

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
Department of Politics

Politics 522
Spring 2008

Politics and Modernization

Atul Kohli
323 Bendheim Hall (Office)

008 Robertson Hall
Monday: 1:30-4:30

Course Description

The great transformation of nations from agrarian to industrial political economies has always excited scholarly imagination. The industrial revolution in Western Europe – and the associated social and political changes -- provided the context for foundational scholarly debates; among others, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim debated the causes and consequences of these historical changes. In the post-WWII period scholars of a variety of persuasions (e.g. modernization, neo-Marxist, state-society, rational-choice, and culturalists and post-modernists) have continued to debate why some nations have successfully modernized and others have not, as well as the implications of these changes for politics in the developing world. These debates go deeper than disagreement over historical facts. They concern theoretical issues: what are the relevant questions to be asked and what are the appropriate units of analysis for the study of such processes of social and political change. Even more important are causal and normative issues: what forces have propelled this transformation; and who are the villains and the heroes, and the winners and losers in this dramatic transformation.

This course will provide a graduate level introduction to the theoretically guided study of modernization. The scholarly works that could be covered in such a course are rather large. I have therefore adopted several organizing principles. First, the course focuses on the comparative analyses of states, markets and social-structures in the process of development; as such this is a course in the **comparative political sociology of development and modernization**. The curriculum is designed to highlight a variety of theoretical approaches to the subject: modernization, neo-Marxist, state-society, rational choice, and what I have chosen to call the new cultural analyses. Second, the book length studies included are comparative; they analyze several cases across space and/or over time. Many of these works thus interpret both the historical transformation of Western countries and the efforts under way in the contemporary developing world. And third, scholarly works addressing political questions have been favored. Important relevant works by sociologists, historians, economists and area scholars have been left out. I have attempted to compensate for this by a recommended list of

readings. Students seriously interested in the sub-field comparative political development would do well to take cognizance of these works.

The course is structured mainly as an **introduction to some important theoretical debates in the comparative political study of development**. Both the intellectual history approach that is adopted here and the historical process of modernization provide a cohering focus for this task. All students interested in conceptualizing large scale, macro political, economic and social changes are likely to benefit.

Course Requirements

The course is designed as a reading and a discussion course. Course assignments, therefore, focus on readings and not on independent research. The following will be expected of all students:

- regular reading and seminar participation
- brief class presentations on the reading material
- short essays around reading assignments

Depending on the enrollment, the structure of written and other assignments may be modified.

Course Outline and Reading Assignments

The following books have been ordered and should be available at Labyrinth Books. You may or may not purchase them according to your interests/needs. Other assigned essays and book excerpts (i.e., those marked with an "*") will be available on the course e-reserve.

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, Verso, 1991.

Reinhard Bendix, Nation-Building and Citizenship, University of California Press, 1977.

Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy, Beacon Press, 1966.

Douglas North, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work, Princeton University Press, 1993.

Theda Skocpol, States & Social Revolutions, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Max Weber, Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, McMillan, 1958.

Session I

Intellectual foundations of theories of modernization

Main Readings:

*Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations (Book 1, Chs. 1-3 and Book 3, Ch. 1).

*Karl Marx, German Ideology, Part I. (Tucker reader pp. 110-164).

* _____, Wage Labor and Capital (Tucker reader pp. 167-190).

Max Weber, Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

* _____, "Politics as a Vocation" (in H. Gerth and C.W. Mills reader).

*Emile Durkheim, Division of Labor, esp. Book One, Chs. 1-3, 7.4 and conclusion.

Recommended Readings:

Anthony Giddens, Capitalism and Modern Social Theory.

Raymond Aron, Main Currents in Sociological Thought, 2 volumes (Chapters on Marx, Weber and Durkheim).

David McLellan, Karl Marx: A Biography, (4th ed. 2006)

Fritz Ringer, Max Weber.

Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait.

Robert Nisbet, Emile Durkheim.

