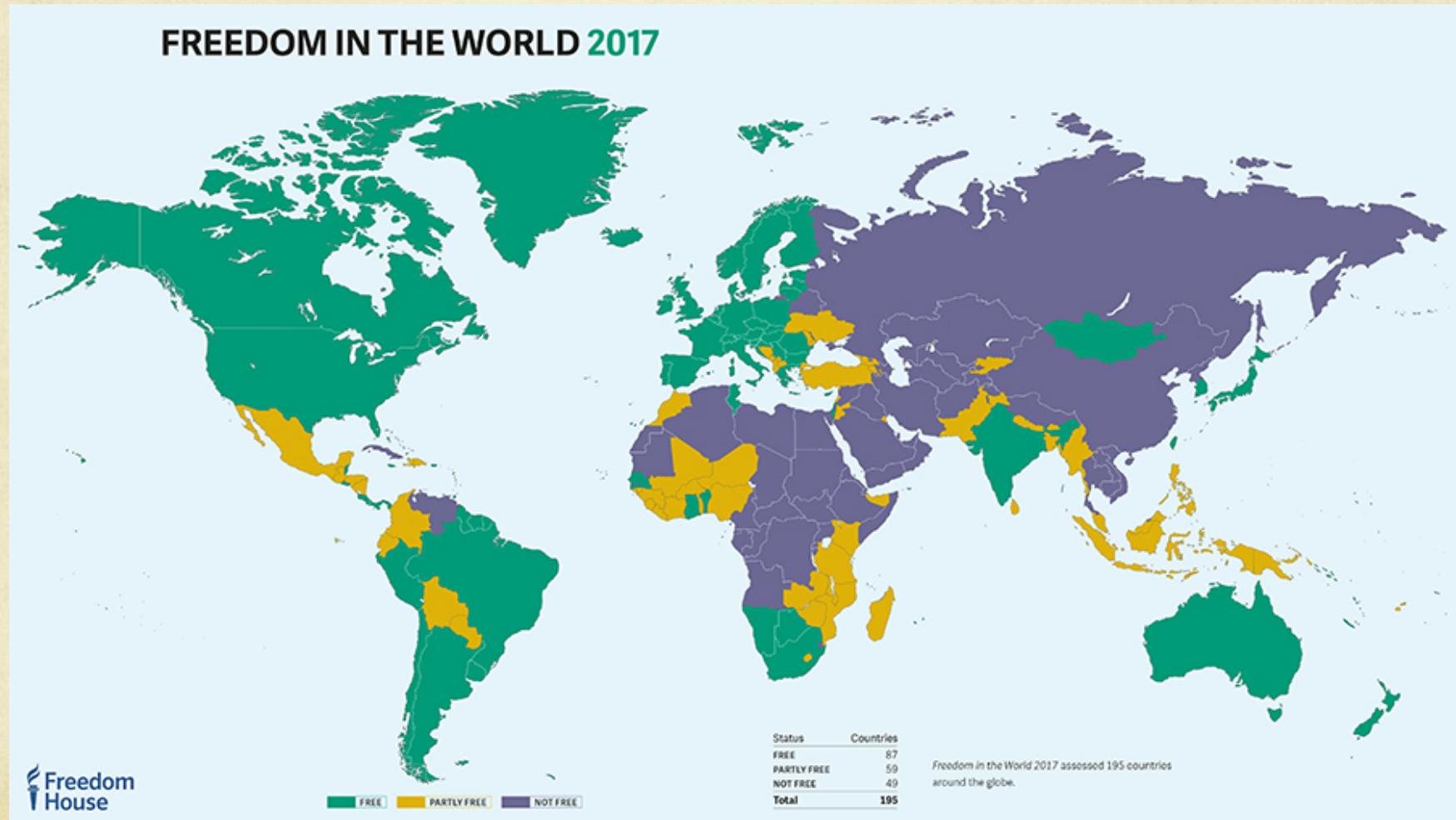
Democracy and Democratic Regimes

- Procedural Definitions of Democracy
 - Basic rules, procedures, or standards required
 - Also called “minimal” definition of democracy
- Substantive Definitions of Democracy
 - Based on achieving end goals
 - Ex.: more equity, more participation, etc.

Oldest Democracy?

