

Fall 2006

POLS 60437

DEMOCRACY AND THE STATE.

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Office hours: Tu and Th 3-5, or by appointment.

Classroom: 102 Hesburgh Center

Hours: We 3: 5.15

We will look at a topic that, for various reasons to be discussed, has been largely neglected in the literature: the intersections and mutual influences between the state and democracy, at this point understood as a regime.

The above implies another movement not often made in the literature: disentangling the various dimensions entailed by the term “state.” In addition to its bureaucracies, in my view the state is (at least) a legal system, a focus of collective identity that usually claims to be a state for a nation, and a filter of currents from its “outside.”

This makes necessary to look at topics such as rule of law, nation and nationalism, and how the impacts of present globalization traverse states.

As you can see, this is a complicated agenda. As usual in my seminars, we will not be looking at grand conclusions. Rather, the purpose is to learn and reflect at some issues that—*cabe* some heroic simplifications in the literature—constitute the political reality in which we live in, both in central and in peripheral countries.

The bibliography will be available in the Library's Reserve Room.

Some caveats. 1. As you know, there is a huge literature dealing with the state (variously named) and economic development, especially after the discovery by orthodox economists that the East Asian “tigers” had, indeed, a very active state. We will not deal with this topic; yet if you are not acquainted with it a good way to begin is with Woo-Cumings 1999. 2. Because of an exasperating lack of time, I have not included sessions dealing specifically with multiculturalism and ethnicity, although in some sessions we will touch tangentially on them; anyhow, they are not my main field of expertise. 3. Furthermore, on multiculturalism and related matters I urge you to contact professor Dallmayr, who is a world authority on them. 4. Finally, as I mentioned in our first meeting, this is not a rigid syllabus; if our discussions and interests lead us strongly into a particular direction I will consequently adjust the readings, for which purpose I have left a couple of sessions opened.

About procedures. 1. For every session there will be a rapporteur. His/her role is to write a report on the readings. This should definitely NOT be a summary of the texts, which of course all of us will have read for the respective session. It should be a discussion starter, pointing out issues and thoughts raised by the respective topic and readings, as well as any praise and/or criticisms about the latter. The rapporteur will email the written text to everyone no later than 24 hours the respective session, so all of us will have had time to read it when we get to class. Normally a good, satisfactory report is about 5 pages double space, but (obviously) there is no rigid rule on this matter. 2. The rapporteur will have a discussant. He/she will have no more than 10 minutes, commenting the report and adding whatever thoughts on the topic and/or the readings he/she deems useful for the ensuing discussion. 3. The rapporteur, if he/she wishes, will have some 3 minutes for responding to the discussant. 4. After this, discussion will open for the full seminar. 5 At this point or later on, I may wish to (usually briefly) lecture on the topic.

For these purposes choose two topics (i.e., for two seminar sessions) on which you prefer to write the respective report. Do this **urgently**, so I can put the whole program together. I’ll choose the discussants.

About grades etc. You will have the option of a take-home exam or writing a paper. As to the former, it will not be a test of your memory. I will look for thoughtful, intelligent answers that, in addition, show familiarity with the relevant literature as read and discussed in the seminar, to questions I will

pose. As to the paper (my preference), you must discuss your project with me no later than the week immediately after the mid-term break. Although I do not apply rigid rules, I will assign for the final grade about 50% for the final take-home or paper, about 25% to the reports (which I will grade), and 25% to class participation, including the role as discussant.

About readings. I do not like to overburden students with readings; I have learnt it is counterproductive, even though it may deviate reading time to courses that do overburden (I have not found a solution to this quandary...). So the “Read” indications are to be read; the “Suggested” ones (included in only some sessions) it would be very nice if you would also read (hopefully at least on the topics that most interest you).

Finally, a suggestion. As soon as you can read Poggi (1-107), which provides very useful general background.

SCHEDULE

Aug. 23

Presentations, functioning of the seminar.

Aug. 30.

Regime, democracy.

Read: O'Donnell, unpublished text emailed.

