

G. 53. 1731
Thursday 6:20 – 8:20 p.m.
726 Broadway (office hours – Thursday 5:20pm – 6:20pm)
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DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE: THEORY AND PRACTICE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Democratic governance is the range of processes through which a society reaches consensus on and implements regulations, human rights, laws, policies and social structures – in pursuit of justice, welfare and environmental protection. Policies and laws are carried out by many institutions: the legislature, judiciary, executive branch, political parties, private sector and a variety of civil society. In this sense democratic governance brings to the fore the question of how a society organizes itself to ensure equality (of opportunity) and equity (social and economic justice) for all citizens.

This course examines institutions and processes of democratic governance in developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. It will focus on approaches and innovative solutions to promote and sustain democratic structures and processes for people-centered development. After a review of global trends and challenges to democratic transition and consolidation, we discuss key dimensions of democratic governance: electoral process and the role of electoral management bodies, access to justice and human rights norms and enforcement, decentralization and local governance capacity, transparency and anti-corruption strategies, legislative process and relations with the constituents, the role of civil society and media, and the impact of the global forces including the role of external partners. For each of these dimensions, we examine universally recognized values and standards, democratic governance practice in developing countries, and the contextual factors that determine and or influence the practice including ethnic diversity, inequalities in income and assets, media, culture and religion and educational level.

Each student will be expected to prepare a paper on one aspect of democratic governance and actively participate in class discussion. Readings marked * are required.

Required Readings

Inoguchi, T. , E. Newman and J. Keare, eds **The Changing Nature of Democracy** (Tokyo and New York: United Nations University Press, 1998)

Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner, eds. **The Self-Restraining State – Power and Accountability in New States** (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999)

G. Shabbir Cheema, **Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries** (Westport: Kumarian Press 2005)

“**Democratic Governance**” – A Package of Readings Available from the University Copy Center

1. (8 September) – Introduction to the course
2. (15 September) - Global Trends and Challenges
 - evolution: the democratic century
 - trends towards decentralization and urbanization
 - rise of intra-state conflicts
 - growing globalization and interdependence
 - Concepts of democratic governance and human development
 - Approaches to democratic governance
 - Role of Internal and External Factors

Readings

* G. Shabbir Cheema, “Democracy, Governance and Development” chapter one in Cheema, Building Democratic Institutions : Governance Reform in Developing Countries (Westport: Kumarian Press 2005)

* Inoguchi, T. and E. Newman, and J. Keane, The Changing Nature of Democracy (Tokyo, United Nations University Press 1998) Chapters 1-4

* United Nations Development Programme, Deepening Democracy in the Fragmented World (Oxford University Press 2002), Chapter one

* Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm” in Journal of Democracy, 13:1 (2002)

Dahl, Robert A. On Democracy, (Yale University Press, 2000) part 1

Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle, Democratic Experiments in Africa (Cambridge University Press 1997) chapter 1.

Freedom House, Freedom in the World: A Century of Progress
Washington D.C. 2000

Huntington, Samuel P. The Third Wave : Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press 1991, Chapters 1-3

United Nations Development Programme, Governance for Sustainable Human Development (New York, 1997)

Dalpino, Catharin, Deferring Democracy: Promoting Openness in Authoritarian Regimes (Brookings Press, 2000), chapter 1

Przeworski, Adam et. al., Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-being in the World, 1950-1990 (Cambridge University Press, 2000)

Dankwart Rustow, “Transition to Democracy: Towards a Dynamic Model” in Lisa Anderson ed., Transitions to Democracy (Columbia University Press, 1999)

Amartya Sen, Development as Freedom, (New York, Knopf 1999) chapters 1, 2 and 6.

3. (22 September) – Electoral processes

- electoral process and political legitimacy
- electoral management bodies: structural patterns by regions
- control over party and campaign finance
- defining free and fair elections: registration and public awareness

Readings

* G. Shabbir Cheema, “Elections and Democracy” chapter 2 in Cheema, Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries (Westport: Kumarian Press 2005)

* Przeworski, Adam et. al. chapters 1 on “Elections and Representation” Democracy, Accountability and Representation (Cambridge University Press 1999)

* Lopez-Pintor, Rafael, Electoral Management Bodies as Institutions of Governance, (New York, United Nations Development Programme, 2000)

* Pastor, Robert, “A Brief History of Electoral Commissions” in Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds., The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999)

* Eisenstadt, Todd, “Off the Streets and into the Courtroom: Resolving Post-Electoral Conflicts in Mexico”, in Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds., The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies

* Gyimah – Boadi, E. “Institutionalizing Credible Elections in Ghana” in Schedler et.al., eds

United Nations Development Programme, Deepening Democracy in the Fragmented World (Chapter Two).

Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), Code of Conduct: Ethical and Professional Administration of Elections (Stockholm, 1988)

Bratton, M. "Second Elections in Africa" Journal of Democracy, 1998

Samuel Huntington, The Third Wave: Democratization in the Twentieth Century (University of Oklahoma, Press, 1991) chapter 4

Bratton, Michael and Nicolas van de Walle, Democratic Experiments in Africa, chapter 2

4. (29 September) Promotion of Civil and Political Rights

- concepts of human rights and human development
- human rights violation vs promotion approaches
- global framework for human rights: treaty bodies
- rights-based approach to development
- institutional capacities and constraints in human rights enforcement
- examples of successful cases

Readings

* United Nations Development Programme, Human Rights and Human Development (New York, Human Development Report 2000), Overview and Chapter one

* G. Shabbir Cheema, "Promoting Human Rights Through Inclusive Democracy" chapter 5 in Cheema, Building Democratic Institutions : Governance Reform in Developing Countries (Westport: Kumarian 2005)

* Amartya Sen, Development as Freedom, Knopf, 1999, Chapter 10

* M. Forsythe, "United Nations and Human Rights" in R. Thakur and E. Newman eds. New Millennium, New Perspectives : The United Nations, Security and Governance (Tokyo: United Nations University Press, 2000)

J. Symonides, Human Rights: New Dimensions and Challenges (Brookfield, Ashgate Publishing 1998)

United Nations Development Programme, Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World, (Chapter Two)

5. (6 October) - Decentralization and Development

- Relationship between decentralization and democratic governance

- Political, economic and legal decentralization and their determinants
- Decentralization and service delivery and access
- Examples of successful cases

Readings

* G. Shabbir Cheema, “Democracy at the Grassroots Through Decentralization” chapter 6 in Cheema, Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries (Westport: Kumarian 2005)

* Robertson Work, “Decentralized Governance: Participation and Partnership in Service Delivery to the Poor” in Dennis Rondinelli and G. Shabbir Cheema eds. Reinventing Government for the Twenty First Century : State Capacity in a Globalizing Society (Westport: Kumarian Press 2003)

* John – Mary Kauzya “Strengthening Local Governance Capacity for Participation” in Rondinelli and Cheema eds.

* Larry Diamond and Sveltana, “Size and Democracy _ - The Case for Decentralization” in Diamond, Developing Democracy : Towards Consolidation

World Bank, “Decentralization: Rethinking Government” World Development Report, 1999-2000, Washington D.C. 2000.

Cheema, G. Shabbir, and Mounir Tabet, “Decentralized Governance for Human Development” in R. Thakur and E. Newman eds. New Millennium, New Perspectives : The United Nations, Security and Governance, (Tokyo, United Nations University Press, 2000)

Somarriba, M. et.al., “Universalising Health Care Access Through Popular Participation In Brazil” UNDP Series on the Impact of Participation in Local Governance (New York, UNDP 1999) www.undp.org/democratic_governance

Salomon, L. and O. Avila, “Decentralization and Citizen Participation in Honduras” (UNDP Series, 1999) www.undp.org/democratic_governance

Datta, A. “Facilitating Local Participation Through Rural Panchayats in India” (UNDP Series, 1999) www.undp.org/democratic_governance

P. Tapales, “Expanding Basic Health Service Delivery Through Partnership with the People in the Philippines” UNDP series 1999 www.undp.org/democratic_governance

Friedman, S. et.al., “Decentralizing Services Delivery Through Participation in South Africa” UNDP Series 1999 www.undp.org/democratic_governance

Gorzalak, G. et.al. “Releasing Local Private Enterprise Through Municipal Strategies in Poland” UNDP Series 1999 www undp.org democratic governance

6. (13 October) Integrity in Governance - Anti-corruption Strategies

- Relationship between corruption and democratic governance
- Measuring the magnitude
- Causes and consequences
- Exploring elements of reform
- Some successful examples

Readings

G. Shabbir Cheema, “Integrity in Governance: Combating Corruption” chapter 3 in Cheema, Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries (Westport: Kumarian Press 2005)