- Athens
- Roman Republic
- England
- New Zealand

Freedom in the World

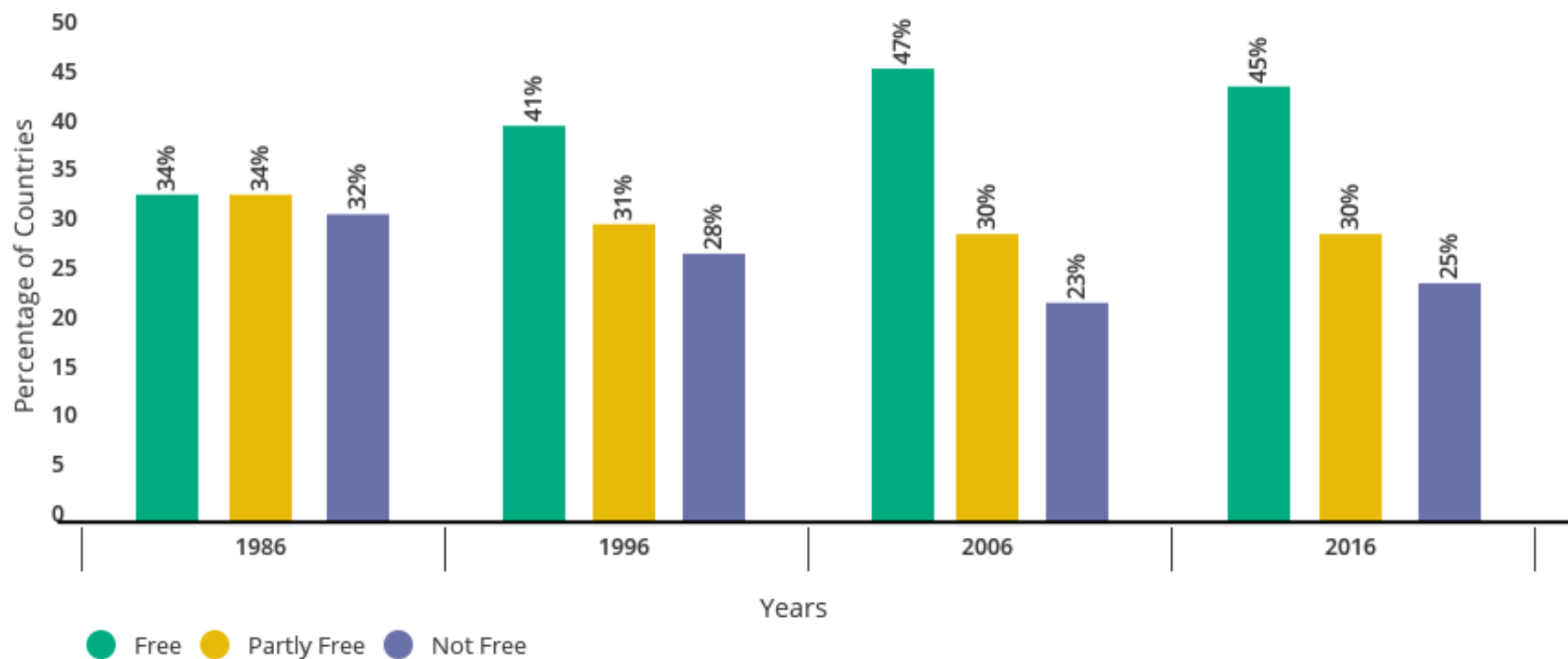


<https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2017>

<https://freedomhouse.org/report/methodology-freedom-world-2017>

Freedom in the World 2017

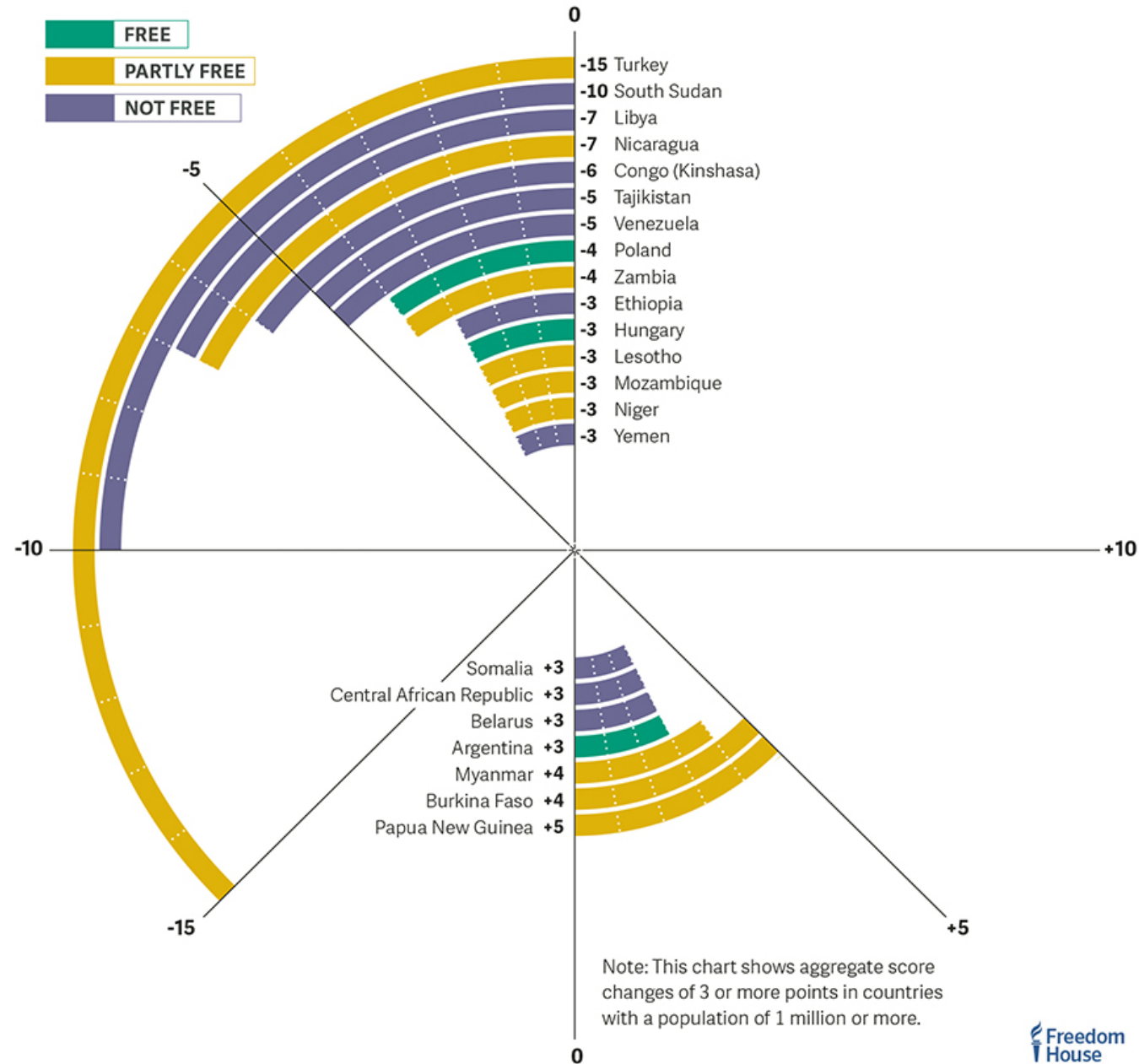
Freedom in the Balance



	Freedom Status	PR	CL	Freedom Rating	Aggregate Score
Finland	Free	1	1	1.0	100
Norway	Free	1	1	1.0	100
Sweden	Free	1	1	1.0	100
Canada	Free	1	1	1.0	99
Netherlands	Free	1	1	1.0	99
Australia	Free	1	1	1.0	98
Luxembourg	Free	1	1	1.0	98
New Zealand	Free	1	1	1.0	98
Uruguay	Free	1	1	1.0	98
Barbados	Free	1	1	1.0	97
Denmark	Free	1	1	1.0	97
Iceland	Free	1	1	1.0	97
Portugal	Free	1	1	1.0	97
San Marino	Free	1	1	1.0	97
Ireland	Free	1	1	1.0	96
Japan	Free	1	1	1.0	96
Malta	Free	1	1	1.0	96

Largest One-Year Gains and Declines, 2016

Gains in aggregate score reflect improvements in conditions for political rights and civil liberties.



