

## **Seminar on Consolidating Democracy**

Political Science 227d, Stanford University  
Wednesdays, 3:15-6:00, Room 240-101  
Spring 2001

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### **Course Description and Requirements**

Since the "third wave" of democracy began in 1974, a large number of countries in the world have made transitions to the formal constitutional structures of multiparty democracy. Some of these new regimes may also be termed "liberal democracies," with effective protections for civil liberties, due process, political accountability, and the rule of law. Other new "democracies" are shallower, with democracy practiced through reasonably free and fair elections but not in other important institutional arenas. Whether they are merely "electoral" or more substantially "liberal," however, most "third wave" democracies share an important feature: they have yet to become "consolidated." This course will consider alternative conceptual approaches to democratic consolidation, while emphasizing the depth and breadth of legitimation as a key foundation. This legitimation, reflected in political behavior at all levels and in all important arenas of political expression and contestation, is strongly linked to the stability of democracy.

This seminar will begin with the conceptual issues: What do we mean by democracy and by "democratic consolidation"? Is the latter even a useful concept? How far have the new democracies of the world progressed toward consolidation? To what extent do more established democracies in the developing world show signs of "deconsolidation"? We will then proceed to consider a number of specific "facilitating and obstructing" factors for democratic consolidation. Particular attention is given to the role of institutions in shaping the character, effectiveness, and ultimately legitimacy of democracy, and thus in facilitating or obstructing the deepening and consolidation of democracy. The design and maturity of political institutions (both of the state and the party system) are key concerns. The roles of political culture and civil society will also be analyzed in depth.

A central purpose of the course is to think comparatively about the problems, opportunities, conditions, and constraints for democratic development and consolidation around the world. Concepts and theories will be examined in light of diverse empirical experiences from new democracies in Southern Europe, Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Students will be encouraged to share their country and regional expertise and research in class discussions and presentations. If you are not already engaged in specific study of a particular case (or set of cases), you are encouraged to read and master one or more of the case studies in Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, *Politics in Developing Countries*, 2nd ed. (1995). Or you may select (in consultation with the instructor) a comparable treatment of a (newly emergent) democracy.

## **Background Preparation**

It is assumed that all students in the course have had some substantial exposure to the literature on "transitions to democracy" and "conditions for democracy," or at least to the broader comparative politics literature. At least one course in comparative politics or political sociology is a prerequisite for the seminar. A syllabus for my introductory course, "Comparative Democratic Development" is available to indicate some valuable background reading. (This syllabus may be downloaded from <http://democracy.stanford.edu/> [click on "The Syllabi Collection"]). Important foundational works for this course (which the course assumes acquaintance with) are: Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition* (Yale University Press, 1971), Juan Linz, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown and Reequilibration* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), and, "What Makes for Democracy," in Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, *Politics in Developing Countries*, 2nd ed. (Lynne Rienner, 1995 - see the recommended texts, below).

## **Requirements and Grading**

This is a demanding class. It requires extensive, ongoing class participation; a substantial essay (2500-3000 words) in answer to a take-home mid-term exam; and a research paper. Each student will be expected to come to each seminar having read and prepared to discuss a considerable portion of the reading for each week. The research paper (about the length of a journal article, in the range of 30-40 pages, or 8,000-10,000 words) should analyze a particular problem or theme of democratic consolidation in a particular country or region. (This could involve, for example, the impact of the party system on democratic performance and consolidation in Brazil, or the interaction between economic reform and democratic consolidation in Poland, or the relationship between constitutional reform, horizontal accountability and democratic consolidation in Thailand). The paper is expected to begin with a substantial literature review putting the country or regional problem into a wider theoretical or comparative context. Thus, each student will be expected to integrate into the research paper discussion of salient course readings (including treatments of other countries and regions), and this aspect will be weighed significantly in grading. The topic of the paper must be chosen and the theme developed in consultation with the instructor. Incompletes are discouraged. Therefore, each student is expected to identify a paper topic and have it approved by the instructor by May 2. Outlines for the paper should be submitted to the instructor by May 16. *Term papers are due by Tuesday morning, June 12* (those participating in commencement ceremonies may be required to submit earlier).

