

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY CENTER
Ph.D. Program in Political Science

Political Science 87800

Professor Irving Leonard Markovitz

The Dark Side of Democracy: Inequality and Repression

Fall 2014

Winston Churchill famously declared: "Democracy is the worst form of government except for all those others that have been tried." The Federalist authors proclaimed that they did not want to create "an elected despotism". De Tocqueville was terrified by the inevitability of the spread of equality. Clinton Rositer maintained that the American Presidency was "a matrix for dictatorship". Democracies are not supposed to go to war with each other. However, at least some democracies in modern times have been associated with extremist policies in war and peace. Among the questions this seminar will consider are: Is there an association between democracy and ethnic cleansing? Do democratic institutions facilitate genocide? Are there complex processes that push democratic constituencies in murderous directions? Is "empowerment" of the "people" always progressive? How do ordinary people behave during the breakdown of democracy? Does greater equality make societies stronger? Why and when do democratic institutions and procedures produce growing inequality? How is democracy gendered? Is democracy no better than competitive authoritarianism? Does democracy inevitably supersede or does it accommodate oligarchy? What are the forces of globalization that impact processes of democratization? What are the limits and dangers of the internet in confronting authoritarian regimes?

I. Research Topics

Each seminar participant will select a research topic. The topic can be treated comparatively by country or, through time, within the setting of a single country. Preparation for research will involve:

- a. the definition of the problem
- b. the selection of one or more central hypotheses
- c. a justification of the problem and their hypotheses by their relation to a wider body of theory
- d. the specification of the system of analysis
- e. the organization and gathering of data
- f. the writing-up and presentation of conclusions

Members of the seminar will be given the opportunity to present progress reports during the course of the semester and should raise special problems they encounter in their research for discussion.

II Core Readings

The following paperback books must be read before the scheduled time and brought to class. Preferably they should be purchased. Amazon often has the cheapest prices. Books are on reserve.

The Federalist Papers, Bantam

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol. I, Vintage

Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Democracy Against Capitalism*, Cambridge, 1995

Danny Openheimer and Mike Edwards, *Democracy Despite Itself: Why a System That Shouldn't Work at All Works So Well*, MIT Press, 2012

Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the Gilded Age*, Princeton, 2008

Martin Gilens, *Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*, Princeton, 2012, paper 2014

Jeffrey A. Winters, *Oligarchy*, Cambridge University Press, 2011

Joseph Stiglitz, *The Price of Inequality*, W.W.Norton, 2012

Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the 21st Century*, Harvard University Press, 2014

Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge, 2005

Steven Levitsky and Lucian A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism*, Cambridge, 2010

Kurt Weyland, *Making Waves: Democratic Contention in Europe and Latin America Since the Revolution of 1848*, Cambridge University Press, 2014

Sheldon S. Wolin, *Democracy Inc.: Managed Democracy and the Specter of Inverted Totalitarianism*, Princeton, 2008

III. Supplementary readings and Oral reports:

This seminar is to be regarded as a joint discussion and work group. Attendance at every session is, therefore, mandatory. Supplementary readings and oral reports will be used to focus discussion and expand our inquiry into related material and/or contradictory thesis and points of view.

Topics:

I. Elected Despotism?

- a. Toward a Definition of Democracy
- b. Idealism embodied, or a cheap mechanism for the resolution of violence?
- c. The Conflict of Factions: The Clash of Ambitions and Pluralism
- d. Problems of the propertied minority
- e. Toward a New Science of Politics

Required Reading:

The Federalist Papers, Bantam Edition

Recommended Reading.

Anthony King, *The Founding Fathers v. The People: The Paradoxes of American*

Democracy, Harvard University Press, 2012
Lisa Anderson, ed., *Transitions to Democracy*, Columbia, 1999
Theodore K. Rabb and Ezra Suleiman, eds., *The Making and Unmaking of Democracy: Lessons From History and World Politics*, Routledge, 2003
Timothy K. Kuhner, *Capitalism V. Democracy: Money in Politics and the Free Market Constitution*, Stanford Law Books, 2014

Supplementary Reading:

Harold L. Wilensky, *Rich Democracies: Political Economy, Public Policy, and Performance*, California, 2002
Gerard Dumenil and Dominique Levy, *Capital Resurgent: Roots of the Neoliberal Revolution*, Harvard, 2004
Daniel N. Posner, *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*, Cambridge, 2005
Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, *Ruling America: A History of Wealth and Power in a Democracy*, Harvard, 2005
Walter F. Murphy, *Constitutional Democracy: Creating and Maintaining a Just Political Order*, Johns Hopkins, 2007
Jason K. Stearns, *Dancing in the Glory of Monsters: The Collapse of the Congo and The Great War of Africa*, Public Affairs, 2011
William J. Dobson, *The Dictator's Learning Curve: Inside the Global Battle for Democracy*, Doubleday, 2012
Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Alastair Smith, *The Dictator's Handbook: Why Bad Behavior is Almost Always Good Politics*, Public Affairs, 2012

