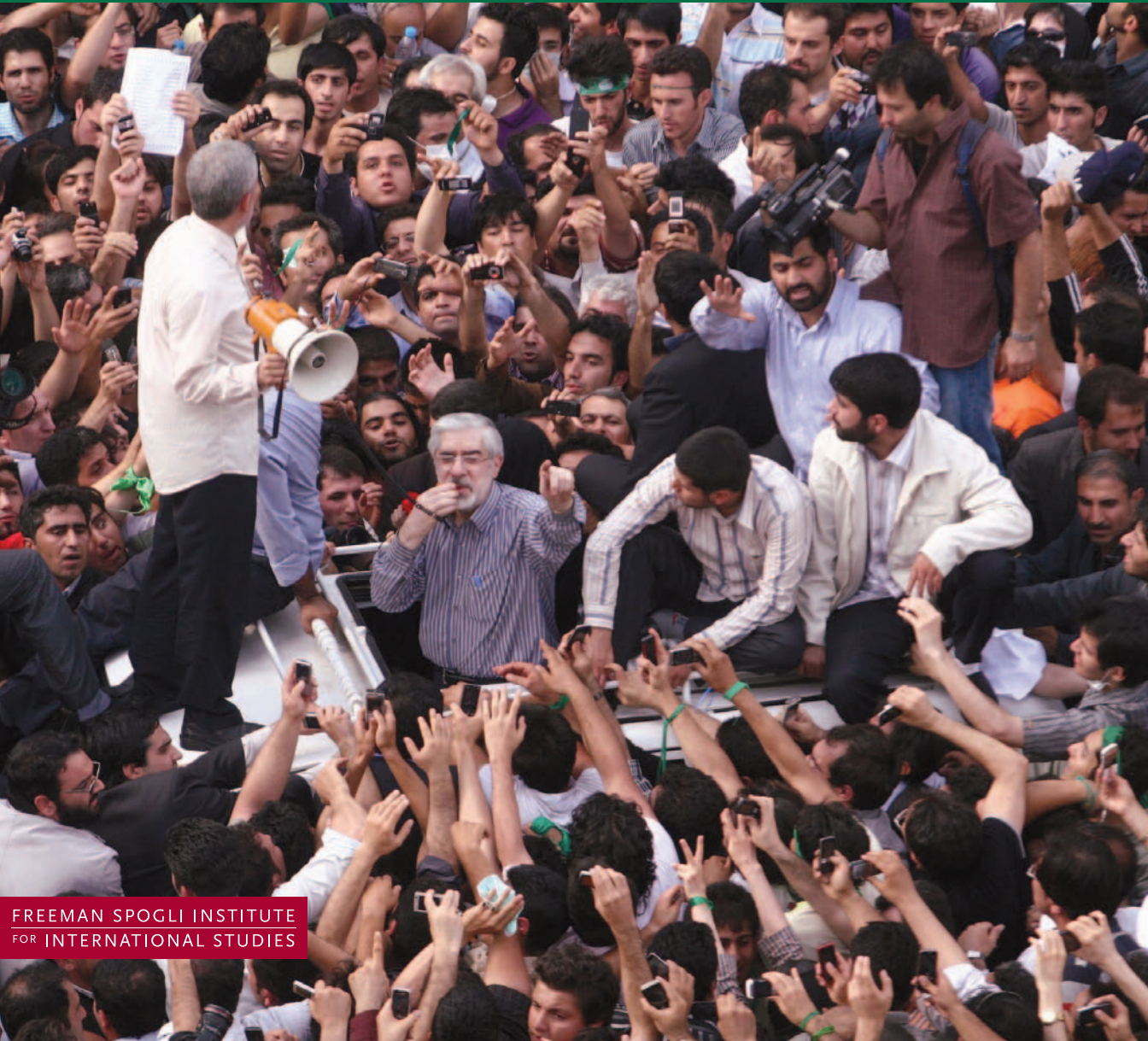


CDDRL

CENTER ON DEMOCRACY,  
DEVELOPMENT,  
AND THE RULE OF LAW  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY  
CENTER OVERVIEW 2010

# Transforming Governance



FREEMAN SPOGLI INSTITUTE  
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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OVERVIEW OF  
CENTER  
ACTIVITIES

THE DRAPER  
HILLS SUMMER  
FELLOWS  
PROGRAM ON  
DEMOCRACY  
AND  
DEVELOPMENT

RESEARCH IN  
PROGRESS

TRAINING  
FUTURE  
GENERATIONS

SELECTED  
CDDRL  
PUBLICATIONS

#### CDDRL'S MISSION

*Improving governance is an urgent global challenge. CDDRL seeks to understand how the different elements of good governance (an effective, democratic state, and a rule of law that protects human rights and controls corruption) interact with the dimensions of economic development (growth, poverty reduction, and improved human well-being). CDDRL researchers use this understanding to investigate the most promising avenues for institutional change and policy innovation.*

*“We have accumulated a strong record of innovative scholarship that crosses disciplinary and geographic boundaries and speaks to many of the most pressing international policy questions of our time.”*

Larry Diamond, Director CDDRL

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CDDRL

PHOTO: CDDRL Director Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow Hoover Institution, and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies.



# Letter from CDDRL Director, Larry Diamond

**THE CENTER ON DEMOCRACY, DEVELOPMENT, AND THE RULE OF LAW** was founded with a mandate to explain how countries develop politically and economically—or fail to do so. Gradually, we have accumulated a strong record of innovative scholarship that crosses disciplinary and geographic boundaries and speaks to many of the most pressing international policy questions of our time.

Even the casual observer of world affairs is reminded of what is at stake in the issues we deal with. Look at the deadly crisis of the state in Pakistan, the brutal suppression of the movement for democratic change in Iran, and the economic ruin of a once-prosperous Zimbabwe. It is natural to view these crises as distinct in causation and location. But increasingly, governance provides a unifying framework for analyzing the varied challenges to development and the quest for justice and human rights around the world.

Bad governance kills. When rulers are preoccupied with accumulating personal wealth and hanging on to power, they do not invest in the public goods that generate development: public health, sanitation, transportation, education, courts, markets, and so on. As a result, in the world's poorest and worst governed countries, a fifth of all children die before their fifth birthday and most girls in particular go uneducated. In the wake of rotten governance, states disintegrate, warlords mobilize, and civil wars ensue. When corrupt ruling parties steal elections and communities rise up in violent outrage, as happened in Kenya in December 2007, “ancient tribal animosities” may be blamed, but the real cause is the desecration of the rule of law.

It is often assumed that extreme poverty, which engulfs more than a billion people, results from a lack of resources or a harsh colonial legacy. But as the work of economist Paul Collier

has shown, the seminal deficits are of security and accountability. Without effective state institutions to protect citizens, discipline rulers, and control corruption, it is very hard for a country to climb out of poverty.

