

Democracy Promotion and its Discontent

August 3rd - November 26th 2021

60 hours / 28 meetings

Language of Instruction: English

Course Description

This course introduces students to the rich and multi-faceted debates about democracy promotion among supporters and critics alike, and the evolution of democracy promotion as a foreign-policy tool since the early twentieth century. We will analyze core concepts, ideas and challenges that have shaped the way we think about democracy promotion, democracy assistance and democracy defense, and apply them to cases drawn from international history and contemporary affairs.

Course Objectives

The objective of this course is to provide a solid understanding of the key ideas and practices in the realm of democracy promotion, ranging from the theoretical concepts such as the Democratic Peace Theory to practices such as election monitoring, media and civil society assistance and the promotion of the rule of law. The course will also analyze the main programs and agencies involved in democracy promotion and the different approaches embraced by the United States, the European Union and the United Nations. In addition, it seeks to advance students' capacity to write clearly and express themselves coherently and apply theoretical knowledge to the subject at hand. This course may be particularly useful for students seeking to work for international organizations, civil society and the public sector.

> Professor

Oliver Della Costa Stuenkel

Associate Professor

FGV-School of International Relations

oliver.stuenkel@fgv.br

<https://www.oliverstuenkel.com/>

> Teaching Assistant

Guilherme Mattos

guilherme.mattos@fgv.br

> Class Schedule

Tuesdays and Thursdays, 7am to 8:50 am (São Paulo time)

Zoom Link:

> Office Hours

Thursday, 2pm to 3pm (São Paulo time)

Skype: [oliverstuenkel](#)

(schedule via Calendly beforehand):

Learning Goals

By the end of the semester, students will have:

- The ability to understand and discuss the key concepts of democracy promotion and apply them to contemporary cases around the world;
- The knowledge to comprehend scholarly contributions in the field of democracy promotion;
- The competence to express, in both written and oral form, complex ideas in the realm of democracy promotion and related fields;
- The ability to critically assess and contribute to the public debate about democracy promotion;
- The capacity to develop policy recommendations to state and non-state actors involved in democracy promotion.

Online Course Structure

About this course: We will cover a lot of ground over the next 14 weeks, so it is crucial for all students to come to class prepared and ready to utilize the insights the readings offer. We will discuss what I consider to be one of the most interesting and controversial subjects of the International Relations discipline, and our goal is that each student will have a more sophisticated understanding of democracy promotion and its critics by the end of the semester -- which will benefit you irrespective of whether you will join an NGO, the foreign service of your country or an international organization involved in development or democracy. The goal of our debates is not to convince students of whether democracy promotion is good or bad -- indeed, we will discuss authors who defend it, who criticize it, and those who say it does not make any difference. Rather, my goal is that students will gain a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the subject.

Readings: The mandatory readings will be a combination of scholarly papers and specialized newspaper and magazine articles. Lectures will also often draw from other materials deemed relevant, which we will share with you before or during class.

Zoom: All classes for this course will be taught remotely. Students therefore do not have to be in São Paulo and students from FGV's partner institutions are welcome to join.

Lectures: A 30-45 minutes-long lecture will normally take place at the beginning of each class and will include a general overview of the topic at hand, a summary of the main debates in the field, and detailed commentary on the kinds of questions that students should be able to answer when confronted to that particular topic.

Tutorials: These offer an opportunity for students to have detailed feedback on their essays and memos.

Cases and Debates: In the second half of several classes students will focus on a specific case study or problem and develop reasoned arguments in class.

Course Requirements and Grading

Students are expected to attend a minimum of 75% of the course and contribute to class discussion by engaging the issues that stem from the readings.

Final grades will be assigned as follows:

- In-class participation: 10%
- One individual essay (2000 words): 20% (due August 31)
- One group essay (2000 words): 20% (due September 23)
- Policy memo (700 words): 10% (due October 21)
- Policy report (5000 words): 40% (due November 26)

Participation: Class participation is essential. Please come to class prepared, which means having read the assigned material in advance and reflecting on potential interventions. Our lectures presuppose that you have read the text in advance, which means that you will not get the best of our class time if you skip the readings.

Learning how to make positive contributions is a skill, one that you will need beyond the boundaries of academia. Take notes, write down questions before class, and—most importantly—engage with your peers, which requires the capacity to be a team player and assure that others benefit from your interventions as well. Skills developed and assessed here thus include oral communication, active listening, brainstorming, questioning and persuasion.