Shlomo Avineri, Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx.

Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America .

T. B. Bottomore, Elites and Society (2nd ed. 1993).

Sessions II and III

The 'Modernization' Perspective

A. Tradition, Modernity and Modernization: The Foundations of a Perspective

Main Readings:

Talcott Parsons, The Social System, Chs. 1, 2 and pp. 177-201.

*Francis Sutton, "Social Theory and Comparative Politics," in Comparative Studies in Society and History, October 1959.

David McClelland, "The Achievement Motive in Economic Growth" in Jason Finkle and Richard Gable (Finkle and Gable), eds., Political Development and Social Change, pp. 83-100.

*Neil Smelser, "Mechanisms of Change and Adjustment to Change," in Finkle and Gable, pp. 27-42

*W.W. Rostow, "The Take-Off into Self Sustained Growth," The Economic Journal, 66, March 1956, pp. 25-48.

George Theodorson, "Acceptance of Industrialization and its Attendant Consequences for the Social Patterns of Non-Western Societies," American Sociological Review 18, October 1953, pp. 477-484.

Recommended Readings:

Marion J. Levy, Jr., Modernization and the Structure of Societies.

Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society.

Cyril Black, The Dynamics of Modernization.

Myron Weiner, ed., Modernization.

Jason Finkle and Richard Gable, ed., Political Development and Social Change (A very useful collection of the early modernization literature).

B. The "Political" in the process of Modernization: Democracy versus Disorder

Main Readings:

*Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, pp. 1-92.

*Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy," American Political Science Review, 53, 1959.

Recommended Readings (General):

David Apter, The Politics of Modernization.

Manfred Halpern, "The Revolution of Modernization," in Robert Jackson and Michael Stein, Issues in Comparative Politics.

Leonard Binder et. al., Crises and Sequences in Political Development.

Robert Holt and Richard Turner, The Political Basis of Economic Development.

Charles Tilly, The Formation of National States in Western Europe.

A.F.K. Organski, The Stages of Political Development.

Gabriel Almond and Gingham Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach.

A. Zolberg, Creating Political Order.

M. Janowitz, The Military in the Political Development of the New Nations.

Henry Bienen, The Military and Modernization.

Recommended Readings (Country studies):

Rajni Kothari, Politics in India.

Henry Bienen, Tanzania: Party Transformation and Economic Development.

Samuel Beer, Modern British Politics.

Frank Langdon, Politics in Japan.

C. The Critical Onslaught

Main Readings: (The critical literature here is enormous. The assigned articles capture a range of critical perspectives. For further readings follow the footnotes in these articles.)

Charles Tilly, The Formation of National States in Western Europe, Introduction and Conclusion.

*Reinhard Bendix, "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered," Comparative Studies in Society and History, April 1967 (since this is reprinted in Reinhard Bendix, Nation Building and Citizenship, 1977, it is not included in the xerox reader).

Samuel Huntington, "The Change to Change," Comparative Politics, April 1971.

*Mark Kesselman, "The Literature of Political Development as Ideology," World Politics, October 1973.

Andre Gunder Frank, "The Sociology of Development and the Underdevelopment of Sociology," Catalyst, Summer 1967.

*Tony Smith, "Requiem or New Agenda for Third World Studies?" World Politics, July 1985, pp. 532-61.

Recommended Readings:

Nancy Bermeo, Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times, 2003.

Articles by Samuel Huntington and Gabriel Almond in Samuel Huntington and Myron Weiner, eds., Understanding Political Development, 1987.

Robert Nisbet, Social Change and History.

Susanne Bodenheimer, "The Ideology of Developmentalism," Sage Professional Paper, Comparative Politics Series, V.2, 1971.

Lloyd and Susanne Rudolph, Modernity of Tradition.

Joseph Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change," in Finkle and Gable, p. 15.

D. Some Recent Restatements

Main Readings:

Robert Putnam, Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy.

*Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi. "Modernization: Theories and Facts," World Politics, January 1997, pp. 155-183.

*Samuel Huntington, The Third Wave, Chs. 1, 2 and 3.

*Lucian Pye, presidential address to APSA, 1989, in American Political Science Review, March 1990, pp. 3-19.

Recommended Readings:

Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," World Politics, 2003, v. 55, no. 3. pp. 517-49.

Ashutosh Varshney, Ethnic Conflict and Civil Life: Hindus and Muslims in India.

Adam Przeworski et al., Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World.

Gabriel Almond, A Discipline Divided.

Paul Sigmund, "Armies and Politics in Latin America." Comparative Politics, Oct. 1993, No. 1 p. 111.

Ronald Inglehart, Modernization and Postmodernization.

Sheri Berman, "Civil Society and the Collapse of the Weiner Republic," World Politics, April 1997.

Sessions IV to VI

Neo-Marxism and Capitalist Transformation

A. Class Analysis of the Modernization Process

Main Reading:

Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. (If you have already read this book carefully, you may choose to read either the Collier or the Rueschemeyer et al., volumes listed immediately below).

Recommended Readings (General):

Richard Sandbrook et.al., Social Democracy in the Global Periphery.

Catherine Boone, Political Topographies of the African State

Ruth Collier, Paths Towards Democracy.

Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Stephens and John Stephens, Capitalist Development and Democracy.

Eric Wolf, Peasant Wars in the Twentieth Century.

Perry Anderson, Lineages of the Absolutist State.

Rudolpho Stavenhagen, Social Classes in Agrarian Societies.

John M. Kautsky, The Political Consequences of Modernization.

Recommended Readings: (Some Country or Regional Studies)

Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution.

E.J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire.

E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class.

Jerome Blum, Lord and Peasant in Russia.

Peter Flynn, Brazil: A Political Analysis.

Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (in Tucker reader, pp. 436-525).

Pranab Bardhan, The Political Economy of Development in India.

Nancy Bermeo, The Revolution within the Revolution.

Deborah Yashar, Demanding Democracy.

Elizabeth Wood, Forging Democracy From Below.

B. Dependency and the Contemporary Third World

Main Readings:

i. Foundations of a Perspective

*Paul Baran, "On the Political Economy of Backwardness," The Manchester School, January 1952.

*Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," Monthly Review, September 1966.

*Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," American Economic Review, May 1970.

Celso Furtado, "The Concept of External Dependence in the Study of Underdevelopment" (mimeograph).

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Development," Comparative Politics, July 1978.

*Gabriel Palma, "Dependency: A Formal Theory of Underdevelopment or a Methodology for the Analysis of Concrete Situations of Underdevelopment?" World Development, V.6, 1978 pp. 881-924.

ii. Criticisms and Rebuttals

*Tony Smith, "The Underdevelopment of Development Literature," World Politics, 31, 2, 1979.

*Robert Kaufman et al., "A Preliminary Test of the Theory of Dependency," Comparative Politics, 7, 3, 1975.

Robert Jackman, "Dependence on Foreign Investment and Economic Growth," World Politics, January 1982.

Colin Leys, "Underdevelopment and Dependency: Critical Notes," Journal of Contemporary Asia, 7, 1, 1977.

*Fernando Cardoso, "The Consumption of Dependency Theory in the United States," Latin American Research Review, 1977, V. 12, 3, pp. 7-24.

*Peter Evans, "Class, State and Dependence in East Asia: Lessons for Latin Americanists," in Frederick Deyo, ed., The Political Economy of New Asian Industrialism, 1987.

Recommended Readings (on dependency in general or in specific regions or countries):

Alice Amsden, Escape from Empire.

Paul Baran, The Political Economy of Growth.

Andre Gunder Frank, Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution.

Samir Amin, Unequal Development.

Celso Furtado, Development and Underdevelopment: A structural View of the Problems of Developed and Underdeveloped Countries.

