



Final version 1st September 2008

API-413

Challenges of Democratization

Pippa Norris

Fall 2008

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Contact Details:

Class time: Mondays and Wednesdays 2.40 to 4.00pm
Class place: Littauer 230
Shopping: Monday 8th September 2008
First class: Wednesday 10th September 2008
Last class: Wednesday 3rd December 2007
Lecturer: Pippa Norris, Maguire Lecturer in Comparative Politics
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Assessment: Course assignments

Course Synopsis:

This course covers the basic principles, theories, conceptual tools, and comparative methods useful for understanding the challenges of democracy. Attempts at state-building in Afghanistan and Iraq have highlighted concern about democracy promotion in the U.S. foreign policy agenda, although this is far from a new issue. Since the early-1990s, the international development community has increasingly focused attention on the challenges of facilitating the transition from autocracy and the consolidation of democratic states, with the understanding that effective democratic governance encourages and complements the activities of the private and non-profit sectors, allowing markets to flourish and people to live healthier, happier lives. The process of democratization develops institutions and processes that are more accountable and responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens, including the poor. Moreover, democratic governance is also believed to promote international peace and cooperation, reducing the causes of conflict and violence between and within states. For Amartya Sen, human development is about expanding choices, including opportunities to select rulers and laws. Moreover the challenges of deepening and broadening democracies exist for all states, not simply developing societies.

The international development community, multilateral organizations, and national stakeholders have used multiple strategies to promote this process. Many resources have been devoted to strengthening the capacity of political institutions, notably through encouraging multiparty competitive elections, independent judiciaries, and effective legislatures designed to curb and counterbalance strong executives, as well as decentralization strategies, anti-corruption drives, and public sector reforms. Democratic assistance has flowed into attempts to foster and expand civic society by nurturing grassroots organizations, advocacy NGOs, and the news media. And aid has been invested in attempts to expand economic growth, peace-building, and sustainable development, as an indirect route to democratic governance.

Despite the substantial expansion of 'third-wave' democracies since the early 1970s, many military-backed dictatorships, autocratic regimes, elitist oligarchies, and absolute monarchies persist, particularly in much of the Middle East and North Africa. Today there are also many 'electoral authoritarian' states, such as Zimbabwe, Russia and Pakistan, which have held multiparty elections but failed to institute the full panoply of human rights and political freedoms. Many states have also seen only partial or unstable steps towards elections, and reverses, for example in Thailand, Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Venezuela. Major problems of transition confront attempts at building stable nation-states, beyond establishing free and

fair elections, in Afghanistan and Iraq, Haiti and Timor Leste. Some commentators note a push-back against democracy and human rights in recent years, or a democratic recession. The process of further democratization therefore remains deeply flawed, incomplete or uncertain in many countries.

To understand these issues, *Part I* provides an overview by examining trends and developing methods and analytical tools suitable for comparative policy research into democratic governance; *Part II* considers the relationship between economic and political development; *Part III* considers the underlying power-sharing institutions most conducive to strengthening processes of democratization; *Part IV* focuses upon modernization theories of political culture and issues of gender equality. *Part V* examines the role of civil society and theories of social capital. *Part VI* looks at questions of ethnic conflict and cooperation. The conclusion draws together the core lessons of good governance for the policy community.

Course Objectives:

There are many stages in the cyclical process of policy advocacy, policy analysis, policy implementation, and policy evaluation. Although useful for each of these, the course is focused upon the second stage, policy analysis. That is, you will sharpen your understanding and also develop practical policy recommendations about the main options which reformers could adopt to strengthen the process of democratic governance. The course will use a broadly comparative methodology incorporating evidence from a wide range of case studies, including developed and developing societies. Compared with STM103, which is designed for MPA/ID students, the main contrasts are in the more theoretical focus and the type of assignments used for evaluation. This class adopts practical case study applications, and it is evaluated through report assignments. There are no prerequisites for taking the class. Some visiting speakers will be arranged and announced during the course of the semester.

Class Schedule:

Class	Date	Topic	Assignment due dates (i)
Part I: Comparative policy analysis research			
1	W 10 Sept	Introduction: Roadmap of the course	
2	M 15 Sept	Diamond: Is there a democratic recession?	
3	W 17 Sept	Diamond: Internal drivers	
4	M 22 Sept	Diamond: External drivers (Larry Diamond videoconference talk)	
5	W 24 Sept	Measuring Democracy: Freedom House & IDEA	
6	M 29 Sept	Measuring Good Governance: World Bank	
Part II: Economic Development & Democratization			
7	W 1 Oct	Przeworski's Development and Democratization	Report 1
8	M 6 Oct	Przeworski's Development and Democratization	
Part III: Comparing Democratic Institutions			
9	W 8 Oct	Democratic Institutions: Power-sharing Constitutions	
10	W 15 Oct	Democratic Institutions: Elections	
11	M 20 Oct	Democratic Institutions: Executives	
12	W 22 Oct	Democratic Institutions: Decentralization/federalism	
13	M 27 Oct	Democratic Institutions: Mass Media	
Part IV: Comparing Political Culture			
14	W 29 Oct	Inglehart's Post-Modernization: Cultural Change	Report 2
15	M 3 Nov	Inglehart's Post-Modernization: Gender Equality	
16	W 5 Nov	Inglehart's Post-modernization: Religion & secularization	
Part V: Comparing Civic Society & Social Capital			
17	M 10 Nov	Putnam's Social Capital and Democracy: Italy	
18	W 12 Nov	Putnam's Social Capital and Democracy: US	
19	M 17 Nov	Putnam's Social Capital and Democracy: Worldwide	
Part VI: Comparing Ethnic Conflict & Cooperation			
20	M 19 Nov	No class	
21	M 24 Nov	Huntington's Clash	
22	W 26 Nov	Huntington's Clash	
23	M 1 Dec	Case study: Building the Iraqi and Afghan constitutions	Report 3
24	M 3 Dec	Final wrap up	

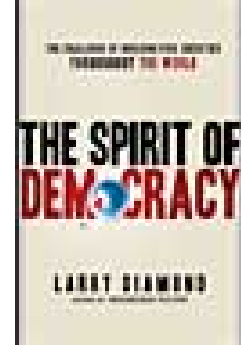
Note university holidays: No class will be held on Columbus Day (M 13th Oct) or Wednesday 19th Nov (due to a prior engagement). (i) Assignments are due to be handed in *at the start of the class* on these dates.

Required Readings:

Books can be ordered direct from the publishers, or from Amazon.com, Wordsworth's books or Barnes and Noble. The total cost of the required books should be around \$76. Further online resources are listed under each week's topic for downloading. The four books are available on reserve at the Kennedy School library. There is *no* CMDO packet for this class.

1. Larry Diamond. 2008. *The Spirit of Democracy*.

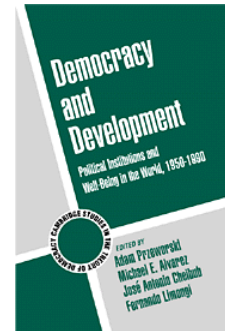
Over three decades, the world was transformed. In 1974, nearly three-quarters of all countries were dictatorships; today, more than half are democracies. Yet recent efforts to promote democracy have stumbled, and many democratic governments are faltering. Is the world experiencing a democratic recession? Larry Diamond examines the drivers of democratizations, regional patterns, and the reasons why attempts at democracy promotion fail. Diamond cautions that arrogance and inconsistency have undermined America's aspirations to promote democracy. To spur a renewed democratic boom, he urges vigorous support of good governance—the rule of law, security, protection of individual rights, and shared economic prosperity—and free civic organizations.