Essays: Each student will submit one 2000-word essay in response to a question distributed in class beforehand and one 2000-word essay as part of a group of three.

The essays must be sent in .docx or .doc formats with the following configuration: 1.5-spacing, Arial or Times New Roman font, size 12, margins left and top 3 cm, right and bottom 2 cm. Documents in other formats (.pdf, .pages, etc.) will not be accepted. Essays should be posted on E-Class by 8pm BRT on the dates specified below. Papers received after the deadline will be dropped two full points per day in a 10-point scale, and no paper will be accepted after the specific tutorial. In each essay students will answer the given question with reference to the concepts and

theories discussed in class. Essays are not summaries of the readings, and they should be written with an informed readership in mind (so you can focus on the discussions that matter most). More detailed instructions on essay structure will be given several weeks ahead of the deadline. Essays may be submitted in English, Portuguese or Spanish. We will not meet for class on the day essays are due, but your attendance will be computed when you submit your essay. Please be aware that if you miss the deadline, you will also miss attendance for that day.

Your essay will be assessed using the following criteria: clarity and coherence of the main argument and the secondary arguments introduced to strengthen the main argument; quality and strength of the evidence used to support the secondary arguments; the use made of primary sources (if applicable) and the mandatory readings as evidence; clarity and coherence of the employment of concepts. In addition, it is important to provide a conclusion that derives from these arguments, and, if necessary, provide adequate references.

This assignment will be graded considering the following components on a 10-point scale:

Component	Description	Grade
Format	This category assesses whether your text's format is adequate, fulfills its stated goals, answers the proposed question, and is presented without grammatical or formatting errors (please use ABNT or Chicago Style).	1,5
Content	This category assesses whether your primary and secondary arguments are well developed, supported by evidence and whether the mandatory readings and key concepts are used in a satisfactory manner	4
Structure	This category assesses whether your text is coherent and has a good organization of ideas.	2
Dialogue with the existing debate/ Innovation	This category assesses whether your text is capable of establishing a sophisticated dialogue with the existing literature, contains an interesting reflection on the topic, tries to make or makes contributions to the debate on the subject, approaches the question from a new angle, or contains unusually illuminating or original thinking.	2,5
TOTAL		10

Please, make sure to name the .doc for submission in the following manner:

Student name_Individual Essay.doc

Example: Anthony Vergara_Individual Essay.doc

Policy memo: Early in your career, your writing may be your most important tool of influence. If your ideas make sense on paper, others may invite you to explain them to larger audiences. Indeed, you may never acquire the influence that you seek -- and make the career advances that you desire -- without first developing your ability to write clearly, coherently and persuasively. Thus, you need to devote significant time, thought and work to mastering your ability to deploy this powerful instrument of influence. You need to become a master of that much-maligned, yet all-essential policy tool: the memo, which you will individually submit towards the end of the semester. While both the essay and the memo require analytical sophistication, the main differential of the memo is that its audience are decision-makers, either public policy makers, elected officials, or those in civil society or the private sector. The document should therefore help the reader make decisions, considering the risks and advantages that each option implies. This requires the highly valued skill of being able to transform theoretical knowledge into concrete policy proposals and recommendations.

Please, make sure to name the .doc for submission in the following manner:

Student name_Policy Memo.doc

Example: Anthony Vergara_Policy Memo.doc

Policy report: Rather than writing an exam, the final deliverable of this course is a 8-page policy report in which students build on the policy memo, and which can either be for a funding agency, an international NGO or an international organization operating in the realm of democracy promotion. In addition to the written feedback students receive for the policy memo, the tutorial on November 4 will be an opportunity to develop this analysis further until the end of the semester. Policy reports may be written in English, Portuguese or Spanish. Elaborating this report will be an opportunity to employ the skills acquired throughout the semester, including the application of theories of concepts, the ability to distill and organize key arguments presented in scientific papers, and transform them into tangible and policy-relevant ideas and proposals. The skills developed through this assignment include written communication, logical reasoning, taking the initiative and persuasion. After all, the goal of this type of assignment is not only that the reader is impressed by your knowledge, but that they feel compelled to act on your advice!

