

# DEMANDING CHANGE



CDDRL  
PROGRAMS

CDDRL  
STANFORD



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COVER 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.*



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#### CDDRL'S MISSION

*The promotion of democracy, development, and the rule of law in transitioning states is the great challenge of our time. CDDRL seeks to identify the most effective ways to foster democracy, promote balanced and sustainable economic growth, and advance the rule of law.*

*“The questions that occupy CDDRL researchers and faculty members are front-page news almost every day.”*

Michael A. McFaul, CDDRL Director

CDDRL



PHOTO: Michael McFaul, CDDRL director, speaks at Stanford Class Day on democracy promotion.



# Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law

**LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR** The questions that occupy faculty and researchers at the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law are front-page news almost every day. How can we rebuild Iraq and Afghanistan? How do we stem the tide of disease in the developing world? How can rich countries help poor countries grow? What effect do oil and gas resources have on politics and economics in Africa and the Middle East?

Distinct from other research institutions engaged with these same questions, CDDRL scholars and policy analysts have found that the most interesting and innovative answers to these questions about democracy and development are located at the intersection of politics, law, and economics. What kinds of legal systems spur growth? Which laws constrain growth? Under what conditions does the security of property rights facilitate democratization? What is the role of the media in fighting corruption? Does democratization help or hinder economic development?

We are convinced that a multidisciplinary approach is correct by the overwhelming demand for our products and explosion of interest in our activities. Our undergraduate course, taught from a multidisciplinary perspective, routinely boasts more than 150 students annually. Attendance at our seminar series on issues related to democracy, development, and the rule of law worldwide continues to challenge capacity nearly every week. Our now well-established Draper Hills Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development Program is in such high demand that we receive about 20 applications for every fellowship we can offer. At the same time, our affiliated faculty and scholars have published widely.

Our rate of research and programming necessitates constant change and expansion to the center's tasks. In the past several years,

we have established a variety of new research programs on topics as diverse as the management of oil wealth to the use of technology to enhance the quality of transitional democracies, to the improvement of international assistance to the developing world, to name a few. In addition, we have expanded our fellows program, welcomed a horde of visitors to the center from around the world, and continued to foster our burgeoning undergraduate honors program. In the following pages you will be introduced to the fascinating work of a number of our researchers. It is a privilege to work in this environment with such talented people. I am proud of what the center has accomplished so far and look forward to its continued success.



Michael McFaul,  
Director, Center on Democracy, Development,  
and the Rule of Law



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

# Overview of Center Activities

The center's research programs and projects and the many seminars and workshops they sponsor include a broad spectrum of work on comparative political and economic development. Our overriding purpose is the identification and pursuit of promising pathways to help build strong, affluent, law-abiding, peaceful, and democratic societies in parts of the world where such features remain in short supply.

CDDRL continues to build new branches of research as we maintain some of our well-established programs. The CDDRL research seminar is the anchor of our programming and is at the nexus of research and public goods provision to the wider Stanford community. The seminar also gives our community the opportunity to reach out to scholars and policymakers in the United States and abroad doing work that sits at the crossroads of democracy, economic development, and law.

Our research agenda has blossomed to include a variety of interdisciplinary work, some of which is profiled in the following pages. Among our newer initiatives are our programs on oil wealth management in developing states, reorganizing foreign assistance, and the relationship between regime type and economic development to name but a few.

The high productivity of these and our other projects has made CDDRL's Working Papers series one of the most heavily "hit" websites by external Web searches of any site at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford.

Beyond this, and over the last two years alone, our affiliated faculty and researchers have collectively or individually published eight new books, including Larry Diamond's *Spirit of Democracy*, Christine Jojarth's *Crime, War and Global Trafficking: Designing International Cooperation*, and Jeremy Weinstein's *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence*.

The newly endowed and re-named Draper Hills Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development Program has also brought direct and indirect benefits to our center community. Draper Hills alumni have provided invaluable contacts to CDDRL honors students as they pursued their fieldwork, and some of our affiliated researchers and faculty have maintained close contacts with fellows active in their country areas of interest. They too have also provided useful research contacts. A number of our former Draper Hills fellows have requested input and intellectual support from our faculty in establishing fellowships and new policy programs in their home countries. In sum, the Draper Hills program feeds into our other programming in many valuable ways.

Finally, our undergraduate honors program and courses are producing a generation of Stanford students and alumni interested in pursuing careers in international political, economic, and legal development.

Moreover, through our ongoing original research programs, and our new projects and programs, CDDRL researchers and affiliated faculty are increasingly fulfilling the original vision of the center—to work at the intersection of traditional disciplines to find new political and economic solutions for developing countries. We invite you to peruse the following pages to gain a sense of some of what we do at the center.

