

STATE, SOCIETY, AND DEVELOPMENT

The aim of this seminar is to give students a sense of basic options when thinking about development. To what extent is the state or the market "natural," and when do intellectual and business elites conflict? Will modern development make all societies democratic? If so, can traditional/cultural patterns still be identified in this process? How can women or minority groups exert influence to make development serve everyone? Under what conditions should political or economic thinking have priority? What does it mean to do a "systems analysis"? If that is always different from a "symbolic analysis," how do the two approaches relate to each other? What should happen, if they imply different solutions to the same problem? In what kinds of ways do leaders acquire or keep followers? Under what conditions do social groups (especially ethnic groups and classes) conflict or harmonize? Is long-term growth mostly a matter of capital, or labor, or responses to bottlenecks, or entrepreneurship, or luck, or some specifiable combination? Can any current economic theory predict development over a span longer than a few years? What, if anything, can classics about past change in Europe and North America tell about change in the quickly developing countries now?

The instructor pays attention to indigenous not just international sources of development. Long-term factors and large countries (e.g., China, Indonesia, India, Russia, the US) will be in focus here — and each seminar member can contribute on the basis of whatever regional interests he or she has. This syllabus will be on the web, but it will also be provided on paper to students who take the course. The seminar should interest IR specialists, Americanists and other regionalists, as well as students of development and comparative politics. The syllabus is not as scary as it may look. The readings are not as onerous as they may seem if you skim the list briefly, because many items on the syllabus are short. The links between texts for any week show their meaning best; this will become evident in discussions. We must vet values here; so participation by all is essential to the seminar's success. The course uses both classic and recent texts to complement other seminars.

Requirements

This seminar is for reading and discussion. The main work is: studying basic texts, participating in careful oral analysis of them to compare the ideas of our syllabus authors, and offering to the whole seminar short oral and written précis of other texts that students themselves will choose. No final exam will be held, but other means will be found to assure that students can vet major concepts from the texts. A short end-of-term essay covers a topic of interest to the writer. Participation and reading will be expected of every person around the table. Normally each student should try to speak several times in each session (with the shy going first). It is anticipated that each student will refer to syllabus authors at least once during each session. Live comments are crucial in this seminar, especially when members can be bold enough to reverse the premises of the syllabus readings.

These texts raise recurrent, endemic issues of social science. Most are exceptionally well-written; they are "literature" properly speaking. For many required texts, the syllabus suggests just a few selected pages that offer sufficient gist. The size of the seminar must and will be kept small to ensure good discussions. Graduate students in the WWS, Politics, Sociology, History, and East Asian Studies have enrolled in previous years. The nub of the course will be careful reading and analysis of very provocative texts.

BOOKS AND PROCEDURES

You will want to spend more time reading these syllabus items than locating them. Purchase them! These are all astonishing bargains, when you consider their content. How could anyone interested in public affairs conduct a thoughtful life without, handy on the shelf, these items by Weber, Madison, Durkheim, Geertz, Schattschneider, Polanyi, Mannheim, Bendix, or Hirschman, for instance? Did you know that, each year, the U.S. spends five times as much on dogfood as on college books? Fight this statistic. The Labyrinth Store list, below, is very short. Most readings are in the **SSRS** set.

****State & Society Readings Set**, hereafter **SSRS**. Items on the syllabus designated "SSRS" are in this readings set. The whole set may be purchased at Pequod (in the U. Store), or it is all online at the Stokes Library web, ID=wws565, PW=ssd. Click on the heading of the numbered week in the syllabus, and wait for the texts to load. *Please spend time thinking about our texts, rather than trying to find them.* The headings are rather digitally named — a modern fact we might mourn. Still, they are in order:

1_DoMarket&LaborPartiesMakeDemocracy

- 2_FunctionalSystemsHowMuchCanClarityHelpPolicy
- 3_HowDoesCultureRelateToPurposiveChange
- 4_MobilizationPoliticsOrEfficiencyPolitics
- 5_ConstituenciesAndLeadershipWhatLinks
- 6_BackwardnessFromPsychologyFromContexts
- 7_WhatUsesHaveModernAuthorityAndCompliance
- 8_WhatMakesGroupsConflictOrCooperate
- 9_HowCanOrganizationsBeMadeMoreResponsive
- x10_GrowthFromLaborCapitalBiasEnterprise

The following paperback of top-notch intellectual quality you will want permanently:

****Hirschman, Albert, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty***, Harvard paperback. Required purchase. Available at Labyrinth Books (122 Nassau St., 656-7800).

ORAL AND WRITTEN SEMINAR ASSIGNMENTS

After the mid-seminar break each week, Lynn will survey the following week's assigned readings. The text lists may be amended (at students' suggestions) during the term. The amount of reading in different weeks varies according to students' likely work loads at those times. Early in the semester, the readings are longer than at the busy end of term.

Each student, during two weeks of the semester, will offer the whole group a 2-to-3-page-*maximum*, single-spaced interpretive précis on a relevant idea or topic that is not among the assigned readings. A student writing a précis for any week also gives a lively summary of its main thesis — for no more than four minutes.