* A. Schedler, “Conceptualizing Accountability” chapter one in Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds. The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999)

* G. O’Donnel, “Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies” chapter 2 in Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds. The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies

* Michael Johnston, “A Brief History of Anti-Corruption Agencies” chapter 13 in Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds. The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies

* J. Heilbrunn, “Corruption, Democracy and Reform in Benin chapter 14 in The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies

* J. Quah “Combating Corruption in South Korea and Thailand” in The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies

* F. Galtung and Jeremy Pope, “The Global Coalition Against Corruption: Evaluating Transparency International” in The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies

Michael Johnston “Cross-Border Corruption: Points of Vulnerability and Challenges for Reform” in United Nations Development Programme and OECD

- Development Centre, Corruption and Integrity Improvement Initiatives in Developing Countries, (New York, 1998)
- D. Dunn, "Mixing Elected and Non-elected Officials in Democratic Policy Making : Fundamentals of Accountability and Responsibility, in Przeworski et. al. eds Democracy, Accountability and Representation
- Elliott, Kimberly Ann, ed. Corruption and the Global Economy, Washington D.C. Institute for International Economic,, 1997
- Transparency International and Economic Development Institute, New Perspectives on Combating Corruption (Washington D.C. 1998)
- Rose-Ackerman, C. Corruption and Governance (New York, UNDP Discussion Paper 1996)
- Centre for Institutional Reform and the Informal Sector, Governance and the Economy in Africa: Tools for Analysis and Reform of Corruption (Dakar: USAID, 1996)
- Heidenheimer, M. Johnston and V. LeVine, Political Corruption, (New Brunswick, Transaction Publishers, 1997)
- Przeworski, Adam and Susan Stokes and Bernard Manin , Democracy, Accountability and Representation (Cambridge University Press, 1999)
- Transparency International, National Integrity Systems (Berlin, 1997)
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies" in Journal of Democracy, July 1998, pp. 112-126
- Kurt Weyland, "The Politics of Corruption in Latin America" Journal of Democracy, April 1998

7. (20 October) Institutional Capacity of the Judicial System: Access to Justice

- Elements of a successful legal and judicial system; planning for institutional development; mechanisms for holding governments accountable
- legal aid systems and mechanisms
- alternative dispute resolution
- public awareness campaigns and the role of civil society
- conditions for independent and yet accountable judiciary

Readings

* G. Shabbir Cheema, “Judicial Reform: Improving Access to Justice” chapter 8 in Cheema, Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries (Westport: Kumarian Press 2005)

* Helen Hersshkoff and Aubrey McCutcheon, “Public Interest Litigation: An International Perspective” in McClymont, Mary and S. Golub, eds. Many Roads to Justice (New York, Ford Foundation, 2000)

* Stephen Golub, “Nonlawyers as Legal Resource for Their Communities” in McClymont ed.

* Herman Schwartz, “A Brief History of Judicial Review” in Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds., The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies

* Domingo, Pilar, “Judicial Independence and Judicial Reform in Latin America” in Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds., The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies (Boulder:Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999)

* Widner, Jennifer “Building Judicial Independence in Common Law Africa” in Schedler, Diamond and Plattner, eds. The Self-Restraining State : Power and Accountability in New States

* Schwartz, Herman, “ Surprising Success: The New Eastern European Constitutional Courts” in Schedler, Diamond and Plattner eds. The Self-Restraining State : Power and Accountability in New States

United Nations Development Programme, Strategies for Modernizing the Judicial Sector in the Arab World, Programme on Governance in the Arab Region, New York, 2002.

Brown, Nathan “Judicial Review and the Arab World” in Journal of Democracy

8. (October 27) - Parliamentary Processes

- Relations with the Executive
- Constituent Parliamentarian relations
- Constraints on legislative effectiveness
- Building political culture of tolerance

Readings

* G. Shabbir Cheema, “Strengthening Parliamentary Process” chapter 4 in Cheema, Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries (Westport: Kumarian Press 2005)

* Baaklini, Abdo, G. Denoeux and R. Springborg, Legislative Politics in the Arab World – The Resurgence of Democratic Institutions, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner 1999)

M. Laver and K. Shepsle, “Government Accountability in Parliamentary Democracy” in Przeworski et. al. eds. Democracy, Accountability and Representation

