

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
POLITICAL SCIENCE 334 (001)
Comparative Democratization

Term 2, 2015-16

Lectures MWF 10:00-10:50, Buchanan A203

Professor: Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom

Office Hours: Wednesdays 2-3, Fridays 11-12, or by appointment (office hours in Liu Institute office, #307)

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Course Description

The literature on democratization of political regimes has grown exponentially over the past several decades. This interest in political science has grown in large part as a response to real-world events: since the 1970s, the number of countries with democratic regimes has more than doubled, to total approximately 125 today (depending on whose definition of “democratic” we use). In recent years an enormous number of “grey zone” regimes and electoral authoritarian regimes have developed in new and seemingly durable forms, leading scholars to question the initial theoretical paradigm of democratization that assumed full-fledged democracies as the outcome. Despite all of this scholarly scrutiny, we still possess inadequate knowledge of the dynamics causing the onset of democracy and different regime outcomes, and a great deal of disagreement persists among scholars concerning the best way to define democracy.

In this course, we begin by considering some controversies in defining democracy and how universalizable it is, as well as two prominent schools of thought in explaining the emergence and “consolidation” of democratic regimes. We will then move to examine specific factors influencing democratization: formal institutional design, civil society, informal institutions, economic reform, post-conflict environments, and international actors and pressures. We end the course with a critical examination of the dominant paradigm focused on “transition” and “consolidation” of new democracies.

Because of the time limits of the course, we will restrict ourselves to certain topics. The course focuses on transitions to democratic rule in countries that have recently been ruled by authoritarian regimes, rather than the problems of insufficient democratic practices in countries that long ago established democratic regimes. Thus, we largely leave aside questions such as the democratic deficit in the European Union, voter apathy and lack of political participation in Anglo-American countries, and challenges to civil liberties in Western democracies. I will bring examples from many diverse areas of the world, with cases of attempted democratization from the beginning of the third wave through today. Countries of the former Soviet Union, particularly Russia, are my area of regional expertise, so these countries will be discussed frequently, as will the recent “Arab Spring” cases. I welcome you to participate in class discussion and to raise

interesting examples or counter-examples from any countries in transition with which you may be familiar.

We are forced to breeze through extremely important and complicated topics of discussion. However, it is my hope that this brief introduction to several topics will whet your appetite to read and learn more about processes of democratization around the world.

We have two teaching assistants for the course, Fabio Resmini and Li Guo. Both are currently PhD students in Political Science, studying questions of democratization in their own research. Fabio is a full-time TA while Li is part-time and their duties will be distributed accordingly. They will be marking most of the written assignments (including full responsibility for marking your term paper proposals and papers), assisting with in-class group activities, and helping to evaluate student participation. In addition, they will be attending many lectures and meeting with you one-on-one in office hours regarding the term paper. Their office hours will be concentrated near the paper and proposal due dates.

Course Requirements and Evaluation

1) **Democracy Assistance Policy Paper (45 percent: proposal worth 5 percent and paper worth 40 percent)**: The assignment is to pretend that you are a Global Affairs Canada “country desk” development officer for a particular country wrestling with democratization, and to design a democracy assistance program for that country. Very early in the term, we will provide you with a list of countries from which you are permitted to select your focus country. Focus on a country early in the term so that you can begin to become familiar with the current events, problems, and history and develop ideas for your paper. There is a detailed description of the assignment expectations at the end of this syllabus. There are two stages to the assignment:

a) Paper proposal (4-5 pages, double-spaced, plus a preliminary bibliography) (5 percent)

- This is a pass/ fail assignment. That is, you either receive a perfect mark for this 5% of your grade, or you receive zero marks. As long as you show reasonable effort to answer all of the questions listed below in the proposal, you will receive full marks. The purposes of this short assignment are to prompt you to think early about your major paper for the course, and to ensure that you receive concrete feedback from the course teaching assistants on your ideas for the paper before handing in the final assignment.
- The proposal should sketch out your preliminary ideas on how you will deal with the three required sections of the democracy assistance policy paper (see the detailed instructions for the paper at the end of this syllabus). Which country are you selecting to study? What are the contextual factors in the country that you see as being relevant in affecting democratization, and how will you justify them from a political scientist’s perspective? Which foreign donors have been most active in the country, and what kinds of programs have they initiated? How successful have they been, if viewed from the standpoint of democratization theory? What ideas do you have about possible new programs to propose in the paper, and on what principles are you basing

these ideas? Where you can, throughout, cite sources that you are finding useful. Include a bibliography of all the sources you have located so far. *The more work you put into the proposal, the less work you will need to do later, and the more helpful comments the TA will be able to give you!*

- A hard copy of your paper is due at the **beginning of class on Friday, February 12**. The course teaching assistant will be marking this assignment and giving you feedback. Two of your class peers will also provide feedback (see below under “Participation and Tutorials”).
- You must also submit your proposal to Turnitin.com in accordance with political science department policy. The proposal must be submitted to Turnitin by one day after the paper version is due.

b) Democracy Assistance Policy Paper (10-12 pages, double-spaced) (40 percent)

- See the end of the syllabus for detailed guidelines on expectations for this paper.
- A hard copy of the paper is due at the **beginning of class on Monday, March 21**. The course teaching assistants will be marking this paper.
- You must also submit your paper to Turnitin.com in accordance with political science department policy. The paper must be submitted to Turnitin by one day after the paper is due.

