



Boston University Study Abroad

CAS IR 391 / PO 246 Democratization: Its History and Future Challenges

Instructor: **David Collier, PhD**

Schedule: Thursdays, 6:30pm – 9:30pm

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Office hours: After Class 9:30 – 10:00 p.m., and by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

“What conditions make democracy possible and what conditions make it thrive?” This question was posed in 1970 and yet we still do not fully understand the process and what factors lead to its consolidation or regression. This course will provide a comparative perspective on the crests and troughs of democracy and democratization throughout history and into the present day. It will also assess the future of democracy as a universal value in the 21st century. We will explore conceptions of democracy and development, the preconditions, catalysts, and processes of democratic change, and the evidence linking democratization to longer term sustainable development. The course puts particular focus on current trends in the democratization debate, such as the Arab Spring, the Scottish Referendum, and the chances of an “Asian Wave” of democracy. As a case study, students will gain insight into the history and future prospects of democratization in Iran, one of the most important states in international politics today.

ABOUT THE COURSE

There are immense regional variations in processes of democratization and yet the impulse toward democracy seems universal. While democracy and economic development once seemed limited to a relatively small group of Western countries, both processes have spread across the globe. Democracy began as a purely Western political construct yet most countries in the world now at least claim to be democracies – or to be moving towards becoming democracies. The course will provide a deeper understanding of democratic systems, what factors promote democratization, the processes of democratic change, and how they have played out in key waves of democratization. The course also explores the relationship between democracy promotion policies and the growth of democracy as a worldwide concept. The course examines debates on democracy’s salience for sustainable long term development and the improvement of people’s lives.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

Course objectives include learning how to:

- Understand the historical underpinnings of the democratic concept
- Discuss the various views on what causes the process of democratization to commence and what factors hinder its progress
- Explain the concepts of democratic consolidation and degradation.
- Explain differences between regime types and how these are thought to impact democracy.
- Understand and describe the major causes of democratic transitions.
- Appreciate the major challenges that threaten the expansion of democracy worldwide
- Explain the major regional differences in democratization and development.
- Frame the history of democratization and U.S. foreign policy in regards to Iran
- Describe U.S. foreign policy approaches to democratization and economic development, including the variety of U.S. agencies involved in these initiatives.

COURSE ASSIGNMENTS AND EVALUATION

This course will be conducted as a seminar where students are responsible for active participation. This means bringing insights and perspectives to class that critique and enlarge on the readings. Class meetings are thus both an opportunity to test your growing understanding of the literature and to share your views. It is also an opportunity to interpret and move beyond the readings, not to review what you have already read. Attendance is mandatory. If you must miss a lecture, we advise you to seek out the notes of a classmate.

The course will be graded on 100 points. There will be four written assignments a short quiz, a midterm, and two strategy/policy papers.

- Short quiz: 10%
- Midterm exam: 20%
- Paper 1 (8-10 pages): 25%
- Paper 2 (8-10 pages): 25%
- Participation: 20%

ACADEMIC CONDUCT CODE AND ACADEMIC ASSISTANCE

Students taking this class are expected to maintain Boston University's high standards of professionalism and academic honesty and integrity. Student are expected to be familiar with these policies located in the Academic Conduct Code which is available on the web at: <http://www.bu.edu/academics/policies/academic-conduct-code/>

If you experience academic difficulties in this course, please do not hesitate to consult with the instructor. I am happy to meet with students at any point to further discuss the course or the readings. If you have a disability and might require accommodations in this course, please notify us with a letter from BU Disability Services as soon as possible in the semester so that we can arrange to meet your needs. Many services are available to support you in your efforts to meet the course requirements and to stay healthy.

TEXTS

- *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World*, Larry Diamond, (New York: Times Books, 2008)
- *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*, Jean Grugel and Matthew Louis Bishop (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013)

Course texts with substantial readings will be available for purchase at the Politics and Prose bookstore and on Amazon.com. Other readings will be available on Blackboard for the class. A copy of these books will be at the Boston University Washington Academic Center (BUWAC) Office for use at the office. Politics and Prose is located at 5015 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC. This is one mile north of the Van Ness stop on the Metro Red Line at Van Ness (you can also take the L1, L2, or L4 bus from the Van Ness Metro Station). (<http://www.politics-prose.com/>) In addition, students will be responsible for materials distributed in class, including articles, charts, tables, and other materials.