Democracy has proven to be the best means of generating such discipline, by enabling people to choose and replace their leaders in free, fair, and competitive elections. If leaders do not provide public goods, they face punishment at the polls. But even clean elections are not enough: democracy must also enable a vigilant press and a vibrant civil society to expose government wrongdoing. The justice system must defend people's rights to speak, publish, organize, and assemble. Only then can they defend their economic and social rights as well.

The issues we work on at CDDRL are thus densely intertwined. Economic development requires good governance. Just and sustainable development requires a capable state that can make and execute policies with some measure of knowledge, coherence, and broadly respected authority. And it requires a lawful and transparent state to ensure that public resources are spent mainly to advance the public welfare.

Our intellectual challenge at CDDRL is therefore to understand how the dimensions of development—state capacity, democratic politics, economic growth, social justice, human rights, and the rule of law—influence one another, and how they can be advanced by better policies and institutions at the national and international levels.

Larry Diamond,  
Director, Center on Democracy, Development,  
and the Rule of Law

*The links between democracy, governance, economic growth, rule of law, poverty, inequality, and human rights are only some of the crucial developmental issues that we seek to investigate in our programs at CDDRL.*

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PHOTO: *Pakistani lawyers protest against the suspension of the chief justice in Karachi and demand his reinstatement.*  
CREDIT: *Zahid Husseim/REUTERS*



# Overview of Center Activities

The links between democracy, governance, economic growth, rule of law, poverty, inequality, and human rights are only some of the crucial developmental issues that we seek to investigate in our programs at CDDRL. With the participation of some of the most outstanding scholars in the world working on these problems; the growing engagement of outstanding graduate and undergraduate students at Stanford; the annual infusion of talent from distinguished visiting scholars and a highly promising and productive group of pre- and post-doctoral fellows each year; and the further enriching interaction with an extraordinary group of international practitioners in the Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program, CDDRL is having a unique, lasting impact on the worlds of scholarship, policy, and practice.

CDDRL conferences and research projects have examined such timely subjects as governance and sovereignty in failing states; the management of oil revenues in oil-producing states; the troubled effort to build democracy in Iraq; the comparative lessons of transitions from communism; the divergent approaches to democracy promotion of the United States and Europe; the full range of international influences on democratization; international efforts to promote the rule of law; the global expansion of human rights norms and institutions; the comparative dimensions of the quality of democracy; the potential implications of Taiwan's democratic development for mainland China; the connections between the quality of legal performance and economic growth in India; and the potential for innovative flows of public information to improve accountability and representation in emerging democracies.

With the reorganization and expansion of our programs and faculty in 2009, we are now poised to achieve much more. We have established new research programs on **human rights;**

**on poverty, inequality, and democracy;** and on **“liberation technology”** (the way information technology is being used to defend human rights, improve governance, monitor elections, empower the poor, promote public health, and pursue other social goods). We are also pleased that the **Program on Global Justice**, led by Professor Joshua Cohen, has become part of CDDRL. Finally, CDDRL has just created a new program to study **good governance and political reform in the Arab world.**

We are fortunate to have been able to add in this past year fourteen new faculty associates of CDDRL in the fields of law, philosophy, history, political science, economics, medicine and computer science. In the summer of 2010, our ranks will be substantially enriched with the addition of Francis Fukuyama, one of the world's leading scholars of development and state building. Finally, we look forward to welcoming back CDDRL's former director, Michael McFaul, when he completes his public service as President Obama's chief advisor on Russia.

A growing number of research centers around the world study the interactions between democracy and development. But CDDRL stands out not only in the quality of our researchers—and of our University—but also in that our programs are highly interdisciplinary and bridge the divide between academic research and policy analysis. In the pages that follow, you will learn more about the Center and its programming. We invite you to also visit our website for the latest information on our activities: <http://cddrl.stanford.edu>.

*The Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program at CDDRL is an ideal combination of theory and practice.*

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PHOTO: 2009 Draper Hills Summer Fellows with former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice (center) who spoke in the program. In 2009, Draper Hills Fellows came from more than 25 different countries including Nigeria, Ghana, China, Egypt, Mongolia, Russia, Ukraine, Kosovo, Argentina, Peru, Iraq, Iran, Nepal, Georgia, Kenya, Armenia, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Liberia, Vietnam, Democratic Republic of Congo, Azerbaijan, Zambia, South Africa and Bhutan. The group is joined by CDDRL faculty leaders Larry Diamond (center) and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss (upper right) on the steps of Encina Hall, Stanford University, August 2009. CREDIT: Rod Searcy.



# The Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program on Democracy and Development

The Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program on Democracy and Development was initiated by CDDRL faculty in August 2005. It is now held annually at the Center for three weeks every summer. Since its inception, the program has created a network of 139 leaders from 62 transitioning countries including Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, China, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Peru, the Philippines, Nepal, Nigeria, Kenya, Rwanda, and Zimbabwe. Draper Hills Summer Fellows have been presidential advisers, senators, attorneys general, journalists, lawyers, civic activists, academics, members of the international development community and even a former prime minister. They are united in their dedication to improving or establishing democratic governance, economic growth, and the rule of law in their countries.

The three-week executive education program is led by an interdisciplinary team of leading Stanford University faculty associated with CDDRL. The teaching team includes Stanford President Emeritus, Gerhard Casper, CDDRL Director Larry Diamond, Avner Greif, Nicholas Hope, Tom Heller, Erik Jensen, Stephen Krasner, Michael McFaul, Helen Stacy and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss. The fellows themselves also lead discussions focused on the concrete challenges they face in their ongoing development work. In this way, fellows have the opportunity to learn from one another's rich experiences in international political and economic development.

The program also draws in distinguished speakers with relevant experience in U.S. democracy and development promotion. These have included Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy; Judge Pamela Rymer of the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit; Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, founding Chair and President respectively of the International Center on Non-Violent Conflict; former Secretaries of

State George Shultz and Condoleezza Rice; and executives of leading Silicon Valley companies—such as eBay and Google—as well as media and nonprofit organizations in the Bay Area.

Participants in the program come to realize that they are often engaged in solving very similar problems (such as endemic corruption) in different country contexts. This helps to create a broader community of global activists and practitioners, intent on sharing experiences to bring positive change to some of the world's most troubled regions. When the program finishes every summer, fellows stay in touch through our lively alumni network email list, sharing information on issues like creating a more effective legal environment for electronic commerce in one context, or establishing an effective electoral commission in another.

In the fellows' words, the summer program “generated theoretical understanding and allowed us to catch up on developments in the field (and doing that in this wonderful place made the experience simply amazing);” inspired “confidence, in that the work we do sometimes has a draining or demoralizing effect, while meeting people from elsewhere who are engaged in similar work was strengthening and enriching;” and resulted in “new ideas on how to change things in my own country,” while setting up “very effective networking.”

