

**Department of Political Science McGill University**  
**Winter 2025**  
**Political Science 639**  
**Themes in Comparative Politics (Democracy and Development)**  
**Professor Juan P. Luna**  
**Office: Leacock 518**  
**Office hours: T-R: 2.30-3.30pm**  
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**Class location: LEA541, F: 2.35-5.25**

***Course Description:***

The purpose of this graduate seminar is to explore the complex relationship between capitalist development and democracy in both advanced capitalist societies and developing regions (Latin America, Asia, and Africa). This course emphasizes analyzing how macro-structural phenomena that underpin “development” and “democracy” have been examined in comparative politics, particularly through comparative historical analysis. The seminar will cover a distinct set of literatures addressing a series of crucial macro-structural processes: (1) state formation processes; (2) revolutionary movements; (3) modernization and its connections to democratization; (4) the intricate relationship between inequality and democracy; (5) the political economy of market reforms; (6) the rise of organized crime and its implications for development and democracy; (7) future challenges related to development and democracy in contemporary societies.

This course will benefit graduate students interested in broad processes of macro-political change, as well as in larger questions of social theory and how these have been tackled by both classic and emerging works in comparative historical analysis. The readings will include many core texts in the field of comparative politics, making them particularly useful for PhD students preparing for the comprehensive exam in comparative politics. While the course primarily focuses on works from political science, economics, and sociology, students from other disciplines with an interest in historical social science will also find it valuable.

***Course Requirements:***

1. This is a reading-intensive seminar. Students are expected to come to class having completed the readings in advance. The weekly reading load is substantial, as is appropriate for a graduate seminar. Students should approach the readings with the following questions in mind: (a) what is the main argument? (b) what evidence supports the argument? (c) how convincing is the argument?
2. Discussion is essential to the success of the seminar. I expect all students to come prepared to engage deeply with the works. You will gain the most from this seminar by actively participating and critically interrogating the readings.
3. For most sections, there are two required readings (underlined in the weekly schedule) for everyone. Students writing a reaction paper for each section should select one additional reading to focus on in their written response. At the end of each section, I will provide a brief introduction

to the reading list for the following week, allowing you to make an informed choice regarding the extra reading in case you are writing a reaction paper for our subsequent meeting.

4. Three short reaction papers (2,000 words each) covering one of the optional readings for a given week.

The aim of these reaction papers is not to merely summarize the argument of the chosen text, but to craft a concise analytical piece that engages your selected reading with the primary readings for each week. These papers should offer a critical examination of the material, taking into account the contrasts and similarities among the readings, any problematic issues you identify, or questions that warrant further exploration. The papers are intended to help students refine their ideas and enhance their analytical abilities. Your paper should develop a central thesis informed by your analysis of the readings. It should effectively address a topic that you find intriguing, thought-provoking, or significant. You do not need to analyze all the readings in your paper; instead, focus on one main argument that integrates and critiques several texts. Keep in mind: a strong paper presents a single thesis statement in a coherent, logical, and analytical way, while a weak paper tends to be a collection of disjointed thoughts without a clear central argument.

You may choose the week for which you will write your paper.

*Papers must be submitted to MyCourses by Thursday at 8 PM each week, the day before the seminar. I will call on students to briefly discuss their papers in class.*

5. One review essay paper of approximately 5,000 words. This paper should review a set of four works (books) related to a common substantive theme (I will provide a series of possibilities below, but I am open to discussing alternatives that align more closely with your interests). Here are some examples of how to write a review essay:

- <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/latin-american-politics-and-society/article/civil-war-legacies-the-prohibition-of-the-drug-trade-and-armed-politics-in-latin-america/0FA244196AB9E68CDF0AFFEB40718523>

-<https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/latin-american-politics-and-society/article/polarization-and-populism-in-latin-america/096DC902C8C7C92A7AA480016FC18C3B>

*Alternatively, you may choose to write a research paper on a topic related to one substantive theme addressed in the course (if you opt for this, please arrange a meeting to discuss the parameters of this alternative assignment).*

***The final paper is due by email on April 25***

***Grade Distribution:***

1. Class participation 20%
2. Five short papers 40%
3. Final paper 40%

## **Course and University Policies:**

*Integrity:* McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see [www.mcgill.ca/integrity](http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity) for more information).

*On the use of Generative AI Tools:* You may use generative artificial intelligence tools (e.g., ChatGPT, Gemini, Claude, etc.) for learning and practicing the concepts in this course, but these tools may NOT be used for completing assignments in this course. The use of these tools in assignments will be considered academic dishonesty and go through the Disciplinary Process.

*Special Needs:* As the instructor of this course, I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with us and [Student Accessibility & Achievement](#).

