

International Relations 408:

Global Democratization

Spring 2020

When: M & W 3:30-4:50 p.m.
Where: VKC 203
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 part of the course focuses on the concept of democracy. It considers some classic works and current debates on the meaning and value of democracy, 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? Why should democracy be valued?

The second part of the course focuses on the history of democracy. It offers an overview of waves of democratization in world history, and addresses the following questions: What countries have been and are democracies? What factors explain whether a country becomes a democracy? Have the global limits of democratization been reached? Is democracy currently in crisis?

The third part 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 three 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

Students are expected to complete the reading assignment for each topic. Students are also responsible for mastering the additional materials that are introduced in class, in power points that will be distributed after class.

Course grades are based on the following tests: four *quizzes* (20% of the overall grade), a first in-class quiz-based *mid-term exam* (15%), a second in-class essay-type *mid-term exam* (30%), and an in-class essay-type *final exam* (35%).

With regard to the quizzes, we will have five quizzes and I will drop the lowest one. I have included provisional dates below in the syllabus, but these may change slightly. The exact dates will be announced in class.

The exams are not cumulative.

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 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 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 (1/13): An Overview of the Course

Meeting # 2 (1/15): A Class Discussion

- Come to class with your answer (based on your own thinking) to the questions: What is democracy? What is the value of democracy?

Meeting # 3 (1/20): No class: Martin Luther King Day

I. On the Nature and Value Democracy

Meeting # 4 (1/22): Representative 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 # 5 (1/27): Voters, Elections, of Government Offices

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 # 6 (1/29): Suffrage and Civil Rights

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

Dahl, *On Democracy*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2015), Ch. 8, "What Political Institutions Does Large-Scale Democracy Require?"

Meeting # 7 (2/3): The Quality of Democracy

Munck, "What is Democracy? A Reconceptualization of the Quality of Democracy." *Democratization* 23,1 (2016): 1-26.

- **Quiz # 1 (2/3)**

Meeting # 8 (2/5): The Value of Democracy

Dahl, *On Democracy*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2015), Ch. 5, "Why Democracy?"

Femia, *Against the Masses. Varieties of Anti-Democratic Thought since the French Revolution* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 1-2, 6-12. Focus on the idea of the three broad kinds of critique of democracy: the perversity, futility and jeopardy theses.

Meeting # 9 (2/10): Mid-Term I (Quiz-Type)

II. On the History of Democracy

Meeting # 10 (2/12): The Invention of Representative Democracy

Dahl, *On Democracy*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press, 2015), Ch. 2, "Where and How Did Democracy Develop? A Brief History."

Meeting # 11 (2/17): No class: President's Day

Meeting # 12 (2/19): No class: I have to attend a conference in Mexico

Meeting # 13 (2/24): Waves of Democratization I

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

Meeting # 14 (2/26): Waves of Democratization II

Markoff, *Waves of Democracy. Social Movements and Political Change*. 2nd ed. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2015), Chapter 1, "A Quick History of Modern Democracy."

Meeting # 15 (3/2): The Collapse of Communism and Euphoria About Democracy

Fukuyama, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989): 3-18.

Documentary: Parts of *People's Century: People Power* (2000).

Meeting # 16 (3/4): 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.

- **Quiz # 2 (3/4)**

Meeting # 17 (3/9): The Current State of Democracy

International IDEA, *The Global State of Democracy 2019. Addressing the Ills, Reviving the Promise* (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2019). [We will have class presentations, with 5 groups, one providing the global overview, one Africa and the Middle East, one the Americas, one Asia and the Pacific, and one Europe.]

Meeting # 18 (3/11): Mid-Term II (Essay-Type)

*** Spring Recess: March 16-20 ***

III. On the International Promotion of Democracy

Meeting # 19 (3/23): 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, January 9, 2019. 20 pp.

Meeting # 20 (3/25). 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 # 21 (3/30): 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 # 22 (4/1): 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 # 3 (4/1)

Meetings # 23, 24 & 25 (4/6, 4/8, 4/13): 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.

- **Quiz # 4 (4/13)**

Meetings # 26 & 27 (4/15, 4/20): The U.S. MCA Foreign Assistance Program

Brown, "Millennium Challenge Corporation: Overview and Issues," Congressional Research Service Report, October 3, 2019. 36 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 # 28 & 29 (4/22, 4/27): 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 and look at the following pages:

- i) Joining OGP. <https://www.opengovpartnership.org/process/joining-ogp/>
- ii) Eligibility Criteria. <https://www.opengovpartnership.org/process/joining-ogp/eligibility-criteria/>
- iii) Action Plan Cycle. <https://www.opengovpartnership.org/process/action-plan-cycle/>
- iv) Accountability. <https://www.opengovpartnership.org/process/accountability/>

Finally, under "Members," browse a couple of IRM *Reports* to gain a sense of what is involved in an Action Plan.

IV. Conclusions

Meeting # 30 (4/29): An Overview of Democracy Promotion

- **Quiz # 5 (4/29)**

***** Final Exam: Friday, May 8, 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.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.

Students with Disabilities

Any student requesting academic accommodations based on a disability is required to register with Disability Services and Programs (DSP) each semester. A letter of verification for approved accommodations can be obtained from DSP. Please be sure the letter is delivered to me as early in the semester as possible. DSP is located in STU 301 and is open from 8:30 a.m.–5:00 p.m., Monday through Friday. The phone number for DSP is (213) 740-0776.