II. Fear of Equality; A Conservative Approach.

- a. Barriers to the Tyranny of the Prince
- b. Terror and Tranquility; The Psychological and Social Under-pinning's of Society
- c. Feudalism and Democracy Compared
- d. The "Key" of History and Historical Development
- e. Public Opinion and the Tyranny of the Majority

Core Reading:

De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Vol.1, Vintage

Recommended Reading.

Claudia, Koonz, *The Nazi Conscience*, Harvard, 2006
William Easterly, *The Tyranny of Experts: Economists, Dictators, and the Forgotten Rights of the Poor*, Basic Books, 2013

Supplementary Reading.

David Coates, *Models of Capitalism: Growth and Capitalism in the Modern Era*, Polity, 2000

Layna Mosley, *Global Capital and National Governments*, Cambridge, 2003
Diana Coyle, *Paradoxes of Prosperity: Why the New Capitalism Benefits All*, Texere, 2001
Jens Borchert and Jurgen Zeiss, eds., *The Political Class in Advanced Democracies*, Oxford, 2003
Yi Feng, *Democracy, Governance, and Economic Performance: Theory and Evidence*, MIT, 2003
John M. Headley, *The Europeanization of the World: On the Origins of Human Rights and Democracy*, Princeton University Press, 2008
Staffan I. Lindberg and John F. Clark, "Does Democratization Reduce the Risk of Military Interventions in Politics in Africa", *Democratization*, 15:1, 86-105, 2008
Steven J. Brams, *Mathematics and Democracy: Designing Better Voting and Fair-Division Procedures*, Princeton, 2008
Francis Fukuyama et al., *Poverty, Inequality and Democracy*, Johns Hopkins, 2012
Charles Murray, *Coming Apart: The State of White America, 1960-2010*, Crown, 2012
Meredith Rolfe, *Voter Turnout: A Social Theory of Political Participation*, Cambridge, 2012

III. The Original Transitions to democracy and the inherent loss of liberty?

- a. Schumpeter's creative destruction
- b. The Structural limits on Democracy in Capitalist Development?
- c. Why creation of the "private sphere" was a deprivation of liberty
- d. Democracy and women

Core reading:

Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Democracy Against Capitalism*, Cambridge University Press, 1995

Recommended Reading:

Ian Shapiro, *The State of Democratic Theory*, Princeton, 2006
Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Cambridge, 2006
Paul Amar, *The Security Archipelago, Human Security States, Sexuality Politics and the End of NeoLiberalism*, Duke, 2013

Supplementary reading:

Samuel Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, Yale
Renske Doorenspleet, "Reassessing the Three Waves of Democratization", *World Politics*, April 2000
Adam Przeworski, et al., *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*, Cambridge.
James Buchanan and Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent*, University of Michigan Press.
Michael Burawoy, *Manufacturing Consent*, University of Chicago Press.
Robert Dahl, *A Preface to Economic Democracy*, University of California Press.
Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man*, Doubleday.
Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Development*, Beacon Press.
Guillermo O'Donnell, and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule*, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Clauss Offe, *Disorganized Capitalism*, MIT Press.

Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action*, Harvard University Press.

Adam Przeworski, *Capitalism and Social Democracy*, Cambridge University Press.

Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, socialism and Democracy*, Harper Brothers.

Ashutosh Varshney, *Democracy, Development, and the Countryside*, Cambridge.

Paul D. Hutchcroft, *Booey Capitalism: The Politics of Banking in the Philippines*, Cornell

Peter A. Hall and David Soskice, eds., *Varieties of Capitalism: The Institutional Foundations of Comparative Advantage*, Oxford, 2001

Peter A. Swenson, *Capitalists Against Markets*, Oxford, 2002

Marjorie Kelly, *The Divine Right of Capital: Dethroning the Corporate Aristocracy*, BK, 2003

Atul Kohli, *State Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*, Cambridge, 2004

Victor Nee and Richard Swedberg, eds., *The Economic Sociology of Capitalism*, Princeton, 2005

Douglass C. North, *Understanding the Process of Economic Change*, Princeton, 2005

Peter Baldwin, *Disease and Democracy: The Industrialized World Faces AIDs*, California, 2005

Paul R. Verkuil, *Outsourcing Sovereignty: Why Privatization of Government Functions Threatens Democracy and What We Can Do About It*, Cambridge, 2007