The précis should be sent as an e-attachment to ssd@princeton.edu **no later than 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar**. Make sure that your own copy arrives, as a check that it arrives on the screens of all our colleagues. Each seminar member should read it and bring it to our meeting with notes for comments. These précis become required texts on the syllabus. A summary of this sort might offer a country example of interest to the student. It might condense a theoretical work relevant to the assigned readings that week, e.g. by providing an alternative critical view. Long lists of supplemental readings for each week are on a roster to be distributed at an early seminar meeting; but these extra lists are only suggestive and omit many items they should include. Look under the lists for other weeks too — and you will find better works that are not on the list. Use anything good that can be loosely linked to the week's topics. Please do not choose a required syllabus text. Feel free to choose a work that you have previously liked or read for another course, and you may certainly choose an item in a language other than English. Country studies and comparative studies are equally welcome for these précis. Your two-pager might also sum up an experience or recommend a policy for a country of particular interest. See the syllabus and "State and Society Reading Set" for examples. Lynn need not approve your subject in advance.

At the top of your summary, if it uses a book or article(s), please type the *full bibliographical information* — city, publisher, and year for books — as well as *your name* and the numbers WWS 565/Pol 527 on the first page. Please do not make a separate title page. If you know what you will do for a précis, you might tell other contributors for that week. These short papers will not be graded, but they are important together with your oral participation in *all* weeks. If you are resource person for a week, giving a précis, please finish the reading early to allow yourself time for writing. Then separately, prepare a zesty, concise, c. 3- or 4-minute, oral presentation for our whole group about your topic. All seminar members should plan interventions to elucidate or criticize all assigned texts. Recommendations should be provocative and may involve assignments of advocacy work to groups or individuals in the seminar, if the recommender wishes. Students should begin each presentation with a clear single thesis sentence (or a question) that can frame the argument. This format will not prove restrictive.

WEEKLY AGENDA

The syllabus urges you to assimilate main ideas, not details; so it designates pages that may be particularly important in our discussions. Many readings are well-written but implicitly opinionated; allow yourself time to criticize them. When assigned page numbers are in parentheses below, you are encouraged to skim. The order of assignments on the syllabus within each week is not random; please read down the list if you can. Quick, intensive thinking about theoretical texts is often more effective for learning than is a slow, lugubrious approach. Students who find they are not participating fully in class discussions are encouraged to write questions or lines of critique as they read, bringing these personal notes to seminars and using them. Sometimes assignments begin or end on pages where no obvious break occurs in the text — in such cases, please break between likely paragraphs. Starred ** readings are required; ask yourself what method the author of a **§ reading uses.

At the end of the syllabus are pages of questions and issues that may arise each week. They are stapled *in an order inverse to that of the course* so that, if torn off consecutively, they are in proper order. These questions may amuse; but you should think of better ones to ask.

0. February 1 WHAT FACTORS LEAD TO DEVELOPMENT?

At the first meeting, Lynn will summarize the plan of the course and ask for syllabus amendments. No reading is assigned for the first week. Resource assignments for the next week, which will be planned at this session, should involve three volunteers for the second week. Please look over the syllabus in advance to see which weeks' topics especially interest you. This first meeting may be a tad shorter than usual. **Please try to begin the readings on the following pages, especially the major ones for next week, a.s.a.p.**

The first meeting will be held in the room the WWS Registrar announces — but there is a possibility the seminar may meet for some sessions after the first two weeks at the instructor's house, 5 Greenholm (924-1665, a number you should never hesitate to dial, e.g. in early evening hours, to ask Lynn questions about any aspect of this seminar).

For more fun than should be legal, log on to www.gapminder.org/world. Do the tutorial and continue. A lesson here is the less-than-reported nonlinearity of development.

1. February 8 DO MARKET & LABOR "PARTIES" MAKE DEMOCRACY?

(Early weeks have long readings; the loads become less later. Each session will concentrate on the texts listed for that week in particular. Come prepared! Pages in parentheses are for skimming; if you need more to get the gist, please don't hesitate to look at other pages too. Each student may be asked in seminar to test Polanyi's and Schattschneider's ideas against the history of political development in countries with which the student is familiar. When the Pequod pages are insufficient, look at books in the Library, where they should be on reserve. Call numbers are included below, throughout the syllabus.)

EFFICIENCY, PROTECTION, AND THE STATE

In case of a problem finding any required text, please immediately check with the relevant clerk or librarian *and* phone Lynn at 924-1665.

The syllabus begins with examples of past précis in this seminar, to help those who volunteer first this year, and to show the possibility of concise presentation of results.

****Rustow, Dankwart, "Transitions to Democracy" and Giuseppe Di Palma, *To Craft Democracy*, précis by Michele Penner Angrist. SSRS.**

****Przeworski, Adam, Michael Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development*, précis by Adam Harris, 2 pp. SSRS.**

****Boix, Carles, and Susan Stokes, "Endogenous Democratization," Larry Diamond, "Can the Whole World Become Democratic?" and Robert Putnam, *Making Democracy Work*, précis by Eri Saikawa, 2 pp. SSRS.**

****Arrow, Kenneth, *Social Choice and Individual Values*, 2-page précis by Tom Zhang with notes by Lynn White. SSRS.**

Who is most correct about factors promoting democracy? Rustow's "hot family feud"? DiPalma's elite *garantismo*? Przeworski's GDP/cap or Boix's & Stokes's income equality? Putnam's social capital? Diamond's (surveyed) civil values? Arrow's doubt that any ideal way of aggregating individuals' interests exists? Then, read a populist-realist about the political choices of the 'semisovereign.'

****§Schattschneider, E.E., *The Semisovereign People*, 1-3, 12-17, 60-65, 71, 76-79, 112-25, 133-38. SSRS** (the "Classics in Political Development Reading Set" from Pequod, 921-7888). 7567.01.811 or JK271.S23.+ Read more in the Library, if you possibly can. This book redeems political science.

