

# International Relations 408: Global Democratization

Fall 2015

When: M & W 3:30-4:50 pm  
Where: VKC 158  
Office Hours: M 2:00-3:20 p.m.  
or by appointment

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## Course Description

This class focuses on the concept of democracy, the history of democracy, and recent efforts by the international community to promote democracy. Section I considers some classic works and current debates on the meaning of democracy. Section II addresses the sweeping trend toward democracy in world history. Section III, following the midterm, focuses on the international promotion of democracy after 1989 and considers four democracy promotion programs in some detail. In short, the course tackles some central questions about politics: What is democracy? What countries have been and are democracies? What is being done internationally in the post-Cold War era to promote democracy?

## Requirements

- i) Four (4) *quizzes* (15% of the final grade). With regard to the quizzes, I have included provisional dates in the syllabus, but these may change slightly. The exact dates will be announced in class. Of the five quizzes, I will drop the lowest one and thus compute grades on the basis of your best four quizzes.
- ii) An in-class *mid-term* (35%), and an in-class *final* exam (35%).
- iii) A *research paper* (15% of the final grade) on the topic of democracy in some country or countries in the current period, roughly 15 double-spaced pages in length. Right after the midterm, I will hand out guidelines for this paper and discuss how you should go about doing research for the paper. You will need to inform me about the topic you will pick and get my approval on the topic.

## Readings and Class Power Points

All the readings are accessible through the Blackboard, under “Readings.” Below you will see which reading we will discuss, and you are responsible for reading, in each meeting of the class. The full text of each reading is not required; therefore, look at the notes next to the reading to see what pages you should read. In some cases, I also highlight what issues you should focus on in the readings.

I will be introducing additional information, especially on most recent developments, in class. The power points of each class will be uploaded to the Blackboard after each class—you will find them under “Power Points”—and you are responsible for mastering the information in these power points that go beyond the readings.

## Topic Outline and Reading Assignments

### Introduction

**Meeting # 1 (8/24). An Overview of the Course**

**Meeting # 2 (8/26). A Class Discussion about the Meaning of Democracy**

### I. What is Modern Democracy?

**Meeting # 3 (8/31). Background to the Debate about Modern Democracy**

- Aristotle, *Politics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920 [c. 330 BC]). Read from the top of page 112 to the middle of page 115.
- Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989 [1748]). Read Book 2, Chapters 1 and 2, pages 10-15.
- Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and The First and Second Discourses* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2002 [1762]). Read Book 3, Chs. 3 and 4, pages 200-02.
- Paine, "Rights of Man. Part the Second," pp. 199-331, in Thomas Paine, *Rights of Man, Common Sense, and Other Political Writings* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998 [1792]). Read from the middle of page 230 ("The only forms of government are ...") to the middle of page 233.
- James Mill, "Government," Supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (London: J. Innes, 1825 [1820]). Read Sections I, II and III on pages 1-8 and Section VI on pages 16-17.

**Meeting # 4 (9/2). The Election of Government Office Holders: Schumpeter**

- Schumpeter, Joseph, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Routledge, 2003; originally published in 1942). Read from the start of the section on "A Mental Experiment" and end where the section on "The Principle Applied" starts (pp. 240-73).

**Meeting # 5 (9/7). Labor Day: No Class**

**Meeting # 6 (9/9). Beyond Elections I: Dahl**

- Dahl, Robert, *Democracy and its Critics* (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 1989), Chs. 8 and 9, and pages 220-22.

**Meeting # 7 (9/14). Beyond Elections II: The Quality of Democracy**

- Diamond, Larry and Leonardo Morlino, "The Quality of Democracy: An Overview," *Journal of Democracy* 15, 4 (2004): 20-31.
- **Quiz # 1 (9/16)**

## II. What Countries Have Been and Are Democracies? And Why?

### Meeting # 8 (9/16). The Invention of Representative Democracy

- Dahl, Robert A. "Democracy," *Encyclopædia Britannica Ultimate Reference Suite* (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, 2011). Read from the beginning of the article up to the beginning of the section on "New Answers to Old Questions" on page 11. Read with an eye to gain a broad picture of when democracy flourished.