Ilan Peleg, *Democratizing the Hegemonic State: Political Transformation in the Age of Identity*, Cambridge, 2007

John A. Booth & Mitchell A. Seligson, *The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support and Democracy in Eight Nations*, Cambridge, 2009

Quan Li and Rafael Reuveny, *Democracy and Economic Openness in an Interconnected System*, Cambridge, 2009

Nathan J. Brown, ed., *The Dynamics of Democratization: Dictatorship, Development and Diffusion*, Johns Hopkins, 2011

Emily Beaulieu, *Electoral Protest and Democracy in the Developing World*, Cambridge, 2014

IV Democracy With Faith in the People

- a. Why democracies choose bad policies?
- b. The American voter revisited
- c. Just how stupid are we?
- d. Bad voters or bad money?
- e. "We the people" are irrational.

Core Reading.

Danny Openheimer and Mike Edwards, *Democracy Despite Itself: Why a System That Shouldn't Work at All Works So Well*, MIT Press, 2012

Recommended Reading.

Bryan Caplan, *The Myth of The Rational Voter: Why Democracies Choose Bad Policies*, Princeton University Press, 2007

Leslie McCall, *The Undeserving Rich: American Beliefs About Inequality, Opportunity and*

Redistribution, Cambridge, 2013

Supplementary Reading.

- Brian C. Anderson, *Democratic Capitalism and Its Discontents*, ISI Books, 2007
- Michael S. Lewis-Beck et al., *The American Voter Revisited*, University of Michigan Press, 2008
- Rick Shenkman, *Just How Stupid Are We? Facing the Truth About the American Voter*, Basic Books, 2008
- Elke Zuern, *The Politics of Necessity: Community Organizing and Democracy in South Africa*, Wisconsin, 2011
- John Marsh, *Class Dismissed: Why We Cannot Teach or Learn Our Way Out of Inequality*, MR Press, 2011
- Matthew Lange, *Educations in Ethnic Violence: Identity, Educational Bubbles and Resource Mobilization*, Cambridge, 2012
- Alfio Mastropaolo, *Is Democracy a Lost Cause? Paradoxes of an Imperfect Invention*, ECPR, 2012
- Linda Weiss, *America Inc?: Innovation and Enterprise in the National Security State*, Cornell, 2014

V Unequal Democracy: Those who live poor and die young

- a. Escalating economic inequality: Partisan political economy
- b. Democracy and Institutions: The degree of Government
- c. In search of the working class
- d. Do Americans care about inequality
- e. Political representation: Who governs?

Core Reading:

- Larry M. Bartels, *Unequal Democracy: The Political Economy of the Gilded Age*, Princeton, 2008

Recommended Reading.

- Jonas Pontusson, *Inequality and Prosperity: Social Europe Vs. Liberal America*, Cornell, 2005
- Angus Deaton, *The Great Escape: Health, Wealth, And the Origins of Inequality*, Princeton, 2013

Supplementary Reading.

- Julian Le Grand and Saul Estrin, eds., *Market Socialism*, Oxford
- Harvey Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, Monthly Review Press.
- David Miller, *Market, State and Community: Theoretical Foundations of Market Socialism*, Oxford

Jon Elster and Karl Ove Moene, eds., *Alternatives to Capitalism*, Cambridge University Press.

John E. Roemer, *A Future for Socialism*, Harvard University Press.

Anthony Giddens, *Beyond Left and Right: The Future of Radical Politics*, Stanford

Geoffrey Garrett, *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy*, Cambridge.

Carles Boix, *Political Parties, Growth and Equality*, Cambridge.

Paul Pierson, *Dismantling the Welfare State?*, Cambridge.

Katherine Verdery, *What Was Socialism, and What Comes Next?*, Princeton

Juan J. Linz, *Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes (With a Major New Introduction)*, Lynne Reinner.

Tatu Vanhanen, *Prospects of Democracy: A Study of 172 Countries*, Routledge

James G. March and Johan P. Olsen, *Democratic Governance*, The Free Press.

Bo Rothstein, *Just Institutions Matter: The Moral and Political Logic of the Universal Welfare State*, Cambridge

Kathleen Thelen, *How Institutions Evolve: The Political Economy of Skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan*, Cambridge, 2004

Douglas S. Massey, *Categorically Unequal: The American Stratification System*, Russell Sage, 2007

Nancy Rosenblum, *On the Side of Angels: An Appreciation of Parties and Partisanship*, Princeton, 2008

Ethan H. Shagan, *The Rule of Moderation: Violence, Religion and the Politics of Restraint in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, 2011

Jon Elster, *Securities Against Misrule: Juries, Assemblies, Elections*, Cambridge, 2013

VI. Economic Inequality and Political Power

- a. Rise of Disaster Capitalism?
- b. Surviving democracy: terror and law
- c. Homeland security
- d. A corporatist state?

