

Democratization and Modernization: Concepts, Issues, and Approaches

SEMESTER AT SEA COURSE SYLLABUS

Voyage: Spring 2013

Discipline: Political Science

PLCP 3500: Democratization and Modernization: Concepts, Issues, and Approaches

Division: Upper division

Faculty Name: Tao XIE

Pre-requisites:

This course has no pre-requisites. However, intellectual curiosity in and prior exposure (academic or otherwise) to politics and history of non-U.S. countries, as well as knowledge about U.S. foreign policy, would be quite useful.

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This is an upper-level political science course that examines the major concepts, issues, and approaches in scholarly research on democratization and modernization. Given the nature of the Semester at Sea program, this course pay special attention to processes of democratization and modernization in countries located along the route, as well as topics that are highly relevant for these countries.

As the ship departs the U.S., the oldest democracy in the world, the course starts with discussions about democracy, including how to conceptualize democracy, the relationship between economic development and democracy, and the pros and cons of different forms of democratic governance.

When the ship approaches Japan, we will shift attention to Japanese politics and U.S.-Japan relations. We will take a brief look at the cultural underpinnings of the Japanese democracy, as well as the major issues in U.S.-Japan relations.

As the ship departs Kobe, we will spend three classes on China, the largest (in terms of population, territory, and economy) country on the route. We first address the rise of China, particularly its implications for regional and international security. Then we examine debates surrounding the Beijing Consensus: is there such a consensus? Could it replace the Washington Consensus? We conclude this section by contemplating the prospects of democratization in China.

After China, the ship sails into Southeast Asia, which is home to ten diverse countries. We will examine how people in “Zomia”—a huge expanse of upland that borders several countries in this region—manage to escape from the state. We will also discuss U.S. re-engagement with this region after the Vietnam War, with particular attention to U.S. relations with Vietnam and Myanmar.

Sailing across the Indian Ocean from Cochin to Port Louis, we will discuss politics in India, the world’s largest democracy, compare and contrast the different paths of development in India and China, and review the complex relationship between the U.S. and South Asia.

For the next three classes, we will reflect upon modernization, a topic that is still highly relevant for Africa—a vast continent that remains politically and economically underdeveloped. Then we will look into the dynamics of political change in Africa, as well as China’s “charm offensive” on this continent.

Finally, as the ship approaches Casablanca, we will try to come to grips with the Arab Spring. Why did the Arab Spring catch most observers by surprise? Why has the Arab world as a whole lagged behind other regions in terms of democratization? What lessons can be drawn from the Arab Spring?

COURSE OBJECTIVES

Tailored for a program that is taught during a voyage across three oceans and dozens of countries, this course has three objectives. First, it seeks to help students understand the political systems of countries located along the voyage. Some of these countries are democratic, while others are authoritarian; some highly developed while others trapped in poverty. We will discuss the causes and consequences of such variations.

The second objective is to expose students to key concepts, critical issues, and major approaches in the study of democratization and modernization, such as conceptualization of democracy, conditions (un)favorable to democratization, waves of democratization, different forms of democracy, and processes of political modernization.

Since this program is based in the U.S. and since a large number of students come from U.S., the third objective of this course is to convey an understanding of U.S. political and economic influence across regions and countries located along the route.

REQUIRED TEXTBOOKS

AUTHOR: James C. Scott
TITLE: The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia
PUBLISHER: Yale University Press
ISBN #: 978-0-300-16917-1
DATE/EDITION: 2009

AUTHOR: Samuel P. Huntington
TITLE: Political Order in Changing Societies
PUBLISHER: Yale University Press
ISBN #: 0-300-01171-7
DATE/EDITION: 1996 (1968)

TOPICAL OUTLINE OF COURSE (assuming A days)

1 Introduction

We will walk through the syllabus and discuss logistics

2 What is democracy?

Robert A. Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971. Chapter 1.

Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is . . . and Is Not", *Journal of Democracy*, 1991, 2:3, 75-88.

3 Economic development and democratization

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review*, 1959, 53:1, 69-105.

Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts, *World Politics*, 1997, 49:2, 155-183.

4 Varieties of democracy

Arend Lijphart, "Consociational Democracy," *World Politics*, 1969, 21:2, 207-225.

Juan J. Linz, "The Perils of Presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy*, 1990, 1:1, 51-69.

5 Politics of Japanese style

T. J. Pempel, "Japanese Democracy and Political Culture: A Comparative Perspective," *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 1992, 25:1, 5-12.