*The Draper Hills Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development:  
Bringing Stanford to the World and the World to Stanford.*



PHOTO: Members of the Draper Hills Summer Fellows on Democracy and Development Program, class of 2008, with program donors Ingrid Hills, front row, second from left, and Bill Draper, front row, center. In 2008 Draper Hills fellows came from more than 15 different countries including Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iraq, Belarus, Syria, Afghanistan, Zimbabwe, Egypt, Lebanon, Malaysia, Pakistan, Morocco, Nepal, China, Georgia and Uganda. The group is joined by CDDRL faculty, undergraduate interns and staff as well as FSI advisory board member, Walter Shorenstein, third row, sixth from left. Encina Hall, Stanford University, August 2008. CREDIT: Steve Castillo.



# Marrying Theory and Practice

## THE DRAPER HILLS SUMMER FELLOWS ON DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT AT STANFORD

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 in large part due to the vision and commitment of generous donors, William Draper and Ingrid Hills. The program is now named in honor of Draper's father, William Henry Draper, Jr., and Hills' deceased husband, Reuben Wilmarth Hills, III. Their generous gifts have guaranteed the future of this program.

Since its inception, the Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program has created a network of more than 120 leaders from approximately 40 transitioning countries including Iraq, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, China, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Nigeria, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and Rwanda. Draper Hills Fellows are former prime ministers and presidential advisors, senators and attorneys general, journalists and civic activists, academics and members of the international development community. 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 the center. The teaching team includes Stanford President Emeritus Gerhard Casper, Larry Diamond, CDDRL Director Michael McFaul, Stephen Krasner, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, Peter Henry from the Graduate School of Business, Avner Greif from economics, and Tom Heller, Erik Jensen, Helen Stacy and Allen Weiner from Stanford Law School. Fellows are assigned readings for each day's class sessions and discussions. Class sessions, however, are led not only by CDDRL-affiliated faculty and researchers—the fellows themselves lead discussions focused

on the concrete challenges that they face in their ongoing development work. In this way, fellows have the opportunity to also learn from one another's rich experiences in the field of international political and economic development.

Participants in the program come to realize that they are often engaged in solving very similar problems (like endemic corruption, for example) in different country contexts. This has helped 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 a very lively alumni network e-mail list, often sharing information on issues like establishing a more effective legal environment for electronic commerce in one context, or establishing an electoral monitoring commission in another.

"The benefit of the program for CDDRL faculty and researchers is incalculable," says CDDRL Director Michael McFaul. He adds, "The Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program allows us to interact with an incredibly broad group of actors engaged in the business of 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 theory and practice."

*“I can hardly imagine a more important range of problems in the contemporary international context.”*

Gerhard Casper, President Emeritus, Stanford University



PHOTO: Gerhard Casper delivers the Wesson Lecture on “Caesarism in Democratic Politics: Reflections on Max Weber.” CREDIT: Steve Castillo.

# Faculty Focus

**GERHARD CASPER** is president emeritus of Stanford University, Peter and Helen Bing Professor of Undergraduate Education, professor of law, professor of political science, by courtesy, and FSI senior fellow. He is also a founding faculty member of the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. He recently reflected on what CDDRL has accomplished in its first five years of operation and the ways in which the center community has changed the course of some of his research and thinking.

“The center has accomplished much of its mission. It has created a group of faculty and researchers who focus on a very important set of issues involving the interaction of democracy, development, and the rule of law. I can hardly imagine a more important range of problems in the contemporary international context. At the founding of the center, I was wary of naming CDDRL the Center *for* (rather than *on*) Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. The danger was first that we could be construed as being propagandistic and second that we might be viewed as a tool of government policy, which a university isn’t. I felt strongly also that using ‘for’ rather than ‘on’ in our title would suggest that we had clear answers to all the issues and problems that the center was supposed to tackle. But looking at American democracy, for example, suggests, of course, that we don’t have answers to many of them. The analytic effort to determine the qualities of a good democracy is extraordinarily complex as to the number of variables involved and the trade-offs among them.

“I think the center has affected my research in a number of ways. In the past, my work was focused primarily on constitutional law and history and in dealing with this I took a fair amount for granted. But exposure at the center to a more comparative perspective and to the developing world prompted me to alter my own

thinking regarding American constitutional law and institutions. For example, not long ago, I delivered a lecture on Caesarism in democratic politics—the phenomenon of personalized plebescitarianism in democracy initially put forward by Max Weber. The term Caesarism suggests a sociological political phenomenon in a whole range of countries. The existence of the center, and the work of faculty and researchers there, suggested to me that I go back and read Weber from a sociological point of view. In the past, I would probably have stayed more narrowly focused on constitutional doctrine and the separation of powers in examining executive authority. I wouldn’t have stretched myself this way.

“Since the center’s founding more than five years ago now, I have also found myself trying to address other rule of law questions. That is, I have looked more at demonstrating the different outcomes we see in different contexts as we try to bring about rule of law. There is a certain ease in saying that developing countries need the rule of law, without actually identifying whose law, exactly, they need and what mix of law. I really wouldn’t have asked this kind of question without the existence of the center.