Types of Democracy

- Representative Democracy
 - Politicians & institutions represent the electorate
 - Electorate constrains politicians' behavior
 - Elections (held periodically)
 - Other participation (protests, petitions, media, etc.)
- Direct Democracy
 - Emphasis on direct citizen involvement in politics
 - Often involves plebiscites/referenda
 - Often involves citizen assemblies
 - Example?
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y5W45Va0cPE>

Democratization

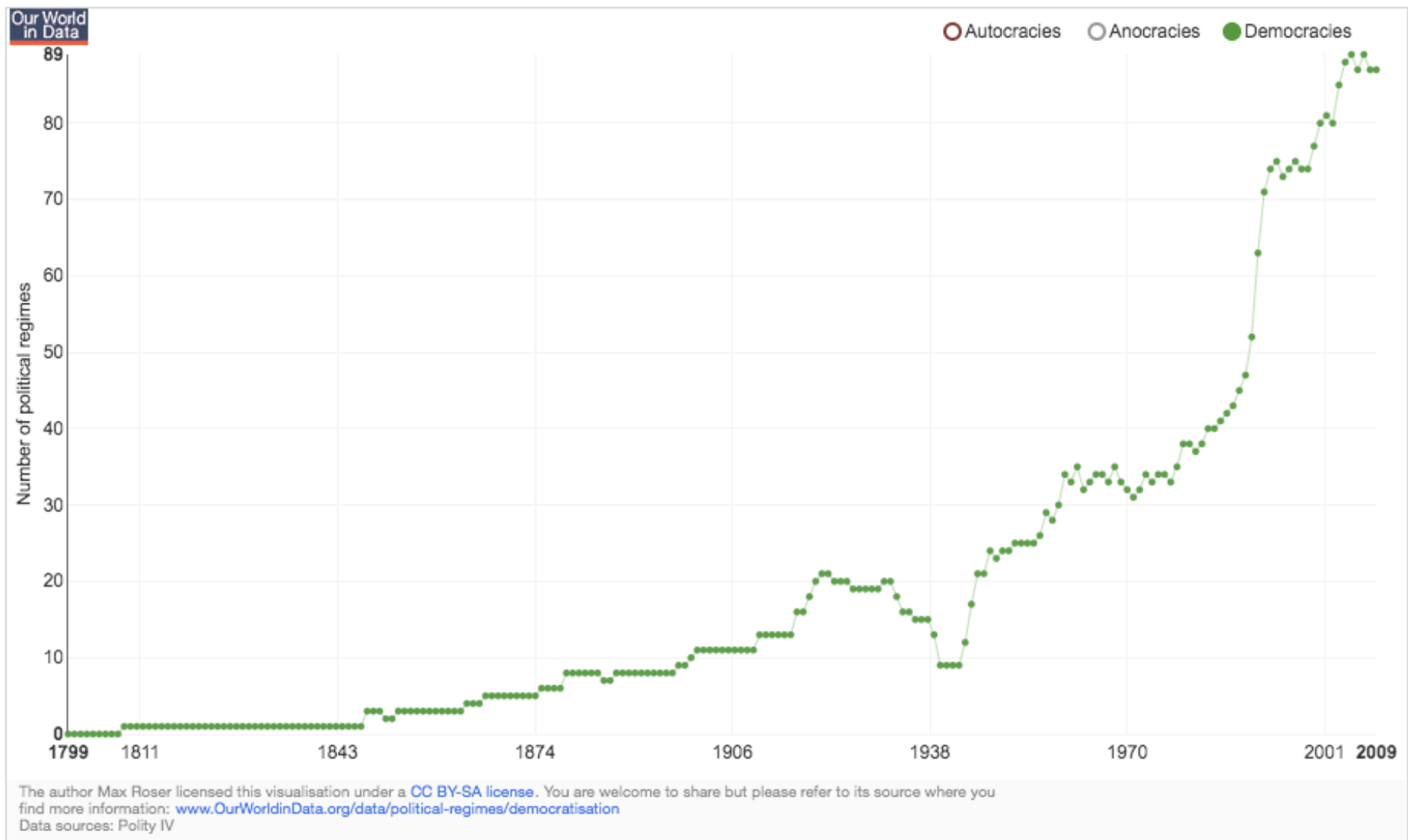
- Transition to Democracy
 - Change from authoritarian to democratic regime
 - Examples?
- Democratic Consolidation
 - Process by which a new democratic order becomes institutionalized
 - Democracy more likely to endure in “consolidated democracies” than “transitional democracies”

Waves of Democratization

- Samuel P. Huntington
- First Wave – end of 19th century until the rise of Fascism in Italy in 1922.
- Second Wave - 1945 until 1962
- Third Wave – 1980s to 2000s.



 Number of democracies between 1800-2010¹

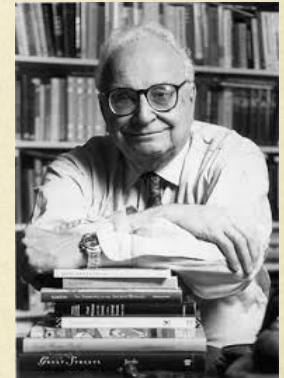


Causes and Effects: WHAT CAUSES DEMOCRATIZATION?

