Democracy in Crisis: Problems of Consolidation

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Course Description

Francis Fukuyama's 1992 book posited that "What we may be witnessing is the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the final form of human government." This provided the theoretical ballast for a period of triumphalism that foresaw the inevitable transformation of the world into a community of democracies. Yet were one to take an historical perspective by compressing world history into a 24 hour clock, democracy as Fukuyama's default best practice form of government has only been around for the last several minutes before midnight. It is important to subject the early triumphalism to critical analysis by reviewing developments since the Cold War ended and considering the deep problems of democratic consolidation.

The starting point will be Samuel Huntington's taxonomy of three waves of democracy. The first wave comprises the long established Western democracies. These form models and precedents for newly emerging democracies but they are not without their own persistent problems. Adapting Joseph Nye's concept of "soft power", the course will examine whether democracy is losing its emulative power. It is upon this soft power that the edifice of democracy promotion, both national and multilateral, has been built leading to questions about how extensive, effective or coherent are these efforts to support democracy in formerly authoritarian spaces.

The third wave of democratization was more extensive than the first two waves, reaching all regions of the world but this begs the question of how to determine successful democratic transition. The concept of democratic consolidation will be unpacked with a particular focus on the test posited by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan. The problem of stalled transitions will be examined with students undertaking individual case studies focused on an analysis of what has gone wrong and why. Does this challenge Fukuyama's concept of the universalization of democracy? Or is the missing ingredient simply more time?

According to the "End of History" thesis, liberal democracy no longer has any theoretical or practical challengers. The course however will look at three candidates: Putin's "sovereign democracy" which is a return to well understood strong man rule and which has touched off an authoritarian resurgence around the world; China's Leninist capitalism which has produced remarkable economic development results but

which must now deal with the difficult question of its sustainability, political, social and environmental; and Jihadism which rejects the world's Westphalian construction as well as its modernist canon yet has demonstrated an ability to energize support to transform its leaders from cave conspirators to battlefield strategists.

This course is about democratization, not the day-to-day of national politics. It is about where democracy is heading and what are its strengths and vulnerabilities. While examples will be drawn from national and supranational politics, it remains the aim of the course to use these as illustrating the problems of democratic consolidation.

The course will conclude with an interactive examination of the policy options available to address the crisis of democracy with a particular focus on third wave democracies. Is the underlying problem the limitations of modernization? Or is it one of inappropriate institutional design? Or does the problem lie in the weakness of civil society? For each analysis, what are the policy options that present themselves? More official development assistance or perhaps better focused ODA? Are there indigenous institutions that may fit better? Is women's empowerment the key to developing civil society? The discussion of each of these issues will be populated with recent examples.

Course Objectives

Students who complete the course will:

- Gain a strong understanding of the development of democracy in modern history
- Become familiar with concepts such as transition and consolidation
- Examine democratic developments in several countries in the global South
- Examine democratic developments in several countries in the global North
- Consider the role of women's empowerment and civil society activism
- Deal with the difficult issue of available policy options in support of democratic consolidation

Assessment

The course will be assessed by the quality of participation (30%) and through two major assignments (70%).
Each participant will be requested to make several short presentations on agreed subjects.

Assignment 1   Project Application

The first major assignment will be required by 20 March. It will be worth 30%. Participants will be required to select a civil society organization from the global South and to draft a project document for the UN Democracy Fund complete with an elaboration of the problem, the proposed means of tackling it, a results based framework and budget. The document will use the following headings:

Project Proposal Outline (total 4,000 words)
1. Democratic Context (500 words)
2. Problem Analysis (problem identification and its underlying causes) (500 words)
3. Project Beneficiary Category (human rights, gender rights, youth, elections, building civil society) (250 words)
4. Project Objective (250 words)
5. Outcomes (250 words)
6. Performance Indicators (250 words)
7. Outputs (500 words)
8. Key Activities (500 words)
9. Monitoring and Evaluation (250 words)
10. Sustainability (250 words)
11. Gender aspects; Marginalized or Vulnerable Groups (250 words)
12. Why UNDEF? (250 words)

The project application will include a budget by output and a budget by input (the totals of which must match). The Sakai Resources page has a draft format for these budget forms. They are drawn from:

https://www.un.org/democracyfund/sites/www.un.org.democracyfund/files/UNDEF%20Project%20Proposal%20Guidelines%202016%20EN.pdf

A good sense of what projects might entail can be found from UNDEF evaluations at http://www.un.org/democracyfund/evaluations.
Further guidance will be provided in class.

