LONG WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

DPI413 Class 4
HOUSEKEEPING

- Visiting speakers
  - Monday 8\textsuperscript{th} February 2010 (by videoconference) Christian Haerpfer “Theories of Democratization”
  - Monday 1\textsuperscript{st} March 2010 Reuven Hazen, “Electoral systems and electoral reform”
  - Monday 5\textsuperscript{th} April 2010 (by videoconference) Professor Ronald Inglehart, “Post-modernization, cultural change and democracy”

- Reserve readings

- Regional study groups signup sheets and schedule.
STRUCTURE

I. Recap: Measures of democracy
   • Polity IV

II. Conceptual framework
   • Four processes affecting democratization

III. Huntington’s *The Third Wave*
   • The First Long Wave
   • The Second ‘Long Wave’
   • The Third (and Fourth?) wave
   • A democratic reversal?

IV. Discussion exercise: regional patterns (Ch5)
   • In your view, which of the four processes were the key drivers of democratization in each global region?
   • Are processes similar or different worldwide?
READINGS AND MATERIALS

 Required:
  • Christian Haerpfer et al. Democratization
  • Ch 4 and 5

 Supplementary:
  • Samuel Huntington 1991. *The Third Wave*
  • Renske Roorenspleet 2000. ‘Reassessing the three waves of democratization’ *World Politics*

 Website:
  • *Polity IV Project*
  • [http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm](http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm)
  • All states 1800-2009
I: Recap

- Concepts and measures of democratic governance
  - Minimalist – procedural democracy (Schumpeter/Cheibub)
  - Liberal democracy (Dahl/ Freedom House, Polity IV)
  - Good governance (WBI Kaufmann-Kray, Ibrahim index)

- Apply to global patterns and longitudinal trends
MEASUREMENT: POLITY IV


- Long time-series (1800-2009) annual observations
- Academic standard, especially in IR
- Main alternative to Freedom House
POLITY IV CONCEPTS

- Democracy reflects three essential elements:
  - The presence of *institutions and procedures* through which citizens can express preferences about alternative policies and leaders;
  - The existence of *institutionalized constraints* on the power of the executive; and
  - The guarantee of civil liberties to all citizens (*although not actually measured*).
POLITY IV MEASUREMENT

- The dataset constructs a ten-point democracy scale by coding
- The *competitiveness of political participation* (1-3),
- The *competitiveness of executive recruitment* (1-2),
- The *openness of executive recruitment* (1), and
- The *constraints on the chief executive* (1-4).

Autocracy is measured by negative versions of the same indices.

The two scales are combined into a single democracy-autocracy score varying from -10 to +10.
II: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

- Four process associated with democratization (p62)
  - **Internal processes**
    - Similar factors in countries without coordinating mechanisms
    - E.g.? Local NGOs
  - **External processes**
    - Affecting a group of countries but not actions deliberately aimed at encouraging democracy
    - E.g.? Great Depression, WWII, post-colonial independence
  - **Emulative processes**
    - Democratic changes in some countries subsequently impact others
    - E.g. S.Africa post-apartheid,
  - **Supportive processes**
    - One or more countries encourage democracy elsewhere
    - E.g. NED, AI, UNDP, IDEA
- **Note that these are not mutually exclusive categories**
**APPLY IN THE DISCUSSION EXERCISE**

**Class 4: Waves, global patterns, and causes**
Break up into pairs from different countries. Chapter 5 of *Democratization* presented a summary of democratization processes in six different regions of the world. In your opinion, what are the most distinctive features of each region’s democratization processes during the third wave era (since 1974)? Use the following matrix and drawing upon the chapter and your own experiences *give specific examples of how each type of factor affected the process of transition and consolidation of democracy in particular countries* during the third wave era. *Which type of factors prove most important overall, in your view, to explain the third wave of democratization?*

We will spend 15 minutes in pairs and then compare results across the class to see if there is agreement about common factors.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Internal processes</th>
<th>External processes</th>
<th>Emulative processes</th>
<th>Supportive processes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mediterranean Europe</td>
<td>Death France, role of king, Internal economic development, end of conflict</td>
<td>EU membership</td>
<td>Portugal led</td>
<td>EU,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latin America</td>
<td>Economic growth/middle class</td>
<td>Debt crisis, end of Cold war, trade, MERCASUR</td>
<td>Argentina, Spain</td>
<td>AI, US Foreign policy, IMF, trade</td>
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<td>Soviet/Communist bloc</td>
<td>Gorbechev</td>
<td>Economic hardships</td>
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<td>Asia</td>
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<td>Africa</td>
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III: WAVES OF DEMOCRATIZATION?

