

University of Notre Dame
Department of Political Science
POLS 60408: Comparing Democracies
Fall 2009

Thursdays, 3:30-6:00 p.m., Hesburgh Library 800
Office hours: T 2:00-3:30, F 3:30-5:00
or by appointment in 238 Hesburgh Center

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This is a seminar on the nature and consequences of democracy. It is a companion course to "Comparative Research on Democratization," which examines causes of democracy. However, neither seminar is a prerequisite for the other.

"Comparing Democracies" is a semester-long workshop devoted to establishing rigorous criteria for evaluating how democratic "democracies" are and what difference it makes. During most of the post-war era, U.S. political science moved toward a consensus on a narrow, liberal-pluralist concept of democracy that reduced a rich and complex tradition to electoral competition, broad suffrage, and certain attendant institutions. This was a useful concept for several decades, as it made possible an increasingly rigorous program of research on the causes and consequences of democracy. But at the end of the Third Wave, it has become hard to ignore the price that we paid for this productivity. Now there are many more countries that satisfy the minimal requirements for a narrow version of democracy. At the same time we are painfully aware that some democracies are much more "democratic" than others. Yet the concept we inherited does not provide us with clear criteria for making such judgments. The purpose of this seminar is to reconsider, in a more broad-minded frame of mind, what the essential components of democracy are, and to examine empirically their interrelationships and their consequences for other social and political values. We will read and discuss selected theoretical works—some old, some recent— that propose definitions of and justifications for democracy. We will break down the concepts into measurable components and function as a research team to produce qualitative and quantitative indicators of the quality of democracy. Students will also present and critique their own research on the consequences of these qualities of democracy for war and peace, political culture, governability, and economic policy and performance. The seminar includes practical instruction on concept formation, measurement theory, dimensional analysis, and other methodological tools that would be useful for analyzing many complex political phenomena besides democracy.

Grades are based on

25% oral critiques of readings most weeks, including discussing a classmate's draft paper

5% defense of a model of democracy on September 3 or 10

10% country ratings for Polyarchy Scale, due September 24

15% proposal presented at brainstorming session on October 15

20% for the draft presented in class December 3 or 10

25% for the revised, final version of the paper turned in by December 15.

Please do not plan on taking an Incomplete for this course. It is almost always a bad idea, as you are not likely to have more time to devote to your paper later on. For this reason, I will deduct one sign (eg., A to A-) from the grade of any paper turned in over Winter Break, and two signs (eg., A to B+) for any paper turned in by the absolute deadline of exam week of the spring 2010 semester. By Graduate School rules, any paper not turned in by that date automatically becomes an F (failing).

Books available for purchase at the bookstore are:

Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge UP, 2003). ISBN 0521532671

Robert F. DeVellis, *Scale Development: Theory and Applications*, 2nd ed. Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 26 (Sage, 2003).

Gary Goertz, *Social Science Concepts: A User's Guide* (Princeton UP, 2006). ISBN13: 978-0-691-12411-7

David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 3rd ed. (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2006).

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (Yale UP, 1999).

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (Cambridge University Press, 2000). ISBN 0521793793

There is no course packet. Unless otherwise noted, required journal **articles** will be available through electronic journals and required book **chapters** will be available through electronic reserves. Recommended readings are not on reserve.

Schedule of Readings and Assignments

August 27. Introduction: Empirical Research on the Nature and Consequences of Democracy

No reading assignment.

*Exercise: You will be randomly assigned a model of democracy. For the next class, write a definition of that model of democracy in your own words and list arguments in favor of adopting this model. (Print this out and give it to me at the end of the next class.) Why should we, as political scientists, understand democracy in this way? You should use the relevant passages of Held's *Models of Democracy* as a starting point, but feel free to explore additional sources on your own. You may read his descriptions of the other models less carefully, but do at least study his summary tables with care.

September 3 (Class cancelled due to APSA Meeting in Toronto. We will need to schedule a make-up session): Thick and Thin Concepts of Democracy

Democracy has been defined in a great variety of inconsistent ways. One way of dealing with conceptual diversity is to redefine the concept in a narrower way. U.S. political scientists have tended to narrow the concept to a liberal-pluralist model. Why did they do this? What are the advantages of adopting this thin concept of democracy? What are the costs?

*Come to class prepared to argue in favor of your assigned model, whether you agree with it or not. The best debater will win a prize! Also bring your definition to hand in. (5% of grade.)