*Language:* In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. Note that this right applies to ALL written work that is to be graded, from one-word answers to dissertations.

*Course-Evaluations:* End-of-term course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the students' learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available on Mercury.

*MyCourses:* This course has its own website on *MyCourses*. It will be updated regularly, so you are required to check the *MyCourses* course page regularly as well.

## **Supplemental Exams and K grades (extensions after the term is over):**

- **There will be no Supplemental Exam for the course.**
- **K grades (extensions after the term is over) will not be approved, regardless of circumstances.**

## **Classroom Etiquette:**

I want to create a nice and stimulating learning environment for you and your peers. To do this, I ask that you respect a few basic ground rules:

1- I will start class on time and expect you to arrive to class on time. I make important announcements at the beginning of class. In addition, people coming in late could disrupt the Professor and their fellow students.

2- Similarly, when attending lecture, I expect you to stay until the end (if you need to leave early for some specific reason, please inform me before the lecture and sit close to the door). Lectures end when the instructor says so.

3- This is a manual note-taking lecture course. The use or display of any mobile computing or communications devices (including computers, recording devices, phones, iPads, or iPods) is strictly banned during class, except with the explicit permission of the instructor in exceptional cases.<sup>1</sup>

4- Please remember to silence or turn off your cell phones.

***Contact during the Semester:***

Feel free to email me for any minor question. For other issues and lengthier conversations, I prefer that you come to office hours. In case you need to schedule an alternative to my regular office hours, please let me know by email to find a suitable day and time.

***Reading materials:***

The reading list will be available through McGill's library services.

## Weekly Schedule

**Underlined texts are mandatory.** You should choose one additional, non-mandatory text, for the (5) weeks you are writing a reaction paper. At the end of each session, I will provide a preview of each of the additional texts available for the subsequent week, to help inform your selection of each extra text.

\*=books developed on the basis of doctoral dissertations.

### Week 1: Introduction to the class

Galor, Oded. *The Journey of Humanity: A New History of Wealth and Inequality with Implications for Our Future*. Penguin, 2023.

Turchin, P., & Nefedov, S. A. (2009). *Secular cycles*. Princeton University Press. 2009.

Scott, James. *Against the Grain*. Yale University Press. 2017.

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<sup>1</sup> There is increasing evidence that the use of laptops and other mobile devices leads to lower focus and retention of materials. They pose a distraction for both students using the devices and for the fellow students. See: <http://www.newyorker.com/tech/elements/the;case;for;banning;laptops;in;the;classroom>, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/im;banning;laptops;from;my;classroom;1468184264>, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2006.09.006>, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.compedu.2012.10.003>, <http://chronicle.com/blogPost/Students-Stop-Surfing-After/4576>, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/04/24/AR2010042402830.html>

## **Week 2: State Formation**

Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, Ad 990-1992*: Wiley-Blackwell, 1993. (chapters 1, 3, and 5 in particular).

Scott, James. *Seeing like a State*. Princeton University Press (1-84). 1998.

Grzymała-Busse, Anna M. "Sacred foundations: The religious and medieval roots of the European state." 2023

Andreas, Peter. *Smuggler nation: How illicit trade made America*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Levi, Margaret. *Of Rule and Revenue*. California University Press. 1988.

Spruyt, Hendrik. *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Ziblatt, Daniel. *Structuring the State. The Formation of Italy and Germany and the Puzzle of Federalism*. Princeton University Press, 2008.

## **Week 3: State formation in the periphery I**

Schenoni, Luis L. *Bringing war back in: Victory, defeat, and the state in nineteenth-century Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2024.\*

Mazduca, Sebastián. *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America*, Yale University Press. 2021.\*

Paglayan, Agustina. *Raised to Obey: The Rise and Spread of Mass Education*. Princeton University Press, 2024.\*

Mazduca, Sebastián L., and Gerardo L. Munck. *A middle-quality institutional trap: Democracy and state capacity in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Centeno, Miguel Angel. *Blood and debt: War and the nation-state in Latin America*. Penn State Press, 2002.

Soifer, Hillel. *State Building in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.\*

Mahoney, James. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development. Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Kurtz, Marcus. *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Saylor, Ryan. *State Building in Boom Times: Commodities and coalitions in Latin America and Africa*. Oxford University Press, 2014.\*

López-Alves, Fernando. *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America. 1810-1900*. Duke University Press, 2000.\*

#### **Week 4: State formation in the periphery (2)**

Slater, Dan, and Joseph Wong. *From Development to Democracy: The Transformations of Modern Asia*. Princeton University Press, 2022.

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

Boone, Catherine. *Political Topographies of the African State*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2003. \*

Bates, Robert H. *When Things Fall Apart: State Failure in Late 20th Century Africa*. Cambridge University Press. 2008.

