

International Democratization

Uni Mannheim, Fall 2013

Thursday noon -1.30 pm

Location: A 5,6 B317

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Office Hours: Thursday 1:30-3 pm

• Course Description:

This course was originally conceived as an informal reading group list. A few interested students met at the office of Mike McFaul (now His Excellency, Ambassador ‘v Moskve’) at Stanford. Currently in its 10th iteration, the course has been immensely popular, and is now offered at Mannheim. I have learned so much from the students taking it - thank you my young teachers, and will learn much more, without a doubt. Much of the gurrilla enthusiasm of a bunch of people meeting to chat about stuff in the world remains.

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, inviting 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 be couple of 2-page assignments on rankings of democracy and electoral revolutions. More details on these will be given during the course.

Films: *Ukraina: Proryv do Demokratii* (Film Studio Dovjenko, Kiiiv), documentary on the Orange Revolution, Also, *Fall of a Dictator*,

- PBS documentary about Milošević as an illustration, and Arab Spring: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/revolution-in-cairo/?utm_campaign=viewpage&utm_medium=grid&utm_source=grid. This one is more of a time-line: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J56oGIznU0Q>

Course Readings and Topics:

Week1

Introduction

read Samuel Huntington. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1991, pp 1-31.

Week 2

Definitions First: What is Democracy?

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.

Check out Freedom House and Polity IV websites for how they code democracy:

<http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm>

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=1>

What is Democracy Good for?

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

First Occasional Assignment: Compare Democracy Measures

Week 3

Fundamentals: Income

Economist, Sept 3 2011, “The New Middle Classes Rise Up”

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

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

Charles Boix. Democracy, development, and the international system. *American Political Science Review*, 105(4):809–28, 2011

Week 4

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

Fundamentals: Institutions, Culture, Civil Society

Jose Antonio Cheibub. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge, New York, 2006 pp. 1-48 and 136-183

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. Cambridge, New York, NY, 2005 pp. 15-47

Week 5

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

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

Philip Levitz and Grigore Pop-Eleches. Why no backsliding? the european union’s impact on democracy and governance before and after accession. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(4):457–485, 2010

TAKE-HOME MIDTERM

Week 6

External Actors and Processes of Democratization

Jon C. Pevehouse. Democracy from the outside-in? international organizations and democratization. *International Organization*, 56(3):515–549, 2002

Dan Reiter. Why nato enlargement does not spread democracy. *International Security*, 25(4):41–67, 2001

Daniela Donno. Who is punished? regional intergovernmental organizations and the enforcement of democratic norms. *International Organization*, 64:593–625, 2010

Cameron and Orenstein, “The Influence of Russia in its Near Abroad”, Mimeo, Yale.

Week 7

What Egypt Learned from the Students Who Overthrew Milošević - Report in Foreign Policy by Tina Rosenberg

Article in NYT, "U.S.-Financed Groups Had Supporting Role in Arab Uprisings"

From Resistance to Revolution and Back Again: What Egyptian Youth Can Learn From Otpor When Its Activists Leave Tahrir Square, by Mladen Joksic, Marlene Spuerri, Carnegie Council Paper

Movie Showing: Bringing Down a Dictator (Otpor) and PBS Online Documentary on Arab Spring

http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/revolution-in-cairo/?utm_campaign=viewpage&utm_medium=grid&utm_source=grid

This one is more of a time-line: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J56oGIznU0Q>

Week 8

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

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way. The rise of competitive authoritarianism. *Journal of Democracy*, 13:51–65, 2002

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

Mark Beissinger. Mechanisms of maidan - the structure of contingency in the making of colored revolution. Prepared for the forthcoming special issue of Mobilization devoted to the tenth anniversary of the publication of Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*, 2010

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

Week 9

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

Susan Hyde. The observer effect in international politics: Evidence from a natural experiment. *World Politics*, 60(1):37–63, 2007

Judith Kelley. Election observers and their biases. *Journal of Democracy*, 21(3):158–172, 2010

Report of the Anan Commission on Improving Democracy

2nd Occ. Assignment Due Week 11: The Cold War, Coups, and Presidential Instability - class in 4 groups, 5-10 min presentation in class per group

Week 10

Partisan Interventions in Elections

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

Report on the Slovakia 2002 Elections (Slovak Elections: Go West) by Cas Mudde

Marlene Spoerri. Crossing the line: Partisan party assistance in post-milošević serbia. *Democratization*, 17(6):1108–1131, 2010

Daniel Corstange and Nikolay Marinov. When elections turn proxy wars: Evidence of partisan polarization from a survey experiment in lebanon. University of Maryland and Yale University, January 2010. Manuscript

Week 11

International Reactions to the coup d'état and Changing the Military

Goemans and Marinov, Mimeo - no prez, present 2nd assignment instead

Are Muslims Distinctive?

Economist Aug 6 2011, “Islam and Democracy”

Steven Fish. *Are Muslims Distinctive? A Look at the Evidence*. Oxford University Press, New York, NY, 2011, Chapters 2 and 7

Amaney Jamal. *Barriers to Democracy: The Other Side of Social Capital in Palestine and the Arab World*. Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, 2007 pp. 1-49.

Week 12

Murat Somer. Does it take democrats to democratize? lessons from islamic and secular elite values in turkey. *Comparative Political Studies*, 44(5):511–544, 2011, pp. 15-47.

Suveyda Karakaya and A. Kadir Yildirim. Islamist moderation in perspective: comparative analysis of the moderation of islamist and western communist parties. *Democratization*, 2012

Sebnem Gumuscu. Class, status, and party: The changing face of political islam in turkey and egypt. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(7):835–861, 2010

Mirjam Kunkler and Julia Leininger. The multi-faceted role of religious actors in democratization processes: empirical evidence from five young democracies. *Democratization*, 16(6):1058–1092, 2009

Economist “The Arab Spring: A Long March”, Feb 18 2012

Week 13 - Can the US Promote Democracy?

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

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