David Held, *Models of Democracy*, 3rd ed. (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2006):
 Classical democracy, pp. 11-28 (Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Pericles)
 Republicanism, pp. 29-55 (Cicero, Marsilius of Padua, Machiavelli, Rousseau, Wollstoncraft)
 Liberal democracy, pp. 56-96 (Hobbes, Locke, Montesquieu, Madison, James Mill, Bentham, JS Mill)
 Marxism & corporatism, pp. 96-122, 172-184, & 217-230 (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Callinicos, Offe, Miliband, Poulantzas)
 Competitive elitism, pp. 125-157 (Weber, Schumpeter)
 Pluralism, pp. 158-184 (Truman, Dahl; Neo-Pluralism)
 Legal democracy, pp. 201-209 (Hayek, Nozick)
 Participatory democracy, pp. 209-216 (Pateman, Macpherson)
 Deliberative democracy, pp. 231-255 (Habermas, Fishkin, Dryzek, Gutmann, Young, Beetham)
 Cosmopolitan democracy, pp. 290-311 (Held)

Everyone must also read this article:

David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49:3 (April 1997): 430-51.

Recommended

Terchek and Conte, eds., *Theories of Democracy: A Reader* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2001); Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge UP, 1970); John Dunn, "Democratic Theory," in Dunn, *Western Political Theory in the Face of the Future* (Cambridge UP, 1979), pp. 1-28; Benjamin Barber, *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age* (University of California Press, 1984); David Beetham, ed., *Defining and Measuring Democracy* (Sage Publications, 1994); Phillippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is... and Is Not" *Journal of Democracy* 2 (Summer 1991): 75-88; Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Toward Consolidated Democracies," *Journal of Democracy* 7:2 (April 1996): 14-33; Daniel Brinks, "Informal Institutions and the Rule of Law: The Judicial Response to State Killings in Buenos Aires and São Paulo in the 1990s," *Comparative Politics* 36:1 (2003): 1-19; David Altman and Anibal Pérez-Liñán, "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness and Participation in Eighteen Latin American Countries," *Democratization* 9:2 (Summer 2002): 85-100; Igor Mayer, Jurian Edelenbos, and René Monnikhof, "Interactive Policy Development: Undermining or Sustaining Democracy?" *Public Administration* 83:1 (March 2005): 179-200; Anibal Pérez Liñán, "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: A Citizens' Perspective," in Miguel Gutiérrez-Saxe and Jorge Vargas Culléll, eds., "A Citizens' Audit on the Quality of Democracy: A Proposal," unpublished ms., The Helen Kellogg Institute of International Studies, University of Notre Dame, April 1998. 16 pp. +19 pp. of tables; Burt L. Monroe, "Fully Proportional Representation," *American Political Science Review* 89:4 (December 1995): 925-940; Richard Katz, *Democracy and Elections* (Oxford UP, 1997); Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5 (January 1994): 55-69; Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7:2 (April 1996): 34-51; and the debate on it in *JoD* 7:4 (October 1996): 151-68; E. Huber, D. Rueschemeyer, and J.D. Stephens, "The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Dimensions," *Comparative Politics* 29:3 (April 1997): 323-342; Luis Roniger and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata, *Democracy, Clientelism, and Civil Society* (Lynne Rienner, 1994); Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies* (Lynne Rienner, April 1999); Joseph L. Staats; Shaun Bowler; Jonathan T. Hiskey, "Measuring Judicial Performance in Latin America," *Latin American Politics and Society* 47:4 (Winter 2005): 77-106; Joseph Schumpeter, "The Classical Doctrine of Democracy" and "Another Theory of Democracy," in Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (Harper and Row, 1950), pp. 250-83; Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics* (Yale UP, 1989), pp. 13-33 and 213-24; Dahl, *On Democracy* (Yale UP, 1998); William H. Riker, *Liberalism Against Populism: A Confrontation Between the Theory of Democracy and the Theory of Social Choice* (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1982).

September 10. Conceptualization and Measurement Theory

Is it possible to “measure” complex concepts such as “democracy”? What are the standards for doing it well?

*Assignment: Write your own definition of democracy and bring it to this class.

Gary Goertz, *Social Science Concepts: A User's Guide* (Princeton UP, 2006), chapters 2-4 (pp. 27-127).

Robert Adcock and David Collier, “Measurement Validity: A Shared Standard for Qualitative and Quantitative Research,” *American Political Science Review* 95:3 (September 2001): 529-546.

