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READING LIST ON DEMOCRATIZATION

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ABSTRACT: This document is a reading list of academic books addressing theories of democratization as well as sub-sectors related to democracy and governance. This document includes many of the most important and most popular texts listed by graduate faculties in preparation for comprehensive examinations in the field of comparative politics and the subfield of democratization. It is *not* meant to be exhaustive nor does it include *every* important text available. It is only meant to be a sampling of academic works useful to democracy/governance programming officers.

This list was compiled utilizing Ph.D. comparative politics reading lists from various faculties including Stanford University, the American University, Georgetown University, Johns Hopkins University (SAIS), The Catholic University of America and the University of North Texas. This document is broken down into categories based on theoretical approaches used in studying democratization. These include institutional, structural, cultural, transitions, and civil society/social movements approaches. This document also includes sections on relevant texts focusing on nationalism/national identity and international political economy as they relate to democratization.

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A brief overview of the history of the democratization specialty

Democratization has become a popular topic within most political science faculties over the past two decades and became even more popular in the 1990s with Samuel Huntington's publication of *The Third Wave*, a book that traces a global movement of political liberalization that started in Portugal in 1974 and culminated in the fall of the Soviet Bloc in 1991.[1]

The study of democracy as a concept has its roots in both classical and modern political philosophy in such texts as Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics*, Hobbes's *Leviathan*, Locke's *Second Treatise* and Rousseau's *Social Contract*. These writers elucidate the notion that different regime types exist and there is no one form of government that works well universally.

In the twentieth-century, pioneering social scientists began to empirically test the important ideas of "democracy" and "political change". Early works establishing democratization as a specialty include an article entitled "National political development: Its measures and analysis" by Phillips Cutright in the *American Sociological Review.*[2] Other famous early works by political scientists include "Some Social Requisites of Democracy; Economic Development and Political Legitimacy**"** by Seymour Lipset in an issue of the *American Political Science Review* [3] and an earlier book by Huntington titled *Political Order in Changing Societies.* [4]

Almost every major political science department has a specialist or two who focuses on political regime change. Seminar courses on democratization are a pre-requisite for most Ph.D. programs and with the advent of reliable survey data from developing countries over the past ten years, the specialty is becoming even more popular. There are now more peer-reviewed journals available than ever before that discuss political change in regions throughout the world including understudied areas such as Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

Broadly speaking, academic specialists of democratization tend to determine causality in political change using several theoretical approaches. The first approach focuses roughly on the role of the state, laws and legal/economic institutions and rules of the game in a society. Giovanni Sartori, Scott Mainwaring, Arend Lijphart and Douglas North are considered institutionalists because they focus on political parties, constitutions and governance and economic rules respectively.

A second approach looks at culture as it affects democratization. The most famous scholars associated with the notion of a "civic culture" are Gabriel Almond and his colleague Sidney Verba who address such factors as communication and persuasion in promoting democracy in three different types

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[1] Samuel P. Huntington**,** *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991)

[2] *American Sociological Review* 28 (1963), 253–264

[3] *American Political Science Review* 53 (1) (1959), 69-105. http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/faculty/mcooper/ps744readings/lipset.pdf

[4] Yale University Press, 1968

of cultures, ‘parochial”, “subject” and “participant”.[5] Ronald Inglehart is also noted for his idea of cultural change over time as a society becomes post-industrial and therefore “post-materialistic”. Older and younger voters will have differing attitudes and political opinion depending on where and how they live.[6]

A third approach known as structural emphasizes socio-economic classes, material wealth and divisions in society based on economic sectors (rural vs. urban, industrial vs. agricultural, labor vs. management). Sociologists such as Manus Midlarsky [7] and Charles Tilly [8] focus on democratic change and how it affects economic growth and specialization. In fact, scholars who utilize the ideas of Karl Marx and the notion of dialectic materialism might also be included within this approach.

