

Seminar in International Democratization

PPS 340.01/POLSCI 398

Spring 2006, M W 1:15 PM-2:30 PM (Rubenstien 149)

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Themes

One of the biggest global challenges today is to promote domestic policy reforms in troubled countries especially regarding democracy and human rights. Many international actors are involved, from the international financial institutions to international non-governmental organizations and individual states. The most prominent examples of external efforts to bring about domestic reforms are, of course, Iraq and Afghanistan, but transformations have also recently occurred in countries like Georgia and Ukraine, in Nigeria and elsewhere. In all these states, the international community seeks to improve governance, build democracy and increase respect for human rights through a series of methods or tools: international law, sanctions, aid, conditionality, and a vast array of activities broadly labeled democracy promotion, including election assistance and civil society development, but also political conditionality, foreign aid and sanctions. What do we know about the effects of these international actions to promote domestic reforms? What are the mechanisms through which external actors promote change? Why do governments respond to some external actions, but not to others? Are there similarities in the mechanisms that are most effective and the conditions under which these operate optimally? Leaving aside the questions of war and military interventions, this class focuses specifically on a critical analysis and assessment of the international efforts to promote domestic policy reforms in the political realm.

In addition to examining the effect of different tools, we will spend some time discussing normative questions about democracy, the promotion of democracy, and the future of democratization. Who promotes and why? What are they promoting? Will the wave of democratization continue?

Your Input Matters

There is a substantial set of readings for each class. The success of a seminar rides on whether students come prepared and participate in discussion. I expect all students to have done the assigned readings and have considered any questions posed in advance. Depending on how fast you read this may take you several hours for each class. I also expect you to follow the news by consulting at least one reputable newspaper daily (i.e. NY Times, Financial Times). Because participation counts for 40 percent of your grade, each class is important towards that grade. I have no way of accessing your understanding of the readings if you do not come to class. Therefore you should make every effort to be present.

Evaluation

The requirements of the class are participation (40%), a research paper (50%), and a presentation (10%). Your participation grade depends on how well you show your understanding of the readings in class discussion, and it may involve small assignments to help me assess your understanding.

Required Books: (Available in the Duke Bookstore)

- Carothers, Thomas. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999.
- Huntington, Samuel. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.
- Keck, Kathryn and Margaret Sikkink. *Activists Beyond Borders*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.
- Kelley, Judith. *Ethnic Politics in Europe: The Power of Norms and Incentives*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Vachudova, Milada. *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage and Integration After Communism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Plagiarism:

I have a zero tolerance policy. If you refer to the ideas of others, cite them. If you quote others, cite them. If you borrow language from others, cite them. If the work of other people has aided your thinking, provided you with background for your work, or in other ways informed your writing, cite them. When in doubt, cite.

To make sure you are safe, read <http://library.duke.edu/research/plagiarism/>.

Public Policy Library Information:

Catherine Shreve, the Perkins librarian for public policy, will be having spring office hours in the Reference Center in Rubenstein Hall every Thursday from 3-5 PM. Students with public policy research questions should feel free to drop by and ask her questions then. Her contact information is: Catherine Shreve, catherine.shreve@duke.edu or 660-6934.

CLASS OUTLINE

Class 1, Wednesday, January 11: Introduction

Optional Reading:

Schmitz, Hans Peter. "Domestic and Transnational Perspectives on Democratization." *International Studies Review* 6, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 403-426. (Blackboard-Course Documents)
Geddes, Barbara. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115-144. (Read only pages 115-121.) (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Monday, January 16: MLK Day, No Class

Class 2, Wednesday, January 18: Global Trends

Huntington 1991, 3-5, 12-30, 108-162.
Diamond, Larry. "Is The Third Wave Over?" *Journal of Democracy* 7.3 (1996): 20-37. (Blackboard-Course Documents)
2005 Freedom House Survey: www.freedomhouse.org

Optional Reading:

O'Loughlin, J. and others. "The Diffusion of Democracy, 1946-1994." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, no. 4 (1998): 545-574. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Discussion Questions:

How positive are the recent trends in democratization around the world? Do you see any important patterns? What are your predictions for the future?

Class 3, Monday, January 23: What is Democracy and its Benefits, What are we Promoting?

