**Economic Transformations in New Democracies**

# David Stark Spring 2012

# U8150 Graduate seminar School of International and Public Affairs Columbia University Wednesdays, 2:10-4:00 pm 1219 International Affairs Building office hours: Wed 4:15-6:15pm 701C Knox Hall

dcs36@columbia.edu [TheSenseOfDissonance.com](http://www.thesenseofdissonance.com/books.php)

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 1989: Simultaneous transformation of 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

**Feburary 15th The labor movement and uprising in North Africa**

[**Zachary Lockman**](http://meis.as.nyu.edu/object/ZacharyLockman.html) **(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 29th Who blocks reform?**

[**Laszlo Bruszt**](http://www.eui.eu/DepartmentsAndCentres/PoliticalAndSocialSciences/People/Professors/Bruszt.aspx) **(Dept of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute, Florence) Guest speaker.**

\*Laszlo Bruszt. 2002. “Market Making as State Making: Constitutions and Economic Development in Post-communist Eastern Europe,” [Constitutional Political Economy](http://www.springerlink.com/content/1043-4062/) [Volume 13, Number 1](http://www.springerlink.com/content/1043-4062/13/1/), 53-72,

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

**March 7th Competitive Authoritarianism**

[**Josh Tucker**](https://files.nyu.edu/jat7/public/) **(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 Consitutionalism” 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 Stiglizt 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](http://scholar.google.com/url?sa=U&q=http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/world_politics/v054/54.3frye.pdf). *World Politics* 54, no. **3**.308-337.

**April 4th Problematic privatization, crony capitalism and corruption**

[**Timothy Mitchell**](http://www.columbia.edu/~tm2421/) **(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](http://eep.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/17/3/533), 1989-2000*. East European Politics and Societies*. 17.533-565.

Ben Ross Schneider, “[Elusive Synergy: Business-Government Relations and Development](http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0010-4159%28199810%2931%3A1%3C101%3AESBRAD%3E2.0.CO%3B2-A).” *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](http://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/bpl/post/1997/00000045/00000003/art00097). *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 11th Political Ties**

\*David Stark and Balazs Vedres, “Politicized Business Ties: Network Dynamics of a Democratizing Polity and a Globalizing Economy, Hungary 1987-2006.”

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?](http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00647.x/full) Explaining Exclusivity in Party-Firm Relations.” *Political Studies* 55(1):153-173.

Mara Faccio (2006), “[Politically Connected Firms](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=444960).” *American Economic Review* vol. 96(1), 369-386.

Roger Schoenman (2005). [Captains or Pirates? State-Business Relations in Post-Socialist Poland](http://eep.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/19/1/40). *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 18th International Context**

\*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**