

Social Forces and Political Change

Politics 200b • Fall 2008
University of California, Santa Cruz

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Overview:

This core graduate seminar surveys the many ways in which social forces act upon and transform the political world. We begin by considering the nature of the state, usually though not always the focal point upon which pressure from society is trained, and several conditions or mechanisms that sometimes help states to resist change. From there, we study tumultuous or at least contentious forms of popular action (such as revolutions and social movements) before turning to subtler and more conventional varieties (political parties and associations). We also consider the role of transnational networks, as well as theories that posit the fusion or mutual embeddedness of state and society.

The course aims to acquaint students with some of the classics of decades past as well as new research. By design, the works we read employ a broad variety of methods, from game theory and statistics to comparative history and ethnography. The readings stem from sociology, anthropology and other disciplines as well as political science, and present empirical cases from many parts of the world. Because we are covering immense topics in a small amount of time, we are only able to read a small sample of material on each subject. I have chosen some readings because they are outstanding and persuasive, others more because they are contrarian, provocative or present a point of view that must be grappled with.

My primary job in this class is to help you learn. My expectation for graduate students is that you will work hard and expand your horizons and capabilities.

Assignments:

- Do the required readings prior to each class session. If no page or chapter numbers appear next to a book title below, the entire book is assigned. I will contact students with information about how to obtain the books and articles most efficiently and economically. Some will be available on WebCT or as library reserves. Always consult the syllabus; do not merely look on WebCT. Acquire the readings well in advance of class so as to avoid logistical problems.
- Attend each class session unless unavoidable circumstances make it impossible to do so. In that case, email me promptly with a brief explanation.
- Participate actively in discussion.
- Present one reading each class or every other class, as assigned. Participation and presentations together constitute 20% of the quarter grade.
- Write five reading responses, about three double spaced pages each (40%). My web site has a page providing guidance for these. You may choose the weeks you wish to address, and the first week of class is fair game. On those weeks, turn in your response paper by 9 a.m. on the Monday of class, via email attachment (WordPerfect, Word, or PDF format). You should also submit a hard copy of the reading response, but you may do this during class.
- Students will also submit, after consulting with me early in the quarter, a final paper (40%). Most

likely this paper will present a thorough review of an issue related to the course coupled with a research design, although other formats may be discussed. The paper should be 12-15 pages in length and turned in both via email and in hard copy.

Academic Integrity:

- Exerpts from UCSC's Policy on Academic Integrity for Graduate Students (http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic_integrity/graduate_students/): "Academic misconduct includes but is not limited to cheating, plagiarism, fabrication, falsification, research fraud, or facilitating academic dishonesty or as further specified in campus policies and regulations, including the Campus Policy on Research Integrity. ... In cases in which academic misconduct has been determined to occur, sanctions may include dismissal, suspension for a specified period, and notation of academic misconduct on a student's transcript, including all external copies, for a specified period."
- I take academic integrity very seriously and I expect all students to do the same. We will discuss relevant issues on the first day of class.
- Concerning the crucial topic of crediting sources in your writing, and understanding and avoiding plagiarism, the single most thorough and illuminating discussion I know of is Gordon Harvey, *Writing with Sources: A Guide for Students* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company). One edition was published in 1998, and a new 2008 edition is being released. I strongly recommend that you obtain and read this inexpensive book or another detailed treatment of the topic.

Special Accommodations:

If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please submit your Accommodation Authorization from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me during my office hours in a timely manner, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. Contact DRC at 459-2089 (voice), 459-4806 (TTY).

WEEK ONE — STATES AND THE STATUS QUO

Monday, September 29

Note: All of these readings must be completed prior to the first class session.

