

American University  
School of International Service  
International Development Program

**GOVERNANCE, DEMOCRACY & DEVELOPMENT:  
TRANSITIONS, INSTITUTIONS & POLITICAL DYNAMICS  
Spring 2006 – SIS 647.001**

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Class Seminars: Thursdays 2:10 – 4:50 PM  
Office Hours: Tuesdays 2:00 – 4:00 PM & Wednesdays 3:00 – 5:00 PM

Governance, Democracy, & Development provides a general overview of key issues in the comparative study of democracy. The course examines the development of democratic regimes, its multiple pathways, and the conditions needed to sustain this political framework. Furthermore, it reviews a variety of institutions for democratic governance, including the rule of law, presidentialism, parliamentarism, electoral processes, party systems and federalism. Attention is also given to the role of civil society and popular mobilization, and the effects of ethnic, religious and nationalist conflict in democratizing polities. A final section will appraise contemporary discussions on the quality of democracy. Course readings and discussions will draw on a range of case studies from across the world, with a special emphasis on Latin America.

The themes covered by this course should enhance awareness of the multiple aspects and levels of analysis involved in the development of democracy. Careful attention will be given to the concepts that shape the inquiry and debate over democratic institutions and processes.

Students will be required to prepare a research paper analyzing a topic relevant to our course. In doing so, the student will be expected to interview an expert on the issue being addressed. The aim here is to help foster greater familiarity with people and institutions in Washington, DC engaged in the study and development of democracy. Further details on this assignment will be provided in class.

Grading for the course will be based on the following criteria:

Mid-Term: 30%  
Research Paper: 30%  
Final: 30%  
Participation: 10%

Students are required to attend class and read course materials *before* each session.

The university's Code of Academic Honesty will be strictly followed. In other words, you must do your own work. Plagiarism will *not* be tolerated.

***Books Available for Purchase:***

Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, editors. The Global Divergence of Democracies. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Markoff, John. Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1996.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Jorge Vargas Cullell, and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta. The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2004.

Stepan, Alfred. Arguing Comparative Politics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Whitehead, Laurence. Democratization: Theory and Experience. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002

\*\* All other readings will be available through Blackboard.

\*\* Any questions or problems concerning the readings posted on Blackboard should be directed to my assistant, Kang Yue, at: [kangyue212001@yahoo.com](mailto:kangyue212001@yahoo.com)

*January 19*

**Introduction**

Film, *Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony*. Directed by Lee Hirsch (2002).

This documentary is about the struggle for democracy in South Africa, and the powerful role of music in the mobilization against the Apartheid regime.

*January 26*

**The Concept of Democracy: Genealogy and Basic Properties**

Giovanni Sartori, "Etymological Democracy," *The Theory of Democracy Revisited*. (Chatham: Chatham House Publishers, 1987), pp. 21-38.

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

Laurence Whitehead, "On 'Democracy' and 'Democratization'," *Democratization*, pp. 6-35.

John Markoff, "Semidemocracy, Pseudodemocracy, Democracy," *Waves of Democracy*, pp. 101-125.

Amartya Sen, "Democracy as Universal Value," *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, pp. 3-17.

*February 2*

**Democracy and Development**

John Markoff, "A Quick History of Modern Democracy," *Waves of Democracy*, pp. 1-12.

Mancur Olson, "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development," *American Political Science Review* 87: 3 (September 1993), pp. 567-576.

Amartya Sen, "The Ends and Means of Development," *Development as Freedom*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 35-53.

Joseph T. Siegle, Michael M. Weinstein, and Morton H. Halperin, "Why Democracies Excel," *Foreign Affairs* 83: 5 (September/October 2004), pp. 57-71.

Giovanni Sartori, "How Far Can Free Government Travel?" *The Global Divergence of Democracies*, pp. 52-62.

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, "What Makes Democracies Endure?" The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 167-184.

Robert Dahl, "Why Market-Capitalism Favors Democracy" and "Why Market-Capitalism Harms Democracy," On Democracy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 166-179.

Tony Judt, "The New World Order," The New York Review of Books LII: 12 (July 14, 2005). Internet Access: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/18113>

*February 9*

### **Transitions to Democracy: A Basic Overview**

Scott Mainwaring, "Transitions to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative Issues," Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective (Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela, editors) (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1992), pp. 294-341.