Core Reading.

Martin Gilens, Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America, Princeton, 2012

Recommended Reading.

Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*, Henry Holt, 2004

James Gustave Speth, *The Bridge at the Edge of the World: Capitalism, The Environment, and Crossing from Crisis to Sustainability*, Yale, 2008

Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine*, Holt, 2008

Scott Mainwaring and Anibal Perez-Linan, *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival and Fall*, Cambridge, 2013

Supplementary Reading.

- Ross Zucker, *Democratic Distributive Justice*, Cambridge, 2001
- Bruno Amable, *The Diversity of Modern Capitalism*, Oxford, 2003
- Lee Drutman and Charlie Gray, *The People's Business: Controlling Corporations and Restoring Democracy*, BK, 2004
- Guillermo O'Donnell et al., *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications*, Notre Dame, 2004
- John Keane, *Violence and Democracy*, Cambridge, 2004
- James Lardner and David A. Smith, eds., *Inequality Matters: The Growing Economic Divide in America and Its Poisonous Consequences*, The New Press, 2005
- Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge, 2005
- Andrew Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanization, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam*, Ohio, 2005
- Georg Menz, *Varieties of Capitalism and Eurponization: National Response Strategies the the Single European Market*, Oxford, 2005
- Jeffrey A. Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*, Norton, 2006
- J.K. Gibson-Graham, *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy*, Minnesota, 2006
- J.K. Gibson-Graham, *A Post-Capitalist Politics*, Minnesota, 2006
- Kevin Phillips, *Wealth and Democracy: A Political History of the American Rich*, Broadway Books, 2002
- Jeffrey D. Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time*, Penguin, 2005
- William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden*, Penguin, 2006
- Chalmers Johnson, *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic*, Holt, 2006, 2008
- Kevin Phillips, *Bad Money: Reckless Finance, Failed Politics, and the Global Crisis of American Capitalism*, Viking, 2008
- Hanna Lerner, *Making Constitutions in Deeply Divided Societies*, Cambridge, 2011
- Timothy Mitchell, *Carbon Democracy: Political Power In the Age of Oil*, Verso, 2011
- Antonio Giustozzi, *The Art of Coercion: The Primitive Accumulation and Management of Coercive Power*, Columbia, 2011
- Rebecca MacKinnon, *Consent of the Networked: The Worldwide Struggle for Internet Freedom*, Basic Books, 2012

VII. Oligarchy?

- a. Ruling oligarchies
- b. The material foundations of oligarchy
- c. From civil war to democracy
- d. Aren't oligarchies anachronistic and incompatible with Democracy?
- e. Forging Democracy From Below

Core reading:

Jeffrey A. Winters, *Oligarchy*, Cambridge University Press, 2011

Recommended reading:

Elizabeth Jean Wood, *Forging Democracy From Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*, Cambridge, 2000

Mike McGovern, *Making War in Cote d'Ivoire*, University of Chicago Press, 2011

Leonardo R. Arriola, *Multiethnic Coalitions in Africa: Business Financing of Opposition Election Campaigns*, Cambridge, 2013

Supplementary reading:

Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*, Routledge

Bruce Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies*, Princeton

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System, Volume I, Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, Academic Press.

Robert A. Packenham, *The Dependency Movement*, Harvard

Robert Wade, *Governing the Market: Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*, Princeton University Press.

Thomas Ertman, *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge University Press.

Max Neiman, *Defending Government: Why Big Government Works*, Prentice-Hall.

Niall Ferguson, *The Cash Nexus: Money and Power in the Modern World, 1700-2000*, Basic Books.

Fiona McGillivray, *Privileging Industry: The Comparative Politics of Trade and Industrial Policy*, Princeton, 2004

Richard A. Wilson, *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*, Cambridge, 2001

Ashwin Desai, *We Are the Poors: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, Monthly Review, 2002

M. Anne Pitcher, *Transforming Mozambique: The Politics of Privatization, 1975-2000*, Cambridge, 2002

Evan S. Lieberman, *Race and Regionalism in the Politics of Taxation in Brazil and South Africa*, Cambridge, 2003

Helen E. Purkitt and Stephen F. Burgess, *South Africa's Weapons of Mass Destruction*, Indiana, 2005

Jeremy Seekings and Nicoli Nattrass, *Class, Rule, and Inequality in South Africa*, Yale, 2005

Michael Bratton et al., *Public Opinion, Democracy and Market Opinion in Africa*, Cambridge, 2005

Hamideh Sedghi, *Women and Politics in Iran: Veiling, Unveiling, and Reveiling*, Cambridge, 2007