With a fourth approach, social movements and civil society, scholars use a perspective that emphasizes social actors who exist outside the state and therefore can influence state behavior and the formation of laws. Labor unions, the church, non-governmental organizations, the media, sector and gender groups and even political parties are all social actors that fall under this perspective. Ruth and David Collier [9] and Sidney Tarrow [10] are well known political scientists employing this approach.

Finally, the transitions literature addresses political pluralization and democratization as a process. Academics such Alfred Stepan and Juan Linz are interested in when and how political changes occur while focusing on certain events over time.[11] Regime changes through military coups, political roundtables or authoritarian concessions all suggest active and constant movement among social actors within a society, a movement that never really ends but merely changes direction. While all of the above theoretical perspectives have different approaches, they are not exclusive to one another and there may be overlap within some texts.

Part one of this review looks at the role of the state, laws and legal/economic institutions and rules of the game in a society. Part two of this review combines the literature on culture, structure, social movements/civil society and transitions. Part three includes books addressing the role of national identity and nationalism as it relates to democratization. Noted scholars in this section include Benedict Anderson and Ernest Gellner. Part four concludes by adding several authors who address the role of political economy in the process of democratization. Important authors include Peter Evans and Ronald Rogowski in this category.

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[5] Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, Sage Publications 1963).

[6] *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[7] Manus Midlarsky, Ed., *Inequality, Democracy, and Economic Development (*Cambridge University Press, *1998)*

[8] *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton University Press, 1975)

[9] *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical junctures, the labor movement and regime dynamics in Latin America*, (University of Notre Dame Press, 2002)

[10] *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics, 1998)

[11] *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-communist Europe*, (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1996)

I. INSTITUTIONS, PARTIES, AND CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN

***Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba. The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.**

The authors are among the first to theory test using survey data in a comparative context. They look at both developed (US, UK) and developing countries (Mexico) and set the standard for later research into the roles that income, education and political mobilization have in popular opinion.

Almond, Gabriel A. and Sidney Verba (eds.) *The Civic Culture Revisited*. Boston: Little Brown 1980.

The authors update their earlier work by expanding their cases to include more countries and converge cultural and structural approaches to explain democratization

***Apter, David. Ghana in Transition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1972.**

This is a classic and early work on Africa, historically an understudied region in comparative politics. The author looks at culture as well as typical structural and institutional factors in explaining political change.

***Bratton, Michael and Nicolas Van De Walle, Democratic Experiments in Africa:Regime Transitions in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 1997.**

Arguably the two top scholars of African politics today compare several countries across the sub-Saharan continent. They empirically examine structural, cultural and institutional causes of democracy and authoritarianism.

***Coleman, James S. Nigeria: Background to Nationalism.* Berkeley: University of California Press 1958.**

This is one of the earliest and most read of comparative political texts on state-building in Africa. The author uses a detailed case study approach and focuses in particular on the relationship between the education of Westernized elites, outside economic forces and Christian missionary work up until 1952.

Cox, Gary W. Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems. **Cambridge University Press, 1997.**

The author uses several theoretical approaches including public choice, spatial theory, and institutions in explaining political decisions in both developed and developing countries. He uses primarily constituency-level data rather than national aggregate data in testing theoretical propositions about the effects of electoral laws. He also tests several theories in the study of elections systems including Duverger's Law.

Dahl, Robert A. Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition**. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.**

Creating a basic framework for a working democratic model, the author's representation of institutions and processes of governance lays the foundation for later more sophisticated models. Influenced heavily by systems theory and political philosophy, Dahl uses an analytical albeit descriptive approach and historical examples in breaking down the primary makeup of a polity and describes several paths to reach a working democracy.

Duverger, Maurice. Political Parties**. Methuen, 1954**

A landmark work in research on political parties, the author uses a comparative descriptive and historical approach in his study of systems in developed and developing countries. He introduces several important ideas including his own "law" that predicts electoral laws affect the ability of political parties to survive.

