

Patterns of Political Change

Prof. András Bozóki

Readings

Patterns of Political Change

Fall semester, 2008.
(November and December)
2 credits

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Course outline

This is an MA course focusing on evolutionary forms of political and social change. First we will investigate social change, by focusing on classic and new modernization theories, classic and new dependency theories, world system theories, which are all related to the issue of development. Next, we discuss elite-centered, non-violent forms of political change, i.e. the transition and consolidation literature in theoretical and comparative perspective. At this point, individual case studies will also be presented (taken from Southern Europe and Latin America). The course will include theories of globalization, and, by taking the social movement approach, the protest potential of non-violent movements for alternative globalization will be analyzed. The course will help students to independently and critically assess contemporary processes of social change and their political implications.

Grading will be based on

- participation, activity (25%);
- periodic assignments (25%)
- a final essay (30%)
- presentation (20%);

The final essay should be minimum 12, maximum 14 pages long (1.5-spaced) on a topic agreed upon with the professor. The paper is to be handed in a print-out form by the last class.

Topics and readings

WEEK 1. (November 3, 6.) **Social Change I: Modernization and Development**

Mandatory readings

Talcott Parsons (1964), „Evolutionary Universals in Society” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 29. 339-357.

Daniel Lerner (2000 [1958]), *The Passing of Traditional Society*. (excerpt) in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds., op. cit. 119-133.

W. W. Rostow (2000 [1960]), *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*. (excerpt) in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds., *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 100-109.

David E. Apter (1965), „Toward a Theory of Modernization” in Apter, *The Politics of Modernization*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1-42.

Seymour M. Lipset (1969 [1959]), „Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy” in Charles F. Cnudde & Deane E. Neubauer eds. *Empirical Democratic Theory*. Chicago: Markham, 151-192.

Further readings

Karl Polanyi (2001 [1944]), *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press

Myron Weiner ed. (1966), *Modernization and Dynamics of Growth*. New York: Basic Books

Marion J. Levy (1966), *Modernization and the Structure of Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Lucian W. Pye (1966), *Aspects of Political Development*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co.

Samuel P. Huntington (1966), „Political Modernization: America vs Europe” *World Politics*, Vol. 38. No. 5. April, 378-414.

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

Cyril E. Black (1967), *The Dynamics of Modernization: A Study in Comparative History*. New York: Harper & Row

Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (1968), *Modernization: Protest and Change*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall

Daniel Lerner & James S. Coleman (1968), „Modernization” in David Sills ed. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 10. Macmillan, 386-402.

Neil Smelser (1999 [1968]), „Toward a Theory of Modernization” in Malcolm Walters ed. *Modernity: Critical Concepts*. Vol. 1. London: Routledge, 149-169.

David Harrison (1997, [1988]), *The Sociology of Modernization and Development*. London: Routledge

Alvin Y. So (1990), *Social Change and Development*. London: Sage

Larry Diamond (1992), „Economic Development and Democracy Reconsidered” in Gary Marks & Larry Diamond eds. *Reexamining Democracy*. London: Sage, 93-139.

Klaus Müller (1992), “Modernising’ Eastern Europe: Theoretical Problems and Political Dilemmas” *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 33. 109-150.

Piotr Sztompka (1994), *The Sociology of Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell

Klaus Müller (1995), „From Post-Communism to Post-Modernity? Economy and Society in Eastern European Transformations” in Bruno Grancelli ed., *Social Change and Modernization: Lessons from Eastern Europe*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 265-293.

Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald (1998), *Political Change and Underdevelopment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 17-85.

WEEK 2. (November 10, 13.) Social Change II. Dependency and World System Theories

Mandatory readings

André Gunder-Frank (1970), „The Development of Underdevelopment” in Robert I. Rhodes ed., *Imperialism and Underdevelopment: A Reader*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 4-17.

Fernando H. Cardoso (2000 [1972]), „Dependency and Development in Latin America” in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite eds., *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 169-178.

A. R. Desai (1976), „Need for Reevaluation of the Concept” in Cyril E. Black ed. *Comparative Modernization*. New York: Free Press, 89-103.

Immanuel Wallerstein (2000 [1979]), „The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis” in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds, *From Modernization to Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell. 190-209.

Joe Foweraker & Todd Landman (2004), „Economic Development and Democracy Revisited: Why Dependency Theory is Not Yet Dead” *Democratization*, Vol. 11. No. 1. February, 1-20.

Further readings

Philip J. O’Brien (1973), „A Critique of Latin American Theories of Dependency” in Ivar Oxaal et al. eds. *Beyond the Sociology of Development*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 7-27.