Assignment 2   Policy Brief

The second major assignment will be required on 26 April. It will be worth 40%. It will take the form of a Policy Brief on an agreed topic complete with argumentation, scholarly support and specific recommendations. Participants should find appropriate

models from think tanks and in particular the format followed by the International Crisis Group http://www.crisisgroup.org/. Further guidance will be provided in class.

Week 1:   Introduction

The course will be outlined with a general introduction to the subject matter and some of the key concepts with which the course will grapple. The assignments and grading system explained. The requirements of class participation will be spelled out including the need to deliver short presentations throughout the course. It would be useful for students to read the following short article:

Ronald Ingelhart (2016) "How Much Should We Worry?" *Journal of Democracy* volume 27, number 3, July 2016, 18-23

Week 2:   The Third Wave and the End of History

The class will critically examine two seminal contributions by Huntington and Fukuyama and review them with the benefit of hindsight. These will frame the discussion for the balance of the course.

Francis Fukuyama (1989), "The End of History?" *The National Interest,* Summer 1989,

Francis Fukuyama (2006), "Democracy and the End of History Revisited", Heraldo Muñoz (ed.), *Democracy Rising: Assessing the Global Challenge,* 115-120

Samuel Huntington (1991), *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, 3-30

Roland Rich (2007), *Pacific Asia in Quest for Democracy*, 1-22
https://www.rienner.com/uploads/47e29bb71ad1a.pdf

Larry Diamond (2008), *The Spirit of Democracy,* Chapter 3 The Democratic Recession, 56-87

Week 3:   Problems of Advanced Democracies

Issues covered will concern problems of institutional design and whether they are being addressed including the role of political parties, separation of powers both horizontal and vertical and money politics.

Peter Mair (2005), "Democracy Beyond Parties", *Center for the Study of Democracy* (University of California, Irvine)

Francis Fukuyama (2014), *Political Order and Political Decay*, Chapter 34, "America the Vetocracy", 480-505

Larry Diamond (2008), *The Spirit of Democracy*, Chapter 15, "Physician Heal Thyself", 345-370

Robert Hazell and Akash Paun (eds.) (2009) *Hung parliaments and the challenges for Westminster and Whitehall*, Introduction 10-20

Enrico Spolaore (2013), What Is European Integration Really About? A Political Guide for Economists, Tufts,

Week 4:   Democracy's Soft Power

Is Joseph Nye's concept of soft power was employed to assess the influence of nation states. Is it also useful in ideational contexts? How strong is democracy's soft power? Is democracy delivering the results expected of it?

Joseph Nye (2004), "The Decline of America's Soft Power", Foreign Affairs May-June 2004

James Traub (2008), *The Freedom Agenda: Why America must Spread Democracy [just not the way George Bush did],* Chapter 6 "Bringing Democracy into Disrepute", 123-152

Daron Acemoglu, Suresh Naidu, Pascual Restrepo, James A. Robinson (2013), "Democracy, Redistribution and Inequality", Introduction 4-7

Branko Milanovic (2012), "Global Income Inequality by the Numbers: in History and Now", World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 6259

Week 5:   Democracy Promotion

Democracy promotion has a relatively short history and initially had considerable success. It needs to be seen in the context of Official Development Assistance and also in the context of overlapping and competing national interests. Is it a viable venture?

James Traub (2008), *The Freedom Agenda: Why America must Spread Democracy [just not the way George Bush did]*, Chapter 3 "Swept along in the Democratic Revolution", 56-74

Thomas Carothers, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Larry Jay Diamond, Anwar Ibrahim, Zainab Hawa Bangura (2007) "A Quarter Century of Promoting Democracy", *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 18, Number 4, October 2007, pp. 112-126

Thomas Carothers (2009), "Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental?" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 20, Number 1, January 2009, pp. 5-19

Thomas Carothers (2010), "The Continuing Backlash against Democracy Promotion", Peter Burnell and Richard Youngs (eds.) *New Challenges to Democratization*, 59-72