Evans, Peter B., Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol **(Eds).** ***Bringing the State Back In*****. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.**

This is an influential edited work on the role that the state has in influencing political and economic change. It is also a commentary and rebuttal on the role that state has in an age of "global governance". The editors themselves are well-regarded sociologists who have written important texts on structural links to democracy.

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

This is a typical work by Evans (a Brazil expert) who focuses on the role of the state in directing economic growth in the developing world. He uses a comparative descriptive approach with several countries from inside and outside Latin America.

***Filippov, M. Ordeshook, P.C., and Shvetsova, O.*, *Designing Federalism: A Theory of Sustainable Federal Institutions.* Cambridge University Press, 2004.**

The authors argue that a number of institutional variables not normally associated with federal design (the content of regional charters and the extent to which public offices are filled by election rather than appointment) can be critical to determining success in such federal countries as Russia, Ukraine and Canada.

***Geddes, Barbara*. *Politician's Dilemma: Building State Capacity in Latin America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996.**

The author uses rational choice theory when examining Brazil from 1930 and 1964. She demonstrates how state agencies are made more effective when they are protected from partisan pressures and operate through merit-based recruitment and promotion strategies.

***Hall, Peter and David Soskice* (eds). *Varieties of Capitalism: The institutional foundations of comparative advantage* Oxford University Press, 2001.**

This collection of essays compares the use of laws and rules in managing economic growth in several European countries. The roles of pacts, corporatism and monetary policy are addressed along with other aspects.

***Katzenstein, Peter*. *Small States in World Markets*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.**

The author examines several countries including Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Austria in a study of political economy in Western Europe. His use of theory and measurement is particularly impressive in his focus on political elites and the context in which they act.

***Laver, Michael, and Kenneth A. Shapsle* (Eds). *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1994.**

The authors focus on the idea that a parliamentary democracy "acts as a court passing continual judgment on the record of the executive and continuous sentence on its future prospects". They look at several countries and describe legislative- executive interactions in terms of a common theoretical framework.

***Lerner, Daniel. The Passing of Traditional Society:* Modernizing the Middle East. Free Press, 1958.**

One of the first important texts utilizing development or modernization theory and important because it was among the first to deal with the Middle East. The author examines the role of role of mass communication in the process of modernization Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. Increasing urbanization leads to the growth of mass media (as people demanded news and information) and literacy (as more and more schools were built) and this results in greater public participation in economic activity and politics.

***Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.**

Two longtime scholars utilize survey data to test support for democracy in several post-authoritarian countries in Latin America and the former Warsaw Pact during the late 1990s. The authors break down their analyses into a framework comparing rule of law, economic society, political society and other concepts.

***Lijphardt, Arend. Patterns of Democracy - Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.**

An expanded edition of an earlier work, the author increases his comparative analyses to enhance generalizability of his institution-based theories. He moves beyond the usual Western industrial societies and includes countries in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Pacific/Asia. He also includes analyses on the impact of central banks and interest groups on democracy.

***Lijphart, Arend and Carlos Waisman, Institutional Design in New Democracies: Eastern Europe and Latin America* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).**

A collection of essays examining cases studies in Eastern Europe and Latin America, this is a must read for governance and elections programmers. Most of the chapters are qualitative and focus on institutional factors in promoting democracy.

***Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Soberg Shugart.. Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America.* New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997.**

One of the best efforts in analyzing comparative institutions in Latin America, the authors frame their work in the post-authoritarian, democratization mindset. This is a standard read for those interested in democracy and governance in the region.

***Mahoney, James, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer* (Eds.) *Comparative Historical Analysis in the Social Sciences.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003.**

This collection uses comparative sociology and history in examining several countries. It also emphasizes a state's path dependency and institutional make-up as crucial factors in explaining political change. It intentionally emphasizes small N, non quantitative approaches.

