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Contact Details:

Class time: Mondays and Wednesdays 2.40 to 4.00pm
Class place: Littauer 382
First class: Wednesday 12 September 2007
Last class: Monday 10 December 2007
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Assessment: Course assignments

Course Synopsis:

This course covers the basic principles, theories, conceptual tools, and comparative methods useful for understanding the challenges of democracy. Attempts at state-building in Afghanistan and Iraq have highlighted concern about democracy promotion in the U.S. foreign policy agenda, although this is far from a new issue. Since the early-1990s, the international development community has increased focused attention on the challenges of facilitating the transition from autocracy and the consolidation of democratic states, with the understanding that effective democratic governance encourages and complements the activities of the private and non-profit sectors, allowing markets to flourish and people to live healthier, happier lives. The process of democratization is believed to develop institutions and processes that are more responsive to the needs of ordinary citizens, including the poor. Moreover, democratic governance is also believed to promote international peace and cooperation, reducing the causes of conflict and violence between and within states.

The international development community has used multiple strategies to promote this process. Many resources have been devoted to strengthening the capacity of political institutions, notably through encouraging multiparty competitive elections, independent judiciaries, and effective legislatures designed to curb and counterbalance strong executives, as well as decentralization strategies, anti-corruption drives, and public sector reforms. Democratic assistance has flowed into attempts to foster and expand civic society by nurturing grassroots organizations, advocacy NGOs, and the news media. And aid has been invested in attempts to expand economic growth and sustainable development, as an indirect route to democratic governance.

Despite the substantial expansion of ‘third-wave’ democracies since the early 1970s, many military-backed dictatorships, autocratic regimes, elitist oligarchies, and absolute monarchies persist, particularly in much of the Middle East and North Africa. Today there are also many ‘electoral authoritarian’ states, such as Zimbabwe and Pakistan, which have held multiparty elections but failed to institute the full panoply of human rights and political freedoms. Many states have also seen only partial or unstable steps towards democracy, for example in Thailand, Fiji, and Russia. Major problems of transition confront attempts at building stable nation-states, let alone establishing free and fair elections, in Afghanistan and Iraq. The process of democratization therefore remains deeply flawed or incomplete in many countries.

To understand these issues, Part I develops methods and analytical tools suitable for comparative policy research into democratic governance; Part II considers the underlying institutions most conducive to strengthening processes of democratization; Part III focuses upon
modernization theories of political culture and issues of gender equality. Part IV examines the role of civil society and theories of social capital. Part V compares patterns of political activism and ‘voice’. Part VI considers the relationship between economic and political development. Part VII looks at questions of ethnic conflict and cooperation. The conclusion draws together the core lessons of good governance for the policy community.

Course Objectives:

There are many stages in the cyclical process of policy advocacy, policy analysis, policy implementation, and policy evaluation. Although useful for each of these, the primary aim of the course is focused upon the second stage, policy analysis. That is, you will sharpen your understanding and also develop practical policy recommendations about the main options which states could adopt to strengthen the process of democratic governance.

The course will use a broadly comparative methodology incorporating evidence from a wide range of case studies, including developed and developing societies. Compared with STM103, which is designed for MPA/ID students, the main contrasts are in the more theoretical focus and the type of assignments used for evaluation. This class adopts practical case study applications, and it is evaluated through report assignments. There are no prerequisites for taking the class.

