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Keio/Grenoble Joint Sessions on Democracy from a Comparative Perspective

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Keio/Grenoble Joint Sessions on Democracy from a Comparative Perspective

(2014-2015 sessions)

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Grenoble 



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- Kamilla Algamova (MA Moscow)
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- And more to come for the next sessions

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Democracy

The problems: modalities,
performance, resilience

Liberal Democracy

- Are we witnessing the **decline** of liberal democracy and the **emergence** of *alternative forms of democracy*?
- In recent years, it has become increasingly commonplace to criticize **democracy of the liberal kind** that historically emerged in modern Western Europe but eventually spread to the rest of the world by the end of the 20th century

Democracy, an unfinished journey

- John Dunn: Democracy, *the unfinished journey*, may always be improved and spread
- From Stealth democracy (let the elites decide, and rectify at the margins) to democracy made manifest by democrats (an increased democratic offer for an alleged increasing demand for democratic practices)
- A “participatory turn”? A new international norm? A new democratic spirit?

A marginal use of democratic practices

- « *many citizens are attached to a delegate model of representation more than a fully participatory view of democracy, and they see **direct democracy** not as a method to govern by but as a mean to better instruct their representatives* (Bowler, Donovan, Karp, 2007, p. 359)
- Same with « **international democracy** »? (controlling IGOs and States' interventions)

Stealth or direct democracy?

- « we agree that many people would settle for **Stealth democracy** given a restricted range of choices. However (...) it is not what they ultimately prefer if they believe that **effective republican consultation** might be available »
- « people do not really hold Stealth democracy as their first preference. Instead, they will settle for Stealth democracy if **the civics textbook version of deliberative representative democracy** is not achievable »
- *Neblo et al., 2009, p. 11 & 24*

A New Demand for Democracy?

- « *Younger people, racial minorities, and lower income people are significantly more willing to deliberate, all of which are reversals from traditional participation patterns.*
- *Similarly, women, less partisan people, and non-church goers are slightly more likely to want to deliberate, though not to a statistically significant degree.*
- *On these criteria, it would appear that the kinds of people attracted to deliberation are fairly distinct from those drawn to partisan politics and interest group liberalism,*
- *consistent with deliberative democracy's claim to provide an outlet for those frustrated with status quo politics » (Neble et al., 2009, p. 17).*

Democratic Inflation

- Today, democracy is first and foremost a language of political legitimacy. And more often than not, it serves as a **language of self-justification**, even self-praise.
- Emerging countries like China, Russia, Indonesia, Nigeria, and even the Arab Emirates, while considerably less democratic by liberal standards, have become more and more vocal in **stressing their own versions of democracy**, thus posing some challenges to the liberal view

Doubts about the meaning, the outreach and the universality of democracy

- Attempts to explore various ways to **improve** representation, redistribution, policy-making, and legitimacy
- both at **state** and **inter-state** levels

Deepening Democracy

- Debates about the “quality of democracy” (vs. “malfunctioning democracy”), “democratic responsiveness”, “accountability” and “transparency”
- as well as “participatory” or “deliberative” democracy. There is even a new quest for “cosmopolitan” democracy.

Enhancing democracy

- *Post-colonialist* outlook: forms of regimes should match the diversity of political cultures
- Promotion of allegedly “specific” conceptions of democracy that rely on “Asian”, “Muslim”, “African”, “Hindu” or even Latin America’s “indigenous/Indian” values

Two opposing strands of democratic thought

- One more *liberal, egalitarian* and *procedural*, grounded on constitutionalism and *institutional designs*
- another more *hierarchical, substantial* and *group-oriented*, with a greater stress on social rights and *cultural identity*
- e.g. the debate between John *Rawls* and Amartya *Sen*, the respective promoters of Athenian and Mesopotamian conceptions of justice

A democracy that existed “before” the others?

- supporters of each form claim that it embodies “true” democracy
- Each found its own journey towards a balanced and legitimate political system
- Memory of a reconstructed if not imagined past is accordingly mobilized to probe such claims.
- Great efforts are made to show that ideas and institutions that may each, separately, be considered as being at the core of democracy were invented here and not elsewhere.