***Mann, Michael*. *Sources of Social Power*: *Volume III.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.**

This is the third volume of a three part series focusing on four principal 'sources' of power: economic, ideological, military, and political resources. The author concludes his analyses of modern Europe by emphasizing structural factors (income levels, economic growth) in promoting change and democracy.

***Michels, Robert*. *Political Parties*: *A Sociological Study of the Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern democracy* (1915). New York: Dover, 1959.**

In one of the most important qualitative studies of political parties, the author focuses on the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) over time. He explains that political parties are similar to other large organizations how power centralizes over time ("iron rule of oligarchy") affecting the party's behavior and the ability to influence government.

***Migdal, Joel S. Strong Societies and Weak States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988**.

The author looks at the relationship between the state and society in several developing countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia using comparative historical analyses. He is also interested in any colonial or external influences extant in such countries as Sierra Leone and Egypt.

***Nordlinger, Eric A. Soldiers in Politics: Military Coups and Governments*. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1976.**

Considered by many to be the most readable and useful of general texts on civil-military relations, the author focuses on institutional autonomy of the armed forces in countries such as Burma, Nigeria, Argentina and Ghana where armed intervention has occurred in the past. He creates six regime-types, three of which are civilian-controlled and three military-controlled that all reflect differing degrees

of control. He also emphasizes the factors of education in fomenting or preventing coups. This text may be useful for security-sector reform projects.

North, Douglas C. Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance. **New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.**

The author's work was among the first to reintroduce the topic and importance of institutions as both a facilitator of democracy and economic development. He also suggests that institutions are heavily context-based since his broad definition ("rules of the game") vary with history and culture.

Ostrom, Elinor. Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. **Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.**

Ostrom and North are credited with reviving the "new institutional" approach in political science. Both books are complementary to one another and suggest that institutions should evolve to be successful as effective mechanisms of governance and economic management.

Powell, G. Bingham. Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions**. Yale University Press. 2000.**

Powell, along with Sartori, is one of the most important scholars of political institutions of his generation. This is an update of an earlier work that empirically tests the impact that electoral design has on political stability change, violence and so on. He uses a parsimonious quantitative model that effectively contrasts how important electoral rules can be.

Putnam, Robert D. Making Democracy Work. **Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.**

This is one of the most well-known works empirically examining civil society. Putnam introduces "social capital" as a variable necessary for any developing society because it serves as a link between voters/citizens and political and economic institutions. Although the author examines data from Italy, the comparative exercise might be applied to many other non-OECD countries.

Sartori, Giovanni. Comparative Constitutional Engineering **(Second Edition). Palgrave, 1997.**

Like Powell and Lijphart, Sartori is concerned with using the most appropriate electoral devices in respective countries. He recommends "alternating presidentialism" as a compromise to avoid the conflict of PR systems and the lesser democratic accountability of the presidential systems. This is a very readable text for the practitioner who is interested in clarity and brevity.

***Sartori, Giovanni*. 1976. *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*. Cambridge University Press (new edition ECPR Press 2005).**

Considered by experts to be the authoritative text on parties and party systems, the text addresses the critical notion of fractionalization. The author looks at countries in Europe, Africa and Latin America using regression analyses and data over several decades after World War Two.

***Shugart, Matthew S. and John M. Carey*, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.**

Representative of a second generation of empirical institutional scholars, the authors exhaustively examine countries from several continents using empirical rigor and large data sets. Like Sartori and Lijphart, they address the debate of presidential versus parliamentary systems and consider institutional variations that have not been applied by other analysts. A valuable tool for DG practitioners focusing on implementing electoral programming.

***Skocpol, Theda*. *States and Social Revolutions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.**

One of the most well respected of texts examining revolution and political violence, this sociologist's work emphasizes the usual factors including income/class divisions, state capacity, historical context and international influence in France, Russia and China.

Soltan, Karol, Virginia Haufler, and Eric M. Uslaner (Eds). Institutions and Social Order. Anne Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

This is a collection of articles comparing old versus new institutionalism. The authors emphasize that the rational choice economic perspective can be reconciled with a more cultural and context-specific variables when laws are created.