2) Peer review of proposals (5 percent): Following submission of your proposals on Turnitin, your proposal to be distributed to two classmates via Turnitin’s PeerMark tool (and in turn you will receive their proposals). Turnitin will present you with a number of questions to answer about the proposals and you will also be able to make any additional comments you wish on the proposals. This is all designed to help you improve the design of one another’s papers. You must submit your comments on the Turnitin website by **Monday, February 22**. In the following Friday class session on February 26, you will break into small groups with the two people whose proposals you reviewed in order to discuss your comments with one another. You will receive full marks as long as you answer all questions in the review form for both proposals.

3) Final Exam (30 percent): The exam will take place during the regular university examination period at the end of the term. It will consist of some short-answer conceptual questions, as well as essay questions from the lectures and readings. Note that you must read and review the required readings in order to do well on the exam. You will have choices among many questions offered. In order to obtain a high mark on the exam, in the essays you must show your ability to synthesize and think on your own about the debates we have considered in the course, and to make a clear argument to support or reject certain views of democratization. Exams that merely regurgitate the lecture materials and readings will not receive superior marks.

3) Participation (20 percent):

- a) **Online course blog posts (5 percent):** submitting comments or questions on the Connect site’s course blog. These contributions will count for a total of 5 marks. I will award 2

points for posting 2 comments, and 3 points for the level of quality (thoughtfulness). You should make at least two comments on the blog over the course of the term. No more than one comment per week will count, so you cannot submit both comments in one week. Submit more entries if you wish, but please keep the length to a reasonable limit (300 words or less). Submit comments you have in reaction to the lectures or readings, or how current world news stories relate to the class, or questions that have arisen for you about something significant in the course materials. Remember, there are no dumb questions! If you are confused about something significant in the readings, it is likely that at least one other person is, too. We will discuss some of the most interesting and important comments or questions in class. Questions and comments can be submitted from the beginning of term up until the last day of classes.

- b) **iClicker Quizzes and Polls (15 percent):** This year I will implement iClicker questions into the course. You will need to have an iClicker device of your own in order to participate. Every day in class there will be a question to answer. On many days the question will probe student opinions on topics and will be used merely as a mechanism for taking attendance, while on other days (randomly) the question will have a correct answer and will be used as a graded quiz to encourage students to keep up with the course material (readings, lectures) steadily throughout the course. Poll-type questions that are merely attendance-taking will count for 1 point (for answering) while quiz questions that knowledge-testing will count for 2 points (1 point for answering; 1 point for selecting the correct answer). The points will be tallied at the end of the term and will count for a total of 15 percent of your grade.

Summary of Key Due Dates

February 12	Deadline for paper proposal
February 22	Deadline for peer review comments on three students' paper proposals
March 21	Deadline for democracy assistance policy paper

Respectful Classroom Environment

UBC recognizes that “the best possible environment for working, learning and living is one in which respect, civility, diversity, opportunity and inclusion are valued.” The full *UBC Statement on Respectful Environment for Students, Faculty and Staff* can be found at <http://www.hr.ubc.ca/respectful-environment/>. Students should read this statement carefully and take note of both the protections and the responsibilities that it outlines for all members of the UBC community. Students should also review the Student Code of Conduct (<http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,750,0>).

This course values frank discussion, healthy debate, and the free and respectful exchange of ideas. Students are welcome to voice and defend their views, which may differ from those of

other students or of the instructor. However, disrespectful behavior, including bullying and harassment, will not be tolerated. The instructor and teaching assistant will be professional and respectful in all their exchanges with students, and students will exercise similar professionalism and respect in their interactions with each other, with the teaching assistant, and with the instructor.

If you have any concerns about the class environment, including interactions with fellow class members, please raise them with the instructor. You also have the options of contacting the Head of the Political Science Department, UBC's Equity and Inclusion Office (<http://equity.ubc.ca>), or the UBC Ombudsperson for Students (<http://ombudsoffice.ubc.ca/contactus/>).

Accommodations for Religious Observance and Students with Disabilities

UBC permits students who are scheduled to attend classes or write examinations on holy days of their religion, to notify their instructor in advance of these days and their wish to be absent from class or examinations in order to observe them. Instructors must provide opportunity for students to make up work or examinations missed. In addition, UBC is committed to the academic success of students with disabilities. UBC's policy on Academic Accommodations for students with disabilities aims to remove barriers and provide equal access to University services, ensure fair and consistent treatment of all students, and to create a welcoming environment. Students with a disability should first meet with a Diversity Resource Centre (DRC) advisor to determine what accommodations/services they are eligible for.

Policy on Late Assignments

Unfortunately, there seems to be an extraordinarily high correlation between the onset of illnesses and personal emergencies and the due dates for assignments. Thus, unless you have a medical note from your doctor or a documented serious family emergency, there will be an automatic 3% grade penalty per day for late papers. If you miss class to complete the paper and hand it in later in the day, your paper will be considered one day late.

