Theories of Political Development
Government 778

Professor Daniel Brumberg

Time: T: 6:15-8:30 ICC 212

My Number: 7-2274; My e-mail: brumberg@.georgetown.edu

<u>Goals of and Reasons for this Course</u>

During the last decade, the world has witnessed an extraordinary series of events. From Brasilia to Warsaw, democratic forces have challenged authoritarian regimes on the left and right of the political spectrum. In some cases this trend has opened the door to the establishment of democratic governments. In other cases the weakening of authoritarian regimes has promoted the growth and political fortunes of a host of ultra-nationalist or religious-fundamentalist movements seeking to impose their own brand of authoritarianism.

How do we account for such changes? Under what conditions is it more or less likely that authoritarian regimes will be challenged and displaced by democratic movements? Why do economic development, urbanization, and education promote political stability and a common sense of identity in some cases, while in other instances such force engender sectarianism, religious bigotry and even civil war? In short, how can we make sense of the world we live in? This course explores some of these daunting questions, particularly as they relate to the challenges of "political development" and "modernization" in the Third World.

We shall see that social scientists have been wrestling with these issues for more than 4 decades. In their efforts to make sense of the confusing maze of data regarding Third World development, and in their attempts to "order" this data in a way that will make it accessible to explanation, they have developed analytical frameworks, theories or "paradigms." These frameworks have served as crucial intellectual guides for entire generations of social scientists.

Our task is twofold: First, we shall critically assess the most important analytical schools of thought that have guided the study of Third World development. These paradigms have sometimes illuminated significant social and political trends, while on other occasions they have obscured such trends. Identifying the contributions and limitations of each analytical framework is a key challenge of this class. Second, we will consider how and why these paradigms emerge, persist and eventually give way to new approaches. This process by is not solely a matter of new discoveries and advances. Theoretical approaches are influenced as much by social and political considerations, as they are by scientific factors. The second central challenge of this course is to sharpen our understanding of the diverse theoretical, philosophical and political premises that shape paradigms, and in so doing, do -- or do not -- endow them with explanatory power

Overview of the Course

Introductory Exercise: To open the course, in the Introduction we will read "blind" (ie without the aid of any particular analytical framework) a classic essay about political change in a Turkish village, written nearly fifty years ago. Today this essay may sound naive and unduly optimistic; but even those with little introduction to the study of Third World politics will sense that the conclusions derived by the author are driven by a certain set of assumptions about what "modernization" is, and what its consequences are.

Part One explores the "Liberal-Optimist" school of "modernization." This school set the research and even foreign policy agenda in the United States for more than a decade.

Part Two looks at the "Institution-Building" school of "political development." By the early seventies, proponents of this school had practically superseded their "liberal" counterparts. (In doing so, they promoted a trend in American policy towards support for authoritarian, non-communist military regimes).

Part Three considers the Marxist or "dependencia" response to the above intellectual and political trend. Students of dependency did not totally reject many of the observations made by their conservative counter-parts–rather, they attributed the phenomenon of endemic political instability in the Third World to the constraints of the international capitalist order rather than to indigenous factors such as culture or political tradition.

We shall see in Part Four that several leading proponents of dependency theory changed their theoretical and even political tune by the early to mid-eighties. In fact, the "dependencias" were the first to predict the "transition from authoritarianism." Later these leftist scholars were joined by a more traditional group of liberal scholars. Together these seemingly strange ideological bed fellows -- aided by the collapse of the Cold War and a new pragmatism in some quarters of American academia -- helped forge the present day study of democratic change.

Part Five tackles some of the problems associated with the study of democratic change and the question of ethnicity and sectarian fundamentalism -- not only in the Third World, but also in Eastern Europe.

Parts Six and Seven are in many ways a continuation of this same subject. Here, however, we will look at the question of democratic change, ethnicity and religious fundamentalism from the vantage point of the study of "historical legacies" and the "new institutionalism." These approaches emphasizes the different roles that ethnic identities and institutional legacies play in promoting or undermining democracy.

Required Readings: **(The following are available at the book store: All other readings are on** *electronic* **reserve).**

> **Christopher Clapham,** <u>**Third World Politics: An Introduction**</u> **(London: Croom Helm, 1985) pp. 39-60.**

> **Samuel Huntington,** <u>**Political Order in Changing Societies**</u> **(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968) pp. 1-39.**

> **Guillermo A. O'Donnell,** <u>**Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism**</u> **(Berkeley: University of Calif. Press, 1979).**

> **Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, (eds.),** <u>**Transitions From Authoritarian**</u> <u>**Rule**</u>**:** <u>**Comparative Perspectives**</u> **and** <u>**Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain**</u> <u>**Democracies**</u> **(Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). (2 Volumes)**

<u>**Class Assignments and Grading:**</u>

     You will write *three* **8-page essays. Depending on the readings in question, I will ask you to focus on one or two essay(s), or I will ask you to discuss a conceptual theme raised in the readings. I will also ask you to prepare a 5 page research proposal based on the readings in class. Writing this proposal will give you an opportunity to relate the readings to a research project of particular interest to you. Such a proposal might be the basis for an MA thesis, or depending where you are in your studies, in might help you take the first steps towards assembling a Ph.D. proposal. In addition, each student will be asked to present an assessment of at least one reading. This will require giving 10 to 15 minute presentation. This should** *not* **be a summary, but rather a** *critical* **analysis of the assumptions, coherence and applicability of the central arguments which underline the reading(s) in question. In essence, you will be asked to teach the class. So...don't look at me –look at your colleagues!**

Grading: **Each Review, 30 points; Class Presentations, 10 points.