Times Books. 2008. 978-0805078695 \$18.48

2. Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*.

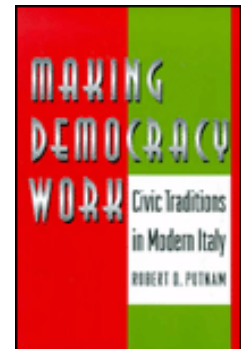
Is economic development conducive to political democracy? Does democracy foster or hinder material welfare? These two questions are examined by looking at the experiences of 135 countries between 1950 and 1990. Descriptive information, statistical analyses, and historical narratives are interwoven to gain an understanding of the dynamic of political regimes and their impact on economic development. The often surprising findings dispel any notion of a tradeoff between democracy and development. Economic development does not generate democracies, but democracies are much more likely to survive in wealthy societies.



Cambridge University Press. 2000. (ISBN: 0521793793) \$20.00.

3. Robert Putnam. *Making Democracies Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*.

Why do some democratic governments succeed and others fail? In a book that has received attention from policymakers and civic activists in America and around the world, Robert Putnam and his collaborators offer empirical evidence for the importance of "civic community" in developing successful institutions. Their focus is on a unique experiment begun in 1970 when Italy created new governments for each of its regions. After spending two decades analyzing the efficacy of these governments in such fields as agriculture, housing, and health services, they reveal patterns of associationism, trust, and cooperation that facilitate good governance and economic prosperity.



Princeton University Press. 1994. Paperback (ISBN 0-691-03738-8) \$20.95.

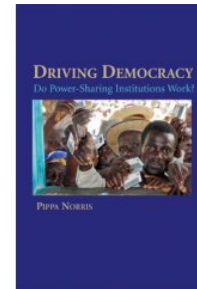
4. Pippa Norris. Driving Democracy: Do Power-sharing Institutions Work?

As illustrated by contemporary constitutional debates in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Sudan, controversy continues to surround the pros and cons of power-sharing institutions. This debate is vital for scholarly research seeking to understand the underlying drivers of democratization, development, and conflict. It is even more important for policymakers concerned with promoting sustainable governance, practical institutional reforms, and durable peace-settlements.

This book has two main aims. The first is to update and refine the theory of consociationalism, originally developed in the late-1960s, to take account of the flood of contemporary developments in power-sharing which have occurred worldwide. This study compares the consequences for democracy of four dimensions of power-sharing regimes: the basic type of electoral system, whether there is a parliamentary or presidential executive, the decentralization of power in unitary or federal states, and the structure and independence of the mass media.

Building on this classification, the study tests the potential advantages and disadvantages of each of these institutions using a wider range of empirical evidence than previous studies.

Cambridge University Press. 2008. 978-0521694803 \$16.74



Shared Datasets

As an *optional* addition, two shared class datasets are available from my website pippanorris.com for those who would like to use these for assignments. The cross-national dataset contains almost 700 variables for 191 nations worldwide, with the most recent year of data available. There is also a cross-sectional time-series dataset from 1972-2007 for all countries worldwide. The datasets are available in Spss and Stata formats. These resources will be discussed in more detail during class.



Assignments:

All students will be expected to keep up with the required readings and to attend classes every Monday and Wednesday. Late policy: Barring an extraordinary excuse, all late assignments will be marked down a third of a grade (such as from A to A-) for each day following the due date.

Report Part 1 Wed 1st Oct (30%)

You can choose to answer one question out of any of those topics listed in the syllabus from classes 0-6. The report should be about 2000 words in length. Your report should be structured with subheadings as follows.

- I. The selected question and the plan of your paper
- II. Summary of the core theoretical framework you have selected
- III. Review of the literature and evidence
- V. Conclusions and implications.
- VI. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The in-class discussions will provide some ideas on these topics and you may choose to work collaboratively with others in the class, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade.

Report Part 2 Wed 29th Oct (30%)

You can choose to answer one question out of any of those topics listed in the syllabus from classes 7-13. The report should be about 2000 words in length. Your report should be structured with subheadings as follows.

- I. The selected question and the plan of your paper
- II. Summary of the core theoretical framework you have selected
- III. Review of the literature and evidence
- V. Conclusions and implications.
- VI. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The in-class discussions will provide some ideas on these topics and you may choose to work collaboratively with others in the class, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade.

Report Part 3 Wed 1st Dec (30%)

You can choose to answer one question out of any of those topics listed in the syllabus from classes 14-23. The report should be about 2000 words in length. Your report should be structured with subheadings as follows.

- I. The selected question and the plan of your paper
- II. Summary of the core theoretical framework you have selected
- III. Review of the literature and evidence
- V. Conclusions and implications.
- VI. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The in-class discussions will provide some ideas on these topics and you may choose to work collaboratively with others in the class, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade.

Class Participation (10%)

Finally the quality of your contributions to the discussions and the short exercises in class will also contribute towards your final grade.

Discussion Topics & Readings Per Class

Part I: Comparative research designs

Class 1 Introduction: Road Map of the Course

Class 2 Diamond: *Is there a democratic recession?*

Topics:

- What are the trends in the spread of democratic governance since the early-1970s and is the twenty first century an era of continued underlying consolidation, steady state, or a fall-back in democracy and human rights?
- Select one major region of the world and analyze the main reasons for the trends in autocracy and democracy since the start of the 'third wave'.
- What is meant by the concept of 'electoral autocracy' and discuss the main features of this type of regime using three illustrative cases.

Required Reading:

Larry Diamond. 2008. *The Spirit of Democracy*. New York: Times Books. Chapters 2-3 pp 39-87.

Recommended readings:

- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Armony, Ariel C. and Hector E. Schamis. 2005. '[Babel in democratization studies.](#)' *Journal of Democracy* 16 (4): 113-128.
- Carothers, Thomas. 2002. '[The End of the Transition Paradigm.](#)' *Journal of Democracy* 13: 5–21;
- Carothers, Thomas. 2006. '[The Backlash against democracy promotion.](#)' *Foreign Affairs* 85 (2): 55-68
- Cole, N. Scott. 2007. '[Hugo Chavez and President Bush's credibility gap: The struggle against US democracy promotion.](#)' *International Political Science Review* 28 (4): 493-507 SEP 2007
- Diamond, Larry. 2002. '[Thinking about Hybrid Regimes.](#)' *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 21-35;
- Diamond, Larry. 2008. '[The Democratic Rollback: The Resurgence of the Predatory State.](#)' *Foreign Affairs*. Mar/Apr. (Note if you cannot get the Diamond book by this class, read the article online).
- Doorenspleet, Renske. 2000. '[Reassessing the three waves of democratization.](#)' *World Politics* 52: 384-406.
- Doorenspleet, Renske. 2005. *Democratic Transitions: Exploring the Structural Sources during the Fourth Wave*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave*. University of Oklahoma Press.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2002. '[The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism.](#)' *Journal of Democracy* 13(2): 51-65;
- Schedler, Andreas. (Editor). 2005. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner.
- Zakaria, Fareed. 1997. '[The Rise of Illiberal Democracy.](#)' *Foreign Affairs* 76(6): 22-41.
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Class 3 Diamond: *Internal drivers***Topics:**

- What are most effective *internal* drivers in the spread of democratic governance since the early-1970s within each state and what are the policy implications for the international community, multinational organizations, and national stakeholders seeking to strengthen democratic governance?
- “Latin America is now well consolidated in electoral democracy, but major challenges remain in deepening political participation, in decentralizing governance, and in connecting democratic choices to policy outcomes.” Do you agree?
- Select two states in Latin America and compare them to assess the relative importance of the internal drivers of democratization identified by Diamond.