“Other teaching and writing that I have done relating to the center’s focus concerns the issue and significance of national citizenship in the contemporary world. For example, dual citizenship is now accepted in Ireland, Italy, the United States, and Mexico, for example. I recently saw an application to Stanford Law School where the applicant listed the usual things like degrees and languages spoken, but then had a separate section at the top of his CV titled ‘citizenships’ where he listed four! So, citizenship is not exclusive anymore. What follows from this exactly and what is the impact of this on democratic political systems in the developed and in the developing world?



“Beyond the impact CDDRL has had on my research, I think one of the most successful and important things that we do is the Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program. Although its long-term success as a transformational instrument in the developing world remains to be seen, we have already seen ample evidence of its shorter-term success and impact on the fellows who have attended the program so far and on our own faculty who teach in the program. Draper Hills brings together people with diverse backgrounds and focuses them on important issues in their every day professional lives while having a robust debate on these issues. These aren’t university students, after all; they are not part of the general culture of this university, but there is genuine mutual learning among the fellows and between them and our faculty. Ideally, we could one day supplement what we do in this program in the summer with an extension of it into the regular quarter. Perhaps we will one day see this program become one where the fellows attend an established menu of regular Stanford classes that our faculty would pre-select, and then actually give them the opportunity to contribute actively to these classes as well so that the wealth of their knowledge and experience spills over even more to our Stanford undergraduates.”

**AVNER GREIF** The Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law was designed to bring together a variety of disciplines and scholars who use different and diverse approaches to the problems of political and economic development. Among our most accomplished faculty affiliates is Avner Greif, Bowman Family Professor in Humanities and Sciences and a distinguished member of the Stanford Department of Economics. His work and skill sets are unique. He combines empirically grounded economic analysis with game theory and mathematical formulation. He is as comfortable in an archive reading old English, as he is sitting in front of a computer and devising complex mathematical models to explain the genesis of markets and states that is at the core of his research.

Greif notes that, for him, one of the benefits of his affiliation with the center is precisely the interdisciplinary aspect of the research community. In a recent conversation, he indicated that it had influenced his thinking and research in a number of unexpected ways: “The broader agenda of CDDRL drew me here. Prior to my joining the center, most of my interaction was with Stanford’s Graduate School of Business or economics department, but now through my colleagues at the center I am benefiting particularly through increased interaction with legal scholars. There is truly no disciplinary barrier.” As an economist, Greif notes that he finds the



*“The differences in disciplinary approaches to common questions have been an important input for my work.”*

Avner Greif, Bowman Family Professor in Humanities and Sciences, FSI/CDDRL Senior Fellow



PHOTOS: (above) Avner Greif. (left) Draper Hills Summer Fellow 2008 Sukaina Jameel, a women's rights activist from Iraq. CREDIT: Steve Castillo.

ways in which CDDRL affiliates Erik Jensen, Gerhard Casper, and Tom Heller think about rule of law is “refreshing.” “In particular,” says Greif, “economists tend to think of rule of law as a 0/1 phenomenon — either you have it or you don’t — that is, there is either an absolute protection of private property rights or there isn’t and you pay less attention to the question of formation of those rights, whose they are, and how (or whether) the state has the authority to change those rights. Lawyers at the center, however, look at exactly these issues and the factors that change the dynamics of rule of law. The difference in approach has been an important input for me.”

Greif explains that he has also had a similar reaction to some of the work done at the center on democratization. “Economics places a strong emphasis on formalization, but when you are evaluating things like the quality of democracy, as Larry Diamond at CDDRL does, the formalization isn’t necessarily there. Some of this could, of course, be formalized, but the fact that the scholarship is unconstrained by mathematical formalization can open the door to asking different sorts of questions than an economist normally would. Again, I have learned a lot from this and it has convinced me that we need both kinds of approaches. My work fits this model — you can’t restrict yourself only to formalization, you should follow observations too.”

Greif’s current work involves writing a comparative institutional history that will foster the understanding of why democracy, rule of law, economic development, and prosperity prevailed in Europe, but not elsewhere. He explains the divergence by pointing to different social structures in Europe than, for example, in 19th-century China. In Europe, Greif argues, society was occupation-based. Merchants formed guilds and organizations he terms corporations to facilitate reliable trade. In China, however, society was more kinship-based. This difference in social structures had important implications for how the administrative apparatus of the state formed and eventually the political rights different groups were granted. This project looks at the core foundations of not just markets but also states and has implications for why democracies developed in some places, while authoritarianism persisted in others.

Among some of the programs Greif says he has learned most from at CDDRL is the Draper Hills Summer Fellows Program. He notes that it is a humbling experience to be exposed to the fellows who “put their money and time where their mouths are in risking their lives, futures, families, and careers to help others. Exposure to this program is a reminder of how relevant and important what we do is to people on the ground.”