Class Schedule:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Assignment due dates (i)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>W 12 Sept</td>
<td>Introduction: Roadmap of the course</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M 17 Sept</td>
<td>Development programs for democratic assistance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>W 19 Sept</td>
<td>Measuring Democracy: Freedom House &amp; IDEA</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>M 24 Sept</td>
<td>Measuring Good Governance: Kaufman</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>W 26 Sept</td>
<td>Lijphart’s Democratic Institutions: Constitutions</td>
<td></td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>M 1 Oct</td>
<td>Lijphart’s Democratic Institutions: Elections</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>W 3 Oct</td>
<td>Lijphart’s Democratic Institutions: Executives/Federalism</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>W 10 Oct</td>
<td>Lijphart’s Democratic Institutions: Impacts</td>
<td></td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>M 15 Oct</td>
<td>Case study: Building the Afghan constitution</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>W 17 Oct</td>
<td>Inglehart’s Post-Modernization: Cultural Change</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>M 22 Oct</td>
<td>Inglehart’s Post-Modernization: Gender Equality</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>W 24 Oct</td>
<td>Inglehart’s Post-modernization: Religion &amp; secularization</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>M 29 Oct</td>
<td>Putnam’s Social Capital and Democracy: Italy</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td>W 31 Oct</td>
<td>Putnam’s Social Capital and Democracy: US</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>M 5 Nov</td>
<td>Putnam’s Social Capital and Democracy: Worldwide</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>W 7 Nov</td>
<td>Norris’s Democratic Phoenix: Turnout</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>W 14 Nov</td>
<td>Norris’s Democratic Phoenix: Protest Politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>M 19 Nov</td>
<td>Przeworski’s Development and Democratization</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>W 21 Nov</td>
<td>Przeworski’s Development and Democratization</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>M 26 Nov</td>
<td>Huntington’s Clash</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>W 28 Nov</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>M 3 Dec</td>
<td>Huntington’s Clash</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>W 5 Dec</td>
<td>Case study: Building the Iraq constitution</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>M 10 Dec</td>
<td>Final wrap up</td>
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Note university holidays: No class will be held on Columbus Day (M 8th Oct) or Veteran’s Day (12th Nov). (i) Assignments are due to be handed in at the start of the class on these dates.
Required Readings:

Books can be ordered direct from the publishers, or from Amazon.com, Wordsworth’s books or Barnes and Noble. The total cost of the required books should be around $116. Further online resources are listed under each week’s topic. The five texts are available on reserve at the Kennedy School library.

   In this updated and expanded edition of his highly acclaimed book Democracies, Arend Lijphart offers a broader and deeper analysis of worldwide democratic institutions than ever before. Examining thirty-six democracies during the half-century from 1945 to 1996, Lijphart arrives at important conclusions about what type of democracy works best.

   Is economic development conducive to political democracy? Does democracy foster or hinder material welfare? These two questions are examined by looking at the experiences of 135 countries between 1950 and 1990. Descriptive information, statistical analyses, and historical narratives are interwoven to gain an understanding of the dynamic of political regimes and their impact on economic development. The often surprising findings dispel any notion of a tradeoff between democracy and development. Economic development does not generate democracies, but democracies are much more likely to survive in wealthy societies.

   At the very time when electoral democracy has spread around the world, the conventional wisdom suggests that citizens in many countries have become disengaged from the traditional channels of political participation. Commentators highlight common warning signs undermining the three central channels of mass activism, including sagging electoral turnout, rising anti-party sentiment, and the decay of civic organizations. But are these concerns justified? This book compares systematic evidence for electoral turnout, party membership and civic activism in countries around the world and suggests good reasons to question popular assumptions of pervasive decline.

   Why do some democratic governments succeed and others fail? In a book that has received attention from policymakers and civic activists in America and around the world, Robert Putnam and his collaborators offer empirical evidence for the importance of "civic community" in developing successful institutions. Their focus is on a unique experiment begun in 1970 when Italy created new governments for each of its regions. After spending two decades analyzing the efficacy of these governments in such fields as agriculture, housing, and health services, they reveal patterns of associationism, trust, and cooperation that facilitate good governance and economic prosperity.
Based on the author's seminal article in *Foreign Affairs*, Samuel P. Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* is a provocative analysis of the state of world politics after the fall of communism. In this incisive work, Huntington explains how "civilizations" have replaced nations and ideologies as the driving force in global politics today and offers analysis of the current climate and future possibilities of our world's volatile political culture.


**Note: Shared Datasets**

Note that two shared class datasets are available for those who would like to analyze these for assignments. There is a cross-national dataset with almost 700 variables available for 191 nations worldwide, with the most recent year of data available. There is also a cross-sectional time-series dataset from 1972-2002 for all countries worldwide. These resources will be discussed in more detail during class.
Assignments:

All students will be expected to keep up with the required readings and to attend classes every Monday and Wednesday. Late policy: Barring an extraordinary excuse, all late assignments will be marked down a third of a grade (such as from A to A-) for each day following the due date.

**Report Part 1 Wed 10th Oct (30%)**
You can choose to answer one question out of any of those topics listed in the syllabus from classes 0-8. The report should be about 2000 words in length. Your report should be structured with subheadings as follows.

I. The selected question and the plan of your paper
II. Summary of the core theoretical framework you have selected
III. Review of the literature and evidence
V. Conclusions and implications.
VI. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The in-class discussions during class will provide some ideas on these topics and you may choose to work collaboratively with others in the class, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade.