The program owes much to the vision and commitment of generous donors William Draper and Ingrid Hills. Bill Draper recognized in the summer program the spirit of the work of his father, Gen. William H. Draper, Jr. chief diplomatic administrator of the Marshall Plan in Germany who coordinated the American military, political and economic policies in post-war Europe. He faced the same challenges that many Draper Hills Summer Fellows wrestle with around the contemporary world—instituting democracy, building a sound market economy,



and ensuring the rule of law — under the most challenging post-conflict conditions.

Ingrid Hills’ gift honors her late husband, Reuben Hills. For more than twelve years, Ingrid and Reuben led the Hills Project, which they started in 1992 in the wake of the devastating race riots in Los Angeles. Lovers of the arts, Ingrid and Reuben sought to provide inner city children with hours of instruction in the arts to encourage creativity, channel their energy, and improve their quality of life. The program reached out to over 3,400 children in eight school districts in the Bay Area. Inspired by the opportunity to help the Draper Hills Summer Fellows who seek to change the lives of so many people in transitioning countries, Ingrid committed to help provide long-term funding for the program.

Finally, Hamid and Tina Moghadam, have also made a generous gift to CDDRL that provides significant additional support to enhance the Summer Fellows program and our related work at the Center.

In thanking the generous donors to this program, Larry Diamond, CDDRL Director explained that, “the benefit of the program for CDDRL faculty and researchers is incalculable.” He added, “The Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program allows us to interact with an incredibly broad group of actors engaged in political and economic development. They benefit from

exposure to the cutting edge research of our faculty, while we benefit from a virtuous cycle of feedback on whether these ideas actually do and should work in the field. It is an ideal marriage between democratic and development theory and practice.” Further, through its alumni network, the program has created a network of leaders and civic activists that will allow CDDRL affiliates, including our undergraduate honors students, and pre- and post-doctoral fellows, to continue their groundbreaking work in policy analysis across fields and geographic regions.



*The Draper Hills Program owes much to the vision and commitment of generous donors William and Phyllis Draper and Ingrid Hills.*

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PHOTOS: (above) (left to right) Ingrid Hills with CDDRL Director Larry Diamond, Bill Draper and Deputy Director Kathryn Stoner-Weiss at the Program's opening reception, August 2009. (left) Draper Hills Summer Fellows from Iraq and Iran at the program's opening reception, August 2009. CREDIT: Rod Searcy.

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## Thanks to Our Donors and Supporters

*For enabling our founding period of growth and accomplishment, CDDRL thanks: the Hewlett Foundation for its ongoing core support of our activities; the Smith Richardson Foundation for supporting our program "Evaluating International Influences on Democratization;" the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in San Francisco for supporting our Taiwan Democracy Project; Ken Olivier and Angela Nomellini for their endowment gift that created a vital new senior fellowship in development; Phil and Jennifer Satre for their new endowment gift that will enable the appointment of another new senior fellow; Sako and William Fisher for their gift, with which we have launched a first-rate undergraduate honors program; and Bill and Phyllis Draper and Ingrid Hills for their generous and visionary support of our Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program. In addition, the generous support of Hamid and Tina Moghadam has helped us engage leading experts from Stanford and around the country to lecture in our Summer Fellows program. Finally, we thank all the other donors who provide annual and discretionary gifts to support the center.*

*“Sustainable economic development requires governments that focus on generating public goods to improve education, health care, sanitation, and infrastructure. It also requires a rule of law, and a means for people to discipline and check their leaders. Over time, democracy has proved to be the best means of generating such discipline.”*

Larry Diamond

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PHOTO: Zimbabwean protesters hold posters arriving at the Pan-African Parliament and demanding assistance in removing President Robert Mugabe from power. CREDIT: Juda Ngwenya/REUTERS.



# Research in Progress

The Center was established in 2002 with three main research programs—Democracy, Economic Development, and the Rule of Law. As the Center has matured, CDDRL researchers have sustained these founding core areas of investigation while also developing a number of new and more focused collaborative research programs that explicitly and creatively cross disciplinary boundaries. Current research projects and programs are featured in what follows. For more information on these and other ongoing programs please see: <http://cddrl.stanford.edu/research/>

**DEMOCRACY** In the past three decades, the number of democracies in the world has tripled, and democracy has become the only broadly legitimate form of government. But many of the regimes that have replaced dictatorships themselves suffer from illiberal practices, or hold multiparty elections only as a façade to mask continuing authoritarian domination.

The Program on Democracy, anchored by Larry Diamond, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, examines the comparative dynamics of democratic functioning and change in the contemporary world, with a particular focus on the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the post-communist world that have experienced transitions from authoritarian rule, and with a new interest in the prospects for democratic change in the Middle East.

One of the major early achievements of the program was a highly influential study of the quality of democracy. Originating in a year-long visit of the Italian political scientist Leonardo Morlino, currently president of the International Political Science Association, the study broke new ground in conceptualizing the multiple dimensions of the quality of democracy (such as accountability, freedom, participation, responsiveness, equality, and rule of law), and

then applied the framework to six paired country comparisons from different regions of the world. The volume containing the 13 papers of the project, *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*, edited by Larry Diamond and Leonardo Morlino, was published in 2005 by Johns Hopkins University Press.

Other work has looked at the post-conflict challenges of building democracy in Iraq, how citizens view and evaluate democracy around the world, and the recent trends of democratic progress and reversals in the world, analyzed by Larry Diamond in his 2008 book, *The Spirit of Democracy*. During a 2009 summer visit to CDDRL, Sumit Ganguly, Professor of Political Science at Indiana University, and one of the world's leading scholars of South Asian politics, surveyed the conduct and significance of India's 2009 elections in an article for the *Journal of Democracy* while also authoring a major historical reassessment of the structural roots of authoritarianism in Pakistan.

The program on democracy has ongoing concerns with the quality of democracy (and how to measure it), the policies and institutions that advance democratic development, as well as the distinctions between democratic and hybrid or “electoral authoritarian” regimes. Thus it has considerable overlap with the programs on human rights and rule of law, and with the CDDRL studies of democratic transitions and democracy promotion policies, as well as the more regionally focused activities of the Center.

## **THE PROJECT ON DEMOCRACY IN TAIWAN**

Part of the Center's larger Program on Democracy, the Project on Democracy in Taiwan analyzes the domestic, regional, and international challenges confronting democracy in Taiwan (including the problem of cross-Strait relations). Frequently, it does so in comparative perspective,



thus also contributing to our more general understanding of the factors that foster or obstruct the consolidation and effective functioning of democracy around the world.

Each year the project holds an annual symposium addressing some of the challenges confronting Taiwan's democratic development. The topics for the first four years (2006–2009) were: “Democratization in Greater China,” “New Efforts to Promote Democracy,” “Democratic Consolidation in Taiwan,” and “A New Era in Cross-Strait Relations.” In June 2008, the program released its first edited volume (coedited by Larry Diamond and Bruce Gilley at Portland State University), *Political Change in China: Comparisons with Taiwan*, which features the papers presented at the 2006 symposium. A volume on democratic consolidation in Taiwan, edited by Yun-han Chu, Larry Diamond, and Eric Yu, is now nearing completion.