****Polanyi, Karl, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 3-5, 43-59** (very quickly skim 60-85; but notice **65, 76-80, 84-85** especially), (98-102, 111-15), **130-39, 148-50, 159-63, 254-258B**. SSRS. HC53.P76.+ This emphasizes pages about development, rather than parallel themes about the history of economic thought or England's particular changes — but for this and all later assignments, the pages assigned offer the theory. Does this book succeed in showing there has never been a modern free market, independent of state policy? Does it successfully challenge the premises behind most economists' notions of development -- or not? Does it point to two aims (efficiency & protection) that each developing system serves, despite an inconsistency in the political coalitions likely to support these goals?

****Huntington, Samuel, *The Third Wave*, (3-12), 13-16, 26-38. SSRS.**

****Dahl, Robert, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, skim quickly 1-16, 202-03 (204-27); N.B. the list of conditions and the recommendations. 7532.281. SSRS.**

****Précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.**

Note similarities between Schattschneider and Polanyi, who both contrast government and business functions as equal, or unavoidable, in development. Is Schattschneider's implicit extension of Polanyi's argument — when the former argues that the two natural parties in development can make the people sovereign after all — credible to you or not? What values do you find in Schattschneider, Dahl, or Huntington? Does Polanyi use history too selectively, to justify his own values? Or not? How does a model like Polanyi's or Schattschneider's apply to any country you know well?

2. Feb. 15 FUNCTIONAL SYSTEMS: HOW MUCH CAN CLARITY HELP POLICY?

(This is a needed week about systems theory, randomness, and their links to the idea of development. Please see how language-based epistemology shapes what happens, and perhaps how it can be put in perspective for the sake of allowing good actions.)

GENERAL DEDUCTIVE THEORY AND ITS CRITICS

****Oberg, K., "The Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda," 121-25, (126-30, 136-38), 150-62** in Fortes & Evans-Pritchard, eds., *African Political Systems*. GN490.F6 (plus pages of tragic *N.Y. Times* update, showing how a nearby system [without a drum!] broke down). A 1940 colonial ethnography, and still revealing. **SSRS**. (Optional: www.economist.com/audiovideo, then search "Congo," for a video.)

****§Durkheim, Émile, *The Division of Labor in Society*, stress 39-46, 54-56, 68-69, 396-398** (but REALLY JUST SKIM 226-29, 336-42, 396-409); these pages are in a 1964 Free Press edition — but in the 1984 other edition, used for the reading set, the pages are 1-17, 28-29, 68-69, 172-74, and 278-79, 329-340.) HD51.D98. **SSRS**.

****Aberle, D.F., Marion Levy, et al., "The Functional Prerequisites of a Society," SKIM 100-04** (quickly skim the other six pages; *Ethics* 60). Think about whether the claim here can be wholly avoided. **SSRS**.

****Dahrendorf, Ralf, "Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis," (Reprint SOC-58 or *American Journal of Sociology* LXIV), 115-27.** A critique of functionalism as conservative. Are all uses of functionalism guilty? **SSRS**.

****Gleick, James, *Chaos: Making a New Science*, 8-9, 14-17, 27-29, 44-45, 70-71, 78-80, 94-99, [Mandelbrot picture after 114], 176-77** — all about systems at (or over) the edge of chaos. **SSRS**. Q172.5.C45G54. This is the formalistic reading — like the one on Arrow for last week, or by Passell for next week. Free "Chaos" software is available. If you have enough time, click the download from www.mathsc.sjsu.edu/faculty/rucker.chaos.htm. Unzip, then run *attract.bat*, maybe choosing tweaking variables for the 'hump' (Robert May's fishpond), and 'pulse' graphs. A set system of equations can produce predictable, semi-predictable ('chaotic'), or indeterminable results. If anybody has a laptop on which to run this, let Lynn know in advance and bring same to the seminar!

****Gunder Frank, Andre, *The Development of Underdevelopment*, Mike Carson précis, SSRS.**

****"Post-Functionalist Diagram," paired opposite analytic terms on two dimensions. SSRS.**

****Sartori, Giovanni, "Concept Misformation in Comparative Politics," *American Political Science Review* 64:4, SKIM 1033-53. SSRS.** What use is generalization? N.B. p. 1050, and semi-recantations in Durkheim (categories are analytic, not concrete), Dahrendorf (p. 127), and Gleick (the top three graphs on p. 176).

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The Ankole reading may be the most mind-bending, because it suggests a "natural" system (a coherent set of definitions, from which you can deduce the links of social things to the material and ideal environments). Think about the drum. This system was devised by the people studied. Some of these readings may strike you as too abstract — but not after you catch the fire in each. Notice that Durkheim's two kinds of social integration are *analytic*, co-existing to some extent in any organization. They imply a choice between inspiring or coordinating action. One *or* the other of these options may prove effective for different policy problems. Does modernity link objectively with regime type? (China hands may be interested in Franz Schurmann's book on *Ideology and Organization*, which renames Durkheim's options "human organization" and "technical organization.") Come to the seminar either able to show the inevitability of systems logic for thinking about action once a unit of analysis is chosen or able to show why thinking is clearer with a conflict model or a culturalist model. Or both. Compare these authors with Huntington, Polanyi, and later with Scott and Geertz. Gleick adds crucially to the discussion, because natural sciences are often taken as models for social study. The feminist Marilyn Waring, whom some may wish to read now even though she appears later on the syllabus, shows how much a system can neglect: more than half the people. Be ready to continue this discussion in culturalist (semi-)critiques of functionalism next week.