### Meetings # 9 & 10 (9/21, 9/23). The Spread of Representative Democracy Through 1989

- Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). Read Ch. 1 up to page 26.
- Diamond, Larry, "The Democratic Boom," Ch. 2, in Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (New York: Times Books, 2008).
- Documentary: *People's Century: People Power* (2000) (on the collapse of communism).

### Meeting # 11 (9/28). Doubts About Democracy After 1989

- Huntington, Samuel P. "Democracy's Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 2, 2 (1991): 12-34. Focus on Huntington's argument, on pages 22 through 33, about the impact of the economy and culture on the prospects of democracy.

### Meeting # 12 (9/30). More Doubts About Democracy After 1989

- Zakaria, Fareed, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, 6 (1997): 22-43. Focus on the idea that many new Third Wave democracies are unlike Western democracies.
- Voskressenski, Alexei D. "General Settings, Regional and National Factors, and the Concept of Non-Western Democracy," pp. 184-211, in Adam Przeworski (ed.), *Democracy in a Russian Mirror* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015). Focus on the idea that a Western style democracy may not be best suited to some non-Western countries.

### Meeting # 13 (10/5). The Record of Democracy After 1989

- Diamond, Larry, "Facing Up to the Democratic Recession," *Journal of Democracy* 26, 1 (2015): 141-55.
- Puddington, Arch, "The Freedom House Survey for 2014. A Return to the Iron Fist," *Journal of Democracy* 26, 2 (2015): 122-38.
- **Quiz # 2** (10/5)

### Meeting # 14 (10/7). Mid-term Exam

### III. What is Being Done to Promote Democracy?

#### Meetings # 15, 16, 17 & 18 (10/12, 10/14, 10/19, 10/21). The Who, Why, and What of Democracy Promotion

- Bridoux, Jeff and Milja Kurki, “Who Does Democracy Promotion and How?” pp. 21-34, in Bridoux and Kurki, *Democracy Promotion: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2014).
- Fukuyama, Francis and Michael McFaul, “Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted?” *The Washington Quarterly* 31, 1 (2007): 23-45. Read from the start until the top of page 34.
- Carothers, Thomas, “Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental?” *Journal of Democracy* 20, 1 (2009): 5-19.
- Kurki, Milja. “Democracy and Conceptual Contestability: Reconsidering Conceptions of Democracy in Democracy Promotion,” *International Studies Review* 12, 3 (2010): 362–86.
- Burnell, Peter, “Methods and Experiences of Evaluating Democracy Support: A Moving Frontier,” in Peter Burnell (ed.), *Evaluating Democracy Support Methods and Experiences* (Stockholm: International IDEA and SIDCA, 2007). Read pages 15-32.
- **Research Paper.** A brief statement of your intended research topic is due on **October 19**. We will discuss the research paper during this section of the class.
- **Quiz # 3** (10/21)

#### Meetings # 19 & 20 (10/26, 10/28). Election Monitoring

- Høgdahl, Kristin, “Election Observation,” in Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, *Manual on Human Rights Monitoring. An Introduction for Human Rights Field Officers* (Oslo: Norwegian Institute of Human Rights, 2002).
- Kelley, Judith, “Election Observers and Their Biases,” *Journal of Democracy* 21, 3 (2010): 158-72.

#### Meetings # 21 & 22 (11/2, 11/4). International IDEA’s Democracy Assessments

- Beetham, David, “The State of Democracy Project,” pp. 145-55, in International IDEA, *Ten Years of Supporting Democracy Worldwide* (Stockholm: International IDEA 2005).
- Beetham, David et al., *Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Practical Guide* (Stockholm: International IDEA 2008). Read only “Part 1 Democracy assessment: explaining the method,” pages 17-68 closely, and skim “Part 2 The framework,” pages 71-249 to get a sense of different sources of information.
- *Assessment of the Quality of Democracy in Pakistan January - December 2011* (2012). Only skim so as to gain a sense of what concepts are discussed and what kind of information is used.
- *The State of Democracy in Zambia* (2011). Only skim so as to gain a sense of what concepts are discussed and what kind of information is used.
- **Quiz # 4** (11/4)