Please, make sure to name the .doc for submission in the following manner:

Student name_Policy Report.doc

Example: Anthony Vergara_Policy Report.doc

Online Course Policies

- Minimum attendance 75%;
- If your internet connection permits it, we strongly urge you to switch on your camera for class
- Cell phones must be turned off during class;
- It is the policy of the School of International Relations at FGV that all cases of academic dishonesty – including plagiarism – be reported to the Undergraduate Committee and their Chair. A detailed discussion on plagiarism will take place in class before submission of the first essay.
- The texts for this class will also be made available in PDF format via E-class;
- Office hours can be scheduled via Calendly, which will be primarily held via zoom on Thursday, 2-3pm São Paulo time.

Criteria for Grading

8 or above: Work in this category shows excellent command of the topic. It is well organized, clearly expressed and cogently argued. Work in this category will either approach the question from an unexpected angle, contain unusually illuminating or original thinking, or be especially well illustrated.

7,5 to 7,9: Work in this category shows excellent command of the topic. It is well organized, clearly expressed and cogently argued.

6,5 to 7,4: Work in this category shows sound knowledge of the topic. It displays a very good understanding of the question and it is clearly organized and cogently argued. The argument is detailed, precise, and clear.

6 to 6,4: Work in this category shows sound knowledge of the topic. It is clearly organized and cogently argued. Achieving this mark on a question means that the student has firm control of the essential points.

5,5 to 5,9: Work in this category shows some weaknesses in terms of its accuracy, coherence, detail, organization, or focus.

5 to 5,4: Work in this category shows extensive weaknesses in terms of its accuracy, coherence, detail, organization, or focus. The candidate has firm control of at least some of the essential points.

4 to 4,9: Work in this category shows some basic knowledge of the topic. Yet it displays some serious deficiencies in terms of its accuracy, coherence, detail, organization, or focus.

3 to 3.9: Work in this range shows an attempt to answer the question set, but it is either irrelevant to the question set, incoherent, unsystematic, superficial, or unacceptably brief.

1 to 2.9: Work in this category fails to show any basic knowledge of the topic.

Zero: Work that features evidence of plagiarism.

Resources

Wellbeing

The School of International Relations offers two types of resources to promote the wellbeing of its student body: the Programa de Apoio Emocional e Pedagógico (PAEP) and Pró-Saúde.

The Programa de Apoio Emocional e Pedagógico (PAEP) offers FGV RI students the opportunity to schedule individual and confidential appointments with experienced psychologists to discuss different facets of college life. Students may choose between three types of appointments: (i) pedagogical support; (ii) emotional support; (iii) and help and advice on group dynamics, interviews and other elements of the internship application process, as well as on the challenges one may face as an intern and/or a trainee. The program is exclusive to FGV RI students. Please check the program's material for information on how to schedule an appointment. Appointments are offered in Portuguese only.

Students who would like to schedule an individual and confidential appointment with a licensed psychotherapist for mental health issues may reach out to Pró-Saúde at pro.saude@fgv.br.

Writing Center/Oficina de Escrita

Great writing is a skill that needs to be actively developed during college.

The School of International Relations has a Writing Center where students can develop their writing skills in English and in Portuguese.

You can schedule appointments during the academic year via Calendly or request an appointment On Demand.

If you want to schedule an appointment in Portuguese:

If you want to schedule an appointment in English:

Course Schedule

Lecture 1 (Tuesday, August 3) – Introduction and Course Overview

Please read the course program carefully prior to class

Part I: Theoretical Context

Lecture 2 (Thursday, August 5) – What is Democracy? Is it a Universal Value?

What are the major challenges when seeking to define democracy?

Required reading:

- Philippe Schmitter and Terry Karl. **What Democracy Is... and Is Not.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 75-88, 1991. (14 pages)
- Amartya Sen. **Democracy as a Universal Value.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 3-17, 1999. (26 pages)
- Eric X. Lee. **A Tale of Two Political Systems.** TED Global, 2013. Available at: https://www.ted.com/talks/eric_x_li_a_tale_of_two_political_systems (20 minutes)

Further reading:

- Fareed Zakaria. **A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew.** *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1994. (20 pages)
- The Economist. **Democracy Index 2020.** (51 pages)

Lecture 3 (Tuesday, August 10) – Democratic Peace Theory

How do structural and normative accounts explain the Democratic Peace Theory?