**Report Part 2 Mon 5th Nov (30%)**
You can choose to answer one question out of any of those topics listed in the syllabus from classes 9-15. The report should be about 2000 words in length. Your report should be structured with subheadings as follows.

I. The selected question and the plan of your paper
II. Summary of the core theoretical framework you have selected
III. Review of the literature and evidence
V. Conclusions and implications.
VI. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The in-class discussions during class will provide some ideas on these topics and you may choose to work collaboratively with others in the class, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade.

**Report Part 3 Wed 5th Dec (30%)**
You can choose to answer one question out of any of those topics listed in the syllabus from classes 16-23. The report should be about 2000 words in length. Your report should be structured with subheadings as follows.

I. The selected question and the plan of your paper
II. Summary of the core theoretical framework you have selected
III. Review of the literature and evidence
V. Conclusions and implications.
VI. Endnotes: comprehensive list of literature and references used in the report.

The in-class discussions during class will provide some ideas on these topics and you may choose to work collaboratively with others in the class, but each student should submit his or her own report for an individual grade.

**Class Participation (10%)**

Finally the quality of your contributions to the discussions and the short exercises in class will also contribute towards your final grade.
Discussion Topics & Readings Per Class

Part I: Comparative research designs

Class 1 Introduction: Road Map of the Course

Class 2 Development programs for democratic assistance

Topics:
- Is democratic governance necessary or sufficient for human development?

Required Reading:

Class 3 Measuring Good Governance: Freedom House & IDEA

Topics:
- Is democracy a universal value?
- How far are the Freedom House measurements using the Gastil Index of democracy reliable, comprehensive, and accurate? How would you improve the Index?
- The Freedom House measures of democracy produce a single quantitative index of democratization. What are the advantages and disadvantages of such a measure?
- What are the pros and cons of conducting a democratic audit? Discuss by comparing the preliminary results of the pilot studies conducted by International IDEA.

Required Reading:
International IDEA. State of Democracy Project. (Read the overview and the reports for any two countries prior to class) http://www.idea.int/ideas_work/14_political_state.htm

Recommended Reading:
Class 4 *Measuring Good Governance: Kaufman-Kray*

**Topics:**

- What are advantages and limitations of using Kaufman's indicators of good governance?
- Are the Kaufman-Kray indicators reliable, comprehensive, and accurate?
- What are the essential components of 'good governance' in your view and why?
- What are the major changes in 'good governance' as indicated by the Kaufman-Kray data since 1996?
- How would you explain the challenges to good governance in Sub-Saharan Africa, as documented by the Kaufman-Kray indicators?
- What are the pros and cons of the conditionality requirements for good governance contained in the Millennium Challenge Account?

**Required Reading:**

‘Governance Matters Vi: Governance Indicators 1996-2006.’

**Recommended reading:**


Transparency International 2003 *The methodology for the Corruption Perception Index, 2003:*  
http://www.transparency.org/surveys/index.html#cpi


**Online Resources:**

See the many resources available at: http://www.worldbank.org/wbi/governance/books.htm

Transparency International Survey data: http://www.transparency.org/surveys/


The Millennium Challenge Account:

http://www.whitehouse.gov/infocus/developingnations/millennium.html
http://www.mca.gov/
http://www.mca.gov/about_us/overview/index.shtml
http://www.mca.gov/about_us/key_documents/MCA_BackgroundPaper_FactSheet.pdf
http://www.mca.gov/countries/rankings/Summary.xls
Part II: Comparing Democratic Institutions

Class 5 Lijphart’s Models of Democratic Institutions: Constitutions

Topics:
- Is there a single best set of democratic institutions?
- Is ‘democracy’ primarily a Western ideal or are the values universally shared in other cultures?
- Explain the key contrasts Lijphart draws between ‘consensus’ or ‘majoritarian’ democracies by comparing and contrasting two countries exemplifying each type.
- Do we know enough about the impact of political institutions to engage in successful ‘constitutional engineering’? Compare the outcome of electoral reforms in Italy, New Zealand and Israel to consider these issues.

Required Reading:

Recommended Reading:

Online Resources:
International Constitutional Law Documents http://www.uni-wuerzburg.de/law/index.html

Class 6 Lijphart's Models of Democratic Institutions: Electoral Systems

Topics:
- In considering debates about electoral reform, list the five most important normative values that any electoral system should meet, and give detailed reasons justifying your choices.
• What are the major distinctions between plurality first-past-the-post, the alternative vote, the single transferable vote, combined, and party list electoral systems? Discuss with illustrations of recent elections held under each type of rules.