Democracy or democratic institutions ?

- A **great variety of structures**, practices and ideas assumed to be mutually compatible
- But a **common goal**—the quest for a “*civilization*” of *social* and *international* relations, albeit with their own trajectory towards achieving this aim

Democracy in the West and what in the Rest ?

- Democracy = a constitution + a Bill of rights
 - *rule of law* (and not only ruling by law: laws should be equally applying to all)
 - *pluralism* (since it was brought by *coalitions*)
 - *inclusive* political and economical *institutions*
- The democratic game is made of
 - *alternance*
 - *guarantees for the minorities* (the opposition; social minorities)

What else?

- **Illiberal** or imperfect democracy
- **Oligarchy** = monopolies, slavery or cheap labor, clientelism, use of force
- **Autocracy** = authoritarianism = « democratorship », dictatorship

The course

Contents and schedule

List of references

The course

- Explores these various **paths** towards a more democratic world
- With **cases** chosen from diverse regions of the world, at different periods in time
- Which makes it **fully comparative** in the **selection of cases** and the use of a **variety of approaches**

Session 1: Introduction

Friday, October 3, 16:30-19:30 (JST) / 09:30-12:30 (France)

- **Introduction / Plenary session**
- **Welcome remarks by the Dean and Vice-Dean of Keio Law Faculty**
- Grenoble coordinator's presentation: Yves Schemeil
- Keio coordinator's discussion: Ken Tsutsumibayashi
- Professors' comments
- General discussion with students

Session 2: International Democracy

Friday 17 October 16:30-19:30 (JST) / 09:30-12:30
(France)

- Keio: Yuichi Hosoya “Democracies in International Society”
 - (Prof. Hosoya specializes in international relations, European and Japanese diplomatic history)
- Grenoble: Philippe Droz-Vincent “Autocracies in International Society, post-2011 Revolutionary Situations in the Arab World, and the Military”
 - (Prof. Droz-Vincent specializes in Middle Eastern Studies and International security)

Session 2: Class Design

- **Introduction** (5mn Ph D-V):
- **Research Question:** Are we witnessing global trends towards democratization, a fourth wave and the end of history once again? (cf. John Mueller on Fukuyama)
 - A resounding no... We are witnessing the enduring dialectic of democratic advances and autocratic resilience (though revamped authoritarianism, not in the “old sense” “à la Juan Linz”, cf. debates about Lucan Way and Steven Levitsky, Andreas Schedler) and a dialectic that takes place in an international society (in the sense of the English school of IR)
 - We will try to give a concrete sense to this dialectic by dealing with two areas in comparative ways, Asia and the Middle East... there is no need to say that these two areas are of crucial importance for the fate of world politics (cf. China/US rivalry) and hence for the future of democracy and politics.

Session 2: Part 1, Yuichi Hosoya

- **Part 1** /(20mn Y H) +discussion **Is Democracy Necessary for an International Society?**
 - After the end of the Cold War, “democracy” has become one of the most important norms for international society.
 - Anthony Lake, National Security Advisor for U.S. President Bill Clinton, and President Clinton himself, began to talk that the enlargement of democracy could spread peace in the world. [Can democracy really bring peace in international society?](#)
- **Text** to read for discussion:
 - Mark Beeson, “Democracy, development and authoritarianism”, in Mark Beeson and Richard Stubbs (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Asian Regionalism*, Routledge, 2012, pp. 236-247.

-----BREAK 10 mn-----

Session 2: Part 2, Yuichi Hosoya

- **Part 2/** (20mn Y H) +discussion **Democracy in East Asia:**
 - **Japan:**
 - under Prime Minister Shizo Abe Japan is now trying to establish a new order in the Asia-Pacific It will be based on liberal norms such as democracy, freedom, the rule of law, and human rights.
 - **Two questions emerge**
 - Will China be antagonistic and eventually deny international order based on democracy?
 - Will the liberal order stabilize East Asia or destroy the stability in this region?

