January 11, 2017

DPI-413

Challenges of Democratization

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Spring 2017

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- Research paper (40%) Due by the start of class on Monday 20th March (after spring break) ............6
- Research paper or consultancy Report (40%) Due by the start of class on Monday 24th April ..........6

Topics, discussion questions, & required readings .................................................................7
In the light of these arguments, the international development community, multilateral organizations, and national stakeholders have used multiple strategies to support democratic governance. 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 control the exercise of power. The aim of these strategies is to address the challenges of democratization in a way that is feasible and effective, given the specific domestic contexts and international environments in which these strategies are applied.
counterbalance strong executives, as well as implementing 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, human rights watch groups, and the independent 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. But critics suggest that these efforts, no matter how well-meaning, have been largely ineffective, international assistance for democratic governance should be reduced, and these resources should be invested in other priorities at home and abroad.

To understand all these debates, Part I provides the foundational overview by establishing analytical concepts and indicators suitable for comparative policy research into democratic governance; Part II considers alternative explanations for the underlying drivers of democratization; Part III debates the constitutional designs most conducive to strengthening processes of democratization; Part IV focuses upon civic society, and the role of political culture, religion and social capital. Part VI examines the consequences of democratic governance for prosperity, welfare and peace.

Course Objectives:

The course will sharpen your understanding of the challenges facing democratic governance and also provide insights into the range of practical policy recommendations which could be adopted to strengthen the process of democratic governance.

The course will use a broadly comparative methodology incorporating evidence from a wide range of countries worldwide, including developed and developing societies.

There are several hands-on exercises in class introducing you to online resources which can be used to monitor trends and compare countries, generating professional graphics such as maps and charts. This will build your skills and capacities in this area. No prior experience and no statistical package are required but you should bring your laptops to class on these days and we will work in pairs on these exercises.

This class is evaluated through mixed types of assignments, including a standard academic paper and a professional report. There are no prerequisites for taking the class. Some visiting speakers will be arranged and announced during the course of the semester.

Class website

The class website is available at Harvard Canvas. This contains all the essential materials for the course, including the online syllabus, essential readings, supplementary bibliography, online linked resources, course calendar, power-point slides, announcements, and other materials. Bookmark this site!

https://canvas.harvard.edu/courses/25885
**Class Schedule:**

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<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Assignment due dates</th>
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<td></td>
<td><strong>Part I: Foundations</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M 23 Jan</td>
<td>Introduction: Roadmap of the course</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>W 25 Jan</td>
<td>Theoretical frameworks and concepts: classifying regimes</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M 30 Jan</td>
<td>Concepts, benchmarks and indices: Democracy</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>W 1 Feb</td>
<td>Concepts, benchmarks and indices: Governance</td>
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<td><strong>Part II: Contextual Drivers of Democratization</strong></td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>M 6 Feb</td>
<td>Explanatory frameworks: regime change and democratic consolidation</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>W 8 Feb</td>
<td>Social determinants</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>M 13 Feb</td>
<td>Economic drivers</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>W 15 Feb</td>
<td>International agencies &amp; democracy assistance</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>W 22 Feb</td>
<td>Civil society, protest politics, and revolution from below</td>
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<td><strong>Part III: Constitution building</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>M 27 Feb</td>
<td>The principles and practices of constitution building</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>W 1 Mar</td>
<td>Elections: free and fair electoral and party laws</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>M 6 Mar</td>
<td>Electoral management and electoral integrity</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>W 8 Mar</td>
<td>Inclusive legislatures and minority representation</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>M 20 Mar</td>
<td>Executive powers: presidential, mixed, or prime ministerial</td>
<td>Research paper</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>W 22 Mar</td>
<td>Decentralizing decision-making to local and federal levels</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>M 27 Mar</td>
<td>Independent media and social networks</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>W 29 Mar</td>
<td>Case study debate: Building constitutions</td>
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<td><strong>Part IV: Strengthening Civic Society</strong></td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>M 3 Apr</td>
<td>Culture and democratization</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>W 5 Apr</td>
<td>Religion and democracy</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>W 12 Apr</td>
<td>Social capital and democracy</td>
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<td><strong>Part VI: Consequences of democratic governance</strong></td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>M 17 Apr</td>
<td>Conclusions: Impacts on prosperity</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>W 19 Apr</td>
<td>Conclusions: Impacts on poverty and welfare</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>M 24 Apr</td>
<td>Conclusions: Impacts on peace</td>
<td>Final Report</td>
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*Note university holidays: No class will be held on Mon 20th Feb (President’s Day), and during spring break (11th March to 19th March). No class on Monday 10th April, due to a prior engagement. (i) Assignments are due to be handed in at the start of the class on the specified dates.*
Required Readings:

Books can be ordered direct from the publishers, or from Amazon.com, and these are also available on reserve at the HKS library.