Required reading:

- John Owen, **How Liberalism Produces Democratic Peace,** *International Security*, vol. 19, Fall 1994, pp. 87-104 (19 pages)

Further reading:

- Joslyn N. Barnhart, Robert F. Trager, Elizabeth N. Saunders and Allan Dafoe. **The Suffragist Peace.** *International Organization*, 2020. (34 pages)

- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson and Alastair Smith, **An Institutional Explanation of the Democratic Peace**, *American Political Science Review* 93 (1999): 791-807. (15 pages)
- Kenneth Schultz, **Do Democratic Institutions Constrain or Inform? Contrasting Two Institutional Explanations of the Democratic Peace**, *International Organization* 52 (Spring 1999), pp. 233-66. (34 pages)
- Kenneth Shultz, **Democracy and Diversion**: in "Domestic Politics and International Relations", in Walter Carlsnaes et al., eds., *Handbook of International Relations* (London: Sage, 2013), p. 484-488 only (5 pages)
- John R. Oneal and Bruce Russett. **The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992**. *World Politics*, vol. 52, no. 1, pp. 1-37, 1999. (37 pages)
- Michael Doyle. **Peace, Liberty, and Democracy: Realists and Liberals Contest a Legacy**. In: *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*. Michael Cox, John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi (eds.). *Oxford University Press*, 2000. (19 pages)
- Michael W. Doyle, **Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part 1**, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12, no.4 (1983): 205-235. (30 pages)
- Michael W. Doyle, **Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs, Part 2**, *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 12, no.4 (1983): 223-253. (30 pages)

Lecture 4 (Thursday, August 12) – Democratic Peace Theory: Critiques

What are the major points of criticism of the Democratic Peace Theory?

Required reading:

- John Mearsheimer. **Liberal Theories of Peace**. In: *The Great Delusion*. Yale University Press, 2018. (28 pages)
- Randall Schweller. **US Democracy Promotion: Realist Reflections**. In: *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*. Michael Cox, John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi (eds.). *Oxford University Press*, 2000. (22 pages)

Further reading:

- Patrick J. McDonald. **Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace**. *International Organization*, vol. 69, no. 3, pp. 557-588, 2015. (32 pages)
- Seva Gunitsky. **From Shocks to Waves: Hegemonic Transitions and Democratization in the Twentieth Century**. *International Organization*, vol. 68, no. 3, pp. 561-597, 2014. (36 pages)

- Sebastian Rosato, **The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory**. *American Political Science Review*, 97, 4 (November 2003), 585-602. (17 pages)
- Erik Gartzke. **The Capitalist Peace**. *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 166-191, 2007. (25 pages)
- Erik Gartzke and Alex Weisiger, "Permanent Friends? Dynamic Difference and the Democratic Peace." *International Studies Quarterly* 57:1 (2013), 171-185. (26 pages)
- Michael Mousseau. **The Democratic Peace Unraveled: It's the Economy**. *International Studies Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 1, pp. 186-197, 2013. (12 pages)
- Mark Peceny, Caroline C. Beer and Shannon Sanchez-Terry. **Dictatorial Peace?** *American Political Science Review*, 2004. (12 pages)
- Arthur A. Goldsmith. **Making the world safe for partial democracy? Questioning the premises of democracy promotion**. *International Security*, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 120-147, 2008.

Part II: Democracy Promotion, Wilsonianism and 'US Grand Strategy'

Lecture 5 (Tuesday, August 17) – Case study: Democratizing Germany and Japan after World War II

Required reading:

- Richard L. Merritt. **American Influences in the Occupation of Germany**. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 428.1 (1976): 91-103. (13 pages)
- Juha Saunavaara. **Enforced democratization in Japan: lessons for Iraq and Afghanistan**. *Democratization* 21.6 (2014) (16 pages)

Further reading:

- Michael Bernhard. **Democratization in Germany: A Reappraisal**. *Comparative Politics*, vol. 33, no. 4, pp. 379-400, 2001. (19 pages)
- Alexander B. Downes and Jonathan Monten. **Forced to be free?: Why foreign-imposed regime change rarely leads to democratization**. *International Security* 37.4 (2013): 90-131. (42 pages)
- Daniel Ziblatt. **How Did Europe Democratize?** *World Politics*, vol. 58, pp. 311-338, 2006. (28 pages)

Lecture 6 (Thursday, August 19) – America's Post-Cold-War Liberal Grand Strategy

What are the origins and political and strategic impulses that lie behind the US-American experience with democracy promotion?

