

PO3670 DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

Michaelmas Term:

Lecturer: Dr Christian Houle

Office: 4.08, 2-3 College Green

Email: houlec@tcd.ie

Office hours: Fridays, 12-2pm during teaching weeks, or by appointment

Lectures: Tuesdays 2-3pm RH 12 & Fridays 11-12pm Chem 1.25

Hilary Term:

Lecturer: Dr Thomas Pegram

Office: 4.06, 2-3 College Green

Email: pegramt@tcd.ie

Office hours: Tuesday, 9.30-11am during teaching weeks, or email for appointment

Lectures: Thursdays 12-1pm Arts 2041A & Fridays 11-12pm RH 12

Course Description: The first part of this course will examine the theoretical and empirical bases of arguments that relate democratic governments and economic development. First, we will discuss how democracy can be defined and measured. Second, we will look at the different theories of democratization. We will concentrate on theories that explain democratization using 1) economic development; 2) economic inequality; 3) resource wealth; 4) culture; or 5) the international economic and political order.

During the Hilary term, we will explore key questions facing scholars of contemporary Latin American politics: How to frame and measure the variable quality of democracy in the region? Under what conditions do democratic regimes emerge and endure? What is the impact on democracy of specific institutions? The course begins by considering a variety of approaches towards conceptualising democracy. Investigation into the quality of democratic regimes, as well as the political significance of informal rules, norms and practices, animate some of the most promising new scholarship on democracy. Having laid out a general framework of analysis, the course then applies these insights to a range of thematic domains central to processes of political competition, participation, and responsiveness in Latin America's fragile democracies. Topics such as accountability politics, Presidentialism, the rule of law and the courts, civil society and human rights are discussed with an emphasis on variation over time and across countries.

Learning Outcomes: By the end of the course students will have a better understanding of the conditions that promote democratization and the consolidation of democratic regimes. Students will also learn about the consequences of democracy, notably on questions of political accountability and the rule of law. They will also be aware of the academic research undertaken into these areas. They will have a good command of both

rational choice and sociological explanations of political outcomes.

Assessment: Over the course of the terms all students will be required to complete two essays and take a written examination in April/May 2013.

- Final exam: 75%
- 1st essay: 12.5%, due on Friday, 14 December, 2012, by 1pm
- 2nd essay: 12.5%, due on Monday, 11 March, 2013, by 5pm

The questions for both essays are attached. An essay should not exceed 2,000 words in length (Times New Roman size 12 font, double spaced). All late work, unless excused in advance by the course lecturer, or justified by medical certificate or tutors note, will be penalized at a rate of 5 marks per day. Under no circumstances will work be accepted after the set work has been marked and handed back to other students, or after the end of Trinity lecture term. Essays must be submitted through Turnitin.com. The class ID is: 5581815, and password is: democracy.

Required Readings: All students must purchase the following two books:

Przeworski, A., M. Alvarez, J. Cheibub and F. Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Putnam, R. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradition in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Moreover, the following book is highly recommended:

O'Toole, Gavin. 2010. *Politics Latin America*. Pearson Longman; 2 ed.

The three books are available at the Hoggis Figgis on 56-58 Dawson Street. Additional readings may be added during the year. All required readings are subject to examination, even when they have not been explicitly discussed in class.

Tutorials: Attendance to tutorials is mandatory. The teaching assistant, Shqipe Mjekiqi, will handle all tutorial related issues. You can contact her by email at mjekiqis@tcd.ie. Tutorials will start on week 9 (teaching week 5). Tutorials will meet on Tuesdays 9-10am, on Thursdays 9-10am and on Thursdays 3-4pm. There are five groups:

Group 1

Time/Place: Tuesday at 9am in AP 4.03

Weeks Tutorials: Michaelmas Term: 9, 12, 14 and 16

Hilary Term: 22, 24, 26, 29 and 31

Group 2

Time/Place: Tuesday at 9am in AP 4.03

Weeks Tutorials: Michaelmas Term: 10, 13 and 15

Hilary Term: 21, 23, 25, 28, 30 and 32

Group 3

Time/Place: Thursday at 9am in College Green 4

Weeks Tutorials: Michaelmas Term: 9, 12, 14 and 16

Hilary Term: 22, 24, 26, 29 and 31

Group 4

Time/Place: Thursday at 3pm in College Green 3

Weeks Tutorials: Michaelmas Term: 9, 12, 14 and 16

Hilary Term: 22, 24, 26, 29 and 31

Group 5

Time/Place: Thursday at 3pm in College Green 3

Weeks Tutorials: Michaelmas Term: 10, 13 and 15

Hilary Term: 21, 23, 25, 28, 30 and 32

Visiting Students: Visiting students for the whole academic year are expected to fulfill the same course requirements as Trinity students. Students who are only here for the Michaelmas or Hilary Term are expected to write two essays. The question for the first essay is the same as that of non-visiting students. The question for the second essay will be given within the first few weeks of the term. Please send me an email if you are a visiting student.