Session 2: Part 3, Philippe Droz-Vincent

- **Part 3/** (20mn, Ph D-V): The breach of authoritarian rule in the Arab World in 2011, what kind of transitions?
- + (20mn) *discussion*
- **Texts** to read for discussion:
 - T. Carothers “The end of the transition paradigm”, *Journal of Democracy*, January 2002
 - Philippe Droz-Vincent, in F Gerges, ed, *The New Middle East*, Cambridge UP, 2013

Session 2: Part 4, Philippe Droz-Vincent

- **Part 4/** (20mn): The role of the security sector in transitions and authoritarian resilience, and the risks of transitions, the Syrian case
- **Texts** to read for discussion:
 - S Lipset, “The Social Requisites of Democracy Revisited”, *American Sociological Review*, February 1994
 - Philippe Droz-Vincent, “Prospects for Democratic Control of the Armed Forces”, *Armed Forces and Society*, October 2014
 - Philippe Droz-Vincent, “State of Barbary (Take Two)”, *The Middle East Journal*, Winter 2013-2014
- **Conclusion** (10mn)

Session 3: Democracy and Memory

Friday, October 31 (16:30-19:30 (JST) / 08:30-11:30 (France))

- Keio: Nobuto Yamamoto “Democracy, Memory, and the International Community”
 - (Prof. Yamamoto specializes in international relations, South East Asian politics, media studies)
- Grenoble: Professor Olivier Ihl: Voting Systems, Memory, and Democracy Building
 - (Prof. Ihl specializes in the socio-history of politics, comparative studies of voting, and memory)

Session 3: Nobuto Yamamoto's Class design

- 8:30-8:35 / 16:30-16:35 **Introduction to session 3** by Prof. Schemeil
- 8:35-8.50 / 16:35-16:50 General description of the issue : "**Democracy, Memory, and the International Community**" by Prof. Yamamoto
 - How do we understand the relationships between democracy and memory?
 - In what ways international politics affect local/national memories and vice versa?
- 8:50-9:40 / 16:50-17:40 **Discussion** (2 presentations from both Grenoble and Keio sides for about 7-10 minutes, followed by a general debate)
- **Texts** to read for discussion:
 - Barbara A. Misztal (2005) "Memory and Democracy," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 48-10: 1320-1338.
 - Duncan Bell (2006) "Introduction: Memory, Trauma and World Politics," in Duncan Bell, ed., *Memory, Trauma, and World Politics: Reflections on the Relationship Between Past and Present*. Palgrave Macmillan: 1-29 + 231-240 (fn).
- 17:40-18:00 Break

Session 3: Olivir Ihl's Class design

- 18:00-18:25 General description of the issue "[Voting Systems, Memory, and Democracy Building](#)" by Prof. Ihl
 - Several issues will be discussed :
 - Why should we remember?
 - Is History the enemy of Memory in Democracy ?
 - Can we talk of national style of commemoration?
 - Is there a specifically European form of commemoration?
- 18:25-19:15 [Discussion](#)
- 19:15-19:30 [Conclusion](#) (Profs. Ihl and Yamamoto)
- [Texts](#) to read for discussion:
 - Cruz, C. (2000). Identity and persuasion: How nations remember their pasts and make their futures. *World Politics*, 52 (3), pp. 275- 312.
 - Judt, T. (1992, Fall). The Past is Another Country: Myth and Memory in Postwar Europe. *Daedalus*, (121), pp. 83-118.