Sep. 6

A classic: Weber

Read:

Weber 1995 (309-331, until par. that ends "...species today)

Weber 1978 (698-704, 729-731, 809-815; 828-831; 839-859; 978-994)

Axtman 1990

Suggested

Hintze (in Gilbert) (157-215)

Sep. 13

State-making (basically) in Europe: taxes and war.

Read

Giddens (17-34; 83-116; 122-160)

Tilly 1990 (1-37; 84-107, 114-122, 130-160)

Ertman (1-34; 317-324)

Suggested

Downing (3-38, 239-254)

Sep. 20

State-making: other approaches.

Read:

Hansen and Stepputat (1-38)

Bourdieu 1999

Bourdieu 2004

Gorski 1999

Sep. 27

State-making in the USA

Read:

Skocpol 1992 (41-60, 525-539)
González and King 2004
Skowronek (3-36; 47-84; 165-176; 285-292)
Orren Skowronek (pages to be assigned)
Whitehead and O'Donnell (unpublished text to be emailed)

Oct. 4.
State-making (and un-making) in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa
Read:
Centeno (1-30, 47-198, 276-280)
Lomnitz
O'Donnell 1993
Owolabi (photocopies to be provided)
Loveman

Suggested :
Herbst (11-96, 251-272 ; but those interested in Africa should read it whole)

Oct.11
A hugely complicating issue: nations and nationalism (1)
Read:
Anderson, (1-7_
Smith 2001a (9-31)
Smith 2001b (5-86)
Breuilly 2001 (32-52)
Tarrow (photocopies to be provided)

Oct. 18. Mid-semester break

Oct. 25
A hugely complicating issue: nations and nationalism (2)
Canovan (1-25; 68-80; 101-112)
Marx (not Karl, n.b.) 2003 (vii-xiii; 13-32 ; 73-112 ; 165-206)
Habermas 1998
Guibernau 1996 (46-84)

Nov. 1. Some further attempts at theorizing the state and related matters.

Read :

O'Donnell, unpublished text to be emailed.

Mann (44-63, 75-88)

Skocpol 1985 (3-37)

Suggested

Kjaer (19-58; 188-205)

Nov. 8

The state and state formation from an IR perspective

Read

Agnew 1999

Biersteker

Held 2002

Kymlicka 1999

Suggested

Kahler and Lake 2004

Nov. 15 Another one: the state and globalization

Read Evans 1997

Reis 2004

Parekh (photocopies to be provided)

Nov. 22

Open, to be discussed and decided.

Nov. 29

Idem above.

Dec 6. Last class.

General discussion. Some conclusions and looking ahead.

December 14.

Deadline for papers or take home exams.

READINGS.

NOTICE 1: I have included quite a few more readings than the ones to be assigned, in case you want to further pursue some themes that—unavoidably—we will have to touch rapidly. Of course, we can discuss these further readings personally, perhaps thinking about your term paper.

NOTICE 2: In order not to overwhelm the Library only the texts marked by an asterisk will be on Reserve.

* Agnew, J. (1999). The New Geopolitics of Power. Human Geography Today. D. Massey, J. Allen and P. Sarre. Cambridge UK, Polity Press: 173-193.

Aronowitz, S. and Bratsis, P. (2002) State Theory Reconsidered. Paradigm Lost. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Anderson, B. Imagined Communities. (1991, revised edition). London, Verso.

* Axtman, R. (1990). "The Formation of the Modern State: A Reconstruction of Max Weber's Arguments." History of Political Thought 11(2): 295-311.

* Bendix, R. 1996 [1964] Nation-Building and Citizenship.

* Biersteker, T. (2005). State, Sovereignty and Territory. In Handbook of International Relations. W. Carlsnaes, T. Risse and B. A. Simmons. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications: 157-176.

Bobbio, N. (1989). Democracy and Dictatorship. The Nature and Limits of State Power. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

* Bourdieu, P. (1999). Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field. State/Culture. State Formation after the Cultural Rurn. G. Steinmetz. Ithaca, Cornell University Press: 53-75.

* ----- (2004). "From the King's House to the Reason of State: A Model of the Genesis of the Bureaucratic Field." Constellations 11(1): 16-36.

