International Relations 408:

Global Democratization

Fall 2018

When: M & W 3:30-4:50 p.m.
Where: VKC 260
Office Hours: M 2:00-3:20 p.m.
or by appointment

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1. Course Description

Democracy is widely seen as the most legitimate form of government. But until recently most governments were not democratic. And even though today we live in a democratic age, democracy is challenged by many groups and countries, and citizens in many countries live under authoritarian rule. Understanding democracy is critical to an understanding of politics around the world.

To learn about the changing fortunes of democracy and the challenges it currently faces, this course considers democracy from a historical and comparative perspective. The first half of the course focuses on the concept and the history of democracy. It considers some classic works and current debates on the meaning of democracy, offers an overview of waves of democratization in world history, and addresses the following questions: What is democracy? Has the meaning of democracy changed over the centuries? Is there currently one accepted definition of democracy? What countries have been and are democracies? What factors explain whether a country becomes a democracy? Have the global limits of democratization been reached?

The second half focuses on efforts by the international community to promote democracy, a trend in world politics that has gathered momentum since the end of the Cold War. This part of the course considers four democracy promotion programs in some detail, and addresses the following questions: Who are the democracy promoters? What is being done to promote democracy internationally? In what ways do programs to promote democracy differ? Are democracy promotion programs effective?

2. Learning Objectives

The objectives of the course are: (1) to understand some basic concepts used in the study of politics and to clarify their normative content; (2) to learn about broad trends in world politics; (3) to understand various practical ongoing initiatives, carried out by regional organizations, governments and NGOs, to promote democracy across international borders; and (4) to learn how quantitative data are used in programs to promote democracy.

3. Requirements

i) Five (5) *quizzes* (20% 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. We will do six quizzes and I will drop the lowest one; thus, the grade for your quizzes is based on your five best quizzes.

ii) An in-class *mid-term* (40%), and an in-class *final* exam (40%). These will be essay type exams, and you will have a choice of questions from which to pick. The final exam is not cumulative and hence covers only the materials we discuss after the midterm. We will discuss the kind of questions that you can expect on these exams in class.

4. 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 in this syllabus 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 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.

Course Outline, Readings and Assignments

Introduction

Meeting # 1 (8/20): An Overview of the Course

Meeting # 2 (8/22): A Class Discussion about the Meaning of Democracy

I. What is Modern Democracy?

Meeting # 3 (8/27): Background to the Debate about Modern Democracy

Aristotle, *Politics* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1998 [c. 330 BC]). Read Book III, Chs. 6 and 7, pp. 75-78.

Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989 [1748]). Read pages 10-15 (Book II, Chs. 1 and 2).

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 pages 199-202 (Book III, Chs. 3 and 4).

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.

Mill, James, "Government," Supplement to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (London: J. Innes, 1825 [1820]). Read pages 1-8 (Sections I, II and III) and pages 16-17 (Section VI).

Meeting # 4 (8/29): I have to attend the APSA conference: No class.

Meeting # 5 (9/3): Labor Day: No class.

Meeting # 6 (9/5): The Election of Government Office Holders: Schumpeter

Schumpeter, *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 # 7 (9/10): Beyond Elections I: Dahl

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

Meeting # 8 (9/12): Beyond Elections II: The Quality of Democracy

Diamond and Morlino, "The Quality of Democracy: An Overview," *Journal of Democracy* 15,4 (2004): 20-31.

- **Quiz # 1 (9/12)**

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

Meeting # 9 (9/17): The Invention of Representative Democracy

Dahl, "Democracy," *Encyclopædia Britannica* (2011). Read from start 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.

Meeting # 10 (9/19): The Spread of Representative Democracy Through 1989 I. Waves of Democratization I

Huntington, *The Third Wave* (Norman, OK.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). Read Ch. 1, from page 3 to 26.

Meeting # 11 (9/24): The Spread of Representative Democracy Through 1989 I. Waves of Democratization II

Diamond, "The Democratic Boom," Ch. 2, in Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy* (New York: Times Books, 2008).

Meeting # 12 (9/26): The Spread of Representative Democracy Through 1989 II: The Collapse of Communism

Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989): 3-18.
Documentary: Parts of *People's Century: People Power* (2000).