• Are mixed member (combined) electoral systems the best of all possible worlds?

• Compare two countries and discuss the primary advantages and disadvantages of proportional or majoritarian/plurality electoral systems for each state.

• Do proportional electoral systems generate fragmented or extreme multiparty systems?

• What are the consequences of majoritarian/plurality electoral systems for the representation of women and ethnic minorities, and why do these effects occur?

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**


**Online Resources:**

International IDEA. [ACE Project](http://www.aceproject.org) on electoral system design.


Class 7 Lijphart’s Models of Democratic Institutions: Decentralization and Presidential Executives

Topics:

- Explain and assess Linz’s claim that presidential government leads to democratic instability by comparing examples of presidential and parliamentary government in either Latin America or in Central and Eastern Europe.
- Does federalism weaken or exacerbate break-away nationalist movements?

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:

See above. Also


Class 8 Lijphart’s Models of Democratic Institutions: Impacts

Topics:

- Explain and assess Lijphart’s claims about the consequences of the adoption of majoritarian or consociational arrangements for government performance and the quality of democracy.
- Do institutions make a difference to good governance?

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:

See above. Also
**Online Resources:**


CID Datavine Database of Political Institutions [http://paradocs.pols.columbia.edu/datavine](http://paradocs.pols.columbia.edu/datavine)


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**Class 9 Case-study: Building the Afghanistan constitution**

**Topics:**

- “In the most deeply divided societies, like Northern Ireland, majority rule spells majority dictatorship and civil strife rather than democracy. What such societies need is a democratic regime that emphasizes consensus instead of opposition, that includes rather than excludes, and that tries to maximize the size of the ruling majority instead of being satisfied with a bare majority.” (Lijphart). Is this a robust and well-substantiated claim?

- Consider how far Lijphart’s theory of consociational democracy could be applied to evaluating the new Afghanistan constitution.

**Required Reading:**


Full briefing details are available online: see the class website at [www.pippanorris.com](http://www.pippanorris.com)

**Recommended Reading:**


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**Part III: Comparing Political Culture**

**Class 10 Inglehart's Post-Modernization**

**Topics:**

- What is meant by Inglehart’s concepts of ‘modernization’ and ‘post-modernization’ and are these two distinct stages of socioeconomic development?

- Is there good evidence supporting Inglehart’s claims of a substantial cultural shift in orientations towards democratic values in affluent societies?

**Required Reading:**


Inglehart, Ronald. 2003. ‘How Solid is Mass Support for Democracy and How Do We Measure It?’ *PS: Political Science and Politics.*

**Recommended Reading:**


**Online Resources:**

World Values Study 1981-2000

http://wvs.isr.umich.edu/

http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/

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### Class 11 Inglehart’s Post-Modernization: Gender Equality

**Topics:**

- How far does the theory of value change explain the rise of new social movements? Discuss in relation to either the environmental or the women’s movement.
- Critically assess how far cultural theories provide a satisfactory explanation of patterns of gender equality found in agrarian, industrial and postindustrial societies.
- Do economic priorities or generational shifts provide a more satisfactory explanation of value change?

**Required Reading:**


Available at: [http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris.shorenstein.ksg/rising_tide1.htm](http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris.shorenstein.ksg/rising_tide1.htm) Chapter 1-3

**Recommended Reading:**

See the complete bibliography available in *Rising Tide*

### Class 12 Inglehart Religion and Secularization

**Topics:**

- If secularization has occurred in most post-industrial societies, why not in the case of the United States?
**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**

See class 10.

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**Part IV: Comparing Civic Society and Social Capital**

**Class 13 Putnam’s Social Capital and Democracy: Italy**

**Topics:**

- Do you agree that social capital, including dense social networks and rich reservoirs of social trust, help to explain why some democratic governments succeed while others fail? Explain and assess Putnam’s theory in the context of Italian regional government.

- What are the alternative conceptions of ‘social capital’?

- Does social trust matter? Explain why and why not.

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**


**Online Resources:**


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**Class 14 Putnam’s Social Capital and Democracy: the US**

**Topics:**

- How far has the United States experienced a long-term erosion of civic engagement and, if so, explain and assess Putnam’s analysis of the causes of this phenomenon.