Fernando Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America.

Colin Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya.

Recommended Readings (related to but going beyond the dependency perspective):

Alice Amsden, The Rise of the Rest.

Alain de Janvry, The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America.

Peter Evans, Dependent Development.

Tony Smith, Imperialism.

C. World System Analysis and the Re-evaluation of European Modernization

NOTE: (Depending on how we are doing on time, we may eliminate this session)

Main Readings:

Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System III: The Second Era of Great Expansion of the Capitalist World Economy, 1730-1840s.

* _____, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis," Comparative Studies in Society and History, September 1974.

Highly Recommended:

Theda Skocpol, "Wallerstein's World Capitalist System: A Theoretical and Historical Critique," American Journal of Sociology, March 1977.

Aristide Zolberg, "Origins of the Modern World System: A Missing Link," World Politics, January 1981.

Recommended Readings:

Note: Some of the more recent literature on "Globalization" provides interesting continuities to this earlier "neo-dependency" literature.

Joseph Stiglitz, Globalization and its Discontents.

Terence Hopkins and Immanuel Wallerstein, eds., The Age of Transition: Trajectory of the World System, 1945-2025, 1997.

Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System, Vol. I and/or II.

Barbara Stallings, ed., Global Change, Regional Response, 1995.

Robert Gilpin, The Challenge of Global Capitalism.

Sessions VII to IX

The State and Social Structural Transformation

A. Authority Structures and the Establishment of a Political Community

Main Reading:

Reinhard Bendix, Nation-building and citizenship.

Recommended Readings:

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

Charles Tilly, Coercion and Capital.

Crawford Young, African Colonial State in a Comparative Perspective.

Reinhard Bendix, Kings or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule.

T.H. Marshall, Class, Citizenship and Social Development.

Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies.

Max Weber on Patrimonialism, Feudalism and the Modern State.

Felix Gilbert ed., Historical Essays of Otto Hintze.

Juan Linz, Breakdown of Democratic Regimes.

Atul Kohli, Democracy and Discontent: India's Growing Crisis of Governability.

Miguel Centeno, Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America.

B. The State and Modernizing Revolutions

Main Reading:

Theda Skocpol, States and Social Revolutions.

Recommended Readings:

Jeff Goodwin, States and Revolutionary Movements, 1945-1991.

Ellen Kay Trimberger, Revolution From Above: Military Bureaucrats and Development in Japan, Turkey, Egypt and Peru.

Charles Tilly, Big Structures, Large Processes, Huge Comparisons.

Jack Goldstone. Revolution and Rebellion in the Early Modern World, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Timothy Wickham-Crowley. Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992.

C. The State as an Agent of Development (2 sessions)**Main Readings:**

*Alexander Gerschenkron, Economic Backwardness in a Historical Perspective, pp. 5-30.

*Alfred Stepan, The State and Society, 1978, pp. 3-45.

Joel Migdal, Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue, eds., State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World, (introduction, conclusion and select essays).

*Chalmers Johnson, "Political Institutions and Economic Performance," in Frederick Deyo, ed. The Political Economy of New Asian Industrialism pp. 136-64.

*Peter Evans, "Predatory, Developmental and other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective on the Third World State," Sociological Forum, December 1989, pp. 561-87.

*Atul Kohli, State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery (introduction, conclusion and one or more case studies depending on your interests).

Recommended Readings (general and comparative)

Peter Evans, Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation, Princeton, 1995.

Meredith Woo-Cumings, The Developmental State, 1999.

John Waterbury, Exposed to Innumerable Delusions: Public Enterprise and State Power in Egypt, India, Mexico and Turkey, Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Richard Lowenthal, "The Nature of Underdevelopment and the Role of the State," (mimeo).

Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, eds., Bringing the State Back In (Introduction, Conclusion and chapters on developing countries).

Joel Migdal, Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World.