Huntington 1991, 5-12.
Lawson, Stephanie. "Conceptual Issues in the Comparative Study of Regime Change and Democratization." *Comparative Politics* 25, no. 2 (1993): 183-205. (Blackboard-Course Documents)
Ward, Michael D. and Kristian S. Gleditsch. "Democratizing For Peace." *American Political Science Review* 92 (1998): 51-62. Skim this article for main argument. (Blackboard-Course Documents)
Franck, Thomas M. "The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance." *American Journal of International Law* 86 (1992): 46-91. (Blackboard-Ereserve)
Przeworski, Adam and F. Limongi. Political Regimes and Economic Growth, *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 3 (1993): 51-69. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Optional Reading:

Munck, Gerardo and Jay Verkuilen. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (February 2002): 5-34. (Blackboard-Course Documents)
Przeworski, Adam and others. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. pp. 3-59.

Discussion Questions:

What is democracy? Is democracy good for everyone? Is democracy a human right? Why developing countries were once believed to face a 'cruel choice' between development and democracy? In what ways has this thinking changed over the last 15 years? Why is democracy now argued to be helpful to economic development? Why is democracy now argued to be an asset when initiating policy for pro-market economic reforms (economic liberalization)? Why is democratization argued to be beneficial to an agenda of poverty-reduction in poor countries? How persuasive are these arguments?

Class 4, Wednesday, January 25: Normative Questions; The Promoters and the Goals

Huntington 1991, 85-108.

McFaul, Michael. "Democracy Promotion as a World Value." *The Washington Quarterly* 28, no.1 (2005): 147–163. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Whitehead, Laurence, ed. "The Imposition of Democracy: The Caribbean." *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. pp. 59-93. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Olsen, G.R. "Europe and the Promotion of Democracy in Post Cold War Africa: How Serious is Europe and for What Reason." *African Affairs* 97 (1998): 343-367. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Newspaper Articles:

"Democracy Aid Up to \$1.2 Billion." *US Fed News*, 1 August 2005. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

America's Mission: Debating Strategies for the Promotion of Democracy and Human Rights, *The Federal News Service, Inc.* 20 June, 2005. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Optional Reading:

Ikenberry, John. "America's Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-War Era." *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*. New York: Oxford University, 2000. pp. 103–126.

Discussion Questions:

What motivates international democracy promotion in practice as distinct from the other intellectual arguments from last week that suggest it might be a good idea.

What is the range of motivations that democracy promoters may have? List as many of you can think of and critically examine the argument behind them. Do outsiders have a right to interfere to promote democracy? If so, are there any principles or rules they must follow? What would those be? What are the main differences between the various actors and agencies promoting democracy? Is there an argument to be made for multilateral co-operation? Should their efforts be centrally coordinated? How would you know if your arguments are right?

Class 5, Monday, January 30: Domestic Factors I: Income

Huntington 1991, 59-72.

Przeworski, A. and F. Limongi. "Modernization - Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (1997): 155–83. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review* 53 (1959): 69–105. (Read only pages 69-85.) (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Lipset, Seymour Martin. "The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited: 1993 Presidential Address." *American Sociological Review* 59 (1994): 1-22. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Discussion Questions:

Last class we discussed if democracy could promote economic development. But are economic factors prerequisites for democracy? Do you buy the argument that pretty much only countries at a certain economic level can acquire democracy? Why or why not? How convincing are the studies? Why are there some countries like India that are poor but still democracies? What other institutional and cultural forces might account for variations in societies' different experiences with trying to democratize. How important is constitutional engineering/expert 'crafting' to the success of democratization? What are the implications for the ability of external 'intervention' to influence the prospects for sustainable democracy?

Class 6, Wednesday, February 1: Domestic Factors II

Huntington 1991, 31-59, 72-85.