- Has television entertainment corroded social capital?
Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


Ladd, Everett C. 1996. ‘The Date Just Don't Show Erosion of America's Social Capital.’ *The Public Perspective.* 7(4).


Online Resources:

*SaguarO Seminar* http://www.bettertogether.org/ Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey

Class 15 Putnam's Social Capital and Democracy Worldwide

Topics:

- Do the central claims in Putnam’s theory of social capital hold in cross-cultural perspective?

Recommended Reading:


Ottaway, Marina and Thomas Carothers. Eds.2000. *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*.
DC: Brookings Institution.


**Part V: Comparing Political Activism**

**Class 16 Democratic Phoenix: Turnout**

**Topics:**

- Has there been a systematic and persistent decline in electoral turnout in established democracies and, if so, what are the major factors driving this process? Discuss by comparing patterns in OECD nations.

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**


Online Resource:

Class 17 Democratic Phoenix

Topics:
- Is there good evidence for a decline in traditional state-oriented political activism via parties, trade unions, and churches, and how do you explain the trends you find?
- Why has there been a rise of protest politics through new social movements like the women’s movement, environmentalism and anti-globalization?
- If traditional activism has fallen, and newer forms of protest politics have arisen, what are the possible consequences of this phenomenon for representative democracy?
- Has the rise of protest politics created new channels of public participation supplementing older forms, or has it instead led to a crisis of governability, exacerbated social inequality, and fostered instability, thereby undermining representative democracy?

Required Reading:

Recommended Reading:


Part IV: Economic Development & Democratization

Class 18 Przeworski et al.'s Economic Development and Democracy

Topics:

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Przeworski et al. dichotomous measure of regime types for comparing the process of democratization?
- How far do economic development, political institutions, or political culture determine the process of democratization?
- Explain and assess Przeworski's claims about the consequences of economic growth for democracy. Do these conclusions continue to hold in the era following the fall of the Berlin Wall?

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


Class 19 *Przeworski et al.’s Economic Development and Democracy*

**Topics:**

- Explain and assess Przeworski’s claims about the consequences of democracy for economic growth.

- What are implications of Przeworski’s account of the factors leading towards the transition and consolidation of democracies for international agencies such as the World Bank and UNDP? Discuss in relation to either (a) the Middle East (b) Sub-Saharan Africa or (c) Asia.

- Does Przeworski et al’s theory suggest an economic determinism that consigns poorer nations to non-democratic status?

**Required Reading:**


**Recommended Reading:**

See above especially:


**Online Resources:**


Part VII: Comparing Ethnic Conflict and Cooperation

Class 20 Huntington’s Clash

Topics:
- What Does Huntington mean by ‘civilizational cultures’ and how can these best be measured and operationalized?
- Are Western and Muslim values irreconcilably at odds?
- Why has democracy made little progress in the Middle East and North Africa?

Required Reading:

Recommended reading:
Online resource:

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Class 21 and 22 Huntington’s Clash

Topics:

- Is there good evidence that the last decade has seen rising levels of intra and inter-ethnic conflict?

- “In the new world the most pervasive, important and dangerous conflicts will not be between social classes, rich and poor, or other economically defined groups, but between people belonging to different cultural entities.” (Huntington 1996:28). Discuss.

- “Culture and cultural identities, which at the broadest level are civilizational identities, are shaping the patterns of cohesion, disintegration and conflict in the post-Cold War world.” (Huntington) Do you agree? Why or why not.

Required Reading:

Recommended reading:


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Online Resources:
Minorities at Risk database http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/mar/
State Failure Project Internal Wars and Failures of Governance 1955-2001: 
http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/stfail/index.htm
Ethnologue. Database on ethnic populations. www.ethnologue.org

Class 23 Case-study: Building the Iraq constitution

Topics:

• How would you evaluate the new Iraq constitution and what further reforms would you suggest?

Required Reading:

Full briefing details are available online: see the class website at www.pippanorris.com

Conclusions

Class 24: Final wrap up

For further research resources:

In general for the Class Website see www.pippanorris.com

For relevant literature always check the online Social Science Citation Index via Hollis. http://80-isi3.newisiknowledge.com.ezp1.harvard.edu/portal.cgi/wos/


For sources of data always check the Harvard Data Center. http://vdc-prod.hmdc.harvard.edu/VDC/index.jsp