If you do hand in your paper late, please email it to me when it is completed in order to date-stamp the paper, then submit a hard copy to me either in class or in my department mailbox. The political science department office will not date-stamp papers that students hand in to professors' mailboxes; therefore, if you hand your paper into my mailbox without emailing it to me, I will have no way of knowing for sure when you handed your paper in, and I will date receipt of your paper from when I pick it up. Please do not submit papers under my office door for the same reason.

Plagiarism

From the "Top 5 Resources for Arts Students" link under "Student Resources" on the Connect site for the course, you will find a link to the UBC policy on Academic Integrity. There is also a very similar web page on the UBC Library website. Please read the guidelines and explore some

of the learning resources provided there if you have not done so already, in order to avoid committing plagiarism. Since good scholarship depends on the original intellectual contributions of scholars, dishonestly representing someone else's ideas as your own is considered to be a serious affront to the spirit of academia.

Submitting Papers to Turnitin.com

In an effort to deter plagiarism, the political science department requires that you submit an electronic copy of your paper proposal and term paper to Turnitin.com. This is a service that universities are using increasingly as a method to detect instances of plagiarism. This service compares student papers to thousands of published documents, "paper mills" of essays for sale, and to all of the other student papers submitted to the website, to detect levels of overlap in wording. You can find out more about Turnitin, and the university's policies on it, at <http://vpacademic.ubc.ca/integrity/turnitin-at-ubc/>. In order to submit your paper to Turnitin.com, you will need to create a user profile on the website at <http://www.turnitin.com/login.asp>. You will also need to enter the "course ID" and the "course password" for this course. The information you will need is:

Course ID: 11311182

Course password: democracy

You can then upload your paper as a file. Please note if you are new to Turnitin.com that your paper will NOT be available to anyone to read as a public document (except your paper proposal strictly for classmates in the peer reviewing exercise) – so you do not need to worry about other students finding your paper on the internet and copying it for their own use.

Your paper must be uploaded to Turnitin.com by one day after the due date for handing in the paper to me. Otherwise, you will be penalized at a rate of 3% per day for each day you are late in submitting the paper. Note that if you are handing in the paper to me late anyway, you will only be penalized a total of 3% per day (not 6% per day) until you have handed in the paper to me and uploaded it to Turnitin.

Citations and Paper Formats

I am happy to accept any common style of citation in your papers, whether it uses in-text author-date-page citations, footnotes at the bottom of each page, or endnotes at the end of the essay. The key requirement is that you should be thorough and consistent in your citation style. If you need a reference guide, the UBC library website has basic style guides for the APA and MLA citation styles (<http://help.library.ubc.ca/researching/how-to-cite/>). Another more detailed reference is the well-known *Chicago Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press). In any case, in addition to individual citations, you should include a "works cited" page at the end of your essay as a matter of standard practice, even though the sources are likely to be from the course syllabus itself. Please come and see me if you have any questions about styles of reference.

Papers must be double-spaced with one-inch margins and use 12-point font for the text.

Reading Requirements

The attached reading list is separated into two portions: required and recommended readings. You must read the required list each week. This list averages a total of approximately fifty pages per week. The literature on democratization is growing extremely large, so it is difficult to get away with reading less and having a competent knowledge of the subject. Some weeks have a heavier reading load than others; unfortunately, sometimes there are simply key writings that I feel are important for you to have in your repertoire. If you are interested in pursuing any week's topics further, I strongly encourage you to look at the recommended readings.

You can find all required readings on the syllabus through the course site on the UBC "Connect" system. Log in to connect.ubc.ca, then click the "Library" tab at the top and click on this course name. For any journal articles or book chapters (or books available in e-book form), I have requested that the UBC Library place links to them online, which you can find through the Connect website for the course. Log in to connect.ubc.ca, then click the "Library" tab at the top and click on this course name. You will need to log in with your UBC CWL to access the library readings.

Connect Site

To find the Connect site for the course, go to www.connect.ubc.ca and log in with your UBC CWL. As of the start of the course, the site is very simple, including only generic UBC student resources (like the Academic Integrity information mentioned above), the course syllabus, Powerpoint slides for class lectures (uploaded after each lecture), and the course discussion blog for your required blog participation. Over time, I plan to add more material to the Connect site of relevance to the course, so stay tuned!

Week-by-Week Schedule of Topics and Readings

PART I: DEFINING DEMOCRACY AND WHY IT MATTERS

Weeks 1-2, Jan. 4-8 and 11-15: What is a "Democratic" Regime? What is Good about It and How Universalizable is It?

Required Readings:

Tilly, Charles, "What is Democracy?" pp. 1-24 of *Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

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

Phillips, Anne, "Must Feminists Give Up on Liberal Democracy?" *Political Studies* 40, no. 5 (1992): 68-82.

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Parekh, Bhikhu, excerpt from "The Cultural Particularity of Liberal Democracy," pp. 424-9 in *Democracy: A Reader*, edited by Ricardo Blaug and John Schwarzmantel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Sen, Amartya, "Democracy as a Universal Value," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999): 3-17.

Carbone, Giovanni, "The Consequences of Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 20, no. 2 (April 2009): 123-37.