Beetham, David. "Conditions for Democratic Consolidation." Review of African Political Economy 21, no. 60 (1994): 157-172. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Rustow, D. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model. *Comparative Politics* 2 (1970): 337-363. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Carothers, T. "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no.1 (2002): 5-21. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

News Articles:

Salinas, Maria Elena. "Can Democracy Be Forced?" *Herald News*, 12 June 2005, B07. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

England, Andrew. "Middle East and Africa: Fruits of Democracy Slow to Ripen in Kenya." Nairobi, *Financial Times*, 18 November 2005. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Optional Reading:

McFaul, Michael. "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship: Noncooperative Transitions in the Postcommunist World." *World Politics* 54, no. 2 (January 2002): 212-244. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Reiter, Dan. "Does Peace Nurture Democracy?" *Journal of Politics* 63, no. 3 (August 2001): 935-948. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Discussion Questions:

Can democracy be forced? Can it be promoted? Will externally aided democracy last? If so, will that always be the case, or when may it not be? Are democracy promoters committing errors by overlooking or ignoring basic conditions? What do you think the basic conditions for the promotion of democracy are? Why do you think those are the conditions? How would we know? How would you design a study to figure out if you were right?

Class 7, Monday, February 6: Mechanisms of Influence I

Kelley 2004, 29-139.

Optional Reading:

Whitehead, Laurence. "Democracy by Convergence and Southern Europe: A Comparative Politics Perspective." In *Encouraging Democracy: The International Context of Regime Transition in Southern Europe*, ed. Geoffrey Pridham, 1–29. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Discussion Questions:

What are the two mechanisms for influence outlined in the book? How and why may each of these mechanisms work? Why might they not? Why do you think governments respond to external pressure? How would you know if you are right? What mechanisms are most clearly at work in the case studies? What are some of the micro-processes of promoting democracy? Do you think the lessons of this book can apply outside of the context of EU enlargement? Why or why not?

Class 8, Wednesday, February 8: Research Training

Introduction to Research Resources with Catherine Shreve.

To get most out of this section, you should have picked a country for your research. This class will be conducted in the new library classroom on the Lower Level of the new Bostock addition.

Due: Name of country that you are researching.

Class 9, Monday, February 13: Conditionality

Hafner-Burton, Emilie. "Trading Human Rights: How Preferential Trade Agreements Influence Government Repression." *International Organization* 59, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 593-629. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Coufoudakis, Van. "The European Economic Community and the 'Freezing' of the Greek Association 1967-1974." *Journal of Common Market Studies* 16, no. 2 (December 1977): 114–131. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Crawford, Gordon. "Foreign and Political Conditionality: Issues of Effectiveness and Consistency." *Democratization* 4, no. 3 (1997): 69-108. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Stephens, Philip. "How Oil and Guns Trumped Democracy in the Caucasus." *Financial Times*, 18 November 2005, 19. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Optional Reading:

Baylies, C. "Political Conditionality and Democratization." *Review of African Political Economy* 65 (1995): 321-337. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Discussion Questions:

How convincing do you find each of the arguments/studies? Can conditionality always work? If not, what may undermine it? Is conditionality a form of imposition, or a kind of purchase, or an exercise in persuasion, or something else? Why may conditionality not work? How could it be improved? What would a good *strategy* for promoting democratization look like?

Class 10, Wednesday, February 15: Sanctions

Klotz, Audie. "Norms Reconstituting Interests: Global Racial Equality and US Sanctions Against South Africa." *International Organization* 49, no.3 (Summer 1995): 451-478. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Marinov, Nikolay. "Foreign Pressure and the Political Foundations of Democracy." *Unpublished Manuscript* (2004). Skip the mathematical model. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Hufbauer, Gary Clyde and Jeffrey J. Schott, "Introduction." In *Economic Sanctions In Support of Foreign Policy Goals*, 1-13. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Cleveland, Sarah. "Norm Internalization and US Economic Sanctions." *Yale Journal of International Law* 26 (2001): 1-102. Read only 1-20. Look at tables on pp. 92-102. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Optional Reading:

Drezner, Daniel. "The Hidden Hand of Economic Coercion." *International Organization* 57, no. 3 (Summer 2003): 643-659. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Discussion Questions:

Do sanctions work differently from conditionality? If so, why? Are sanctions an effective way of promoting democracy? How do we know if sanctions are effective? Why may we not really have a good study that shows us if sanctions work? Why is it hard to show? What do sanctions achieve? Can sanctions be improved? If so, how? Is it morally right to use sanctions to promote democracy? Why or why not?