David Booth (1975), „Andre Gunder Frank: An Introduction and Appreciation” in Ivar Oxaal et al. eds. (1975), *Beyond the Sociology of Development*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 50-85.

Samir Amin (1976), *Unequal Development*. London: Monthly Review Press

Henry Bernstein (1979), „Sociology of Underdevelopment vs Sociology of Development?” in David Lehmann ed. *Development Theory: Four Critical Studies*. London: Frank Cass, 77-106.

Peter Evans (1979), *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Immanuel Wallerstein (1979), *The Capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Gabriel Palma (1981), „Dependency and Development: A Critical Overview” in Dudley Seers ed. *Dependency Theory: A Critical Reassessment*. London: Pinter, 20-78.

Peter F. Klarén & Thomas J. Bossert, eds., (1986), *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*. Boulder: Westview

David E. Apter (1987), *Rethinking Development: Modernization, Dependency, and Postmodern Politics*. London: Sage

Alvin Y. So (1990), *Social Change and Development*. London: Sage

Jeffrey C. Alexander & Piotr Sztompka eds. (1990), *Rethinking Progress: Movements, Forces, and Ideas at the End of the 20th Century*. Boston: Unwin Hyman

Tony Spiby (1992), *Social Change, Development, and Dependency*. Cambridge: Polity Press

- David Harrison (1997 [1988]), *The Sociology of Modernization and Development*. London: Routledge
- Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald (1998), *Political Change and Underdevelopment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 120-165.
- J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds. (2000), *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Immanuel Wallerstein (2000), *The Essential Wallerstein*. New York: New Press

WEEK 3. (November 17, 20.) **Theories of Transition**

Mandatory readings

- Dankwart Rustow (1970), „Transitions to Democracy” *Comparative Politics*, April, 337-363.
- Alfred Stepan (1986), „Paths Toward Redemocratization” in Guillermo O’Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter & Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 64-84.
- Michael G. Burton & John Higley (1987), „Elite Settlements” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52. June, 295-307.
- Samuel P. Huntington (1991-92), „How Countries Democratize” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 106. No. 4. Winter, 579-616.
- Scott Mainwaring (1992), „Transitions to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative Issues” in Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O’Donnell & J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds., *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 294-341.

Further readings

- Guillermo O’Donnell & Philippe C. Schmitter (1986), *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Enrique A. Baloyra, ed., (1987), *Comparing New Democracies: Transition and Consolidation in Mediterranean Europe and the Southern Cone*. Boulder: Westview
- Juan J. Linz (1990), „Transitions to Democracy” *Washington Quarterly*, Summer, 143-164.
- Larry Diamond (1990), „Beyond Authoritarianism and Totalitarianism: Strategies for Democratization” in Brad Roberts ed. *The New Democracies: Global Change and U.S. Policy*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 227-249.
- Adam Przeworski (1991), *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Samuel P. Huntington (1991), *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: Oklahoma University Press
- Daniel V. Friedheim (1993), „Bringing Society Back into Democratic Transition Theory after 1989: Pact Making and Regime Collapse” *East European Politics and Society*. Vol. 7. No. 3. Fall, 482-512.

- Philippe C. Schmitter & Terry Lynn Karl (1994), „The Conceptual Travels of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 53. No. 1. Spring 173-185.
- Valerie Bunce (1995), „Should Transitologists Be Grounded?” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54. No. 1. Spring, 111-127.
- Terry Lynn Karl & Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), „From an Iron Curtain to a Paper Curtain: Grounding Transitologists or Students of Postcommunism?” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54. No. 4. 965-978.
- Valerie Bunce (1995), „Paper Curtains and Paper Tigers” *Slavic Review*, Vol. 54. No. 4. 979-987.
- Juan J. Linz, Alfred Stepan & Richard Gunther (1995), „Democratic Transition and Consolidation in Southern Europe, with Reflections on Latin America and Eastern Europe” in Richard Gunther & Nikiforos Diamandouros, eds., *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 77-123.
- Jon Elster ed. (1996), *Roundtable Talks and the Breakdown of Communism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- János Kis (1998), „Between Reform and Revolution” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 12. No. 2. Spring, 300-383.
- Michael D. Kennedy (1999), „Contingencies and the Alternatives of 1989: Toward a Theory and Practice of Negotiating Revolution” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 13. No. 2. Spring, 293-302.
- Sten Berglund, Tomas Hellen & Frank H. Aarebrot eds. (1998), *The Handbook of Political Change in Eastern Europe*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar
- András Bozóki ed. (2002), *The Roundtable Talks of 1989: The Genesis of Hungarian Democracy*. New York – Budapest, CEU Press