Linda J. Beck, *Brokering Democracy in Africa: The Rise of Clientelist Democracy in Senegal*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008

Mahmood Mamdani, *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics and the War on Terror*, Pantheon, 2009

Thomas B. Pepinsky, *Economic Crisis and the Breakdown of Authoritarian Regimes: Indonesia and Malaysia in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge, 2009

Staffan I. Lindberg, ed., *Democratization by Elections: A New Method of Transition*, Johns Hopkins, 2009

Kathleen M. Fallon, *Democracy and the Rise of Women's Movements in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Johns Hopkins, 2008

Jan Teorell, *Determinants of Democratization: Explaining Regime Change in the World, 1972-2006*, Cambridge, 2010

Andrew Reynolds, *Designing Democracy in a Dangerous World*, Cambridge, 2011

Kimberly Marten, *Warlords: Strong-Arm Brokers in Weak States*, Cornell, 2012

VIII. The Fair Society

- a. The price of inequality
- b. Social capital and trust
- c. Democracy and the market
- d. America's one per cent problem

Core reading:

Joseph Stiglitz, *The Price of Inequality*, W.W.Norton, 2012

Recommended reading:

Richard Wilkinson and Kate Pickett, *The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger*, Bloomsbury, 2009, paper 2011

Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton, 1993

Sakia Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights, From Medieval to Global Assemblages*, Princeton, 2006

Charles Tilly, *Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, 2007

Catherine Boone, *Property and Political Order in Africa*, Cambridge, 2014

Supplementary reading:

Peter L. Berger, *The Capitalist Revolution*, HarperCollins.

Paul Baran, *The Political Economy of Growth*, Monthly Review Press.

Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD990--1990*, Basil Blackwell.

Morton J. Horwitz, *The Transformation of American Law, 180-1960*, Oxford.

Ernest Mandel, *Power and Money*, Verso.

Robert L. Heilbroner, *The Nature and Logic of Capitalism*, W.W.Norton.

Forrest D. Colburn, *The Vogue of Revolution in Poor Countries*, Princeton University Press.

Alain Touraine, *What is Democracy?*, Westview.

Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood*, Cambridge.

Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed*, Cambridge.

Deepa Narayan et al, *Voices of the Poor: Crying Out for Change*, Oxford University Press.

Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, Simon & Schuster.

Julian Le Grand and Saul Estrin, eds., *Market Socialism*, Oxford University Press.

Harvey Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*, Monthly Review Press.

David Miller, *Market, State and Community: Theoretical Foundations of Market Socialism*, Oxford

J.Rogers Hollingsworth & Robert Boyer, eds., *Contemporary Capitalism: The Embeddedness of Institutions*, Cambridge University Press.

Jose Antonio Cheibub, *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*, Cambridge, 2007

Robert H. Bates, *When Things Fell Apart: State Failure in Late-Century Africa*, Cambridge 2008

Jon Kraus, Ed., *Trade Unions and the Coming of Democracy in Africa*, Palgrave, 2008

Susanna D. Wing, *Constructing Democracy in Transitioning Societies of Africa: Constitutionalism and Deliberations in Mali*, Palgrave, 2008

Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Freefall: America, Free Markets, and the Sinking of the World Economy*, W.W. Norton, 2010

Raghuram G. Rajan, *Fault Lines: How Hidden Fractures Still Threaten the World Economy*, Princeton, 2010

Terrence Casey, ed., *The Legacy of the Crash: How the Financial Crisis Changed America and Britain*, Palgrave, 2011

Peter Corning, *The Fair Society: The Science of Human Nature and the Pursuit of Social Justice*, Chicago, 2011

Charles Kenny, *Getting Better: Why Global Development is Succeeding*, Basic Books, 2011

James K. Galbraith, *Inequality and Instability: A Study of the World Economy Just Before the Great Crisis*, Oxford, 2012

IX. Democracy, Capitalism and Financialization

- a. Why is there inequality?
- b. Financial crisis, Government actions and public reactions.
- c. Is the return on capital inherently exploitative?
- d. Beyond the Multi-National Corporation

Core reading:

Thomas Piketty, *Capital in the 21st Century*, Harvard University Press, 2014

Recommended Reading:

Timothy Noah, *The Great Divergence: America's Growing Inequality Crisis and What We Can Do About It*, Bloomsbury, 2012

William K. Tabb, *The Restructuring of Capitalism in Our Time*, Columbia University Press, 2012

Katleen, Thelen, *Varieties of Liberalization and the New Politics of Social Solidarity*, Cambridge, 2014

Supplementary reading:

John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State 1688-1783*, Harvard
 Susan Strange, *Mad Money: When Markets Outgrow Governments*, University of Michigan Press.
 Susan Strange, *The Retreat of the State*, Cambridge.
 Thomas Risse-Kappen, *Cooperation Among Democracies*, Princeton.
 Spencer R. Weart, *Never At War: Why Democracies Will Not Fight One Another*, Yale.
 John Gray, *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism*, New Press.
 Robert Vitalis, *When Capitalists Collide: Business Conflict and the End of Empire in Egypt*,
 California.
 Hendrik Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors*, Princeton..
 Robert William Fogel, *The Escape from Hunger and Premature Death, 1700-2100*, Cambridge,
 2004
 Robert J. Shiller, *The New Financial Order: Risk in the 21st Century*, Princeton, 2003
 Edward LiPuma and Benjamin Lee, *Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk*, Duke,
 2004
 Timothy B. Smith, *France In Crisis: Welfare, Inequality and Globalization Since 1980*,
 Cambridge, 2004
 David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford, 2005
 Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism As Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty*, Duke, 2006
 Jim O'Neill, *The Growth Map: Economic Opportunity in the Brics and Beyond*, Penguin, 2011
 Pepper D. Culpepper, *Quiet Politics and Business Power: Corporate Control in Europe and
 Japan*, Cambridge, 2011
 Cathie Jo Martin and Duane Swank, *The Political Construction of Business Interests:
 Coordination, Growth, and Equality*, Cambridge, 2012
 Paul Krugman, *End This Depression Now!*, W.W. Norton, 2012

X. Nationalism, Ethnicity, Mass Participation and Democracy

- a. Can democracy lead to genocide?
- b. Ethnicity in comparative perspective
- c. De Tocqueville's totalitarian vision
- d. Equity and development

Core reading:

Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge, 2005

Recommended reading:

Jack Snyder, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*, W.W.
 Norton.

Sheila Carapico, *Political Aid and Arab Activism: Democracy Promotion, Justice, and
 Representation*, Cambridge, 2014

Supplementary reading:

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*,

Princeton University Press.

Gregory Jusdanis, *The Necessary Nation*, Princeton.

Stephan Haggard, *Pathways From the Periphery*, Cornell

Catherine Boone, *Merchant Capital and the Roots of State Power in Senegal, 1930-1985*, Cambridge.

Theodore K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford University Press.

Roderic A. Camp, *Entrepreneurs and Politics in Twentieth Century Mexico*, Oxford

Leigh A. Payne, *Brazilian Industrialists and Democratic Change*, Johns Hopkins

Seymour Drescher, *Capitalism and Antislavery*, Oxford

Jane Duckett, *The Entrepreneurial State in China*, Routledge.

Dorothy J. Solinger, *Contesting Citizenship in Urban China*, University of California Press.

Eduardo Silva, *The State and Capital in Chile*, Westview.

William Muraskin, *The Politics of International Health*, SUNY Press.

Neil Gregor, *Daimler-Benz in the Third Reich*, Yale.

Robin Luckam & Gordon White, *Democratization in the South*, Manchester University Press.

Rose Brady, *Kapitalism: Russia's Struggle to Free its Economy*, Yale.

Anatol Lieven, *Chechnya: Tombstone of Russian Power*, Yale.

Stephen Handelman, *Comrade Criminal: Russia's New Mafiya*, Yale

Yitzhak M. Brudny, *Reinventing Russia: Russian Nationalism and the Soviet State, 1953-1991*, Harvard University Press.

Donald L. Donham, *Marxist Modern: An Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*, California.

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go To War*, Harvard, 2005

Peter A. Gourevitch and James Shinn, *Political Power and Corporate Control: The New Global Politics of Corporate Governance*, Princeton, 2005

Moses Naim, *Illicit: How Smugglers, Traffickers, and Copycats are Hijacking the Global Economy*, Doubleday, 2005

Youngping Wu, *A Political Explanation of Economic Growth: State Survival, Bureaucratic Politics, and Private Enterprises in the Making of Taiwan's Economy, 1950-1985*, Harvard, 2005

Diana Haughney, *Neoliberal Economics, Democratic Transition, And Mapuche Demands for Rights in Chile*, University of Florida Press, 2006

Francois Pierre-Louis, Jr., *Haitians in New York City: Transnationalism and Hometown Associations*, University of Florida Press, 2006

Misha Glenny, *McMafia: A Journey Through the Global Criminal Underworld*, Knopf, 2008

Morton H. Halperin, Joseph T. Siegle, and Michael M. Weinstein, *The Democratic Advantage: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace*, Routledge, 2004, revised ed. 2010

Cornelia Woll, *The Power of Inaction: Bank Bailouts in Comparison*, Cornell, 2014

XI. Competitive Authoritarianism

- a. No Bourgeoisie, No Democracy?
- b. Organizational power of incumbents
- c. International linkages

d. Aren't all political systems authoritarian?