Lindsay Lloyd (2010), "European approaches to democracy promotion" *International Journal*, Summer 2010, 547-559

Steven E. Finkel, Aníbal S Pérez Liñan, Mitchell A. Seligson (2007) "The Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building, 1990–2003", *World Politics* Volume 59, Number 3, April 2007, 404-440

Week 6:   The United Nations and Democracy

Multilateral efforts to support democratization have certain advantages over national efforts but they suffer from other problems. The UN Democracy Fund will be the case study to test this proposition. UNDEF provides an excellent case study of what the UN can and cannot achieve in this field. The UN as an organization of sovereign states and the mission of UNDEF to support local civil society organizations can easily come into conflict. Yet, that conflict can be managed and solid results obtained.

Edward Newman and Roland Rich (2004), "Introduction: Approaching Democratization Policy", Edward Newman and Roland Rich, *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Reality*, UNU Press, 3-31

UNDP (2010), *A Guide to Democratic Governance Practice,*

Secretary-General's Guidance Note on Democracy (2009) *Journal of Democracy* Volume 21, Number 2, April 2010, 182-186, full text on Sakai Resources

Roland Rich (2010) "Situating the UN Democracy Fund", *Global Governance* 16, 423–434,

Evaluations of UNDEF projects from http://www.un.org/democracyfund/evaluations

Week 7:   Stalled Transitions

Many countries embarked on democratic transitions but few have succeeded in consolidating their democracies. What can be drawn from a comparative examination of the various cases around the world? Participants will be required to examine agreed individual cases in depth.

Thomas Carothers (2002), "The End of the Transition Paradigm", *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 13, Number 1, January 2002, 5-21

Larry Diamond, Francis Fukuyama, Donald L. Horowitz, Marc F. Plattner (2014) "Reconsidering the Transition Paradigm", *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 25, Number 1, January 2014, 86-100

Thitinan Pongsudhirak (2012) "Thailand's Uneasy Passage" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 2, 47-61

Duncan McCargo and Ayşe Zarakol (2012), "Turkey and Thailand: Unlikely Twins", *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 3, July 2012, 71-79

Week 8:   Democracy's Challengers - Resurgent Autocrats

Authoritarianism had a phase of timidity in the immediate post-Cold War period but it has come roaring back. Does this flow in part from democracy's weaknesses? Participants will be required to examine agreed individual cases in depth.

Larry Diamond (2008) "The Democratic Rollback: The Resurgence of the Predatory State", *Foreign Affairs* March/April 2008

Wolfgang Merkel (2010) "Are dictatorships returning? Revisiting the 'democratic rollback' hypothesis", *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 1, March 2010, 17–31

International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), World Movement for Democracy Secretariat at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) (2012), *Defending Civil Society* 2nd edition, http://www.icnl.org/research/resources/dcs/DCS_Report_Second_Edition_English.pdf

Slawomir Sierakowski (2014), "Putin's Cold New World" *Dissent* Summer 2014, http://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/putins-cold-new-world

Week 9:   Democracy's Challengers - China

Does China's remarkable success in lifting hundreds of millions of people out of poverty reflect a system of governance that is a viable alternative to democracy? Or does Leninist capitalism inevitably lead to corruption?

Marina Ottway (2010) "Ideological Challenges to Democracy, do they Exist? Peter Burnell and Richard Youngs (eds.) *New Challenges to Democratization*, 42-58

Andrew J. Nathan (2003) "Authoritarian Resilience" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 14, Number 1, 6-17

Bruce Gilley (2003) "The Limits of Authoritarian Resilience" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 14, Number 1, 18-26

Minxin Pei (2012) "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 1, 27-41

Minxin Pei (2016) "Transition in China? More Likely than you Think" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 27, Number 4, October 2016, 5-19

Zhenhua Su, Hui Zhao and Jingkai He (2013) "Authoritarianism and Contestation" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 24, Number 1, 26-40

Week 10:   Democracy's Challengers - Jihadism

The Arab world was the last civilizational group to join the Third Wave and, thus far, has been the least successful. Authoritarianism has proved hard to shake off and an ideology, Jihadism, has emerged to challenge democracy's relevance.