The grade will be determined by the following weights:

- research paper, 50%
- mid-term exam essay, 25%
- seminar participation, 25%.

Each student is expected to have read the material assigned for each seminar session, and to contribute regularly and constructively to the seminar discussions. In addition, each student will be asked at least once during the quarter to present and/or comment upon some of the key themes and issues from a portion of the reading to be discussed during a particular seminar meeting.

## SCHEDULE OF SEMINAR MEETINGS AND DEADLINES, SPRING 2001

- April 4 Introduction to the Course  
Conceptual Issues: What Do We Mean by Democracy, and by Consolidation?
- April 11 Historical Legacies and Trajectories of Regime Change
- April 18 Political Culture and Public Opinion
- April 25 Parties and Party Systems
- May 2 Electoral Systems, Executive Structures, and Party Systems
- Topic for research paper due (after consultation) by May 2*
- Take-home Essay Exam to be distributed after class, May 2**
- May 9 **Mid-term Take-home Essay Exam DUE: No class**
- May 16 Restraining Power: Horizontal Accountability
- Outline for Research Paper Due by May 16*
- May 23 Civil Society
- May 30 Economic Reform and Democracy
- June 6 Federalism and Decentralization
- June 12: Research papers due.*

## REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED COURSE TEXTS

### Required

1. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
2. Larry Diamond, *Consolidating Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999; available approximately May 1).
3. Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, Hans Jurgen Puhle, eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
4. Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien, eds., *Consolidating the Third-Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
5. Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
6. Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999).
7. Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).
8. Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
9. Richard Rose, William Mishler, and Christian Haerpfer, *Democracy and Its Alternatives: Understanding Postcommunist Societies* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1998).

### Recommended

1. Matthew S. Shugart and John M. Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
2. Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1990.
3. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1991

## ***SCHEDULE OF READINGS***

Note: Readings designated by brackets [ ] are recommended. Numbered readings in parentheses ( ) are in the course reader, in the order numbered.

### **April 4: Conceptual Issues: What Do We Mean by Democracy, and by Consolidation?**

Larry Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, chapter 1, pp. 1-19, and chapter 3, pp. 64-77.

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, pp. 3-33.

Richard Rose, et al., *Democracy and Its Alternatives*, pp. 7-14, [25-37].

Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Hans-Jurgen Puhle, *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp. ix-xiv, 1-19, 410-413.

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," in Diamond, et al., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, pp. 40-57.

Richard Gunther, P. Nikiforos Diamandouros, and Hans-Jurgen Puhle, "O'Donnell's 'Illusions': A Rejoinder," and Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions and Conceptual Flaws," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 4 (1996), pp. 151-168.

Andreas Schedler, "What is Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 2 (1998), pp. 91-107.

[Omar G. Encarnacion, "Beyond Transitions: The Politics of Democratic Consolidation," (review article), *Comparative Politics* July 2000: 479-498.]

[Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is... and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 3 (Summer 1991), pp. 75-88.]

[Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 10-34.]

### **Theoretical Overview of Facilitating and Obstructing Factors**

[Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, "What Makes for Democracy," in Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, eds., *Politics in Developing Countries*, 2nd ed., pp. 9-52.]

[Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, "What Makes Democracies Endure?" *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 1 (January 1996), pp. 39-55, and in Diamond, et al., *Consolidating the Third-Wave Democracies*.]

[Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992)]

**April 11: Historical Legacies and Trajectories of Regime Change**

Gunther, et al., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp.19-32, 397-408.

Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition*, pp. 38-83, 244-254.

[Juan Linz, Alfred Stepan, and Richard Gunther, "Democratic Transitions and Consolidation in Southern Europe, with Reflections on Latin America and Eastern Europe," in Gunther et al, *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp. 77-123.]

Terry Lynn Karl and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe," *International Social Science Journal* (May 1991), pp. 269-284.

[Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "The Types of Democracy Emerging in Southern and Eastern Europe and South and Central America," in Peter M.E. Volten, ed., *Bound to Change: Consolidating Democracy in East Central Europe* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 42-68).]