In addition, the Project organizes occasional lectures and seminars by Taiwanese public officials, intellectuals, and scholars, and by U.S.-based scholars of Taiwan and of cross-Strait relations. During its first four years, the project sponsored nearly two dozen speakers and seminars on vital issues concerning Taiwan's political, economic, and social developments.

The Democracy in Taiwan Project also hosts occasional visiting scholars who are researching

and writing about Taiwan's democratic development, and, in partnership with the Stanford in Government International Fellowship Program, it sponsors a Stanford undergraduate intern each summer to work at the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy in Taipei.

The project is led by Larry Diamond and was managed during its first four years by Eric Chen-hua Yu, who continues to participate in the program from his new position on the faculty of National Chengchi University in Taipei.

#### EVALUATING INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES ON DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

Governments devote significant effort and resources to promote democracy outside their borders, but surprisingly little is known about how to bring about a good return on this investment. The program on Evaluating International Influences on Democratic Development aims to fill this void by researching why democracy promotion sometimes works but often does not. The program investigates the effects of international programs and the roles played by specific actors. It also examines how international conditions, such as the Cold War, and more diffuse or less direct influences, such as the spread of democratic values and global norms, change the ability of domestic actors to obtain democratization, and conversely, how domestic conditions, such as economic crises, change



*“The ultimate goal over time is to provide a comprehensive evaluation of external influence on transitions—its possibilities, limits, and conditions for effectiveness—that will be of value to policymakers and academic communities in donor and recipient countries.”*

Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Deputy Director CDDRL

PHOTOS: (above) Workers protest in Lagos, Nigeria, against the threat of rising fuel prices and lack of progress with electoral reform in 2009. CREDIT: Akintunde Akinleye/REUTERS. (left) U.S. President Barack Obama greets members of the Ghanaian Parliament at the Accra International Conference Center, July 11, 2009. CREDIT: Jim Young/REUTERS.

the prospects for democracy promotion by external actors. In this respect, the program contributes new and significant insights to the already substantial international literature on transitions to democracy.

The International Influences program is a long-term effort to understand the way that international actors and the international environment shape, facilitate and constrain democratic prospects in four types of circumstances: (1) transitions (or potential transitions) from authoritarian rule; (2) changes in the quality of democracy and efforts to deepen and consolidate democracy after transitions; (3) liberalization (short of democratization) of authoritarian regimes; and (4) post-conflict democratization. With the generous support of the Smith Richardson Foundation, the first phase of the project, assessing the impact and interaction of domestic and international factors in regime transitions, neared completion in 2009 and is expected to be published in 2010. Its rigorous comparative framework examines 15 case studies, each authored by prominent country experts who have followed a common analytic framework. Seven of the case studies assess successful democratic breakthroughs (as in Poland, South Africa, and Indonesia), four examine incremental success (as in Mexico and Ghana), and four look at failed transitions (as in Iran and China). This ambitious comparative

project has been led by Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, and Michael McFaul, with assistance from recent CDDRL Hewlett Fellow (now on the faculty at Georgetown University) Desha Girod, who along with Larry Diamond are editing the volume.

The program has also sponsored seminars and discussions looking more directly at U.S., European and other international policies to promote democracy. This included a May 2008 conference that brought together 31 prominent scholars, policymakers and NGO leaders to discuss possible ways of reorganizing U.S. government efforts to promote democracy, and a 2008 edited book by former CDDRL visiting scholars Amichai Magen and Leonardo Morlino entitled, *International Actors, Democratization, and the Rule of Law: Anchoring Democracy?*

The ultimate goal over time is to provide a comprehensive evaluation of external influence on transitions—its possibilities, limits, and conditions for effectiveness—that will be of value to policymakers and academic communities in donor and recipient countries.

**GLOBAL JUSTICE** Intellectually rooted in moral and political philosophy, the Program on Global Justice (PGJ) bridges the normative, empirical, and policy dimensions of the Center’s concerns for democracy, equitable development, and the rule of law. The program links philosophical



*“As cooperation grows to address global problems such as infectious diseases, poverty, and climate change, and as stronger global institutions emerge, we need to ensure that those institutions are accountable, representative, and fair in their operation.”*

Joshua Cohen, CDDRL Affiliated Faculty

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PHOTOS: (above) A woman holding a flower stands in front of riot police during an opposition march in St. Petersburg November 25, 2007. CREDIT: Alexander Demianchuk/REUTERS. (right) An Afghan woman shows her identity card after casting her vote at a polling center in Harat, Afghanistan, August 20, 2009. CREDIT: Rabeb Homarandi/REUTERS.

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work on justice, fairness, democracy, and legitimacy with empirical research and reflective practice on issues of human rights, global governance, and access to basic resources. Thus it also has natural points of interaction with the CDDRL programs on Human Rights, on Liberation Technology, and on Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy, as well as with the McCoy Family Center for Ethics in Society.

By bringing together Stanford faculty and graduate students from a wide range of disciplines, as well as external academics and practitioners, the Program on Global Justice seeks to explore *normative* aspects of emerging global politics. As cooperation grows to address global problems such as infectious diseases, poverty, and climate change, and as stronger global institutions emerge, we need to ensure that those institutions are accountable, representative, and fair in their operation. Addressing these deeply practical problems requires the skills of civil engineers and scientists, doctors and teachers, entrepreneurs and lawyers. But solutions need to be just as well as efficient. The program provides an institutional focus for exploring the demands of justice in a global setting.

Currently the program is involved in three major projects. One project, Just Supply Chains, focuses on developing innovative solutions to the challenge of improving labor standards in the global economy. The normative aim is to

clarify ideas about a fair global economy as, for example, what levels of compensation, work hours, working conditions, are reasonable in different contexts. The empirical aim is to evaluate alternative strategies and experiments for achieving global fairness. The practical aim is to build a community of scholars and practitioners (from companies, unions, and NGOs) who will meet regularly to exchange ideas, define worthwhile researchable topics, and collaborate on promoting new practices.

A second project, jointly with the CDDRL Human Rights Program, examines “The Courts, Politics, and Human Rights.” Its central aim is to evaluate the importance of courts, as distinct from more openly political venues—social movements, legislatures, and administrative agencies—as ways of protecting human rights. A third project, jointly with the CDDRL program on Liberation Technology, assesses the efficacy of new information technologies in addressing issues of economic, social, and political development.

Global Justice is led by Professor of Law, Political Science and Philosophy Joshua Cohen and has the participation of professors Rob Reich, Josh Ober, Debra Satz, Terry Karl, and Helen Stacy.

**HUMAN RIGHTS** The Program on Human Rights provides a forum for the dozens of





Stanford faculty who work in disciplines that engage or border on human rights (including law, philosophy, political science, education, human biology, public health, history and religious studies) and the more than 30 student-initiated human rights groups on campus. Led by CDDRL faculty Helen Stacy, Joshua Cohen, and Terry Karl, it seeks to relate the research and findings of the academic disciplines to domestic and human rights policy.

