

## PLSC171 Western Promotion of Democracy

<https://classesv2.yale.edu/portal/>

Yale University, Spring 2010

MW 2:30-3:45. Location William Harkness 117

Instructor: Nikolay Marinov

e-mail: [nikolay.marinov@yale.edu](mailto:nikolay.marinov@yale.edu)

Office: Rosenkranz Hall 407

Office Hours: Tuesday 1:30-3 pm

- **Course Description:** Can the West promote democracy? Scholars disagree. Some deem “democracy promotion” an oxymoron: democracy is a home-grown, domestic institution, from which outsiders are best kept out. Others are not so sure, arguing that at critical junctures outside help can tip the domestic balance of power in a democratic direction.

The spread of democracies around the world, and the effort spent by Western states on furthering representative institutions among the new members of the democratic club, makes this a rich and promising topic.

Analyzing the international aspects of democratization involves understanding at least the following: (1) what is democracy (2) what domestic-level processes increase or decrease the level of democracy (3) what kind of influences from the outside world work, and do not work, in furthering democracy, and in what ways.

This course spans all subfields of political science, and spills over into law, economics, and sociology. A complicating factor is the geographical expanse of democratic institutions and efforts to promote them. Eastern Europe, Russia, the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa, post-civil war El Salvador and Cambodia, are only some of the regions and countries that have been impacted. Their vastly different backgrounds challenge anyone attempting the puzzle. A further complication is the variety of ways in which the outside world may affect the scope and quality of democracy. These ways include but are not limited to: pressures exercised by regional economic institutions and alliances, the power of ideas and socialization, transfers of wealth, demands for

trade liberalization, the training of civic activists, reports issued by foreign election observers.

The objective of our course will be to discuss, in a series of meetings, a list of key readings on the topic of democracy promotion. Our goal will be to settle some questions of interest. A much more likely outcome is that you will finish the course with more questions that you started. That may be even better, goading you to take on some of these puzzles beyond the comfortable confines of academia.

Many readings will be available online.

- **Requirements and Grading:** Grades for the course will be based on participation (25%), a midterm (25%), completion of the occasional assignments (10%) and a final exam (40%). Participation consists of class attendance and taking part in discussion. The brief occasional assignments for students will involve commenting on weekly events in the media concerning developments relevant for the course, plus and couple of 2-page assignments on rankings of democracy and electoral revolutions. The occasional assignments need to be posted on the classesv2 server - no direct email to instructor please. More details on these will be given during the course.

### Course Readings and Topics:

January 11

#### **Introduction: The Third Wave of Democracy - Hunting for Causes**

*Lecture by me.* Based in part on Philippe Schmitter. An introduction to southern european transitions from authoritarian rule: Italy, greece, portugal, spain, and turkey. In Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, editors, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Prospects for Democracy*, pages 3–10. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD, 1986 and Samuel Huntigton. Will more countries become democratic? *Political Science Quarterly*, 99(2):193–218, 1984

January 13

#### **Definitions First: What is Democracy?**

Georg Sorensen. *Democracy and Democratization: Processes and Prospects in a Changing World*. Westview, Boulder, 2008, pp. 1-27.

Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 2000, Pp. 3-59.

January 15

### **Tracking the Third Wave: Measures of Democracy**

Check Polity IV, Freedom House online ratings and related information such as codebooks, Cheibub et al's procedural definition from book.

*First Occasional Assignment: Compare Democracy Measures - due next meeting.*

*Based on month born focus on 2 regions (Jan-April on LAm ME May-August on NorthAfr Asia and Sept-December on EEuropeRussia SSAfr). Find one case in each region for which ACLP disagrees with either FH/Polity and do some background research to explain why per the rules of the two datasets we see this. 2 page limit.*

January 20

### **What is Democracy Good for Anyway?**

Amartya Sen. *Development As Freedom*. Anchor Books, New York, 2000, Pp. 3-53 and pp.147-188.

Georg Sorensen. *Democracy and Democratization: Processes and Prospects in a Changing World*. Westview, Boulder, 2008, pp. 99-158.

January 25

### **Fundamentals: Income**

Seymour Lipset. Some social requisites of democracy: Economic development and political legitimacy. *American Political Science Review*, 53:69–105, 1959

January 27

**Fundamentals of Democracy: Income II**

A. Przeworski and F. Limongi. Modernization - theories and facts. *World Politics*, 49(2):155–183, 1997

February 1

**Fundamentals: Elites and Agents**

PBS documentary *Fall of a Dictator* about Milošević as an illustration

February 3

**Fundamentals: Elites and Agents**

Dankwart Rustow. Transitions to democracy: Toward a dynamic model. *Comparative Politics*, 2:337–363, 1970

Michael McFaul. The fourth wave of democracy and dictatorship: Noncooperative transitions in the postcommunist world. *World Politics*, 54:212–244, 2002

