

DR. RICHARD L. WHITEHEAD

Course Sample Proposed Seminar on Democratization in Developing Countries

Course Description

Politics in the world challenges some of our most basic understandings of democratic governance, elections, and the production of the public good. Since the early 1970s, and increasingly throughout the 1990s, international and domestic pressures pushed for the swapping of single-party and military rule for rule based on checks and balances, multiparty elections, and respect for civil liberties. Greece, Portugal and Spain are often cited as the starting point for this “third wave” of democratization, which carried through to Latin America, Eastern Europe and Africa throughout the 1980s on up to the present time.

Yet, democratic governance still eludes so many polities in the developing world. Executive authority remains unchecked, elections are routinely stacked by incumbents trying to stave off competitors, political opponents are beaten, jailed, and sometimes killed, and corruption engulfs almost every corner of state activity. In short, the quality of “third wave” political reforms falls short of meeting more stringent and internationally dominant criteria of democratic governance.

This course takes the topic of democratic governance in the third world by the horns. Over the next twelve weeks, we will come to know the subject of democratization and democratic governance, both abstractly and concretely. In the first part, we shall explore democracy as a theoretical construct and as a possible trend in the contemporary world. The concept of liberal democracy, as the global benchmark for gauging the quality of democracy, will be opened for analysis, discussion, and critique. We will examine the impetus, modalities, and promises of reform, as well as the possible limitations that the liberal ideal has for democratic governance and the production of the public good in the world’s poorer countries. Finally, we will examine the ways in which rulers have learned to manage the reform process in order to stave off challenges, giving rise to concepts such as “soft authoritarianism” and “hybrid regimes.”

Part two covers the institutions of democratic governance, including state and non-state organizations. We will start by discussing the importance of elections and political parties for establishing norms of political accountability and political participation. Next, we will cover the idea of checks and balances and examine the importance of “institutions of restraint” as safe-guards against the abuse of public power for personal gain and power reproduction. However, while the idea of checks and balances certainly contributes to promoting accountability and political stability, restraints also risks entrenching powerful constituents whose interests are threatened by principles of popular participation. Therefore, we will briefly discuss problems that checks and balances poses for the process of empowering the most powerless members of the global community.

Part three addresses the casual and constitutive factors shaping both the rise and consolidation of democratic governance. As we will see, one of the principle characteristics of the “third wave” is the historically unique role that international variables, such as NGOs, IGOs, and the global economy, play in shaping the direction of governance throughout much of the third world.

Finally, part four examines in more detail, two contemporary issues which challenge the operations of democratic governance. First is corruption, which not only acts as an integral component to regime and political stability, but also acts as a major challenge to the viability of the public sector. Secondly is the challenge that abrasive social conflict has for the prospects of bargaining and consensus-building. As we will see, democratic governance is almost unthinkable without a modicum of social stability, a fact often overlooked by internationally inspired reform policies.

At the conclusion of the course, you will have a strong grasp of the possible ways of conceptualizing democracy, as well as the interests and institutions involved in political reforms in the developing world. This course will not only increase your overall vocabulary in the study of politics, but also provide some of the practical basics for working internationally in the field of democratic governance. At a minimum, this course will help all students to think more critically about democratic governance at home and abroad.

Class Structure

Classes will include lectures and discussions in line with the course progression listed below. As for the discussions specifically, the topics will generally revolve around a news event as it relates to a particular lecture topic. The goal is to provide you with practice in applying course topics to current events. So, please, stay on top of current events. Bringing a current and relevant topic up for class discussion is highly encouraged. So, please, stay on top of the news and be ready to participate, learn, and have a bit of intellectual fun in the process. Furthermore, disagreement during debates is encouraged and must be respected. Please remember, freedom of speech is to be honored, but so too is the responsibility of respecting others.

Assignments and Grading

The following is a breakdown of graded assignments. To perform well, you must attend classes and read the materials prior to class. Doing both will not only improve your understanding of the material, but also reduce the time needed to prepare for exams.

- Mid-term: 25%
- Final: 25%

I also offer students the chance to demonstrate their writing and analytic abilities through two writing assignments. First, in order to encourage students to follow the news during the span of the course (and hopefully beyond), you will be asked to submit five small current event reports concerning the topic of the course. Each submission is worth five points and will be assessed based up your efforts at synthesizing course topics and current events. Secondly, you will be asked to submit a 15 to 20 page thesis. Although you have wide latitude of topic choice, it must again be within the scope of the course and be approved by me prior to submission.

