

INR 3933: International Democracy Promotion

Fall 2015

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Office Hours: Thursdays 1:30-3:30pm and by appointment

Class Meeting: Tuesdays & Thursdays 11:00am – 12:15pm (HCB 212)

Overview

This course is designed for students who already have a basic understanding of international relations problems and concepts, and who want to delve deeper into the specific area of international democracy promotion: influences from outside the nation-state intended to help democratize a country. Efforts at democracy promotion have taken off since the 1990s, giving rise to a wide range of actors and strategies. Should democracy be promoted from the outside? If so, when and how? What tools do international actors have to facilitate genuine elections, institutionalized political parties, a strong civil society, or entire nations? How have recipient countries engaged with outside actors in these processes? And which strategies have been effective in which circumstances?

In this course, we will examine both structural and substantive issues related to international democracy promotion. It provides basic tools for understanding what democracy is (and is not), how external democracy promotion works, outlining key strategies and major actors (international governmental and non-governmental organizations, countries). The course also provides substantive issues of interest to students of world politics: when and how these policies are implemented, and what their effects are. Given the large number of topics of interest in this field, the course aims to provide a basic understanding and exposure to key issues.

There are two substantive objectives for this course: to develop students' knowledge of (i) the basic patterns and facts of international democracy promotion, including actors, entry points, tools, and effects, as well as (ii) the major arguments to explain and address these patterns.

There are also two skills-based objectives for this course: (i) to develop students' ability to think analytically and critically about issues and events, and make more persuasive arguments, and (ii) to strengthen their verbal communication, problem solving, and research skills.

Assignments and Grading

Grades for the course will be assigned according to completion of the following course assignments:

- Participation: 20%
- Debate (including two outlines): 25%
- First Exam: 15%
- Second Exam: 15%
- Final Exam: 25%

Your final point total for the semester will translate into letter grades as shown below. Final grade points ending in a decimal of .5 or greater will be rounded up to the next whole number. The scale may be revised if needed.

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|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| • 93 and above: A | • 86-83: B | • 76-73: C | • 66-63: D |
| • 92-90: A- | • 82-80: B- | • 72-70: C- | • 62-60: D- |
| • 89-87: B+ | • 79-77: C+ | • 69-67: D+ | • 59 and below: F |

Participation: Active participation in our discussions is an important and required element of the course and will be critical to successfully learning the material. Hence, you should be prepared to answer questions that are posed, ask questions about concepts that are not clear, challenge viewpoints expressed in the reading or class discussion, and be involved in the classroom conversations. These discussions must always be conducted with an air of respect for differing viewpoints and the people who present them, and with an open mind (e.g., arguing for positions even if you are not yet certain of them, and being willing to consider new arguments or information). Participation grades will be based not just on attendance but on the quality and quantity of your active involvement. I reserve the right to deduct points for disrespectful behavior and to dismiss anyone from the classroom who continuously disrupts the learning environment.

In many courses, only a handful of students participate regularly. To improve your participation grade and increase the value of classroom discussion for all students, your contributions to classroom discussion will be assessed 3-4 times randomly during the semester. All students start with 100 out of 100 points. Students who are present and contribute to civil discussion when called upon or observed will not lose any points. If a student does not contribute when called upon or observed, s/he will lose 10 participation points on that day. Students who are absent when observed will also lose 10 participation points.

University Attendance Policy: Excused absences include documented illness, deaths in the family and other documented crises, call to active military duty or jury duty, religious holy days, and official University activities. These absences will be accommodated in a way that does not arbitrarily penalize students who have a valid excuse. Consideration will also be given to students whose dependent children experience serious illness. If you have to miss class for any reason, it is *your* responsibility to inform yourself on what has been covered and get notes from classmates. I suggest you make friends.

Debate: We will regularly hold debates in this class. These debates serve two purposes. First, they are meant to synthesize theoretical arguments and apply them to real-world examples. Second, they are meant to hone your critical thinking, effective communication, and teamwork skills. When preparing for these debates, consider the pros and cons of an argument: what is the best evidence offered by each side? What evidence or argument might make you change your mind regarding this issue?

You will sign up for a topic and date together with two other students in the second week of the semester, on September 1. Your group of three will then meet once during class on September 3 and additionally (as needed) outside of class to conduct research on the topic and prepare a presentation. I will consult with each team before the debate class based on the debate outline you SUBMIT A WEEK IN ADVANCE of the debate, plus potentially during office hours. On the day of your debate, you will present your side of the argument based on your research and discuss with another group of three students who has researched the

same topic but will be presenting a different side of the argument.