Class 11, Monday, February 20: Democracy Promotion

Carothers 1999, 9-64, 157-251 and 281-326.

Discussion Questions:

What are the main claims that Carothers makes? Which of his points do you like the best? How do his arguments fit with what we have studied to date? How is his perspective different from more academic arguments? Does he support his claims well?

Class 12, Wednesday, February 22: Paper Proposals Due. Discussing Paper Plans, Strategies for Research.

Your paper proposal should be fairly coherent and be about 2000-3000 words including bibliography. You should have begun to consult several sources. Make sure your bibliography contains sources such as academic journal articles, books as well as online sources. Your proposal should outline what data you need to retrieve and from where. You should have started to explore the different theoretical applications from the course to your case (for example, was conditionality applied? Sanctions? What foreign NGOs operate most prominently? Etc.). Your proposal should also include a brief background sketch of your country as relevant to politics.

Class 13, Monday, February 27: Election Monitoring

Kelley. Draft Paper: *Rise of Monitoring*. (To be provided.)

- Sives, Amanda. "A Review of Commonwealth Election Observation." *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 39, no. 3 (2001): 132-149.
- Bjornlund, Eric. *Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center and Johns Hopkins University, 2004. Chapters 3, 8, 9. (Blackboard-Ereserve)
- Schedler, Andreas. "Elections Without Democracy: The Menu of Manipulation." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002): 36–50. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Discussion Questions:

What criticisms have been leveled at international elections monitoring and observation? Are they fair? What improvements could be made in the international community's attempts to ensure a free and fair electoral process, particularly in respect of the pre-ballot and pre-campaign periods? Can a credible method be devised for measuring how free and fair an election really is? How do we know if election monitors make a difference? What makes it hard to know? What are some of the different effects they may have?

Class 14, Wednesday, March 1: Civil Society Building/Political Parties

- Scott, James M. "Transnationalizing Democracy Promotion: The Role of Western Political Foundations and Think Tanks." *Democratization* 6, no. 3 (1999): 146-70. (Blackboard-Ereserve)
- Burnell, Peter, ed. *Democracy Assistance*. London, Frank Cass, 2000. 142-145, Chapter 10.
- Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh. "Foreign Assistance, International Norms, and NGO Development: Lessons from the Russian Campaign." *International Organization* 59, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 419–449. (Blackboard-Course Documents)
- Buckley, Neil. "Nationalists Take Aim at NGOs 'Plotting' to Destabilize Russia," *Financial Times*, 26 November 2005, 5. (Blackboard-Course Documents)
- "Azerbaijan's 2005 Election: Can CSOs Seize the Moment." *Democracy at Large* 1, no. 4 (2005): 14-15. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Discussion Questions:

Why is civil society a contested concept and why are there disagreements over the role it should play in democracies and in democratization? Why does the development of civil society pose a major challenge for many new democracies? What would be an appropriate response from the international community? What are the limitations and pitfalls of external involvement in building civic associations?

How important are political parties to new democracies? What are the main problems that new democracies face in constructing viable parties and appropriate party systems? How should parties in new democracies be financed? Can the international community help, and if so, how?

Class 15, Monday, March 6: Foreign Aid I

- Schraeder, Peter and others, eds. "Clarifying the Foreign Aid Puzzle: A Comparison of America, Japanese, French and Swedish Aid Flows." *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (1998):

294-323. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Goldsmith, Arthur. "Foreign Aid and Statehood in Africa." *International Organization* 55, no.1 (Winter 2001): 123-148. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Hauser, Ellen. "Ugandan Relations with Western Donors in the 1990s: What Impact on Democratization?" *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 37, no. 4 (1999): 621-641. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Dunning, Thad. "Conditioning the Effects of Aid: Cold War Politics, Donor Credibility, and Democracy in Africa." *International Organization* 58, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 409-423. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Discussion Questions:

What were the main distinguishing features of international development assistance up to 1989? What were the main determinants of aid allocation? In what senses has aid always been 'political'? To what extent was aid used to promote democracy and human rights before the end of the cold war? What are the most recent trends in international development co-operation?

Class 16, Wednesday, March 8: Foreign Aid II

Martin, Lisa. *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. Chapter 5: US Food-aid, 136-146.