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以民主來  
實現民權

PHOTO: Taiwan President Chen and Premier Chang walk in front of the statue of former Taiwan President Chiang Kai-shek at the National Taiwan Democracy Memorial Hall in Taipei. CREDIT: Nicky Lob/REUTERS.

# Research in Progress

## OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH PROGRAMMING

The center was established in 2002 with three main research programs—democracy, economic development, and the rule of law. As the center matures, and our affiliated faculty and researchers focus their interests further, we have developed more targeted programs and projects. These projects even more explicitly are crossing traditional disciplinary boundaries so that we are going further than ever in fulfilling our mission of being an interdisciplinary and not just multidisciplinary center. Some of this work is featured in what follows.

**PROGRAM ON DEMOCRACY IN TAIWAN** The Program on Democracy in Taiwan is sponsored by CDDRL in interaction with the Hoover Institution. Initiated in the fall of 2005, the program aims to facilitate our understanding of political and social change and the regional and international challenges confronting democracy in Taiwan (including the problem of cross-strait relations). The program is directed by Larry Diamond, senior fellow at FSI and the Hoover Institution, and coordinated by Eric Chen-hua Yu, a PhD in political science from Columbia University.

The program has three main components. First, each year we hold an annual symposium addressing some of the challenges confronting Taiwan's democratic development. The topics for the first three years' symposia were (2006–08) "Democratization in Greater China," "New Efforts to Promote Democracy," and "Democratic Consolidation in Taiwan." In June 2008, the program released its first edited volume (co-edited by Larry Diamond and Bruce Gilley at Portland State University), with the title *Political Change in China: Comparisons with Taiwan*, which features a number of papers presented at the 2006 annual symposium. The program will continue to produce high-

quality publications on the basis of the findings presented in our symposia. As cross-strait relations have been undergoing a dramatic transformation following the inauguration of Taiwan's new president Ma Ying-jeou in May 2008, the program has begun to examine how democracy in Taiwan interacts with the challenge of cross-strait relations in the near and longer terms.

Second, CDDRL's Program on Democracy in Taiwan also hosts occasional lectures and seminars by Taiwanese public officials, intellectuals, and scholars and by U.S.-based scholars of Taiwan and of cross-strait relations. The program has hosted 17 outstanding speakers who addressed various important issues regarding Taiwan's political, economic, and social development in our seminar series.

The third component of the Taiwan program is hosting occasional visiting scholars who are researching and writing about various aspects of Taiwan's democratic development. Additionally, through the selection process of the Stanford in Government International Fellowships Program, the program is funding a Stanford undergraduate intern to work at the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy in Taipei.

Moreover, the Program on Democracy in Taiwan meshes well with other existing and emerging CDDRL research projects. It has complemented our ongoing programming, while introducing our faculty and researchers to a wide range of developmental issues in the Taiwanese context.

## PROJECT ON OIL WEALTH MANAGEMENT IN DEVELOPING STATES

Three years after its inception, the CDDRL Project on Oil Wealth Management continues to attract high-level attention from policymakers, NGOs, and academics. With OPEC's net oil export revenues projected to exceed \$1 trillion in 2008, oil



*“With OPEC’s net oil export revenues projected to exceed \$1 trillion in 2008, oil exporting states (petro states) are eager to learn from experience and from their peers about how to mitigate the negative macroeconomic spillover effects such a massive explosion in revenues can bring about and to lay down the foundations for a sustainable, diversified economy.”*

Christine Jojarth, CDDRL Researcher, Project on Oil Wealth Management

PHOTOS: (above) Gas pumps in Malaysia. CREDIT: Cheryl Ravelo/REUTERS. (right) In advance of Morocco’s 2007 parliament elections, a demonstrator in Rabat holds a poster reading “No to Hollow Democracy.” CREDIT: Raphael Marchante/REUTERS.

exporting states (petro states) are eager to learn from experience and from their peers about how to mitigate the negative macroeconomic spillover effects such a massive explosion in revenues can bring about and to lay down the foundations for a sustainable, diversified economy. 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.

Under the leadership of Thomas C. Heller, the research project has reached some important milestones. The oil wealth management dataset designed by CDDRL research fellow Christine Jojarth is now completed. This dataset provides comprehensive data on a series of indicators of oil states’ relative success in turning hydrocarbon assets into tangible development outcomes. It covers all 31 oil dependent producer countries and spans the years 1995–2007.

Another important pillar for future research within the resource economics community is the 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 more than 50 countries and allows researchers

to examine the political dynamics unleashed by expanding oil rents.

A team of motivated graduate students has complemented this quantitative research with comparative case studies on a total of ten countries around the world.

The CDDRL oil wealth management research project is greatly indebted to the generous financial and moral support it has received from the Revenue Watch Institute.