Required reading:

- G. John Ikenberry. **America's Liberal Grand Strategy: Democracy and National Security in the Post-War Era.** In: American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts. Michael Cox, John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi (eds.). *Oxford University Press*, 2000. (24 pages)
- Tony Smith. **National Security Liberalism and American Foreign Policy.** In: American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts. Michael Cox, John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi (eds.). *Oxford University Press*, 2000. (18 pages)

Further reading:

- Michael Cox. **Wilsonianism Resurgent? The Clinton Administration and the Promotion of Democracy.** In: American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts. Michael Cox, John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi (eds.). *Oxford University Press*, 2000. (21 pages)
- Hal Brands. **The unexceptional superpower: American grand strategy in the age of Trump.** *Survival* 59.6 (2017): 7-40. (33 pages)
- Michael McFaul. **Democracy promotion as a world value.** *The Washington Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1, p. 147-163, 2004. (14 pages)
- G. John Ikenberry. **The Next Liberal Order.** *Foreign Affairs*. 99 (2020): 133.
- John A. Thompson. **Wilsonianism: The Dynamics of a Conflicted Concept.** *International Affairs*. *International Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Jan., 2010), pp. 27-47 (21 pages)
- Oliver Stuenkel. **Book review: G. John Ikenberry, "The Crisis of American Foreign Policy, Wilsonianism in the 21st Century."** *Brazilian Journal of International Relations*, vol. 2, no. 3, pp. 571-574, 2013 (3 pages)

Lecture 7 (Tuesday, August 24) – US Democracy Promotion: Critical Questions

Democracy promotion has at times stood in conflict with other US foreign policy goals. How have these tensions played out?

Required reading:

- William I. Robinson. Introduction. In: **Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony.** Cambridge University Press, 1996. (12 pages)
- Steve Smith. **US Democracy Promotion: Critical Questions.** In: American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts. Michael Cox, John Ikenberry, and Takashi Inoguchi (eds.). *Oxford University Press*, 2000. (20 pages)

Further readings:

- Thomas Carothers. **The backlash against democracy promotion.** *Foreign Affairs*, pp. 55-68, March/April 2006. (17 pages)
- John Mearsheimer. **Liberalism as a Source of Trouble.** In: *The Great Delusion.* Yale University Press, 2018. (35 pages)
- William I Robinson. **Promoting polyarchy: 20 years later.** *International Relations*, 2013 27: 228 (7 pages)
- Stephen Krasner. **Learning to Live With Despots: The Limits of Democracy Promotion.** *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2020. (11 pages)
- Beate Jahn. **Rethinking democracy promotion.** *Review of International Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 685-705, 2012. (21 pages)
- James M. Scott and Ralph G. Carter. **Democratizing dictators? Non-democratic regime conditions and the allocation of US democracy assistance, 1975–2010.** *International Political Science Review*, vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 436-450, 2020. (14 pages)
- Jill Kastner and William C. Wohlforth. **A Measure Short of War: The Return of Great-Power Subversion.** *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2021. (12 pages)
- Jake Werner. **Does America Really Support Democracy—or Just Other Rich Democracies?** *Foreign Affairs*, July 9, 2021 (11 pages)

Lecture 8 (Thursday, August 26) – The United States' Mixed Legacy in Latin America

Required reading:

- William I. Robinson. Chapter 5: **Nicaragua: From low-intensity warfare to low-intensity democracy.** In: *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, US Intervention, and Hegemony.* Cambridge University Press, 1996., p. 201-221 (20 pages)
- James M. Scott and Ralph G. Carter. **Promoting democracy in Latin America: foreign policy change and US democracy assistance, 1975–2010.** *Third World Quarterly*, vol.37, no. 2, pp. 299-320, 2015. (22 pages)

Further readings:

- Thomas Carothers. **The resurgence of United States political development assistance to Latin America in the 1980s.** *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas* (2001): 131-3. (20 pages)

Lecture 9 (Tuesday, August 31)– Individual Essay submission by 8pm (no meeting in class).