3. February 22 HOW DOES CULTURE RELATE TO PURPOSEFUL CHANGE?

The readings this week are many, even if short. The loads are lighter later. You have time!

If class size is less than 14, we may fit into the 5 Greenholm living room this week, t.b.a.

INTERPRETIVE APPROACHES

- **§Geertz, Clifford, "Deep Play" and skim parts of "Thick Description" in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (SKIM 412-42), 443-53, SKIM 3-9, 15-19, 28-30. SSRS. GN315.G36. (And if you have the time and interest, read on Dilthey & Weber in H. Stuart Hughes, *Consciousness and Society*, 309-11. H51.H88 on reserve in WWS Library.) "Deep Play" is a famous, classic essay. Specify Geertz's method.**
 - **Alexis de Tocqueville on *Democracy, Revolution, and Society*, 73-77, (84-99, 163-65, 261), 262-64, 293-95, John Stone and Stephen Mennell, eds. SSRS. JC229.T7713. Note the University of Pennsylvania motto, "Leges sine moribus vanae."**
 - **Elster, Jon, "Consequences of Constitutional Choice: Reflections on Tocqueville," précis by David Stevens. SSRS.**
 - **Mink, Louis O., "The Autonomy of Historical Understanding," *History and Theory* 5 (1965), (skip first p. 24), 30-47. Do positivist methods prevent wisdom that can come from "synoptic judgement" in experiences of time sequences? SSRS.**
 - **Passell, Peter, "Why the Best Doesn't Always Win," 60-61, from *NYT Magazine*, May 5, 1996. SSRS.**
 - **Jolly, Carole, "Culture and Development," précis on Jolly's help to women in Bolivia, 3 p. SSRS.**
 - **"Weavers Go Dot-Com, and Elders Move In" (a *NY Times* article on women hammock weavers in Guyana; did culture hamper their development?), 1 p. SSRS.**Lenin, V.I., "On Bureaucracy," "Letter to the Congress," "Better Fewer, But Better," and "Last Letters," in Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Lenin Anthology*, 714-18, 725-28, (and if you have time, 734-48). SSRS. The last letters of a political expert, on the power of culture to erode the developmental effects he had hoped from a revolutionary model. (Contrast "State & Revolution.") 1627.2.577.0914.**
 - **Elkins, David, and Richard Simeon, "A Cause in Search of its Effect, or What Does Political Culture Explain?" *Comparative Politics* 11 January, 1979, skim 127-30, 135-46. SSRS. Please capture this argument with the full care in which it is offered. Note, for example, the short middle paragraph on p. 136.**
 - **Inglehart, Ronald, and Marita Carballo, "Does Latin America Exist? (And is There a Confucian Culture?): A Global Analysis of Cross-Cultural Differences," *PS* (March, 1997), pp. 34-46. The vertical axes reverse Lynn's mandala. SSRS.**
 - **Madsen, Richard, *Morality and Power in a Chinese Village*, 1-17, 21-30. SSRS. BJ966.M3. Is Madsen successful in his attempt to combine the culturalist and rational action approaches? Do his doubts about "ceremonies of struggle" come from an insight that any real and useful culture must be inconsistent, or just from Western pluralist prejudices? Does he find the "tentative" basis for judgement that he seeks? (Remember the struggle-for-identity vs. ceremony-for-understanding distinction, when you read Biko and others, next week.) Madsen, once in Maryknoll orders, uses universals to seek "particularity."**
 - **Bohannon, Laura, "Shakespeare in the Bush," reprinted from *Natural History* 75 (1966), SKIM 28-33. SSRS. If you have time/energy left, here's a (too tart?) dessert. Discussion of it might be postponed to next week.**
 - **Précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.**
- Note especially Geertz's mention of the Brahmana ceremony, p. 452; this would be a contrasting symbol to organize another culturalist essay. Is this a lapse, because the difference between a violent cockfight and a quiet ordination implies functions? Does it parallel the Elkins & Simeon uncertainty, p. 136, on cultural limits to choice? **If you have time, begin next week's readings too; they are related to these.**

4. March 1 MOBILIZATION POLITICS or EFFICIENCY POLITICS?

(The readings starting with Mannheim, are longish — and among the best all term.)

CONVICTION, CONSCIOUSNESS, & WILL

- **§Mannheim, Karl, *Ideology and Utopia*, 1-8, 54-61, 261-63 in Harvest/Harcourt edition — the classic sociology of consciousness and ideology. If you have the Routledge edition, read pp. 1-7, 49-54, 74-78, 234-36. SSRS. HM24.M32.**
- **Biko, Steve, "Black Consciousness and the Quest for a True Humanity," *I Write What I Like*, 87-98. SSRS. DT763.B48.**