Alfred Stepan, "Paths Toward Redemocratization: Theoretical and Comparative Considerations," Arguing Comparative Politics, pp. 111-137.

Laurence Whitehead, "The Drama of Democratic Transitions," Democratization, pp. 36-64.

Michael Bratton and Nicolas van de Walle, "Neopatrimonial Rule in Africa," Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 61-96.

### *Recommended Reading*

Alfred Stepan, "On the Tasks of a Democratic Opposition," Arguing Comparative Politics, pp. 159-166.

Farhad Kazemi and Augustus Richard Norton, "Hardliners and Softliners in the Middle East: Problems of Governance and the Prospects for Liberalization in Authoritarian Political Systems," Democracy and its Limits: Lessons from Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. (Howard Handelman and Mark Tessler, editors) (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2000), pp. 69-89.

*February 16*

**Transitions to Democracy: Historical Diversity, Elites and Mass Mobilizations**

John Markoff, "States, Social Movement Challengers, and Elite Reformers," and "Twentieth-Century Pendulum Swings," Waves of Democracy, pp. 13-36 & 71-99.

Whitehead, "On Theory and Experience in Democratization Studies," Democratization, pp. 237-70.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John D. Stephens, "Capitalist Development and Democracy: A Theoretical Framework," Capitalist Development & Democracy. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), pp. 40-78.

Elisabeth Jean Wood, "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador," Comparative Political Studies 34: 8 (October 2001), pp. 862-888.

*Recommended Reading*

John Markoff, "Eighteenth-Century Revolution, Nineteenth-Century Eddies," Waves of Democracy, pp. 37-69.

Alfred Stepan and Juan J. Linz, "Political Crafting of Democratic Consolidation or Destruction: European and South American Comparisons," Arguing Comparative Politics, pp. 138-158.

*February 23*

**Democracy Assistance, Elections and Political Parties**

*\*\* Guest Lecturer, Robert Pastor, Vice President for International Affairs and Director of the Center for Democracy and Election Management at American University*

Thomas Carothers, "The Rise of Democracy Assistance" and "Basic Steps: Elections and Political Parties," Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999), pp. 19-58; 123-155.

Jørgen Elklit and Palle Svendsen, "What Makes Elections Free and Fair?" The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 200-214.

Robert A. Pastor, "The Third Dimension of Accountability: The International Community in National Elections," The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies. (Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, editors) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 123-142.

Robert A. Pastor, "America Observed: Why Foreign Election Observers Would Rate the United States Near the Bottom," The American Prospect (January 2005)

Donald L. Horowitz, "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers," Journal of Democracy. 14:4 (October 2003), pp. 115-127.

Scott Mainwaring, "Party Systems in the Third Wave," The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 185-199.

### *March 2*

#### **The Consolidation of Democracy: Problems and Prospects**

Andreas Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation?" The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 149-164.

Alfred Stepan and Juan J. Linz, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 93-112.

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 113-130.

Laurence Whitehead, "On Political Corruption," Democratization, pp. 115-135.

Ana María Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro, "From 'Restricted' to 'Besieged': The Changing Nature of the Limits to Democracy in Colombia," The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks (Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring, editors) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 235-260.

### *Recommended Reading*

Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Hans Jürgen Puhle, "O'Donnell's 'Illusions': A Rejoinder," The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 131-139.

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions and Conceptual Flaws: A Response," The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 140-148.

### *March 9*

#### **Democratic Institutions and Governance: Constitutions, Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Federalism**

Laurence Whitehead, "On Accountability and Institutional Design," Democratization, pp. 90-114.

Giovanni Sartori, "Constitutional Engineering," Comparative Constitutional Engineering: An Inquiry into Structures, Incentives and Outcomes. (New York: New York University Press, 1994), pp. 197-204.

Alfred Stepan and Cindy Skach, "Constitutional Frameworks and Democratic Consolidation: Parliamentarism versus Presidentialism," Arguing Comparative Politics, pp. 257-275.

Alfred Stepan, "Toward a New Comparative Politics of Federalism, (Multi)Nationalism, and Democracy: Beyond Rikerian Federalism," Arguing Comparative Politics, pp. 315-361.

Richard Snyder and David J. Samuels, "Legislative Malapportionment in Latin America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives," Federalism and Democracy in Latin America (Edward L. Gibson, editor) (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 131-172.