Academic dishonesty: Academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Any student who attempts to represent someone else's work as his/her own will be failed, and a letter noting the offence will be sent to the Senior Lecturer. In your work for this and other courses you will inevitably rely on the theories, findings, and arguments of others, and using these sources inappropriately constitutes plagiarism. Please be aware of the hazards of accidental plagiarism, you must cite all sources completely.

PART 1: DEFINING AND MEASURING DEMOCRACY

Week 1: Defining Democracy

Dahl, R. 1998. *On Democracy*. Chapter 4.

Przeworski, A., M. Alvarez, J. Cheibub and F. Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Schmitter, P. C. and T. L. Karl. 1991. "What Democracy Is ... and Is Not." *Journal of Democracy*. 2(3): 75-88.

Recommended readings:

Dahl, R. 1971. *Polyarchy*. New Haven: Yale.

Hyland, J. 1995. *Democratic Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Schumpeter, J. 2000. [1943] *Capitalism, Socialism & Democracy*. Routledge.

Week 2: Measuring Democracy

Elkins, Z. 2000. "Gradations of Democracy? Empirical Tests of Alternative Conceptualizations." *American Journal of Political Science*. 44(2): 287-94.

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

Munck G. L. and J. Verkuilen. 2002. "Conceptualizing and measuring democracy Evaluating alternative indices." *Comparative Political Studies*. 35(1): 5-34.

Marshall, M., T. Gurr, C. Davenport, and K. Jaggers. 2002. "Polity IV, 1800-1999: Comments on Munck and Verkuilin." *Comparative Political Studies*. 35(1):40-45.

Recommended readings:

Beetham, D. 1994. *Defining and Measuring Democracy*. London: Sage

Freedom House, "Freedom in the World" report (most recent). www.freedomhouse.org

PART 2: THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

Week 3: Democracy and Economic Development: Theories

Grugel, J. 2002. *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. pp. 46-56.

Lipset, S. M. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy." *American Political Science Review*. 53(1): 69-105.

Inglehart, R. F., and C. Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York : Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Recommended readings:

Moore, B. 1993. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Beacon Press.

Rueschemeyer, D., E. H. Stephens and J. D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Inglehart, R. F., and C. Welzel. 2005. *Modernization, Cultural Change, and Democracy: The Human Development Sequence*. New York : Cambridge University Press.

Week 4: Democracy and Economic Development: Empirical Tests

Przeworski, A., M. Alvarez, J. Cheibub and F. Limongi. 2000. *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

Boix, C. and S. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics*. 55(4): 517-49.

Epstein, D. L., R. Bates, J. Goldstone, I. Kristensen and S. O'Halloryn. 2006. "Democratic Transitions." *American Journal of Political Science*. 50(3): 551-69.

Acemoglu, D., S. Johnson, J. A. Robinson, and P. Yared. 2008. "Income and Democracy." *American Economic Review* 98(3): 808-42.

Joseph, Richard. "Democratization in Africa after 1989: Comparative and Theoretical Perspectives." *Comparative Politics*. 29(3): 363-382.

Mainwaring, S. and A. Perez-Linan. 2003. "Level of Development and Democracy: Latin American Exceptionalism, 1945-1996." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(9): 1031-67.

Recommended readings:

Boix, C. *Democracy, Development, and the International System*. 2011. *American Political Science Review* 105(40).

Gallagher, M. E. 2002. "Reform and Openness: Why China's Economic Reforms Have

Delayed Democracy." *World Politics*. 54(3): 338-372.

Bratton, M. and N. Van de Walle. 1997. *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 3 & 5.

Grugel, J. 2002. *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. pp. 165-171, 174-192 (Latin America) & Chapter 9 (Eastern Europe).

Week 5: Democracy and Economic Inequality

Boix, C. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Acemoglu, D., and J. A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 & 2.

Houle, C. 2009. "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization." *World Politics*. 61(4): 589-622.