- Margaret Levi, *Of Rule and Revenue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 1-23
- Peter Evans, "States," chapter 3 of *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 43-73
- Tasneem Ahmed Siddiqui, "The Dynamics of Bureaucratic Rule in Pakistan: A Personal View," in Lloyd I. Rudolph and John Kurt Jacobsen, eds., *Experiencing the State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 165-183
- Timothy Mitchell, "The Limits of the State: Beyond Statist Approaches and Their Critics," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 85 (1991), pp. 77-96
- Susan C. Stokes, "Political Clientelism," *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, eds. Carles Boix and Stokes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 604-627
- David Collier, "Trajectory of a Concept: 'Corporatism' in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis*, ed. Peter H. Smith (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 135-162
- Edward C. Banfield with the assistance of Laura Fasano Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 7-31, 85, 107-127, 147-161
- Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 1-52, 98-131

WEEK TWO — REVOLUTIONS

Monday, October 6

- Theda Skocpol, *Social Revolutions in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), the following chapters:
 - 4, Skocpol, "Explaining Revolutions: In Quest of a Social-Structural Approach," pp. 99-119
 - 6, Skocpol, "France, Russia, China: A Structural Analysis of Social Revolutions," pp. 133-166
 - 7, William H. Sewell, Jr., "Ideologies and Social Revolutions: Reflections on the French Case," pp. 169-198
- Nikki R. Keddie, ed., *Debating Revolutions* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), the following chapters:
 - Keddie, "Can Revolutions be Predicted; Can Their Causes Be Understood?," pp. 3-26
 - Timur Kuran, "Why Revolutions Are Better Understood than Predicted: The Essential Role of Preference Falsification," pp. 27-35
 - Jack A. Goldstone, "Predicting Revolutions: Why We Could (and Should) Have Foreseen the Revolutions of 1989-1991 in the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe," pp. 39-64
- Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978), chapters 2, 3, 4, and 7, pp. 12-142, 189-222

WEEK THREE — SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Monday, October 13

- Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768-2004* (Boulder, Colo.: Paradigm Publishers, 2004)
- Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1-20
- Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), ch. 1, "Collective Action and Social Movements," and ch. 5, "Seizing and Making Opportunities"
- David A. Snow, "Social Movements As Challenges to Authority: Resistance to an Emerging Conceptual Hegemony," *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* Vol. 25 (2004), pp. 3-25

WEEK FOUR — RESISTANCE

Monday, October 20

- James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985)
- Kevin J. O'Brien, "Rightful Resistance," *World Politics* Vol. 49 No. 1 (1996), pp. 31-55
- Steve Vanderheiden, "Eco-Terrorism or Justified Resistance? Radical Environmentalism and the 'War on Terror'," *Politics & Society* Vol. 33 No. 3 (2005), pp. 425-447

WEEK FIVE — PARTIES AS SOCIAL FORCES

Monday, October 27

- Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), "The Development of Political Ideologies as Means of Getting Votes," and "The Statics and Dynamics of Party Ideologies," chapters 7 and 8, pp. 96-141
- Adam Przeworski and John Sprague, *Paper Stones: A History of Electoral Socialism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 1-56
- Seymour Martin Lipset and Stein Rokkan, "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction," in *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*, ed. Lipset and Rokkan (New York: The Free Press, 1967), pp. 1-64
- Ronald Inglehart, "The Rise of New Issues and New Parties," in *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 237-266
- Jack A. Goldstone, "Introduction: Bridging Institutionalized and Noninstitutionalized Politics" in Goldstone, ed., *States, Parties, and Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1-26
- Donna Lee Van Cott, *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), introduction and conclusion, pp. 1-21, 212-235

WEEK SIX — ASSOCIATIONS AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Monday, November 3

- Mark E. Warren, "The Democratic Effects of Association," chapter four of *Democracy and Association* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 60-93
- Theda Skocpol, Marshall Ganz, and Ziad Munson, "A Nation of Organizers: The Institutional Origins of Civic Voluntarism in the United States," *American Political Science Review* Vol. 94 No. 3 (2000), pp. 527-46
- Jason Kaufman, *For the Common Good? American Civic Life and the Golden Age of Fraternity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), introduction, chapters 1 and 9, conclusion
- Muthiah Alagappa, "Civil Society and Democratic Change: Indeterminate Connection, Transforming Relations," chapter 15 in Alagappa, ed., *Civil Society and Political Change in Asia: Expanding and Contracting Democratic Space* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 478-506
- Jonathan Fox, *Accountability Politics: Power and Voice in Rural Mexico* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 1-54
- Volkhart F. Heinrich, "Studying Civil Society Across the World: Exploring the Thorny Issues of Conceptualization and Measurement," plus responses by Marc Morjé Howard, S. Wojciech Sokolowski and Lester M. Salamon, and Helmut K. Anheier, *Journal of Civil Society* Vol. 1 No. 3 (2005), pp. 211-245
- Robert J. Sampson, Doug McAdam, Heather MacIndoe, and Simón Weffer-Elizondo, "Civil Society Reconsidered: The Durable Nature and Community Structure of Collective Civic Action," *American Journal of Sociology* (2005), pp. 673-714

