

Economic Transformations in New Democracies

David Stark

Spring 2012

U8150
School of International and Public Affairs
Wednesdays, 2:10-4:00 pm
office hours: Wed 4:15-6:15pm

Graduate seminar
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TheSenseOfDissonance.com

This course examines the relationship between democratization and economic transformation. It adopts a comparative perspective to examine efforts at democratization in Eastern Europe in 1989 and, most recently, in North Africa. Topics include: patterns of social mobilization (including communication technologies), forms of accountability, property transformation, transnational organizations, and the role of international contexts.

Requirements: Informed participation in each weekly seminar is expected of every student in the course. To prepare for the discussions, write a short essay (2 pages) on the readings for each week and bring it to the seminar. The major requirement for the course is a research paper. You should begin working on your paper already during the first weeks of the course. You'll be asked to make a brief presentation about your research. The topic and the format of the final paper are your choice, in consultation with the instructor. Our mutual goal is to find a topic and means of presentation that best meets your needs.

Readings: Several books are available for purchase at Book Culture, 112th Street between Amsterdam and Broadway.

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* indicates required reading others are recommended

January 18th **Introduction, first class meeting**

January 25th **Transforming Property Rights and Citizenship Rights**

*David Stark and Laszlo Bruszt. 1998. *Postsocialist pathways: transforming politics and property in East Central Europe*. Cambridge University Press

Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2007. "Historical Legacies and Post-Communist Regime Change," *Journal of Politics* 69:4, pp. 908-926.

Grigore Pop-Eleches and Joshua A. Tucker. 2008. "Communism's Shadow: A Theory of Post- Communist Legacies and Political Behavior". New York, *manuscript*.

Stephen Holmes. 1996. "Cultural Legacies or State Collapse? Probing the Post-Communist Dilemma" in Michael Mandelbaum, ed., *Post-Communism: Four Perspectives* (Council on Foreign Relations), 22-76.

February 1st Uprising in North Africa

*David Patel and Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik. 2011. "Fizzles and Fireworks: A Comparative Perspective on the Diffusion of Popular Protests in the Middle East and North Africa." Paper prepared for the May 21-22, 2011 Conference at George Washington University. Manuscript

*Lucan Way. 2011. "The Lesson of 1989." *Journal of Democracy* 22(4):13-23.

*Eva Bellin. 2012. "Reconsidering the Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring." *Comparative Politics* 44(2):127-149.

*Joel Beinin and Fredric Variel "Introduction: Beyond Classical Social Movement Theory" and "Afterword: Popular Uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt" in Joel Beinin and Frederic Variel. 2011. *Social Movements, Mobilization, and Contestation in the Middle East and North Africa*. Palo Alto, CA, USA: Stanford University Press

Anne Lesche. 2011. "Egypt's Spring: Causes of the Revolution." *Middle East Policy* 18(3):35-48.

Eva Bellin. 2004. "The Robustness of Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Exceptionalism in Comparative Perspective." *Comparative Politics* 36(2):139-157.

Lisa Anderson. 2006. "Searching Where the Light Shines: Studying Democratization in the Middle East." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1):189-214.

Mark R. Beissinger 2006. "Promoting Democracy: Is Exporting Revolution a Constructive Strategy?" *Dissent* 53(1):18-24. Retrieved November 5, 2011.

Mona El-Ghobashy. 2011. "The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution." *Middle East Research and Information Project* 41(ME 258).

February 8th The Military

- *Zoltan Barany. 2011 "The Role of the Military." *Journal of Democracy* 22(4):24-35.
- *David Kirkpatrick. 2011. "Egypt's Military Discourages Economic Change." *New York Times*, February 17, Online Retrieved October 24, 2011 (<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/18/world/middleeast/18military.html>).
- * Michael Albertus and Victor Menaldo. 2012. "Coercive Capacity and the Prospects for Democratization." *Comparative Politics* 44(2):151-169.
- * Terence Lee. 2009. "The Armed Forces and Transitions from Authoritarian Rule." *Comparative Political Studies* 42(5):640-669.
- Ahmed Hashim. 2011. "The Egyptian Military, Part One: From the Ottomans Through Sadat." *Middle East Policy* 18(3):63-78. Retrieved October 17, 2011.
- Ahmed Hashim. 2012. "The Egyptian Military Part Two: From Mubarak onward." *Middle East Policy* 18(4):106-128.
- Ibrahim Karawan. 2011 "Politics and the Army in Egypt." *Survival* 53(2).
- Jason Brownlee. 2011. "Egypt's Incomplete Revolution: The Challenge of Post-Mubarak Authoritarianism." *Jadaliya*. Retrieved October 23, 2011
- Wendell Steavenson. 2011. "Who owns the revolution? The Army or the People?" *The New Yorker*. August 1st. 48-57