Markus, Stanislav. *Property, Predation, and Protection*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.\*

Laitin, David D. *Nations, states, and violence*. Oxford University Press, 2007.  
Min, Brian. *Power and the Vote*. Cambridge University Press.

Slater, Daniel. *Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010. \*

#### **Week 5: Routes towards modern society**

Moore, Barrington Jr. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

Mickey, Robert. *Paths out of Dixie*. Princeton University Press. 2016.

Ziblatt, Daniel. *Conservative Parties and the Birth of Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. 2017.

Luebbert, Gregory. *Liberalism, Fascism, or Social Democracy. Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991. \*

Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The rise of Christian democracy in Europe*. Cornell University Press, 1996.

Lipset, Seymour Martin y Gary Marks. *It Didn't Happen Here*. Norton. 1999.

Gryzmalla-Busse, Anna. *Nations under God*. Princeton University Press. 2016.

### **Week 6: Revolutions and Civil War**

Skocpol, Theda. *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. \*

Schwartz, Rachel A. *Undermining the State from Within*. Cambridge University Press, 2023.\*

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. *Insurgent collective action and civil war in El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press, 2003. \*

Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The logic of violence in civil war*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Scott, James. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Paige, Jeffrey. *Coffee and Power*. Harvard University Press. 1998.

Daly, Sarah. *Organized Violence after Civil War*. Cambridge University Press. 2017. \*

Staniland, Paul. *Networks of Rebellion*. Cornell University Press. 2014. \*

Balcells, Laia. *Rivalry and Revenge*. Cambridge University Press. 2017. \*

### **Week 7: Modernization and Democracy**

Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber, and John Stephens. *Capitalism Development and Democracy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. *Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics*: Bombay Vakils Feffer and Simons Private, 1960.

Wiarda, Howard. "Toward a Framework for the Study of Political Change in the Iberic-Latin Tradition: The Corporative Model." *World Politics* XXV, no. 2 (1973): 206-35.

## **Week 8: Democracy and Inequality**

Ansell, Ben W., and David J. Samuels. *Inequality and democratization: an elite-competition approach*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Acemoglu, Daaron and James Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorships and Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Haggard, Stephen y Robert Kaufman. *Dictators and Democrats*. Princeton University Press. 2016.

Lynch, Julia. *Regimes of Inequality*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Boix, Charles. *Democracy and Redistribution*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Boix, Carles. *Political Order and Inequality*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

## **Week 9: Inequality, state capacity, and democracy**

Winters, Jeffrey. *Oligarchy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Stasavage, David. *The decline and rise of democracy: A global history from antiquity to today*. Princeton University Press, 2020.

Albertus, Michael. *Autocracy and Redistribution: The Politics of Land Reform*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.\*

Levitsky, Steven y Lucan Way. *Competitive Authoritarianism*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Magaloni, Beatriz. *Voting for Autocracy*. Cambridge University Press. 2006. \*

Gandhi, Jennifer. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. \*

Truex, Rory. *Making Autocracy Work*. Cambridge University Press. 2016.\*

Trejo, Guillermo. *Popular Movements in Autocracies*. Cambridge University Press. 2012. \*

## **Week 10: Modernization and Democracy in the periphery**

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique y Enzo Faletto. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2021 [1978]

Huntington, Samuel. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1968.



O'Donnell, Guillermo. "Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics." In *Promise of Development. Theories of Change in Latin America*, edited by Peter Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert. Boulder and London: Westview Press, 1986. Pp 239-275

Haggard, Stephan and Robert R. Kaufman. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Davis, Diane. *Discipline and Development*. Cambridge University Press. 2004.\*

Dunning, Thad. *Crude Democracy. Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.\*

Schneider, Ben Ross. *Hierarchical Capitalism in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Bates, Robert. *The Development Dilemma*. Princeton University Press. 2017.

### **Week 11: The political economy of market reforms in the periphery**

Silva, Eduardo, and Federico Rossi, eds. *Reshaping the political arena in Latin America: From resisting neoliberalism to the second incorporation*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018.

Etchemendy, Sebastián. *Models of economic liberalization: Business, workers, and compensation in Latin America, Spain, and Portugal*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.\*

Singh, Perna. *How solidarity works for welfare: Subnationalism and social development in India*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.\*

Fairfield, Tasha. *Private wealth and public revenue*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.\*

Pribble, Jennifer. *Welfare and party politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.\*

Campello, Daniela. *The politics of Market Discipline in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. 2015.\*

Murillo, Victoria. *Unions, Partisan Coalitions and Market Reforms in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.\*

Silva, Eduardo. *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Garay, Candelaria. *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. 2016.\*

Baker, Andy. *The Market and the Masses in Latin America Policy Reform and Consumption in Liberalizing Economies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. \*

Díaz-Cayeros et al. *The Political Logic of Poverty Relief*. Cambridge University Press. 2016.

