

**Syllabus International Studies 104**  
**The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions**  
**Spring 2006**  
**T & Th 8:00-9:15 am**  
**Dey Hall 403**

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Office Hours: T & Th 9:30 - 11:00 am (other times by appointment)

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## **1 Goals of this course**

### **1.1 To assess the dynamics of transitions to democracy. For the various countries and historical periods that we study you should be able to:**

- Define the main actors or social groups and the interactions among them that are relevant in explaining democratic transition—or lack thereof.
- Understand the interaction between economic and political variables and how they relate to the regime type in a given society.
- Compare the early waves of democratization (Europe and the United States) with the later waves that occurred—in developing countries.
- Compare within the Third Wave of democratic transitions—that is, the wave that starts in the late 1970s and extends up to the early 1990s—and identify patterns that characterized the different regions that participated in this trend (such as Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Southern Europe).

- Identify the main challenges (social, political, and economic) that societies of recent democratic transition face today and the often competing pressures that these challenges produce in democratic governance.

**1.2 To acquire basic skills used by political scientists in general and particularly those who study countries in comparative perspective (comparativists). By the end of the course you should be able to:**

- Identify and critique theories of democratization that underlie academic writing in political science.
- Relate political trends to changes in economic and development strategies.
- Become an informed and critical reader of non-academic accounts of contemporary new democracies.
- Become an informed and critical reader of non-academic accounts of the origins of democracy in developed countries, particularly in what relates to the interaction between capitalism and democracy.
- Be able to build logical and coherent arguments of your own.

## **2 Organization and requirements**

The course will meet twice a week. The requirements for the course are first and foremost regular class attendance, reading of the assigned materials, and active participation in class discussions. There will be an early midterm with essay questions that test concepts that are central to the understanding of the country cases we'll study later in the course. Other requirements include a final exam and a final paper.

Students will also be required to lead the discussion of one session of their choice (see starred classes for available options).

### **2.1 Papers**

Students are required to write a final paper using the theoretical framework covered in class to analyze a country of their choice. An early version of the paper of at least 1200 words—including the country chosen, the main argument and the external literature you'll use to analyze them has to be turned in on February 23 and will represent 10% out of the 35% that the paper represents on your final grade. For all course work, the Honor

Code applies; the students signature on her/his work confirms that the Code rules were respected.

The paper should examine the political history of the country in question, covering the main socio-economic characteristics, and the evolution of its political regimes up to the moment of the democratic transition. Using the literature on democratic transitions, the paper should then examine the period of transition to democracy for each of the countries chosen. Issues such as the legitimacy of the falling authoritarian government, the mobilization of society groups against this regime, the performance of the economy, and the position of the economic elite are topics that **must** be covered by **all** students.

Finally, the paper will include a brief discussion on the quality of their democracies, and the main challenges that the dual transition that they underwent generated and generates nowadays. This paper should include a brief discussion of the extent to which these countries implemented free market reforms, and the tensions that these reforms might generate—if any—with core principles of democracy. The paper will also include an integrat-ing introduction and conclusion. This paper should not exceed 3800 words.

At least **six outside references** (that is, in addition to the books by Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens (1992), Mamdani (1996) and the rest of the articles assigned for reading) will be required in total. A list of additional bibliography by topic and country will be provided by the instructor once the student chooses the country.

Excellent guidance about academic writing is available at the UNC writing center. Their URL is <http://www.unc.edu/depts/wcweb/>

## 2.2 Participation

Our regular class will include between 15 and 30 minutes of lecture and will devote the rest of the time to talk about the readings and think through issues together. As such, participation is not voluntary, but rather a central part of the learning process. In order to create a good climate for everyone to participate, please follow this discussion guidelines:

- Be ready to share and explain your opinions. Feel free to disagree with others, but be specific in your own assertions and back them with evidence.
- Listen carefully and respond to other members of the group. Be willing to change your mind when someone demonstrates an error in your logic or use of facts.
- Do not hesitate to ask for clarification of any point or term you do not understand.
- Make your point succinctly, avoid repetition, and stick to the subject.