Required Reading:

Larry Diamond. 2008. *The Spirit of Democracy*. New York: Times Books. Chapter 4 pp 88-105 and chapter 8 (Latin America) pp171-189.

Recommended readings:

Barro, Robert J. 1999. [‘Determinants of democracy.’](#) *Journal of Political Economy* 107(6-2): 158-183.

Bratton, Michael and Nicholas van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Haggard, Stephen. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton University Press. 1995.

Linder, Wolf and André Bächtiger. 2005. [‘What drives democratisation in Asia and Africa?’](#) *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 861-880.

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stephan. *Problems of Democratic Consolidation*. Johns Hopkins Press. 1996.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, Kyoung-Ryung Seong and John Charles Torres. 1993. ‘A comparative analysis of the social requisites of democracy.’ *International Social Science Journal*. 45(2): 154-175.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. [‘Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy.’](#) *American Political Science Review*. 53: 69-105.

Norris, Pippa. 2008. *Driving Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Class 4 Diamond: *External drivers***Topics:**

- What are most effective *external* drivers in the spread of democratic governance since the early-1970s and what are the policy implications for the international community, multinational organizations, and national stakeholders seeking to strengthen democratic governance?
- “Sub-Saharan African has made considerable progress in holding free and fair elections in many states, but none the less ‘strong man’ rule persists, the state often lacks the capacity to deliver basic public services, and democracy has not overcome endemic problems of deep-rooted poverty.” Do you agree?
- Select two states in sub-Saharan Africa, such as Liberia, Mali, South Africa and Ghana, and compare them to assess the relative importance of the external drivers of democratization identified by Diamond.
- How would you assess the policy priorities and strategy of UNDP in strengthening democratic governance?

Required Reading:

Larry Diamond. 2008. *The Spirit of Democracy*. New York: Times Books. Chapter 5 and 6 pp 106-152 and Chapter 11 (Africa) pp.238-262.

Recommended readings:

Barnett, Michael and Martha Finnemore. 2004. *Rules for the World: International Organizations in Global Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Caplan, Richard D. 2005. *International governance of war-torn territories: rule and reconstruction*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Cooper, Andrew F. and Thomas Legler. 2007. *Intervention Without Intervening? The OAS Defense and Promotion of Democracy in the Americas*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Cox, Michael, G. John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi (Editors). 2000. *American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dobbins, James et al. 2005. *The UN's Role in Nation-building*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand Corporation.

Dollar, David and Victoria Levin. 2006. 'The increasing selectivity of foreign aid, 1984-2003.' *World Development* 34 (12): 2034-2046.

Doyle, Michael and Nicholas Sambanis. 2006. *Making War and Building Peace: UN Peace Operations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Finkel, Steven E., Anibal Perez-Linan, and Mitchell A.Seligson. 2006. *Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building: Results of a Cross-National Quantitative Study*. Final Report USAID/Vanderbilt University.

McMahon, Edwards R. and Scott H. Baker. 2006. *Piecing a Democratic Quilt? Regional Organizations and Universal Norms*. CT: Kumarian Press.

Murphy, Craig N. 2006. *The United Nations Development Programme: A Better Way?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Neuman, Edward and Roland Rich. Eds. 2004. *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy: Between Ideals and Reality*. UN University Press.

Pevehouse, Jon C. 2002. 'With a little help from my friends? Regional organizations and the consolidation of democracy.' *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (3): 611-626.

Pevehouse, Jon C.. 2002. 'Democracy from the outside-in? International organizations and democratization.' *International Organization* 56 (3): 515+.

Pevehouse, Jon C.. 2004. *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Piccone, Ted and Richard Youngs. Eds. 2006. *Strategies for Democratic Change: Assessing the Global Response*. <http://www.fride.org/publication/250/strategies-for-democratic-change-assessing-the-global-response>

Pridham, Geoffrey. 2005. *Designing Democracy: EU Enlargement and Regime Change in Post-Communist Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Rittberger, Volker and Bernhard Zangl. 2006. *International Organization*. London: Palgrave.

Schraeder, Peter. Ed. 2002. *Exporting Democracy: Rhetoric versus Reality*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Weiss, Thomas G., David P. Forsythe, and Roger A. Coate. 2004. *United Nations and Changing World Politics*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Youngs, Richard. 2002. *The European Union and the Promotion of Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Online resources:

UNDP Democratic Governance www.undp.org/governance

World Bank Public Sector governance <http://go.worldbank.org/J8RR3IVL30>

OECD DAC Development Cooperation Network on Governance www.oecd.org/dac/governance

European Commission DG for Development http://ec.europa.eu/development/index_en.cfm

Class 5 Measuring Good Governance: Freedom House & IDEA**Topics:**

- How far are the Freedom House measurements using the Gastil Index of democracy reliable, comprehensive, and accurate? How would you improve the Index?
- The Freedom House measures of democracy produce a single quantitative index of democratization. What are the advantages and disadvantages of such a measure?
- What are the pros and cons of conducting a democratic audit? Discuss by comparing the preliminary results of the pilot studies conducted by International IDEA.

Required Reading:

Freedom House '*Freedom in the World 2007*' Read especially 'Essay' and 'Tables' and *Freedom in the World*, 'Methodology'. <http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=15>

International IDEA. *State of Democracy Project*. (Read the overview and the reports for any two countries prior to class) <http://www.idea.int/democracy/>

Norris, Pippa. 2007. *Driving Democracy*. Chapter 3. Available at www.pippanorris.com under 'books'

Recommended Reading:

Beetham, David. 1994. *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. Sage.

Beetham, David. 2001. *International IDEA Handbook of Democracy Assessment*. NY: Kluwer.

Collier, David and Robert Adcock. 1999. '[Democracy and dichotomies: A pragmatic approach to choices about concepts.](#)' *Annual Review of Political Science* 1: 537-565.

Elkins, Zachary. 2000. '[Gradiations of democracy](#)' *American Journal Of Political Science* 44 (2): 293-300.

Munck Geraldo L. and Jay Verkuilen. 2002. '[Conceptualizing and measuring democracy - Evaluating alternative indices.](#)' *Comparative Political Studies*. 35 (1): 5-34.

Class 6 Measuring Good Governance: Kaufmann-Kray**Topics:**

- What are advantages and limitations of using Kaufmann's indicators of good governance?
- Are the Kaufmann-Kray indicators reliable, comprehensive, and accurate?
- What are the essential components of 'good governance' in your view and why?
- What are the major changes in 'good governance' as indicated by the Kaufmann-Kray data since 1996?
- How would you explain the challenges to good governance in Sub-Saharan Africa, as documented by the Kaufmann-Kray indicators?

- What are the pros and cons of the conditionality requirements for good governance contained in the Millennium Challenge Account?

Required Reading:

'Governance Matters VI: Governance Indicators 1996-2006.'

<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/govdata/index.html>

Grindle, Merilee S. 2004. 'Good Enough Governance: Poverty Reduction and Reform in Developing Countries.' *Governance* 17 (4): 525–548.

Grindle, Merilee S. 2007. 'Good enough governance revisited.' *Development Policy Review* 25 (5): 553-574.

Recommended reading:

Brinkerhoff, Derick W. and Arthur A. Goldsmith. 2005. 'Institutional dualism and international development: A revisionist interpretation of good governance.' *Administration & Society*, 37 (2):199-224.