***Stepan, Alfred* (ed.). *Authoritarian Brazil*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.**

One of the foremost scholars on Brazil, the author addresses the issue of elite negotiations in the evolution of Brazil's military governments over two decades. This might is a useful work for post-military/authoritarian government transition contexts where there is an existing strong civil society.

***Smith, Steven S. and Thomas F. Remington*, ed., *The Politics of Institutional Choice: Choosing an Electoral System*. Princeton University Press, 2001**.

A noted Russia expert, Remington uses an institutional approach to provide a detailed and empirical analysis of the Russian Duma's basic operating arrangements. The authors conclude that "elected officials may shift from concentrating on one goal to emphasizing another, but political contexts can help determine their behavior."

***Tilly, Charles*. (Ed.). *Formation of National States in Western Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975.**

The author provides a detailed historical and qualitative analysis of several European societies while of focusing on state capacity and power, social classes and the impact industrialization had on economic development. His concept of "contentious repertoires" explains how states act and react vis-à-vis civil society actors. He was perhaps the most well known historical sociologist.

***Tsebelis, George*. *Veto Players. How Political Institutions Work*. Princeton University Press, 2002.**

The author utilizes game theory when he compares electoral institutions across several political systems. He focuses on the ability of actors to veto policies and in doing so, finds that an increase in the number of players or the ideological distance between these players increases policy stability and reduces radical change. While he focuses on Western European and other advanced industrialized countries, the lessons learned might also be useful for governance programming in developing societies.

***White, Stephen, Richard Rose and Ian McAllister*. *How Russia Votes*. Washington DC: CQ Press, 1997.**

In one of the earliest studies of elections in the new Russian Federation, the authors empirically examine political opinion trends using the New Russia Barometer. In doing so, they use institutional, structural and cultural theoretical approaches in testing hypotheses.

II. CULTURAL, STRUCTURAL, CIVIL SOCIETY/SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND TRANSITIONS LITERATURE

Carothers, Thomas and Maria Ottaway, Eds., Civil Society Aid and Democracy Promotion: **Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment, 2000.**

This is a collection of essays focusing on the role of foreign aid in assisting civil society promotion in five regions of the world including Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. This volume is particularly important because it bridges the academic theory and practitioner's experiences.

Collier, Ruth B. and David Collier*, *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America, **Princeton University Press, 1991.**

Two long-time experts on Latin American social movements examine the role of labor in eight countries paired to create a contrast between the cases. They focus on points in time in which labor becomes powerful enough to require legitimate representation. The four patterns of representation include: the radical populism of Mexico and Venezuela, the labor populism of Argentina and Peru, the traditional party representation in Columbia and Uruguay and depolitization and control (corporate penetration) of Brazil and Chile.

Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner*, Eds., *Electoral Systems and Democracy **Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006**

Perhaps the most well-known democracy expert in Washington DC, Diamond typically organizes several chapters using region and country experts to focus on several countries including Uruguay, Japan, Taiwan, Israel, Afghanistan and Iraq. He also frames his research into an institutional perspective by addressing possible electoral mechanisms (PR, pluralism or a mixture) for each country.

Diamond, Larry*. *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation. **Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.**

This volume takes from the transitions literature made popular again in the 1990s by Linz and Stepan. Like them, he uses public opinion research in developing and post-communist states, and demonstrates the importance of freedom, transparency, and the rule of law for generating the broad legitimacy that is the essence of democratic consolidation. Importantly, he rejects the idea that poor countries need pre-conditions for democracy and argues instead for a "developmental" theory of democracy in which each society can progress albeit at a different rate towards consolidation. He also claims that the "Third Wave" of democratization is over and transitioning will be more difficult depending on each country context.

***Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner, The Global Resurgence of Democracy* (Second Edition). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.**

One of Diamond's earlier collaborative volumes, this is a nice primer describing the basic changes across the world (i.e. Huntington's Third Wave). He uses regional and country experts to focus on countries in Latin America and the former Warsaw Pact.