Note: These presentations and discussions are an integral part of this course. *You* will find and use new content from sources (scholarly articles, possibly opinion pieces) to make your point, based on your research. You must submit a debate outline by email at least one week before your assigned date. Late assignments will be penalized one letter grade (e.g., from a B to a B-) for each day or fraction of a day late.

During those debates where you are in the audience (not on an active debate team), you are responsible for (i) sharing your opinion on the issue before and after the debate; (ii) asking a thoughtful question to one of the teams after their initial presentation; and (iii) rating each team's performance.

Exams: There will be three exams during the term. The first exam will take place on Tuesday, September 29, in class and will cover all material up to that point. The second exam will take place on Thursday, November 5, in class and will cover all material after the first exam up to November 5. These two exams will consist of a number of short answer questions and one essay question. The final exam is scheduled for Wednesday, December 9, 12:30pm-2:30pm. It will include a number of short answer questions and one or two essay question(s) integrating the cumulative course material as a whole. All exams will be closed-book and closed-note exams. Everything covered in readings, lecture, debate, and discussions is fair game for exams.

Missed Exams: Please take note of all exam and assignment dates, and make plans around them. Except in extraordinary and unavoidable circumstances, make-up exams will NOT be offered. Any requests for accommodations must be made at least one week in advance to be considered. I understand that emergencies happen. In a genuine emergency, I am very willing to work with you. I will, however, require documentation of emergencies (e.g., notes from doctors, emergency room personnel) in all instances.

Re-grading Policy: If you feel that any assignment has been graded incorrectly, you may request that it be regraded. However, you must wait for 48 hours after the assignment has been returned before issuing any complaints. Following such "cooling-off" period, you must provide a 1-2 page double-spaced memo indicating the reason for your concern and why you deserve a better grade. Please note that this memo has to be based entirely on the merit of your own work (i.e., it cannot be based on comparisons with the grades of other students). Upon receiving your memo, I will regrade the ENTIRE assignment in question within 72 hours. This means that the revised grade may be higher or lower than what you originally received. So please be certain that you have a very specific and justifiable reason before asking us to make any changes; this is not a risk-free process.

Special Accommodations

Students with disabilities needing academic accommodation should: (1) register with and provide documentation to the Student Disability Resource Center; and (2) bring a letter to the instructor indicating the need for accommodation and what type. This should be done during the first week of class. This syllabus and other class materials are available in alternative format upon request. For more information about services available to FSU students with disabilities, contact the Student Disability Resource Center, 874 Traditions Way, 108 Student Services Building, 850-644-9566, sdrc@admin.fsu.edu, <http://www.disabilitycenter.fsu.edu/> I will make every effort not only to maintain the confidentiality of personal information but also to enable full participation in this course by all students.

Communications and Technology

Contacting me: I strongly encourage you drop in to my office hours (no need to set up an appointment) or set up a meeting outside of office hours if there is anything you would like to discuss about the course. My

office hours are the time for you to get individual help. You can come see me during office hours to clear your mind about issues/terms that you feel you do not quite understand and/or to talk about any course-related issue that you would rather not bring up in front of your fellow classmates.

I generally answer emails reasonably quickly from Monday 8:30am to Friday 4:30pm. (Feel free to email me again if you do not hear within 24 hours during these times). However, please do consult the syllabus or other course materials first to see if the answer to your question is there, and recognize that broader substantive questions will probably be best addressed at in-person meetings.

Blackboard: I strongly encourage you to access the course webpage regularly and get accustomed to using it. There you will find the syllabus, readings, and other materials that you will need as they become available. The Blackboard page contains also a news box that I will use to post announcements and reminders.

Laptops: Studies have shown that “laptop use is negatively related to student learning and performance, and it poses a distraction to fellow students.”¹ Despite its negative effects, taking digital notes, if done right, may allow for more efficient studying. Thus laptops are allowed in this class for note taking. If you think you need to use a computer to take notes in this class, you are allowed to do so under two conditions: (1) you need to sit in the back rows to avoid distracting fellow students by your internet surfing; and (2) you will lose your computer rights if your personal computer use becomes disruptive for your colleagues, thus preventing other students from fully participating in class. If you do use a computer in class, I encourage you to turn off your wifi.

Academic Integrity and the Honor Code

Academic integrity is central to the mission of higher education in general and FSU in particular. Academic dishonesty (cheating, plagiarism) is a very serious offense that will get you in great trouble. There are now thoroughly reliable software programs to check if plagiarism has occurred. In all your classes, please use proper citation form for all materials obtained from primary and secondary sources. If you see other students cheating (during exams or otherwise), please let me know.