February 15th The labor movement and uprising in North Africa

Zachary Lockman (NYU Dept of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies) guest speaker

- *Rabab El-Mahdi. 2011. "Labour protests in Egypt: causes and meanings." *Review of African Political Economy* 38(129):387-402.
- * Joel Beinin. 2011. "What have workers gained from Egypt's revolution?" *Foreign Policy*, July 20.
- Joel Beinin. 2010. *The struggle for worker's rights in Egypt: A report by the solidarity center*. Cairo, Egypt: Solidarity Center.

February 22nd Facebook/twitter revolution?

*Marc Lynch. 2011. "After Egypt: the Limits and Promise of Online Challenges to the Authoritarian Arab State." *Perspectives on Politics* 9(2):301-310. Retrieved October 22, 2011. ***We will view a clip of Marc Lynch's presentation at AUC***

*Sean Aday, Henry Farrell, Marc Lynch, and John Sides. 2010. *Blogs and bullets: New media in contentious politics*. Peaceworks Report No. 65 United States Institute of Peace.

*Charles Hirschkind. 2010. New Media and Political Dissent in Egypt. *Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares*. 67(1): 137-154

Evgeny Morozov. 2011. "Whither Internet Control? *Journal of Democracy*. 22(2): 62-75

February 27th Who blocks reform? [Note that we meet on Monday 5-7:00 pm room 801 IAB.]

Laszlo Bruszt (Dept of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute, Florence) Guest speaker.

* Joel Hellman. 1998. "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Post-communist Transitions." *World Politics* 50: 203-34.

*Laszlo Bruszt. 2002. "Market Making as State Making: Constitutions and Economic Development in Post-communist Eastern Europe," [Constitutional Political Economy Volume 13, Number 1](#), 53-72,

* Laszlo Bruszt, "[Heterarchies and Developmental Traps](#)" in Karl Hinrichs, Herbert Kitschelt and Helmut Wiesenthal (eds.) *Kontingenz und Krise – Institutionenpolitik in kapitalistischen und postsozialistischen Gesellschaften – Claus Offe zu seinem 60.Geburtstag* (Campus Verlag, Frankfurt/New York 2000), pp. 119-41.

March 7th Competitive Authoritarianism

Josh Tucker (NYU Dept of Politics) guest speaker

* Joshua A. Tucker. 2007. "Enough! Electoral Fraud, Collective Action Problems, and Post-Communist Colored Revolutions". *Perspectives on Politics* (5): 535-551

- * Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism". *Journal Democracy*. 13(2): 51-65
- * Bruce Rutherford. "Introduction: Hybrid Regimes and Arab Democracy" in Rutherford, Bruce (2008). *Egypt After Mubarak* Princeton University Press
- Joel Beinin. 2011. "Review of Egypt After Mubarak: Liberalism, Islam and Democracy in the Arab World by Bruce K. Rutherford." *Journal of Islamic Studies*.
- Jason Brownlee. 2005 "Ruling Parties and Regime Persistence: Explaining Durable Authoritarianism in the Third Wave Era."
- Mark Beissinger. 2007. "Structure and Example in Modular Political Phenomena: The Diffusion of the Bulldozer/Rose/Orange/Tulip Revolutions." *Perspectives on Politics* 5(2): 259-276
- Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. 2010. *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press

March 14th Spring break, NO CLASS

March 21st Democracy, Inclusion, and Political Islam

- * Michael Driessen. 2012. "Public Religion, Democracy and Islam: Examining the moderation thesis in Algeria." *Comparative Politics* 44(2):171-189.
- * Adam Shatz. 2011. "Whose Egypt?" *London Review of Books*.
- Bruce Rutherford "Islamic Constitutionalism" in Rutherford, Bruce. 2008. *Egypt After Mubarak*. Princeton University Press
- Hussein Agha and Robert Malley. 2011. "The Arab Counterrevolution." *The New York Review of Books*. Retrieved October 24, 2011 (<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2011/sep/29/arab-counterrevolution/>).
- Steven Cook. 2006. "The Promise of Pacts." *Journal of Democracy* 17(1):1045-5736. Retrieved November 6, 2011.

March 28th

Recombination: Economic transition in Eastern Europe

*David Stark. 1996. "Recombinant Property in Eastern European Transition." *American Journal of Sociology* 101(4), p.992-1027.

Joseph Stiglitz, "Whither Reform: Ten Years of the Transition," The World Bank: Annual Bank Conference on Development Economics, April 1999.