This program seeks to understand how human rights can best be deployed to advance social justice, freedom, equality, development, and the rule of law. Which people and institutions set and apply human rights standards? What are the primary obstacles (legal, political, social, economic and technological) to advancing human rights, and how can they be overcome? And given the divergence in the cultural norms, economic and legal institutions, and religious, moral and political creeds within and across nation states, should human rights standards differ from place to place?

The program has several dimensions: A university-wide human rights clearinghouse, with a website and centralized calendar, which notifies over 500 faculty, researchers and students of human rights-related events, courses, job opportunities, and conferences on a bimonthly basis; human rights internships for undergraduate and graduate students,

administered with the McCoy Family Center for Ethics in Society; a research seminar, (jointly with the Program on Global Justice), where leading scholars and practitioners report on both the theory and practice of human rights. The program also sponsors interdisciplinary research on such issues as the scope and limits of courts as mechanisms for the creation and spread of human rights norms and laws; genocide, torture, and the protection of civilians from crimes against humanity; the rights of women and minorities, including unequal access to economic resources and efforts to address violence against women; and the place of information technology in the defense and promotion of human rights.

Future activities of the program may include the development of an interdisciplinary curriculum in human rights and a team-taught course. The program also hopes to establish policy-based and service-learning seminars to prepare students for work in the field.

**LIBERATION TECHNOLOGY** One of the most stunning developments of our time is the explosive growth in the use of information technologies and their applications—including mobile phones, text messaging, the Internet, blogging, GPS, and digital photography. These technologies can be used to defend human rights, improve governance, empower the poor, deter



electoral fraud, promote economic development, educate consumers, and pursue a variety of other social goods.

Lying at the intersection of social science, computer science, and engineering, the program explores technical, legal, political, and social obstacles to the wider and more effective use of these technologies, and how these obstacles can be overcome. It will try to evaluate (through experimental and other empirical methods) which technologies and applications are having greatest success, how those successes can be replicated, and how less successful technologies and applications can be improved to deliver real economic, social, and political benefit.

Led by Joshua Cohen, Larry Diamond, and Terry Winograd, professor of computer science and a leading expert on human-computer interaction design, the program has several components. One is a regular research seminar in which leading scholars and practitioners of these technologies report on what they are learning and doing. These seminars result in reports, working papers, academic publications, and web videos. In the fall of 2009 the seminar was offered to students as a 1-unit interdisciplinary course. In the Spring of 2010, Cohen and Winograd will coteach an interdisciplinary design seminar where Stanford faculty and graduate students as well as other innovators and activists present their work in progress,

and receive feedback that helps to develop new ways of utilizing technology for civic and developmental purposes.

In the coming years, the program also hopes to host postdoctoral fellows doing cutting-edge research and design work; offer small start-up grants to help Stanford faculty and students develop new projects that innovate in the design or application of information technologies to advance public goods; and support student research and conferences on liberation technology, especially at the undergraduate level.

**OIL WEALTH MANAGEMENT IN DEVELOPING STATES** OPEC's net oil export revenues exceeded \$1 trillion in 2008 and oil exporting states are eager to learn from experience how to mitigate the negative macroeconomic spillover effects such a massive explosion in revenues can bring about. Oil importing states, on the other hand, followed this development very closely as they turned to abundantly capitalized oil funds to rescue companies that came under severe distress from the global credit crunch that began in 2008.

The Program on Oil Wealth Management in Developing States began in 2006 and in 2008 completed the construction of an original dataset of indicators of oil states' relative success in turning hydrocarbon assets into tangible development outcomes. It covers all 31 oil-



*“I cannot but feel concerned about the great challenges faced by Latin America where half the population lives in poverty and where inequalities and social exclusion are at their highest.”*

Alejandro Toledo, former President of Peru  
(in residence at CDDRL 2007–2009)

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PHOTOS: (above) Former President of Peru Alejandro Toledo delivers the Payne Lecture at FSI, February 2008. CREDIT: Steve Castillo. (left) Workers protest oil industry corruption in Nigeria in 2009. CREDIT: Akintunde Akinleyel/REUTERS. (page 19) A Chinese construction worker at a site in Beijing. CREDIT: Andrew Wong/REUTERS.

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dependent producer countries and spans the years 1995–2007.

Another important pillar of this research program is the construction of an oil rents dataset, which seeks to overcome the opacity that still clouds global oil markets. By accounting for cross-country differences in production costs and in the quality of crude oil, this panel dataset quantifies the magnitude of profits generated by the hydrocarbon sector in over 50 countries and allows researchers to examine the political dynamics unleashed by expanding oil rents.

Further work on oil wealth management continues at CDDRL with a joint project by Stanford Political Science Professor Stephen Krasner and UCLA Political Science Professor Michael Ross. This second aspect of the program examines the connection between oil and governance in developing states.

#### **POVERTY, INEQUALITY, AND DEMOCRACY**

One of the most serious challenges to the viability of democracy is the persistence of extreme social and economic inequality and high levels of absolute poverty (with more than a billion people in the world still living in extreme poverty). Development requires not simply robust economic growth but reducing inequalities of income and wealth, achieving a fairer society (in part by eliminating discrim-

ination against women and minorities), and diminishing (and ultimately eliminating) extreme poverty, so that all members of society can live a dignified life.

The Program on Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy, led by CDDRL political scientist Beatriz Magaloni, seeks to provide a deeper understanding of what accounts for persistent poverty; what types of policies and institutions are most effective at improving the lot of the poor; and the conditions under which government failure to reduce poverty and extreme inequalities and to deliver public goods might undermine fragile democracies in the developing world.

This program builds on the current research of Magaloni and Alberto Diaz-Cayeros of the University of California, San Diego to study and assess recent policy initiatives to reduce extreme poverty in Latin America. One line of research assesses how these poverty reduction schemes are affected by long-entrenched patterns of patron-client relations in party politics, how different types of party systems affect the quality and impact of poverty reduction programs, and how clientelism may be replaced by representation that enhances the accountability of elected officials to the poor.

Another line of research examines the impact of specific poverty reduction programs, such as the conditional cash transfer programs that

have been developed in Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Peru, to determine what types of policies work, and under what social and political conditions. This work has been aided by the presence at CDDRL as a visiting scholar during 2007–2009 of former Peruvian president Alejandro Toledo, who introduced one such program during his presidency (2001–2006). Variables of interests include how different policy initiatives shape health, nutrition, and education; the determinants of wealth accumulation and upward mobility; the provision of public goods for development at the local level; and improvement in other indicators of human well-being. The program will also utilize experimental methods to assess causality, and it will study policy interventions to enhance accountability of local governments, reduce corruption, and improve the delivery of public goods to local communities.