Session 4: Emerging and Consolidating Democracies

Friday, November 14, 16:30-19:30 (JST) / 08:30-11:30 (France)

- Keio: Kazuko Kojima “Democracy in China”
 - (Prof. Kojima specializes in modern and contemporary Chinese politics)
- Grenoble: Christophe Bouillaud “Democracy in France and Italy”
 - (Prof. Bouillaud specialized in Italian Politics and the history of political thought)

Session 4: Kazuko Kojima's Class Design

- **Class Design:**
 - In the class, we will discuss on the following two questions: 1) Will China's authoritarian regime be sustained into the future? 2) What is the desirable democracy for Chinese people?
 - First, the lecturer will introduce principal arguments on these questions (45-50min). Afterwards, we will have free discussions.
- **Texts:** The following books will be useful to join the discussion.
 - 1) Andrew J. Nathan, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner eds., *Will China Democratize?*, The John Hopkins University Press, 2013.
 - 2) Daniel A. Bell, *East Meets West: Human Rights and Democracy in East Asia*, Princeton University Press, 2000.
 - 3) 张明树 《中国人想要什么样民主》 社会科学文献出版社 2013.

Session 4: Christophe Bouillaud's Class Design

- **"What's next? Which future(s) for radical(ized) protest(s) in old democracies?** - The growing impact of informed and subtle repression on protest movements. - The case of Italian "M5S" (2009-2014), a new radical and non-violent 'anti-parties' party. "
- **Texts:** The following texts will be useful to join the discussion.
- Combes Hélène et Fillieule Olivier, « Repression and Protest Structural Models and Strategic Interactions », *Revue française de science politique* (English), 2011/6 Vol. 61, p. 1-24. DOI : 10.3917/rfspe.616.0001
- Fabio Bordignon & Luigi Ceccarini (2013) Five Stars and a Cricket. Beppe Grillo Shakes Italian Politics, *South European Society and Politics*, 18:4, 427-449, DOI 10.1080/13608746.2013.775720

Session 5: The Quality of Democracy

Friday, November 28, 16:30-19:30 (JST) / 08:30-11:30 (France)

- Keio: Yuko Kasuya “Democracy and the Variety of Accountability Mechanisms”
 - (Prof. Kasuya specializes in comparative politics, comparative government, South East Asian politics)
- Grenoble: Raul Magni-Berton: “Checks and balances in modern democracies”
 - (Prof. Magni-Berton specializes in the quality of democracy, liberal thought, and rational choice approaches)

Session 5: Yuko Kasuya

- **Class design:**
 - **Research question:** focuses on the concept of accountability and have students apply this concept/framework to analyze problems facing French and Japanese politics (or any other regions/countries of their interest).
 - **Two 90 min. sessions,** each professor lectures and does a Q & A session for the first 30 minutes, then students do group presentations (or present individually, depending on the number of students).
- **Text:**
 - assigned background reading: Yuko Kasuya and Yuriko Takahashi, « Streamlining Accountability: Concepts, Subtypes, and Empirical Analys », January 20, 2013
 - http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2493654

Session 5: Raul Magni-Berton

- Research Question: The consequences of different patterns of separation of powers
 - The study of differences between regimes in which presidents are popularly elected (like France) and regimes in which they are not (like Japan)
- **Text:**
 - Raul Magni-Berton, « Reassessing Duvergerian semi-presidentialism: An electoral perspective », *Comparative European Politics* 2012, 1–27.

Session 6: Towards a Democratic International Society

Friday December 12, 16:30-19:30 (JST) / 08:30-11:30 (France)

- Keio: Takeharu Okubo “Diffusion of International Law and the Quest for Civilization at the Dawn of Modern Japan”
 - (Prof. Okubo specializes in comparative political theory, Japanese reception of Western thought during and after the Meiji period)
- Grenoble: Yves Schemeil “Diffusion of International Law and the Quest for Civilization at the Dawn of Modern Middle East”
 - (Prof. Schemeil specializes in global and comparative politics, with a special focus on the Middle East and the reception of Western thought during the Ottoman period)

Session 7: Making multicultural democracy work?