Harford, Tim and Michael Klein. "Aid and the Resource Curse: How Can Aid Be Designed to Preserve Institutions?" *Public Policy for the Private Sector* (April 2005): 291-294. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Bhagwati, Jagdish. "A Chance to Lift the 'Aid Curse'." *Wall Street Journal*, 22 March 2005, A14. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Kapur, Devesh and Moisés Naím. "The IMF and Democratic Governance." *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 1 (January 2005): 89-102. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Discussion Questions:

We will continue the discussion from last week, so repose those questions to yourself in light of this weeks readings. In addition: How real is the foreign aid curse? Can aid really promote reforms? Under what conditions? How? What are some of the mechanisms suggested by Martin's case study?

MARCH 13 AND MARCH 15: SPRING BREAK

Class 17, Monday, March 20: Vachudova 2005, pages to be assigned.

Class 18, Wednesday, March 22: No class. PAPER DRAFTS DUE.

Class 19, Monday, March 27: Transnational Actors:

Keck 1998, Chapters 1, 3, 6.

Discussion Questions

What are some of the ways the authors claim that transnational actors promote reforms? What is the boomerang effect? Can this work under all conditions in all countries? If not, what may be the limitations? How do we know if transnational actors are really making a difference or whether they just are active in countries that are promoting reforms anyway? How can we measure their effectiveness? Are there other ways that transnational actors, not discussed in the readings? Are transnational actors always a force for good? Why or why not?

Class 20, Wednesday, March 29: Presentations

Class 21, Monday, April 3: Presentations

Class 22, Wednesday, April 5: Presentations

Class 23, Monday, April 10: Presentations

Class 24, Wednesday, April 12: Presentations

Class 25, Monday, April 17: Unintended Consequences

Schmitter, P. "Dangers and Dilemmas of Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 2 (1995): 57-74. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Zakaria, Fareed. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy." *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (November/December 1997): 22-41. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Letvitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. "Elections Without Democracy: The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no.2 (April 2002): 51-65. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Dalacoura, Katerina. "US Democracy Promotion in the Arab Middle East Since 11 September 2001: A Critique *International Affairs*." vol. 81, no. 5 (October 2005): 963-979.

Newspaper readings on the elections in Egypt in November 2005: (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Wallis, William. "Islamists on Course to Win Biggest Ever Share of Parliament." Cairo, 23 November 2005.

Wallis, William. "Islamists Prosper in Egyptian Elections." Cairo, 27 November 2005.

Wallis, William. "Crackdown by Mubarak Fails to Stop Islamist Successes in Egyptian Elections." Cairo, 28 November 2005.

BBC Monitoring Service. "Egyptian Rights Official Says Elections 'First Step Towards Democracy.'" United Kingdom, 6 December 2005.

Discussion Questions:

What are some of the possible unintended consequences of democracy promotion? List what you consider the most serious. Why did you pick those? How do we know if those ill consequences are really consequences of democracy promotion? What would you do different?

In the end, is democracy promotion a benefit, or does it pose greater problems than it is worth risking? Are some democracy promotion methods more prone to run afoul than other methods? Which do you think are best and why?

Class 26, Wednesday, April 19: Where are we Headed?

Diamond, Larry. "Universal Democracy?" *Policy Review* 119 (June and July 2003): 3-25.
(Blackboard-Course Documents)

Huntington, Samuel. "After 20 Years: the Future of the Third Wave." *Journal of Democracy* 8, no. 4 (October 1997): 3-12. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

McFaul, Michael. "American Efforts at Promoting Regime Change in the Soviet Union and Then Russia: Lessons Learned." Paper prepared for the APSA, Washington, D.C., 2-4 September 2005. (Blackboard-Ereserve)

Peel, Quentin. "Europe's Muddled Message to its Neighbours." *Financial Times*, 1 December 2005, 23. (Blackboard-Course Documents)

Discussion Questions:

What is the future of democracy? Do you think it will continue to spread, or what may happen? Why?

April 26, noon: PAPER DUE

Late papers will be reduced on grade step for each day late, starting with one grade step for handing in paper after the official deadline on 4/26, 12 noon.