For the required class readings, article PDFs can be found in the course website under ‘Files’. Further supplementary readings and resources are listed under each week’s topic to help with your research papers.


What are the determinants of democratization? Do the factors that move countries toward democracy also help them refrain from backsliding toward autocracy? This book attempts to answer these questions through a combination of a statistical analysis of social, economic, and international determinants of regime change in 165 countries around the world in 1972–2006, and case study work on nine episodes of democratization occurring in Argentina, Bolivia, Hungary, Nepal, Peru, the Philippines, South Africa, Turkey, and Uruguay. The findings suggest that democracy is promoted by long-term structural forces such as economic prosperity, but also by peaceful popular uprisings and the institutional setup of authoritarian regimes. In the short-run, however, elite actors may play a key role, particularly through the importance of intra-regime splits. These results have important repercussions both for current theories of democratization and for the international community’s effort in developing policies for democracy promotion.


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.

Assignments:

General points for all assignments:

- Participants are 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.
- Your assignments are designed to be crafted as evidence-based policy analysis, reflecting the leading research on each topic. Your work needs to be carefully written and supported by direct evidence derived from the available data and from citations to existing research.
- Use effective endnote references citing sources from the peer-reviewed research literature, as suggested from the extensive readings listed in the syllabi and others related publications. Use endnotes to support any contentious claims and to acknowledge any data sources.

Research paper (40%) Due by the start of class on Monday 20th March (after spring break)
You can choose to answer one question out of any questions listed in the syllabus from classes 1-14. The paper should be about 2,500 words in length. It should be designed primarily for the research community and structured with standard subheadings as follows.

I. The selected question, the plan of your paper, and the synopsis of your argument
II. Review of the core theoretical debate in the literature
III. Summary of the empirical literature and existing evidence
V. Conclusions and implications
VII. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the paper

The first assignment requires you to develop a core theoretical argument in response to the question, to read widely and provide a thorough and balanced synthesis of the existing research published in journals and books on the topic, to consider what evidence is available from the research to support your claims, and then to summarize the key points and consider their implications in your conclusion. Your ideal template is a research article publishable in a peer-reviewed scholarly journal.

Research paper or consultancy Report (40%) Due by the start of class on Monday 24th April
You can choose to write either a second research paper, using the above guidelines. Alternatively you can choose to produce a consultancy report which compares a world region for one of the dimensions of institution-building listed in the syllabus from classes 10-23 (e.g. elections, legislatures, executives, media, etc.) designed for a nominal multilateral client such as IDEA, IFES, OAS, AU, UNDP or World Bank. The report should be about 2,500 words in length. Your report should be structured with subheadings as follows.

I. The selected topic, nominal client, and the executive summary of your report;
II. Summary of why the topic you have selected matters and why this fits the mission of the agency (advocacy);
III. Identify the problem and the range of policy options seeking to address the problem, with their pros and cons, supporting your claims by using evidence from the research literature, secondary sources and cases;
V. Summary of key recommendations and the next steps;
VII. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

Your ideal template is a consultancy report commissioned by an international or regional agency and disseminated for a practitioner readership. It should use graphics and charts to convey the key points.

Class Participation (20%)
Finally, the quality of your contributions to the discussions and the short exercises in class will also contribute towards your final grade.
# Topics, discussion questions, & required readings

## Part I: Foundations

### Question topic 1a

Is there good evidence from public opinion surveys that young people in America and other Western liberal democracies are becoming disillusioned with democracy?

**Required reading**

- Voeten, Erik. 2016. WaPo Monkey Cage: "No, people really aren't turning away from democracy" 9 Dec 2016 and "It's actually older people who have become more cynical about democracy." 14 Dec 2016

### Question topic 2a

Has the world been experiencing a democratic recession in recent years? Discuss the evidence for understanding global and regional trends over time.

**Required Reading**

- See also the debate among other contributors in the special issue in the 2015 *Journal of Democracy*, 26(1).