Recommended Readings:

Bova, Russell, "Democracy and Liberty: The Cultural Connection," *Journal of Democracy* 8, no. 1 (Jan. 1997): 112-26.

Collier, David, and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49 (April 1997): 430-51.

Dalai Lama, "Buddhism, Asian Values, and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 1 (Jan. 1999): 3-7.

Filali-Ansary, Abdou, "Muslims and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 10, no. 3 (July 1999): 18-32.

Fukuyama, Francis, "Confucianism and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 2 (April 1995): 20-33.

Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, "Toward Muslim Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 2 (April 2007): 5-13.

Schumpeter, Joseph, excerpt from *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, pp. 92-5 in *Democracy: A Reader*, edited by Ricardo Blaug and John Schwarzmantel (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

Ware, Alan. "Liberal Democracy: One Form or Many?" *Political Studies* 40 (1992): 130-45.

Zakaria, Fareed, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 6 (Nov./ Dec. 1997): 22-43.

PART II: THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO DEMOCRATIZATION

Week 3, Jan. 18-22: Structural Approaches to Democratization

Required Readings:

Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (Jan. 1997): 155-83.

Huber, Evelyne, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and John D. Stephens, "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, no. 3 (1993): 71-85.

Inglehart, Ronald, "How Solid Is Mass Support for Democracy: And How Can We Measure It?" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 36, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 51-57.

Recommended Readings:

- Bratton, Michael and Nicolas Van de Walle. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa." *World Politics* (July 1994): 453-89.
- Diamond, Larry. "Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered," *American Behavioral Scientist* 35, no. 4/5 (March/ June 1992): 450-99.
- Dunning, Thad, *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*, Ch. 1 (in course reader). (36 pgs)
- Epstein, David L., Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen and Sharyn O'Halloran, "Democratic Transitions," *American Journal of Political Science*, 50, no. 3 (Jul., 2006): 551-569.
- Karl, Terry Lynn, "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* (October 1990): 1-17.
- Karl, Terry Lynn, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy," *American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1 (March 1959): 69-105.
- Moore, Barrington, Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. 413-32.

Week 4, Jan. 25-29: Actor-Based Approaches (Transitology School) and Regime Cycles

Required Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Opening (and Undermining) Authoritarian Regimes," pp. 15-36 in *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
- Huntington, Samuel, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), Chapter 3 (pp. 109-63).
- Przeworski, Adam, excerpt from "Transitions to Democracy," pp. 79-88 in *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Recommended Readings:

- Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson, "A Theory of Political Transitions," *American Economic Review* 91, no. 4 (2001): 938-963.
- Cohen, Youssef. *Radicals, Reformers, and Reactionaries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Diamond, Larry, excerpt from chapter "Consolidating Democracy", pp. 64-77 in *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

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- Hale, Henry E., "Regime Cycles: Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Eurasia," *World Politics* 58 (Oct. 2005): 133-65.
- Jung, Courtney and Ian Shapiro, "South Africa's Negotiated Transition: Democracy, Opposition, and the New Constitutional Order," *Politics and Society* 23, no. 3 (Sept. 1995): 269-308.
- Karl, Terry Lynn, "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* (October 1990): 1-17.
- Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
- McFaul, Michael, "The Fourth Wave of Democracy and Dictatorship," *World Politics* 54 (Jan. 2002): 212-44.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2, no. 3 (April 1970): 337-63.
- Tilly, Charles, "Democratization and De-Democratization", pp. 51-79 of *Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

PART III: FACTORS INFLUENCING DEMOCRATIZATION

Week 5, Feb. 1-5: Institutional Design for New Democracies

Required Readings:

- Lijphart, Arend, "Constitutional Choices for New Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 2, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 72-84.
- Linz, Juan J., "The Perils of Presidentialism," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 1 (1990): 51-69.
- Horowitz, Donald L., "Comparing Democratic Systems," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 4 (1990): 73-79.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, "The Centrality of Political Culture," *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 4 (1990): 80-83.
- Reilly, Benjamin. "Introduction" (pp. 1-41) of *Democracy in Divided Societies: Electoral Engineering for Conflict Management* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Recommended Readings:

- Carey, John M., "Institutional Design and Party Systems," in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, edited by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
- Dawisha, Adeed, "The New Iraq: Democratic Institutions and Performance," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 35-49.

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Elster, Jon, "Ways of Constitution-Making," in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 123-42.

Fish, M. Steven, "Stronger Legislatures, Stronger Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 17, no. 1 (Jan. 2006): 5-20. (E)

Fukuyama, Frank, Bjorn Dressel, and Boo-Seung Chang, "Facing the Perils of Presidentialism?" *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 2 (April 2005): 102-116.

Geddes, Barbara, "Initiation of New Democratic Institutions in Eastern Europe and Latin America," in *Institutional Design in New Democracies*, edited by Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

Lijphart, Arend, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), Chapter 7 ("Executive-Legislative Relations: Patterns of Dominance and Balance of Power").

Mainwaring, Scott, "Presidentialism, Multipartyism and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* 26 (July 1993): 198-228.