The program will feature seminars and conferences where leading scholars and practitioners of these policies report on what they are learning and doing. A conference on the linkages between public health, governance, and development is planned for the 2009–2010 academic year. The program also plans to host visiting scholars, support faculty research, and help fund related research and internships of Stanford students.

#### REGIME TYPE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The multidisciplinary environment at CDDRL is an ideal venue to explore the ways in which regime type (authoritarian or democratic) matters in encouraging or suppressing economic development. This question sits at the very nexus of political science, economics and law.

Economists have examined the question using a macro perspective—that is, they have run regressions on large data sets looking for statistical correlations between democracy or autocracy and growth or decline in GDP per capita. The evidence, however, is ambiguous. For every high-growth authoritarian regime like China there are authoritarian economic disasters like Zimbabwe.

Building on past and ongoing work, researchers at CDDRL are pursuing both a macro approach to further mine the ambiguous

correlations between regime type and development performance, as well as employing a micro country case study approach. It may be, for example, that what matters is not so much regime type (democracy or not), but the state's actual capacity to devise and implement policy.

With our collective expertise in economics and governance, CDDRL researchers, including former CDDRL Director, Michael McFaul, Deputy Director Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, CDDRL Director, Larry Diamond, Nicholas Hope, Seema Jayachandran, Stephen Krasner, and incoming Olivier and Nomellini Senior Fellow, Francis Fukuyama are exploring these important policy issues. The Program on Regime Type and Economic Development comprises two streams of research. First, the research team is planning paired country comparisons (across time and/or geographical space) to explore the relationship between regime type and economic development. McFaul and Stoner-Weiss provide an early example of this kind of work in their analysis of Russia in the 1990's versus 2000–2008. They argue in *Foreign Affairs* (2008) that Russia's turn toward a more authoritarian form of government under former President Putin between 2000 and 2008 did not bring significantly better development outcomes in Russia as compared to the politically freer, but more chaotic period from 1991–1999. The rapid growth that occurred, they maintain, would have happened without an authoritarian turn, and indeed the rate of growth might have been higher had the country remained freer.

A second planned component of this program is an emerging research consortium of economists, political scientists, and legal scholars from around the world working on the relationship between regime type and development.

#### RULE OF LAW IN EMERGING MARKETS: INDIA

India, the world's largest democracy, is a country of contrasts. Not the least among these is the tremendous economic diversity of India's states. The Law and Economy in India program aims to analyze and explain why growth patterns are so different across India. The program analyzes the major differentials in growth across Indian states and sectors as a means of assessing potential interrelationships



between the quality of legal institutions and economic development.

Three data points illustrate the depth of diverging growth patterns in India. First, between 1970 and 2004, the fastest growing states — Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Karnataka, Gujarat and Maharashtra — grew over twice as fast as the slow growing states. The pace of that divergence has been especially dramatic over the last fifteen years. Second, the five richest states receive a disproportionate share of capital, about 55% of total stock, while the five poorest states receive only 15%. Finally, half of the total foreign direct investment approvals go to the five most prosperous states. Third, on average, richer states are 50% more effective at reducing poverty than poorer states for each percentage point in growth.

But growth in India is not only *geographically* concentrated, it is also *sectorally* concentrated in high skill and service related industries. Since India's growth is so varied across particular sectors and particular states, the variation itself may serve as a *natural experiment* to examine whether this patchwork pattern of high and low growth can be explained, at least in part, by corresponding changes in the performance of legal institutions.

The project, led by Tom Heller and Erik Jensen, investigates the connections between the quality of legal performance and economic

growth or stasis in key sectors of India's economy: intellectual property, law enforcement and stock market development, labor, commercial arbitration, land rights, land use and competitiveness, the influence of law and legal institutions on firm-level management, the shifting nature of government-business relations, and infrastructure development.

#### EXPERIMENTS ON GOVERNANCE AND

**POLITICS** Policymakers, funding agencies, and implementing organizations have embraced the use of randomized trials in their efforts to assess the impact of development interventions in such sectors as health, education, and agriculture. Partly as a result, knowledge is slowly accumulating about the relative benefits and costs of a wide variety of interventions funded and implemented by donor agencies in these sectors of developing countries.

Yet, despite the fact that donors increasingly target resources toward support for “good governance”—by aiding the reform of bureaucracies and the strengthening of legislatures, courts, and local governments —surprisingly little is known about the effectiveness of these investments in governance. And the rapid growth in randomized trials has largely sidestepped the governance sector, focusing instead on poverty relief efforts in sectors with outcomes that are more easily measured.



This convergence of interests—among donor agencies, implementers, and social scientists—represents a real opportunity. To take advantage of this synergy of interests in improving the efficacy of governance assistance, and the actual quality of governance programs, CDDRL political scientist Jeremy Weinstein (currently on public service leave as Director of Democracy at the National Security Council in Washington, D.C.) has formed a research network linking social scientists undertaking Experiments on Governance and Politics (EGAP). EGAP brings together 12–15 leading social scientists applying experimental methods to the study of governance and politics. In addition, the group includes participants (with responsibilities for research, evaluation and policy design) from major international organizations and development groups (such as the World Bank and the UN Development Program) that are engaging in governance interventions in developing countries.

CDDRL's central role in the program will resume when Weinstein returns from his government service.

#### STATE BUILDING AND THE RULE OF LAW

Building a new legal system or reforming an existing one involves complex and varied tasks ranging from drafting laws, to training judges, to establishing a human rights ombudsman and/or war crime trials. These activities all

require not only practicing lawyers but also legal academics and new graduates who join the legal profession. Entrenching the rule of law in a post-conflict or developing nation requires a reservoir of legal professionals who know how to navigate the legal system, enforce the law, and guide individuals as to the available legal remedies. Often, however, developing or post-conflict countries do not have nearly enough trained lawyers. After the fall of Pol Pot in Cambodia, there were seven trained lawyers in the country, and in Afghanistan five years after the fall of the Taliban, there were 250 trained lawyers in a state with a population of 33 million. The lack of trained lawyers is due in large part to the absence of legal education that meets international standards. Even countries not beset by conflict often neglect legal education and basic capacity issues.

The Program on State Building and the Rule of Law focuses on one of the most fundamental, yet often-ignored rule of law missions: establishing and improving legal education in post-conflict, developing, and transitional states. By harnessing the resources and expertise of CDDRL and Stanford Law School, Stanford University is uniquely positioned to assist states to rebuild, reform, and otherwise modernize their systems of legal education, and, thereby contribute to their peaceful reconstruction and development.



*The Good Governance and Political Reform Program at CDDRL looks for lessons that can be drawn from past experiences, and across different settings, and asks to what degree might they apply to the Arab World.*

PHOTOS: (above) Women listen to Afghan presidential candidate Abdullah Abdullah at a rally in Kabul, August 3, 2009. CREDIT: Lucy Nicholson/REUTERS. (left) In advance of Morocco's 2007 parliament elections, a demonstrator in Rabat holds a poster reading "No to Hollow Democracy." CREDIT: Raphael Marchante/REUTERS.

