## **Brief Contents**

Abou	t the Editors	xxix
Abou	t the Contributors	xxx
1	Introduction	1
	Christian W. Haerpfer, Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart,	119
	and Christian Welzel	
	Approaches to the Study of Democratization	4
	Plan of the Book	5
Part	One: Theoretical and Historical Perspectives	127
2	Democratic and Undemocratic States  Richard Rose	10
	Introduction	10
	Defining Democratic States	11
	The State of States Today	13
		17
	Evolution, False Starts, and Democratization Backwards	
*	Dynamics of Democratic and Undemocratic States	19
	Conclusion of the samewagms named and	21
3	Measuring Democracy and Democratization  Patrick Bernhagen	24
	Introduction	24
	Is Democracy a Matter of Degree?	25
	Measuring Democracy	28
	Hybrid Regimes and Sub-types of Democracy	37
	Conclusion	38
4	Long Waves and Conjunctures of Democratization  Dirk Berg-Schlosser	41
	Introduction	41
	The Overall Picture	43
	The First Long Wave 1776–1914	45
	The First Positive Conjuncture 1918–19	46

	The Second Long Wave (with some intermittent turbulences), 1945–88	48
	The Latest Conjuncture, 1989–90	49
	Conclusion	51
5	The Global Wave of Democratization  John Markoff (with Amy White)	55
	Introduction	55
	Democracy Ascending	56
	National, Regional, and Global Processes	62
	Conclusion	69
6	Theories of Democratization  Christian Welzel	74
	Introduction	74
	The Nature and Origin of Democracy	75
	Social Divisions, Distributional Equality, and Democratization	78
	Colonial Legacies, Religious Traditions, and Democracy	80
	Modernization and Democratization	80
	International Conflicts, Regime Alliances, and Democratization	81
	Elite Pacts, Mass Mobilization, and Democratization	82
	State Repression and Democratizing Mass Pressures	83
	Institutional Configurations and Democracy	86
	The Human Empowerment Path to Democracy	86
	A Typology of Democratization Processes	87
	Conclusion mapadama some A	88
art	Two: Causes and Dimensions of Democratization	1
7	The International Context  Hakan Yilmaz	92
	Introduction	92
	The International Context of Democratization: Theoretical Approaches	93
	Democracy Promotion Strategies of the USA and the European Union	96
	Globalization, Global Civil Society, and Democratization	100
	Conclusion Wave, 1776-1914	103

P

8	Democracy, Business, and the Economy Patrick Bernhagen	107
	Introduction	107
	Capitalism and Democracy: The Historical Connection	109
	What Capitalism Does for Democracy	112
	What Democracy Does for Business	116
	The Role of Business Actors in Democratic Transition	119
	Political and Economic Reform	121
	Conclusion	123
9	Political Culture, Mass Beliefs, and Value Change Christian Welzel and Ronald F. Inglehart	126
	Introduction	127
	The Role of Mass Beliefs in Democratization Literature	128
	Mass Demands for Democracy	129
	Regime Legitimacy	131
	Economic Performance and Regime Legitimacy	133
	The Congruence Thesis	134
	Are Emancipative Values Caused by Democracy?	136
	Explaining Democratic Change	138
	The Role of Religion	141
	Conclusion Market notable desired	143
10	Gender and Democratization  Pamela Paxton	145
	Introduction The American Introduction The Introduction T	145
	Gender in Definitions of Democracy	146
	Women's Democratic Representation: Formal, Descriptive, and Substantive Representation	148
	Women's Suffrage as an Aspect of Democratization	150
	Women's Representation as an Aspect of Democracy	152
	Women and Democratization Movements	154
	Conclusion	155

11	Social Capital and Civil Society  Natalia Letki	158
	Introduction	158
	Defining Civil Society and Social Capital	159
	Civil Society and Social Capital in Democratization	160
	Paradoxes of Civil Society and Social Capital in New Democracies	163
	Civil Society, Social Capital, and Democracy: A Western Perspective?	166
	Conclusion	167
Part	Three: Actors and Institutions	1/4
12	Social Movement, Trade Unions, and Advocacy Networks Federico M. Rossi and Donatella della Porta	172
	Introduction	172
	Social Movements in Research on Democratization	173
	The Role of 'Democratization from Below': Perspectives from Social Movement Studies	177
	Conclusion	182
13	Conventional Citizen Participation  Ian McAllister and Stephen White	186
	Introduction	186
	Dimensions of Political Participation	187
	Election Turnout	191
	Institutions and Political Participation	193
	Citizens and Political Participation	195
	Conclusion	197
14	Political Parties	201
	Leonardo Morlino	20.
	Introduction and a second seco	201
	Are Parties an Essential Component of Democracy?	202
	Are Parties the Key Actors of Transition? Are there Alternative Actors?	204
	How Do Parties Anchor a Democracy?	209
	When Do Parties Fail?	214
	Conclusion	214