Nino, Carlos Santiago, "Hyperpresidentialism and Constitutional Reform in Argentina," in *Institutional Design in New Democracies*, edited by Arend Lijphart and Carlos H. Waisman (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

Sartori, Giovanni, *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Shugart, Matthew and John Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

*****REMINDER: NO CLASS FEBRUARY 8 DUE TO FAMILY DAY HOLIDAY*****

**Weeks 6-7, Feb. 10-12 and Feb. 22-26: Civil Society and Informal Institutions
(and Peer Discussion of Paper Proposals)**

***** REMINDER: TERM PAPER PROPOSALS DUE IN CLASS
FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12. NO CLASSES FEB. 15-19 OVER MIDTERM BREAK. PEER
REVIEW COMMENTS DUE TO TURNITIN SITE BY MONDAY, FEB. 22 FOR
DISCUSSION IN CLASS ON FEB. 26 *****

Required Readings:

Diamond, Larry, "Toward Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 17 (July 1994): 3-17.

Putnam, Robert D., "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital," *Journal of Democracy* 6, no. 1 (1995): 65-78.

Berman, Sheri, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (April 1997): 401-29.

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Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, "Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda," *Perspectives on Politics* 2, no. 4 (December 2004): 725-40.

Ledeneva, Alena, "From Russia with *Blat*: Can Informal Networks Help Modernize Russia?," *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 257-288.

Recommended Readings:

Adler, Glenn and Eddie Webster, "Challenging Transition Theory: The Labor Movement, Radical Reform, and Transition to Democracy in South Africa," *Politics and Society* 23, no. 1 (March 1995): 75-106.

Almond, Gabriel and Sidney A. Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1963). Almond and Verba, *The Civic Culture Revisited* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980).

Black, Antony, *State, Community and Human Desire: A Group-Centred Account of Political Values* (New York, NY: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1988).

Borocz, Jozsef, "Informality Rules," *East European Politics and Societies* 14, no. 2 (2000): 348-80.

Bratton, Michael, "Formal Versus Informal Institutions in Africa," *Journal of Democracy*, 18 (no. 3) (July 2007): 96-110.

Brysk, Alison, "Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America," *Journal of Democracy* 11, no. 3 (July 2000): 151-65.

Collins, Kathleen, "The Logic of Clan Politics: Evidence from the Central Asian Trajectories," *World Politics* 56, no. 2 (Jan. 2004): 224-61.

Dalton, Russell J., and Christian Welzel, eds. *The Civic Culture Transformed*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Evans, Alfred B., Laura A. Henry, and Lisa McIntosh Sundstrom, *Russian Civil Society: A Critical Assessment* (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 2005).

Howard, Marc Morjé, "The Weakness of Postcommunist Civil Society," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 157-69.

Ledeneva, Alena, *Russia's Economy of Favours: Blat, Networking, and Informal Exchange* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Lindberg, Staffan, "'It's Our Time to 'Chop': Do Elections in Africa Feed Neo-Patrimonialism rather than Counter-Act it?," *Democratization* 10, no. 2 (2003): 121-40.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Democracy, Law, and Comparative Politics," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 7-37.

Putnam, Robert D. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

Rose, Richard, "Postcommunism and the Problem of Trust," pp. 251-63 in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner, eds. *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Seligman, Adam B., *The Idea of Civil Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

Stolle, Dietland and Marc Hooghe, "Review Article: Inaccurate, Exceptional, One-Sided or Irrelevant? The Debate about the Alleged Decline of Social Capital and Civic Engagement in Western Societies," *British Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 1 (January 2005): 149-67.

Tsai, Lily, "Solidary Groups, Informal Accountability, and Local Public Goods Provision in Rural China," *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 2 (May 2007): 355-72.

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. *Forging Democracy from Below: Contested Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Week 8, Feb. 29 – March 4: Difficult Contexts – Economic Crisis and Post-Conflict Situations

Required Readings:

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufmann, "The Challenges of Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 5-16.

Hellman, Joel S., "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Postcommunist Transitions," *World Politics* 50, no. 2 (Jan. 1998): 203-35.

Jarstad, Anna K., "Dilemmas of war-to-democracy transitions: theories and concepts", pp. 17-36 in *From War to Democracy: Dilemmas of Peacebuilding*, edited by Anna K. Jarstad and Timothy J. Sisk (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Recommended Readings:

Aslund, Anders, "The Case for Radical Reform," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 63-74.

Aslund, Anders, "Why Market Reform Succeeded and Democracy Failed in Russia," *Social Research* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 1-28.

Bhalla, Surjit, "Freedom and Economic Growth: A Virtuous Cycle?" in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 195-241.

Dahl, Robert, "Why Free Markets are Not Enough," *Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 3 (July 1992): 82-9.

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman, "The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 3, Transitions to Democracy: A Special Issue in Memory of Dankwart A. Rustow. (Apr., 1997): 263-283.

Kapstein, Ethan B. and Nathan Converse, "Why Democracies Fail," *Journal of Democracy* 19, no. 4 (Oct. 2008): 57-68.

Kurtz, Marcus J., "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America," *World Politics* 56 (Jan. 2004): 262-302.

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Maravall, Jose Maria, "The Myth of the Authoritarian Advantage," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 17-31.

