

Sheri Berman  
Fall 2005  
Office hours: Tuesdays, 2-4 pm

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**Political Science G8493**  
**Political Development**  
Thursdays, 4:10-6 pm, IAB 901

Course Description: This is a graduate course in political development. It will critically analyze the theories and debates that define the field. Its goals are to encourage rigorous comparative thinking as well as prepare students for general exams and dissertation writing.

Requirements: Readings are extensive and must be done *before* each class. Each student will be required to write eight short papers (of 2-4 pages each) over the course of the term. These papers should engage the debates presented in the readings for the week. They should be thought pieces and will be used to help structure class discussions. *They must be emailed to me by the Wednesday morning before class.* The final project for the class will be a mock general exam in comparative politics. The short papers will count for 35% of the grade, class participation 25%, and the final project, 40%.

Course Readings: The following books are available for purchase at Labyrinth Books. You need not buy any of these books; all readings will be on reserve at Lehman, and many will be available via courseworks.

- Gianfranco Poggi, The Development of the Modern State
- Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities
- Eric Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780
- Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies
- Barrington Moore, Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy
- Douglass North and Robert Paul Thomas, The Rise of the Western World
- Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation
- Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work.
- David Held and Anthony McGraw, The Global Transformations Reader.

### **Week 1 (September 6): Introduction**

### **Week 2 (September 13): State Building I**

- David Held, "The Development of the Modern State," in Stuart Hall et al, eds., Modernity.
- Gianfranco Poggi, The Development of the Modern State, chapters 1-3.
- Joseph Strayer, On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State, esp. i.
- Charles Tilly, Coercion, Capital and European States, chaps. 1 and skim 3.
- Hendrik Spruyt, The Sovereign State and Its Competitors, chapters 1 and 2, at least skim 8 and 9.

### **Week 3 (Sept 20) State Building II**

- Robert Jackson and Carl Rosberg, "Sovereignty and Underdevelopment: Juridical Statehood and the African Crisis," Journal of Modern African Studies, 24, 1, 1986.
- Jeffrey Herbst, States and Power in Africa, Intro., chapters. 1 and 9 (esp. 251-257).
- Catherine Boone, Political Topographies of the African State, chapters 1, 2, and 6.
- Pierre Englebert, "Pre Colonial Institutions, Post-Colonial States, and Economic Development in Tropical Africa," Political Research Quarterly, 53, 1, March 2000.
- Sudipta Kaviraj, "A State of Contradictions: the post-colonial State in India," in Martin Doornbos and Sudipta Kaviraj, eds., Dynamics of State Formation: Europe and India Compared (London: Sage, 1998).
- Miguel Centeno, "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth Century Latin America," American Journal of Sociology, 102, 6, May 1997.

### **Week 4 (September 27): Nationalism and Identity Formation**

- John Hutchinson and Anthony Smith, eds., Nationalism: A Reader (chapters by Renan, Stalin, and Weber).
- Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, esp. pp. 1-46 (but you should really read the whole thing).
- Elie Kedourie, Nationalism, chapters 1-5, and the afterward.
- Ernest Gellner, Nationalism, especially pp. 1-30, the rest can be skimmed.
- Eric Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780, especially pp. 1-100.  
(If you are already familiar with these books, you can use Hutchinson and Smith, eds., Nationalism: A Reader which has summary chapters by most of the above. Focus on sections 2, 4, and 5.)
- David Laitin, Identity in Formation, preface and chap 1.
- Deborah Yashar, Contesting Citizenship in Latin America, chapters 1, (2 is optional), 3, 7.

### **Week 5 (October 4): The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy: Modernization Theory**

- Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, pp 31-53 or Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy," APSR, 53, 1, March 1959.
- Karl Deutsch, "Social Mobilization and Political Development," APSR, 15, 3, September, 1961.
- Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, chapters 1 and 2.
- George Gilboy and Eric Heginbotham, "China's Coming Transformation," Foreign Affairs, 80, 4, July/August 2001.
- Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi, "Modernization: Theories and Facts," World Politics, 49, January 1997.
- Carlos Boix, Democracy and Redistribution, Introduction, chapters 1 and 7.
- Michael Ross, "Does Oil Hinder Democracy?" World Politics, 53, April 2001.
- Thomas Friedman, "The First Law of Petropolitics," Foreign Policy, May/June 2006.