Rose, Mishler, and Haerpfer, *Democracy and Its Alternatives*, pp. 44-67.

Michael Burton, Richard Gunther, and John Higley, "Introduction: Elite Transformations and Democratic Regimes," in Higley and Gunther, eds., *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-37.

Michael McFaul, "What Went Wrong in Russia? The Perils of a Protracted Transition," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 2 (1999), pp. 4-18.

[John Higley, Judith Kullberg, and Jan Pakulski, "The Persistence of Postcommunist Elites," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (April 1996), pp. 133-147.]

**The Progress of Democratic Consolidation in the Third Wave**

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, chapter 2.

- (1) Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 1 (January 1994), pp. 55-69.
- (2) Larry Diamond, "Is Pakistan the (Reverse) Wave of the Future," *Journal of Democracy* 11, no. 3 (July 2000), pp. 91-106.

**April 18: Political Culture: Dimensions of Support for Democracy**

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, ch. 5, pp. 161-217.

- (3) Pippa Norris, "Introduction: The Growth of Critical Citizens?" In Norris, ed., *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 1-27.

Leonardo Morlino and José R. Montero, "Legitimacy and Democracy in Southern Europe," in Gunther, et al., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp. 231-260.

Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, pp. 108-115, 214-215, 219-230, 434-457.

Richard Rose, et al., *Democracy and Its Alternatives*, pp. 91-119, 138-211.

- (4) "How People View Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 12, no. 1 (January 2001):  
Richard Rose, "A Diverging Europe," pp. 93-106.  
Michael Bratton and Robert Mattes, "Africa's Surprising Universalism," 107-121.  
Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Doh Chull Shin, "Halting Progress in Korea and Taiwan," 122-136  
Marta Lagos, "Between Stability and Crisis in Latin America," 137-146.

Robert A. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, pp. 86-91, 109-115.

[Edward N. Muller and Mitchell A. Seligson, "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships," *American Political Science Review* 88, no. 3 (September 1994), pp. 635-652.]

[Peter McDonough, Samuel H. Barnes, and Antonio Lopez Pina, "The Growth of Democratic Legitimacy in Spain," *American Political Science Review* 80, no. 2 (September 1986), pp. 735-760; and *The Cultural Dynamics of Democratization in Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).]

**April 25: Parties and Party Systems**

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, pp. 96-98.

Leonardo Morlino, "Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe," in Gunther, et al., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp. 315-377 [pp. 377-388].

- (5) Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, "Introduction: Party Systems in Latin America," and "Conclusion: Parties and Democracy in Latin America--Different Patterns, Common Challenges," in Mainwaring and Scully, eds., *Building Democratic*

*Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 1-34, 459-474, + endnotes.

- (6) Herbert Kitschelt, "The Variability of Parties and Party Systems in Post-Communist Democracies: Hypotheses and Illustrations," Duke University, manuscript, August 1998.

Gábor Tóka, "Political Parties in East Central Europe," in Diamond et al., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, pp. 93-122 (93-134).

- (7) Hoon Jaung, "Electoral Politics and Political Parties," in Larry Diamond and Doh Chull Shin, eds., *Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2000), pp. 43-71.

- (8) Scott Mainwaring, "Party Systems in the Third Wave," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 3 (1998), p. 67-81.

- (9) Juan J. Linz, "Change and Continuity in the Nature of Contemporary Democracies," in Gary Marks and Larry Diamond, eds., *Reexamining Democracy* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992), pp. 182-190, 205-207.

[Frances Hagopian, "Democracy and Political Representation in Latin America in the 1990s: Pause, Reorganization, or Decline? In Felipe Aguero and Jeffrey Stark, eds., *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America* (Miami: North-South Center Press, 1998), pp. 99-143.]

[Hermann Giliomee, "South Africa's Emerging Dominant-Party Regime," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 4 (1998), pp. 128-142.]

## **May 2: Electoral Systems and Party Systems**

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, pp. 99-111.

Arend Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems: A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945-1990* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.1-25, 29-36, 39-42, 46-62, 67-113, 130-134, 139-152.