WEEK 4. (November 24, 27). **Theories of Transition and Consolidation**

Mandatory readings

- Guillermo O’Donnell (1994), „Delegative Democracy” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5. No. 1. January,
- Doh Chull Shin (1994), „On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research” *World Politics*, Vol. 47. No. 1., October, 135-170
- Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), „Transitology: The Science or the Art of Democratization?” in Joseph S. Tulchin (ed.), *The Consolidation of Democracy in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 11-41.
- Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), „Toward Consolidated Democracies” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7. No. 2. April, 14-33.
- Guillermo O’Donnell (1996), „Illusions about Consolidation” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7. No. 2. April, 34-51.

Larry Diamond (1996), „Is the Third Wave Over?” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 7. No. 3. July, 20-37.

Fareed Zakaria (1997), „The Rise of Illiberal Democracy” *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76. No. 6. November-December, 22-43.

Larry Diamond (1999), „Consolidating Democracy” in Diamond, *Developing Democracy Toward Consolidation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 64-116.

Further readings

J. Samuel Valenzuela (1992), *Democratic Consolidation in Post-Transitional Settings: Notion, Process, and Some Facilitating Conditions*. In S. Mainwaring, G. O'Donnell & J. S. Valenzuela eds. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 57-104.

Philippe C. Schmitter (1995), „The Consolidation of Political Democracies: Rhythms, Sequences and Types” In Geoffrey Pridham (ed.), *Transitions to Democracy*. Aldershot: Dartmouth, 535-569.

Juan J. Linz & Alfred Stepan (1996), *Problems of Democratic Transitions and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Nancy Bermeo (1999), „Myths of Moderation: Confrontation and Conflict During Democratic Transition” in Lisa Anderson ed. *Transitions to Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 120-140.

Gerardo L. Munck & Carol Skalnik Leff (1999), „Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective” in Lisa Anderson ed., *Transitions to Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 193-216.

Béla Greskovits (2000), “Rival Views of Postcommunist Market Society: The Path-Dependence of Transitology” in Michel Dobry ed. *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 19-47.

Philippe C. Schmitter & Nicolas Guilhot (2000), „From Transition to Consolidation: Extending the Concept of Democratization and the Practice of Democracy” in Michel Dobry ed. *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 131-146.

Josep M. Colomer (2000), *Strategic Transitions: Game Theory and Democratization*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Geoffrey Pridham (2000), *The Dynamics of Democratization: A Comparative Approach*. London: Continuum

WEEK 5. (December 1, 4.) The Limits of Transition Theory and Problems of 'Democracy Promotion'

Mandatory readings

Valerie Bunce (2000), „Comparative Democratization: Big and Bounded Generalizations” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 33. Nos. 6-7. 703-734.

Thomas Carothers (2002), „The End of the Transition Paradigm” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 1. January, 5-21.

Guillermo O’Donnell (2002), „In Partial Defense of an Evanescent Paradigm” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 3. July, 6-12.

Axel Hadenius (2002), „Transitions to Democracy: Pros and Cons of the Rustow-Lijphart Elite Approach” in Ole Elgstrom and Goran Hayden eds. *Development and Democracy*. London: Routledge, 65-86.

Jean Grugel (2002), „Democratization and Globalization” in J. Grugel: *Democratization*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 116-139.

Thomas Carothers (2007), „The ‘Sequencing’ Fallacy” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 18. No. 1. January, 17-27.

Further readings

Thomas Carothers (1999), *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Guillermo O’Donnell (1999), *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press

Michel Dobry (2000), „Paths, Choices, Outcomes, and Uncertainty: Elements for a Critique of Transitological Reason” in M. Dobry ed. *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe: Lessons for the Social Sciences*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 49-70.

Thomas Carothers & Marina Ottaway eds. (2000), *Funding Virtue: Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Alfred Stepan (2001), *Arguing Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Ghia Nodia (2002), „The Democratic Path” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 3. July, 13-19.

Thomas Carothers (2002), „A Reply to My Critics” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13. No. 3. July, 33-38.

Daniel Philpott (2004), „The Catholic Wave” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15. No. 2. April, 32-46.

Thomas Carothers (2004), *Critical Mission: Essays in Democracy Promotion*. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Piotr Sztompka (2004), „The Trauma of Social Change: A Case of Postcommunist Societies” in Jeffrey C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser & Piotr Sztompka (eds.), *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 155-195.

Nicolas Guilhot (2005), „From the Development Engineers to the Democracy Doctors: The Rise and Fall of Modernization Theory” in N. Guilhot: *The Democracy Makers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 101-133.