Core reading:

Steven Levitsky and Lucian A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism*, Cambridge, 2010

Recommended reading:

Dietrich Rueschmeyer et al., *Capitalist Development and Democracy*, University of Chicago Press

Nancy Bermeo, *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times: The Citizenry and the Breakdown of Democracy*, Princeton, 2003

Eva Bellin, *Stalled Democracy: Capital, Labor, and the Paradox of State-Sponsored Development*, Cornell, 2002

Lars-erick Cederman et al, *Inequality, Grievances and Civil War*, Cambridge, 2013

Supplementary reading:

John Bowman, *When Workers Organize Capitalists*, Cambridge University Press.

Rheinhard Bendix, *Nation Building and Citizenship*, John Wiley & Sons.

Gosta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Princeton University Press.

Charles Lindblom, *Politics and Markets*, Basic Books.

Karl Polyani, *The Great Transformation*, Rhinehart.

Torben Iversen, et al., *Unions, Employers, and Central Banks*, Cambridge.

Sylvia Maxfield & Ben Ross Schneider, eds., *Business and the State in Developing Countries*, Cornell.

Ronald Wintrobe, *The Political Economy of Dictatorship*, Cambridge.

Terry Lynn Karl, *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*, California.

Bruce Rich, *Mortgaging the Earth: The World Bank, Environmental Impoverishment, and the Crisis of Development*, Beacon Press.

Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System, Volume I, Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, Academic Press.

Robert A. Packenham, *The Dependency Movement*, Harvard.

Jennifer A. Widner, ed., *Economic Change and Political Liberalization in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Johns Hopkins

Carles Boix, *Democracy and Redistribution*, Cambridge, 2003

Bruce J. Dickenson, *Red Capitalists in China: The Party, Private Entrepreneurs, and Prospects for Political Change*, Cambridge, 2003

Yan Sun, *Corruption and Market in Contemporary China*, Cornell, 2004

Susan Greenhalgh and Edwin A. Winckler, *Governing China's Population: From Leninist to Neoliberal Biopolitics*, Stanford, 2005

Torben Iversen, *Capitalism, Democracy, and Welfare*, Cambridge, 2005

Mary Elizabeth Gallagher, *Contagious Capitalism: Globalization and the Politics of Labor in China*, Princeton, 2005

Kellee S. Tsai, *Capitalism Without Democracy: The Private Sector in Contemporary China*,

Cornell, 2007

Jianjun Zhang, *Marketization and Democracy in China*, Routledge, 2008

Devra C. Moehler, *Distrusting Democrats: Outcomes of Participatory Constitution Making*, University of Michigan, 2008

Ian Shapiro et al, *Political Representation*, Cambridge, 2010

Timothy Frye, *Building States and Markets After Communism: The Perils of Polarized Democracy*, Cambridge, 2010

Stuart N. Soroka and Christopher Wlezien, *Degrees of Democracy: Politics, Public Opinion, and Policy*, Cambridge, 2010

Merike Blofield, ed., *The Great Gap: Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution in Latin America*, The Penn State Press, 2011

Andrew C. Mertha, *China's Water Warriors: Citizen Action and Policy Change*, Cornell, 2008

Andrew J. Nathan, Larry Diamond and Mark Patner, eds., *Will China Democratize?*, Johns Hopkins, 2013

Kathryn Stoner and Michael McFaul, eds., *Transitions to Democracy: A Comparative Perspective*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013

XII. Globalization? Why Does Democracy Come in Waves?

a. Organizational Development

b. What do the revolutions of 1848 and the Arab Spring have in common in their failures

c. Political Regime Contention

d. The new world of terror

e. Cognitive Shortcuts

Core Reading.

Kurt Weyland, *Making Waves: Democratic Contention in Europe and Latin America Since the Revolution of 1848*, Cambridge University Press, 2014

Recommended Reading.

Wael Ghonim, *Revolution 2.0: The Power of the People is Greater than The People in Power*, Houghton Mifflin, 2012

Elizabeth Schmidt, *Foreign Intervention In Africa: From the Cold War to the War on Terror*, Cambridge, 2013

Jocelyne Cesari, *The Awakening of Muslim Democracy: Religion, Modernity and the State*, Cambridge, 2014

Supplementary Reading.