1. Modernization
2. Culture
3. The International System
4. Domestic Institutions
5. Agents and Actors

Causes and Effects: Modernization

- Democracy is more common and stable in “modern” polities
- Economic wealth correlates with democracy: rich countries are often democratic
- Seymour Martin Lipset “Some Social Requisites of Democracy” 1959.
- *Theory*: emergent middle class plays role in democratization
 - Urbanization, education, industrialization, etc.
- *Theory*: modernization may prevent democratic breakdown
 - Economic development can support democracy even if may not cause democratization
- Critique? Counter examples?





Causes and Effects: Culture

- Norms and attitudes support democracy in some places'
- Alexis de Tocqueville, "Democracy in America"
- *Theory*: different regions or countries have distinct cultures regarding power, authority, and rights
 - Ex.: "Asian" values vs. "Western" values
- Question: Is Western culture more compatible with democracy?
- Can different cultures produce "different democracies"?

Causes and Effects: International System

- Global politics can affect regime types
- *Theory*: Major powers in the world can affect chances for democracy in smaller countries
- Ex.: Cold War (1945 – 1989) vs. era of “democratic peace” (1989 – 2001)
 - In Cold War, US and USSR wanted “client states”
 - Security over democracy
 - Democracy later prevailed as “international norm”
- Samuel Huntington “The Third Wave”

Causes and Effects: Domestic Institutions

- Institutions shape whether democracies will survive or fail
 - Ex.: federalism can mitigate conflict or civil war in ethnically divided countries
 - U.S. Constitution vs. prior Articles of Confederation
 - May secure democracy for countries like Iraq (debated)
 - Ex.: electoral rules in polarized societies
 - Chile in 1970: president Salvador Allende elected with <40% support later overthrown in military coup



Causes and Effects: Individual Actors or Agents

- Democratization is often a story with prominent leaders and “triggers”
 - Examples: Gandhi & Nehru (India), Mandela (South Africa), Walesa (Poland)
- These can be individuals or certain groups
- Are individuals really important?

Causes and Effects: Combining Theories

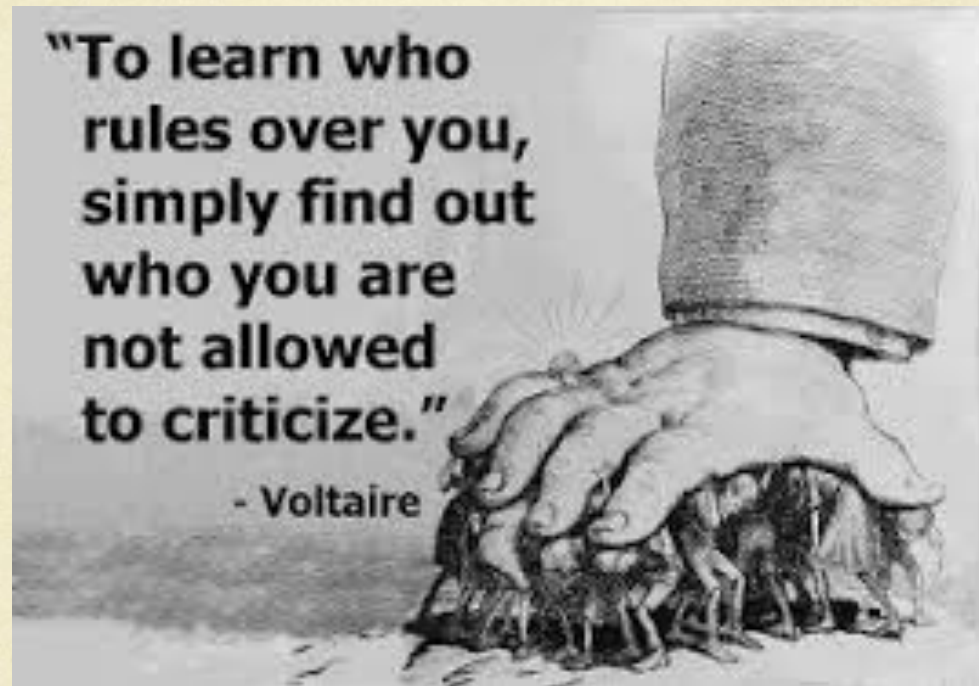
- What is your favorite theory so far?
- No one theory will explain all cases of democracy
- Arguments can combine features
- Arguments should not just be a laundry list saying “all these things matter”
- Example of combined theory:
 - Modernization → Cultural values → Democracy
(Inglehart and Welzel in Modernization, Cultural Change and Democracy, 2005 argue that economic development lead to self-expression values which then correlate with democracy)

Berlin Wall again

- What happened?
 - Modernization
 - Culture
 - Institutions
 - External Influence
 - Individuals
 - Combination