Della Porta, Donnatella and Yves Meny. 1996. *Democracy and Corruption in Europe*. New York: Pinter.

Della Porta, Donnatella. 1999. *Corrupt Exchanges*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Doig, Alan. 2000. *Corruption and Democratization*. London: Frank Cass.

Geering, John and Strom C. Thacker. 2004. 'Political institutions and corruption: The role of unitarism and parliamentarism.' *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 295-330.

Heidenheimer, Arnold. Ed. 2002. *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay, and M. Mastruzzi. May 2003. '*Governance Matters III: Governance Indicators 1996-2002.*'

<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pubs/govmatters3.html>

Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay, and Massimo Mastruzzi. 2007. *Governance Matters VI: Aggregate and Individual Governance Indicators, 1996-2006*. Washington DC: The World Bank, Policy Research Working Paper.

Kaufmann, Daniel, Aart Kraay, Massimo Mastruzzi. 2007. 'Growth and governance: A rejoinder.' *Journal of Politics* 69 (2): 570-572.

Kaufmann, Daniel. 2004. Governance matters III: Governance indicators for 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002 *World Bank Economic Review* 18:253.

Nanda, Ved P. 2006. 'The good governance concept revisited.' *Annals American Association of the Political and Social Sciences* 603: 263-283

Rose-Ackerman, Susan. 1999. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences and Reform*. Cambridge University Press.

Transparency International 2007. *The methodology for the Corruption Perception Index, 2003:* http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi

Transparency International. Global Corruption Barometer <http://www.transparency.org/>

World Bank. 1999. '*Can Corruption Be Measured? Bank Offers Diagnostic Tools to Measure and Combat Corruption in Member Countries.*'

<http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/pubs/measurecor.htm>

Online Resources:

See the many resources available at:

<http://econ.worldbank.org/external/default/main?menuPK=476823&pagePK=64165236&piPK=64165141&theSitePK=469372>

Quality of Governance dataset <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se/>

Transparency International Survey data: <http://www.transparency.org/surveys/>

Transparency International *Global Corruption Reports*. <http://www.globalcorruptionreport.org/>

The Millennium Challenge Account: <http://www.mca.gov/>

Part II: Economic Development & Democratization

Class 7 Przeworski et al.'s *Economic Development and Democracy*

Topics:

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Przeworski et al. dichotomous measure of regime types for comparing the process of democratization?
- How far do economic development, political institutions, or political culture determine the process of democratization?
- Explain and assess Przeworski's claims about the consequences of economic growth for democracy. Do these conclusions continue to hold today?

Required Reading:

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Chapters 1 and 2 pp.13-139.

Norris, Pippa. 2007. *Driving Democracy*. Chapter 4. Available at www.pippanorris.com under 'books'

Recommended Reading:

Bratton, Michael and Nicholas van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

Hadenius, Alex. 1997. *Democracy's Victory and Crisis* Cambridge University Press.

Hadenius, Axel. 1992. *Democracy and Development* Cambridge University Press.

Halperin, Morton, Joseph T. Siegle and Michael Weinstein. 2005. *The Democracy Advantage*. New York: Routledge.

Haggard, Stephen. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton University Press. 1995.

Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave*. University of Oklahoma Press.

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stephan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Consolidation*. Johns Hopkins Press. 1996.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, Kyoung-Ryung Seong and John Charles Torres. 1993. 'A comparative analysis of the social requisites of democracy.' *International Social Science Journal*. 45(2): 154-175.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. '[Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy](#).' *American Political Science Review*. 53: 69-105.

Midlarsky, Manus I. Ed. 1997. *Inequality, democracy and economic development*. Cambridge UP.

Pridham, Geoffrey. 1995. *Transitions to Democracy: Comparative Perspectives from Southern Europe, Latin America and Eastern Europe* Dartmouth.

Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* Cambridge University Press.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich et al. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. University of Chicago Press.

Class 8 Przeworski et al.'s Economic Development, Social Welfare, and Democracy**Topics:**

- Explain and assess Przeworski's claims about the consequences of democracy for economic growth.
- What are implications of Przeworski's account of the factors leading towards the transition and consolidation of democracies for international agencies such as the World Bank and UNDP? Discuss in relation to either (a) the Middle East (b) Sub-Saharan Africa or (c) Asia.
- Does Przeworski et al's theory suggest an economic determinism that consigns poorer nations to non-democratic status?

Required Reading:

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Chapters 3–4 pp.142-213.

Recommended Reading:

Barro, Robert J. 1997. *Determinants of Economic Growth: A Cross-Country Empirical Study*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Brown, D.S. 1999. 'Reading, writing, and regime type: Democracy's impact on primary school enrollment.' *Political Research Quarterly* 52 (4): 681-707.

Brown, D.S. 1999. 'Democracy and social spending in Latin America, 1980-92.' *American Political Science Review* 93: 779

Burkhart, Ross E. 1997. 'Comparative Democracy and Income Distribution: Shape and Direction of the Causal Arrow.' *Journal of Politics* 59(1): 148-164.

Halperin, Morton, Joseph T. Siegle and Michael Weinstein. 2005. *The Democracy Advantage*. New York: Routledge.

Hyden, Goran. 2007. 'Governance and poverty reduction in Africa.' *Proceedings of The National Academy of Sciences of The USA* 104 (43): 16751-16756.

Midlarsky, Manus I. Ed. 1997. *Inequality, democracy and economic development*. Cambridge.

Mulligan, Casey B., R. Gil and X. Sala-i-martin. 2004. 'Do democracies have different public policies than non-democracies?' *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(1): 51-74.

Rodrik, Dani, A. Subramanian, F. Trebbi. 2004. 'Institutions rule: The primacy of institutions over geography and integration in economic development.' *Journal of Economic Growth* 9 (2): 131-165.

Ross, Michael. 2006. 'Is democracy good for the poor?' *American Journal of Political Science* 50(4): 860-874.

Siegle, Joseph T. , Michael Weinstein and Morton Halperin. 2004. 'Why democracies excel' *Foreign Affairs* 83(5):57-72.

Online Resources:

UNDP *Human Development Report* <http://hdr.undp.org/en/> (or latest available)

World Bank Development Data www.worldbank.com/data

Part III: Comparing Democratic Institutions

Class 9 Democratic Institutions: Power-sharing Constitutions

Topics:

- What is consociationalism? Is the theory still relevant?
- Explain the key contrasts between ‘consensus’ or ‘majoritarian’ democracies by comparing and contrasting the constitutional features of two countries exemplifying each type.
- “*In the most deeply divided societies, like Northern Ireland, majority rule spells majority dictatorship and civil strife rather than democracy. What such societies need is a democratic regime that emphasizes consensus instead of opposition, that includes rather than excludes, and that tries to maximize the size of the ruling majority instead of being satisfied with a bare majority.*” (Lijphart). Is this a robust and well-substantiated claim?
- What contexts make power-sharing constitutional settlements most likely to fail? What contexts make them most likely to succeed? Discuss and illustrate with two recent cases.