### 2.2.1 Participation preparation

To get the most out of discussions, we must **prepare** for them. In other words, you'll be expected to have read all the assigned material, and have thought about the topics that are listed below each week heading. You will also be expected to bring to class each Thursday a brief **written reaction** (two or three paragraphs) to one of these topics or questions, including as well any other comment, criticism, or question that arise while you read. Particularly fruitful strategies for written reactions include comparing two readings, thinking about the current reading in the context of past readings, and exploration of weak and strong points of the argument. These comments will be collected on random weeks and evaluated on a check, check plus, or check minus basis.

### 2.3 Midterm and final exams

There will be a midterm on February 14 and a final take-home exam due on May 4th, at 5 pm. The midterm will contain essay questions. Studying for the exam, and reflecting on the major theoretical issues that will be covered will help lay the base for understanding and analyzing critically the country cases that will follow and the one you will analyze in your paper. An exam well-done will involve much more than memorizing the readings and concepts covered in the readings and lectures. Questions will require judgment and critical analysis, and will require careful justification and grounding of the arguments made in the essays. Group study and discussion before the exam is **strongly** recommended. The final exam will also consist of one—more complex—essay question and you will have several days to write it.

No make-up tests will be given unless **prior** arrangements are made with the instructor, or **proof of a medical visit or excuse from the Dean of Students** is given to the instructor.

### 2.4 Grades

Grades for the course will be based on the following weights for each of the requirements:

Requirement	Weight	Test/submission date
Midterm	20% of the grade	February 14
Paper	35% of the grade	February 23 and April 27
Final exam	25% of the grade	May 4
Participation	20% of the grade	
Comments, questions, and class intervention	5% out of 20	
Discussion leadership	10% out of 20	tba
Written reactions	5% out of 20	Every week

### 3 Course Books

We will use the following two books, which are available in the Textbook Department of the UNC Student Stores:

Mamdani, Mahmood. 1996. *Citizen and Subject. Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens and John Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. 1st ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

### 4 How to succeed in this course

- Consistently attend class.
- Keep up with the readings.
- Engage actively in discussions by sharing your doubts, questions, and comments in every meeting..
- If something is not clear, do not hesitate to ask a question.
- Clarify expectations with the Instructor.

## 5 Course schedule

### 5.1 Week 1: Introduction

- Overview of the syllabus and the course structure.
- Identify the subjective evaluations and biases that we bring to the study of any foreign society and—in particular—Third World societies.

**January 12** Introduction to the class. Thinking critically and studying the other.

Reading:

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1997. "Eurocentrism and its Avatars: The Dilemmas of Social Science," in *New Left Review*, 226 (1), 93-107.

### 5.2 Week 2: Foundations and Key Concepts

- Understand the main theoretical frameworks used to understand and study democratization.
- Identify the connections between democracy and socio-economic variables such as labor organization, inequality, and economic growth.
- Understand the political context of these theories and the prescriptions they give rise to.

**January 17** Democracy: Power or Modernity?

Reading:

Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens (1992). Chapter 1.

Lipset, Seymour. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *The American Political Science Review*, 53 (1), 69-105.

**\*\*\*\* January 18 Last day to add a course or late register through web registration system.\*\*\*\***

**January 19** Critics of Modernization Theory

Reading:

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: California University Press, Chapter 2

Collier, David. 1979. "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model," in David Collier (ed.) *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," *World Politics*, 49 (2), 155-183.

### 5.3 Week 3: Liberal Democracy and its critics

- Understand the competing definitions of democracy.
- Understand the implications of different definitions of democracy.

**January 24** Liberal Democracy.

Reading:

Schumpeter, Joseph. 1942. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers. Chapters 21-22.

Dahl, Robert. 1971. *Polyarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 2-3.

