The Int'l Dimensions of Democratization Reading Group

Spring 2004
Wednesdays, 2:30-4:15 pm
Mike McFaul's Office in Encina Hall

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- **Description:** This is a topic that was unthinkable just about twenty years ago. In 1986, Schmitter famously assigned to international factors an "indirect and usually marginal role" in democratic transitions around the world. An early dissenter from this view, Laurence Whitehead has recently claimed that democracy promotion now comes in "the form of a missile", hitting every area and country of the world.

  Interest in the topic has literally exploded over the past 4-5 years. Despite this, the emerging field remains largely un-theorized. The combination of abundant, interesting and important empirical variation, and the lack of reliable theory to guide us through understanding the causal arrows involved, makes this a rich and promising topic.

  Theoretically, 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.

  Needless to say, this is an ambitious agenda. It 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. These variegated channels of influence are hard to categorize, let alone analyze.

In short, even thinking about the issues involved is bound to give anyone a major headache.

That the topic is difficult does not mean it cannot be done. The objective of our reading group will be to discuss, in a series of meetings, a list of key readings on the topic. Our goal will be to attempt to think together about some the issues involved. At best, we should be able to map the emerging field as a result of these discussions. At worst, we will know better what needs to be done to map the field at some future date.

- **Requirements** We should plan on meeting 6-7 times total for the rest of the quarter.

  This is a small group: we expect 6 to 8 people to attend. Reading is essential: this is our only hope to learn from each other. Plan on doing about a 100 pages for each meeting, most of it light, and all of it pretty interesting.

  The readings are available online at:

  `http://www.stanford.edu/group/cddrl/`

Conceptual Outline and Reading List

To fix ideas, I am proposing 4 readings for our first meeting. They include: Schmitter (1986), Whitehead (2003), Burnell (2000)– "Democracy Assistance: The State of the Discourse", Cox, Ikenberry and Inoguchi (2000)–Ikenberry's piece.

Big theories of democratization: *Modernization* vs. *Structural* vs. *Transitional* Approaches.

THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY
(*) Overview
See Geddes (1999), for an overview of democratization literature and Grugel (1999*a*) about how international factors fit in.
(**) *Modernization*
Martin Lipset, Przeworski and Limongi (1997)

(***) *Structural*

(****) *Transitional*

INCOME AND DEMOCRACY
(*) Rich, therefore, democratic?
Londregan and Poole (1996)

(**) Globalization pressures and democracy:
Li and Reuveny (2003) and Hiscox and Kastner (2004)

REGIONAL EFFECTS
(*) Regional Clustering of Democracies and its Effects:
O'Loughlin et al. (1998) Kopstein and Reilly (2000), Starr (1991), Whitehead (1999)

(**) Regional Institutions
EU and Enlargement
Pridham (1991), Pridham (1999*a*), Pridham (1999*b*), Ethier (2003) compares the efficacy of aid programs with the EU Enlargement process, Kubicek (2003)
OAS
Farer (1993)
OAU
General Focus
Pevehouse (2002*a*), Pevehouse (2002*b*)

DYNAMIC EFFECTS: WAVES AND COUNTER-WAVES

Huntington (1991), Przeworski et al. (2000), McFaul (2002), Zakaria (1997), Levitsky and Way (2002), Prizel (1999)–argues that different responses from the West account for the survival of democracy in Eastern Europe

IDEAS, SOCIALIZATION AND DEMOCRACY

Sikkink (1993) (more on human rights), Sikkink (1996). A broader theoretical piece on norms as a tool for research is Cortell and Davis (2000). Jacoby (1999) is a piece on democracy adoption as Meyer-style imitation.

DEMOCRACY BY FORCE

(*) Military Intervention

Lowenthal (1991)–the piece by Whitehead, Peceny (1999)

(**) Post-Conflict Reconstruction in the Context of Civil War

de Zeeuw (2004), Whitehead (2003)

DEMOCRACY PROMOTION STRATEGIES GALORE

(*) Party Assistance

Whitehead's piece in Lowenthal (1991), Carothers (1999), Carothers (2000)

(**) Election Observers

Carothers (1997b), Chand (1997)

(***) Civil-Military Relations

Atkinson (2004), Blanton (2004)

(****) Comparisons

Ottaway and Chung (1999), Santiso (2001)

WHY AND HOW DO THE PROMOTERS PROMOTE? NATIONAL INTEREST AND INSTITUTIONAL PREFERENCE

(*) US Perspectives

Cox, Ikenberry and Inoguchi (2000)–Doyle, Ikenberry pieces, Allison and Beschel (1992)

(**) EU Perspectives

Youngs (2001)

LEGAL PERSPECTIVES

Franck (1992)

REGION-SPECIFIC AND COUNTRY STUDIES

Africa

Alden (2000), Munslow (1993)

Van de Walle (2002) on why some openings survived and not others

Middle East

Europe

Way (2002) on why pluralism in Moldova survived 'by default'.

Asia

Latin America

Karl (1995) on Central America and America's bad influence.

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