Required Reading:

Norris, Pippa. 2007. *Driving Democracy*. Chapter 1. Available at www.pippanorris.com under ‘books’

Recommended Reading:

- Andeweg, Rudy B.. 2000. ‘Consociational democracy.’ *Annual Review of Politics* 3:509-36.
- Arjomand, Said Amir. Ed. 2007. *Constitutionalism and political reconstruction*. Boston: Brill.
- Banting, Keith and Richard Simeon (Ed.) 1985. *Redesigning the State*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press.
- Buchanan, James M. and Gordon Tullock. 1962. *The Calculus of Consent*. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund.
- Carothers, Thomas. 1999. *Aiding Democracy Abroad*. Chapter 7. Washington DC: Carnegie.
- Dahl, Robert. *On Democracy*. Yale. 1998.
- Elster, Jon. 1995. ‘Forces and Mechanisms in the Constitution-Making Process.’ *Duke Law Journal* 45, (November), 364-396
- Held, David. 1987. *Models of Democracy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press;
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1991. *A Democratic South Africa? Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 2002. *The Deadly Ethnic Riot*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- LeDuc, Lawrence, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris. Eds. 2002. *Comparing Democracies 2: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. London: Sage.
- Lijphart, Arend 1975. *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1969. ‘Consociational democracy.’ *World Politics*. 21: 207-25.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 2008. *Thinking about Democracy: Power Sharing and Majority Rule in Theory and Practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Linder, Wolf and Andre Baechtiger. 2005. ‘What drives democratization in Asia and Africa?’ *European Journal of Political Research* 44: 861-880.

- Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack Snyder. 2007. *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies go to War*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Powell, Jr, G. Bingham. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. Yale University Press.
- Reynolds, Andrew. Ed. 2002. *The Architecture of Democracy: Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sartori, Giovanni. 1994. *Comparative Constitutional Engineering: An Inquiry Into Structures, Incentives, and Outcomes*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Snyder, Jack. 2000. *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Schneckener, Ulrich and Stefan Wolff, editors. 2004. *Managing and settling ethnic conflicts: perspectives on successes and failures in Europe, Africa and Asia*. London: C. Hurst.
- Schneckener, Ulrich. 2002. 'Making power-sharing work: Lessons from successes and failures in ethnic conflict regulation.' *Journal of Peace Research* 39 (2): 203-228.

Online Resources:

International Constitutional Law Documents <http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/index.html>

Database of Political Institutions, 2000 <http://www.worldbank.org/research/bios/pkeefe.htm>

Class 10 Democratic Institutions: Electoral Systems

Topics:

- In considering debates about electoral reform, list the five most important normative values that any electoral system should meet, and give detailed reasons justifying your choices.
- What are the major distinctions between plurality first-past the-post, the alternative vote, the single transferable vote, combined, and party list electoral systems? Discuss with illustrations of recent elections held under each type of rules.
- Are mixed member (combined) electoral systems the best of all possible worlds?
- Do we know enough about the impact of political institutions to engage in successful 'constitutional engineering'? Compare the outcome of electoral reforms in Italy, New Zealand and Israel to consider these issues.
- Compare two countries and discuss the primary advantages and disadvantages of proportional or majoritarian/plurality electoral systems for each state.
- Do proportional electoral systems generate fragmented or extreme multiparty systems?
- What are the consequences of majoritarian/plurality electoral systems for the representation of women and ethnic minorities, and why do these effects occur?

Required Reading:

Norris, Pippa. 2007. *Driving Democracy*. Chapter 5. Available at www.pippanorris.com under 'books'

Recommended Reading:

- Benoit, Kenneth. 2007. 'Electoral Laws as Political Consequences: Explaining the Origins and Change of Electoral Institutions.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 10: 363-90.
- Birch, Sarah et al. Ed. 2002. *Embodying Democracy: Electoral System Design in Post-Communist Europe*. New York: Palgrave.
- Birch, Sarah. 2002. *Electoral systems and Political Transformation in Post-Communist Europe*. New York: Palgrave.

- Colomer, Joseph M.. 2004. *Handbook of Electoral System Choice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cox, Gary. 1997. *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gallagher, Michael and Paul Mitchell. Eds. 2005. *The Politics of Electoral Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katz, Richard S. 1997. *Democracy and Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1997. 'Unequal participation: democracy's unresolved dilemma.' *American Political Science Review*. 91:1-14.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries*. Chapters 5.
- Lindberg, Staffan. 2006. *Democracy and elections in Africa*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.
- Norris, Pippa. 2004. *Electoral Engineering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Powell, Jr, G. Bingham. 2000. *Elections as Instruments of Democracy*. Yale University Press.
- Reilly, Ben, and Andrew Reynolds. 1998. *Electoral Systems and Conflict in Divided Societies*. Washington, DC: National Academy Press.
- Reilly, Ben. 2001. *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Reynolds, Andrew and Ben Reilly. 1997. *The International IDEA Handbook of Electoral System Design*. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.
- Shugart, Matthew and Martin Wattenberg. 2001. *Mixed-Member Electoral Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sisk, Timothy and Andrew Reynolds. Eds. 1998. *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa*. US Institute of Peace.
- Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. Yale University Press.

Online Resources:

International IDEA. ACE Project on electoral system design. <http://www.aceproject.org>

Database of Political Institutions, 2000

<http://econ.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/0,,contentMDK:20649465~pagePK:64214825~piPK:64214943~theSitePK:469382,00.html>

Class 11 Democratic Institutions: Executives

Topics:

- Explain and assess Linz's claim that presidential government leads to democratic instability by comparing examples of presidential and parliamentary government in either Latin America or in Central and Eastern Europe.

Required Reading:

Norris, Pippa. 2007. *Driving Democracy*. Chapter 6. Available at www.pippanorris.com under 'books'

Recommended Reading:

Baylis, T.A.. 1996. 'President versus prime ministers: Shaping executive authority in Eastern Europe.' *World Politics* 48 (3): 297+.

- Blais, André, Louis Massicotte and Agnieszka Dobrynska. 1997. 'Direct presidential elections: A world summary.' *Electoral Studies* 16(4): 441-455.
- Beliaev, M.V.. 2006. 'Presidential power and consolidation of new post-communist democracies.' *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (3): 375-398.
- Elgie, Robert. 1997. 'Models of executive politics: A framework for the study of executive power relations in parliamentary and semi-presidential regimes.' *Political Studies* 155: 217-231.
- Helms, Ludger. 2005. *Presidents, Prime Ministers and Chancellors: Executive Leadership in Western Democracies* Palgrave.
- Jones, Mark P. 1995. *Electoral Laws and the Survival of Presidential Democracies*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries*. Chapters 7 and 10.
- Lijphart, Arendt. 1996. Ed. *Presidential v. Parliamentary Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (see chapter by Linz)
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stephan. *Problems of Democratic Consolidation*. Johns Hopkins Press. 1996.
- Linz, Juan J and Arturo Valenzuela. Eds.1994. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*. The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Metcalf, Lee Kendall. 2000. 'Measuring presidential power.' *Comparative Political Studies* 33 (5): 660-685.
- Poguntke, Thomas and Paul Webb. Eds. 2005. *The presidentialization of politics: a comparative study of modern democracies*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press/ECPR.
- Protsyk, O. 2006. 'Intra-executive competition between president and prime minister: Patterns of institutional conflict and cooperation under semi-presidentialism.' *Political Studies* 54 (2): 219-244.
- Schugart, Mathew Soberg and John Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Siaroff, Alan. 2003. 'Comparative presidencies: The inadequacy of the presidential, semi-presidential, and parliamentary distinction.' *European Journal of Political Research* 42 (3): 287-312.

Class 12 Democratic Institutions: Federalism and decentralization

Topics:

- Do decentralized institutions help or hinder good governance?
- Does federalism encourage or deter succession?