I have zero tolerance for any instance of academic misconduct. You will receive a zero/F on that particular assignment, and the severest penalty consistent with university guidelines, including recommendation for suspension. This will make it extremely difficult for you to gain entrance to graduate schools and will jeopardize your opportunities with a large number of employers in the future.

FSU’s Academic Honor Policy outlines the University’s expectations for the integrity of students’ academic work, the procedures for resolving alleged violations of those expectations, and the rights and responsibilities of students and faculty members throughout the process. Students are responsible for reading the Academic Honor Policy and for living up to their pledge to “...be honest and truthful and... [to] strive for personal and institutional integrity at Florida State University.” (see <http://registrar.fsu.edu/bulletin/undergrad/info/integrity.htm>)

Classroom Etiquette

Please remember to turn off your cell phones before coming to class and refrain from eating and drinking in class.

¹Fried, Carrie. 2008. In-class laptop use and its effects on student learning. *Computers and Education* 50 (3): 906-914.

Arriving late or leaving during class is disruptive both for me and for your classmates. Be on time. If you come to class, stay for the whole session. If you know in advance that you have to leave early, let me know before class begins.

Course Resources and Readings

Readings for each week are indicated on the syllabus and should be completed prior to the first class meeting of the week in which they are assigned. Additional readings covering case studies in current or recent international events will be distributed via Blackboard.

Students are strongly encouraged to have taken at least the introduction course to international relations and be familiar with the major theories of international relations.

The main textbooks for this course are

- Thomas Carothers' *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Carnegie 1999, ISBN: 978-0870031694, hereafter referred to as "Carothers") and
- Larry Diamond's *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (Times Books 2008, ISBN: 978-0805089134, hereafter referred to as "Diamond").

Both books are available at the bookstore. Supplemental readings will be posted on Blackboard.

Lecture slides: I will post lecture slides on the course's Blackboard page prior to each lecture. These will be *sparse outlines* intended to facilitate your note-taking. These outlines will allow you to anticipate the topics discussed and to "fill in" key information provided in lectures. Please note, however, that the lecture outlines are not a substitute for attending class, doing the readings, or taking notes.

In addition, you are expected to read a major newspaper or magazine with coverage of international events, such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times*, or the *Economist*. These and others are available at the library or online. Lectures will frequently reference relevant current international events, and being conversant with what is going on in the world will be important to contribute to discussions and do well on exams. Be prepared to talk about how these events fit into the substantive concepts we are learning, and how we can apply the analytic tools we are using to understand them more fully.

Except for changes that substantially affect implementation of the evaluation (grading) statement, this syllabus is a guide for the course and is subject to change with advance notice.

Schedule

I. Analytical and Theoretical Foundations

August 25: Course Overview and Introduction

- Diamond, Chapter 1.
- Sen, Amartya. 1999. Democracy as a Universal Value. *Journal of Democracy* 10: 3-17.

August 27 – No class (conference travel)

September 1: What is Democracy?

- Diamond, pp. 20-26.

- Schmitter, Philippe, and Terry Karl. 1991. What Democracy Is... and Is Not. *Journal of Democracy* 2: 75-88.

*** Sign up for debate week, identify your team-mates ***

September 3: Debate Team Meeting

- Everything listed for “your” debate week (look ahead)
- Further readings as needed

*** Preliminary debate outline ***

Due in Blackboard Dropbox on September 3, 23:59pm

September 8: Is Democracy Really Better?

- Siegel, Joseph, Michael Weinstein, and Morton Halperin. 2004. Why Democracies Excel. *Foreign Affairs* 83 (5): 57-71.
- Oneal and Russett. 1999. The Kantian Peace. *World Politics*: 1-37 (skip pp. 10-33).
- Lee Kuan Yew: The wise man of the East. *The Economist*, 22 March 2015.

September 10: The Current State of Democracy | **Debate 1**

- Carothers, Thomas. 2002. The End of the Transition Paradigm. *Journal of Democracy* 13: 5-21.
- Diamond, Larry. 2002. Elections without Democracy: Thinking about Hybrid Regimes. *Journal of Democracy* 13: 21-35.
- Diamond, Larry, Francis Fukuyama, Donald Horowitz, and Marc Plattner. 2014. Discussion: Reconsidering the Transition Paradigm. *Journal of Democracy* 25(1): 86-100.