Friday January 23 2015, 16:30-19:30 (JST) / 08:30-11:30 (France)

- Keio: Yoshikazu Shiobara “Multiculturalism and democracy”
 - (Prof. Shiobara is a sociologist who specializes in multiculturalism in Japan and Australia)
- Grenoble: Prof. Pierre Bréchon: “Political Cultures and Political Values in Europe”
 - (Prof. Bréchon specializes in cross-national value surveys and political behavior)

Session 7: Making multicultural democracy work? (Jan. 23, 2015)

- Keio's section (90 minutes) facilitated by Yoshikazu Shiobara:
Multiculturalism and democracy
 - In the beginning of the session I will make a short lecture to overview policies and the social contexts on foreign workers/immigrants in contemporary Japan, and examine the discourse of Tabunka kyosei, the Japanese version of official multiculturalism. In the end of the lecture I will raise questions to Japanese and French students; in terms of liberal democracy what kinds of multiculturalism as normative principle are possible in contemporary Japanese society, and what kinds of political and social conditions are necessary to make the principle happen in reality. After the lecture we will discuss the questions based on the information from the lecture and journal articles I will deliver the students in advance which they are required to read before attending the class.
- Timetable:
 - Introduction and short lecture (45 minutes)
 - Discussion (45 minutes)
- Articles to be read in advance:
 - Kashiwazaki, Chikako, 2013, "Incorporating immigrants as foreigners: multicultural policies in Japan," *Citizenship Studies* 17 (1): 31-47.
 - Nakamatsu, Tomoko, 2014, "Under the Multicultural Flag: Japan's Ambiguous Multicultural Framework and its Local Evaluations and Practices," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40(1): 137-154.

Keio's section facilitated by Yoshikazu Shiobara:

Multiculturalism and democracy

- In the beginning of the session I will make a short lecture to overview policies and the social contexts on foreign workers/immigrants in contemporary Japan, and examine the discourse of Tabunka kyosei, the Japanese version of official multiculturalism.
- In the end of the lecture I will raise questions to Japanese and French students; in terms of liberal democracy what kinds of multiculturalism as normative principle are possible in contemporary Japanese society, and what kinds of political and social conditions are necessary to make the principle happen in reality. After the lecture we will discuss the questions based on the information from the lecture and journal articles I will deliver the students in advance which they are required to read before attending the class.
- Timetable:
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 - Kashiwazaki, Chikako, 2013, "Incorporating immigrants as foreigners: multicultural policies in Japan," *Citizenship Studies* 17 (1): 31-47.
 - Nakamatsu, Tomoko, 2014, "Under the Multicultural Flag: Japan's Ambiguous Multicultural Framework and its Local Evaluations and Practices," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40(1): 137-154.

Political Cultures and Political Values in Europe

- In the first part of the session I will make a short lecture to overview four main dimensions of political cultures:
 - Politicization
 - Political participation
 - Political orientation
 - Democratic values.
- For each of these four dimensions, two questions will be raised:
 - What changed along time, in the last decades, in political cultures?
 - What differences exist between European countries (between the North and the South of Europe, or West and East)?

Political Cultures and Political Values in Europe

- This lecture will be based on the data of the European Values Studies, displayed and analyzed in:
 - Bréchon Pierre, Gonthier Frédéric (eds.), *Atlas des Européens*, Armand Colin, 2013.
 - Bréchon (Pierre), Gonthier Frédéric (eds.), *Les valeurs des Européens, Evolutions et clivages*, Armand Colin, 2014.
- After the lecture in the second part of the session, we shall discuss the lecture, a student presentation, and the required readings.
- Articles to be read in advance:
 - Halman Loek, Sieben Inge, van Zundert Marga, *Atlas of European Values. Trends and Traditions at the turn of the Century*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 76-84.
 - Norris Pippa, *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens revisited*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 3-11, Introduction and chapter 12, Conclusions and implications, 12 pages.

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- Sintomer Y. et al. (eds.), 2013. *Participatory Budgeting in Asia and Europe*, Palgrave Mac Millan.
- Fung Archon et Wright Erik Olin, 2003. *Deepening democracy: institutional innovations in empowered participatory governance*, London, Verso.

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- Neblo, Michael, Kevin Esterling, Ryan Kennedy, David Lazer et Anand Sokhey (2010). « Who Wants to Deliberate – and Why? », *American Political Science Review*, 104 (3), p. 566-583.

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- Keane, John (2010), *The Life and Death of Democracy*, Pocket Books (eBook and Hardcover)