#### Optional:

- John Gerring, Philip Bond, William Barndt, and Carola Moreno, "Democracy and Economic Growth. A Historical Perspective," World Politics, 57, April 2005.

### **Week 6 (October 11): The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy: Critiques of Modernization Theory**

- Ralf Dahrendorf, Society and Democracy in Germany, chapters 1, 3, 4, 24.
- Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, part 1 (esp. 1-59, 78-92).
- Andre Gunder Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution, pp. 3-17 or idem "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Peter Klaren and Thomas Bossert, eds., The Promise of Underdevelopment, chap 6.
- Guillermo O'Donnell, Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism, chap. 2.
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and George Downs, "Development and Democracy," Foreign Affairs, September/October, 2005.
- Minxin Pei, "The Dark Side of China's Rise," Foreign Policy, March/April 2006. (Or: Minxin Pei, "China's Governance Crisis," Foreign Affairs, 81, 5, September/October 2002 or Shaoguang Wang, "The Problem of State Weakness," Journal of Democracy, 14, 1, January 2003.)

### **Week 7 (October 18): Barrington Moore**

- Barrington Moore, The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, read at least chapters 1, 2, 7, 8, 9.
- Theda Skocpol, "A Critical Review of Barrington Moore's Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy," Politics and Society, Fall 1973.
- Huber, Evelyne, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and John D. Stephens. "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy." The Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 7, No. 3, Summer 1993 or Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyn Huber Stephens and John Stephens, Capitalist Development and Democracy, chaps. 1-4, 7

### **Week 8 (October 25): Culture and Democracy**

- Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, chapters 1 and 15.
- Edward Banfield, The Moral Basis of a Backward Society, Intro., chapters 1 and 9 and skim 5 and 6.
- Frank Fukuyama, "Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity," in Don Eberly, eds, The Essential Civil Society Reader.
- Ronald Inglehart, Modernization and Post-Modernization, esp. chapters 1-3, 11.
- Adam Przeworski, et al, "Culture and Democracy," in Robert Dahl, Ian Shapiro and Jose Antonio Chubb, eds., The Democracy Sourcebook, pp. 181-189 (or World Culture Report: Culture, Creativity, and Markets (UNESCO 1998)).
- Barry Weingast, "The Political Foundations of Democracy and the Rule of Law," American Political Science Review, 91, 2, June 1997.

### **Week 9 (November 1): Civil Society and Democracy**

- Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work, esp. 83-91, 171-185.
- Robert Putnam, "Bowling Alone," Journal of Democracy, January 1995.  
(An excellent summary of Putnam's arguments about civil society, social capital and democracy can be found in his book, Bowling Alone, chapter 21.)
- Ashutosh Varshney, Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society, World Politics, 53, April 2001.
- James Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," American Political Science Review, 97, 1, February 2003, pp. 75-89.
- Sheri Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weimar Republic," World Politics, 49, 3, April 1997.

### **Week 10 (November 8) Revolutions**

- Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions, Introduction and Conclusion.
- Jeff Goodwin, No Other Way Out: States and Revolutionary Movements, chapters 1, 2, 9.
- Jack Goldstone, ed. Revolutions: Theoretical, Comparative and Historical Studies, chapter 2 (Huntington and Tilly), chapter 5 (Goldstone).
- William Sewell, "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case," The Journal of Modern History, 57, 1, 1985.
- Theda Skocpol, "Cultural Idioms and Political Ideologies in the Revolutionary Reconstruction of State Power," The Journal of Modern History, 57, 1, 1985.  
(The Sewell article and Skocpol's rejoinder are reprinted in Skocpol, ed., Social Revolutions in the Modern World, chapters, 7 and 8. If States and Social Revolutions was not clear to you, read chapter 4 in Social Revolutions for an excellent summary.)
- Timur Kuran, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution of 1989," World Politics, 44, 1, October 1991.