- Reports: 25% (5 points each)
- Thesis: 25%

Required Reading

Part 1: Introduction to Democratic Governance

Section 1. Introduction: What are some of the possible ways of thinking about democracy? Which are the most significant concepts informing reform efforts? What are the global trends of democratic governance? Why are reforms adopted, and how are reforms resisted by incumbents?

Readings:

- Blaug, Richard. (1999). *Democracy, Real and Ideal*. State University of New York. Chapters 1, 8.
- Fotopoulos, Takis. (2007). *Recent Theoretical Developments on the Inclusive Democracy Project*. The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy, 3, 4.
- Dahl, Robert A. (2000). *On Democracy*. Yale University Press. Part 1.
- Dalpino, Catharin. (2000). *Deferring Democracy: Promoting Openness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Brookings Press. Chapter 1.
- Przeworski, Adam, et. al. (2000). *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge University Press.
- Diamond, Larry. (2002). *Thinking about Hybrid Regimes*. Journal of Democracy, 13, 2, pp. 21-35

Section 2. Rights: What are civil and political rights? How are they propagated globally? How do they interface with human rights and democratic governance?

- Thiis, Øyvind W. et. al. (2001). "The International Human Rights Machinery." In Høgdahl, Kristin. *Manual on Human Rights Monitoring: An Introduction for Human Rights Field Officers*. The Norwegian Institute of Human Rights. Chapter 2
- United Nations Development Program. (2000). *Human Rights and Human Development*. Human Development Report. Chapter 1.
- G. Shabbir Cheema. (2005). "Promoting Human Rights Through Inclusive Democracy". In G. Shabbir Cheema. *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Kumarian Press. Chapter 5.
- Brito, Alexandra Barahona de. (1997). *Human Rights and Democratization in Latin America*. Oxford Studies in Democratization. Chapters 1, 7, Conclusion
- Shivji, Issa G. *Contradictory Developments in the Teaching and Practice of Human Rights Law in Tanzania*. Journal of African Law, 35, 1/2, pp. 116.127.

Part 2: Institutions of Democratic Governance

Section 3. Elections: Why are elections important? How are they managed, financed, and monitored? How are elections manipulated?

Readings:

- G. Shabbir Cheema. (2005). "Elections and Democracy." In G. Shabbir Cheema. *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Kumarian Press. Chapter 2.
- Bratton, Michael & Nicolas van de Walle. (1997). *Democratic Experiments in Africa*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.
- Bogaards, Matthijs. (2007). *Elections, Election Outcomes, and Democracy in Southern Africa*. Democratization, 14, 1, pp. 73-91.
- Lopez-Pintor, Rafael. (2000). *Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance*. United Nations Development Program.
- Laothamatas, Anek. (1996). "A Tale of Two Democracies: "Conflicting Perceptions of Elections and Democracy in Thailand." In Taylor, R. H. *The Politics of Elections in Southeast Asia*. Chapter 9.
- Høgdahl, Kristin. (2001). "Election Observation." In Høgdahl, Kristin. *Manual on Human Rights Monitoring: An Introduction for Human Rights Field Officers*. The Norwegian Institute of Human Rights. Chapter 9.
- Schafferer, Christian. (2006). *Election Campaigning in East and Southeast Asia: Globalization of Political Marketing*. Ashgate: Chapter 1.
- Franklin, Jeremy. (2007). *Kazakhstan: Parliamentary Elections August 2007*. NORDEM Report 2/2007.

Section 4. Political Parties: What is the supposed role of political parties in democracy? How do those roles match the reality on the ground in the developing world? What possible ways can we reconceptualize political parties?

Readings:

- Whitehead, Richard. (2000). *The Institutionalization of the Tanzanian Opposition Parties*. MPA Dissertation, University of Bergen, Chapter 1.
- Randall, Vicky & Lars Svåsand. (2002). *Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Africa*. Democratization, 9, 3, pp. 30-52.
- van de Walle, Nicolas. (2003). *Presidentialism and Clientelism in Africa's Emerging Party Systems*. Journal of Modern African Studies, 41, 2, pp. 297-321.
- Tóka, Gábor. (1997). "Political Parties in Eastern Europe." In Diamond, Larry et. al. *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*. Chapter 7.
- Blondel, Jean. (2006). "Parties and Party Systems in East and Southeast Asia." In Marsh, Ian. *Democratization, Governance and Regionalism in East and Southeast Asia*. Routledge. Chapter 4.
- Larmer, Miles & Alastair Fraser. (2007). *Of Cabbages and King Cobra: Populist Politics and Zambia's 2006 Election*. African Affairs, 106, 425, pp. 611-637.
- Austin, Reginald & Maja Tjernström. (2003). *Funding of Political Parties and Election Campaigns*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

Section 5. The Legislature and the Executive: One of the trademarks of authoritarian rule is the concentration of power in the hands of the executive. What are the evolving relationships between legislatures and executives in the process of political reform? What possible relationships are the most conducive to democratic governance?