WEEK SEVEN — SOCIAL CAPITAL

Monday, November 10

- Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* Vol. 78 (1973) pp. 1360-1380
- Robert D. Putnam with Robert Leonardi and Raffaella Y. Nanetti, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), chapters 1, 3-6
- Robert D. Putnam, "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century," *Scandinavian Political Studies* Vol. 30 No. 2 (2007), pp. 137-74
- Nojin Kwak, Dhavan V. Shah, and R. Lance Holbert, "Connecting, Trusting, and Participating: The Direct and Interactive Effects of Social Associations," *Political Research Quarterly* Vol. 57 (2004), pp. 643-52
- Anthony Bebbington et al., eds., *The Search for Empowerment: Social Capital as Idea and Practice at the World Bank* (Bloomfield, Conn.: Kumarian Press, 2006), pp. 1-62
- Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt, "The Downside of Social Capital," *The American Prospect* Vol. 26 (1996), pp. 18-21
- Michael W. Foley and Bob Edwards, "Escape from Politics? Social Theory and the Social Capital Debate," *American Behavioral Scientist* Vol. 40, No. 5 (March/April 1997), pp. 550-561

WEEK EIGHT — EMBEDDEDNESS

Monday, November 17

- Joel S. Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)
- Joel S. Migdal, "The State-in-Society Approach: A New Definition of the State and Transcending the Narrowly Constructed World of Rigor," in *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 3-38
- Evan Lieberman, "National Political Community and the Politics of Income Taxation in Brazil and South Africa in the Twentieth Century," *Politics & Society* Vol. 29 No. 4 (2001), pp. 515-55

WEEK NINE — FROM GRASS ROOTS TO TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKS

Monday, November 24

- Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. xv-xxi, 3-23, 99-172, 291-331
- David Horton Smith, *Grassroots Associations* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2000), pp. 3-32
- Sanjeev Khagram, *Dams and Development: Transnational Struggles for Water and Power* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 1-32
- Kay Lehman Schlozman, "Citizen Participation in America: What Do We Know? Why Do We Care?" in *Political Science: State of the Discipline*, ed. Ira Katznelson and Helen V. Milner (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002), pp. 433-461
- Morris P. Fiorina, "Extreme Voices: A Dark Side of Civic Engagement," ch. 11 of Theda Skocpol and Fiorina, eds., *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), pp. 395-425
- Patricia Widener, "Benefits and Burdens of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of Four Oil Struggles in Ecuador," *Mobilization* Vol. 12 No. 1 (2007), pp. 21-36
- Thomas Risse, "The Power of Norms versus the Norms of Power: Transnational Civil Society and Human Rights," in Ann M. Florini, ed., *The Third Force: The Rise of Transnational Civil Society* (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2000), pp. 177-210
- August Nimtz, "Marx and Engels: The Prototypical Transnational Actors," in Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds., *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2002), pp. 245-268

WEEK TEN — STATE-SOCIETY FUSION: SYNERGY OR DYSTOPIA?

Monday, December 1

- Peter Evans, "Introduction: Development Strategies Across the Public-Private Divide," and "Government Action, Social Capital and Development: Reviewing the Evidence on Synergy," *World Development* Vol. 24, No. 6 (June 1996), pp. 1033-1037, 1119-1132
- Lily L. Tsai, *Accountability Without Democracy: How Solidary Groups Provide Public Goods in Rural China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapters 1-6
- Jennifer M. Coston, "A Model and Typology of Government-NGO Relationships," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 1998), pp. 358-382
- Theodore C. Bestor, *Neighborhood Tokyo* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), chapter 3
- Aiko Kurasawa, "Swaying between State and Community: The Role of RT/RW in Post-Suharto Indonesia," in Benjamin L. Read with Robert Pekkanen (eds.) *Straddling State and Society: Local Organizations and Urban Governance in East and Southeast Asia* (Routledge, forthcoming)
- Benjamin L. Read, "The Uses of Local Interpersonal Networks in Governance: State Cultivation of Neighborhood Social Capital in China and Taiwan," in *ibid.*