Peter Mair, “Getting the Concepts Right,” *APSA-CP* (Summer 2009). [in course folder]

Recommended

Giovanni Sartori, “Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics,” *American Political Science Review* 64 (1970): 1033-1053; David Collier and Robert Adcock, “Democracy and Dichotomies: Justifying Choices about Concepts,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 2 (Palo Alto: Annual Reviews, 1999), pp. 537-565;

September 17. Measurement in Practice

How does one actually DO this?!

**Instructions will be given for the measurement exercise for next week.

David Nachmias and Chava Nachmias, *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, second ed. (St. Martin's Press, 1981), chapter 15, “Index Construction and Scaling Methods” (pp. 391-414).

Robert F. DeVellis, *Scale Development: Theory and Applications*, 2nd ed., Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 26 (Sage, 2003), chapters 1-5 (pp. 1-100). Recommended: chapters 7-8.

Marija J. Norušis/SPSS, Inc., “Factor Analysis,” *SPSS Professional Statistics 6.1* (SPSS, Inc., 1994), pp. 47-81.

Recommended

Joseph B. Kruskal and Myron Wish, “Multidimensional Scaling,” Sage University Paper series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 07-011 (Sage publications, 1978); Richard A. Zeller and Edward G. Carmines, *Measurement in the Social Sciences: The Link between Theory and Data* (Cambridge UP, 1980), chapters 1-4 (pp. 1-101); Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Conceptualization and Measurement in the Social Sciences* (SAGE, 1982), chapters 1-3 (pp. 11-107); Roderick P. McDonald, *Factor Analysis and Related Methods* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1985); William Jacoby, *Data Theory and Dimensional Analysis* [SAGE series: Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences, 07-078] (Newbury Park, CA: SAGE, 1991).

September 24. Exercise in Replicating the Polyarchy Scale

**By noon today, you must save to your dropbox in the course folder your country ratings for the polyarchy scale replication (10% of grade). In the first half of the class, we will do the scaling in class and assess internal and inter-coder reliability. In the second half of the class, we will explore external validity of this scale by comparing scores with democracy indicators compiled by the Quality of

Government Institute. Prepare for this by scanning through:

Teorell, Jan, Sören Holmberg, and Bo Rothstein. 2009. The Quality of Government Dataset Göteborg University: The Quality of Government Institute. Available from <http://www.qog.pol.gu.se>.

**Please plan to discuss your paper with me privately, alone or as a team, before spring break.

October 1. Indicators of Democracy

Each of you will be assigned one indicator to report on. What is the concept it is intended to measure? What does it actually measure? How extensively has it been measured? How reliably has it been measured? What would this indicator be useful for?

Freedom House, "Methodology."

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=35&year=2005>

Kenneth A. Bollen, "Issues in the Comparative Measurement of Political Democracy," *American Sociological Review* 45:3 (June 1980): 370-390.

Monty G. Marshall and Keith Jaggers, "Polity IV Project Dataset User's Manual."

<http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/polity/> (requires registration), esp. pp. 16-32; skim appendices and addenda, pp. 48-83.

Axel Hadenius, *Democracy and Development* (Cambridge UP, 1992), pp. 36-71.

Alvarez, Mike, José Antonio Cheibub, Fernando Limongi and Adam Przeworski. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31 (Summer): 3-36.

David L. Cingranelli and David L. Richards, "The Cingranelli-Richards (CIRI) Human Rights Database Coder Manual," (2004), http://ciri.binghamton.edu/documentation/web_version_7_31_04_ciri_coding_guide.pdf.

Laza Kekic, "The Economist Intelligence Unit's Index of Democracy,"

http://www.nd.edu/~mcoppedg/crd/EIUDEMOCRACY_INDEX_2007_v3.pdf.

Michael Coppedge, Angel Alvarez, and Claudia Maldonado, "Two Persistent Dimensions of Democracy: Contestation and Inclusiveness," *Journal of Politics* 70:3 (July 2008): 632-647.