- **Du Bois, W.E.B., *The Souls of Black Folks*, précis by Robin Spence, 2 pp. SSRS.** (This was originally written to go along with later readings by Levi and Banfield. Read it with Biko; remember it later too.)
- **Alinsky, Saul D., *Rules for Radicals: A Practical Primer for Realistic Radicals*, précis by Taguchi Miyuki, 2 pp., & www.vcn.bc.ca/citizens-handbook/rules.html. SSRS.**
- **Schurmann, Franz, *Ideology and Organization in Communist China*, 30-33, 68-73. SSRS. 17241.193.843.** (For students of China. Please forgive severe excerpting.)
- **"Types of Organizational Leadership" chart, with a Mannheimian vertical. SSRS.**
- **Woolf, Virginia, *Three Guineas*, quickly for context, (85-88, 93), then 99+, 102-106, 107-114. SSRS. PR6045.072xT5.**
- **Waring, Marilyn J., *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics*, 14-21, 26-33, 39-40, 88-91, 299-303. SSRS. (HC79.I5W384 1988 or HC79.I5W37.)**
- **Erikson, Erik, *Childhood and Society and Young Man Luther*, précis by Richard Cohn-Lee and Frederic Mion, 4 pp. SSRS.**
- **Swidler, Ann, "Culture in Action," *American Sociological Review* 51:2, 273, 276-78. SSRS.**
- **Anthony Wallace, *Revitalization Movements* (Reprint A-230, or *American Anthropologist* 58), SKIM 264-79. Read quickly. Can this functionalist approach cover individuals' psychologies and ideas for change? CPD. Keep Wallace, despite some '05 inclinations to dump him -- but they were reversed in autumn '05! ****Piven, Frances Fox, and Richard Cloward, *Poor People's Movements* (New York: Pantheon, 1977), *The Structuring of Protest*, 1-17, 27-37. SSRS.** Does the main thesis contrast with Mannheim's?**
- **Bhave, Vinoba in D. Mackenzie Brown, ed., *The Nationalist Movement: Indian Political Thought from Ranade to Bhave*, (186-190), 200-05. SSRS. 1766.212.**
- **Précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.**
- Note that many of the readings on mobilization (Mannheim, Biko, Du Bois, Alinsky, Woolf...) take parallel logical forms, relating particular and universal appeals, although only some of these authors had read each other. Compare Madsen, too. Some of you may not know that Steve Bantu Biko was murdered by police during the apartheid era in 1977. Paolo Freire is good to précis for this week; if you will do that, e-mail others a.s.a.p.

5. March 8 CONSTITUENCIES AND LEADERSHIP: WHAT LINKS?

POLITICAL NETWORKS

- **Gaventa, John, "Three Faces of Power: A Framework for Advocacy," chart, 1 p. SSRS.**
- **Gaventa, John, *Power and Powerlessness... in an Appalachian Valley*, précis by Kristi Kimball. SSRS**
- **Lukes, Steven, *Power: A Radical View*, 1 p. of a précis by Emily Zackin. SSRS.**
- **Dahl, Robert, *Who Governs?*, précis by Yunsian Tai, 2 pp. SSRS.**
- **§Madison, James P'71, "Federalist Paper No. 10" (Bobbs-Merrill Reprint PS-397, or as reprinted in any other source). SSRS.** By Princeton's first graduate student. Madison, owing much to Machiavelli's realism, reversed some Greek concepts of democracy in his "extend the sphere" argument, while retaining others in his stress on representation. Note links to levels of consciousness in Lukes.
- **Arendt, Hannah, *The Promise of Politics* and other books, précis by Milla Vidina. SSRS.**
- **Nicholas, Ralph, "Factions: Comparative Analysis," in M. Banton, ed., *Political Systems and the Distribution of Power*, SKIM 21-23, 27-29, 44-51, 58. SSRS. 7513.144.**
- **Scott, James, in *The Political Economy of Development*, Norman Uphoff & Warren Ichman, eds., 177-89. SSRS. JF60.U64.**
- **Achebe, Chinua *A Man of the People*, précis by Priya Jayachandran, 2 pp. SSRS.** Or if you have time, read this short novel — which remains available for further précis this year too, it is so good. 3600.115.361.
- **Bates, Robert, *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*, précis by Helaway Tedesse. SSRS.**
- **World Press Review (January 2000) items on mining and militaries, 16-17. SSRS.**
- **Tilly, Charles, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," from *Bringing the State Back In*, pp. 169-77, 184-86. SSRS. Note the sharp contrast with Arendt.**
- **Pareto, Vilfredo, précis on Pareto's theory of the circulation of elite "lions" and "foxes," by Lewis Coser from *Masters of Sociological Thought*, 395-400. SSRS.**
- **Parsons, Talcott, on Vilfredo Pareto, *The Structure of Social Action*, v. 1, 275-91. SSRS. HM51.P28.**
- **Schmitter, Philippe, "Still the Century of Corporatism?" *Review of Politics* 1 (January 1974), quickly pp. 85, 93-98, 105-09, 126-28 (other parts if time). SSRS.**
- **PLUS précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.**

A précis about Pareto's theory of elite circulation would be extremely useful this week. You might also review Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Mentor edition, 7-18, 31-127. Also, if you have not seen it, look at Sheldon Wolin, *Politics and Vision*, chapter 10, "The Age of Organization and the Sublimation of Politics," pp. 352-434; 7504.983.

6. March 22 "BACKWARDNESS" FROM PSYCHOLOGY? FROM CONTEXTS?

This list is fit for a post-break week, *long* but very readable. Allow leisure for it.