#### PROGRAM ON EVALUATING INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES ON DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENT

This program (led by CDDRL Director Michael A. McFaul, Associate Director for Research Kathryn Stoner-Weiss, and Desha Girod, who serves as program manager) seeks to assess the impact of international factors on democratic development around the world since the advent of the “third wave” of democratizations in 1974. The program’s goal is to produce a comprehensive evaluation of external influences on democratic development that will be highly relevant to both policymakers and academic communities in donor and recipient countries.

We examine closely about 15 countries that democratize successfully and others that fail to do so within four research modules: (1) democracies in transition, (2) changes in the quality of democracy, (3) liberalization in non-democratic regimes, and (4) post-conflict





democratization. As the final product, we will provide a comprehensive evaluation of external influence that will be highly relevant to policymakers and academic communities in donor and recipient countries. During the 2008–10 period, our focus is on the transitions and democratic quality tracks.

CDDRL leads the program in cooperation with an international network of partners and experts on specific country cases, and with the generous support of the Smith Richardson Foundation. With this research, CDDRL is constructing a global community of scholars and practitioners contending with the challenges of democracy promotion.

**PROGRAM ON HEALTH AND GOVERNANCE IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES** A new project that is co-sponsored by CDDRL and the Center for Health Policy at our parent institution, the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford, examines governance and health-care solutions in developing countries. Jeremy Weinstein, Alberto Diaz Cayeros with Paul Wise and Grant Miller (a pediatrician and a health economist respectively from the Center for Health Policy) have helped to lead a group interested in discovering why often simple (and sometimes more complicated) health-care solutions to pervasive problems in developing countries are not provided.

Common diseases like malaria and dysentery are easily treated with relatively low-cost health-care remedies. Yet too often, these solutions (like mosquito netting for example) simply do not reach those most in need of them. We seek to understand how state governing capacity—the ability to provide basic public goods and services—can affect the provision of these solutions and why such services are provided in some developing countries, while others appear incapable of providing them.

To date, this research has been financed by a private donor and may lead to broader research collaboration in the future between the political scientists, pediatricians, and economists associated with the project.

**PROGRAM ON REGIME CHANGE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH** The multidisciplinary environment at CDDRL is an ideal venue to explore the ways in which regime type—that is whether a country has an authoritarian or democratic regime—matters in encouraging or suppressing economic growth. 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 datasets 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.

As a research community, and building on past and ongoing work, therefore, we are pursuing both a macro approach to further mine the ambiguous correlations between regime type and relative growth, as well as pursuing 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. Although theoretically, democracies may be better able to achieve consensus on particular policies, and those policies may even be designed to more widely distribute economic benefits to the population at large, there is no inherent reason why these policies would necessarily lead to growth if the actual state apparatus in place is incapable of implementing them. Indeed, it may be that a dictatorship has a more effective state apparatus in some areas and can just as easily, or perhaps better, implement growth policies. These questions are at the heart of some of the central challenges faced by developing countries. With our collective expertise in economics, and governance, CDDRL researchers are exploring these important policy issues.

**PROGRAM ON REORGANIZING FOREIGN ASSISTANCE** CDDRL is fortunate to be the intellectual home of a formidable group of academics with concrete policy experience. Among them is CDDRL's former director, Stephen Krasner, who returned to the center from a two-year engagement as the director of policy planning at the United States Department of State under Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice. While at policy planning, Krasner became particularly involved with devising new ways in which foreign assistance may be provided more effectively to developing countries. The debate among economists and policymakers continues to rage regarding the most effective means of using aid funding to promote democracy, and more effective governance. Yet little systematic work has actually been done on what sorts of programs work and under what circumstances. Krasner is leveraging his intimate knowledge of U.S. aid programs in new research at CDDRL. The first step in this project was a two-day workshop in the spring of 2008, titled *Rethinking the Organization of U.S. Security, Democracy and Governance Assistance*. The conference included not only our own CDDRL experts but also representatives of United States government agencies directly involved in administering and providing aid (including the National Endowment for Democracy, the United States Department of State, the Department of



PHOTOS: (above) An Afghan family transports World Food Program supplies home. CREDIT: Amit Gupta/REUTERS. (left) Families shop in a supermarket in Jammu, India. CREDIT: WFP/UN.

Defense, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, and the United States Agency for International Development). We included representatives of various think tanks who have also been involved in evaluating and administering aid programs, including the United States Institute of Peace, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the Center on Global Development.

The product of this conference is a policy brief that provides an overview of U.S. aid programs and the problem of coordinating their various strands, a methodology for evaluating their relative efficacy, and concrete recommendations for improving the administration and organization of democracy and governance assistance.