### *Recommended Reading*

Giovanni Sartori, "Presidentialism," "Parliamentary Systems," and "Semi-Presidentialism," Comparative Constitutional Engineering, pp. 83-140.

Robert A. Dahl, How Democratic Is the American Constitution? 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

*March 23*

### **\*\* In-Class Mid-Term Exam**

*March 30*

### **The Rule of Law, Citizenship, and Human Rights**

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Polyarchies and the (Un)Rule of Law in Latin America: A Partial Conclusion." The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America. Edited by Juan E. Mendez, Guillermo O'Donnell and Paulo Sergio Pinheiro. (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press), pp. 303-337.

Laurence Whitehead, "On Citizen Security," Democratization, pp. 165-185.

Charles Tilly, "Where do Rights Come From?" Stories, Identities, Political Change. (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), pp. 123-137.

Consuelo Cruz, "Latin American Citizenship: Civic Microfoundations in Historical Perspective," Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern

Europe (Katherine Hite and Paola Cesarini, editors) (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), pp. 305-321.

*Recommended Reading*

José María Maravall, “The Rule of Law as a Political Weapon,” Democracy and the Rule of Law. (José María Maravall and Adam Przeworski, editors) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 261-301.

*April 6*

**Civil Society: The Concept, its Democratic Promise and Shortcomings**

Laurence Whitehead, “On Civil Society,” Democratization, pp. 65-89.

Larry Diamond, “Civil Society,” Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), pp. 218-260.

Ariel Armony, “The ‘Serpent’s Egg’: Civil Society’s Dark Side,” and “Conclusion,” The Dubious Link: Civic Engagement and Democratization (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 56-103 and 200-216.

Miguel Carter, “Democracy and Civil Society: Can They Deliver?” Unpublished Manuscript, American University, 2005.

*April 13*

**Democracy and Inequality: Poverty and Popular Mobilization**

Steven Friedman, “Democracy, Inequality, and the Reconstruction of Politics,” Democratic Governance and Social Inequality (Joseph S. Tulchin, editor) (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), pp. 13-40.

Terry Lynn Karl, “The Vicious Cycle of Inequality in Latin America,” What Justice? Whose Justice? Fighting for Fairness in Latin America (Susan Eva Eckstein and Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 133-157.

Kurt Weyland, “Explaining the Dearth of Redistribution Under Democracy,” Democracy Without Equity: Failures of Reform in Brazil (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), pp. 17-49.

Miguel Carter, “The Landless Workers Movement (MST) and Democracy in Brazil.” Centre for Brazilian Studies Working Paper CBS-60-05. University of Oxford, 2005. Internet Access:

<http://www.brazil.ox.ac.uk/workingpapers/Miguel%20Carter%2060.pdf>

*April 20*

**Religion, Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Democratic Process**

Alfred Stepan, “The World Religious Systems and Democracy: Crafting the ‘Twin Toleration’,” Arguing Comparative Politics, pp. 213-253.

Abdou Filali-Ansary, “Muslims and Democracy,” The Global Divergence of Democracies, pp. 37-51.

Ashutosh Varshney, “Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society,” World Politics 53 (April 2001), pp. 362-398.

Jack Snyder, “Transitions to Democracy and the Rise of Nationalist Conflict,” From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict (New York: Norton Books, 2000), pp. 15-42.

*Recommended Reading*

Alfred Stepan, “Modern Multinational Democracies: Transcending a Gellnerian Oxymoron,” Arguing Comparative Politics, pp. 181-199.

*April 24*

**\*\* Research Paper Due**

*April 27*

**The Quality of Democracy**

Guillermo O’Donnell, “Human Development, Human Rights, and Democracy,” The Quality of Democracy, pp. 9 – 31.

Jorge Vargas Cullell, “Democracy and the Quality of Democracy: Empirical Findings and Methodological and Theoretical Issues Drawn from the Citizen Audit of the Quality of Democracy in Costa Rica,” The Quality of Democracy, pp. 93 – 162.

Terry Lynn Karl, “Latin America: Virtuous or Perverse Cycle,” The Quality of Democracy, pp. 187-195.

Osvald M. Iazzetta, “Unfinished Business for Latin America’s Democracies,” The Quality of Democracy, pp. 221-233.

*May 5*

**\*\* Take Home Exam Due**