**\*\*\*\* January 25 Term course (web) drop ends at 5 pm.\*\*\*\***

**January 26** Criticisms of Liberal Democracy.

Reading:

Wood, Ellen Meiksins. 1995. *Democracy against capitalism: renewing historical materialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 7-9.

**\*\*\* Choose a country to focus on the set of papers, report it by email \*\*\***

### 5.4 Week 4: Explaining Earlier Transitions to Democracy

- Understand the political process of transition in early democratizing countries.
- Identify the links between economic change, social change, and political response during these transitions.

**January 31** Early Transitions.

Reading:

Moore, Barrington. 1967. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press. Chapters 1-3.

**February 2** Early Transitions (cont.).

Reading:

Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens (1992). Chapters 4 and 7.

(recommended) Boix, Carles. 2001. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

## 5.5 Week 5: Explaining Recent Transitions: Neoliberalism and Democracy

- Understand the interaction between contemporary pro-market policies and democracy.
- Identify the similarities and differences in the political process of the early rise of capitalism and current neoliberal reforms.

**February 7** Recent Transitions.

Reading:

Fukuyama, Francis. 1989. "The End of History?" *The National Interest*. Summer.

Karl, Terry L. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," in *Comparative Politics*, 23 (1), 1-23

Bratton, Michael, and Nicholas Van de Walle. 1994. "Neopatrimonial Regimes and Political Transitions in Africa," *World Politics*, 46 (4), 453-489.

**February 9** Dual Transitions.

Reading:

Huber, Evelyne., Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, and Stephens, John D. 1997. "The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Democracy". *Comparative Politics*, 29 (3), 323-342

Kurtz, Marcus. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy. Lessons from Latin America." *World Politics*, 56 (2), 262-302.

(recommended) Schamis, Hector. 2005. "Babel in Democratization Studies," *Journal of Democracy*, 16 (4), 113-128.

## 5.6 Week 6: Ethnicity and Democracy

- Understand the interaction between citizenship and ethnicity.
- Identify the effects of racial and ethnic divisions left by colonial history.

## February 14 Midterm

## February 16 Ethnicity and Democracy

Reading:

Mamdani (1996). Chapter 1.

(recommended) Mann, Michael. 2005. *The Dark Side of Democracy. Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## 5.7 Week 7: Gender and Democratization

- Understand the role of women in transitional democracies.
- Identify the effects over women as a group of the changes brought by democratization.

**\*\*\*\* February 21 Last day for Undergraduate Students to drop courses.\*\*\*\***

**February 21** Conceptual Issues.

Reading:

Waylen, Georgina. 1994. “Women and Democratization; Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics,” *World Politics*, 46(3) 327-354.

**February 23** Cases.

Reading:

McMahon, Patrice C. 1994. “The Effect of Economic and Political Reforms on Soviet/Russian Women,” in Aslanbeigui, Nahid et al *Women in the Age of Economic Transformation*. New York: Routledge.

Álvarez, Sonia. 1990. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 7, and 10.

**\*\*\*\* Early version of paper due.\*\*\*\***

## 5.8 Week 8: Civil Society and Democracy

- Understand the—sometimes complex—connection between civil society and democracy/democratization.
- Understand the role of organized groups in society in bringing about democratic change.

- Identify the different importance of civil society in democratic transitions across regions.

**February 28** Eastern Europe.

Reading:

Carter, April. 1998. "Vaclav Havel: Civil Society, Citizenship, and Democracy," in April Carter and Geoffrey Stokes *Liberal Democracy and its Critics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Weigle, Marcia A. 2000. "Postcommunist Civil Society: From Demobilization to Remobilization," in Marcia A. Weigle *Russia's Liberal Project: State Relations in the Transition from Communism*.

**March 2** Africa and Latin America.

Reading:

Hutchful, Eboe. 1995. "The civil society debate in africa," *International Journal* 51 (1), 54-77.

Brisk, Alison. 2000. "Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America," in *Journal of Democracy* 11 (3), 151-165.

## 5.9 Week 9: International Factors and Democracy

- Understand the changing role and interests of international actors in promoting democratization.
- Understand the effect of the end of the Cold War in these changing roles and interests.