**PROGRAM ON RULE OF LAW IN EMERGING MARKETS: INDIA** This project, led by Tom Heller and Erik Jensen of CDDRL and Stanford Law School, focuses on analyzing the major differences in growth across Indian states and sectors as a means of assessing potential inter-relationships between the quality of legal institutions and rules 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 more than twice as fast as the slow-growing states. The pace of that

divergence has been especially dramatic over the last 15 years. Second, the five richest states receive a disproportionate share of capital, about 55 percent of total stock, while the five poorest states receive only 15 percent. And half of the total foreign direct investment (FDI) approvals go to five of the most prosperous states. Third, on average, richer states are 50 percent more effective at reducing poverty than poorer states for each percentage point in growth.

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 serves 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.

Researchers at CDDRL are exploring whether the variation in growth across states and sectors of the Indian economy illuminates the understudied connections and disconnections between legal quality and growth. Moreover, this program aims both to inform a more detailed analysis of the impact of variations in growth on future development in India and to illuminate a more fundamental analysis of the potential relationships between the strength of legal institutions and economic growth.

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

Alejandro Toledo, Former President of Peru



PHOTOS: (above) Former President of Peru Alejandro Toledo delivers the Payne Lecture at FSI, February 2008. CREDIT: Steve Castillo. (right) A Liberian woman votes in a senatorial run-off election. CREDIT: Christopher Herwig/UN.

**PROGRAM ON EXPERIMENTS IN GOVERNANCE AND POLITICS** Policymakers, funding agencies, and implementing organizations are increasingly focused on identifying the most effective strategies for promoting development. They have embraced the use of randomized trials as a strategy for assessing the impact of interventions in health, education, agriculture, and a range of other sectors. Donors and NGOs have forged close partnerships with academic institutions to bring the most rigorous methodologies to bear to uncover strategies that work in reducing poverty in the developing world. Knowledge is slowly accumulating about the relative benefits and costs of a wide variety of interventions funded and implemented by donor agencies in the developing world.

Yet, despite the fact that bilateral and multilateral donors increasingly target significant resources toward support for “good governance”—through investments in the reform of bureaucracies and the strengthening of institutions that check the power of the executive branch, including legislatures, courts, and local governments—surprisingly little is known about the effectiveness of the resources directed at strengthening institutions of 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. Donors want to know whether the valuable resources they are investing in promoting good governance are paying off. Social scientists are increasingly optimistic about the potential of experimental approaches to yield valuable new insights about the origins and impact of political institutions.

To take advantage of this synergy of interests in improving the efficacy of governance assistance, and the actual quality of governance programs, Jeremy Weinstein of CDDRL and the political science department at Stanford has formed a research network linking social scientists undertaking experiments in governance and politics (EGAP). EGAP brings together a small group (12–15) of leading social scientists applying experimental methods to the study of governance and politics. In addition, the group includes participants from major international organizations and development groups (such as the World Bank, UNDP, IRC) that are engaging in governance interventions in developing countries. These organizations are represented by individuals within them who are engaged with research, evaluation, and policy design.

EGAP is a regular forum in which members present experimental designs in governance for feedback, but also tackle the tough conceptual, methodological, and practical questions that





arise in conducting field experiments. In this way, the program brings together policy and practice in an effort to improve the quality of governance and assistance to the developing world.

#### PROGRAM ON POVERTY AND DEMOCRACY

One of the new research models that CDDRL has found particularly successful over the past several years is to have foreign visiting scholars in residence at the center for periods as short as one month to as long as one academic year. In 2008 and 2009, we have been particularly lucky to have former President Alejandro Toledo of Peru at the center as a “practitioner in residence.” Toledo is often credited with Peru’s relatively recent dramatic increase in GDP. But despite Peru’s impressive growth during Toledo’s presidency, it remains a highly unequal society with far too large a percentage of the population still living on less than \$1 a day. Partly as a result of his frustrations in trying to resolve this problem as president of Peru, and also in no small part a result of his humble beginnings as a shoeshine boy on the streets of a rural town, Toledo has a deep and enduring interest in resolving the disconnect between democracy and the opportunities it can provide and the deep poverty and inequality that plagues much of Latin America. His motivating concern is both the injustice of inequality and also the durability of new democracies in Latin America

should democratic governments fail to deliver basic goods and services to their beleaguered populations.

He has invited other past presidents of Latin American countries to join him in confronting this challenge, and we have been pleased to host several of them at CDDRL, including former President of Mexico Vicente Fox and former President of Bolivia Carlos Mesa. CDDRL scholars Larry Diamond and Alberto Diaz-Cayeros have already participated in two advisory sessions to the larger group of a dozen former Latin American (democratic) presidents that President Toledo convened in Peru this spring. Diaz-Cayeros, Diamond, and other members of the CDDRL community are continuing to work with the group of former presidents in devising innovative policy solutions to the problem of grinding poverty.

*“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



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.