Critical Reviews Assignment Schedule:			
	Assigned on:	**Due On:**	
Review 1	*September 26*	*October 6*	5 pm in my box
Review 2	*October 31*	*November 21*	5 pm in my box
Review 3	*November 28*	*December 22*	5 pm in my box
5 Page Proposal	*From the Start...*	*December 22*	5 pm in my box

INTRODUCTION: Paradigms, Political Development and Modernization

Class 1: A Short Story   *September 12*

"The Grocer and the Chief: A Parable" in Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional: Society Modernizing the Middle East (London: Glencoe Collier Macmillan, 1958) pp. 19-42.

Howard Wiarda, "Comparative Politics Past and Present," in H. Wiarda, (ed.), New Directions in Comparative Politics, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), pp. 3-25.

PART I: The "Liberal-Optimistic" School of "Modernization"

Class 2: Behavioralism and the Birth of Comparative Politics   *September 19*

Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, "Introduction and Overview" in Almond and Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little and Brown, 1966) pp. 1-41.

Seymour Martin Lipset, "Economic Development and Democracy, Chapter 11, in Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (New York: Doubleday,) pp. 46-76.

Re-read "The Grocer and the Chief" (above).

Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Participation," in Jason Finkle and Richard Gable, Political Development and Social Change (John Wiley: New York, 1966) pp. 384-902.

Recommended: Max Weber, Economy and Society Vol. 1 "Types of Legitimacy" pp. 212-241.

PART II: The "Institution Building" School

Class 3: All Good Things Do not Go Together   *September 26*
Assignment 1 due: October 6

Robert Packenham, "The Liberal Roots of the Doctrine, Chapter 3," in Packenham, Liberal America and the Third World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973) pp.

111-160.

Samuel Huntington, "Political Order and Political Decay, Chapter 1," in Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968) pp. 1- 92.

Class 4: Neo-Patrimonialism, Corporatism and Patron-Client Politics   October 3

Christopher Clapham, "The Third World State, Chapter 3," in Clapham, Third World Politics: An Introduction (London: Croom Helm, 1985) pp. 39-60.

Philippe Schmitter, "Still The Century of Corporatism?," in Schmitter et. al. Trends Toward Corporatist Intermediation (Sage, 1979) pp. 7-52.

Henry Wiarda, "Toward a Framework for the Study of Political Change in the Iberic-Latin Tradition: The Corporative Model" World Politics (Jan.1973) 25, pp. 250-278.

John Duncan Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientalist Politics" in Finkle, Political Development, pp. 519-37.

Class 5: Managing Primordial Identities & Ethnic Conflict: Contrasting Views   October 10

Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States," in Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York, Basic Books, 1973)pp. 254-310. (Re-read).

Iliya Harik: "The Ethnic Revolution in the Middle East," International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies

Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph, "Marx, Modernity and Mobilization," from Rudolphs, The Modernity of Tradition Political Development in India (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967) pp. 3-29.

_____. "The Political Role of India's Caste Associations," in Pacific Affairs Vol.23, No. 1(1960)pp. 5-22. In Claude Welch, (ed.)Political Modernization(1967) pp. 126-145.

PART III: The Dependency Explanation of "Political Decay" and Underdevelopment

Class 6: Theorizing Dependency and Autocracy: O'Donnell 1   October 17 and 24

Clapham, Third World Politics Chapter Five, "Managing the Economy" pp. 90-111.

Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Charles Wilber, <u>The Political Economy of Development and Under-Development</u> (Charles Wilber and Kenneth Jameson (eds.), (New York: McGraw-Hill) pp. 107-118.

David Collier, "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model" in Collier, <u>The New Authoritarianism in Latin America</u> (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 19-32.

O'Donnell, <u>Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism</u> pp. 1-48.

O'Donnell, <u>Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism</u> pp. 51-163.

Class 8: Corporatist Systems and Ideologies as Structural Phenomena   *October 31*

Assignment 2: Due November 21

Alfred Stepan, "Corporatism and the State, Chapter 2," in Stepan, <u>The State and Society, Peru in Comparative Perspective</u> (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978) pp. 46-98.

Youssef Cohen, <u>The Manipulation of Consent The State and Working-Class Consciousness in Brazil</u> (Pittsburgh, 1989) pp. 84-103.