Class 1: Conceptual Foundation and Defining Democracy

Topics: What are democracy's origins? How expansive should our conceptions of democracy be? What distinguishes democracy from other regime types? Is there a democratic theory?

Readings:

- Grugel, Chapter 1, "Democracy"
- Diamond, Chapter 1, "The Universal Value"
- Dahl, Robert, "Democratization and Public Opposition," in *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971): 1-16.
- Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is... and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 3 (1994): 75-88.
- Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics*, Vol. 49 (April 1997): 430-51.

Class 2: Democratic Institutions and Democratic Systems

Topics: What institutions are most central to democratic systems? How do the institutional spheres of democracy interact with one another? Presidential versus Parliamentary systems. Plurality versus Proportional Representation. Open versus Closed Lists. De-centralization versus re-centralization. What are the trade-offs associated with institutional choice?

Readings:

- Dahl, Robert, "Democratization and Public Opposition," in *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971): 1-16.
- Linz, Juan, "The Perils of Presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 1, no. 1 (1990): 51-69.
- Horowitz, Donald, "Comparing Democratic Systems," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 1, no. 4 (1990): 73-79.

Class 3: Waves of Democracy throughout History

Topics: Charting the growth of democracy throughout the world. Why has democracy come in waves, what accounts for these waves and counter-waves of authoritarianism?

Readings:

- Grugel, Chapter 2, "Democratization in Historical Perspective"
- Huntington, Samuel, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century* (Norman, OK: U of Oklahoma Press, 1993): 109-207.
- Brinks, Daniel, and Michael Coppedge. 2006. "Diffusion Is No Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy," *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 39, no. 4 (May 2006): 463-489.

Class 4: Transitions to Democracy – Structural Explanations

Topics: How do democratic transitions occur? What conditions are necessary for democracy to come about? Are there requisites to democracy? What changes make it more likely? How has the salience of these factors changed over time?

Readings:

- Diamond, Chapter 4, “What Drives Democracy: the internal factors”
- Grugel, Chapter 3, “Explaining Democratization”
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. “Some Social Requisites of Democracy,” *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 53, no. 1 (March 1959): 69-105
- Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. “Modernization: Theories and Facts,” *World Politics*, Vol. 49, no. 2 (Jan. 1997): 155-84.
- Przeworski, Adam, Jose Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, “Culture and Democracy,” in *The Democracy Sourcebook*, edited by Robert A. Dahl, Ian Shapiro, and Jose Antonio Cheibub (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003): 181-190.

Class 5: Transitions to Democracy – process-oriented explanations

SHORT QUIZ

Topics: How do democratic transitions happen? What are the specific dynamics of change in democratic transitions? What are key variations in the modes of change? How do splits in the elite and other key groups account for different patterns of transition? Why are we so frequently surprised by democratic breakthroughs? Why have observers fared so poorly at predicting democratic change?

Readings:

- Grugel, Chapter 3, “Explaining Democratization”
- Diamond, Chapter 5, “External Factors”
- O’Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) (emphasis on Chapters 2-4, pp. 6-47).
- Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991): 51-99.
- Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996): 3-15.

Class 6: Transitions to Democracy – Consolidation, Reversal, and Hybrid Regimes

Topics: What happens to countries that go through the initial stages of a democratic transition? What problems arise in the consolidation stage? What are the types of regimes that can arise after unsuccessful or partially successful transitions?

Readings:

- Grugel, Chapter 5, “Democratization and Civil Society”
- Diamond, Chapter 6, “What Sustains Democracy”
- Levitsky, Steve, and Lucan Way. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes in the Post-Cold War Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Ulfelder, Jay and Michael Lustik, “Modelling Transitions to and from Democracy,” *Democratization*, Vol. 14, no. 3 (2007): 351-387.
- Diamond, Larry, “Toward Democratic Consolidation,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5, no. 3 (1994): 4-17.