ACTION IN "UNDERDEVELOPED" COMMUNITIES

- **Levi, Carlo, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, approx. 3-4, (5-29 very quickly), 76-9, 139-43, 158, (196-207), 249-54. DG975.L78xL43.+ (Several readings this week may be provided to students in xerox form.)
- **Banfield, Edward, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, skim at great speed, perhaps pages (17-26, 35-42, 83-109, 155-66). HN479.B22. (Banfield had read Levi's book, so p. 35 claims.)
- **Putnam, Robert, *Making Democracy Work*, précis by Alex Sokolowski. SSRS.
- **§Scott, James C., *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, xv-xix, 37-47, 147-51, photos on 162-63, 212-19, 248-67, 286-87, 292, 314-18, 346-50. On reserve, HD890.6.Z63S36.+ Alternatively, if you have less time this week, look at Scott's essay "Everyday Forms of Resistance," in Forrest D. Colburn, ed., *Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, 3-30. Do "hidden transcripts" deny "preference falsification"? Is "falsified" consciousness a repressed report of it?
- **Popkin, Samuel, *The Rational Peasant*, 252-67. SSRS. HD1513.V5P66. (Under what conditions, suggested by Mancur Olson, does collective action occur? Does Popkin's application of those conditions to the Vietnamese case bring him, despite his preferences, closer to Scott?)
- **Marx, Karl, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," 594-99, 606-09, 615-17. Read quickly in the rush of its prose for style more than content, in Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd Ed. SSRS. HX39.5.M374.
- **Kuran, Timur, "Now Out of Never: The Element of Surprise in the East European Revolution," skim 7-48, in Nancy Bermeo, ed., *Liberalization and Democratization: Changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. SSRS. JN96.A2L53.1992. Is "falsified preference" a "hidden transcript"? Enjoy this!
- **Précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.

7. March 29 WHAT USES HAVE "MODERN" AUTHORITY/COMPLIANCE?

TYPES AND USES OF LEGITIMATE POWER

- **§Weber, Max, "Politics as a Vocation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated by H.H. Gerth & C.W. Mills, 77-82, 118-28 (83-118 later, if you have time). HM51.W38. SSRS.
- **Hughes, H. Stuart, *Consciousness and Society*, 287-91, 304-25, 329-35. SSRS. H51.H88 — out of print, but try to buy it if you want a real education. Wonderful book.
- **Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, 13-25, 47-53, 70-71, 78-82, 87-92, 179-83. Tr. T. Parsons. SSRS. HN31.W38.+
- **Bendix, Reinhard, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait*, 83-92, 138-43, 179-82, 258-63, 290-303, 329-35, 352-5, 391-5, 404-7, 424-46, 464-5. SSRS. HM22.G3W42.+ (These page numbers refer to either the Anchor Press edition or the University of California Press edition.)
- **Evans, Peter B., "Predatory, Developmental, and Other Apparatuses," SKIM 561-87, *Sociological Forum* 4:4. SSRS.
- **Moore, Barrington, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, précis by Joseph Noto. SSRS. What type of regime does the Green Revolution promote? "Fascist"?
- **Michels, Robert, *Political Parties: A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy*, skim 333-71. SSRS. 7566.642.
- **Précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.

8. April 5 WHAT MAKES GROUPS CONFLICT OR COOPERATE?

IDENTITIES: ETHNIC, SUBETHNIC, INCOME, GENDER, KINSHIP, LANGUAGE, RELIGIOUS, URBAN/RURAL, REGIONAL

- **§Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed., 4-7, 36-46, then peruse the book, looking probably at 62, 86-87, 100, 132-34, 141-49. SSRS. JC311.A656.1991. Note that on p. 154 Anderson also claims, "What the eye is to the lover...language...is to the patriot." What differences between him and Young? What is your view of the origin of ethnicity?
- **Young, Crawford, *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*, read quickly 3-13, (23-49), 60-65, 109, (142-49, 505-28). SSRS. (After SKIMMING Young's main ideas, e.g. his differences with Geertz, you might

dip into some of the rich ethnographic materials, e.g. [101-21, 134-5, 150-3] or other sections.) JF60.Y67.

- **Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, précis by Erin Lin, probably to be sent via ssd@.
- **Mueller, John, "The Banality of Ethnic War," précis by Maya Tudor, 2 pp. *SSRS*.
- **Snyder, Jack, *From Voting to Violence: Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*, 36-41, 322-25, 339-53. *SSRS*. JC421.S557 2000.
- **Greenfeld, Liah, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, 3-17, 487-91. *SSRS*. Evaluate Greenfeld's historical method, and the (separate) suggestions that politics and economics are constituted differently, that capitalism can easily coexist with authoritarianism, and that an idea creates modernity. JC311.G715 1992.
- **Poulton, Hugh, *Top Hat, Grey Wolf, and Crescent: Turkish Nationalism and the Turkish Republic*, précis by James Meyer. *SSRS*.
- **Horowitz, Donald, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, précis by Erik Moberand. *SSRS*.
- **Précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.

Lynn may also send, by e-mail, a one-page précis on the "Robber's Cave" experiment.

Outside projects might concern any topic in ethnic change, class, the political effects of urbanization, or group conflict. Non-theoretical facts are also worth attention, especially the worldwide geographic distribution of people by languages and language types, as well as the religious geography of the world. Lynn will make no apologies for bringing maps, not just concepts, to the seminar.

For next week, Lynn will offer loans of an out-of-print Hirschman book, *Getting Ahead Collectively*, to those who absolutely guarantee to return it at the next session.