### **Meetings # 23 & 24 (11/9, 11/11). The U.S. MCA Foreign Assistance Program**

- Windsor, Jennifer, "Democracy and Development: The Evolution of U.S. Foreign Assistance Policy," *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 27, 2 (2003): 141-50.
- For the specifics of the MCA, go to the MCA website ([www.mcc.gov](http://www.mcc.gov)) and look, under "Selection Criteria" (on the right hand side of the site, at the following three documents:
  - i) *Report on the Criteria and Methodology for Determining the Eligibility of Candidate Countries for Millennium Challenge Account Assistance in Fiscal Year 2015.*
  - ii) *Guide to the Indicators and the Selection Process, FY 2015.*
  - iii) *Report on Countries that are Candidates for Millennium Challenge Account Eligibility for Fiscal Year 2015 and Countries that would be Candidates but for Legal Prohibitions.*
- Finally, to gain a sense of how data are used to develop scorecards, look, under "Selection Criteria" and then under "Country Scorecards" (then click on any scorecard).

### **Meetings # 25, 26 & 27 (11/16, 11/18, 11/23). The Open Government Partnership (OGP)**

- Weinstein, Jeremy M. "Transforming Multilateralism: Innovation on a Global Stage," *Stanford Social Innovation Review* (2013): 3-7.
- For the specifics of the OGP, go to the OGP website (<http://www.opengovpartnership.org>) and look at the following documents:
  - i) *Open Government Declaration*, which is under "About."
  - ii) *How to Join*, which is under "How It Works."
  - iii) *Eligibility Criteria*, which is under "How It Works."
  - iv) *Requirements*, which is under "How It Works."
- Finally, look under "About" for the *Independent Reporting Mechanism*, and within this section of the site, scroll down, and browse a couple of *Reports* to gain a sense of what is involved in an Action Plan. Also, read and find a couple of commitments you find interesting and come to class prepared to discuss these commitments.

**Meeting # 28 (11/25).** Thanksgiving Break: No Class

## **IV. Conclusions**

### **Meetings # 29 & 30 (11/30, 12/2). An Overview of Democracy Promotion**

- Carothers, Thomas, "Democracy Aid at 25: Time to Choose," *Journal of Democracy* 26, 1 (2015): 59-73.
- **Quiz # 5** (11/30)
- **The research paper is due in class**

**\*\*\* Final Exam: Monday, December 14, 2:00-4:00 p.m \*\*\***

## Academic Conduct and Support Systems

### *Academic Conduct*

Plagiarism – presenting someone else’s ideas as your own, either verbatim or recast in your own words – is a serious academic offense with serious consequences. Please familiarize yourself with the discussion of plagiarism in *SCampus* in Section 11, *Behavior Violating University Standards* <https://scampus.usc.edu/1100-behavior-violating-university-standards-and-appropriate-sanctions/>. Other forms of academic dishonesty are equally unacceptable. See additional information in *SCampus* and university policies on scientific misconduct, <http://policy.usc.edu/scientific-misconduct/>.

Discrimination, sexual assault, and harassment are not tolerated by the university. You are encouraged to report any incidents to the *Office of Equity and Diversity* <http://equity.usc.edu/> or to the *Department of Public Safety* <http://capsnet.usc.edu/department/department-public-safety/online-forms/contact-us>.

This is important for the safety whole USC community. Another member of the university community – such as a friend, classmate, advisor, or faculty member – can help initiate the report, or can initiate the report on behalf of another person. *The Center for Women and Men* <http://www.usc.edu/student-affairs/cwm/> provides 24/7 confidential support, and the sexual assault resource center webpage [sarc@usc.edu](mailto:sarc@usc.edu) describes reporting options and other resources.

### *Support Systems*

A number of USC’s schools provide support for students who need help with scholarly writing. Check with your advisor or program staff to find out more. Students whose primary language is not English should check with the *American Language Institute* <http://dornsife.usc.edu/ali>, which sponsors courses and workshops specifically for international graduate students. *The Office of Disability Services and Programs* [http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home\\_index.html](http://sait.usc.edu/academicsupport/centerprograms/dsp/home_index.html) provides certification for students with disabilities and helps arrange the relevant accommodations. If an officially declared emergency makes travel to campus infeasible, *USC Emergency Information* <http://emergency.usc.edu/> will provide safety and other updates, including ways in which instruction will be continued by means of blackboard, teleconferencing, and other technology.