**Online resources**

For background information:

- Quality of Governance dataset (The QoG Data under ‘Data’)
- Varieties of Democracy (VDem) [https://www.v-dem.net/](https://www.v-dem.net/)

### Question topic 3a

Compare the classification of regimes in one world region according to the Freedom House Index of political rights and civil liberties and the Polity IV scale of autocracy-democracy. Are these reliable, comprehensive, and accurate indices?

**Question topic 3b**

How can democratic regimes and processes of democratization best be measured? How would you seek to improve existing indicators?

**Question topic 3c**

What are the advantages and disadvantages of V-Dem’s method of classifying regimes?
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Online resources</td>
<td>Polity IV: <a href="http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm">http://www.systemicpeace.org/polity/polity4.htm</a></td>
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<td>International IDEA. <a href="http://idea.int/democracy">State of Democracy Project</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hands on exercise:</td>
<td>Using the Varieties of Democracy datasets (VDem) <a href="https://www.v-dem.net/">https://www.v-dem.net/</a> (bring laptops)</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Concepts, benchmarks and indices: state governance</td>
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<tr>
<td>Question topics</td>
<td>4a. What are advantages and limitations of the World Bank Institute indicators of good governance?</td>
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<td>4b. Does democracy deliver better governance performance in Sub-Saharan Africa?</td>
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<td>4c. Does governance need to be established prior to democratization? Or is this sequence fallacious?</td>
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<td>4d. Has the growth of international rankings of states encouraged more evidence-based policy-making or led to poorer policy processes?</td>
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<td>Apaza, Carmen R. 2009. ‘Measuring governance and corruption through the worldwide governance indicators: Critiques, responses, and ongoing scholarly discussion.’ PS-Political Science &amp; Politics. 42(1): 139-143. DOI: 10.1017/S1049096509090106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online resources and hands-on exercise</td>
<td>Using Quality of Governance Institute, Sweden. <a href="http://www.qog.pol.gu.se/">http://www.qog.pol.gu.se/</a></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Explanatory frameworks of democratization</td>
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<tr>
<td>Question topics</td>
<td>5a. What explains divergent trajectories of democratization? Select a global region with divergent political trajectories and explain the reasons for the contrasts, using the frameworks provided from your reading.</td>
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<td>5b. Compare and evaluate the underlying theoretical assumptions, methodological approaches, evidence, and findings in two of the theories of democratization discussed by Teorell.</td>
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5c. “There is, then, an economic basis for the absence of democracy in the Arab world. But it is structural. It has to do with the ways in which oil distorts the state, the market, the class structure, and the entire incentive structure.” Diamond (2010) p. 98. Does evidence support this claim? Do you agree?

**Required Reading**


### 6 Social determinants of democratization

**Question topics**

6a. What have been the most important social drivers of democratization since the early-1970s? What are the policy implications for the international community, multinational organizations, and national stakeholders seeking to strengthen democratic governance?

6b. Compare Latin America to assess the relative importance of domestic drivers of democratization, as identified by Teorell.

6c. Is the growth of the middle class (the Lipset thesis) a necessary or sufficient condition for enduring processes of democratization? Discuss illustrating your argument by comparing a global region.

**Required Reading**


Geddes, Barbara. 1999. ‘What do we know about democratization after twenty years?’ *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2: 115-144. DOI: 10.1146/annurev.polisci.2.1.115

### 7 Economic determinants of democratization

**Question topics**

7a. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Przeworski et al. dichotomous measure of regime types for comparing the process of democratization?

7b. Does economic modernization determine sustainable processes of democratization?

7c. How far is the process of democratization determined by economic development, compared with the impact of political institutions and political culture?

**Required Reading**


### 8 International agencies and democracy assistance

**Question topics**

8a. What are most effective international drivers in the spread of democratic governance since the early-1970s? What are the implications for the development community?

8b. Compare states in sub-Saharan Africa to assess the relative importance of international drivers of democratization, as discussed by Teorell.
8c. Assess Levitsky and Way’s argument concerning the importance of ‘leverage’ and ‘linkage’ in processes of regime transitions. How would you test their claims?

### Required Reading

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<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2006.</td>
<td>Linkage versus leverage: Rethinking the international dimension of regime change. Comparative Politics. 38(4): 379</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

9 Civil society, protest politics, and revolution

#### Question topics

9a. What is the relative impact of elite divisions ‘from above’ versus mobilization ‘from below’ on regime transitions and democratic consolidation? Discuss using trends in democratization in Central and Eastern Europe or in Latin America during the third wave era to illustrate your arguments.