Recommended

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53 (March 1959): 69-105; Phillips Cutright, "National Political Development: Measurement and Analysis," *American Sociological Review* 28 (1963): 253-64; Michael T. Hannan and Glenn R. Carroll, "Dynamics of Formal Political Structure: An Event-History Analysis," *American Sociological Review* 46 (1981): 19-35; Michael Coppedge and Wolfgang Reinicke, "Measuring Polyarchy," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25:1 (Spring 1990): 51-72; Vanhanen T. 1990. *The Process of Democratization*. New York: Crane Russak; Mark Gasiorowski, "An Overview of the Political Regime Change

Dataset," *Comparative Political Studies* 29:4 (August 1996): 469-83; Scott Mainwaring, Daniel Brinks, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36:1 (2001): 37-65; Carsten Q. Schneider and Philippe C. Schmitter, "Liberalization, Transition and Consolidation: Measuring the Components of Democratization." *Democratization* 11:5 (December 2004): 59-90; Bruce Moon et al., "Voting Counts: Participation in the Measurement of Democracy," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 41:2 (Summer 2006): 3-32.

October 8. Debates about Measuring Democracy

What difference does it make how we measure democracy?

Kenneth Bollen, "Liberal Democracy: Validity and Method Factors in Cross-National Measures," *American Journal of Political Science* 37 (1993): 1207-30.

Zachary Elkins, "Gradations of Democracy? Empirical Tests of Alternative Conceptualizations," *American Journal of Political Science* 44 (2000): 293-300

Pamela Paxton, "Women's Suffrage in the Measurement of Democracy: Problems of Operationalization," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (2000): 92-110.

Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices," *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2002): 5-34. (Recommended: discussion following this article)

Shawn Treier and Simon Jackman, "Democracy as a Latent Variable," *American Journal of Political Science* 52:1 (January 2008): 201-217.

David Pemstein, Stephen Meserve, and James Melton, "Democratic Compromise: A Latent Variable Analysis of Ten Measures of Regime Type." Unpublished ms. [in course folder]

John Gerring and Michael Coppedge, "Measuring Democracy: A Multidimensional, Tiered, and Historical Approach," (proposal, August 2009). [in course folder]

Recommended

Kristian Gleditsch and Michael D. Ward, "Double Take: A Re-examination of Democracy and Autocracy in Modern Polities," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 41:3 (June 1997); Joe Foweraker and R. Krznaric, "Measuring Liberal Democratic Performance: An Empirical and Conceptual Critique," *Political Studies* 48:4 (2000): 759-787; .Michael Coppedge, "Defining and Measuring Democracy," draft chapter 2 for *Approaching Democracy: Research Methods in Comparative Politics* (under contract to Cambridge University Press; available in course folder).

October 15. Brainstorming Session

**Write a proposal of 500-1000 words to do at least two of the following: a) define a component of democracy (preferably a neglected one) and justify its inclusion in the concept of democracy; b) develop a procedure to operationalize some aspect of democracy; c) develop a hypothesis about a consequence of a country either possessing or lacking a component of democracy; d) test a hypothesis about a consequence of some aspect of democracy. Present this in class. Students with similar interests are welcome to collaborate on the seminar paper, especially if they have

complementary skills or backgrounds. 15% of grade.

October 22: No class due to Fall Break

October 29. Consequences of Democracy: War and Peace

**Please plan to discuss your paper with me privately again, alone or as a team, before this class.

Zeev Maoz and Bruce Russett, "Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946-1986," *American Political Science Review* 87:3 (September 1993): 624-638.

Michael W. Doyle, "Three Pillars of the Democratic Peace," *American Political Science Review* 99:3 (August 2005): 463-466.

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," *International Security* 20:1 (Summer 1995): 5-38.

Petersen, Karen K. (2008) "There is More to the Story than 'Us-Versus-Them': Expanding the Study of Interstate Conflict and Regime Type Beyond a Dichotomy," *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 14:1, Article 4. Online at <http://www.bepress.com/peps/vol14/iss1/4>.

Sebastian Rosato, "On the Democratic Peace," draft ms. for an edited volume on the political economy of war and peace (August 2009). [in course folder]

Gary King, Langche Zeng, "When Can History Be Our Guide? The Pitfalls of Counterfactual Inference," *International Studies Quarterly* 51:1 (March 2007): 183-210.