Readings:

- Cheibub, Jose Antonio. (2007). *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge. Chapters 1 and 7.
- G. Shabbir Cheema. (2005). "Strengthening Parliamentary Process." In G. Shabbir Cheema. *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Kumarian Press. Chapter 4.
- Laver, M. & K. Shepsle. (1999). "Government Accountability in Parliamentary Democracy." In Przeworski, Adam et. al. *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 9.
- Linz, Juan J. (1996). "The Perils of Presidentialism." In Diamond, Larry & Marc F. Plattner. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 9.
- Linz, Juan J. (1996). "The Virtues of Parliamentarism." In Diamond, Larry & Marc F. Plattner. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 12.

Section 6. The Judiciary: What are the roles of the judicial system in the developing world? How have these roles changed over the past three decade, especially in relation to executive power?

Readings:

- G. Shabbir Cheema. (2005). "Judicial Reform: Improving Access to Justice". In G. Shabbir Cheema. *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Kumarian Press. Chapter 8.
- Schneider, Edward. (2006). *Crafting Constitutional Democracies: The Politics of Institutional Design*. Rowman & Littlefield. Chapters 1 and 11.
- Gargarella, Roberto. (2004). "In Search of Democratic Justice – What Courts Should Not do: Argentina, 1983-2002." In Gloppen, Siri, et. al. *Democratization and the Judiciary: the function of Courts in New Democracies*. Frank Cass. Pp. 181-197.
- Brown, Nathan. (1998). *Judicial Review in the Arab World*. *Journal of Democracy*, 9, 4, pp. 85-99.
- Gloppen, Siri & Edge Kanyongolo. (2004). *The Role of the Judiciary in the 2004 General Elections in Malawi*. Chr. Michelsen Institute, WP 2006, 16.

Section 7. Decentralization and local government: What is the relationship between decentralization and democratic governance? Does decentralization enhance political participation and make the state more relevant to the lives of ordinary people?

Readings:

- G. Shabbir Cheema. (2005). “Democracy at the Grassroots Through Decentralization”. In G. Shabbir Cheema. *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Kumarian Press. Chapter 6.
- Diamond, Larry & Sveltana Tsalik. (1999). “Size and Democracy: The case for Decentralization.” In Diamond, Larry. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*. Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 4.
- Salomon, L. and O Avila. (1999). *Decentralization and Citizen Participation in Honduras*. United Nations Development Program.
- Datta, A. (1999). *Facilitating Local Participation Through Rural Panchayats in India*. United Nations Development Program.
- Heald, Suzette. (2005). *State, Law and Vigilantism in Northern Tanzania*. *African Affairs*, 105, 419, pp. 265-283.

Section 8. Social movements: What is the supposed role of social organizations and movements in constructing and sustaining democracy? What are the major challenges to political activism and participation in the developing world today?

Readings:

- Tripp, Aili Mari. (2000). *Political Reform in Tanzania: The Struggle for Associational Autonomy*. *Comparative Politics*, 32, 2, pp. 191-214
- Galafassi, Guido. (2005). *Social Movements, Conflicts and a Perceptive of Inclusive Democracy in Argentina*. *The International Journal of Inclusive Democracy*, 1, 2.
- Brysk, Alison. (2000). *Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America*. *Journal of Democracy*, 11, 3, 151-165.
- Whitehead, Richard. (2009). *Single-Party Rule in a Multiparty Age*. Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, Chapter 1.
- Rose, Richard. (2007). *Going Public with Private Opinions: Are Post-Communist Citizens Afraid to Say What They Think?* *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 17, 2, pp. 123-142.
- Robertson, Graeme B. (2004). *Leading Labor: Unions, Politics, and Protests in New Democracies*. *Comparative Politics*, 36, 3, pp. 253-272.
- Boroumand, Ladan. (2007). *Iran’s Resilient Civil Society: The Untold Story of the Fight for Human Rights*. *Journal of Democracy*, 18, 4, pp. 64-79.