Niedzwiecki, Sara. *Uneven social policies: The politics of subnational variation in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.\*

## **Week 12: Mafias, Democracy, and Development**

Trejo, Guillermo y Sandra Ley. *Votes, Drugs, and Violence: The Political Logic of Criminal Wars in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Feldmann, Andreas and Juan Pablo Luna. *Criminal Politics and Botched Development*. Cambridge Elements in the Politics of Development. 2023

Durán Martínez, Angélica. *The Politics of Drug Violence*. Oxford University Press. 2018. \*

Holland, Alisha C. *Forbearance as redistribution*. Cambridge University Press. 2017. \*

Lessing, Benjamin. *Making Peace in Drug Wars*. Cambridge University Press. 2018. \*

Arias, Desmond. *Criminal enterprises and Governance in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press. 2016.

Auyero, Javier. *Routine politics and violence in Argentina: The gray zone of state power*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Auyero, Javier. *Patients of the state: the politics of waiting in Argentina*. Duke University Press, 2012.

Auyero, Javier and Katherine Sobering. *The Ambivalent State: Police-Criminal Collusion at the Urban Margins*. Oxford University Press, 2019.

Caldeira, Teresa. *City of Walls*. California University Press. 2000.

## **Week 13: The future of development and democracy**

Boix, Carles. *Democratic Capitalism at the Crossroads: Technological Change and the Future of Politics*. Princeton University Press, 2019.

Choose 1 of these 4 (or 2, in case you are writing a reaction paper for this week)

Ang, Yuen Yuen. *China's gilded age: The paradox of economic boom and vast corruption*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Turchin, Peter. *End times: elites, counter-elites, and the path of political disintegration*. Penguin, 2023.

Streeck, Wolfgang. *How will capitalism end?: Essays on a failing system*. Verso Books, 2016.

Johnson, Simon, and Daron Acemoglu. *Power and progress: Our thousand-year struggle over technology and prosperity*. Hachette UK, 2023.

### **Possible “sets” for final review paper**

We can discuss other possible sets based in your interests.

### **Political development in Latin America**

Przeworski, Adam. 2009. The Mechanics of Regime Instability in Latin America. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*. Vol 1, Issue 1. 5-36.

Collier, David and Ruth Berins Collier. *Shaping the Political Arena*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. (3-39, 745-774).

Mainwaring, Scott & Aníbal Pérez-Liñan. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. 2013

Weyland, Kurt. *Making Waves*. Cambridge University Press. 2013

### **States, citizenship, and democracy**

O'Donnell, Guillermo. *Democracy, agency, and the state: Theory with comparative intent*. Oxford University Press, 2010.

Brinks, Daniel M., *The Judicial Response to Police Killings in Latin America*. Inequality and the Rule of Law. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.\*

González-Ocantos, Ezequiel. *Shifting Legal Visions*. Cambridge University Press. 2016.\*

Giraudy, Agustina. *Democrats and Autocrats: Pathways of Subnational Undemocratic Regime Continuity Within Democratic Countries*. Oxford University Press, 2015.\*

Holston, James. *Insurgent Citizenship*. Princeton University Press. 2008.

### **The “Golden Age” of welfare capitalism**

Esping Andersen, Gosta. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990. Pp. 9-78

Kitschelt, Herbert. *The Transformation of European Social Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Pp. 8-39

Kitschelt, Herbert; Lange, Peter; Marks, Gary and Stephens, John. *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999. (427-460)

Torben Iversen and David Soskice. *Democracy and Prosperity*. Princeton University Press. 2019 (capítulos 4, 5, y 6).

### **After the “Golden Age” of welfare capitalism**

Lynch, Julia. *Regimes of Inequality*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Beramendi, Pablo, et al., eds. *The Politics of Advanced Capitalism*. Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Rehm, Philipp. *Risk Inequality and Welfare States: Social Policy Preferences, Development, and Dynamics*. Cambridge University Press, 2016. \*

Thelen, Kathleen. *Varieties of liberalization and the new politics of social solidarity*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.

### **Inequality and democracy in advanced capitalist societies**

Bartels, Larry. *Unequal Democracy*. Princeton University Press, 2008.

Gilens, Martin. *Affluence and Influence*. Princeton University Press, 2013.

Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*, 2019.

Hacker, Jacob S. "Winner-Take-All Politics: How Washington Made the Rich Richer And Turned Its Back on the Middle Class." *Simon & Schuster* (2010).