

## Building Sustainable Democracies

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### Paper Titles and Abstracts

#### **Sustainable Democracy: Ethnographic Perspectives**

Carol Greenhouse, Department of Anthropology, Princeton University

The paper puts into dialogue three strands of anthropological writing about democracy -- from the War on Terror, the post-Cold War democratization of Eastern Europe, and the much older Dewey-an tradition that (via Durkheim and Mauss) finds its way into the classic ethnography of politics and law. These contexts yield writings, respectively, on sovereignty and popular consent, ethnicity and nationalism, and the cultural production of authoritative norms - writings that resist synthesis yet, together, point to some fresh openings for further research.

#### **Democratic Deepening in Brazil, India and South Africa**

Patrick Heller, Department of Sociology, Brown University

Brazil, India and South Africa are three of the most successful cases of consolidated democracy in the developing world. They are also characterized by deep and durable social inequalities that have limited the effective political incorporation of subordinate groups. The paper develops a general analytic frame for assessing democratic deepening in comparative terms and identifies three distinct trajectories of democratic deepening in each country. These divergent trajectories are in turn linked to patterns of interaction between civil and political society.

#### **Partisanship, Enfranchisement, and Electioneering in the United Kingdom, 1831-1885**

Christopher Kam, Department of Political Science, University of British Columbia

Party-based competition is often cast as the antithesis of particularistic politics, a perspective that coincides with the historical observation that nineteenth century British politicians turned away from bribery and began to compete on policies as the British electorate grew larger and more party-oriented. I use data on bribe prices and campaign expenditures from 338 electoral contests in Victorian Britain and Ireland to show that the extension of the franchise had only a limited impact on local campaign spending whilst the increasingly partisan orientation of the Victorian electorate actually boosted electioneering expenditures and hence electoral corruption.

#### **Capitalist Investment and Political Liberalization**

Professor Roger Myerson, Department of Economics, University of Chicago

We consider a simple political-economic model where capitalist investment is constrained by the government's temptation to expropriate. Political liberalization can relax this constraint, increasing the government's revenue, but also increasing the ruler's political risks. We analyze the ruler's optimal liberalization, where our measure of political liberalization is the probability of the ruler being replaced if he tried to expropriate private investments. Poorer endowments can support reputational equilibria with more investment, even without liberalization. So we find a resources curse, where larger resource endowments can decrease investment and reduce the ruler's revenue. The ruler's incentive to liberalize can be greatest with intermediate resource endowments. Strong liberalization becomes optimal in cases where capital investment yields approximately constant returns to scale. Adding independent revenue decreases optimal liberalization and investment. Mobility of productive factors that complement capital can increase incentives to liberalize, but equilibrium prices may adjust so that liberal and authoritarian regimes co-exist.

### **Informal Institutions of Reciprocity and the Implications for Citizenship and the Sustainability of Democracy in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire**

Professor Lauren Morris MacLean, Department of Political Science, Indiana University

This paper seeks to explain puzzling differences in indigenous notions of citizenship and political participation in very similar regions of neighboring Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire. Based on original survey research and in-depth interviews at the village level, I show how the boundaries of political community are contested and redrawn at the local level in different ways in the two cases. In the Ghanaian region, village residents described a more community-oriented notion of reciprocity with the local government, while in the Ivoirian region, respondents expressed a more individually-oriented sense of entitlements from the central state. I argue that this variation in the nature of citizenship and the everyday practice of politics is shaped not only directly by the formal institutions of the state over time, but also indirectly through the changing informal institutions of reciprocity. The paper concludes by considering the implications of these regional differences for the long-term sustainability of democracy at the national-level in both countries. In Ghana, local politics are more salient, and conflict is resolved at the grassroots whereas in Côte d'Ivoire, political claims are exercised through a more vertical and national clientelist system, projecting conflict upward to the national capital. Overall, the paper emphasizes the importance of informal institutions in the study of sustainable democracy.

### **Alternative Democracies: Struggles Over Popular Rule in the Northern Peruvian Andes**

David Nugent, Department of Anthropology, Emory University

In the middle decades of the 20th century the Chachapoyas region of northern Peru saw the emergence of a transnational movement of participatory democracy. Known as APRA (the Popular American Revolutionary Alliance), this movement was based on a unique vision of continent-wide citizenship, and on a public sphere in which the mass of the population would be actively involved in determining the conditions of their everyday lives. While APRA drew on the discourse of the European Enlightenment, and on the rights-talk of the “bourgeois” revolutions, this was not a

democratic revolution of the familiar—European—kind. Rather, movement participants were highly critical of rights at the very core of the liberal democratic tradition. In this paper I examine APRA's relationship to the liberal rights regime, which even then was highly influential and increasingly global in reach. I also discuss APRA's efforts to bring into being its own form of popular rule—what might be thought of as an “alternative democracy.” I conclude with a discussion of the social and political forces that gave rise to APRA. I also draw attention to a problem that has thus far received little scholarly attention—the existence of a broad range of *democracies*, and the social conditions out of which they have emerged.

### **The Power of the Few: Explaining the Surprising Gains of Small Parties with Unidimensional Interests**

Abdulkader H. Sinno, Department of Political Science and Department of Middle Eastern Studies, Indiana University

This paper investigates the remarkable occurrences in which small parties with an exclusive interest in one issue-dimension, such as the Israeli, Pakistani, and previous Sudanese religious parties, manage to achieve substantial gains in parliamentary settings that are largely unsympathetic to their agendas. I introduce an explicative model that accounts for gains obtained by unidimensional small parties and which, I then demonstrate, has a much better predictive ability than already existing models. My model avoids the common pitfall of assuming that preference contours are circular and gives weight to voter preferences before and after elections. The model's domain of applicability is all parliamentary systems featuring four necessary and jointly sufficient conditions and one simplifying assumption: A) an iterated electoral game, or the expectancy of such iteration, B) multipartism, C) openness of ballots and debates, D) the interests of the small parties are limited to a single issue dimension while all the remaining parties are concerned with all issue-dimensions, and E) unicameralism or near-unicameralism (simplifying assumption.) The model explains the influence of religious parties in Israeli politics and suggests that it would be sensible to allow religious parties to compete in emerging Muslim democracies. One consequence of the model is that parties with unidimensional interests benefit less if they receive votes beyond an optimum percentage of their potential electoral base or if they diversify their interests.

### **Educating the Democratic Citizen: Education, Political Subjectivity, and Transitions to Democracy**

Lynn A. Staeheli, Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh

This paper explores the role of education as states attempt to forge particular kinds of political subjectivities and identities as part of a larger project of democratic transition. It proceeds from the assumption that all states intervene in education systems to create the kinds of democratic citizens that will suit the specific form of democracy that emerges from broader democratic transitions. Yet states are not the only relevant actors in either educational systems or transition; they may not even be the most influential actors in molding the kinds of citizens and citizenship that emerges. Also involved are international organizations (including international NGOs), schools administrators, and

teachers. The paper goes beyond the “usual suspects” in education policy formation to consider the effects that civil society organizations, communities, parents and students have in the kinds of citizens and citizenship that emerge through the educational system and their implications for the sustainability of new democracies.