- Huntington’s *The Third Wave (1991)*
- **Concept:** Procedural (Schumpeterian): “The central procedure of democracy is the selection of leaders through competitive elections by the people they govern.” p6
- **Definition:** “A political system as democratic to the extent that its most powerful collective decision-makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote.” p7
- **Dichotomous** measure
- Many historical forms of democracy (tribes, city-state, village levels). Study focuses on democracy of the nation-state
- In 1750, no democratic nations existed
- **Historical periods:** Democratic institutions emerged in waves “a group of transitions from nondemocratic to democratic regimes that occur within a specific period of time.”
# Huntington’s Waves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waves</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First long wave of democratization</td>
<td>1828-1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First reverse wave</td>
<td>1922-1942</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second, short wave of democratization</td>
<td>1943-1962</td>
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<tr>
<td>Second reverse wave</td>
<td>1958-1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>Third wave of democratization</td>
<td>1974+</td>
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POLITY IV INDICES 1800-2009

Mean Combined Polity Score

Year Coded

1+ 1- 2+ 2- 3+ 4?
THE FIRST LONG WAVE 1776-1914

- **Western developments**
  - From absolute monarchies to representative government
  - Expansion of franchise to all citizens

- **Evolutionary process**
  - Britain
    - Incremental growth of parliamentary democracy
    - Expansion of franchise in Reform Acts (1832, 1867, 1872, 1884, 1918, 1923)

- **Revolutionary process**
  - USA 1776
  - France 1789
1st Reverse Wave 1922-42

- End of WWI
- Collapse of Tsarist, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian Empires
- New States – Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, the Baltic States
- But in retrospect few of these new democracies became consolidated
- Economic disruption of the Great Depression
- The interwar period saw the collapse of democracy in almost all of the new states and some of the newly democratised old states
- Of the 17 nations which adopted democratic institutions between 1910-31, only 4 maintained them
- Military coups in Italy (1922), Lithuania, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, Greece (1936), Portugal (1926), Brazil (1930), Argentina (1930), Spain (1939), Japan (early-1930s)
- Hitler: Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia
- Wave of ideological and militaristic autocracies
THE SECOND WAVE 1943-62

- End of WWII saw the defeat of Fascism in Italy and Germany; allies promoted democratic constitutions in Germany, Italy, Japan, Austria, Korea
- The remaining Colonial powers were shaken and independence movements came to the fore
- Although most newly independent states in Africa adopted democratic constitutions, few consolidated
- Some progressive movements and popular elections in Latin America (Uruguay, Brazil, Costa Rica, Argentina, Peru, Venezuela)
- Despite some setbacks, the total number of democracies worldwide grew in this period
THE THIRD WAVE 1974 - ?

- End of Portuguese dictatorship 1974
- Collapse Greek military regime
- In Spain, death of Franco 1975
- Wave of democratization in Latin America and Asia in late 1970s
- In the 1970’s and 80’s the Soviet and Eastern bloc economies came under pressure
- Under Gorbachev, the Soviet Union loosened its grip on Central and Eastern Europe. In 1989, practically all of the communist regimes in the region fell
- With the support of the EU, some post-Communist states successfully consolidated their democracies. But many also remain unreconstructed (Eurasia) or poorly consolidated (Georgia, Ukraine?).
OR A NEW REVERSE WAVE

- Larry Diamond: Democratic recession since 2000
- Not all of the new democracies have consolidated and some have reversed eg Gambia in 1997, Thailand, Fiji, Kenya (?), Russia
- Concerns have also been raised about growing apathy and disaffection in consolidated democracies
- On the whole, the latest wave has not come to an end, but shows some signs of weakening and possible reversals
HUNTINGTON’S PROPOSITIONS (p.38)

1. No single factor is sufficient to explain the development of democracy
2. Democratization in each country is the result of a combination of causes
3. The combination of causes differs for each wave
4. The causes responsible for the initial regime transition differ from those responsible for democratic consolidation
IV: DISCUSSION EXERCISE

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NEXT CLASS MON 8TH

Theories of democratization

Read Haerpfer ch 6, Norris ch 1 (Togo and Benin cases)
POLITY IV CLASSIFICATION

- The existence or absence of institutional features of the nation state.
- Competitive executive recruitment is measured by *leadership selection through popular elections* contested by two or more parties or candidates.
- The *openness of recruitment* for the chief executive is measured by the opportunity for all citizens to have the opportunity to attain the position through a regularized process, excluding hereditary succession, forceful seizure of power, or military coups.
- By contrast, autocracies are seen as regimes which restrict or suppress competitive political participation, in which the chief executive is chosen from within the political elite, and, once in office, leaders face few institutional constraints on their power.