# Training Future Generations: Predoctoral and Postdoctoral Programs, Scholars at Risk, Undergraduate Honors Students, and Visiting Researchers

Since the center's founding in 2002, our **predoctoral and postdoctoral fellows program** has introduced between five and six fellows per year. They have come from Cornell, UCLA, Berkeley, Yale, the London School of Economics, Oxford University, Columbia, and, of course, Stanford. Their disciplinary interests have spanned all of the center's core disciplines—economics, law, 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 while at CDDRL. The fellows are the primary occupants of the center's physical space and they are also the most regular attendees of our seminars. They help to sustain the center as a lively intellectual environment.

In addition to the pre- and postdoctoral fellows, the center has hosted a wide variety of **visiting researchers and scholars**. These have included visitors from almost every continent. Beyond geographical diversity, these scholars represent disciplinary diversity—they include lawyers, economists, historians, sociologists, 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 from 2001 to 2006.

Some of our visitors have come from a new outreach initiative focusing on **scholars at risk** from developing countries. Our first such scholar was Vitali Silitski who had been forced out of his academic job in Minsk, Belarus, because he had been critical in his writing of the regime under President Aleksandr Lukashchenko. Silitski applied for funding to stay at Stanford for one year from the Scholar Rescue Fund in

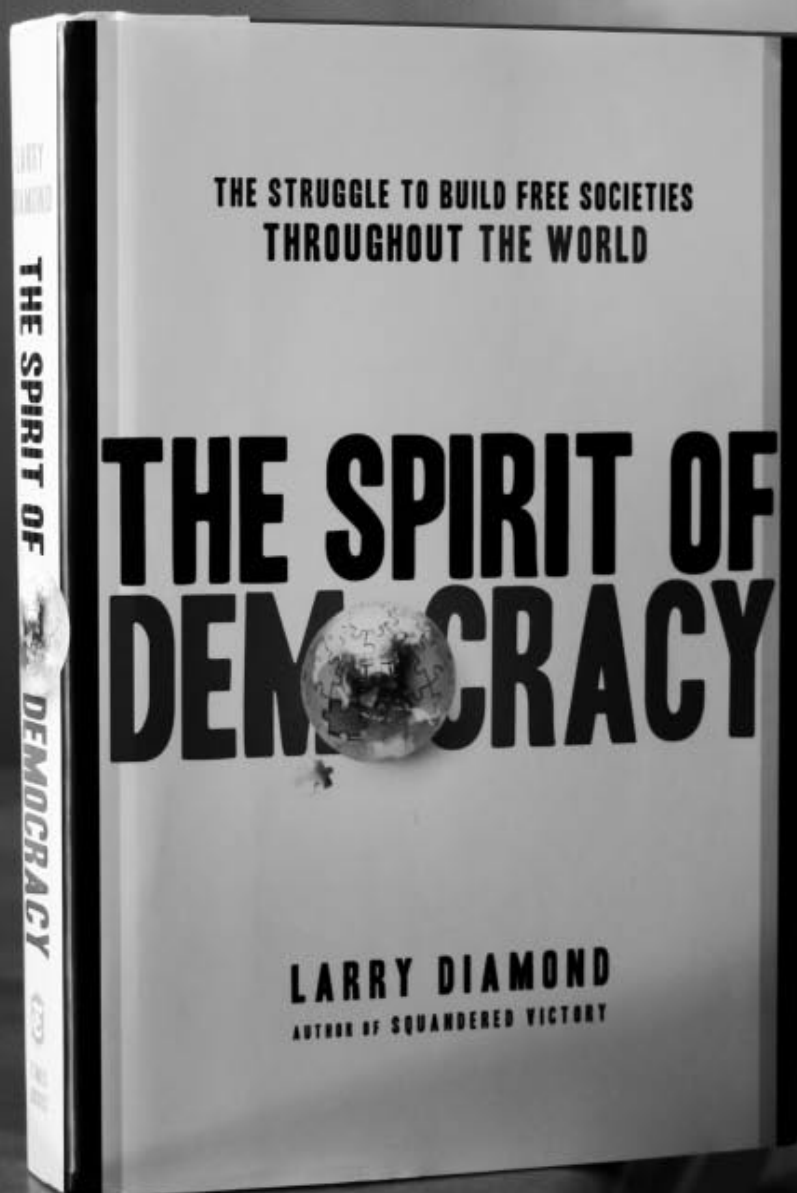
New York City. He spent a productive year at CDDRL finishing a book on Belarusian politics and then found a new position for himself at a think tank he runs in Ukraine, enabling him to continue his academic writing and policy activism for positive political change in Belarus. The presence of Silitski and our other international visitors has greatly enlarged and enlivened our community, and we are proud of the contributions they take back to their home countries after visiting at the center.

CDDRL is also home to an ever expanding **undergraduate honors program**. In the last three years, we have graduated about 25 students. Many 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 eastern 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 either be employed directly in the development or public affairs field or into a graduate program in a related field.

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. Our undergraduate programming is successfully building a cohort of students at Stanford interested in pursuing careers in development in a generally multidisciplinary way.