9b. Under what conditions do elections lead to further democratization – and when and why does this process fail?

### Required Reading

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10 Key principles of constitution building

#### Question topics

10a. What is the theory of consociationalism? Is the theory still relevant?

10b. Explain the key advantages and disadvantages of ‘consensus’ or ‘majoritarian’ democracies by comparing and contrasting the constitutional features of two countries exemplifying each type.

10c. “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?

10d. 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

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### 11-12 Democratic Institutions: Electoral integrity

#### Question topics

11a. What are the major advantages and disadvantages of different types of electoral systems for voter turnout, gender equality, and party competition? Discuss the evidence with case illustrations from recent elections held under different rules.

11b. Are mixed member (combined) electoral systems the best of all possible worlds?

11c. What types of reforms should be considered to strengthen electoral integrity in America? Discuss by comparing elections in the US with equivalent Western democracies.

11d. How and why do multilateral agencies differ in the main types of programs of international electoral assistance which they offer?

11e. How important are structural and international factors in explaining patterns of electoral integrity?

#### Required Reading


- Electoral Integrity Project [www.electoralintegrityproject.com](http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com)

#### Online resources

- ACE Electoral Knowledge Network [http://aceproject.org/](http://aceproject.org/)


- The Electoral integrity Project [www.electoralintegrityproject.com](http://www.electoralintegrityproject.com)


### 13 Elections: Inclusive legislatures and minority representation

#### Question topics

13a. Why have gender quotas for elected office spread so rapidly worldwide?

13b. What legal reforms have proved most effective in contributing towards achieving gender equality and women’s empowerment in elected office?

#### Required Reading

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<th>Democratic Institutions: Executive powers: presidential, mixed and prime ministerial</th>
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<tr>
<td>Question topics</td>
<td>14a. Explain and assess Linz's claim that presidential government leads to democratic instability by comparing examples of presidential and parliamentary government in either the Americas or in Central and Eastern Europe.</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>Decentralizing decision-making to local and federal levels</td>
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<tr>
<td>Question topics</td>
<td>15a. Does decentralizing decision-making to local government help or hinder democratic governance?</td>
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<td>15b. Does federalism encourage or deter succession?</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>Independent media and social networks</td>
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<td>Question topics</td>
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### 16a. 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?

### 16b. Is there good evidence of the so-called ‘Twitter’ revolution in the use of social media in processes of collective action and regime transitions, or is this a popular myth?

**Required Reading**


### 17

**Case-study: Building the Libyan and Egyptian constitutions**

#### Question topics

17a. What are the lessons from the Tunisian and Egyptian constitutions for processes of regime transitions and democratization?

17b. What are the lessons for constitution-building in post-conflict states?

**Required Reading**


**Online resources:** [http://comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/comparing-the-egyptian-constitution/](http://comparativeconstitutionsproject.org/comparing-the-egyptian-constitution/)

Full briefing details will be made available online nearer the date of this class: see the class website

### Part IV: Strengthening civic society

**18. Culture and democratization**

#### Question topics

18a. Is there good evidence supporting Inglehart’s claims of a substantial cultural shift in orientations towards democratic values in affluent societies?

18b. Does the consolidation of democracy require a democratic culture?

**Required Reading**


**Hands-on exercise and resource** Using the [www.worldvaluessurvey.org](http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org) (Bring laptops)

### 19. Religion and democracy

#### Question topics

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

**Required Reading**
### Required Reading

#### 20 Social Capital and Democracy

**Question topics**

20a. 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.


20c. Do the central claims in Putnam’s theory of social capital hold in cross-cultural perspective?

**Required Reading**


#### 21 Conclusions: Democratic governance and economic growth

**Question topics**

21a. Do governance institutions generate economic growth?

**Required Reading**


#### 22 Conclusions: Democratic governance, human development & conflict

**Question topics**

22a. Under what conditions, if any, does democratic governance deliver human development outcomes?

22b. Does democratic governance bring a ‘peace dividend’ or increase risks of instability?

**Required Reading**


|---|

**For further research resources:**
- For relevant literature always check the online [Social Science Citation Index](http://www.pippanorris.com) via the Harvard University library (under ‘Citation Indices’).