15	Electoral Systems and Institutional Design in New Democracies  Matthijs Bogaards	219
	Introduction	220
	Institutional Design	220
	Duverger's and Sartori's Electoral Laws	221
	The Party System as Independent Variable	222
	Mixed Electoral Systems	223
	The Dependent Variable I: Counting Parties	224
	The Dependent Variable II: Party Systems	224
	Additional Variables: Cleavages and Presidentialism	225
	The State of the Art	226
	The Evidence from New Democracies	227
	Electoral System Design and Ethnic Conflict Management	228
	Consociational Democracy	230
	Conclusion	231
16	The Media	234
	Katrin Voltmer and Gary Rawnsley	
	Introduction visibal bas studio labilities	234
	International Media, Communication Technologies, and Democratization	236
	Media-State Relationships	238
	The Media and the Market	242
	Journalistic Professionalism and the Quality of Reporting	243
	Conclusion Talenand Windows Williams	245
17	Failed Democratization	249
	M. Steven Fish and Jason Wittenberg	
	Introduction amigs Also Mod Rimmmo D to bas	249
	Categorizing Countries Commod was Allowed to Modern Countries Coun	250
	What Undermines Democracy?	252
	Who Undermines Democracy?	256
	What Can Be Done? work as a second work more	260
	Conclusion	263

## Part Four: Regions of Democratization

18	Southern Europe	268
	Richard Gunther	
	Introduction	268
	Portugal Spanish Spani	269
	Greece that painting of elders variable is Counting Parts essential	272
	Spain ameraya yeed at abdated inchesque of T	275
	Explaining Democratization in Southern Europe	280
	Conclusion	286
19	Latin America  Andrea Oelsner and Mervyn Bain	290
	Introduction Voscomed Empiricación (Construction Construction Construc	290
	Historical Overview	291
	The International Context	294
	Economic Factors	296
	Political Culture and Society	298
	Political Parties and Social Movements	301
	Institutional Challenges	303
	Conclusion and the Market	306
20	Post-Communist Europe and Post-Soviet Russia Christian W. Haerpfer	309
	Introduction	309
	Decline and Failed Reforms of Communist Regimes, 1970–88	311
	End of Communist Political Regimes, 1989–91	312
	Creation of New Democracies	313
	From New Democracies towards Consolidated Democracies	314
	From New Democracies towards Electoral Democracies	316
	From New Democracies towards Autocracies	317
	Conclusion	318

21	The Middle East and North Africa Francesco Cavatorta	321
	Introduction	321
	Authoritarian Persistence in the Arab World	323
	The International Context	325
	Political Culture and Society	327
	Business and the Economy	330
	Agents of Democratization and Democratic Failure	332
	Institutional Challenges	335
	Conclusion	336
22	Sub-Saharan Africa	339
	Michael Bratton	
	Introduction	339
	Africa's Democratic Wave	340
	Key Cases of Regime Transition	343
	Explanatory Factors	346
	Institutional Challenges	350
	Conclusion	353
23	East Asia	356
	Doh Chull Shin and Rollin F. Tusalem	
	Introduction	356
	East Asia as a Region of Democratization	357
	Democratic Transition	360
	Substantive Democratization	366
	Prospects of Democratization in China and Singapore	369
	Conclusion	373

24	Conclusions and Outlook: The Future of Democratization	377
	Christian W. Haerpfer, Patrick Bernhagen, Ronald F. Inglehart, and Christian Welzel	
	Tactical and Strategic Factors	378
	Developmental Factors	380
	External Threats and Group Hostilities as Impediments to Democracy	380
	An Evolutionary Perspective	381
	The Democratic Agenda of the Future	383
	Spreading Democracy to New Regions	383
	Consolidating and Improving New Democracies	384
	Deepening Old Democracies	384
Glossa	ary	386
Biblio	graphy	390
Index	Africa's Democratic Wave Bersundering	412