Ansell, B., and D. Samuels. 2010. "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach." *Comparative Political Studies*. 43(12): 1543-74.

Recommended readings:

Reenock, C., M. Bernhard, and D. Sobek. 2007. "Regressive Socioeconomic Distribution and Democratic Survival." *International Studies Quarterly*. 51: 677-699.

Boix, C. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Acemoglu, D., and J. A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 6: Democracy and the Resource Curse

Karl, Terry. 1999. "The Perils of Petroleum: Reflections on *The Paradox of the Plenty*." in *Fueling the 21st Century: The New Political Economy of Energy*, special edition of *The Journal of International Affairs*. 53(1): 31-48.

Ross, Michael L. 2001. "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" *World Politics*. 53(3): 325-61.

Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp.1-25.

Sokoloff, K. L. and S. Engerman. 2000. "History Lessons: Institutions, Factors Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World." *The Journal of Economic Perspective*. 14(3): 217-232.

Jensen, N. and L. Wantchekon. 2004. "Resource Wealth and Political Regimes in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies*. 37(7): 816-841.

Bellin, E. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East." *Comparative Politics*. 36(2): 139-57.

Recommended readings:

Smith, B. 2007. *Hard Times in the Lands of Plenty: Oil Politics in Iran and Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Herb, M. 2003. "No Representation without Taxation? Rents, Development, and Democracy." *Comparative Politics*. 37: 297-316.

Week 7: Study Week

Week 8: Democracy and Culture

Fish, S. 2002. "Islam and Authoritarianism." *World Politics*. 55(1): 4-37.

Putnam, R. 1993. *Making Democracy Work: Civic Tradition in Modern Italy*. Princeton University Press (Skip chapter 2).

Recommended readings:

Ross, M. L. 2008. "Oil, Islam, and Women." *American Political Science Review*. 102: 107-123.

Week 9: International Sources of Democracy

Huntington, S. 1991. *The Third Wave*. University of Oklahoma Press. Chapters 1 & 2.

Brinks, D. and M. Coppedge. 2006. "Diffusion Is No Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy." *Comparative Political Studies*. 39(4): 463-489.

Recommended readings:

Carothers, T. 1999. *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Levitsky, S., and L. Way. 2006. "Linkage versus Leverage: Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change." *Comparative Politics*. 38(4).

Leeson, P., and A. Dean. 2009. "The Democratic Domino Theory: An Empirical Investigation." *American Journal of Political Science*. 53(3): 533-51.

Wright, J. 2009. "How Foreign Aid Can Foster Democratization in Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science*. 53(3): 552-571.

Knack, S. 2004. "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?" *International Studies Quarterly*. 48(1): 251-66.

Week 10: Regime Transitions and Strategic Choices

Grugel, J. 2002. *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. pp. 56-64.

Przeworski, A. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

Karklins, R. and R. Petersen. 1993. "Decision Calculus of Protesters and Regimes: Eastern Europe 1989." *Journal of Politics*. 55(3): 588-598.

Recommended readings:

O'Donnell, G., and P. C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Przeworski, A. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 11: Alternative Paths to Democracy

Wood, E. 2000. *Forging Transitions from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

O'Donnell, G., and P. C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore

and London: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 3.

Acemoglu, D., and J. A. Robinson. 2006. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.

Geddes, B. "What Do We Know About Democratization After Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science*. 2: 115-144.

Week 12: Review of Part I

end of Michaelmas Term

PART 1: DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA: THE CONTEMPORARY PANORAMA

Week 1: Democracy: Democratization or Consolidation?

Questions for consideration:

1. What conditions must be met for democracy to be considered 'the only game in town'?
2. What are the implications for scholarship of Whitehead's claim that democratization is a 'complex, long-term, dynamic, and open-ended process'?

***Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Ch. 1-5, pp. 3-86.

***Whitehead, Laurence, *Democratization, Theory and Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Ch. 1, pp. 6-36; Ch. 10, pp. 237-70.

Guillermo O'Donnell debates Richard Gunther, Nikiforos Diamandouros and Hans Jrgen Puhle on 'Illusions about Consolidation,' in Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (eds.), *The Global Divergence of Democracies* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), Ch. 9, 10 and 11.

Svolik, Milan, 'Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation,' *American Political Science Review*, vol. 102, no. 2, 2008, pp. 153-168

Recommended readings:

Carothers, Thomas, 'The End of the Transition Paradigm,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 1, 2002, pp. 5-21

Mainwaring, Scott and Anibal Perez-Linan, 'Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions,' in Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring (eds.) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America Advances and Setbacks* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 14-60.