Authoritarian Regimes and Democratic Breakdown

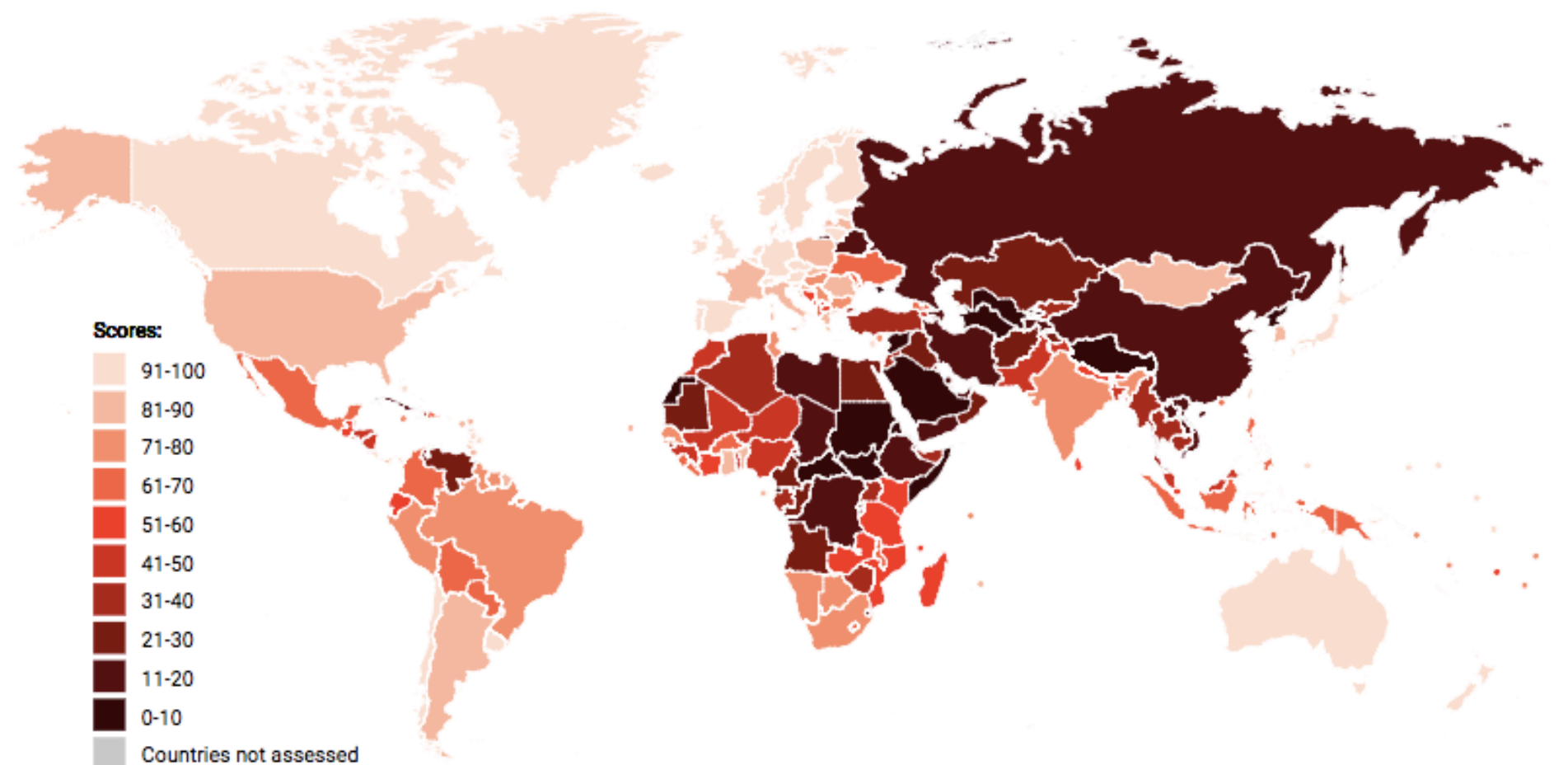


Authoritarianism

- *Political regime characterized by form of government that is non-democratic*
- Authoritarianism can be defined as “opposite” of democracy, but authoritarian regimes have their own characteristics

Freedom in the World 2017 by Aggregate Score

[Tweet](#)



Freedom in the World Aggregate Score: 0 = WORST, 100 = BEST

Worst of the Worst

 Tweet

Of the 49 countries designated as Not Free, the following 11 have the worst aggregate scores for political rights and civil liberties.

Country/Territory	Aggregate Score (out of 100)
 Syria	-1
 Eritrea	3
 North Korea	3
 Uzbekistan	3
 South Sudan	4
 Turkmenistan	4
 Somalia	5
 Sudan	6
 Equatorial Guinea	8
 Central African Republic	10
 Saudi Arabia	10

Authoritarianism

- Totalitarian Regimes
 - *A form of authoritarian regime that aims to control everything about the lives of its subject population*
 - Ex.: Soviet Union (1917 – 1991), Nazi Germany (1933 – 1945)
- Theocracies
 - *An authoritarian state controlled by religious leaders, or a state with very strict religious restrictions that uses religion as its main mode of legitimation*
 - Ex.: contemporary Iran (despite some democratic features)

Authoritarianism

- Personalistic Dictatorships
 - *A form of authoritarianism in which the personality of the dictator is emphasized*
 - Ex.: Mobutu in Zaire in 1970s and 1980s
- Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Regimes
 - *A type of authoritarian regime in which the state is controlled more by a group of elites (often military) rather than by a single individual leader*
 - Ex.: Argentina and Brazil in 1970s