**GOOD GOVERNANCE AND POLITICAL REFORM IN THE ARAB WORLD** The Program on Good Governance and Political Reform in the Arab World, the newest research program within CDDRL, brings together scholars, experts, and journalists from Arab countries and their Western counterparts, as well as local actors of diverse backgrounds, to consider how democratization and more responsive and accountable governance might be achieved. The program's first major research project analyzes transitions from absolute monarchy in historical and comparative perspective. It asks: are there any lessons that can be drawn from past experiences, and across different settings, and to what degree can they apply to the Arab World? A conference taking stock of democratic progress and conditions in the Arab world is also planned for the program's first year.

The program, which runs for five years beginning in September 2009, will conduct research, conferences, and seminars and sponsor visiting scholars at CDDRL. Scholarly research will examine a wide range of issues covering the different social and political dynamics within Arab societies and the evolution of their political systems, with an eye on the prospects, conditions, and possible pathways for political reform. Among the possible topics for investigation will be the impact on political life of religion, economic structures and reform, and

geo-strategic factors; the changing role of civil society in Arab countries; and the feasibility of alternative political and constitutional reforms. The program is the result of a generous gift from the Foundation for Reform and Development in the Middle East (FDRDME), based in Geneva, Switzerland.

The founding participants in the program are CDDRL Director Larry Diamond and Deputy Director Kathryn Stoner-Weiss; Professor Olivier Roy, a leading Western scholar of political Islam and Professor of Mediterranean Studies at the European University Institute in Florence; and Hicham Ben Abdallah, a Visiting Scholar at CDDRL from Morocco. During 2009–2010, the program also has the participation of post-doctoral fellow Sean Yom.

*“CDDRL provided an engaging environment where I not only finished my PhD but also expanded research skills and formed academic links to enrich my postgraduate career.”*

Desha Girod, CDDRL Predoctoral Fellow 2007–08

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PHOTO: *Claire Adida, CDDRL predoctoral fellow 2008–09 (left), and Desha Girod, CDDRL predoctoral fellow 2007–08, on a field trip in Uganda near the Congolese border.*





# Pre and Postdoctoral Programs, Visiting Researchers and the CDDRL Undergraduate Honors Program

Since the Center's founding in 2002, our pre and postdoctoral fellows program has hosted between five and six **pre and postdoctoral fellows** per year. With the addition of the Program on Global Justice, we now host an additional two fellows annually. They come from some of the finest universities in the world, including Berkeley, Cornell, Columbia, Harvard, the London School of Economics, Oxford, Princeton, UCLA, Yale, and, of course, Stanford. Their disciplinary interests have spanned the Center's core areas—Economics, Law, History, Sociology and Political Science. Partly because we have attracted such high quality applicants to our program, our fellows have gone onto either great academic jobs in their respective fields or to government service. Several of them have now published the projects on which they were working at CDDRL. Active participants in seminars and conferences, the fellows help to sustain the Center as a vital and creative intellectual environment.

In addition to the pre and postdoctoral fellows, the Center has hosted a wide variety of **Visiting Researchers and Scholars** from almost every continent—including Africa, Eurasia, the Middle East, North America, Europe and Latin America. Beyond geographical diversity, these scholars represent disciplinary diversity—they include lawyers, economists, historians, and political scientists—all working on issues involving political and economic transitions. Our community has also greatly benefited from our own “president in residence” Alejandro Toledo, former president of Peru.

CDDRL is home to an expanding **Undergraduate Honors program**. Now in its fourth year, we have trained about 35 students working on topics related to democracy, development, and law in transitioning countries. Many of our CDDRL honors students write prize-winning theses, and all are advised by

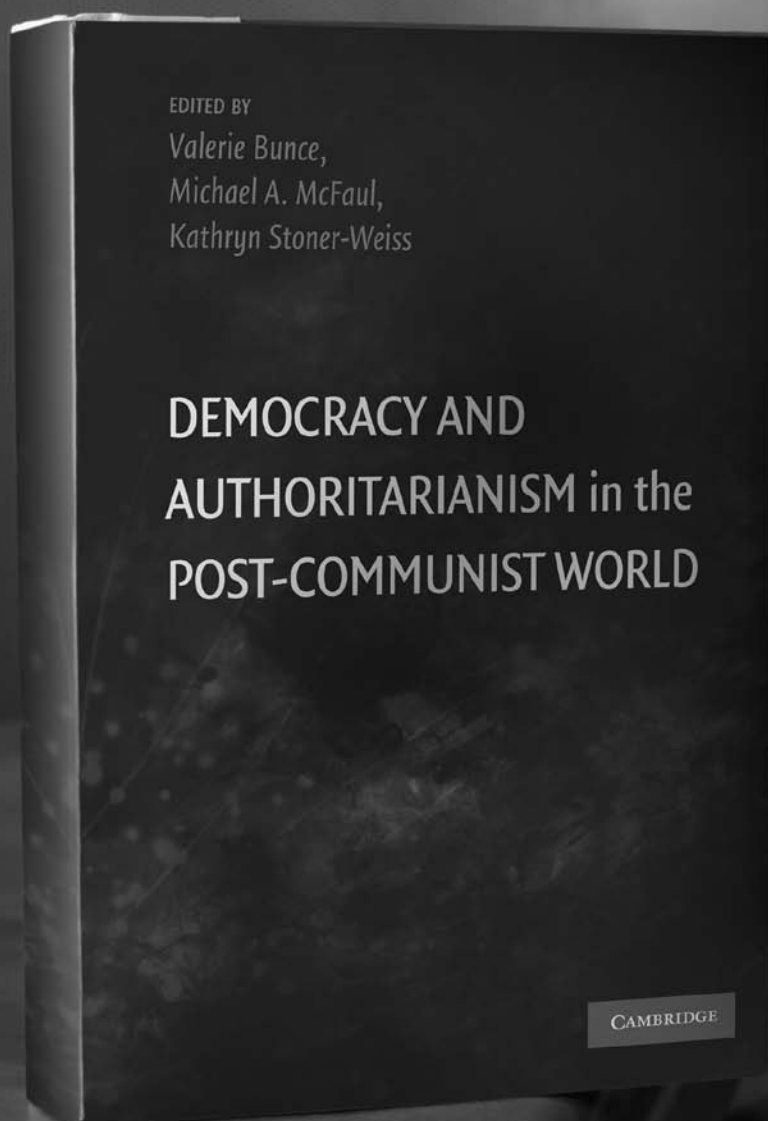
CDDRL faculty. Their theses have been on themes as diverse as the enduring unease with democracy in East Germany, constitutionalism in Africa, corruption in Nigeria, the political decision making behind infrastructure investment in Haiti, the efficacy of international aid programs, and the effect on the world's poor of increased bio-fuel production. Most of our program graduates have gone on to employment in the development policy sector or into a graduate program in a related field. We have been fortunate to attract the cream of the crop of Stanford undergraduates into the Honors Program. Thanks to a generous gift from Sako and William Fisher, this program is now greatly enhanced by an annual trip to Washington D.C. to visit policymakers and analysts.