<http://www.salonmag.com/news/feature/2000/05/02/stiglitz/> (for article on the ouster of Stiglitz from The World Bank).

<http://www.worldbank.org/research/abcde/stiglitz.html> (for pdf version)

Mitchell A. Orenstein. 2001. *Out of the Red : Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Peter Murrell. 1993. "What is Shock Therapy? What Did it do in Poland and Russia?" *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 9 (2) :111-140.

Steven Fish. 1997. "The Determinants of Economic Reform in the Post-Communist World," *East European Politics and Societies*, 12(1): 31-78.

Timothy Frye. 2000. *Brokers and Bureaucrats : Building Market Institutions in Russia*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Timothy Frye. 2002. [The Perils of Polarization: Economic Performance in the Postcommunist World](#). *World Politics* 54, no. 3.308-337.

April 4th

Political Ties

*David Stark and Balazs Vedres, "[Politicized Business Ties](#): Network Dynamics of a Democratizing Polity and a Globalizing Economy, Hungary 1987-2006." *American Sociological Review*, 2012, forthcoming.

Grigore Pop-Eleches. 2008. "Crisis is in the Eye of the Beholder: Economic Crisis and Partisan Politics in Latin American and East European International Monetary Fund Programs." *Comparative Political Studies*. 41 (9):1179-211.

Iain McMenamin and Roger Schoenman. 2007. "[Together Forever?](#) Explaining Exclusivity in Party-Firm Relations." *Political Studies* 55(1):153-173.

Mara Faccio (2006), "[Politically Connected Firms](#)." *American Economic Review* vol. 96(1), 369-386.

Roger Schoenman (2005). [Captains or Pirates? State-Business Relations in Post-Socialist Poland](#). *East European Politics and Societies*. 19:40-75.

Sergei Guriev and Andrei Rachinsky. 2005. "The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 19:131-150.

Ted Brader and Joshua A. Tucker. 2008. "Pathways to Partisanship: Evidence from Russia" with Ted Brader, *Post-Soviet Affairs*, 24(3):1-38.

April 11th Problematic privatization, crony capitalism and corruption

[Timothy Mitchell](#) (Columbia University) Guest Speaker

*"Dreamland" in Timothy Mitchell . 2002. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. University of California press

*Walter Armhurst. 2011. "A revolution against neoliberalism? - Opinion - Al Jazeera English."
(<http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/02/201122414315249621.html>).

Andrew Andrew Barnes. 2003. [Comparative Theft: Context and Choice in the Hungarian, Czech, and Russian Transformations](#), 1989-2000. *East European Politics and Societies*. 17:533-565.

Ben Ross Schneider, "[Elusive Synergy: Business-Government Relations and Development](#)." *Comparative Politics* October 1994 31 (1): 101-122.

David Kang. 2002. *Crony capitalism: corruption and development in South Korea and the Philippines*. Cambridge; New York, Cambridge University Press

Federico F. Varese. 1997. [The Transition to the Market and Corruption in Post-socialist Russia](#). *Political Studies*. 45:579.

Federico Varese. 1994. "Is Sicily the future of Russia?": Private Protection and the Rise of the Russian Mafia." *Archives of European Sociology*, 35: 224-258.

Jean Tesche and Sahar Tohamy. 1994. "A note on economic liberalization and privatization in Hungary and Egypt." *Comparative Economic Studies* 56(2).

Omar S. Dahi. 2011. "Understanding the Political Economy of Arab Revolts." Middle East Research and Information Project 41(ME259).

Peter Moore. 2011. "Sovereign Wealth and Ruler Loot." *Jadaliyya*. Retrieved October 17, 2011 (<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2847/sovereign-wealth-and-ruler-loot->).

Sergei Guriev and Andrei Rachinsky. 2005. "The Role of Oligarchs in Russian Capitalism." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 19:131–150.

Vadim Volkov. 2002. *Violent entrepreneurs: the use of force in the making of Russian capitalism*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

April 18th International Contexts

*Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way (2007). "Linkage, Leverage, and the Post-Communist Divide." *East European Politics and Societies*. (21)48: 48-66

*Hugh Roberts. 2011. "Who said Gaddafi Had to go?" *London Review of Books*.

Joe Hoover. 2011. "Egypt and the failure of realism." *Journal of Critical Globalisation Studies* (4):127-137.

Lucan A. Way and Steven Levitsky. 2006. "Linkage versus Leverage. Rethinking the International Dimension of Regime Change." *Comparative politics*. 38(4): 379-400.

April 25th Student Presentations

TBA Deadline for submitting your final paper.