Required Reading:

Norris, Pippa. 2007. *Driving Democracy*. Chapter 7. Available at www.pippanorris.com under 'books'

Recommended Reading:

Ahmad, Ehtisham (Editor). 2002. *Fiscal Decentralization*. London: Routledge;

Ames, Barry. 2001. *The deadlock of democracy in Brazil*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bird, Richard M. and François Vaillancourt. Eds. 1999. *Fiscal Decentralization in Developing Countries*. New York: Cambridge University Press;

- De Vries, Michiel S.. 2000. 'The rise and fall of decentralization: a comparative analysis of arguments and practices in European Countries.' *European Journal of Political Research* 38, 193–224.
- Denters, Bas and Lawrence Rose (Editors). 2005. *Comparing Local Governance: Trends and Developments*. London: Palgrave/Macmillan.
- Elazar, Daniel. 1994. *Federal Systems of the World: A Handbook of Federal, Confederal and Autonomy Arrangements* Essex: Longman
- Erk, Jan. 2006. 'Does federalism really matter?' *Comparative Politics* 39 (1): 103.
- Goldsmith, Michael. 2002. 'Central control over local government: A Western European comparison.' *Local Government Studies* 28 (3): 91.
- Griffiths, Ann L.. Ed. *Handbook of Federal Countries, 2005*. Montreal: Forum of Federations/McGill University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1999. *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in 36 Countries*. Chapters 15 & 16.
- Manor, James. 1999. *The Political Economy of Democratic Decentralization*. Washington, DC: The World Bank;
- Nickson, R.A.. 1995. *Local Government in Latin America*. Colorado: Lynne Reinner;
- B.D. Santos. 1998. 'Participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a redistributive democracy.' *Politics & Society* 26 (4): 461-510
- Page, Ed C. and Michael Goldsmith. 1987. *Central and Local Government Relations*. London: Sage; Ed C. Page. 1991. *Localism and Centralism in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press;
- Prudhomme, Remy. 1995. 'The Dangers of Decentralization.' *World Bank Research Observer*. 10(2): 201-220.
- Schneider, Aaron. 2003. 'Decentralization: Conceptualization and measurement.' *Studies in Comparative International Development* 38(3): 32-56.
- Stegarescu, Dan. 2005. 'Public sector decentralisation: Measurement concepts and recent international trends.' *Fiscal Studies* 26 (3): 301-333.
- Treisman, Daniel. 2007. *The Architecture of Government: Rethinking Political Decentralization*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Watts, Ronald L. 1999. *Comparing Federal Systems*. 2nd Ed. Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Wibbels, Erik. 2005. *Federalism and the Market: Intergovernmental Conflict and Economic Reform in the Developing World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Class 13 Democratic Institutions: the mass media

Topics:

- What are the ideal roles of the news media as agenda-setters, watchdogs and in the public sphere in the democratization process? What are the primary barriers to achieving these roles?

Required Reading:

Norris, Pippa. 2007. *Driving Democracy*. Chapter 8. Available at www.pippanorris.com under 'books'

Recommended Reading:

- Ackerman, John M. and Irma E. Sandoval-Ballesteros. 2006. 'The Global Explosion of Freedom of Information Laws.' *Administrative Law Review*. 58(1): 85-130.
- Anable, D. 2006. 'The role of Georgia's media - and Western aid - in the Rose Revolution.' *Harvard International Journal of Press-Politics* 11 (3): 7-43.
- Banisar, David. 2006. *Freedom of Information Around the World 2006: A Global Survey of Access to Government Records Laws* www.freedominfo.org.
- Becker, J. 2004. 'Lessons from Russia: A neo-authoritarian media system.' *European Journal of Communication* 19 (2): 139-163.
- Besley, T. and R. Burgess. 2002. "The political economy of government responsiveness: Theory and evidence from India" *Quarterly Journal Of Economics* 117 (4): 1415-1451.
- Brunetti, A. and B. Weder. 2003. 'A free press is bad news for corruption.' *Journal of Public Economics* 87 (7-8): 1801-1824.
- Chowdhury, S.K.. 2004. 'The effect of democracy and press freedom on corruption: an empirical test.' *Economics Letters* 85 (1): 93-101;
- Chu, L.L. 1994. 'Continuity and change in China media reform.' *Journal of Communication* 44 (3): 4-21.
- Djankov, Simeon, Caralee McLiesh, Tatiana Nenova and Andrei Shleifer. 2003. 'Who Owns The Media?' *Journal of Law and Economics*, 46(2,Oct), 341-382.
- Esser Frank, and Barbara Pfetsch. Eds. 2004. *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gunther, Richard and Anthony Mughan. Eds. 2000. *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hyden, Goran , Michael Leslie and Folu F. Ogundimu. Eds. 2002. *Media and Democracy in Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Islam, Roumeen. 2003. *Do More Transparent Governments Govern Better?* Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Islam, Roumeen. Ed. 2002. *The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- James, Barry. Ed. 2006. *Media development and poverty eradication*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Kalathil, Shanthy and Taylor C. Boas. 2001. *The Internet and State Control in Authoritarian Regimes: China, Cuba and the Counterrevolution*. Global Policy Program No 21 Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2008. *Global Communications and Cultural Diversity*. Chapters for the news book are available at www.pippanorris.com
- Norris, Pippa. 2001. *Digital Divide*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, Alasdair. 2006. *Blacked Out: Government Secrecy in the Information Age*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sparks, Colin and A. Reading. 1994. 'Understanding media change in East-Central-Europe.' *Media Culture & Society* 16 (2): 243-270.
- Voltmer, Katrin. Ed. 2006. *Mass media and political communication in new democracies*. London: Routledge
- Woods, Joshua. 2007. 'Democracy and the press: A comparative analysis of pluralism in the international print media.' *Social Science Journal* 44 (2): 213-230.

World Bank. 2009. *The Roles of the News Media in the Governance Reform Agenda*. All draft papers for a new report for the World Bank are available online: see the class website at www.pippanorris.com

Part III: Comparing Political Culture

Class 14 Inglehart's Post-Modernization

Topics:

- What is meant by Inglehart's concepts of 'modernization' and 'post-modernization' and are these two distinct stages of socioeconomic development?
- Is there good evidence supporting Inglehart's claims of a substantial cultural shift in orientations towards democratic values in affluent societies?

Required Reading:

Inglehart, Ronald. 2003. 'How Solid is Mass Support for Democracy and How Do We Measure It?' *PS: Political Science and Politics*.

Inglehart, Ronald and Christopher Welzel. 2003. 'Political culture and democracy - Analyzing cross-level linkages.' *Comparative Politics* 36 (1): 61-+.

Recommended Reading:

Abramson, Paul R. and Ronald Inglehart. 1995. *Value Change in Global Perspective*. Ann Arbor, Mich: University of Michigan Press.

Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba. 1963. *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney Verba. Eds. 1980. *The Civic Culture Revisited*. Boston: Little Brown.

Clarke, Harold D., Alan Kornberg, C. McIntyre, P. Bauer-Kaase, and Max Kaase. 1999. 'The effect of economic priorities on the measurement of value change: New experimental evidence.' *American Political Science Review*. 93 (3): 637-647.

Harrison, Lawrence E. and Samuel P. Huntington. Eds. 2000. *Culture Matters*. New York: Basic Books.

Hibbing, John R. and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 2003. *Stealth Democracy: Americans' Beliefs about How Government Should Work*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald and Paul Abramson. 1999. 'Measuring postmaterialism.' *American Political Science Review*. 93 (3): 665-677.

Inglehart, Ronald and Wayne E. Baker. 2000. 'Modernization, Globalization and the Persistence of Tradition: Empirical Evidence from 65 Societies.' *American Sociological Review*. 65: 19-55.

Inglehart, Ronald and Christopher Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1990. *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.

Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Seligson, Mitchell. A. 2002. 'The renaissance of political culture or the renaissance of the ecological fallacy?' *Comparative Politics*. 34 (3): 273.

Welzel, Chris, Ronald Inglehart, and Hans-Dieter Klingemann. 2003. 'The theory of human development: A cross-cultural analysis.' *European Journal of Political Research* 42 (3): 341-379.

Online Resources:

World Values Study 1981-2007 <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

Global barometers <http://www.globalbarometer.net/>

Pew Global Surveys <http://pewglobal.org/>

Gallup International Voice of the People www.voice-of-the-people.net/

Class 15 Inglehart's Post-Modernization: Gender Equality

Topics:

- How far does the theory of value change explain the rise of new social movements? Discuss in relation to either the environmental or the women's movement.
- Critically assess how far cultural theories provide a satisfactory explanation of patterns of gender equality found in agrarian, industrial and postindustrial societies.
- Do economic priorities or generational shifts provide a more satisfactory explanation of value change?

Required Reading:

Ronald Inglehart and Pippa Norris. 2003. *Rising Tide*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Available at: www.pippanorris.com under <http://www.pippanorris.com> 'books' Chapter 1-3

Recommended Reading:

See class 14 and the complete bibliography available in *Rising Tide*

Lane Kenworthy and Melissa Malami. 1999. 'Gender Inequality in Political Representation: A Worldwide Comparative Analysis.' *Social Forces* 78(1): 235-269.

Dahlerup, Drude. Ed. 2006. *Women, Quotas and Politics*. London: Routledge

Reynolds, Andrew. 1999. 'Women in the Legislatures and Executives of the World: Knocking at the Highest Glass Ceiling.' *World Politics* 51(4): 547-572.

Class 16 Inglehart Religion and Secularization

Topics:

- If secularization has occurred in most post-industrial societies, why not in the case of the United States?

Required Reading:

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2003. 'Muslims and the West: A Clash of Civilizations?' *Foreign Policy*. March/April: 63-70. Available here:

<http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris.shorenstein.ksg/ACROBAT/Clash.pdf>

Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular: Religion and politics worldwide*. Chapter 1 and 3. Available online at www.pippanorris.com under 'books'.

Recommended Reading:

See class 14.

Part IV: Comparing Civic Society and Social Capital

Class 17 Putnam's Social Capital and Democracy: Italy

Topics:

- Do you agree that social capital, including dense social networks and rich reservoirs of social trust, help to explain why some democratic governments succeed while others fail? Explain and assess Putnam's theory in the context of Italian regional government.
- What are the alternative conceptions of 'social capital'?
- Does social trust matter? Explain why and why not.

Required Reading:

Putnam, Robert. 1995. *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 3, and 4.

Recommended Reading:

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1970. *Reproduction in Education, Culture and Society*. London: Sage.

Coleman, James S. 1988. '[Social capital in the creation of human capital.](#)' *American Journal of Sociology*. 94: 95-120.

Coleman, James S. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge: Belknap.

Fukuyama, Francis. 1995. *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*. NY: Free Press.

Norris, Pippa. 2002. *Democratic Phoenix*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8.

Pharr, Susan and Robert Putnam. Eds. 2000. *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Putnam, Robert. Ed. 2002. *Democracy in Flux*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tarrow, Sidney. 1996. '[Making social science work across space and time: A critical reflection on Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work.](#)' *American Political Science Review*. 90 (2): 389-397.

Class 18 Putnam's Social Capital and Democracy: the US

Topics:

- How far has the United States experienced a long-term erosion of civic engagement and, if so, explain and assess Putnam's analysis of the causes of this phenomenon.
- Has television entertainment corroded social capital?

Required Reading:

Putnam, Robert. 1995. *Making Democracy Work*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapter 5.

Putnam, Robert D. 2002. 'Bowling Together.' *The American Prospect*. 13(3):
<http://www.prospect.org/print/V13/3/putnam-r.html>

Putnam, Robert D. 1995. 'The Strange Disappearance of Civic America.' *The American Prospect* 7(24).
<http://www.prospect.org/print/V7/24/putnam-r.html>

Recommended Reading:

Brehm, John, and Wendy Rahn. 1997. '[Individual-level evidence for the causes and consequences of social capital.](#)' *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 41, No. 3: 999-1023.

Ladd, Everett C. 1996. 'The Data Just Don't Show Erosion of America's Social Capital.' *The Public Perspective*. 7(4).

- Norris, Pippa. 1996 'Did Television Erode Social Capital? A Reply to Putnam' *PS: Political Science and Politics*. XXIX (3) September: 474-480.
- Putnam, Robert D, and Lewis Feldstein. 2003. *Better Together: Restoring the American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, Robert D, and Lewis Feldstein. 2003. *Better Together: Restoring the American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995. 'The Strange Disappearance of Civic America.' *The American Prospect* 7(24).
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995. 'Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America.' *P.S.: Political Science and Politics* XXVIII (4): 664-83.
- Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone*. NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Rotolo, Thomas. 1999. 'Trends in voluntary association participation.' *Nonprofit And Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. 28(2): 199-212.
- Skocpol, Theda and Morris P. Fiorina. Eds. 1999. *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*. Washington DC: Brookings/Russell Sage Foundation.

Online Resources:

Saguaro Seminar <http://www.bettertogether.org/> Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey

Class 19 Putnam's Social Capital and Democracy Worldwide

Topics:

- Do the central claims in Putnam's theory of social capital hold in cross-cultural perspective?

Recommended Reading:

- Albrow, Martin, Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, Monroe Price and Mary Kaldor (Eds.) 2008. *Global Civil Society 2007/8: Communicative Power and Democracy*. London: Sage.
- Baron, Stephen, John Field, and Tom Schuller. (Eds). 2000. *Social Capital: Critical Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Curtis, J.E, E.G. Grabb and D.E. Baer. 1992. 'Voluntary association membership in 15 countries – a comparative analysis.' *American Sociological Review*. 57(2): 139-152.
- Dasgupta, Partha and Ismail Serageldin. Eds. 2000. *Social Capital: A Multifaceted Perspective*. The World Bank: Washington DC.
- Edwards, Michael and David Hulme. 1996. 'Too close for comfort? The impact of official aid on nongovernmental organizations.' *World Development* 24 (6): 961-973.
- Foley, Michael and Bob Edwards. 1998. 'Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and Social Capital in Comparative Perspective.' *American Behavioral Scientist*. 42(1): 5-20.
- Hall, Peter. 1999. 'Social capital in Britain.' *British Journal of Political Science*. 29: 417-461.
- Hooghe, Marc and Dietlind Stolle. Eds. 2003. *Generating Social Capital: Civil Society and Institutions in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- János Kornai, Bo Rothstein, and Susan Rose-Ackerman. Eds. 2004. *Creating Social Trust in Post-Socialist Transitions*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink, 1998. *Activists beyond Borders - Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Krishna A. 2007. 'How does social capital grow? A seven-year study of villages in India.' *Journal of Politics* 69 (4): 941-956.

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- Svendsen, Gunnar Lind Haase and Gert Tinggaard Svendsen. 2004. *The Creation and Destruction of Social Capital: Entrepreneurship, Cooperative Movements, and Institutions*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Tusalem, Rollin F. 2007. 'A boon or a bane? The role of civil society in third- and fourth-wave democracies.' *International Political Science Review* 28 (3): 361-386.
- Van Deth, Jan Willem. Ed. 1997. *Private Groups and Public Life: Social Participation, Voluntary Associations and Political Involvement in Representative Democracies*. London: Routledge.
- Van Deth, Jan.W. Ed. 1999. *Social Capital and European Democracy*. New York: Routledge
- Varshney, Artosh. 2001. 'Ethnic conflict and civil society - India and beyond.' *World Politics* 53 (3): 362+.
- Whiteley Paul F. 2000. 'Economic growth and social capital.' *Political Studies*. 48 (3): 443-466.