9. April 12 HOW CAN ORGANIZATIONS BE MADE MORE RESPONSIVE?

IMPLEMENTATION

- **Hirschman, Albert, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty*, 1-47, (48-75), 76-126. HM131.H494 or HM131.H566.+
- **"Policies for Organizational Responsiveness" page on stopping 2 types of decline. *SSRS*.
- **§Hirschman, Albert, "Against Parsimony: Three Easy Ways of Complicating some Categories of Economic Discourse," *Economics and Philosophy*, 1 (1985), 7-21 quickly. *SSRS*. (What recommendations are implicit in these three? Explore long-term choices about scarce/depletable resources, not just short-term choices about entropic/self-repletable resources.)
- **Hirschman, Albert, "The Search for Paradigms as a Hindrance to Understanding," (skim 342-53), 354-60 in *A Bias for Hope*. *SSRS*. HC125.H55 on reserve. Recall Banfield.
- **Hirschman, Albert (with Charles Lindblom), "Economic Development, Research and Development and Policy Making: Some Converging Views," in Hirschman, *A Bias for Hope*, 63-84. *SSRS*. HC125.H55.
- **Hirschman, Albert, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism Before its Triumph*, précis by Scott Bradford. *SSRS*. (Alternatively, you might read Hirschman's "The Concept of Interest," in *Rival Views of Market Society*, that no single kind of motive, including interest, can explain all human action.)
- **Anon. précis of Hirschman, *Getting Ahead Collectively: Grassroots Experiences in Latin America*. *SSRS*. The précis is inadequate, but the book is out of print. Of any development logic, ask whether it would work in reverse as well. The book is on reserve, HN110.5.Z9 C6267. *It is much better to read the whole short book, and you may borrow a copy from Lynn if you let him know in time.*
- **Hirschman, Albert, "Changing Tolerance for Income Inequality in the Course of Economic Development," *World Development* I:12, 1973, 24-36. *SSRS*.
- **Krugman, Paul, "The Rise and Fall of Development Economics," from *Rethinking the Development Experience:... Albert O. Hirschman*, précis by Pauline Yeung. *SSRS*.
- **Kahneman, Daniel, "New Challenges to the Rationality Assumption," précis by Edgar Janz. *SSRS*.
- **Tuchman, Barbara, *The March of Folly*, précis by Jon Stoloff. *SSRS*.
- Stark, David, *Heterarchy: Asset Ambiguity, Organizational Innovation, and the Postsocialist Firm*, 2-6 and 27-28. *SSRS*. (Whole text is at <http://www.ilr.cornell.edu/depts/cahrs/downloads/pdfs/workingpapers/WP96-21.pdf>).
- **Précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.

Note especially the reasons for random entropy in Hirschman's theory, i.e. tendencies toward institutionalizing dissent to make "voice" ineffective, and toward competitive collusion so that those who "exit" have nowhere to go. Consider how Hirschman's micro-organizational analysis relates to his emphasis on "blessings in disguise" and bumps in the development of nations, i.e. much larger collectivities.)

(Outside readings might cover any number of topics in policy implementation [e.g. in Merilee Grindle's book] or other works by Hirschman -- or best yet, proposals or studies on ideas that succeeded or failed because of implementation.

10. April 19 GROWTH FROM LABOR, CAPITAL, BIAS, ENTERPRISE?
CHANGE OVER TIME IN NOTIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

- **"The Harrod-Domar and Solow Models," précis by Mike Shapiro. *SSRS*. From this and the texts below, construct your own view of the growth of growth theories. How did the Lewis, Sen(-Evans), Rodrik, or later models such as Hirschman's develop from the Harrod-Domar, Solow, and other origins? How did growth theory grow? To what extent does the usual contemporary presentation of economics cover this field's experiences? Should it?
- **Rostow, W.W., "The Take-Off into Self-Sustained Growth," J. Finkle & R. Gable, eds., *Political Development and Social Change*, 2nd ed., 233-41 is enough. (Reprinted from *Economic Journal* 66.) Rostow's fn. 14 quotes Lewis interestingly. *SSRS*. 7543.349.1971.
- **Schumpeter, Joseph, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*, part II, précis by Joseph Noto. *SSRS*. Does static equilibrium ensure the search for new products, markets, methods of production, sources of factors, or ways of organizing industries? Is Schumpeter like Schattschneider, concerning intellectuals?
- **"Hayek's Incomplete Victory," *Wilson Quarterly* (Spring 2004), 3 pp., book review by Francis Fukuyama. *SSRS*.
- **Gershenkron, Alexander, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, précis by Elona Toska. *SSRS*.
- **§Lewis, Arthur, "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labour," (Reprint E-189; or *The Manchester School of Econ. and Soc. Studies*, 1954), look at this classic, and take another look if you have previously done so, (139-56), 157-60, 167-69, 176-77, 183-84, 189-91. *SSRS*.
- **Rodrik, Dani, Introduction to *In Search of Prosperity*; just SKIM. *SSRS*. HD73.I52 2003.
- **Hirschman, Albert (with Lindblom), "Economic Development, Research and Development and Policy Making" 63-84. In previous week; reconsider now.
- **Pasuk Phongpaichit, "Self-Reliance," *Newsweek*, 2000, p. 77 (one page). *SSRS*.
- **North, Douglass, "Economic Performance Through Time," Nobel Prize Lecture, 9 pp.; probably to be sent as an e-attachment to ssd@princeton.edu.
- **Dasgupta, Partha, "A Measured Approach [to Sustainable Development]," *Scientific American*, September 2005, 106 (just one page). *SSRS*.
- **Sen, Amartya, "Development: Which Way Now?" *Economic Journal* (93), 745-46, 754-60. *SSRS*. Lynn may also remember to provide the following review of Sen:
- **Evans, Peter B., "Collective Capabilities, Culture, and Amartya Sen's *Development as Freedom*," *Studies in Comp. International Dev't* (Summer 2002), 54-60. *SSRS*.
- **Précis available at ssd@princeton.edu by 3:00 p.m. on the day before the seminar.

Rostow's (earlier, Nurkse's) emphasis on capital is subsumed in Lewis's model, which is a systems growth model. It can be modified to account additional factors. Hirschman, Geertz's colleague, offers a non-systems alternative. What other possibilities do you see? Note the structure of Lewis's presentation. Do you choose among North, Sen, or Evans?