No required reading. Please remember your attendance in class today will be computed when you submit the essay. If you miss the deadline, you will also miss attendance.

Part III: The European Union and the United Nations as Democracy Promoters

Lecture 10 (Thursday, September 2) – The EU as a Democracy Promoter

How does the EU's approach to democracy promotion differ from that of the United States?

Required reading:

- Assem Dandashly. **EU democracy promotion and the dominance of the security–stability nexus.** *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 62-82, 2018. (21 pages)
- Karen Del Biondo. **Donor interests or developmental performance? Explaining sanctions in EU democracy promotion in sub-Saharan Africa.** *World Development*, vol. 75, pp. 74-84, 2015. (11 pages)

Further reading:

- Jeffrey Kopstein. **The Transatlantic Divide over Democracy Promotion.** *Washington Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 85–98, 2006. (15 pages)
- Thomas Carothers, 2009. **Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental?** *Journal of Democracy* 20(1): 5–19. (15 pages)

Lecture 11 (Thursday, September 9) – The Role of International Organizations in Democratization

How do international organizations affect democratization?

Required reading:

- Paul Poast and Johannes Urpelainen. **How International Organizations Support Democratization: Preventing Authoritarian Reversals or Promoting Consolidation?** *World Politics*, vol. 67, no. 1, pp. 72-113, 2015. (37 pages)

Lecture 12 (Tuesday, September 14) – Individual Essay Tutorial in class

No required reading.

Lecture 13 (Thursday, September 16) – Economic sanctions and democratization: The case of Apartheid South Africa

Required reading:

- Audie Klotz. Norms reconstituting interests: global racial equality and U.S. sanctions against South Africa. *International Organization*, 49, pp 451-478, 2005. (28 pages)

Further reading:

- Hermann Giliomee. **The Democratization of South Africa.** *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 110, No. 1 (Spring, 1995), pp. 83-104. (22 pages)
- Dan G. Cox and A. Cooper Drury. **Democratic sanctions: Connecting the democratic peace and economic sanctions.** *Journal of Peace Research* 43.6 (2006): 709-722. (14 pages)
- Robert A. Pape. **Why economic sanctions do not work.** *International security* 22.2 (1997): 90-110. (21 pages)

Lecture 14 (Tuesday, September 21) – Case study: Tunisia

Required reading:

- Elisabeth Johansson-Nogués and Adrià Rivera Escartin. **Supporting the Tunisian transition? Analysing (in) consistencies in EU democracy assistance with a tripartite nexus model.** *Democratization*, vol. 27, no. 8, 2020.
- Vera Van Hüllen. **Negotiating democracy with authoritarian regimes. EU democracy promotion in North Africa.** *Democratization*, vol. 26, no. 5, pp. 869-888, 2019.

Further reading:

- Christian Houle. **Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization,** *World Politics*, vol. 61, no. 4, pp. 589-622, 2009.
- John R. Freeman and Dennis P. Quinn. **The Economic Origins of Democracy Reconsidered.** *American Political Science Review*, vol. 106, no. 1, pp. 58-80, 2012.
- Sarah Busch. **Tunisia: Reform After Revolution.** In: *The Taming of Democracy Promotion.* Cambridge University Press, 2015. (22 pages)

Lecture 15 (Thursday, September 23) – **Group Essay submission by 8pm (no meeting in class)**

No required reading. Please remember your attendance in class today will be computed when you submit the essay. If you miss the deadline, you will also miss attendance.

Part IV: Democracy Promotion in Practice

Lecture 16 (Tuesday, September 28) - Assessing the Impact of Democracy Promotion

What are the major challenges when seeking to assess the impact of democracy assistance?

Required reading:

- Joel D. Barkan. **Democracy Assistance: What Recipients Think.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 129-137, 2012. (9 pages)
- Andrew T. Green and Richard D. Kohl. **Challenges of Evaluating Democracy Assistance: Perspectives from the Donor Side.** *Democratization*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 151-165, 2007. (13 pages)

Further reading:

- Peter Burnell. **From evaluating democracy assistance to appraising democracy promotion.** *Political Studies*, vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 414-434, 2008. (21 pages)
- Steven E. Finkel, Anibal Perez-Linan and Mitchell A. Seligson. **The effects of U.S. foreign assistance on democracy building, 1990-2003.** *World Politics*, vol. 59, no. 3, pp. 404-440, 2007. (36 pages)

Lecture 17 (Thursday, September 30) – Democracy and Governance

Should the establishment of effective states be a precondition for democratic transitions?