Online Resources:

World Bank Social Capital for Development <http://go.worldbank.org/VEN7OUW280>

Part VI: Comparing Ethnic Conflict and Cooperation

Class 21 Huntington's Clash

Topics:

- What Does Huntington mean by 'civilizational cultures' and how can these best be measured and operationalized?
- Are Western and Muslim values irreconcilably at odds?
- Why has democracy made little progress in the Middle East and North Africa?

Required Reading:

Chirot, D. 2001. 'A clash of civilizations or of paradigms? Theorizing progress and social change.' *International Sociology*. 16(3): 341-360.

Recommended reading:

- Collier, Paul and Nicholas Sambanis. Eds. 2005. *Understanding Civil War*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Horowitz, Donald L. 1985. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Esposito, John L. and John O. Voll. 1996. *Democracy and Islam*, New York: Oxford University Press.
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- Gerges, Fawaz A. 1999. *America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests?* NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Guelke, Adrian. Ed. 2004. *Democracy and Ethnic Conflict*. New York: Palgrave
- Gurr, Ted. 2000. *Peoples versus States*. Washington DC: US Institute for Peace Press.
- Hunter, Shireen T. 1998. *The Future of Islam and the West: Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Coexistence?* Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1997. 'The clash of civilizations – response.' *Millenium – Journal of International Studies*. 26(1): 141-142.
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- Inglehart, Ronald. Ed. 2003. *Islam, Gender, Culture, and Democracy*. de Sitter Publications.
- Jelen, Ted Gerard and Clyde Wilcox. Eds. 2002. *Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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- Lewis, Bernard. 2002. *What went wrong? Western impact and Middle Eastern response*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Said, Edward. 2001. 'A Clash of Ignorance'. *The Nation*.
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- Taras, Raymond and Rajat Ganguly. 1998. *Understanding Ethnic Conflict*. NY: Longman.
- Walter, Barbara and Jack Snyder. Eds. *Civil Wars, Insecurity and Intervention*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Online resource:

UNDP. 2002. Report on *Human Development in the Middle East*. www.UNDP.org .

Class 22 Huntington's Clash**Topics:**

- Is there good evidence that the last decade has seen rising levels of intra and inter-ethnic conflict?
- "In the new world the most pervasive, important and dangerous conflicts will not be between social classes, rich and poor, or other economically defined groups, but between people belonging to different cultural entities." (Huntington 1996:28). Discuss.

- “Culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilizational identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the post-Cold War world.” (Huntington) Do you agree? Why or why not.

Required Reading:

- Henderson, E.A. and R. Tucker. 2001. ‘Clear and Present strangers: The clash of civilizations and international politics.’ *International Studies Quarterly*. 45(2): 317-338.
- Russett B.M., J.R. O’Neal and M. Cox. 2000. ‘Clash of civilizations, or realism and liberalism déjà vu? Some evidence.’ *Journal of Peace Research*. 37(5): 583-608.

Recommended reading:

- Alesina, Alberto, Arnaud Devleeschauwer, William Easterly, Sergio Kurlat and Romain Wacziarg. 2003. ‘Fractionalization’ *Journal of Economic Growth* 8:155-194.
- Byman, Daniel L. 2002. *Keeping the Peace: Lasting Solutions to Ethnic Conflict*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press
- Collier, Paul and Nicholas Sambanis. Eds. 2005. *Understanding Civil War*. Washington DC: World Bank.
- Diamond, Larry, Mark Plattner and Daniel Brumberg. Eds. 2003. *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*. John Hopkins Press.
- Easterly, William, and R. Levine.1997. ‘Africa’s growth tragedy: Policies and ethnic divisions.’ *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 111(4): 1203-1250.
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- Midlarsky, M.I. 1998. ‘Democracy and Islam: Implications for civilizational conflict and the democratic peace.’ *International Studies Quarterly*. 42(3): 485-511.
- Posner, Daniel. 2004. ‘Measuring ethnic fractionalization in Africa.’ *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 849-863.
- Posner, Daniel. 2004. ‘The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi.’ *APSR* 98(4): 529-546.
- Tessler, Mark and E. Gao E. 2005. ‘Gauging Arab support for democracy’ *Journal of Democracy* 16 (3): 83-97.

Online Resources:

- Ted Robert Gurr *People Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* Ch. 1.
<http://www.bsos.umd.edu/cidcm/mar/trgpvs.html>
- Minorities at Risk database <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/>
- State Failure Project Internal Wars and Failures of Governance 1955-2001:
<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/stfail/index.htm>
- Ethnologue. Database on ethnic populations. www.ethnologue.org

Class 23 Case-study: Building the Iraq and Afghan constitutions

Topics:

- How would you evaluate the new Iraqi and Afghan constitutions, what further reforms would you suggest, and why?

Required Reading:

Full briefing details are available online: see the class website at www.pippanorris.com

Anderson, Lisa, 2006. Searching where the light shines: Studying democratization in the Middle East *Annual Review Of Political Science* 9: 189-214 2006

Cavatorta, F. 2006. Civil society, Islamism and democratisation: the case of Morocco *Journal Of Modern African Studies* 44 (2): 203-222.

Dalacoura, Katerina. 2005. 'US democracy promotion in the Arab Middle East since 11 September 2001: a critique.' *International Affairs* 81 (5): 963-+ OCT 2005

Diamond, Larry, Mark Plattner and Daniel Brumberg. Eds. 2003. *Islam and Democracy in the Middle East*. Johns Hopkins Press.

Esposito, John L. and John O. Voll. 1996. *Democracy and Islam*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Esposito, John. Ed. 1997. *Political Islam: Revolution, Radicalism or Reform?* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Puddington, Arch. 2006. 'Freedom in the World 2006: Middle East Progress amid Global Gains.' www.freedomhouse.org

Rotberg, Robert. 2007. *Building a new Afghanistan*. Washington DC: Brookings.

Tessler, Mark and E. Gao E. 2005. 'Gauging Arab support for democracy' *Journal Of Democracy* 16 (3): 83-97 JUL 2005

UNDP. 2004. *Arab Human Development Report 2004*. New York: UNDP. www.undp.org .

Volpi, F. 2004. 'Pseudo-democracy in the Muslim world.' *Third World Quarterly* 25 (6): 1061-1078.

Arab Barometer <http://arabbarometer.org/>

Bellin, Eva, 2004. 'The robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East - Exceptionalism in comparative perspective.' *Comparative Politics* 36 : 139 2004

Conclusions

Class 24: Final wrap up

For further research resources:

-In general for the **Class Website** see www.pippanorris.com

-For relevant literature always check the online **Social Science Citation Index** via Hollis or the Harvard Kennedy School Library's website, www.hks.harvard.edu/library, under 'key resources for hks'

-Also check journal articles in *American Political Science Review*, *American Journal of Political Science*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Comparative Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, *Journal of Democracy*, *Journal of Politics*, *Party Politics*, and *West European Politics*.

-For sources of data always check the **Harvard Data Center**.

<http://www.hmdc.harvard.edu/>, or also through the Harvard Kennedy School Library's website, www.hks.harvard.edu/library, under 'key resources for hks'