Nelson, Joan M., "Linkages Between Politics and Economics," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 4 (Oct. 1994): 49-62.

Przeworski, Adam, "The Neoliberal Fallacy," *Journal of Democracy* 3, no. 3 (July 1992): 45-59.

Vanhuysse, Pieter, *Divide and Pacify: Strategic Social Policies and Political Protests in Post-Communist Democracies* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2006).

Verweij, Marco and Riccardo Pelizzo, "Singapore: Does Authoritarianism Pay?" *Journal of Democracy* 20, no. 2 (April 2009): 18-32.

Week 9, March 7-11: International Aspects I – Promoting Democracy: Foreign Democracy Assistance

Required Readings:

Carothers, Thomas, "The Question of Strategy," pp. 85-113 and "The Learning Curve," pp. 331-52 in *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999).

Carothers, Thomas, "The Backlash Against Democracy Promotion," *Foreign Affairs* 85, no. 2 (Mar-Apr 2006): 55-68.

Bush, Sarah Sunn, "The Argument: Structure, Agency, and Democracy Promotion" (Chapter 2), pp. 22-52 in *The Taming of Democracy Assistance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015) (e-book).

Recommended Readings:

Alesina, Alberto and Dollar, David "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?," *Journal of Economic Growth* 5 (2000): 33-63.

Barkan, Joel D. "Can Established Democracies Nurture Democracy Abroad? Lessons from Africa," pp. 371-403 in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Brown, Stephen, "Foreign Aid and Democracy Promotion: Lessons from Africa," *European Journal of Development Research* 17, no. 2 (June 2005): 179-98.

Burnell, Peter, "From Evaluating Democracy Assistance to Appraising Democracy Promotion," *Political Studies* 56, no. 2 (2008): 414-34.

Burnell, Peter, "Democracy Assistance: The State of the Discourse," pp. 3-33 in *Democracy Assistance: International Co-operation for Democratization*, edited by Peter Burnell (London: Frank Cass, 2000).

Diamond, Larry, *Promoting Democracy in the 1990s: Actors and Instruments, Issues and Imperatives* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, Dec. 1995).

Grugel, Jean, "Democratization and Globalization," pp. 116-39 in *Democratization: A Critical Introduction* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, 2002).

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Henderson, Sarah L. *Building Democracy in Contemporary Russia: Western Support for Grassroots Organizations* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Hughes, Caroline, "Transnational Networks, International Organizations and Political Participation in Cambodia: Human Rights, Labour Rights and Common Rights," *Democratization* 14, no. 5 (2007): 834-52.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998).

Legler, Thomas, Sharon F. Lean, and Dexter S. Boniface, eds., *Promoting Democracy in the Americas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007).

Mendelson, Sarah, "Democracy Assistance and Political Transition in Russia: Between Success and Failure," *International Security* 25, no. 4 (Spring 2001): 68-106.

Ottaway, Marina and Thomas Carothers, eds., *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000).

Sundstrom, Lisa McIntosh. *Funding Civil Society: Foreign Assistance and NGO Development in Russia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Youngs, Richard, "European Approaches to Democracy Assistance: Learning the Right Lessons?" *Third World Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (Feb. 2003): 127-138.

Week 10, March 14-18: International Aspects 2 – Linkage, Diffusion, and Accountability Mechanisms

***** REMINDER: PAPERS DUE MONDAY, MARCH 21 *****

Required Readings:

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way, "International Linkage and Democratization," *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 3 (July 2005): 20-34.

Koesel, Karrie J. and Valerie J. Bunce, "Diffusion-Proofing: Russian and Chinese Responses to Waves of Popular Mobilizations against Authoritarian Rulers," *Perspectives on Politics*, 11, no. 3 (2013): 753-768.

Kelley, Judith, "D-Minus Elections: The Politics and Norms of International Election Observation," *International Organization* 63, no. 4 (2009): 765-87.

Recommended Readings:

Ake, Claude, "Dangerous Liaisons: The Interface of Globalization and Democracy," pp. 282-96 in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Bhagwati, Jagdish, "Globalization, Sovereignty, and Democracy," pp. 263-81 in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Deibert, Ronald et al., eds., *Access Controlled: The Shaping of Power, Rights, and Rule in Cyberspace* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2010)

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- Howard, Philip N. and Muzammil M. Hussain, "The Role of Digital Media," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 3 (July 2011): 35-48.
- Li, Quan and Rafael Reuveny, "Economic Globalization and Democracy: An Empirical Analysis," *British Journal of Political Science* 33, no. 1 (Jan. 2003): 29-54.
- MacKinnon, Rebecca, "China's 'Networked Authoritarianism'," *Journal of Democracy* 22, no. 2 (April 2011): 32-46. (E)
- Meernik, James, "United States Military Intervention and the Promotion of Democracy," *Journal of Peace Research* 33, no. 4 (Nov. 1996): 391-402.
- Peceny, Mark, "Forcing Them to Be Free," *Political Research Quarterly* 52, no. 3. (Sept. 1999): 549-582.
- Rodan, Garry, "The Internet and Political Control in Singapore," *Political Science Quarterly* 113, no. 1 (spring 1998): 63-89.
- Schmitter, Philippe C., "Exploring the Problematic Triumph of Liberal Democracy and Concluding with a Modest Proposal for Improving its International Impact," pp. 297-307 in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).
- Whitehead, Laurence, ed., *The International Dimensions of Democratization: Europe and the Americas*, expanded edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Weeks 11/12, March 21-23, March 30 - April 1: "New Breed" Competitive Authoritarian Regimes