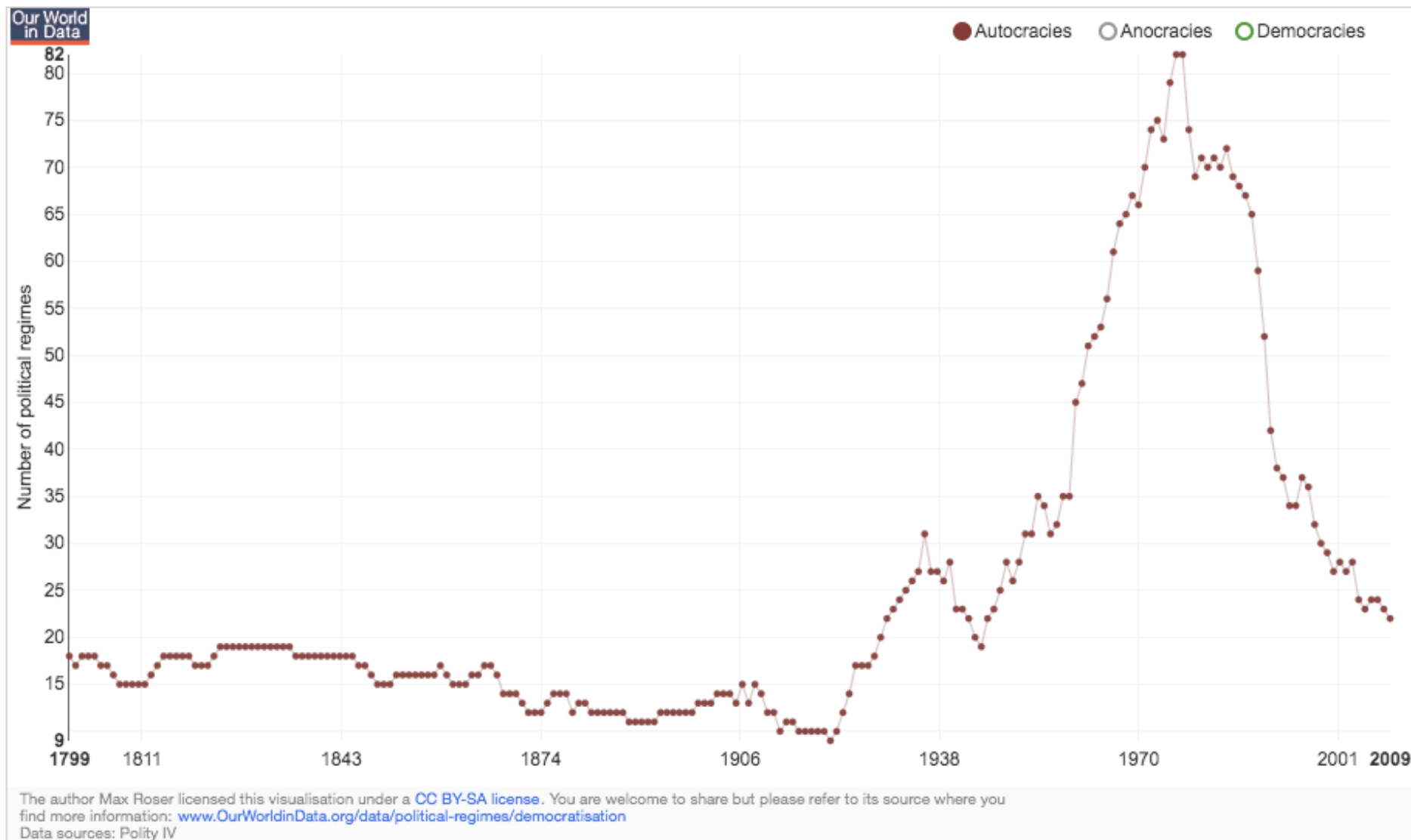
Authoritarianism

- Hybrid and Semi-authoritarian Regimes
 - *A class of regime that is neither fully democratic nor fully authoritarian*
 - Various forms and concepts:
 - Electoral authoritarianism
 - Competitive authoritarianism (Levitsky and Way)
 - Illiberal democracy

Transitions to Authoritarianism

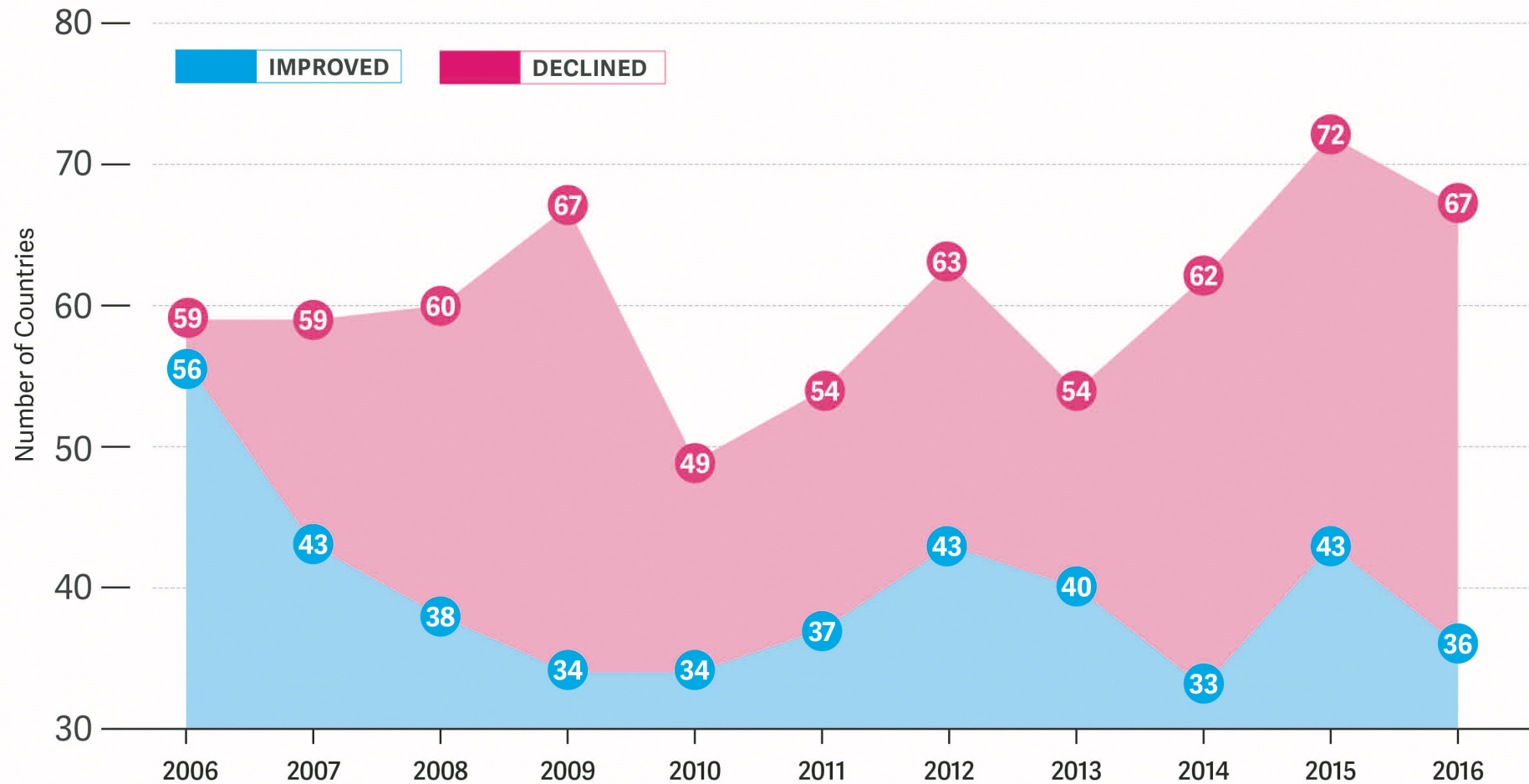
- Democratic Breakdown
 - Transition from democratic to authoritarian regime
- Authoritarian Persistence
 - One authoritarian regime remains in power
 - Transition from one authoritarian regime to another.
Examples?