Junko Kato, "When the Party Breaks Up: Exit and Voice among Japanese Legislators," *American Political Science Review*, 1998, 92:4, V857-870.

6 The U.S. and Japan: uneasy partners?

Michael J. Heale, "Anatomy of a Scare: Yellow Peril Politics in America, 1980-1993," *Journal of American Studies*, 2009, 43:1, 19-47.

Emma Chanlett-Avery William H. Cooper Mark E. Manyin, "Japan-U.S. Relations: Issues for Congress," *Congressional Research Service*, May 4, 2012, available online at <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL33436.pdf>.

7 The Rise of China: peaceful or threatening?

Zheng Bijian, "China's 'Peaceful Rise' to Great Power Status," *Foreign Affairs*, 2005, September/October, pp.18-24.

John J. Mearsheimer, "China's Unpeaceful Rise," *Current History*, April 2006, pp.160-162.

8 The Beijing Consensus: myth or reality?

Barry Naughton, "China's Distinctive System: can it be a model for others?" *Journal of Contemporary China*, 2010, 19:65, pp.437-60.

Yasheng Huang, "Rethinking the Beijing Consensus," *Asia Policy*, 2011, 11, 1-26, National Bureau of Asian Research, available online at http://www.nbr.org/publications/asia_policy/preview/AP11_BeijingConsensus_preview.pdf.

9 Whither China?

Minxin Pei, "Is CCP Rule Fragile or Resilient?" *Journal of Democracy*, 2012, 23:1, 27-41.
Liu Yu and Chen Dingding, "Why China Will Democratize," *Washington Quarterly*, 2012, 35:1, 41-63.

10 State building and state evasion in Southeast Asia

James C. Scott, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. Chapters 1, 2, 6.

11 The political economy of agrarian societies

James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975. Chapter 2.

12 The U.S. and Southeast Asia: from enemies to friends

Diane K. Mauzy and Brian L. JobAsian, "U.S. Policy in Southeast Asia: Limited Re-engagement after Years of Benign Neglect," *Asian Survey*, 2007, 47:4, 622-641.

Frederick Z. Brown, "Rapprochement between Vietnam and the United States," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 2010, 32:3, 317-42.

Priscilla Clapp, "Prospects for Rapprochement between the United States and Myanmar," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 2010, 32:3, 409-426.

13 India: understanding the largest democracy

Susanne Hoerber Rudolph and Lloyd I. Rudolph, "New Dimensions of Indian Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, 2002, 13:1, 52-66.

Arend Lijphart, "The Puzzle of Indian Democracy: A Consociational Interpretation," *American Political Science Review*, 90:2, 258-68.

14 India and China: different paths of development

Field essay due

Edward Friedman and Bruce Gilley, ed., *Asia's Giants: Comparing China and India*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Chapter 2.

Barry Bosworth and Susan M. Collins, "Accounting for Growth: Comparing China and India," National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 12943, February 2007, Available online at <http://phbs.edu.cn/bbs/images/upfile/2007-6/2007627211610.pdf>.

15 The U.S. and South Asia: same bed, different dreams?

Evan A. Feigenbaum, "India's Rise, America's Interest," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2010, 76-91.

Touqir Hussain, "U.S.-Pakistan Engagement: The War on Terrorism and Beyond," the United State Institute of Peace, Special Report 145, August 2005, available online at <http://www.usip.org/files/resources/sr145.pdf>.

16 Modernization and political institutions

Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, New Haven: Yale University Press,

1968. Chapter 1.

17 Modernization and political decay
Huntington, Chapter 4.

18 Modernization and revolution
Huntington, Chapter 5

19 New Africa, old politics?

Henry Bienen, "Leaders, Violence, and the Absence of Change in Africa," *Political Science Quarterly*, 1993, 108:2, 271-82.

Cameron G. Thies, "The Political Economy of State Building in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of Politics*, 2007, 69:3, 716-31.

20 China's "charm offensive" in Africa

Ian Taylor, "China's Oil Diplomacy in Africa," *International Affairs*, 2006, 82:5, 937-59.

Bates Gill, Chin-hao Huang, and J. Stephen Morrison, "Assessing China's Growing Influence in Africa," *China Security*, 2007, 3:3, 3-21.

21 The third wave of democratization

Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century*, Norman: Oklahoma University Press, 1993. Chapter 1.

Doh Chull Shin, "On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research," *World Politics*, 1994, 47:1, 135-70.

22 Is the Arab world exceptional?

Michael L. Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics*, 2001, 53:3, 325-61.