***** REMINDER: NO CLASS ON FRIDAY, MARCH 25 OR MONDAY, MARCH 28 DUE TO EASTER HOLIDAY *****

Required Readings:

- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way, "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (2002): 51-65.
- Snyder, Richard, "Beyond Electoral Authoritarianism: The Spectrum of Nondemocratic Regimes," pp. 219-231 (Ch. 13) in *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, edited by Andreas Schedler (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 2006).
- Gandhi, Jennifer, and Ellen Lust-Okar. "Elections Under Authoritarianism." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1) (2009): 403-22.

Recommended Readings:

- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War* (Cambridge University Press, 2010)
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 1 (January 1994): 55-69.

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Robertson, Graeme B. "Strikes and Labor Organization in Hybrid Regimes," *American Political Science Review* 101, no. 4 (Nov. 2007): 783-98.

Schedler, Andreas. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.

Svolik, M W. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Thompson, Mark R. and Philipp Kuntz, "After Defeat: When Do Rulers Steal Elections?" pp. 113-128 (Ch. 7) in *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*, edited by Andreas Schedler (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 2006).

PART IV: CONCLUSION

Week 13, April 4-8: Challenges to the Transition Paradigm and the Future of Democracy

Required Readings:

Carothers, Thomas, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (Jan. 2002): 5-21.

Diamond, Larry, Francis Fukuyama, Donald L. Horowitz, and Marc F. Plattner. 2014. "Reconsidering the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 25(1): 86-100.

Puddington, Arch, "A Return to the Iron Fist," *Journal of Democracy*, 26(2) (2015): 122-138.

Recommended Readings:

Alexander, Gerard. 2002. "Institutionalized Uncertainty, The Rule of Law, and the Sources of Democratic Instability." *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 10: 1145-1170.

Alvarez, Michael, Jose Antonio Cheibub and Fernando Limongi, "What Makes Democracies Endure?" in *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*, edited by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997): 295-311.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 1 (January 1994): 55-69.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Illusions About Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 2 (1996): 34-51.

Hadenius, Axel and Jan Teorell, "Pathways from Authoritarianism," *Journal of Democracy* 18, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 143-56.

He, Baogang and Mark E. Warren, "Authoritarian Deliberation: The Deliberative Turn in Chinese Political Development," *Perspectives on Politics* (June 2011): 269-289.

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Kaplan, Robert, "Was Democracy Just a Moment?" *Atlantic Monthly* (Dec. 1997): 55-80.

Kohli, Atul, "On Sources of Social and Political Conflicts in Follower Democracies," in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Nobel Symposium No. 93, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 71-80.

Nodia, Ghia, "The Democratic Path," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 3 (July 2002): 13-19.

Jowitt, Kenneth, "Dizzy with Democracy," *Problems of Post-Communism* 43, no. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1996): 3-8.

Schedler, Andreas, ed. *Electoral Authoritarianism: The Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Press, 2006.

Advice for Democracy Assistance Policy Paper

The assignment is to pretend that you are an international development officer at the Canadian federal Department of Global Affairs, in charge of democracy assistance programming for a particular country, and to design a democracy assistance program for that country. Early in the term, you will be given a list of countries to choose from that are either currently, or could be in future, recipients of Canadian democracy assistance due to their transitional or troubled democratic regime status.

The paper should include an initial historical and contextual section that outlines the challenges and problems of the country that will affect the democratization process. For this process you will want to look at news sources and recent scholarly analyses of politics in that country.

If there have already been democracy assistance programs in place in the country (by Canada and other countries) you should assess the record of those programs. Then you should outline in some detail the programs that you propose to try to assist the country in its path to democracy (whether following the same strategy as in the past, or developing a new approach). You can conduct this research mostly on the Internet, thanks to the thoroughness of information that foreign donors tend to provide on their websites in recent years.

In the paper, you should make use of the democratization literature we are studying to justify why you are focusing on particular factors as problems, what the benefits and drawbacks are of previous programs, and why you are proposing the programs you are proposing.

Suggested approximate breakdown of sections

Section I: Contextual background and problems (3-4 pages).

- This should constitute **no more than** 1/3 of the paper.
- Since this must be short (ostensibly to hold the attention of your government superiors), get right to the important stuff. What are the conditions that are troublesome for democracy, and how entrenched are they? Here, the material from the syllabus, discussing various impediments to initial democratic transition and further democratization should be helpful in guiding you towards socioeconomic, institutional, and cultural problems to consider.