***Inglehart, Ronald*. *Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.**

The author carries out a groundbreaking, cross-regional empirical examination of popular attitudes related to governance. He focuses on several countries of different income levels. He also attempts to gauge changes in attitudes relating to democracy, satisfaction with life and so on over several generations.

Inglehart, Ronald. *Modernization and Postmodernization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

The author creates his notion of a dichotomous "culture-shift" by using survey data from several countries. He proposes that one's age/generation affects one's view on democracy, satisfaction and priorities in life. His use of survey data is particularly impressive and his methodology has spawned subsequent research and criticism.

***Foley, Michael W., Bob Edwards and Mario Diani* (eds). Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective. University Press of New England, 2001.**

This is a collection of valuable essays by top civil society scholars in the field. It includes examples of several approaches and methodologies including case studies, quantitative empirical analyses and historical/qualitative chapters of countries in the former Warsaw Pact, Europe and Latin America.

***Gurr, Ted*. *Why Men Rebel.* Princeton University Press, 1971.**

The author's thesis is well known and asks why people engage in political violence (riots, rebellion, coups, etc.) and how regimes respond. He focuses on the idea of "relative deprivation"- a discrepancy between what people think they deserve, and what they actually think they can get that may lead to political violence. He also distinguishes between basic needs such as food and larger societal needs such as political representation.

***Huntington, Samuel*. *The Third Wave*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.**

The author uses the 1974 junior officers' coup in Portugal as the launching point of a global trend in collapsing authoritarian regimes that culminated in the end of the Warsaw Pact in 1991. He uses comparative descriptive analyses in looking at changes mainly in Eastern Europe, Latin America and to a lesser extent Africa and Asia, changes he sees as caused by ideas (a contagion of sorts). This text is critical for those interested in promoting democracy or pluralization in a specific region.

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

The author's first important contribution to the literature on democratization in developing societies, he argues that political violence will likely occur during the middle phases of industrialization and economic growth when mobilized groups/sectors all seek a quick change of the status quo. Huntington uses several historical cases studies simultaneously Nigeria, India, Brazil etc. and combines aspects of several theories (relative deprivation, path dependency, transitions) in his critique of modernization/development theory.

***Luebbert, Greg*. *Liberalism, Fascism or Social Democracy: Social Classes and the Political Origins of Regimes in Interwar Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,1991.**

The author focuses on class alliances in explaining the formation of stable democratic regimes in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia and other European countries during the interwar years. The role of labor unions is emphasized as a check on state power and the landed elites.

***Midlarsky, Manus* (Ed). *Inequality, Democracy, and Economic Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.**

This is an edited volume including chapters by prominent political scientists and sociologists. Several regions/countries of the developing world are examined including those from Eastern Europe/Eurasia and Africa. Theories such as "hydraulic society" are rigorously and empirically tested in a broader look at structural causes of democracy.

***Przeworski, Adam*. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.**

This text uses several methodologies (game theory, descriptive analysis etc) to test theories popular in political science and political economy. Using a most-

different systems, two region approach, the author is both precise and creative in his framework. This is recommended for those who might be shifting from one developing region to another and is interested in applying cross-regional principles and ideas.

Putnam, Robert D. Making Democracy Work. **Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.**

This is one of the most well-known works empirically examining civil society. Putnam introduces "social capital" as a variable necessary for any developing society because it serves as a link between voters/citizens and political and economic institutions. Although the author examines data from Italy, a comparative exercise might be applied to many other non-OECD countries.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Stephens, Evelyne Huber and John Stephens**.** ***Capitalist Development and Democracy.*** **Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.**

This is a quintessential structural theory of democratization text that focuses on how historically class cleavages and income/sector groups have institutionalized their desires into more formal civil society and political organizations including political parties. The authors are political sociologists clearly influenced by Barrington Moore. They use a rigorous, qualitative, most different systems comparison of several countries in Europe and the Americas including Germany, the UK, Argentina and Jamaica.