Our Honors Program has grown rapidly, partly as a result of the tremendous interest generated by the CDDRL undergraduate course (PS/IR 114D Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law) offered jointly through Political Science and International Relations. In addition, the lectures are regularly attended by Knight Journalism Fellows and other visiting fellows from around campus, and by graduate students from other departments at Stanford. In the fall of 2009, it had an enrollment of 200 students. Our undergraduate programming is successfully building a cohort of students at Stanford interested in pursuing careers in the theory, practice and policy of political and economic development.

*“A missing and changing variable—the international system—must be brought into the analysis if we are ever able to have a unified theory of democratization.”*

Michael McFaul, CDDRL faculty associate and former Director

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# Selected CDDRL Publications

## RECENT BOOKS BY CDDRL AUTHORS

**Larry Diamond**, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World* (Times Books, 2008)

In, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies Throughout the World*, CDDRL's Larry Diamond intensely scrutinizes the fate of democracy worldwide. By exploring both the sources of progress as well as the locations and reasons for failure, Diamond presents a comprehensive assessment that is realistic but also hopeful. Diamond surveys the state of democracy in every region, citing the negative examples of Putin's Russia and Musharraf's Pakistan; democratic and policy breakthroughs in Toledo's Peru; and even more difficult places like Nepal, Iran, and Nigeria. By comparing the progress of today with that of the mid 1970s, when he was a Vietnam War protester, Diamond expresses hope. At that time, Diamond notes, barely a quarter of all independent states chose their leaders through free and fair elections. But times have changed since then: "by the mid-1990s," he writes, "it had become clear to me, as it had to many of my colleagues involved in the global struggle for democracy, that if some three-fifths of the world's states, many of them poor and non-Western, could become democracies, there was no intrinsic reason why the rest of the world could not do as well." Jessica Tuchman Mathews, president, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, notes that, "no one has thought harder or more broadly about the past and future of democracy than Larry Diamond. A passionate treatment, infused with optimism and eminently readable, *The Spirit of Democracy* is a must for anyone who cares about the toughest challenge of balancing national values and national interests."

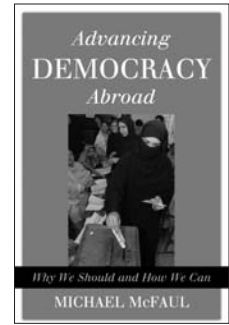
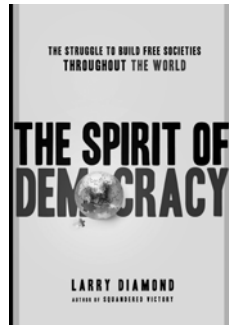
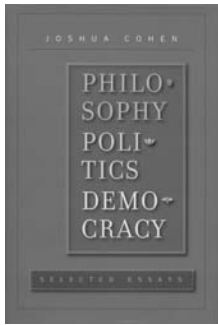
**Joshua Cohen**, *Philosophy, Politics, Democracy: Selected Essays* (Harvard University Press, 2009)

Over the past twenty years, Joshua Cohen has explored the most controversial issues facing the American public: campaign finance and political equality, privacy rights and robust public debate, hate speech and pornography, and the capacity of democracies to address important practical problems. In this highly anticipated volume, Cohen draws on his work in these diverse topics to develop an argument about what he calls, following John Rawls, "democracy's public reason." He rejects the conventional idea that democratic politics is simply a contest for power, and that philosophical argument is disconnected from life. Political philosophy, he insists, is part of politics, and its job is to contribute to the public reasoning about what we ought to do.

At the heart of Cohen's normative vision for our political life is an ideal of democracy in which citizens and their representatives deliberate about the requirements of justice and the common good. It is an idealistic picture, but also firmly grounded in the debates and struggles in which Cohen has been engaged over nearly three decades. *Philosophy, Politics, Democracy* explores these debates and considers their implications for the practice of democratic politics.

**Valerie Bunce, Michael McFaul, and Kathryn Stoner-Weiss** (eds.), *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Postcommunist World* (Cambridge University Press, 2010)

This volume brings together a distinguished group of scholars working on Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union to examine in depth three waves of democratic change that took place in eleven different former communist nations. Its essays draw important conclusions about the rise, development, and



breakdown of both democracy and dictatorship in each country and together provide a rich comparative perspective on the postcommunist world. The first democratic wave to sweep this region encompasses the rapid rise of democratic regimes from 1989 to 1992 from the ashes of communism and communist states. The second wave of democratic change arose through accession to the European Union and the third, partially overlapping wave of democratic transition came with the electoral defeat of dictators (from 1996 to 2005) in Croatia, Serbia, Georgia, and Ukraine. Although these three waves took place in different countries and involved different strategies, they nonetheless shared several overarching commonalities. International factors played a role in all three waves, as did citizens demanding political change. Further, each wave revealed not just victorious democrats but also highly resourceful authoritarians. The authors of each chapter in this volume examine both internal and external dimensions of both democratic success and failure.

**Helen Stacy**, *Human Rights for the 21st Century: Sovereignty, Civil Society, Culture* (Stanford University Press, 2009)

A new moral, ethical, and legal framework is needed for international human rights law. Never in human history has there been such an elaborate international system for human rights, yet from massive disasters, such as the Darfur genocide, to everyday tragedies, such as female genital mutilation, human rights abuses continue at an alarming rate. As the world population increases and global trade brings new wealth as well as new problems, international law can and should respond better to those who live in fear of violence, neglect, or harm.

Modern critiques of global human rights fall into three categories: sovereignty, culture, and civil society. These are not new problems, but have long been debated as part of the legal philosophical tradition. Taking lessons from tradition and recasting them in contemporary light, Helen Stacy proposes new approaches to fill the gaps in current approaches: relational sovereignty, reciprocal adjudication, and regional human rights. She forcefully argues that law and courts must play a vital role in forging a better human rights vision in the future.

**Michael McFaul**, *Advancing Democracy: Why We Should and How We Can* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2010)

As the Obama administration reviews the role that democracy promotion will play in its revamped foreign policy, Stanford political scientist Michael McFaul, the former director of CDDRL and deputy director of FSI, now serving as President Obama's chief advisor on Russia, has some timely advice. In a major new book, *Advancing Democracy Abroad: Why We Should and How We Can* (Rowman & Littlefield, Sept. 28, 2009) McFaul calls for a re-affirmation of democracy's advance and sets out a radically new course to achieve it.

McFaul offers examples of the tangible benefits of democracy—more accountable government, greater economic prosperity, and better security—and explains how Americans can reap economic and security gains from democratic advance around the world. In the final chapters of this new work, McFaul provides past examples of successful democracy promotion strategies and offers constructive new proposals for supporting democratic development more effectively in the future.

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