<u>PART IV: The Discovery and Study of Democratic Transitions, Or how Marxists and Liberals rediscovered "objective" logic.</u>

Class 9: Rethinking The Dynamics of BA Regimes: O'Donnell (et. al.) 11   *November 7*

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Tensions in the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State and the Question of Democracy" in Collier, <u>New Authoritarianism</u> pp. 285-31.

Robert Kaufman, "Liberalization and Democratization in South America: Perspectives from the 1970s" in Guillermo O'Donnell, (ed). <u>Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives</u> (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1986) pp. 85-107.

Adam Przeworski, "Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy,"in Guillermo O'Donnell, et.al. (eds.) <u>Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives</u> (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) PP. 47-63.

Guillermo A. O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, (eds.), <u>Transitions From Authoritarian Rule Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies</u> (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986)

Class 10: Political Economy of Transitions: (Good & Bad Things Go Together?) **November 14**

Adam Przeworski, "The Games of Transition" in Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and Samuel Valenzuela, eds., <u>Issues in Democratic Consolidation</u>, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992) pp. 105-153.

Stephan Haggard&Robert Kaufman, "Economic Adjustment and the Prospects for Democracy" in Haggard and Kaufman (eds.), <u>The Politics of Economic Adjustment</u>, 319-350.

<u>PART V: Ethnicity, Fundamentalism, Power Sharing and Democracy: Rational Solutions to Irrational Politics?</u>

Class 11: Consensus Politics in "Divided Societies" *November 21*

Arend Lijphart, "Plural Societies and Democratic Regimes," in Lijphart, <u>Democracy in Plural Societies A Comparative Exploration</u> (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977) 1-52. (Take a Second Look!)

Donald Horowitz, "Democracy in Divided Societies" in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner <u>Nationalism, Ethnic Conflict and Democracy</u> (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1994).

John Waterbury, "Democracy Without Democrats? The Potential for Political Liberalization in the Middle East" in Ghassan Salame, (ed.), <u>Democracy Without Democrats? The Renewal of Politics in the Muslim World</u>, (London, I.B. Tauris: 1994), 24-47.

<u>PART VI: Historical Legacies, Path Dependency and the "New Institutionalism"</u>

Class 12: From Democratic Univeralism to Multiple Rationalities? **November 28**

Assignment 3: Due December *22*

Daniel H. Levine, "Paradigm Lost: Dependency to Democracy," <u>World Politics</u>, April 1988, No. 2, 377-94,

Frances Hagopian, "After Regime Change: Authoritarian Legacies, Political Representation, and the Democratic Future of South America," in <u>World Politics</u> Vol. 45, No. 3 April 1993, pp. 464-500.

Stephen Krasner. "Approaches to the State, Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics, *Comparative Politics*, January 1984, 223-246.

Class 13: The "New Institutionalism" (The Problem of Preferences)   December 5

March, J.G. and J.P. Olsen, "The New Institutionalism: Organizational Factors in Political Life" <u>American Political Science Review</u>, 78, pp. 734-49.

"Introduction" Walter W. Powell and Paul J. DiMaggio, (eds.), <u>The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis</u>, (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1991) pp.1-38.

Joel Migdal, "The State in Society: An Approach to Struggles for Domination," in Migdal, et. al, <u>State Power and Social Forces, Domination and Transformation in the Third World</u>, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 7-36.

Karen Remmer, "Theoretical Decay and Theoretical Development: The Resurgence of Institutional Analysis, <u>World Politics</u>, Vol. 50, October 1997, No. 1, 34-61.

Class 14: Institutionalizing Legacies, Ideologies and Bounded Rationalities I   December 12

Richard Snyder and James Mahoney, "The Missing Variable: Institutions and the Study of Regime Change," <u>Comparative Politics</u>, October 1999, 103-123.

Frances Hagopian, "Traditional politics against state formation in Brazil," in Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kholi, and Vivienne Shue, (eds.), *State Power and Social Forces*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 37-64;

_____ **"Democracy by Undemocratic Means?" Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil, <u>Comparative Political Studies</u>, Vol. 23, No. 2, July 1990, 147-170.**

Anna Seleny, "Old Rationalities and New Democracies: Compromise and Confrontation in Hungary and Poland," <u>World Politics</u>, Vol.51, No.4 July, 1999, 484-519.

Class 15: Path Dependency Versus Path Creation   December 19

Ivo Banac, "The Fearful Asymmetry of War: The Causes and Consequences of Yugoslavia's Demise" in <u>Daedalus</u>, Spring 1992 pp. 141-173.

Said Amir Arjomand, "Constitutions and the Struggle for Political Order: A Studies in the Modernization of Political Traditions" European Archives of Sociology, XXXIII,(1992) pp. 39-82.

Daniel Brumberg, "Authoritarian Legacies and Reform Strategies in the Arab World," in Rex Brynen, Baghat Korany and Paul Nobles (eds.), <u>Political Liberalization and Democratization in the Arab World</u>, (Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1995), 229-59.

Daniel Brumberg, "Dissonant Politics in Iran and Indonesia," (manuscript).

CASA, BEIT, BAYIT, CHEZ: BRUMBERG   **December ??**