September 15: Waves of democratization

- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The Third Wave*, pp. 3-46. (skim pp. 31-40).

September 17: How do countries democratize? Internal drivers | **Debate 2**

- Diamond, Chapter 4.
- Carothers, Thomas. 2007. How Democracies Emerge: The ‘Sequencing’ Fallacy. *Journal of Democracy* 18: 12-27.

September 22: How do countries democratize? External drivers | **Debate 3**

- Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan Way. 2005. International Linkage and Democratization. *Journal of Democracy* 16: 20-34.
- Diamond, Chapter 6.

September 24: Wrap-up and Review

- Bring your questions!

*** FIRST EXAM ***

September 29 (in class)

II. Actors and Interests

October 1: Should Democracy Be Promoted? | [Debate 4](#)

- Carothers, Chapter 3.
- Fukuyama, Francis, and Michael McFaul. 2007. Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted? *The Washington Quarterly* 31: 23-45.
- Larison, Daniel. 2012. The enduring failure of democracy promotion abroad. *The Week*, 11 April 2012.
- Zogby, James. 2012. Should America Be Involved in Democracy Promotion in the Arab World? *Huffington Post*, 14 April 2012.

October 6: The Rise of International Democracy Promotion

- Carothers, Chapter 2.

October 8: Who Promotes Democracy? (Actors)

- Melia, Thomas. 2006. The Democracy Bureaucracy. *American Interest* 1 (4): 122-130.
- Youngs, Richard. 2008. What Has Europe Been Doing? *Journal of Democracy* 19 (2): 160-168.
- Ponzio, Richard. 2004. UNDP experience in long-term democracy assistance. In *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Reality*, chapter 9.

III. Entry Points

October 13: How to Promote Democracy? (Strategies)

- Carothers, Thomas. 2009. Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental. *Journal of Democracy* 20: 5-19.
- Diamond, Chapter 5, pp. 111-134.

October 15: Institutions/Rule of Law | [Debate 5](#)

- Carothers, Chapter 7 (skip pages 177-200).

October 20: Technical Election Assistance

- United Nations Secretary-General. 2013. Report: Strengthening the role of the United Nations in enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections and the promotion of democratization.

October 22: Election Monitoring | [Debate 6](#)

- Carothers, Chapter 6, pp. 123-139.
- Susan Hyde. 2011. Does Election Monitoring Matter? In *The Pseudo-Democrats Dilemma: Why Election Observation Became an International Norm*, pp. 130-142.
- Judith Kelley. 2012. The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly. In *Monitoring Democracy: When International Election Monitoring Works, and Why It Often Fails*, pp. 155-180.

October 27: Funding Civil Society

- Carothers, Chapter 8, pp. 207-244.
- Gershman, Carl. 2004. Democracy promotion: the relationship of political parties and civil society. *Democratization* 11 (3): 27-35.

October 29: Political Party Support

- Carothers, Thomas. 2006. *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*, chapter 4.

November 3: Wrap-up and Review

- Bring your questions!

***** SECOND EXAM *****

November 5 (in class)

November 10: Force | **Debate 7**

- Pickering, Jeffrey, and Mark Peceny. 2006. Forging Democracy at Gunpoint. *International Studies Quarterly* 50 (3): 539-559.

November 12: UN Peace-/State-building

- Dobbins, James, et al. 2005. *The UN's Role in Nation-Building*.

IV. Effects

November 17: Research Design: How do we know when assistance succeeded?

- Carothers, Chapter 10, pp. 281-302.

November 19: Effects of Democracy Assistance

- Finkel, Steven, Anibal Perez-Linan, Mitchell Seligson. 2007. The Effects of US Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990-2003. *World Politics* 59 (3): 404-440.

November 24: Autocratic Pushback I (domestic) | **Debate 8**

- Carothers, Thomas, and Saskia Brechenmacher. 2014. Closing Space: International Democracy and Human Rights Support Under Fire. Carnegie Endowment Report, pp. 1-20 and 31-49.

November 26: No class (Thanksgiving)

December 1: Autocratic Pushback II (international)

- Burnell, Peter. 2010. Is there a new Autocracy Promotion? FRIDE Working Paper 96.
- Babayan, Nelli. 2015. The return of the empire? Russia's counteraction to transatlantic democracy promotion in its near abroad. *Democratization*, pp. 1-13.

December 3: Wrap-up and Review

- Bring your questions!

***** FINAL EXAM *****

December 9 (Wednesday) 12:30pm-2:30pm