*“Emerging democracies must demonstrate that they can solve governance problems and meet citizens’ expectations for freedom, justice, a better life, and a fairer society.”*

Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution and Senior Fellow, CDDRL/FSI





# Selected CDDRL Publications

## RECENT BOOKS BY CDDRL AUTHORS

**Jeremy Weinstein**, *Inside Rebellion: The Politics of Insurgent Violence* (Cambridge Series in Comparative Politics, 2007)

Some rebel groups abuse noncombatant populations, while others exhibit restraint. Insurgent leaders in some countries transform local structures of government, while others simply extract resources for their own benefit. In some contexts, groups kill their victims selectively, while in other environments violence appears indiscriminate, even random. This book presents a theory that accounts for the different strategies pursued by rebel groups in civil war, explaining why patterns of insurgent violence vary so much across conflicts. It does so by examining the membership, structure, and behavior of four insurgent movements in Uganda, Mozambique, and Peru. Drawing on interviews with nearly 200 combatants and civilians who experienced violence firsthand, it shows that rebels' strategies depend in important ways on how difficult it is to launch a rebellion. The book thus demonstrates how characteristics of the environment in which rebellions emerge constrain rebel organization and shape the patterns of violence that civilians experience.

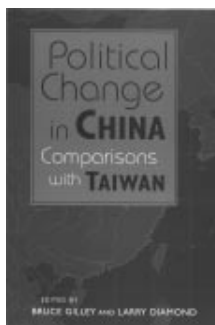
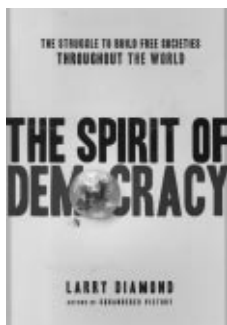
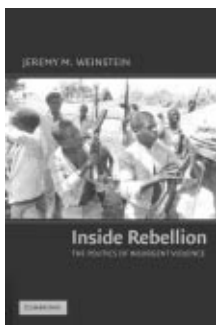
**Christine JojARTH**, *Crime, War and Global Trafficking: Designing International Cooperation* (Cambridge University Press, 2008)

Globalization creates lucrative opportunities for traffickers of drugs, dirty money, blood diamonds, weapons, and other contraband. Effective countermeasures require international collaboration, but what if some countries suffer while others profit from illicit trade? Only international institutions with strong compliance mechanisms can ensure that profiteers will not dodge their law enforcement responsibilities. However, the effectiveness of these institutions

may also depend on their ability to adjust to fast-changing environments. Combining international legal theory and transaction cost economics, this book develops a novel, comprehensive framework that reveals the factors that determine the optimal balance between institutional credibility and flexibility. JojARTH tests this rational design paradigm on four anti-trafficking efforts: narcotics, money laundering, conflict diamonds, and small arms. She sheds light on the reasons why policymakers sometimes adopt suboptimal design solutions and unearths a nascent trend toward innovative forms of international cooperation that transcend the limitations of national sovereignty.

**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 global effort on democracy promotion. By both exploring 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 presents his arguments through a world of examples, citing the negative: Putin's Russia and Musharraf's Pakistan; the unsuccessful politically but nevertheless exemplary, Toledo's Peru; and even the more difficult places like Nepal, Iran, and Thailand. 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 were using 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.”

**Bruce Gilley and Larry Diamond**, editors, *Political Change in China: Comparisons with Taiwan* (Lynne Rienner, 2008)

How might China become a democracy? And what lessons, if any, might Taiwan’s experience of democratization hold for China’s future? The authors of this volume consider these questions, both through comparisons of Taiwan’s historical experience with the current period of economic and social change in the PRC and through more focused analysis of China’s current, and possible future, politics. This volume explores current, and possible future, political change in China in the context of Taiwan’s experience with democratization.

**Amichai Magen and Leonardo Morlino**, editors, *Anchoring Democracy? International Actors, Democratization and the Rule of Law* (Routledge, 2008)

Do external factors facilitate or hamper domestic democratic development? Do international actors influence the development of greater civil and political freedom, democratic accountability, equality, responsiveness, and the rule of law in domestic systems? How should

we conceptualize, identify, and evaluate the extent and nature of international influence? These are some of the complex questions that this volume approaches. Using new theoretical insights and empirical data, the contributors develop a model to analyze the transitional processes of Romania, Turkey, Serbia, and Ukraine. In developing the argument, the book examines, the adoption, implementation, and internationalization of the rule of law; the rule of law as a central dimension of liberal and substantive democracy; the interaction between external and domestic structures and agents. Offering a different stance from most of the current literature on the subject, this book makes an important contribution to our knowledge of the international dimensions of democratization. It will be of importance to scholars, students, and policymakers with an interest in the rule of law, international relations theory, and comparative politics.

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