Required reading:

- Tom Carothers. **How Democracies Emerge. The "Sequencing" Fallacy.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 18, no. 1, 2007. (16 pages)
- Francis Fukuyama. **Liberalism versus state-building.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 10-13, 2007. (4 pages)

Further reading:

- Jessica Fortin. 2012. **Is There a Necessary Condition for Democracy? The Role of State Capacity in Postcommunist Countries**, *Comparative Political Studies* 45, 7: 903-930. (27 pages)
- Alex Hadenius and Jan Teorell. **Pathways from Authoritarianism**. *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 18, no. 1 pp. 143-157, 2007. (14 pages)

Lecture 18 (Tuesday, October 5) – Democratization in Post-Conflict Societies

Case study: *The US invasion of Iraq in 2003*

Required reading:

- Larry Diamond. **What Went Wrong in Iraq**. *Foreign Affairs*, 2004. (26 pages)
- Sonja Grimm. **External Democratization after War: Success and Failure**. *Democratization*, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 525-549, 2008. (28 pages)

Further reading:

- Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder. **Democratization and War**. *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 74, no. 3, May/June 1995. (20 pages)
- Dawn Brancati and Jack L. Snyder. **Rushing to the Polls: The Causes of Premature Post-Conflict Elections**. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, vol. 55, no. 3, pp. 469–92, 2011. (24 pages)
- William I. Robinson. **What to expect from US “democracy promotion” in Iraq**. *New Political Science*, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 441-447, 2004. (8 pages)

Lecture 19 (Thursday, October 7) – Group Essay Tutorial in class

No required reading.

Lecture 20 (Tuesday, October 19) – Civil Society and Media Assistance

Required reading:

- Lucan Way. **The Maidan and Beyond: Civil Society and Democracy**, *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 35-43, 2014. (9 pages)
- Thomas Carothers. **Defending Civic Space: Is the International Community Stuck?** *Carnegie Endowment for Peace*, October 2019, p.6-35. (29 pages)

Further reading:

- Amy Hawthorne. **Is Civil Society the Answer?** In: *Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East*. Thomas Carothers and Marina Ottaway (eds.). *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, n. 44, pp. 81–114, 2004. (33 pages)

Lecture 21 (Thursday, October 21) – Submission Policy Memo by 8 p.m. (there will no class)

No required reading. Please remember your attendance in class today will be computed when you submit the essay. If you miss the deadline, you will also miss attendance.

Lecture 22 (Tuesday, October 26) - Election Monitoring

What role can election monitoring play in defending democracy? What are the risks it poses?

Required reading:

- Sharon F. Lean. **Democracy assistance to domestic election monitoring organizations: Conditions for success.** *Democratisation*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 289-312, 2007. (25 pages)

Further reading:

- Inken Von Borzyskowski. **Resisting democracy assistance: Who seeks and receives technical election assistance?** *The Review of International Organizations*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 247-282, 2016. (36 pages)
- Emily Beaulieu and Susan D. Hyde. **In the Shadow of Democracy Promotion: Strategic Manipulation, International Observers and Election Boycotts.** *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 392–415, 2009. (24 pages)
- Pippa Norris. **Why Elections Fail.** Introduction (23 pages) and Chapter 1 (35 pages). *Cambridge University Press*, 2015.
- Carie A. Steele, Daniel Pemstein, and Stephen A. Meserve. **Democracy promotion and electoral quality: A disaggregated analysis.** *Governance*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 505-521, 2021. (17 pages)
- Eric Bjornlund. **The Emergence of Election Monitoring.** In: *Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2005. Pp. 3-19.