Authoritarianism in decline or not?



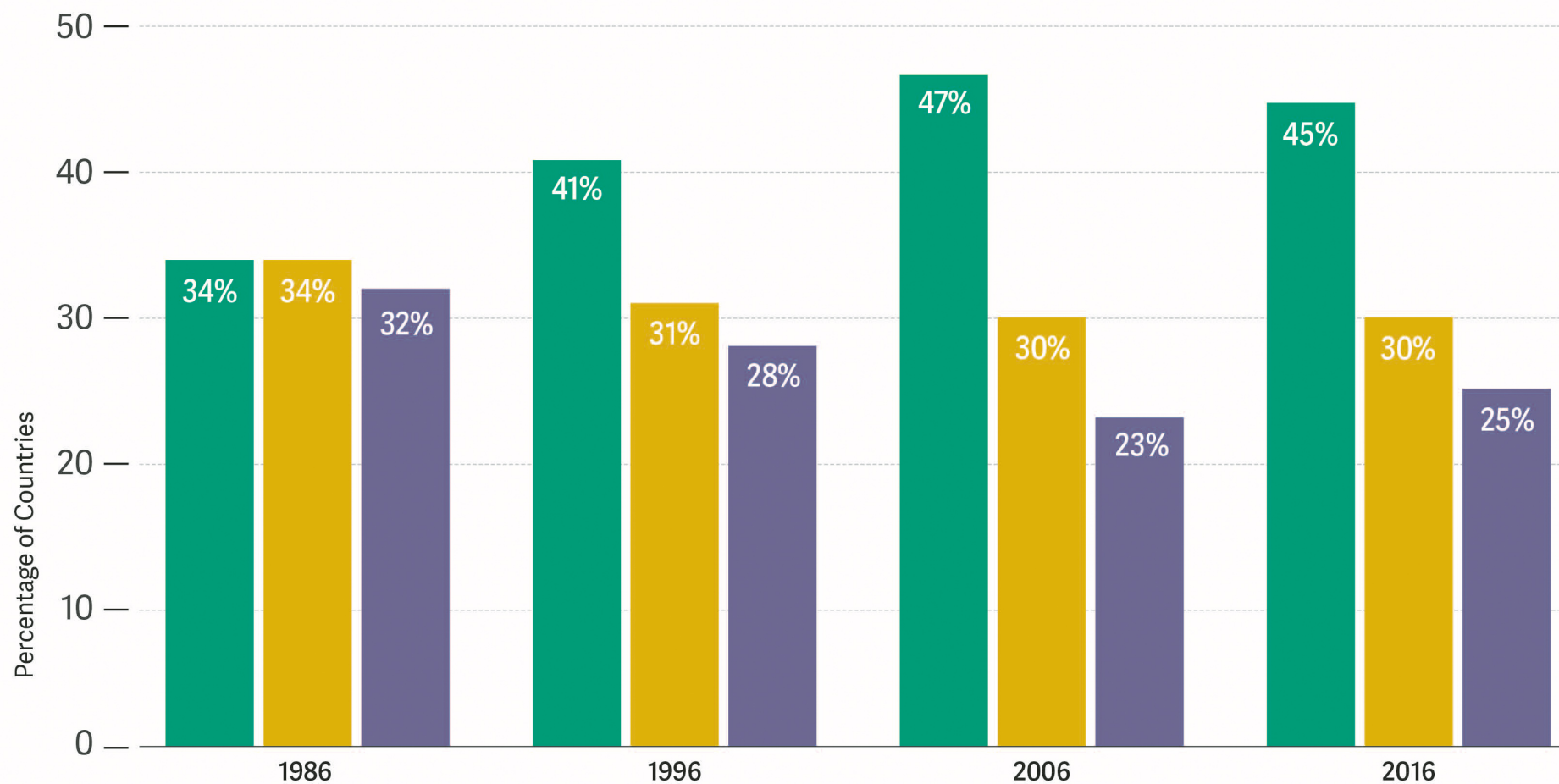
11 YEARS OF DECLINE

Countries with net declines in aggregate score have outnumbered those with gains for the past 11 years.