Schmitter, Philippe C., Guillermo O'Donnell, and Larry Whitehead**,** ***Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*****. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.**

This is part of a multi volume series produced by JHU and can be considered one of the most important examples of transitions theory of democratization. The authors compare and contrast Argentina, Chile, Brazil and other non- Southern Cone countries' routes to democracy by focusing on elite actor-civil society pacts and bargaining.

Scott, James**.** ***The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia*****. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.**

This is considered a classic text because of how the author uses economics and psychology theory along with sociology and political science in focusing on a country not open to much research at the time. Scott utilizes a Gurr-like framework in his focus on several regions in Vietnam. This work still has relevant implications for development work in countries having large populations and heavily reliant on agriculture.

***Stepan, Alfred*. *Authoritarian Brazil*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.**

The author is one of most well known of transitions theory democratization scholars and an expert on Brazil. This is a class case study of how an autocratic Brazil gradually liberalized over time through several governments because of a still-strong civil society gradually demanding more inputs into decision-making. Brazil's opening or "apertura" would set examples for other countries in the region that experienced even more repressive governments and would democratize in much shorter time periods. This text may be useful for future development work in Cuba.

***Tarrow, Sidney*. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics,* Cambridge University Press, 1994.**

One of the most well read texts on social movements, the author qualitatively examines events in the U.S. and Europe using 1848 as a revolutionary baseline. He bases his analyses around a unified theory of collective action, an action that originates from unique cultures, organizations and personal sources acting within an organization structure. Movements are defined "as recurrent contentious collective actions" that act and react vis-à-vis the state in different societies.

III. NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

***Anderson, Benedict*. *Imagined Communities*: *Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.**

Sociologist Anderson writes one of the most well-known texts on national identity using historical descriptive analyses and a rather loosely tied theoretical framework. His basic thesis is political elites create and manipulate citizens/electorates by evoking images of patriotism and ancient ties to the past. These state tools include language (newsprint and education) and other symbols such as statues. The timing of establishing identity (European vs. colonial states) also affects how nationalism can be utilized.

***Gellner, Ernest*. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983.**

The author focuses on structural change as an impetus fomenting national identity. He argues that economic change requires cultural homogeneity, and that the demand for cultural homogeneity, and the state apparatus to provide it, is what drives nationalism. He emphasizes economic specialization and labor roles (a Marxist perspective) and agrees with Anderson when he declares the need industrialism demands a homogeneous "high culture" that will supersede "low culture" and many small regional languages. A homogeneous "high culture"

centralizes society via a state apparatus and an educational system, creating and reinforcing national identity to tie the people to the state.

***Hutchison, John and Anthony D. Smith*, eds. *Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University 1994.**

This is a collection of several short chapters by top scholars of nationalism including Conner, Kedourie, and Hobsbawm who place identity in context historically. While focusing mainly on Europe, it is still helpful because it differing theoretical perspectives on causes of national identity (cultural, structural, institutional).

IV. POLITICAL ECONOMY

(Although not considered a separate theoretical perspective in the study of democratization, the political economy literature is most useful in that is very applicable to developing societies that might be receiving donor assistance. It is especially appropriate when addressing change during rapid global and systemic economic downturns.)

***Bates, Robert H. Markets and States in Tropical Africa: The Political Basis of Agricultural Policies*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1981.**

One of the most important texts on African politics, Bates uses historical institutionalism and interest group theories to explain that African governments inherited institutions that were set to extract rents from the agriculture sector rather than to maximize the welfare of farmers. He claims that state intervention in the market drains resources from the countryside to "appease social unrest in urban areas and to serve the private interests of those in power". Cheaper labor from the countryside also helps urban consumers benefit more than rural producers thus overly skewing economic policies.