Part 3: Societal Factors Shaping Democratic Governance

Section 9. Domestic Factors: What roles do values and culture, ethnicity and religion, and income and employment play in democratic governance? Why does liberal democracy correlate with economic development?

Readings:

- G. Shabbir Cheema. (2005). “Sustaining Democracy: Contextual Factors”. In G. Shabbir Cheema. *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Kumarian Press. Chapter 10.

- Diamond, Larry. (1999). *Developing Democracy: Towards Consolidation*. Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 6.
- Stephan, Alfred. (2000). *Religion, Democracy and the Twin Tolerations*. *Journal of Democracy*, 11, 4, pp. 37-57.
- Przeworski, Adam. (1996). *What Makes Democracies Endure?* *Journal of Democracy*, 7, 1, pp. 39-55.
- Muller, Edward N. (1988). *Democracy, Economic Development, and Income Inequality*. *American Sociological Review*, 53, 1, pp. 60-68.
- Smith, Daniel A. (2002). *Consolidating Democracy? The Structural Underpinnings of Ghana's 2000 Elections*. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 40, 4, 621-650.

Section 10. International Factors: How does global politics and economics impact the nature of democratic governance in the developing world? What is the relationship between global capitalism, regionalization, and democratization? What international interests does the global spread of democracy represent? Does election monitoring really matter?

Readings:

- Almond, Gabriel A. (1991). *Capitalism and Democracy*. *Political Science and Politics*, 24, 3, pp. 467-474.
- Dalpino, Catharin. (2000). *Deferring Democracy: Promoting Openness in Authoritarian Regimes*. Brookings Institute. Chapter 4.
- Mungiu-Pippidi, Alina. (2007). *EU Accession is No "End of History"*. *Journal of Democracy*, 18, 4, pp. 8-16.
- Brown, Stephen. (2001). *Authoritarian Leaders and Multiparty Elections in Africa: how foreign donors help to keep Kenya's Daniel arap Moi in Power*. *Third World Quarterly*, 22, 5, pp. 735-739.
- Haslam, Paul Alexander. (2007). *The Firm Rules: Multinational Corporations, Policy Space, and Neoliberalism*. *Third World Quarterly*, 28, 6, pp. 1167-1183.
- Santa-Cruz, Arturo. (2005). *International Election Monitoring, Sovereignty, and the Western Hemisphere Idea: The Emergence of an International Norm*. Routledge. Introduction, Chapter 7.

Part 4: Selected Issues in the Developing World

Section 11. Corruption and Accountability: What is corruption? Why is corruption so prevalent throughout much of the developing world? How do anti-corruption efforts enhance democracy, and what possible ways can corruption reforms undermine political stability?

Readings:

- Andvig, Jens Chr. & Odd-Helge Fjeldstad. (2001). *Corruption: A Review of Contemporary Research*. Chr. Michelsen Institute, R 2001: 7.
- Erdmann, Gero. (2007). *Neopatrimonialism Reconsidered: A Critical Review and Elaboration of an Elusive Concept*. *Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 45, 1, pp. 95-119.

- G. Shabbir Cheema. (2005). "Integrity in Governance: Combating Corruption". In G. Shabbir Cheema. *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Kumarian Press. Chapter 3.
- Bedi rhanoglu, Pina. (2007). *The Neoliberal Discourse on Corruption as a Means of Consent Building: Reflections form Post-Crisis Turkey*. *Third World Quarterly*, 28, 7, pp. 1239-1254.
- Unsworth, Sue. (2007). *Rethinking Governance to Fight Corruption*. U4 Brief No. 7.

Section 12. Conflict, Violence, and War: What is the basis for the escalation of violent conflict throughout many parts of the developing world? Is democratic governance a solution to the problem of violent conflict?

- G. Shabbir Cheema. (2005). "Governance in Crisis Situations". In G. Shabbir Cheema. *Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries*. Kumarian Press. Chapter 9.
- Linz, Juan J. (1978). *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown & Reequilibration*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 1.
- Diamond, Larry. (2005). *Building Democracy After Conflict: Lessons from Iraq*. *Journal of Democracy*, 16, 1, pp. 9-23
- Anderson, David M. (2002). *Vigilantes, Violence, and the Politics of Public Order in Kenya*. *African Affairs*, 101, pp. 531-555.
- Lemarchand, René. (2006). *Consociationalism and Power-Sharing in Africa: Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo*. *African Affairs*, 106, 422, pp. 1-20.