### **Week 11 (November 15): The Impact of Political Development on Economic Development I**

- Douglass North and Robert Paul Thomas, The Rise of the Western World, esp. parts one (chapters 1 and 2), three (chapters 8-12), and the epilogue. (Similar arguments can be found in North, Structure and Change in Economic History, esp. chapters 11-13, 15 and Douglass North and Robert Paul Thomas, "An Economic Theory of the Growth of the Western World," The Economic History Review, XXIII, 1, 1970.)
- Douglas North and Barry Weingast, "Constitution and Commitment: The Evolution of Institutions Governing Public Choice in Seventeenth Century England," The Journal of Economic History, XLIX, 4, December 1989
- Hilton Root, The Fountain of Privilege, Introduction, chapters 1-3, 10, 11
- Eric Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, preface-chap. 3.
- Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation, chapters 3-7, 11, 14.

### **Thanksgiving break!**

### **Week 12 (November 29) The Impact of Political Development on Economic Development II**

- William Easterly and Ross Levine, "Tropics, Germs and Crops: How Endowments Influence Economic Development," NBER working paper 9106 (for a somewhat revised version of this argument see Dani Rodrik, Arvind Subramanian and Francesco Trebbi, "Institutions Rule: The Primacy of Institutions over Geography and Integration in Economic Development," NBER working paper 9305)
- Robert Bates, Prosperity and Violence, esp chapters 2 and 6.
- Timur Koran, "The Islamic Commercial Crisis: Institutional Roots of Economic Underdevelopment in the Middle East," Journal of Economic History, 63, June 2003.
- Stanley Engerman and Kenneth Sokoloff, "Colonialism, Inequality, and Long-Run Paths of Development," NBER working paper 11057.
- Peter Evans, Embedded Autonomy, chapters 1, 3, 10.
- Atul Kohli, State-Directed Development, Introduction and Conclusion.
- Stanley Engerman and Kenneth Sokoloff, "Institutional and Non-Institutional Explanations of Economic Differences," NBER working paper 9989.

### **Week 13 (December 6): Globalization, the State and Democracy**

-David Held and Anthony McGrew, The Global Transformations Reader, chapters 11 (Strange), 12 (Mann), 16 (Slaughter), 17 (Mathews), 23 (Tomlinson), and 50 (Bull)

-John Gerard Ruggie, "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations," IO, 47, 1, Winter 1993.

-Susan Strange "The Declining Authority of States," in Susan Strange, The Retreat of the State.

-Michael Mann, "Has Globalization Ended the Rise and Rise of the Nation-State?" in Review of International Political Economy, 4, 3, Autumn 1997

-Ann-Marie Slaughter, "Governing the Global Economy through Global Networks," in M. Byers, ed., The Role of Law in International Politics and Held and McGraw, eds., chapter 16.

-Jessica Mathews, "Power Shift," Foreign Affairs, Jan.-Feb. 1997 and in Held and McGraw, chapter 17.

-Hedley Bull, The Anarchical Society: A Study in World Politics.

Michael Mann, "Nation-States in Europe and other Continents," in Gopal Balakrishnan, ed. Mapping the Nation.

-Vivien A. Schmidt, "The New World Order, Incorporated: The Rise of Business and the Decline of the Nation-State," *Daedalus*, Vol. 124, No. 2 (Spring 1995), pp. 75-106.

\* Robert O. Keohane and Helen V. Milner, eds., *Internationalization and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); chapters 1-3, 10; read other chapters according to your interests.

\* Geoffrey Garrett, *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), chapters 1, 2, 4, 6.

Jeffrey A. Frieden, "Invested Interests: The Politics of National Economic Policies in a World of Global Finance," *International Organization*, Vol. 45, No. 4, pp. 425-51.

Geoffrey Garrett and Peter Lange, "Performance in a Hostile World," *World Politics*, Vol. 38 (1986), pp. 517-45.

Peter Evans, "The Eclipse of the State? Reflections in an Era of Globalization," *World Politics*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (October 1997), pp. 62-87