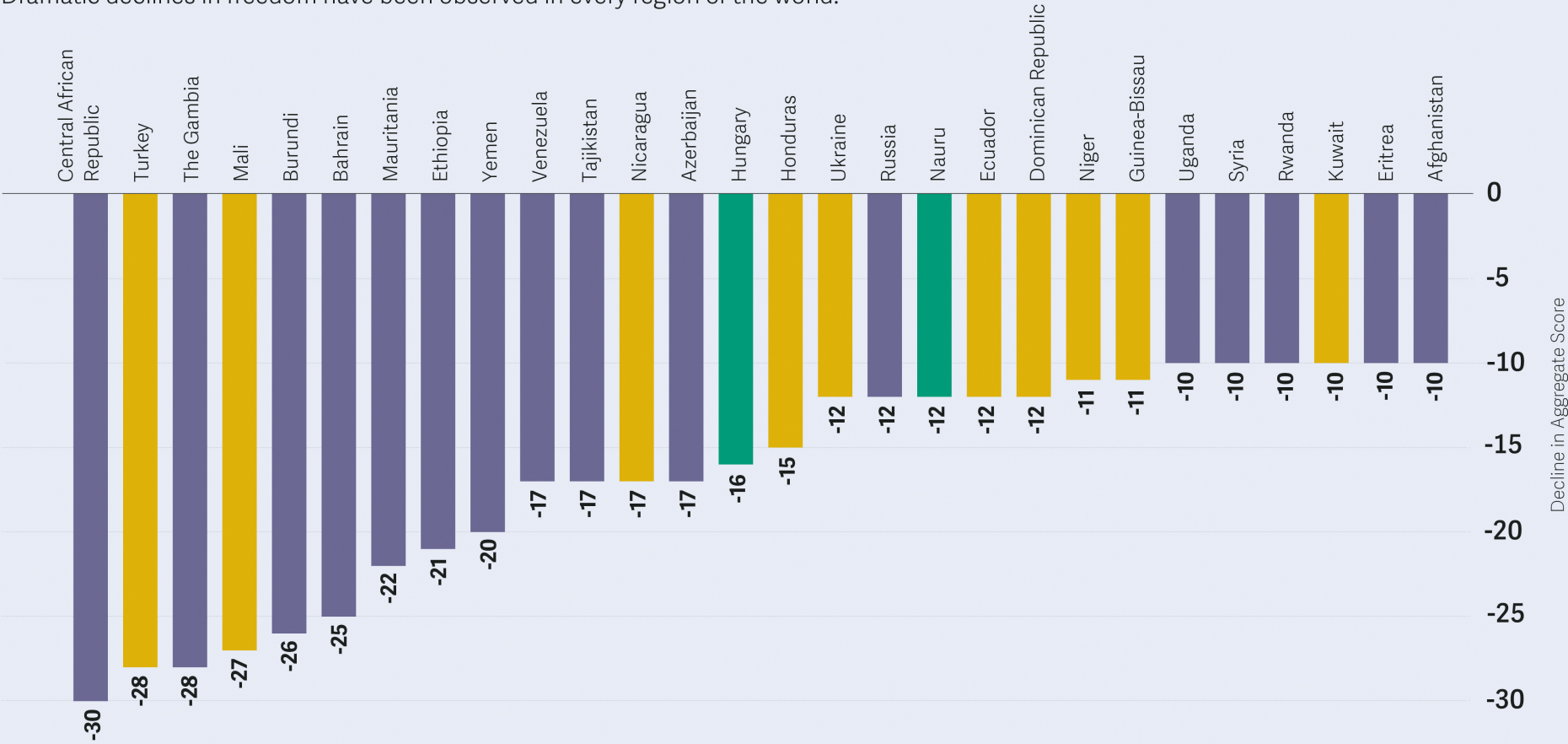
FREEDOM IN THE BALANCE

After years of major gains, the share of Free countries has declined over the past decade, while the share of Not Free countries has risen.



LARGEST 10-YEAR DECLINES

Dramatic declines in freedom have been observed in every region of the world.



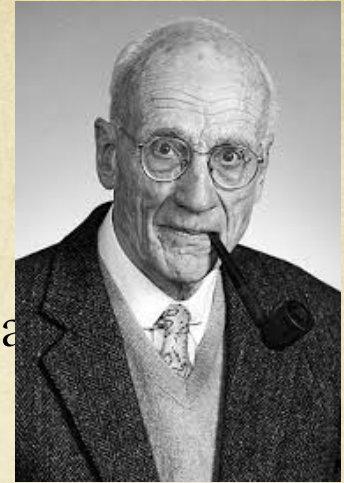
Causes and Effects: WHAT CAUSES AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES TO EMERGE AND PERSIST?

1. Historical-Institutionalist Theories
2. Poverty and Inequality
3. Political Culture
4. Barriers to Collective Action

Causes and Effects: Historical Institutional Theories

- *Theory:* Coalitions among groups or classes shape fates of regimes, and institutions give these coalitions enduring effects
- When actors combine forces, they may get the regime that benefits them
- Important actors may include:
 - Economic interests (landowners, industrialists)
 - Working class and peasants
 - Military

Barrington Moore



- Barrington Moore, “Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy” 1966.
- If a strong middle class was present when a society passed to political modernity, it was likely to end up a liberal democracy.
- If not:
- Middle class with agrarian elite against peasants → Right wing authoritarianism
- Middle class with peasants → Left wing authoritarianism.

Causes and Effects: Poverty and Inequality

- *Theory*: high levels of poverty or inequality lead to more authoritarianism
- Poverty leads populace to greater concern with economic issues than political liberties
- Inequality leads to mistrust between groups
 - Wealthy interests and reactionary authoritarians may defend privilege
 - Poor masses and radical authoritarians may favor populism and redistribution

Causes and Effects: Political Culture

- *Theory*: Some countries may have cultural traditions more suited to authoritarianism
- Ex.: “Asian values” argument
 - Emphasis on authority and obedience over individual
- Culture may also affect *type* of authoritarianism, not just whether country is authoritarian or not (North Korea vs Venezuela vs Saudi Arabia)
- Do you agree?

Causes and Effects: Barriers to Collective Action

- *Theory*: Rational calculations and personal incentives can explain persistence of repressive regimes
- Individuals have few incentives to counter repression
 - Collective action problems
 - “Free rider” problem: let others take the risk, even if you may reap rewards of regime change
- In absence of effective coordination, regime remains intact

Repressed Citizen

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZtYU87QNjPw>

Essay Question!!

- https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZPHSXUS0_1c
- Is the United States greatest country in the world? Why or why not?
- Define Greatness
- Find a way to measure it
- Show me the evidence
- Discuss the implications

Discussion

- Break into 2 groups.
- Come up with a definition of democracy. (Make a list of factors that make a country a democracy)
- Conduct a “democratic audit” of Turkey.
- What might be the reason for the decline of democracy in Turkey in the last decade?
- Based on what we learned today about democratization and authoritarianism, do you expect Turkey to become more or less democratic in the short, medium and long terms.

Next Week

- Political Economy - Chapter 4
- Development – Chapter 5