Matthew Soberg Shugart and John Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), chs. 10-11, pp. 206-211, 213-229, 237-258.

- (10) Rein Taagepera and Matthew Soberg Shugart, *Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), Ch. 18, "Designing Electoral Systems," pp. 218-237. [The book in general is highly recommended.]

- (11) Giovanni Sartori, *Comparative Constitutional Engineering: An Inquiry Into Structures, Incentives, and Outcomes* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), Ch. 4, "Choosing an Electoral System," pp. 53-79. [This entire book is quite accessible and highly recommended]
- (12) Rein Taagepera, "How Electoral Systems Matter for Democratization," *Democratization* 5, no. 3 (1998): pp. 68-91 (esp. 80-88).
- (13) Andrew Reynolds, "Constitutional Engineering in Southern Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (April 1995), pp. 86-99. [Andrew Reynolds, *Electoral Systems and Democratization in Southern Africa* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).]
- (14) Debate: PR and Southern Africa  
Joel D. Barkan, "Elections in Agrarian Societies," pp. 106-116, and Andrew Reynolds, "The Case for Proportionality," pp. 117-124, *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 4 (October 1995).
- (15) Peter C. Ordeshook, "Reexamining Russia: Institutions and Incentives," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 2 (April 1995), pp. 46-60.

[Vincent T. Maphai, "The New South Africa: A Season for Power-Sharing," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 1 (January 1996), pp. 67-81.]  
[Special issue of *Party Politics* 4, no. 4 (1998): "Party Systems and Democracy in Latin America."]

**May 16: Restraining Power: Horizontal Accountability**

From Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*  
ch. 2, Andreas Schedler, "Conceptualizing Accountability," 13-28.  
ch. 3, Guillermo O'Donnell, "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies," 29-51.  
ch. 5, Robert Pastor, "A Brief History of Electoral Commissions," 75-81.  
ch. 9, Herman Schwartz, "A Brief History of Judicial Review," 145-150.  
ch. 10, Pilar Domingo, "Judicial Independence ...in Latin America," 151-175.  
ch. 11, Jennifer Widner, "Building Judicial Independence in ... Africa," 177-193.  
ch. 13, Michael Johnston, "A Brief History of Anticorruption Agencies," 217-226.  
ch. 17, Sylvia Maxfield, "A Brief History of Central Bank Independence in Developing Countries," 285-292.  
ch. 20, Schedler, "Conflicts and Agents of Accountability," 333-350.  
[other chapters to be assigned for discussion]

- (16) H. Kwasi Prempeh, "A New Jurisprudence for Africa," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999), pp. 135-150.

- (17) Robert Klitgaard, "Political Corruption: Strategies for Reform," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 4 (1991), pp. 86-101.
- (18) Larry Diamond, "Fostering Institutions to Contain Corruption," *Prem Notes* no. 24, June 1999, the World Bank (4 pp.)

[Hugo Frühling, "Judicial Reform and Democratization in Latin America," in Felipe Agüero and Jeffrey Stark, eds., *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America* (Miami: North-South Center Press, 1998), pp. 237-272.]

**May 23: Civil Society**

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, chapter 6, pp. 218-260.

Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, pp. 3-16, 86-120, [121-148], 148-185.

Philippe C. Schmitter, "Civil Society East and West," in Diamond et al., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, pp. 239-262.

Aleksander Smolar, "From Opposition to Atomization," in Diamond et al., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, pp. 263-277.

E. Gyimah-Boadi, "Civil Society in Africa," in Diamond et al., *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, pp. 278-292.

- (19) Alison Brysk, "Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America," *Journal of Democracy* 11, no. 3 (July 2000), pp. 151-164.
- (20) Sunhyuk Kim, "Civic Mobilization for Democratic Reform," in Larry Diamond and Doh Chull Shin, eds., *Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2000), pp. 278-303.
- (21) "Debating Democracy Assistance," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 4 (October 1999)  
 Marina Ottaway & Theresa Chung, "Toward a New Paradigm," pp. 99-113.  
 E. Gyimah-Boadi, "The Cost of Doing Nothing," pp. 119-124.