- * Breuilly, J. (1993). Nationalism and the State. Manchester, Manchester University Press.
- (2001). "The State and Nationalism." Understanding Nationalism. M. Guibernau and J. Hutchinson. Cambridge: Polity Press: 32-52
- Brubaker, R. (1996). Nationalism Reframed. Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe. Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press.
- * Canovan, M. (1996). Nationhood and Political Theory. Cheltenham, Edward Elgar.
- * Centeno, M. A. (2002). Blood and Debt. War and the Nation-State in Latin America. University Park, The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Coronil, F. (1997). The Magical State. Nature, Money, and Modernity in Venezuela. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.
- Daalder, H. (1995). Paths toward State Formation in Europe: Democratization, Bureaucratization, and Politicization. Politics, Society, and Democracy. Comparative Studies. H. E. Chehabi and A. Stepan. Boulder, Westview Press.
- D'Entrèves, A. (1967). The Notion of the State. An Introduction to Political Theory. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- * Downing, B. (1992). The Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- * Ertman, T. (1997). Birth of the Leviathan. Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe. Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press.
- * Evans, P. (1997). "The Eclipse of the State? Reflections on Stateness in a Era of Globalization." World Politics **50**(1): 62-87.
- Fukuyama, F. (2004). State Building. Governance and World Order in 21st Century. Ithaca. Cornell University Press.

* Giddens, A. (1987). The Nation-State and Violence. Cambridge UK, Polity Press.

* Gonzalez, F. and D. King (2004). "The State and Democratization: The United States in Comparative Perspective." British Journal of Political Science **34**: 193-210.

* Gorski, P. (1999). Calvinism and State-Formation in Early Modern Europe. State/Culture. State Formation after the Cultural Turn. G. Steinmetz. Ithaca, Cornell University Press: 147-181.

Greenfeld, L. (1992). Nationalism. Five Roads to Modernity. Cambridge USA, Harvard University Press.

* Habermas, J. (1998). The European Nation-State: On the Past and Future of Sovereignty and Citizenship. The Inclusion of the Other. Studies in Political Theory. C. Cronin and P. D. Grief. Cambridge, The MIT Press: 105-127.

* Hansen, T. B. and F. Stepputat, Eds. (2001). States of Imagination. Ethnographic Explorations of the Postcolonial State. Durham, Duke University Press.

Held, D. and M. Guibernau (2001). "Cosmopolitan Democracy. An Interview with David Held." Constellations **8**(4): 427-440.

* Held, D. (2002). "Law of States, Law of Peoples: Three Models of Sovereignty." Legal Theory **8**: 1-44.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983). Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914. The Invention of Tradition. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

----- (1992). Nations and Nationalism Since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Jayasuriya, K. (2002). "Globalization, Sovereignty, and the Rule of Law: From Political to Economic Constitutionalism." Constellations **8**(4): 442-460.

- * Kahler, M. and D. Lake (2004). "Governance in a Global Economy. Political Authority in Transition." PS **37**(3): 409-414.
- Kertzer, D. (1988). Ritual, Politics & Power. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- * Kjaer, A.M. (2004). Governance. London, Verso.
- * Kratochwil, F. (1986). "Of Systems, Boundaries, and Territoriality: an Inquiry into the Formation of the State System." World Politics **39** (1): 27-52.
- * Kymlicka, W. (1999). Citizenship in an Era of Globalization: Commentary on Held. Democracy's Edges. I. Shapiro and C. Hacker-Gordon. Cambridge UK, Cambridge University Press: 112-126.
- * Lomnitz, C. (2001). Nationalism as a Practical System: Benedict Anderson's Theory of Nationalism from the Vantage Point of Spanish America, in M. A. Centeno and F. Lopez-Alves, eds. The Other Mirror: Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America. Princeton, Princeton University Press: 329-360.
- * Loveman, M. (2005). "The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power." American Journal of Sociology **110**(6): 1651-91683.
- Maiz, R. (2003). "Three Rival Versions of Contemporary Nationalist Ideology." Journal of Political ideologies **8**(3): 251-269.
- * Mann, M. (1993). The Sources of Social Power. Volume II. The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760-1914. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- * Marx, Anthony (2002). "The Nation-State and Its Exclusions." Political Science Quarterly **117**(1): 103-126.
- * ----- (2003). Faith in Nation. Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Migdal, J. (1994). The State in Society: An Approach to Struggles for Domination,. State Power and Social Forces. Domination and

Transformation in the Third World. In A. Kohli, V. Shue and J. S. Migdal. eds.,. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 7-34.