- **Quiz # 2 (9/26)**

Meeting # 13 (10/1): Doubts About Democracy After 1989

Huntington, "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 # 14 (10/3): More Doubts About Democracy After 1989

Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76,6 (1997): 22-43. Focus on the idea that Third Wave democracies are unlike Western democracies.
Voskressenski, "General Settings, Regional and National Factors, and the Concept of Non-Western Democracy," pp. 184-211, in 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 suited to some non-Western countries.

Meeting # 15 (10/8): The Record of Democracy After 1989

Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2018* (2018). 19 pp.

- **Quiz # 3** (**10/8**)

Meeting # 16 (10/10): Mid-term Exam

III. What is Being Done to Promote Democracy?

Meeting # 17 (10/15): The Who and When of Democracy Promotion

Bridoux and Kurki, "Who Does Democracy Promotion and How?" pp. 21-34, in Bridoux and Kurki, *Democracy Promotion* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

Lawson and Epstein, "Democracy Promotion: An Objective of U.S. Foreign Assistance," Congressional Research Service Report, May 31, 2017. 20 pp.

Meeting # 18 (10/17). The Why, What and How of Democracy Promotion

Fukuyama and 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, "Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental?" *Journal of Democracy* 20,1 (2009): 5-19. Focus on the contrast between a political and a developmental approach to democracy promotion.

Kurki, "Democracy and Conceptual Contestability: Reconsidering Conceptions of Democracy in Democracy Promotion," *International Studies Review* 12,3 (2010): 362-86. Focus on the idea that democracy promotion can use a different concept of democracy.

Meeting # 19 (10/22): More on the What and How of Democracy Promotion

Carothers, "Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental?" *Journal of Democracy* 20,1 (2009): 5-19. Review this article again.

Kurki, "Democracy and Conceptual Contestability: Reconsidering Conceptions of Democracy in Democracy Promotion," *International Studies Review* 12,3 (2010): 362-86. Review this article again.

Meeting # 20 (10/24): Monitoring and Evaluation in Democracy Promotion

Burnell, "Methods and Experiences of Evaluating Democracy Support: A Moving Frontier," in Burnell (ed.), *Evaluating Democracy Support Methods and Experiences* (Stockholm: International IDEA and SIDCA, 2007). Read pages 15-32.

- **Quiz # 4 (10/24)**

Meetings # 21, 22 & 23 (10/29, 10/31, 11/5): Election Monitoring

European Union, *Handbook for EU Election Observation* (Luxembourg: Publication of the European Union, 2016). Read only Sections 1 through 3 (pages 15-38) and skim Section 4 (pages 39-120) so as to gain a sense of what aspects of elections observers evaluate and what standards they use in these evaluations.

Kelley, "Election Observers and Their Biases," *Journal of Democracy* 21, 3 (2010): 158-72.

Meeting # 24 (11/7): International IDEA's Democracy Assessments

Beetham, "The State of Democracy Project," pp. 145-55, in International IDEA, *Ten Years of Supporting Democracy Worldwide* (Stockholm: International IDEA 2005).

Beetham et al., *Assessing the Quality of Democracy* (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.

- **Quiz # 5 (11/7)**

Meetings # 25 & 26 (11/12, 11/14): The U.S. MCA Foreign Assistance Program

Tarnoff, "Millennium Challenge Corporation," Congressional Research Service Report, April 18, 2018. 38 pp.

For more on the MCA, go to the MCA website. On the specifics of the selection process, see the section on "Who We Fund": https://www.mcc.gov/who-we-fund

Meetings # 27 & 29 (11/19, 11/26): The Open Government Partnership (OGP)

Weinstein, "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 — https://www.opengovpartnership.org/about/about-ogp/how-it-works — and look at the following documents:

- i) *Eligibility Criteria*
- ii) *Develop a National Action Plan*
- *iii) Self-Assessment Process*

Finally, under "How It Works," look under *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 (11/21): Thanksgiving Week, No class

IV. Conclusions

Meeting # 30 (11/28): An Overview of Democracy Promotion

- **Quiz # 6 (11/28)**

***** Final Exam: Monday, December 10, 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 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.htmlprovides 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.