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

This is a typical work by Evans (a Brazil expert) who focuses on the role of the state in directing economic growth in the developing world. He uses a comparative descriptive approach with several countries from inside and outside Latin America.

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

This is a detailed case study of the economic policies of authoritarian governments in Brazil from Vargas to the military juntas of the later years. It is

useful in how it shows the relationship between private firms and the state in an evolving "state development model". It is useful because Brazil still symbolizes a large and successful industrializing country with a vibrant civil society and large poor urban population. It also might serve as an example to other countries in Asia and Africa reaching comparable points.

***Gerschenkron, Alexander*. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962.**

This is a classic text from an economic historian who uses an institutionalist perspective when comparing what he calls early (UK), late (German and the European continent) and very late economies (Communist Europe and the Soviet Union). His emphasis on democracy and economic growth is ***when*** *and* ***how*** *rather than why. Those countries that industrialized later and were more "backward" required and rapid and therefore greater state (i.e. more authoritarian) intervention than 18th Century England.*

***Gourevitch, Peter*. *Politics in Hard Times*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.**

This is a classic text for practitioners interested in macroeconomic policy responses related to global economic downturns. The author focuses on UK, Sweden, Germany, France and the U.S. during the 1930s and the 1970s-1980s in his study of how societal actors act and react to economic downturns. He addresses the roles of state structure, ideology, international rivalries and leadership as competing explanatory factors.

***Haggard, Stephen and Robert J. Kaufman*. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.**

The authors focus on the adoption of market-oriented policy reforms in twelve Asian and Latin American countries particularly during recent economic crises. In doing so, they broadly investigate the relationship between political and economic change especially how much crises affect political liberalization and democratization. They also address the legacies of authoritarian and the consolidation of political and economic reform over the long run.

***Hall, Peter and David Soskice* (eds). *Varieties of Capitalism: The institutional foundations of comparative advantage* Oxford University Press, 2001.**

This collection of essays compares the use of laws and rules in managing economic growth in several European countries. The roles of pacts, corporatism and monetary policy are addressed along with other aspects.

***Hall, Peter*. *Governing the Economy: The Politics of State Intervention in Britain and France*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.**

The author examines the fiscal and economic policies of the United Kingdom and France in the twentieth century. He traces the differences between evolution of Keynesianism to Thatcherism and the diminishing etatism in Paris as a result of changing national and global economic conditions. His theoretical view might be labeled "state in society" since he does modify an existing institutionalist perspective.

***Katzenstein, Peter*. 1985. *Small States in World Markets*. Cornell U Press.**

The author examines several countries including Belgium, France, the Netherlands and Austria in a study of political economy of Western Europe. His use of theory and measurement is particularly impressive in his focus on political elites and the context in which they act. Like other political economists, he emphasizes the global or regional economic contexts in which national political actors and businesses function in.

***North, Douglas C. Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.**

The author's work was among the first to reintroduce the topic and importance of institutions as both a facilitator of democracy and economic development. He also suggests that institutions are heavily context-based since his broad definition ("rules of the game") vary with history and culture.

***Przeworski, Adam*. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.**

This text uses several methodologies (game theory, descriptive analysis etc) to test theories popular in political science and political economy. Using a most-different systems, two region approach, the author is both precise and creative in his framework. This is recommended for those who might be shifting from one developing region to another and is interested in applying cross-regional principles and ideas.

***Rogowski, Ronald*. *Commerce And Coalitions: How Trade Affects Domestic Political Alignments*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.**

This is a study of how domestic political alignments affect trade and economic policy. The author uses a parsimonious argument to demonstrate how elites from rural (green), urban (red) and middle class (black) sectors (a structural argument) compete against and ally with one another over time for control of national trade policies. The cases of the US, UK and Germany among others are included in a

study of ancient as well as twentieth century examples. Like Katzenstein and Gourevitch, Rogowski might be more applicable to times of global economic distress especially in modernizing and developing countries still heavily reliant upon agricultural exports.

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