Aleman, Jose and David Yang, 'A Duration Analysis of Democratic Transitions and Authoritarian Backslides,' *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 44, no. 9, September 2011

Carothers, Thomas, 'The "Sequencing" Fallacy,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 18, no. 1, January 2007, pp. 12-27

Mansfield, Edward D. and Jack L. Snyder, 'The Sequencing "Fallacy",' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 18, no. 3, July 2007, pp. 5-10

The Economist, 'A Special Report on Latin America: So Near and Yet so Far,' September 9, 2010

Week 2: Hybrid Regimes

Questions for consideration:

1. Can the category of 'hybrid regime' be considered an autonomous model of regime vis--vis democracy, authoritarianism and the traditional regime?
2. According to Levitsky and Way, how has a 'democratizing bias' impacted upon our understanding of regime change?

***Diamond, Larry, 'Thinking about Hybrid Regimes,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2002, pp. 21-35/

***Leonardo Morlino, 'Are there hybrid regimes?' in L. Morlino, *Changes for Democracy* (Oxford University Press, 2012), Ch. 3.

Mainwaring, Scott, Anibal Perez-Linan et al. 'Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999,' *Studies in Comparative International Development*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2001, pp. 37-65

Levitsky, Steve and Lucan, 'The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2002, pp. 51-65

Recommended readings:

O'Donnell, Guillermo, 'Delegative Democracy,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 5, no. 1, January 1994, pp. 55-69

Schedler, Andreas, 'What is Democratic Consolidation?' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1998, pp. 91-107

Munck, Gerardo, 'The Study of Politics and Democracy: Touchstones of a Research Agenda,' in Gerardo Munck (ed.), *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods* (Oxford University Press, 2007), Ch. 1, pp. 25-38.

Week 3: Formal and Informal Institutions in Latin America

Questions for consideration:

1. Which school of institutionalism (rationalist, historical or sociological) is best able to explain institutional change?
2. How do Levitsky and Murillo conceptualise 'institutional strength' and its impact on shaping actors' expectations and behaviour?

Hall, Peter and Rosemary Taylor, 'Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms,' vol. 44, no. 5, December 1996, pp. 936-57

***Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, 'Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda,' *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 2, no. 4, December 2004 pp. 725-740

***Levitsky, Steven and Mara Victoria Murillo, 'Variation in Institutional Strength,' *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 12, 2009, pp. 115-133

Levitsky, Steven and Mara Victoria Murillo, 'Building Institutions on Weak Foundations: Lessons from Latin America,' paper presented at the conference 'Guillermo O'Donnell and the Study of Democracy, Buenos Aires, 26-27 March 2012

Recommended readings:

Lisa Tsai, 'Governance and Informal Institutions of Accountability,' in *Accountability without Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 1, pp. 1-26.

Peter A. Hall, 'Historical Institutionalism in Rationalist and Sociological Perspective,' in

Mahoney and Thelen (eds.), *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), Ch. 7.

North, Douglass C., *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), Part I.

Nolte, Detlef and Almut Schilling-Vacaflor (eds.), *New Constitutionalism in Latin America* (Ashgate, 2012), Introduction, Ch. 1 (*pending acquisition by TCD library)

Week 4: Quality of Democracy: Conceptualisation and Measurement

Questions for consideration:

1. How useful is TODEM as a tool for empirical research on democratic qualities?
2. Is it possible to 'measure' the gaps between democratic ideal and political reality in assessing democratic governance in Latin America?

Conceptualization

***Leonardo Morlino, 'Analysing Democratic Qualities,' in L. Morlino, *Changes for Democracy* (Oxford University Press, 2012), Ch. 7.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, 'The Democratic Regime (or Political Democracy), and Citizenship as Agency,' in G. O'Donnell, *Democracy, Agency, and the State* (Oxford University Press, 2010), Ch. 1, pp. 13-30.

Mazucca, Sebastian L., 'Reconceptualizing Democratization: Access to Power versus Exercise of Power,' in Gerardo Munck (ed.), *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods* (Oxford University Press, 2007), Ch. 2, pp. 39-50.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Jorge Vargas Cullell and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta (eds.), *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), especially Ch. 1.

Measurement

***Vargas Cullell, Jorge 'Democracy and the Quality of Democracy: Empirical Findings and Methodological and Theoretical Issues Drawn from the Citizen Audit,' in G. O'Donnell et al. (eds.) *The Quality of Democracy: Theory And Applications* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), Ch. 2.