Lecture 23 (Thursday, October 28) – Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad

Required reading:

- Guillermo O'Donnell. **Why the Rule of Law Matters.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 32-46, 2004. (15 pages)
- Thomas Carothers. **Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad: In Search of Knowledge.** Conclusion (11 pages). *Brookings Institution Press*, 2006.
- Francis Fukuyama. **Democracy's Past and Future: Transitions to the Rule of Law.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 33-44, 2010. (12 pages)

Further reading:

- Thomas Carothers. **Promoting the Rule of Law Abroad: In Search of Knowledge.** Chapters 1 (11 pages), 2 (14 pages). *Brookings Institution Press*, 2006.
- Geoffrey Swenson. **Why US efforts to promote the rule of law in Afghanistan failed.** *International Security*, vol. 42, no. 1, pp. 114-151, 2017. (38 pages)
- Donald Emmerson. **Minding the Gap Between Democracy and Governance,** *Journal of Democracy* vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 62-73, 2012. (13 pages)

Lecture 24 (Thursday, November 4) – Tutorial Policy Memo

No required reading.

Lecture 25 (Tuesday, November 9) – Political Party Assistance and Legislative Assistance

Required reading:

- Tom Carothers. **The World of Party Aid.** In: *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies.* *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 2006. (37 pages)

Further reading:

- Tom Carothers. **The Standard Method and Beyond** In: *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies.* *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, 2006. (30 pages)
- Carl Gershman. **Democracy promotion: the relationship of political parties and civil society.** *Democratization* 11 (3): 27-35, 2004. (10 pages)

Part V: Democracy Promotion in the Global South

Lecture 26 (Thursday, November 11) – Regional mechanisms to defend democracy in the Americas

Under which circumstances can regional democracy defence regimes help protect democracy?

Required reading:

- Thomas Legler and Thomas Kwasi Tiekou. **What difference can a path make? Regional democracy promotion regimes in the Americas and Africa.** *Democratization*, vol. 17, no. 3, pp. 465-491, 2010. (28 pages)
- Andrea Ribeiro Hoffmann. **Negotiating normative premises in democracy promotion: Venezuela and the Inter-American Democratic Charter.** *Democratization*, vol. 26, no. 5, pp. 815-831, 2019. (17 pages)

Further reading:

- Andreas E. Feldmann, Federico Merke and Oliver Stuenkel. **Argentina, Brazil and Chile and democracy defence in Latin America: principled calculation.** *International Affairs*, vol. 95, no. 2, pp. 447-467, 2019. (21 pages)
- Brigitte Weiffen and Jorge Heine. **21st Century Promotion in the Americas.** Introduction (9 pages) and Chapter 1 (20 pages)

Lecture 27 (Tuesday, November 16) – Democracy, ECOWAS and the Gambia

Required reading:

- Christof Hartmann. **ECOWAS and the Restoration of Democracy in The Gambia.** *Africa Spectrum* 52.1 (2017): 85-99. (16 pages)
- Abdul-Jalilu Ateku. **Regional intervention in the promotion of democracy in West Africa: an analysis of the political crisis in the Gambia and ECOWAS' coercive diplomacy.** *Conflict, Security & Development* (2020): 1-20. (20 pages)

Lecture 28 (Thursday, November 18) – The rise of China: Autocracy promotion vs. democracy promotion?

What does the rise of China mean for the future of democracy promotion?

Required reading:

- Dingding Chen and Katrin Kinzelbach. **Democracy promotion and China: blocker or bystander?** *Democratization*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 400-418, 2015. (19 pages)
- Christine Hackenesch. **Not as bad as it seems: EU and US democracy promotion faces China in Africa.** *Democratization*, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 419-437, 2015. (20 pages)

Further reading:

- Oisín Tansey. **The problem with autocracy promotion.** *Democratization* 23.1 (2016): 141-163. (23 pages)
- Lawrence Whitehead. 2015. **Anti-Democracy Promotion: Four Strategies in Search of a Framework,** *Taiwan Journal of Democracy*, 10, 2: 1-24 (23 pages)
- David Adesnik. **Biden Revives the Truman Doctrine.** *Foreign Policy*. March 29, 2021 (5 pages)
- Thomas Carothers. **Rejuvenating democracy promotion.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 114-123, 2020. (10 pages)
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. **The Myth of Democratic Recession.** *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 26, pp. 45-58, 2015. (14 pages)
- Frances Z. Brown, Thomas Carothers and Alex Pascal. **America Needs a Democracy Summit More Than Ever.** *Foreign Affairs*, January 15, 2021. (7 pages)
- Thomas Carothers. **International Democracy Support: Filling the Leadership Vacuum.** *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, July 2019. (6 pages)

Submission Policy Report (Friday, November 26)