Recommended

Christopher Layne, "Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security* 19:2 (Autumn 1994): 5-49; James Lee Ray, *Democracy and International Conflict: An Evaluation of the Democratic Peace Proposition* (University of South Carolina Press, 1995), chapter 3 (pp. 86-130); Kurt Taylor Gaubatz, *Elections and War: The Electoral Incentive in the Democratic Politics of War and Peace* (Stanford UP, 1999); David L. Rousseau, Christopher Gelpi, Dan Reiter, and Paul K. Huth, "Assessing the Dyadic Nature of the Democratic Peace, 1918-88," *American Political Science Review* 90:3 (September 1996): 512-33; Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory," *American Political Science Review* 97:4 (November 2003): 585-602; Håvard Hegre, Tanja Ellingsen, Scott Gates, and Nils Petter Gleditsch, "Toward a Democratic Civil Peace? Democracy Political Change and Civil War 1816-1992," *American Political Science Review* 95:1 (March 2001): 33-48; Andrew J. Enterline and J. Michael Greig, "Beacons of Hope? The Impact of Imposed Democracy on Regional Peace, Democracy, and Prosperity," *Journal of Politics* 67:4 (November 2005): 1075-1098; Douglas M. Gibler, "Bordering on Peace: Democracy, Territorial Issues, and Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 51:3 (2007): 509-532; James D. Morrow, "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101:3 (2007): 559-572.

November 5. Consequences of Democracy: Culture and Public Opinion

Alexis de Tocqueville, "Author's Introduction," *Democracy in America* (Anchor Books, 1969), pp. 9-20.

Arend Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries* (Yale UP,

1999), chapters 16 and 17 (pp. 275-309).

Edward N. Muller and Mitchell A. Seligson, "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships," *American Political Science Review* 88 (1994): 635-52.

Christopher J. Anderson and Christine A. Guillory, "Political Institutions and Satisfaction with Democracy: a Cross-national Analysis of Consensus and Majoritarian Systems," *American Political Science Review* 91:1 (March 1997): 66-81.

Mark Peffley and Robert Rohrschneider, "Democratization and Political Tolerance in Seventeen Countries: a Multi-level Model of Democratic Learning," *Political Research Quarterly* 56:3 (September 2003): 243-257.

Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chapter 8, "The Causal Link between Democratic Values and Democratic Institutions: Empirical Analyses," pp. 173-209.

Recommended

James S. Fishkin, *The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and Democracy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Anderson, Blais, Bowler, Donovan, and Listhaug, *Losers' Consent* (Oxford UP, 2005); G. Bingham Powell and Georg Vanberg, "Election Laws, Disproportionality and Median Correspondence: Implications for Two Visions of Democracy," *British Journal of Political Science* 30.3 (July 2000): 383ff; Devra C. Moehler, "Free and Fair or Fraudulent and Forged: Elections and Legitimacy in Africa" Afrobarometer Working Paper Series No. 55 (2005); Mishler, William and Richard Rose. 1999. "Five Years After the Fall: Trajectories of Support for Democracy in Post-Communist Europe." In Pippa Norris Ed., *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. New York: Oxford University Press; Suzanne Karstedt, "Democracy Values, and Violence: Paradoxes Tensions, and Comparative Advantages of Liberal Inclusion," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 605 (May 2006): 50-81.

November 12. Consequences of Democracy: Governability, Public Order, and Human Rights

**By this class meeting, each student will sign up to serve as a discussant for another student's paper. Coauthored papers will have more than one discussant.

Lijphart, *Patterns of Democracy*, chapters 14 and 15 (pp. 243-274).

Matthew Krain, "Contemporary Democracies Revisited: Democracy, Political Violence, and Event Count Models," *Comparative Political Studies* 31:2 (April 1998): 139-64.

Steven C. Poe, C. Neal Tate, and Linda Camp Keith, "Repression of the Human Right to Personal Integrity Revisited: a Global Cross-national Study Covering the Years 1976-1993," *International Studies Quarterly* 43:2 (June 1999): 291-324.

James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review* 97:1 (2003): 75-90.

Christian Davenport, "State Repression and Political Order," *Annual Review of Political Science* 10

(2007): 1-23.

Scott Gates, Håvard Hegre, Mark Jones, and Håvard Strand, "Institutional Inconsistency and Political Instability: Polity Duration, 1800-2000," *American Journal of Political Science* 50:4 (October 2006): 893-908.

Recommended

Bingham Powell, Jr., *Contemporary Democracies: Participation, Stability, and Violence* (Harvard UP, 1982), chapters 1 and 10; Jeffrey J. Ryan, "The Impact of Democratization on Revolutionary Movements," *Comparative Politics* 27:1 (October 1994): 27-44; Christian Davenport and David A. Armstrong, "Democracy and the Violation of Human Rights: A Statistical Analysis from 1976 to 1996," *American Journal of Political Science* 48:3 (July 2004): 538-554; Anita Breuer, "The Problematic Relation between Direct Democracy and Accountability in Latin America: Evidence from the Bolivian Case," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 27:1 (January 2008): 1-23.