* United Nations Development Programme and U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, The Contribution of the Parliamentary Process in Strengthening Good Governance in Africa, (New York, UNDP, 2001)

J. Johnson and R. Nakamura, “A Concept Paper on Legislatures and Good Governance” (New York: United Nations Development Programme, 2000)

USAID Center for Democracy and Governance, USAID Handbook on Legislative Strengthening (Technical Publication Series 2000)

H. Lippman and J. Emmert, Assisting Legislatures in Developing Countries: A Framework for Program Planning and Implementation (Washington D.C. USAID Center for Information and Evaluation, 1997)

National Democratic Institute, Legislative Strengthening: A Guidebook (Washington D.C. 1999)

Azza Karam. Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers (Stockholm: International IDEA, 1998)

9 (3 November) Contextual Factors in Democratic Governance

- Culture and values
- Ethnicity
- Religion
- Social structures and inequalities
- Stagnant economies
- Civil-Military Relations
- Expanding roles of civil society at local, national and global levels; CSOs as agents of change

Readings

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

* Inoguchi, S. and E. Newman and J. Keane, The Changing Nature of Democracy, (Tokyo: UNU, 1998), Chapters 5-6 and 11-13

Przeworski, Adam “Democracy and Economic Growth” unpublished, 2000

* United Nations Development Programme, Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World, (New York: Oxford University Press 2002), chapters 2 and 3

* Diamond, Larry and Marc Plattner, Civil-Military Relations and Democracy, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

Stepan, Alfred, “Religion, Democracy and the “Twin Tolerations” in Journal of Democracy, 11 (4) October 2000 pp. 37-57

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press 1996)

Samuel Huntington, The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century (University of Oklahoma Press, 1991)

Dalpino, Catharin, Deferring Democracy: Promoting Openness in Authoritarian Regimes (Washington, Brookings Institution Press, 2000) chapter 3

Diamond, Larry, Developing Democracy: Towards Consolidation, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), chapter 6

United Nations Development Programme, Participatory Local Governance, (New York: Local Initiative Facility for the Urban Environment, 1997) Case studies on the role of the civil society in Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, Jamaica, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Senegal, South Africa and Tanzania

Ndegwa, Stephen N. The Two Faces of Civil Society : NGOs and Politics in Africa, (West Hartford, Kumarian Press, 1996)

10. (10 November) - Democracy and Global Forces: Role of external partners

- democratization process and the market
- The evolution of external assistance in democratic governance
- Core elements of the U.S. strategy
- Multilateral assistance: the World Bank and UNDP

- Assessment of external assistance: lessons learned

Readings

- * Inoguchi, T. and E. Newman and J. Keane, The Changing Nature of Democracy, Chapters 8-10 and 15
- * Paul Collier, “ Learning From Failure: The International Financial Institutions as Agencies of Restraint in Africa” chapter 19 in Schedler, Andreas, Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner eds., The Self – Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies
- * Carothers, Thomas, Aiding Democracy: The Learning Curve (Washington D.C. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999)
- * United Nations Development Programme, Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World, (New York, Oxford University Press 2002), chapters 5.
- G. Shabbir Cheema and Linda Maguire, “Governance for Human Development: The Role of External Partners” Public Administration and Development, 1-9 (2001) pp. 1-9
- * The World Bank, Reforming Public Institutions and Strengthening Governance (Washington D.C. 2000)

United Nations Development Programme, “Democratic Governance for Human Development (New York 2000)

Dalpino, Catharin, Deferring Democracy: Promoting Openness in Authoritarian Regimes, (Washington D.C. Brookings Institutions Press, 2000) chapters 4 and

11. (17 November) – Democracy in Crisis Situations

- Peace and public security
- Building institutions in crisis and post crisis situations
- Peace and public accountability
- Democratic peace building in war torn societies
- The role of external partners in crisis and post crisis situations

Readings

- * United Nations Development Programme, Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World, Chapter 4

* G. Shabbir Cheema, “Governance in Crisis Situations” chapter 9 in Cheema, Building Democratic Institutions: Governance Reform in Developing Countries (Westport: Kumarian Press 2005)

War- Torn Societies Project, Case Studies

* United Nations Development Programme, Governance in Crisis and Post Crisis Situations (New York, Management Development and Governance Division, 2000)

12. (1 December) – Presentation and discussion of student papers

13. (8 December) – Presentation and discussion of student papers; summing up