Larry Diamond, "Why Are There No Arab Democracies?" *Journal of Democracy*, 2010, 21:1, 93-104.

23 The Arab Spring: the fourth wave of democratization?

Term paper due

Jack A. Goldstone, "Understanding the Revolutions of 2011," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011, pp.8-16.

Fouad Ajami, "The Arab Spring at One: A Year of Living Dangerously," *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2012, pp.56-65.

24 **Final exam**

FIELD WORK

FIELD LAB (At least 20 percent of the contact hours for each course, to be led by the instructor.)

This course will have a field lab at Cochin, India, scheduled on Monday, March 11th, 2013. The lab presents an opportunity to integrate classroom discussions of India, China, and the U.S. with first-hand experience in these countries.

Both India and China belong to BRICS, a loose organization of emerging economies. They are the giants of Asia, yet they have followed sharply divergent paths of development. India has a very competitive IT industry, whereas China is a manufacturing powerhouse. China is an authoritarian regime, whereas India is the world's largest democracy. Yet in terms of corruption and social inequality, they are quite similar to each other. What explains the similarities and differences?

Furthermore, both India and the U.S. are federal democracies, yet they have fundamentally different forms of government: one is parliamentary, the other presidential. Why did the two countries adopt different constitutional structures? What are the consequences of constitutional choices? Does constitutional design affect economic development?

The field lab is intended to give students a chance to find out preliminary answers to these questions, bringing into bear classroom discussions, personal observations, and views of local people and academics. It is mandatory, comprising of 20% of the course grade. The lab has two parts: a five-hour guided tour of the city, supplemented by a three-hour dialogue with scholars at the local Center for Public Policy Research.

FIELD ASSIGNMENTS

- Students are required to write a six-page response paper, 12-point font, doubled spaced, about the trip, demonstrating their critical thinking on the causes and consequences of divergent political and/or economic trajectories in the two countries.

METHODS OF EVALUATION / GRADING RUBRIC

Course grade has five components: attendance (10%), the field lab essay (20%), the term paper (40%), and the final exam 30%.

Each unexcused absence will result in 2-point deduction in attendance grade. Six unexcused absences will result in failure of the course.

The term paper should be an original research paper—12-point font, 12-15 pages (excluding references), doubled spaced—on any topic covered in the course. Students are required to approach the instructor around mid-semester for discussion and approval of term paper topics. The paper will be evaluated on the basis of originality, argumentation, and language quality.

Papers similar or identical to papers in other SAS courses will not be accepted unless approved by the instructor.

The 2-hour final exam consists of four identification questions and four essay questions.

The final course grade may be adjusted based on the frequency and quality of participation in classroom discussions.

RESERVE LIBRARY LIST

AUTHOR: James C. Scott
TITLE: The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia
PUBLISHER: Yale University Press
ISBN #: 978-0300021905
DATE/EDITION: 1975

AUTHOR: Edward Friedman and Bruce Gilley
TITLE: Asia's Giants: Comparing China and India
PUBLISHER: Palgrave Macmillan
ISBN #: 1-4039-7110-2
DATE/EDITION: 2005

AUTHOR: Samuel P. Huntington
TITLE: The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century
PUBLISHER: Oklahoma University Press
ISBN #: 0-8061-2516-0
DATE/EDITION: 1993

ELECTRONIC COURSE MATERIALS

AUTHOR: Robert A. Dahl
CHAPTER TITLE: Democratization and public opposition
BOOK TITLE: Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition
DATE: 1971
PAGES: 1-16

AUTHOR: Edward Friedman and Bruce Gilley
/CHAPTER TITLE: Two Passages to Modernity
BOOK TITLE: Asia's Giants: Comparing China and India
DATE: 2005
PAGES: 19-52

AUTHOR: Samuel P. Huntington
CHAPTER TITLE: What?
BOOK TITLE: The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century
DATE: 1993
PAGES: 3-30

AUTHOR: James C. Scott

CHAPTER TITLE: Subsistence Security in Peasant Choice and Values
BOOK TITLE: The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia
DATE: 1975
PAGES: 35-55

HONOR CODE

Semester at Sea students enroll in an academic program administered by the University of Virginia, and thus bind themselves to the University's honor code. The code prohibits all acts of lying, cheating, and stealing. Please consult the Voyager's Handbook for further explanation of what constitutes an honor offense.

Each written assignment for this course must be pledged by the student as follows: "On my honor as a student, I pledge that I have neither given nor received aid on this assignment." The pledge must be signed, or, in the case of an electronic file, signed "[signed]."