Abdou Filali-Ansary (2012) "The Languages of the Arab Revolutions" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 2, 5-18

Olivier Roy (2012) "The Transformation of the Arab World" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 3, 5-18

Hillel Fradkin (2013) "Arab Democracy or Islamist Revolution?" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 24, Number 1, 5-13

Olivier Roy (2013) "There Will Be No Islamist Revolution" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 24, Number 1, 14-19

Alfred Stepan, Juan J. Linz (2013) "Democratization Theory and the "Arab Spring"" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 24, Number 2, 15-30

Simon Speakman Cordall (2014) "Choosing Jihad" *World Policy Journal* Winter 2014/2015, http://www.worldpolicy.org/journal/winter2014/choosing-jihad

Alfred Stepan (2012) "Tunisia's Transition and the Twin Tolerations" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 2, 89-103

Week 11.   Russia's Sovereign Democracy

Russia under Putin has seen a return to strong man rule. In many ways Putin has returned to a vision of Russia that has been long held – religious, vulnerable, craving respectability, suspicious of Europe. In doing so, Putin has become something of a leader for resurgent autocracy.

Michael McFaul and Regine Spector (2010) "External Sources and Consequences of Russia's 'Sovereign Democracy'", Peter Burnell and Richard Youngs (eds.) *New Challenges to Democratization*, 116-133

Francis Fukuyama (2014) "The Long Road to Democracy" *Political Order and Political Decay Vol.II* 412-426

Lilia Shevtsova (2015) "Forward to the Past in Russia" Volume 26, Number 2, April 2015, 22-36

Week 12:   Women's Empowerment is Democracy's Empowerment

Women's empowerment has now been an accepted policy outcome for several decades. In the development field it is seen as a key. Should it also be seen as a key to democratization?

Farida Jalalzai and Mona Lena Krook (2010) "Beyond Hillary and Benazir: Women's Political Leadership Worldwide" *International Political Science Review* 31: 5, 5-21

Susan Markham (2012) "Strengthening Women's Roles in Parliaments" *Parliamentary Affairs* 1–11

Drude Dahlrup (2013) "Electoral Gender Quota Systems and their Implementation in Europe", European Union Note

Mona Lena Krook and Pippa Norris (2014) "Beyond Quotas: Strategies to Promote Gender Equality in Elected Office" *Political Studies* vol. 62, 2–20

Week 13:   Is ODA Promoting Democracy?

ODA is one of the major policy instruments at the disposal of the established democracies. Is it being used effectively to promote democracy?

Thomas Carothers, Diane de Gramont (2014) *Development Aid Confronts Politics: The Almost Revolution*, Chapters 1, 8

William Easterly (2010) "Democratic Accountability in Development: The Double Standard" Social Research, 77, no. 4 (Winter 2010), 1075-1104 https://williameasterly.files.wordpress.com/2011/07/63_easterly_democraticaccountability_prp.pdf

Thomas Carothers (2010) "The Elusive Synthesis" *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 21, Number 4, 12-26

Brian Levy (2010) "The Case for Principled Agnosticism" *Journal of Democracy,* Volume 21, Number 4, 27-34

Week 14.   Role Play exercise, Recap and Conclusions

Academic Integrity Policy

Academic integrity means, among other things that you as a student must:

- Develop and write all of your own assignments.
- Show in detail where the materials you use in your papers come from. Create citations whether you are paraphrasing authors or quoting them directly. Be sure always to show source and page number within the assignment and include a bibliography in the back.
- Do not fabricate information or citations in your work.
- Do not facilitate academic dishonesty for another student by allowing your own work to be submitted by others.

The consequences of scholastic dishonesty are very serious. If you are in doubt about any issue related to plagiarism or scholastic dishonesty, please discuss it with the instructor. Students are also advice to consult the following links that provide more information and plagiarism tutorials:

http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/

http://library.camden.rutgers.edu/EducationalModules/Plagiarism/

http://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/avoid_plagiarism

http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/resources-for-students/

Other Academic Support Services

Rutgers has a variety of resources for academic support. For more information, check http://www.rutgers.edu/academics/academic-support

Rutgers has Learning Centers on each campus where any student can obtain tutoring and other help. For information, check http://lrc.rutgers.edu/

Rutgers also has a Writing Center where students can obtain help with writing skills and assignments. Learn more here: http://wp.rutgers.edu/tutoring/writingcenters