Class 7: Democracy in the United States

Topics: How democratic is the United States? Is it becoming more or less democratic and, if moving away, what type of system is it moving towards? What factors promote and impinge upon democratic rule in America?

Readings:

- Putnam, Robert D., “Bowling Alone: America’s Declining Social Capital,” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 6, no. 1 (1995): 65-78
- APSA task force, “American Democracy in an Age of Rising Inequality,” 2004:
<http://www.apsanet.org/Files/Task%20Force%20Reports/taskforcereport.pdf>
- Zakara, Fareed, “Does America need a prime minister?“, CNN, 17 Aug 2011:
<http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2011/08/17/does-america-need-a-prime-minister/>

Class 8: MIDTERM EXAM

Class 9: Regional Patterns of Democracy – European Problems

Topics: How has democracy fared in Europe. What are the main sources of tension in regards to independence and democratic rule? What can we learn from succession movements in countries such as the United Kingdom, Spain, Belgium, or Ukraine?

Readings:

- Grugel, Chapter 7, “Democratization in Europe”
- Diamond, Chapter 9, “The Postcommunist Divide”
- Dardanelli, Paolo and James Mitchell, “An Independent Scotland? The Scottish National Party’s Bid for Independence and its Prospects,” *International Spectator*, Vol. 49, no. 3 (2014): 88-105.
- Bell, David N.F., “Scotland and Small Country Independence: the Assessment,” *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, Vol. 30, no. 2 (2014): 189-207.
- Walker, William, “International Reactions to the Scottish Referendum,” *International Affairs*, Vol. 90, no. 4: 743-759.

Class 10: Regional Patterns of Democracy – a Democratic Wave in Asia?

Topics: Will the next democratic wave come from China? What do countries like Burma and Thailand tell us about the region's democratic future? Do countries like Singapore show that capitalism is possible without democracy? What social forces in China provide challenges to the Chinese political system?

Readings:

- Grugel, Chapter 11, "Democratization in Asia"
- Diamond, Chapter 10, "The Asian Exception?"
- Pei, Minxin, "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?" *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 23, no. 1 (Jan) 2012: 27-41.
- Nathan, Andrew J., "Foreseeing the Unforeseeable," *Journal of Democracy*, No. 1 (Jan 2013): 20-25.
- Diamond, Larry, "Why East Asia – Including China – Will Turn Democratic Within a Generation," *The Atlantic*, 24 Jan 2012: <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/01/why-east-asia-including-china-will-turn-democratic-within-a-generation/251824/>

Class 11: Regional Patterns of Democracy: the Middle East

PAPER 1 DUE

Topics: Why has democracy been unable to take root in the Middle East? What factors have been suggested as to its absence: religion, culture, natural resources? How is the Arab Spring similar or different from 'third wave' transitions?

Readings:

- Grugel, Chapter 10, "Democratization in the Middle East,"
- Diamond, Chapter 12, "Can the Middle East Democratize?"
- Zakaria, Fareed, "Illiberal Democracy" and "The Islamic Exception," *The Future of Freedom* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2003): 89-159.
- Ross, Michael, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics* Vol. 53, no. 3 (2001): 325-361.
- Grand, Stephen, "Democratization 101: Historical Lessons for the Arab Spring," in Pollack, Kenneth et. al., *The Arab Awakening: America and the Transformation of the Middle East* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2011): 21-29.
- Alfred Stepan and Juan J. Linz, "Democratization Theory and the 'Arab Spring'," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 24, no. 2 (2013): 15-30.
- Brownlee, Jason. *Authoritarianism in an Age of Democratization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), excerpts.

Class 12: Democracy's Future and the "End of History"

Topics: Instruments of democracy promotion and the democracy promotion 'industry.' Rhetoric versus policy: What are the consistency challenges? What are the links between diplomacy and assistance? How much continuity or change has there been across the Bush and Obama Administrations?