Nicolas Guilhot (2005), *The Democracy Makers*. New York: Columbia University Press

Fareed Zakaria (2003), *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. New York: W. W. Norton

Dirk Berg-Schlosser (2007), *Democratization*. Opladen – Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich

Sheri Berman (2007), „Lessons from Europe” *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 18. No. 1. 28-41.

- Daniele Archibugi, Ofra Bengio, Seyla Benhabib, Paul Berman, Mitchell Cohen, Thomas Cushman, John Lister, Shibley Telhami (2007), „Exporting Democracy: What Have We Learned from Iraq?” A Symposium. *Dissent*, May, 40-58.
- András Bozóki (2008), „The Making of Reforms: Elite Decisions and Democratic Legitimacy”. A paper presented at “The Qualities of Old, and New Democracies” a workshop organized by the Center for the Study of Imperfections in Democracy (DISC), CEU, Budapest, June 18-19. 2008.

WEEK 6. (December 8, 11.) **Globalization and the Rise of Protest Politics: A Social Movement Approach.** (Guest speaker: **Gábor Scheiring**)

Mandatory readings

- Frances Hagopian (2000), „Political Development, Revisited” *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 33. Nos. 6-7. August-September, 880-911.
- Jeffrey M. Ayes (2004), „Framing Collective Action Against Neoliberalism: The Case of the 'Anti-Globalization' Movement” *Journal of World-Systems Research*, Vol. 10. No. 1. Winter, 11-34.
- Don Kalb (2005), „From Flows to Violence: Politics and Knowledge in the Debates on Globalization and Empire” *Anthropological Theory*, Vol. 5. No. 2. 176-204.
- Donatella della Porta (2007), „The Global Justice Movement: An Introduction” in della Porta ed. *The Global Justice Movement: A Cross-National and Transnational Perspective*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 1-28.

Further readings

- Jeffrey C. Alexander (1990), „Between Progress and Apocalypse: Social Theory and the Dream of Reason in the Twentieth Century” in J. C. Alexander and P. Sztompka eds. *Rethinking Progress: Movements, Forces, and Ideas at the End of the 20th Century*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 15-38.
- Klaus Eder (1990), „The Cultural Code of Modernity and the Problem of Nature A Critique of the Naturalistic Notion of Progress” in J. C. Alexander and P. Sztompka eds. *Rethinking Progress*. Boston: Unwin Hyman, 67-87.
- Ulrich Beck (1994), „The Reinvention of Politics: Towards a Theory of Reflexive Modernization” in Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens & Scott Lash: *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition, and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1-55.
- Alejandro Portes (1997), „Neoliberalism and the Sociology of Development: Emerging Trends and Unanticipated Facts” in J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite (eds.) (2000), *From Modernization to Globalization*. Oxford: Blackwell, 353-72.
- Ronald Inglehart (1997), *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Vicky Randall & Robin Theobald (1998), „Globalization and the Study of Political Change” in Randall & Theobald: *Political Change and Underdevelopment*. Durham: Duke University Press, 222-265.

- David Held et al. (1999), *Global Transformations*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Ulrich Beck (2000), *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge: Polity Press
- J. Timmons Roberts & Amy Hite, eds. (2000), *From Modernization to Globalization: Perspectives on Development and Social Change*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Adam Przeworski et al. (2000), *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (especially 78-141.)
- Ayres, Jeffrey M. (2002), „Transnational Political Processes and Contention Against the Global Economy” In Jackie Smith & é Hank Johnston (eds.), *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*. Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield, 181-205.
- Jackie Smith (2002), „Globalizing Resistance: The Battle of Seattle and the Future of Social Movements.” in Jackie Smith & Hank Johnston (eds.), *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*. Lanham, MD, Rowman and Littlefield, 207-227.
- Ancelovici, Marcos (2002): "Organizing against Globalization: The Case of ATTAC in France." *Politics and Society* Vol.30., No.3, 427-463.
- Susan George (2004), *Another World Is Possible If...* London: Verso
- Peter Evans (2005), „Counter-Hegemonic Globalization: Transnational Social Movements in the Contemporary Global Political Economy” in Thomas Janoski, Robert R. Alford, Alexander M. Hicks & Mildred A. Schwart (eds.), *The Handbook of Political Sociology: States, Civil Societies, and Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 655-670.
- Mario Pianta and Raffaele Marchetti (2007), „The Global Justice Movements: The Transnational Dimension” in Donatella della Porta ed. *The Global Justice Movement: A Cross-National and Transnational Perspective*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 29-51.