February 8

**Fundamentals: Institutions, Culture, Civil Society**

Juan Linz. The perils of presidentialism. *Journal of Democracy*, 1:51–69, 1990

February 10

**Fundamentals: Institutions, Culture, Civil Society II**

Jose Antonio Cheibub. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge, New York, 2006 (excerpts)

Robert Putnam. Democracy. In Ian Shapiro Robert Dahl, Antonio Joze Cheibub, editor, *The Democracy Sourcebook*, pages 157–180. MIT, Cambridge, MA, 2003

Barry Weingast. The political foundations of democracy and the rule of law. *American Political Science Review*, 91:245–263, 1997

February 15

**MIDTERM EXAM (in class)**

February 17

**Using the Spatial Diffusion of Democracy to Learn Something About Its Roots**

Kristian Gleditsch and Michael Ward. Diffusion and the international context of democratization, 2007. Manuscript

Peter Leeson and Andrea Dean. The democratic domino theory: An empirical investigation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 53:533–551, 2009

February 22

**The European Union as a Promoter of Democracy**

Van Coufoudakis. The european economic community and the ‘freezing’ of the greek association, 1967-1974. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 16:114–131, 1977

February 24

**The European Union as a Promoter of Democracy II**

Milada Vachudova. The leverage of international institutions on democratizing states: Eastern europe and the european union. Robert Shuman Center for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence, Italy, 2001. EUI Working Paper

March 1

**Beyond Europe: Latin America, what happens when the opposition is exiled?**

Alan Angell. International support for the chilean opposition, 1973-1989: Political parties and the role of exiles. In Laurence Whitehead, editor, *The International Dimensions of Democratization*, pages 175–226. Oxford University Press, New York, 1996

March 3

### **Emergence of Electoral Autocracy**

Thomas Carothers. The end of the transitions paradigm. *Journal of Democracy*, 13(1):5–21, 2002

Fareed Zakaria. The rise of illiberal democracy. *Foreign Affairs*, 76:22–41, 1997

Andreas Schedler. Elections without democracy: The menu of manipulation. *Journal of Democracy*, 13:36–50, 2002

Hyde and Marinov, Mimeo

March 22

### **Guaranteeing the Integrity of Elections: Observers and Election-Day Fraud**

Susan Hyde. Can international election observers deter election day fraud? evidence from a natural experiment in amenia. Manuscript, University of California, San Diego, September 2005

March 24

### **Guaranteeing the Integrity of Elections: Observers and Voter-Registration Fraud**

Ichino, Nahomi. Voter-Registration Fraud. Mimeo.

March 29

### **Electoral Revolutions: Validation of Actor-Based Approaches to Democratization?**

Movie Showing, *Ukraïna: Proryv do Demokratii* (Film Studio Dovjenko, Kïiv), documentary on the Orange Revolution.

Supporting Reading: McFaul, Mike. “Meddling In Ukraine—Democracy is not an American plot.” *Washington Post*, December 21, 2004.

March 31

*Second Occasional Assignment Due: Compare Electoral Revolutions*

Mark R. Beissinger, “Mechanisms of Ukrainian Maidan and Beyond: Explaining the Colored Revolutions in Eastern Europe”, Mimeo, Princeton University.

Recommended:

Timur Kuran. Sparks and prairie fires: A theory of unanticipated political revolution. *Public Choice*, 61:41–47, 1989

April 5

**Why Did Some Electoral Autocracies Democratize While Others Did Not? The International Factor**

Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchick. Defeating dictators: Electoral change and stability in competitive authoritarian regimes. *World Politics*, 62:43–86, 2010

April 7

**International Reactions to the coup d’état: Saving Democracies**

Goemans and Marinov, Mimeo.

April 12

**Taking Stock of the Democracy Promoters’ Toolbox**

Thomas Carothers. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., 1999, Ch 6 and Ch 7

*The Economist*, “Emerging Journalism”, September 13, 2007

Krishna Kumar. *Promoting independent media : strategies for democracy assistance*. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, 2006, Introduction, Chapter 3, Chapter 5

April 14

**Can the US Promote Democracy? The Clash of Normative Objectives and Geopolitics**

Georg Sorensen. *Democracy and Democratization: Processes and Prospects in a Changing World*. Westview, Boulder, 2008, pp. 79-99.

G. John Ikenberry. America’s liberal grand strategy: Democracy and national security in the post-war era. In Michael Cox, G. John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi, editors, *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*, pages 103–126. Oxford University, New York, 2000

April 19

**Meddling in Other Countries’ Elections: What Did the Voters Think, Lebanon 2010**

Corstange and Marinov Mimeo.

April 21

**Conclusions: Will More Countries Become More Democratic?**

**FINAL EXAM**

take-home essay