Section II: Describing and evaluating existing programs (3-4 pages):

- Survey some of the major techniques and areas of concentration that governmental and nongovernmental donors have used in your country. Have they concentrated on election monitoring? Designing parliament? Training political parties? Civil society? Remember, you should isolate your analysis to programs that are aimed at democracy promotion rather than development more broadly. So do not wander into areas of basic socioeconomic development or humanitarian projects.
- Look to see if donors themselves have any reports or analyses of the effectiveness of their programs on their websites. Have they changed their strategy over time? Why? What has worked and what hasn't?
- Do there seem to be some gaps in democracy assistance programs that you think should be filled, given the contextual problems for democracy that you identified in Section I?

- If you look at the course readings (both required and recommended) for Week 9, you will get an idea of some of the benefits and drawbacks of various kinds of assistance. This should help you in looking for successes and failures of the current programs and designing your own future programs in Section III.
- Clearly, if there have not yet been any foreign democracy promotion programs yet in the country you are studying, you will not be able to describe and assess that record. If this is the case, you should try to examine programs that have been used in similar kinds of circumstances elsewhere, and decide whether you think it is advisable to “borrow” such programs. For example, if you are looking to future programs in Iraq, you may wish to examine the programs that have been employed in nearby Afghanistan or other post-conflict states and extrapolate from them.

Section III: Designing your own democracy promotion program strategy (3-4 pages).

- Here you should lay out a strategy of how you will redesign Global Affairs Canada’s democracy programming for your country. Will there be more focus on writing laws, designing parliaments, supporting NGOs, civic education, or what? You need to justify the programs and emphases by using evidence about problems on the ground or about programs that have worked and not worked in the past.
- Come up with some specific initiatives in your areas of focus that you think will be effective. Some creativity would really be appreciated here!
- How much do you think the aid should be spread evenly throughout the country versus concentrated in certain regions or cities for particular reasons?
- Who would be the target groups or beneficiaries of your programs? How would they be involved in the planning, execution, and evaluation of the programs?
- Keep in mind that although you don’t have a specific budget limit, you are likely to have only tens of millions of dollars available for your programs rather than billions of dollars. So keep your program ideas realistic. For example, do not say that you will give grants to every NGO in the country, since you probably won’t have money to do that! You do **not** need to attach dollar figures or a budget to your program ideas.

Suggested Sources

For some overall comparative statistics by country on international aid funds in the area of “government and civil society” (the term the OECD uses for most democracy assistance aid) you may wish to refer to the OECD’s statistics division at: <https://data.oecd.org>. This will help you to figure out which governments are major donors to those countries.

Below I list a number of the important organizations in the business of democracy assistance: governments, multilateral intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations. Often the nongovernmental donors receive significant assistance themselves from the governmental donors, so frequently you can obtain information about which nongovernmental donors are prominent in democracy assistance in a given country by looking first at the governmental donors’ websites.

You also should conduct a search through journals and books in the library to locate any scholarly analyses of foreign democracy assistance in the country or wider region. It is a good idea to read the required readings and any of the applicable listed recommended readings on the

syllabus for Week 9, in order to obtain a sense of many of the issues involved in democracy assistance effectiveness.

As you look at the different donors' websites, you should scan for programs that include titles such as "democracy," "governance" (often a code word for "democracy"), "civil society," or "human rights." Sometimes (as with the European Commission, for example), donors describe their democracy programming under the more general umbrella category of "development."

This list is just a preliminary one. You will most likely encounter more donors that you should look at in the process of research. This document is also available on the course website with links directly to the mentioned sites, in case you find it inconvenient to type out these convoluted addresses.

Major governmental donors:

Global Affairs Canada (and formerly CIDA): <http://www.international.gc.ca/development-developpement/index.aspx?lang=eng#>

United States Agency for International Development (USAID): <http://www.usaid.gov/>

United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID):
<https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/department-for-international-development>

Intergovernmental donors:

EU International Cooperation and Development Directorate:
http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/sectors/sectors_en

United Nations Development Program (UNDP): <http://www.undp.org/governance/>.

Nongovernmental donors:

National Endowment for Democracy (US): <http://www.ned.org/>

National Democratic Institute (US): <http://www.ndi.org/>

The Parliamentary Centre (Canada, works on parliamentary institution building):
<http://www.parlcent.org/en/>

Open Society Institute (George Soros): <http://www.soros.org/>

Ford Foundation: <http://www.fordfound.org/>

German Stiftungen (Foundations) (related to German political parties):

- Konrad Adenauer Foundation: <http://www.kas.de/wf/en/>.
- Friedrich Naumann Foundation: <https://www.freiheit.org/content/welcome-friedrich-naumann-foundation-freedom>
- Heinrich Böll Foundation: <http://www.boell.org/>

There will probably be some regionally focused nongovernmental donors that you will want to look at, depending on your region. For example, in Africa and Latin America, you will probably want to look at the Carter Center (<http://www.cartercenter.org/>); for the former Soviet Union, the Eurasia Foundation (<http://www.eurasia.org/>); for Asia, the Asia Foundation (<http://www.asiafoundation.org/>). You will get specific ideas often from the USAID and CIDA websites concerning which intermediary NGOs receive funding for democracy projects from them.

This paper is due at the **beginning of class on March 21**. You will mostly be talking to the course TAs, Fabio Resmini and Li Guo, for guidance with this paper since they will be marking the assignment. However, also feel free to talk to me if you have questions about specific sources.