Mainwaring, Scott et al., 'Measuring Success in Democratic Governance,' in Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully (eds.), *Democratic Governance in Latin America* (Stanford University Press, 2010), Ch. 1, pp. 11-51.

Altman, David and Anbal Perez-Linan, 'Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness and Participation in Eighteen Latin American Countries,' *Democratization*, vol. 9, no. 2, Summer 2002, pp. 85-100.

Bertelsmann Transformation Index BTI 2012, available to read online:
<http://www.bti-project.org/index/report/>

Recommended readings:

Arch Puddington, 'Essay: Freedom in the World 2011: The Authoritarian Challenge to Democracy,' Freedom House.

The Economist, 'The discontents of progress,' 29 October 2011:
<http://www.economist.com/node/21534798>

The Economist, Democracy Index 2010: Democracy in Retreat (London: Economist Intelligence Unit, 2010)

The World Bank, A Decade of Measuring the Quality of Governance (Washington: World Bank, 2007)

PART 2: Quality of Democracy: Thematic Domains

Week 5: Accountability Politics

Questions for consideration:

1. How does 'horizontal' accountability contrast with 'vertical' accountability? Is the interaction across these two domains harmonious or prone to conflict?
2. Can accountability be exercised in the absence of one of its core dimensions (enforcement and/or answerability) without being considered a diminished form of accountability as a result?

***Andreas Schedler, 'Conceptualizing Accountability,' in Andreas Schedler et al. (eds.), *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999), pp. 13-28.

***O'Donnell, Guillermo, 'Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1998, p. 112-126.

Fox, Jonathan, *Accountability Politics: Power and Voice in Rural Mexico* (New York: University Oxford Press, 2008), Ch. 1 and 11.

Whitehead, Laurence, *Democratization, Theory and Experience* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Ch. 4, pp. 90-114.

Recommended readings:

Pegram, Thomas, 'Accountability in Hostile Times: the Case of the Peruvian Human Rights Ombudsman 1996-2001', *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 40, no. 1, February 2008, pp. 51-82.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, 'The State as Law: Contributions and Ambivalences,' in G. O'Donnell, *Democracy, Agency, and the State* (Oxford University Press, 2010), Ch. 5, pp. 93-114.

Philp, Mark, 'Delimiting Democratic Accountability,' *Political Studies*, vol. 57, no. 1, 2009, pp. 28-53.

Week 6: Human rights, Accountability and the Ombudsman

Questions for consideration:

1. How important is formal design in explaining the success or failure of human rights ombudsmen in Latin America?
2. Under what conditions are human rights ombudsmen (or 'NHRIs) prone to subversion by countervailing domestic political forces with potentially counter-productive effects?

***Pegram, Thomas, 'National human rights institutions in Latin America: Politics and institutionalization,' in R. Goodman and T. Pegram (eds.), *Human Rights, State Compliance, and Social Change: Assessing National Human Rights Institutions* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), Ch. 9.

Peruzzotti, Enrique, 'The Societalization of Horizontal Accountability: Rights Advocacy and the Defensora del Pueblo de la Nacin in Argentina', in R. Goodman and T. Pegram (eds.), *Human Rights, State Compliance, and Social Change: Assessing National Human Rights Institutions* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), Ch. 11.

Finkel, Evgeny, 'The Authoritarian Advantage of Horizontal Accountability: Ombudsmen in Poland and Russia,' *Comparative Politics*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2012, pp. 291-310.

***Finkel, Jodi, 'Explaining the Failure of Mexico's National Commission of Human Rights (Ombudsman's Office) after Democratization: Elections, Incentives, and Unaccountability in the Mexican Senate,' *Human Rights Review*, vol. 13, no. 3, July 2012, pp. 1-23

Recommended readings:

Pegram, Thomas, 'Weak institutions, rights claims and pathways to compliance: the transformative role of the Peruvian Human Rights Ombudsman,' *Oxford Development Studies*, vol. 39, No. 2, June 2011, 229-250.

Pegram, Thomas, 'The Bolivian Human Rights Ombudsman and Economic, Social and Cultural Rights,' in Eva Brems et al. (eds.) *The Role of National Human Rights Institutions in the Protection of Economic and Social Rights* (Intersentia, forthcoming 2012)

Pegram, Thomas, 'Human Rights as a Vocation: A Portrait of Ana Mara Romero Campero,' *Harvard Review of Latin America* (ReVista, Harvard Review of Latin America, Fall 2011).