David Collier, ed., The New Authoritarianism in Latin America, esp. Chs.1, 7 and 9.

Karl de Schweinitz, Industrialization and Democracy.

Recommended Readings (country or regional studies employing a "statist" frame-of-reference)

Alexander Gerschenkron, Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective (on the Soviet Union).

Thornstein Veblen, Imperial Germany and Industrial Revolution.

Philip Selznick, The Organizational Weapon: A Study of Bolshevik Strategy and Tactics.

Franz Schurmann, Ideology and Organization in Communist China.

John Waterbury, The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat.

Alfred Stepan, The State and Society: Peru in Comparative Perspective.

Atul Kohli, The State and Poverty in India: The Politics of Reform.

Richard Sandbrook, The Politics of Africa's Economic Stagnation.

Alice Amsden, South Korea: Asia's Next Giant.

Robert Wade, Governing the Market.

Jeff Herbst, States and Power in Africa.

Chalmers Johnson, MITI and the Japanese Miracle.

Session X

The Rational Choice perspective

Main readings:

*Robert Bates, "Macro Political Economy in the Field of Development," in James Alt and Ken Shepsle, Perspectives on Positive Political Economy, pp. 31-54.

Douglas North, Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance (for those with a strong theoretical interest in the interaction of markets and other institutions; if such matters do not interest you, pick one of the following).

Recommended Readings:

Stathis Kalyvas, The Logic of Violence in Civil War.

Carles Boix, Democracy and Redistribution.

Daniel Posner, Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa.

Susan Stokes, Markets, Mandates and Democracy (mainly on Latin America).

David D. Laitin, Identity in Formation: The Russian Speaking Populations in Near Abroad (For those with a strong interest in Ethnicity).

Robert Bates, Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies (for those with a strong interest in Development and/or in Africa).

Adam Przeworski, Democracy and Markets: Political Economy of Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America.

Ronald Rogowski, Commerce and Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments, (mainly on historical developments in Europe).

Jeffrey A. Frieden, Debt, Development and Democracy: Modern Political Economy and Latin America, 1965-1985.

Mancur Olson, The Rise and Decline of Nations.

Samuel Popkin, The Rational Peasant.

NOTE:

For those looking for critiques of "rational choice" perspective, you may consult essays by March and Olson, APSR September, 1984; Ted Lowi, APSR March 1992; Shapiro and Green's book, Pathologies of Rational Choice; Almond in Government and Opposition, Summer 1992; Neil Smelser in Rationality and Society, October 1992; Harvard Stein and Ernest Wilson (symposium on Robert Bates' work) in World Development, No. 6, 1993; Daniel Kahneman in Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics, 1994, V. 18, No. 36; and Steve Walt in International Security, 1999, Spring, V. 23.

Session XI

**Themes in New Cultural Analysis:
Identity, Hegemony and Nationalism**

Main Readings:

Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities.

*James Scott, 1987. Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance, ch 8, pp. 304-47; the rest is recommended.

James Scott, Seeing Like a State (read selectively).

Recommended Readings:

Mark Beissenger, Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State.

Zygmunt Bauman, Modernity and the Holocaust.

James Scott, Seeing Like a State.

Paul Brass, Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence.

Anthony Smith, The Ethnic Origins of Nations.

Partha Chatterjee, Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World.

James C. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts.

Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks (especially, the discussion on "hegemony").

James Holston, The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia.

Michael Foucault, Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison.

Eric Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780.

Arturo Escobar, Encountering Development.

Note: If we can manage one more "concluding" session -- which will be difficult to arrange but we should try -- I would like to end with a general discussion on the role of theory in comparative politics. For such an extra session, you may want to take a look at Atul Kohli et al., "Role of Theory in Comparative Politics: A Symposium," World Politics, October 1995. For my synthetic overview of some of the literature discussed in this course, you may also want to take a look at Atul Kohli "State, Society and Development," in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner, ed., Political Science: State of the Discipline, 2002.