Readings:

- Carothers, Thomas, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 5-21.
- Halperin, Morton, Joseph T. Siegle and Michael Weinstein, *The Democracy Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace* (New York: Routledge, 2010), excerpts.
- McFaul, Michael, *Advancing Democracy Abroad* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009): 147-233.
- Fukuyama, Francis, "The End of History?" *The National Interest* (Summer 1989): 3-18.
- Bush, George W., "Second Inaugural Address," 20 Jan 2005: <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres67.html>
- Arquila, John, "The (B)end of History: Francis Fukuyama was Wrong, and 2011 Proves It," *Foreign Policy*, 27 Dec. 2011: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/12/27/the_bend_of_history
- McBain, Sophie, "Francis Fukuyama: 'American Shouldn't Have Permanent Enemies,'" *The New Statesman*, 9 Oct. 2014: <http://www.newstatesman.com/2014/09/america-shouldn-t-have-permanent-enemies>

Class 13: International Democracy Promotion

Topics: Where does democracy promotion fit into the current administration's agenda? Where should it fit in? What is the relationship between democracy promotion and America's national security, particularly in a time of "austerity" and increasingly pressured development budgets?

Readings:

- Diamond, Chapter 14, "Promoting Democracy Effectively"
- Grugel, Chapter 6, "Democratization and Globalization"
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 20-34.
- Whitehead, Laurence, ed., *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas, Expanded Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), excerpts.
- Carothers, Thomas, "Understanding Effects," in *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999): 303-27.

Class 14: Democracy Promotion as US Foreign Policy

Topics: Where does democracy promotion fit into the current administration's agenda? Where should it fit in? What is the relationship between democracy promotion and America's national security, particularly in a time of "austerity" and increasingly pressured development budgets?

Readings:

- Katulis, Brian, "Democracy Promotion in the Middle East and the Obama Administration," *The Century Foundation*, 2009: <http://www.tcf.org/assets/downloads/tcf-Katulis.pdf>
- Obama, Barack, "On a New Beginning," 4 June 2009: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-cairo-university-6-04-09>
- Carothers, Thomas, "Democracy Policy Under Obama: Revitalization or Retreat?" *Carnegie Endowment* (January 2012): http://carnegieendowment.org/files/democracy_under_obama.pdf
- Beetham, David, "The Contradictions of Democratization by Force: the Case of Iraq," *Democratization*, Vol. 16, no. 3 (June 2009): 443-454.

- “Why Promoting Democracy is Smart and Right” (Bipartisan Statement of Principles by Center for American Progress and CSIS) 18 Jan 2003: <http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/progressive-movement/report/2013/01/18/50085/democracy-democratic-governance-and-transparent-institutions-in-the-american-interest/>

Class 15: Case Study – Democracy in Iran Before the Revolution

PAPER 2 DUE

Topics: What history does democracy have in a country like Iran? What elements sparked its transition and why did it fail. What role did the United States have in democracy’s ascendance and withdrawal? What role did democracy play in the Iranian Revolution?

Readings:

- Janet Afary, “Iranian Constitutional Revolution (1906),” *Encyclopedia of Political Revolutions*, November 1998, pp.245-248
- Stephen Kinzer, *All the Shah’s Men* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2008).
- David R. Collier, “To Prevent a Revolution: John F. Kennedy and the Promotion of Democracy in Iran,” *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 24, no. 3 (Sept 2013): 456-475.
- Bill, James, *The Eagle and the Lion: The Tragedy of American-Iranian Relations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), selected chapters.

Class 16: Case Study – Democracy in Iran After the Revolution

Topics: How has democracy fared under the Islamic Republic? Can Iran be classed as a democracy or is it some other form of government. What have been the main reformist movements in Iran since the revolution? What might the future hold? Can the United States government promote democracy and should they try?

Readings:

- Gheissari, Ali and Vali Nasr, “State and Limits to Democracy,” in *Democracy in Iran: History and the Quest for Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 147-158.
- Takeyh, Ray, “Iran at a Crossroads,” *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 57, no. 1 (2003): 42-56.
- Milani, Abbas, “The Green Movement,” *The Iran Primer*: <http://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/green-movement>

Class 17: Course Wrap Up

Readings:

- Grugel, Conclusion
- Diamond, Chapter 15, “Physician, Heal Thyself”