Kenney, Charles D., 'Horizontal Accountability: Concepts and Conflicts', in Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna (eds.), *Democratic Accountability in Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 55-77.

Week 7: Reading Week

Week 8: The Rule of Law and the Courts

Questions for consideration:

1. Is the judiciary an impediment to the consolidation of democracy in Latin America?
2. Why has justice reform emerged as a central political concern in the last decade, and what has been achieved?

***O'Donnell, Guillermo, 'Why the Rule of Law Matters,' *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 15, no. 4, October 2004, pp. 32-46.

Helmke, Gretchen and Julio Rios-Figueroa, 'Introduction: Courts in Latin America,' in G. Helmke and J. Rios-Figueroa (eds.), *Courts in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2011).

***Domingo, Pilar, 'Judicialization of Politics or Politicization of the Judiciary? Recent Trends in Latin America,' *Democratization*, vol. 11, no. 1, February 2004, pp. 104-126.

Anbal Perez-Linan et al., 'Strategy, Careers, and Judicial Decisions: Lessons from the Bolivian Courts,' *Journal of Politics*, vol. 68, no. 2, 2006, pp. 284-295.

Recommended readings:

Gloppen et al., *Courts and Power in Latin America and Africa* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), Ch. 3

Hilbink, Lisa, *Judges beyond Politics in Democracy and Dictatorship: Lessons from Chile* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), Ch. 1, pp. 13-40.

Roberto Gargarella, Pilar Domingo and Theunis Roux (eds.), *Courts and social transformation in new democracies: an institutional voice for the poor?* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), Ch. 1 and 2, pp. 13-60.

Week 9: Institutional Choices: Government Systems

Linz, J. J. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy*. 1(1): 51-69.

Horowitz, D. L. 1990 "Comparing Democratic Systems." *Journal of Democracy*. 1(4): 51-69.

Lipset, S. M. 1990. "The Centrality of Political Culture." *Journal of Democracy*. 1(4): 80-83.

Linz, J. J. 1990. "The Virtues of Parliamentarism." *Journal of Democracy*. 1(4): 84-91.

Elgie, R. 2005. "A Fresh Look at Semipresidentialism." *Journal of Democracy*. 16(3): 98-112.

Recommended readings:

Cheibub, J. A., and F. Limongi. 2002. "Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered." *Annual Review of Political Science*. 5:151-79.

Mainwaring, S. and M. S. Shugart. 1997. "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal." *Comparative Politics*. 29(4): 449-471.

Week 10: Civil Society and Popular Mobilisation

Questions for consideration:

1. What accountability strategies are available to social actors? Can accountability objectives be achieved in the absence of legal sanction?
2. Explain the increasing demand in Latin America for the political recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples

***Enrique Peruzzotti and Catalina Smulovitz (eds.), *Enforcing the Rule of Law: Social Accountability in the New Latin American Democracies* (Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), Ch. 1, pp. 3-33.

Jonathan Fox, *Accountability Politics: Power and Voice in Rural Mexico* (New York: University Oxford Press, 2008), Ch. 2

Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), Ch. 1, pp. 1-27.

***Yashar, Deborah J., 'Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America,' *Comparative Politics*, vol. 31, no. 1, October 1998, pp. 23-42.

Recommended readings:

Jonathan Fox, *Accountability Politics: Power and Voice in Rural Mexico* (New York: University Oxford Press, 2008), Ch. 3

Alison Brysk, 'Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America,' *The Journal of Democracy*, vol. 11, no. 3, July 2000, pp. 151-165

Trejo, Guillermo, 'Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico,' *American Political Science Review*, vol. 103 no. 3, 2009, pp. 323-342.

Week 11 (Thursday only): Overview and conclusion to Hilary Term

Essay 1

In an essay of no more than 2000 words (including footnotes) answer the following questions:

Evaluate and assess the arguments relating resource wealth to political regimes. What are the causal mechanisms driving this relationship? Are there conditions under which natural resources may not harm democracy?

Due Date: Friday, 14 December, 2012, by 1pm

Worth: 12.5 %

Essay 2

In an essay of no more than 2000 words (including footnotes) answer the following questions:

What do you understand by the term 'democratization'? In what ways does democracy in Latin America need to be 'democratized'? Discuss in light of course readings.

Due Date: Monday, 11 March, 2013, by 5pm

Worth: 12.5 %