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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS

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Preface and Acknowledgments

This book has had a long gestation. We first met at a series of workshops organized by Miles Kahler at the Lehrman Institute in the fall of 1984 that led to his volume on *The Politics of International Debt* (Cornell University Press, 1985). In late May 1985, we met again at a conference on the political economy of stabilization sponsored by the Yale Center for International and Area Studies and the Institute for Social and Policy Studies and organized by Colin Bradford.

That meeting initiated a long and fruitful collaboration among us and a group of close colleagues and friends: Thomas Callaghy, Miles Kahler, Joan Nelson, and Barbara Stallings. That collaboration, funded generously by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, produced *Fragile Coalitions* (Transaction Books for the Overseas Development Council, 1989) and *Economic Crisis and Policy Choice* (Princeton University Press, 1990), both edited by Joan Nelson. Our first written collaboration was a contribution to a project on developing country debt directed by Jeffry Sachs for the National Bureau of Economic Research. Surviving the experience reasonably well, we went on to edit *The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (Princeton University Press, 1992). In addition to essays by Kahler, Stallings, and Nelson, we were fortunate to work with John Waterbury and Peter Evans on that project.

Still not tired of one another's intellectual company, we began to discuss a more extended study on the political economy of democratic transitions. Work on the project began during leaves in 1991 and 1992 funded by individual research and writing grants from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. We are grateful to the foundation for providing the resources that allowed us to make significant headway in initiating this project.

During part of this period, Haggard and Steven B. Webb from the World Bank co-directed a collective research project on economic adjustment in new democracies, to which Kaufman contributed a study of Mexico. The results of this project were published as *Voting for Reform: Economic Adjustment in New Democracies* (Oxford University Press, 1994), co-edited by Haggard and Webb. Steve Webb deserves special thanks, as does the excellent team of scholars that contributed to our understanding of Poland, Chile, Senegal, Nigeria, Thailand, Turkey, and Spain. Tony Dunn at the Council on Foreign Relations and Johannes Linn at the World Bank helped Haggard to obtain the Foreign Relations International Affairs Fellowship which funded his work at the World Bank; Vittorio Corbo, director

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Kaufman spent his leave during 1991 and 1992 at the Institute for Latin American and Iberian Studies at Columbia University. He would like to thank Douglas A. Chalmers, the director, assistant directors Marc Chernik and Katie Roberts Hite, and other members of the staff for welcoming him to the Institute and providing a supportive and stimulating environment in which to work. In July 1994, he worked on final revisions of the manuscript as a scholar-in-residence at the Bellagio Study and Conference Center of the Rockefeller Foundation.

During the time that this manuscript evolved, Haggard also had the pleasure of working on three other projects that assisted his thinking on these issues. Robert Dohner collaborated in a study on the politics of adjustment in the Philippines, part of a larger project on the political feasibility of adjustment organized by Christian Morrisson of the OECD Development Centre. Haggard was also able to interview a number of Korean policymakers and scholars in connection with a joint research project on Korean macroeconomic policy sponsored by the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID) and the Korean Development Institute (KDI). Susan Collins, Richard Cooper, Chungsoo Kim, Ban Ho Koo, David Lindauer, Dwight Perkins and Sung-tae Ro collaborated in that project. Haggard also co-authored the conclusion to John Williamson's study on *The Political Economy of Policy Reform* (Institute for International Economics, 1993), a project that brought together a number of policymakers and scholars involved in particular reform episodes. Haggard's move to the Graduate School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at the University of California, San Diego, in 1992 provided him a stimulating new home in which to finish this project; teaching a course with Susan Shirk and Matthew Shugart on institutions was particularly instructive.

Kaufman benefited from his collaborative work with Barbara Stallings, which resulted in a co-edited book, *Debt and Democracy in Latin America* (Westview Press, 1989), and a study of the role of political parties, published in *The Macroeconomics of Populism* (MIT Press, 1991), edited by Rudiger Dornbusch and Sebastian Edwards. His understanding of the politics of democratic transitions has also been advanced through collaboration on the project on Economic Liberalization and Democratic Consolidation, directed by Laurence Whitehead and sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. Comments on a paper presented at the University of Bologna, Forli, Italy, in Spring 1992, were particularly helpful. He would also like to acknowledge the help of Eric Hershberg, staff director for the SSRC.

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Finally, this book is dedicated to our children, Lissa and Matthew Kaufman and Kit Haggard: the next generation of democrats and the one after that.

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