November 19. (I will be in Quito for the FLACSO anniversary. I would like to schedule a make-up class.): Consequences of Democracy: Economic Policy and Performance

Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 142-278.

Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution* (Cambridge UP, 2003), chapters 5 and 6 (pp. 171-232).

John Gerring, Philip Bond, William T. Barndt, and Carola Moreno, "Democracy and Economic Growth: A Historical Perspective," *World Politics* 57 (April 2005): 323-364.

Michael Ross, "Is Democracy Good for the Poor?" *American Journal of Political Science* 50:4 (October 2006): 860-874.

Ben W. Ansell, "Traders, Teachers, and Tyrants: Democracy Globalization and Public Investment in Education," *International Organization* 62:2 (April 2008): 289-322.

Timothy Besley and Masayuki Kudamatsu, "Health and Democracy," *American Economic Review* 96:2 (May 2008): 313-318.

Recommended

Larry Sirowy and Alex Inkeles, "The Effects of Democracy on Economic Growth and Inequality: A Review," in Inkeles, *On Measuring Democracy*, pp. 125-56; also published in *Studies in Comparative International Development* 25:1 (Spring 1990): 126-157; John F. Helliwell, "Empirical Linkages Between Democracy and Economic Growth," *British Journal of Political Science* 24:2 (April 1994): 225-48; José Antonio Cheibub, "Political Regimes and the Extractive Capacity of Governments: Taxation in Democracies and Dictatorships," *World Politics* 50:3 (April 1998): 349-76; Jonathan Kriekhaus, "Democracy and Economic Growth: How Regional Context Influences Regime Effects," *British Journal of Political Science* 36 (2006): 317-340; Patricio Navia and T. D. Zweifel, "Democracy, Dictatorship, and Infant Mortality Revisited" *Journal of Democracy* 14:3 (2003): 90-103; Matthew A. Baum and David A. Lake, "The Political Economy of Growth: Democracy and Human Capital," *American Journal of Political Science* 47:2 (April 2003): 333-347; Yi Feng, *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Performance: Theory and Evidence* (MIT Press, 2003), pp. 93-121 and 295-312;

Jonathan Kriekhaus, "The Regime Debate Revisited: a Sensitivity Analysis of Democracy's Economic Effect," *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (October 2004): 635-655; Nita Rudra and Stephan Haggard, "Globalization, Democracy, and Effective Welfare Spending in the Developing World," *Comparative Political Studies* 38:9 (November 2005): 1015-1049; Li Quan, "Democracy, Autocracy, and Tax Incentives to Foreign Direct Investors: A Cross-National Analysis," *Journal of Politics* 68:1 (2006): 62-74; Drury AC, Kriekhaus J, Lusztig M, "Corruption, democracy, and economic growth," *International Political Science Review* 27 (2): 121-136 (April 2006); Hristos Doucouliagos and Mehmet Ulubasoglu, "Democracy and Economic Growth: A Meta-Analysis," *American Journal of Political Science* 52:1 (January 2008): 61-83; Javier Rodríguez and Javier Santiso, "Banking on Democracy: The Political Economy of International Private Bank Lending in Emerging Markets," *International Political Science Review* 29:2 (2008): 215-246; Andrea Brandolini and Timothy M. Smeeding, "Inequality Patterns in Western Democracies: Cross-Country Differences and Changes over Time," in Pablo Beremendi and Christopher J. Anderson, eds., *Democracy, Inequality, and Representation: A Comparative Perspective* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008), pp. 25-61; Joseph Wright, "Do Authoritarian Institutions Constrain? How Legislatures Affect Economic Growth and Investment," *American Journal of Political Science* 52:2 (April 2008): 322-343; David S. Brown and Ahmed Mushfiq Mobarak, "The Transforming Power of Democracy: Regime Type and the Distribution of Electricity," *American Political Science Review* 103:2 (May 2009): 193-213.

November 26: No class due to Thanksgiving Holiday

December 3 and 10. Presentation of research papers

**You must email a copy of your draft paper to the class and me by the previous class meeting. This draft counts as 20% of your course grade, so it is crucial to have a good draft ready on time. Final drafts for grading will be due on the official exam date for this course. (There is no final exam.) The final draft counts 25%, and grading standards rise between the first and last drafts, so substantial improvement is expected.

****Second drafts of papers will be due by 10:30 a.m. on Tuesday, December 15.****