[Philippe C. Schmitter, "Organized Interests and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe," in Gunther, et al., eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation*, pp. 284-314.]

[Bronislaw Geremek, "Problems of Postcommunism: Civil Society Then and Now," *Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 2 (April 1992), pp 3-12.]

**May 30: Economic Reform and Democracy**

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, pp.3-11, 151-266, 309-379.

From Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds, *Economic Reform and Democracy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995):

- (22) ch. 2, José María Maravall, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Advantage," 13-27.
- (23) ch. 3, Moisés Naím, "Latin America: The Second Stage of Reform," 28-44.
- (24) ch. 7, Leszek Balcerowicz, "Understanding Postcommunist Transitions," 86-100.
  
- (25) Larry Diamond, "Democracy and Economic Reform: Tensions, Compatibilities, and Strategies for Reconciliation," in Edward P. Lazear, ed., *Economic Transition in Eastern Europe and Russia: Realities of Reform* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1995), pp. 114-147 [107-158].
  
- (26) Sylvia Maxfield, "Capital Mobility and Democratic Stability," *Journal of Democracy* 11, no. 4 (October 2000): 95-106.
  
- (27) Jorge Dominguez, "Free Politics and Free Markets in Latin America," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 4 (October 1998): 70-84.
  
- (28) Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise, "Latin America's Imperiled Progress: The Politics of Second-Generation Reforms," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999): 34-48.
  
- (29) Mark A. Abdollahian, Hilton Root, and Jacek Kugler, "Economic Crisis and the Future of Oligarchy," in Larry Diamond and Doh Chull Shin, eds., *Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2000), pp. 199-201.  
  
[Mongryn Mo and Chung-in Moon, "Korea after the Crash," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999): 150-164.]
  
- (30) Anders Aslund, "The Problem of Fiscal Federalism," and James Millar, "Creating Perverse Incentives," in "What Went Wrong with Russia?" *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 2 (1999), pp. 83-90.
  
- (31) Nicolas van de Walle, "Economic Reform in a Democratizing Africa", in *Comparative Politics* 32, no. 1, (October 1999): 21-40.  
  
[Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 136-191.]  
  
[Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira, José Maria Maravall, and Adam Przeworski, "Conclusions," *Economic Reforms in New Democracies: A Social Democratic Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 199-220.]

[David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt, *Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), ch.'s 7-8, pp. 166-201]

[Kenneth M. Roberts, "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case," *World Politics* 48 (October 1995), pp. 82-116.]

[Karen L. Remmer, "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s," *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 3 (September 1991), pp. 777-800).]

## **June 6 : Federalism and Decentralization**

Diamond, *Developing Democracy*, ch. 4 (with Svetlana Tsalik), pp. 117-160.

- (32) William H. Riker, *Federalism: Origin, Operation, Significance* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1964), ch. 1, pp. 1-10; ch. 5, pp. 125-136.
- (33) Alfred Stepan, "Federalism and Democracy: Beyond the U.S. Model," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 4 (October 1999): 19-34.
- (34) Peter C. Ordeshook and Olga Shvetsova, "Federalism and Constitutional Design," *Journal of Democracy* 8, no. 1 (1997), pp. 27-42.
- (35) Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), Ch. 10, "Division of Power: The Federal-Unitary and Centralized-Decentralized Contrast," pp. 185-199..
- (36) Donald L. Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (University of California Press, 1985), pp. 601-628.
- (37) Barry Weingast, "The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development," *The Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 11, no. 1 (April 1995), pp. 1-31.

Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, ch's 2-3, pp. 17-82.

[James Manor, "India Defies the Odds: Making Federalism Work," *Journal of Democracy* 9, no. 3 (1998), pp. 21-35.]

[Donald L. Horowitz, *A Democratic South Africa: Constitutional Engineering in a Divided Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 214-226.]

[Rotimi L. Suberu, *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Institute of Peace, forthcoming)]

[Jonathan Fox, "Latin America's Emerging Local Politics," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 2 (April 1994), pp. 105-116.]

[Jonathan Fox, "The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico," *World Politics* 46, no. 2 (January 1994), pp. 151-184]