Ernst Fraenkel, *The Dual State: A Contribution to the Theory of Dictatorship*, Oxford, 1941

Franz Neumann, *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism 1933-1944*, Harper, 1966

David Abraham, *The Collapse of the Weimar Republic*, Princeton, 1981

Henry Ashby Turner, *German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler*, Oxford, 1987

- Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *State Failure and State Weakness in a Time of Terror*, Brookings, 2003
- Robert I. Rotberg, ed., *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*, Princeton, 2004
- Paul Farmer, *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor*, California, 2005
- John Ehrenberg, *Servants of Wealth: The Right's Assault on Economic Justice*, Roman&Littlefeld, 2006
- Isabela Mares, *Taxation, Wage Bargaining and Unemployment*, Cambridge, 2006
- Ronald Dworkin, *Is Democracy Possible Here? Principles for a New Political Debate*, Princeton, 2006, 2008
- Hugh Wilford, *The Mighty Wurlitzer: How the CIA Played America*, Harvard, 2008
- Susan H. Williams, *Constituting Equality: Gender Equality and Comparative Constitutional Law*, Cambridge, 2009
- Dan Slater, *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*, Cambridge, 2010
- Abhijit V. Banerjee and Esther Duflo, *Poor Economics: A Radical Rethinking of the Way to Fight Global Poverty*, Public Affairs, 2011
- Rebecca M. Blank, *Changing Inequality*, University of California, 2011
- Peter Custers, *Capital Accumulation and Women's Labor in Asian Economies*, MR Press, 1997, revised ed., 2012
- Stephen Ellis, *Season of Rains; Africa in the World*, Chicago, 2012
- Michael Herz and Peter Molnar, eds., *The Content and Context of Hate Speech*, Cambridge, 2012
- Emily Parker, *Now I Know Who My Comrades Are: Voices from the Internet Underground*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014

- XIII. Modern Democracy and the Potential of Totalitarianism
- a. Civil Society, Institutionalization, and Neo-Liberalism
 - b. Deepening democracy
 - c. Democracy as the creation of reasonable political leaders
 - d. The logic of political survival
 - e. Surveillance, Privacy and the Dark Side of the Internet

Core reading:

Sheldon S. Wolin, *Democracy Inc.: Managed Democracy and the Specter of Inverted Totalitarianism*, Princeton, 2008

Recommended reading:

Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of how the war on terror turned into a war on American Ideals*, Doubleday, 2008

Glenn Greenwald, *With Liberty and Justice for Some, How the Law Is Used to Destroy Equality and Protect the Powerful*, Picador, 2011, 2012

Ronald J. Deibert, *Black Code: Surveillance, Privacy and the Dark Side of the Internet*,

expanded edition, Signal, 2013

Supplementary reading:

- John R. Freeman, *Democracy and Markets*, Cornell University Press.
- Peter Katzenstein, *Small States in World Markets*, Cornell University Press.
- Ralph Miliband, *The State in Capitalist Society*, Weidenfeld & Nelson.
- James O'Connor, *The Fiscal Crisis of the State*, St. Martin's Press.
- Nicos Poulantzas, *Political Power and Social Classes*, New Left Books.
- Joseph V. Femia, *Marxism and Democracy*, Oxford University Press.
- John Keane, *Civil Society: Old Images, New Visions*, Stanford.
- Eric R. Wolfe, *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis*, California.
- Mark E. Warren, *Democracy and Association*, Princeton
- Andrew Arato, *Civil Society, Constitution, and Legitimacy*, Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, et al., *The Logic of Political Survival*, MIT, 2003
- John Markoff, *Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change*, Pine Forge, 2003
- Oscar Olivera, *Cochabamba: Water War in Bolivia*, South End, 2004
- Jeffrey Rothfeder, *Every Drop For Sale*, Penguin, 2004
- J. Patrice McSherry, *Predatory States: Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*, Rowman and Littlefield, 2005
- Meredith L. Weiss, *Protest and Possibilities: Civil Society and Coalitions For Political Change in Malaysia*, Stanford, 2006
- Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Clash Within: Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future*, Harvard, 2007
- Larry Diamond, *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Democracy Throughout the World*, Times Books, 2008
- David Hulme, *Global Poverty: How Global Governance is Failing the Poor*, Routledge, 2010
- Luis Cabrera, *The Practice of Global Citizenship*, 2010
- Greta R. Krippner, *Capitalizing on Crisis: The Political Origins of the Rise of Finance*, Harvard, 2011
- Michael Lewis, *Boomerang: Travels in the New Third World*, W.W. Norton, 2011
- Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*, Oxford, 2012
- Cristian Vaccari, *Digital Politics in Western Democracies: A Comparative Study*, Johns Hopkins, 2013
- John Keane, *Democracy and Media Decadence*, Cambridge, 2013
- Philip Mirowski, *Never Let a Serious Crisis Go To Waste; How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Meltdown*, Verso, 2014