April 26 WHAT DEVELOPMENT QUESTION ARE YOU RESEARCHING?

This session will be organized like a panel at a conference. Members will give preliminary briefings on their research for the very short seminar paper discussed below. *Please begin your briefing with a clear, concise thesis or question.* Please definitely send that sentence, in an e-mail to seminar colleagues at ssd@princeton.edu by the usual time (3:00 p.m. on the day before our meeting). This would naturally contain a verb; it should not be just a noun phrase. You can feel absolutely free to change your thesis or question later, for the actual paper; but you will need some method to catch your listeners' ears by showing why they too are interested in your topic. The oral presentations will not be graded. The goal is for seminar participants to help each other by suggesting better ways to conceptualize the papers of fellow members. Do not write the whole paper before your briefing, so that ideas from your fellow students can improve the final product. Make the oral presentation bold and zippy — even if not yet complete. The time available for each oral précis depends on the number of students, and it will be announced later.

If Lynn has loaned you a book during the term, but you have not returned it yet, please do so now. If at *any* later time you find a book of his on your shelf, please send it back even if you are embarrassed to do so because of lateness.

PAPER

A variety of brief papers is possible in this seminar. Some students will want to expand one of their earlier précis for this project. Each paper should have a specific focus, but it should also use theories from this syllabus, if possible. Titled sections can show your paper's logic. **State the problem or hypothesis of the essay clearly near its beginning.**

Papers should be short, ten pages maximum, **paginated**, double-spaced, and better if more concise. Different WWS and Politics departmental rules and timings of graduate exams require an early due date that will not be ideal for everyone but should apply for all: Monday, May 10, by 4:00 to the desk of Ms. Rita Alpaugh, near 221 Bendheim. (Only second-year M.P.A. students might use the following Monday, if the "QE2" interferes.) Penalties have to apply, not for lateness but for lack of development planning. Papers should also be posted to ssd@princeton.edu. For those who have urgent business in Moorea then, e-mailing alone would be enough; but if you're in town, please do the single-sided printing (and be sure to paginate). Please do not call to ask for an extension, but include information about any disease or disaster on a separate note with the paper. This is not a large project; so it should take precedence over others on your busy agenda. **Please paginate, because Lynn's later typed comments will refer to page numbers.** Think about using subheads. Please apply a normal 12-point font; if you employ a tiny typeface, your teacher will go blind even sooner than is likely anyway. Please spell-check your paper before a final single-sided printing. Using just one staple makes reading easier. Whenever you refer to a source, in the footnote please include bibliographic data. a.p. You might use a précis as a means to garner ideas toward improving the research design. To meet department rules for this option, the brief summaries in the seminar will be considered dry-run drafts. The due date of the final draft of the longer work would be set by the Politics Graduate Program Office. (For Wilson School students, if an APP is adopted in Field II or perhaps Field I, it could be written in connection with this seminar.

M.P.A. and M.P.P. students know that all work must be completed by the due dates, since those programs allow no INC grades. This rule is such a blessing — it is quite undisguised — that no-one in the seminar need be excluded from its benefit.

Papers should try the same stylistic boldness that informs our syllabus texts. *Elements of Style*, by William Strunk and E.B. White, is required, especially pages 15-33 and 70-73. Those who are interested might also consult <http://www.columbia.edu/acis/bartleby/> strunk. The book, however, should also be kept handy. You may already have a copy. It is in the Library, at PE1408.5772.1979b.

WEEKLY PARTICIPATION AND GRADING

Informed participation, suggesting that each week's readings have been studied critically, will be an important part of the evaluation in this course. Be voracious in absorbing as much as you can from the texts — they will repay such study — and be bold in speaking about their problems and ideas during class. The way to receive an "A" in this seminar is not just by writing, but by helping to inform our whole group's conversations about texts and the issues that inspired the syllabus authors.

In the past, students have asked about grading; and these questions are reasonable since letters have to be filed. The précis projects might each count roughly one-ninth in the grade, and the final paper should count no more than two of these. The large remainder depends on faithful reading of texts as shown by informed, relevant participation in all weeks. No mechanical system will be used in grading, but the seminar can work only if all members come well-prepared to its sessions. The sole useful purpose of grades is to give incentives for that end. Auditing the seminar would generally be inappropriate, because listening would be an insufficient response to the values and problems that concern our syllabus authors. Any auditors would be expected to speak and to submit normal précis to the group, although not the final paper.

AMENDMENTS

The seminar may decide to alter parts of this syllabus. Many of the texts are well-written (as social science goes), and the general applicability of their arguments inspires work on them. But new ideas about this list are very welcome. Please raise suggestions for amendment as early in the term as may be convenient.

CONTACTING THE INSTRUCTOR

Lynn's office hours are listed on the first page of this syllabus and are at 221 Bendheim. If you come to that door and see that Lynn is talking with someone else, by all means knock and make your presence known. When he is not in the office, *never hesitate to 'phone him at 924-1665*. The office number, 258-4839, is good only when

Lynn happens to be there. He has e-mail, but please do not use it to set up appointments. Scheduling is best done in a two-way interaction, e.g., by telephone to 924-1665.

attachments in inverse order of weeks — and to be torn off in that order, for each week, from the paper version of the syllabus:

"Notions on Writing" citing page numbers in *The Elements of Style*. (Lynn may use letters or numbers from it on some of your final papers.)

Weekly agendas of questions to consider.

"Student Information Sheet" (fill in before first class, if possible)