**March 7** Globalization of Democracy?

Reading:

Diamond, Larry. 1993. "The Globalization of Democracy," in Robert O. Slater, Barry Schutz, and Steven R. Door *Global Transformations and the Third World*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Carothers, Thomas. 1999. "The Resurgence of United States Political Development Assistance in Latin America in the 1980s," in Whitehead, Laurence (ed.) *The International Dimensions of Democratization. Europe and the Americas*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 5..

**March 9** External influences in recent transitions.

Reading:

Valenzuela, Arturo. 2000. "External Actors in the Transitions to Democracy in Latin America," in James F. Hollifield and Calvin Jillson (eds.) *Pathways to Democracy: the*

*Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. New York: Routledge.

Van de Walle, Nicolas. 1999. "Globalization and African Democracy," in Richard Joseph (ed.) *State, Conflict, and Democracy in Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

## 5.10 Week 10: Spring Break

## 5.11 Week 11: Case Studies

- Understand the Colonial Structure of Indirect Rule and its legacies on the contemporary African nation states.
- Identify the main challenges that exist for current democracies in Africa.

**March 21** General Background.

Reading:

Mamdani (1996). Chapters 2, 3, and 5.

**March 23** South Africa.

Reading:

Mamdani (1996). Chapter 8.

Spence, J.E. (ed.) 1994. *Change in South Africa*. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chapters 1-2.

Bond, Patrick. 2000. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press. Pp. 1-15 and 155-192.

(recommended) Mattes, Robert. 2002. "Democracy Without the People?" in *Journal of Democracy* 13 (1), 22-36.

## 5.12 Week 12: Case Studies

- Understand the different types of Eastern European paths of democratization.
- Identify the particular challenges of this region's dual transition.

**March 28** Russia.

Reading:

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 19.

Levitsky, Steven and Lucan A. Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism," in *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2), 51-65.

**March 30** Russia.

Reading:

Fish, Steven M. 1995. *Democracy from Scratch: Opposition and Regime in the New Russia Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1.

Horgan, John P. 1999. "The Russian case: élite self-emancipation," in Marco Rimaneli (ed.) *Comparative democratization and peaceful change in single-party-dominant countries*. London: St. Martin's Press.

### 5.13 Week 13: Case Studies

- Understand the the particularities of Latin American transitions to democracy.
- Identify the challenges of consolidation and economic development of the contemporary period.

**April 4** Chile.

Reading:

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 13.

Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens (1992). Chapter 5.

**April 6** Chile.

Reading:

Garretón, Manuel Antonio. 1994. "The Political Dimensions of Processes of Transformation in Chile," in William C. Smith, Carlos H. Acuña and Eduardo A. Gamarra *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Kurtz, Marcus. 2004. *Free market democracy and the Chilean and Mexican countryside*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

### 5.14 Week 14: Case Studies and Students' Presentations

- Understand South Korea as a case of democratizing developmental state.

- Identify the social, political, and economic consequences of late—but successful—development .

**April 11** South Korea.

Reading:

Hart-Landsberg, Martin. 1993. *The Rush to Development*. New York: The Monthly Review Press. Chapters 10-12.

Shin, Doh C. 1999. *Mass Politics and Culture in Democratizing Korea*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cummings, Bruce. 2000. “Civil Society and Democracy in South Korea,” in James F. Hollifield and Calvin Jillson (eds.) *Pathways to Democracy: the Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. New York: Routledge.

**April 13** Students’ Presentations begin.

### **5.15 Week 15: Students’ presentations**

**April 18** Students’ Presentations.

**April 20** No class.

### **5.16 Week 16: Students’ Presentations**

**April 25** Students’ Presentations.

**April 27** Students’ Presentations / take-home exam distributed.

**\*\*\*\* Final Paper Due.\*\*\*\***

### **5.17 Week 16: No classes**

**May 4**

**\*\*\*\* Final Exam Due at 12 pm.\*\*\*\***