----- (2001). State in Society. Studying how States and Societies Transform and Constitute each Another. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Migdal, J. S., A. Kohli, et al., eds., (1994). State Power and Social Forces. Domination and Transformation in the Third World. Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press.

* O'Donnell, G. (1993). "On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries." World Development **21**(8): 1355-1369.

----- (1998). Horizontal Accountability and New Polyarchies. The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies. A. Schedler, L. Diamond and M. Plattner. Boulder, Lynne Rienner: 29-52.

* ----- (2003). Horizontal Accountability: The Legal Institutionalization of Mistrust. Democratic Accountability in Latin America. S. Mainwaring and C. Welna. New York, Oxford University Press: 34-54.

----- (2004). Human Development, Humand Rights, and Democracy. In The Quality of Democracy. Theory and Applications. G. O'Donnell, J. Vargas Cullel and O. Iazzetta. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press: 9-92.

----- (forth.) Chapters of book in progress to be provided.

* Orren, K. and S. Skowronek (2005). The Search for American Political Development. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Owolabi, K. (2005). Blessing or Curse? The Impact of British Colonial Rule on the Success of Liberal Democracy in the Caribbean and Africa. Notre Dame, Department of Political Science, term paper Fall 2005.

Parekh, B. (2002). Reconstituting the Modern State. Transnational Democracy. Political Spaces and Border Crossings. In J. Anderson, ed., London, Routledge: 39-55.

Pennington, K. (1993). The Prince and Law, 1200-1600. Sovereignty and Rights in the Western Legal Tradition. Berkeley, University of California Press.

* Poggi, G. (1978). The Development of the Modern State. A Sociological Introduction Stanford, Stanford University Press.

* Reis, E.P. (2004). "The Lasting Marriage between Nation and State despite Globalization." International Political Science Review **25** (3): 251-259.

* Ruggie, J. G. (1995). "Territoriality and Beyond: Problematizing Modernity in International Relations." International Organization **47**(1): 139-174.

Sayer, D. (1991). Capitalism & Modernity. An excursus on Marx and Weber. London, Routledge.

Scott, J. (1998). Seeing Like a State. How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Silberman, B. S. (1993). Cages of Reason. The Rise of the Rational State in France, Japan, the United States, and Great Britain. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

* Skocpol, T., Evans, P., and Rueschemeyer D. eds.,. (1985). Bringing the State Back In. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

* Skocpol, T. (1992). Protecting Soldiers and Mothers. The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States. Cambridge USA, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

* Skowronek, S. (1982). Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities. New York, Cambridge University Press.

* Smith, A. (2001a). Nations and History. Understanding Nationalism. M. Guibernau and J. Hutchinson. Cambridge, Polity Press: 9-31.

* ----- (2001b). Nationalism. Cambridge, Polity.

* Steinmetz, G., Ed. (1999). State/Culture. State Formation after the Cultural Turn. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Tarrow, S. (2000). National Unification, National Disintegration, and Contention: A Paired Comparison of Unlikely Cases. Madrid, Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales.

Tilly, C. (1985). War Making and State Making as Organized Crime. Bringing the State Back In. P. B. Evans., D. Rueschemeyer and T. Skocpol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 169-191.

* ----- (1990). Coercion, Capital and European States. Cambridge, Blackwell.

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* ----- (1978). Economy and Society. An Outline of Interpretative Sociology, Vols. 1 and 2. Berkeley, University of California Press.

* ----- (1994). Political Writings. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.. "The profession and vocation of Politics" p. 309-369.

Wilentz, S., Ed. (1985). Rites of Power. Symbolism, Ritual, and Politics since the Middle Ages. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

* Woo-Cumings, M., Ed. (1999). The Developmental State. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Yuval-Davis, N. (1999). "The 'Multi-Layered Citizen: Citizenship in the Age of Globalization.'" International Feminist Journal of Politics 1(1): 119-136.

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