

SA 533: Power and Politics: Governing Human Collectives

Objectives

Power and politics has remained one of the central experience and concern of the human condition throughout the ages. Drawing from a wide range of sources from the social sciences and the humanities, the primary objective of this course is to familiarize the students with the foundational issues of political power and authority and its linkages with state, governance, and development. This paper is designed as a text-based exploration and will thus require the students to immerse into original texts to develop their comprehension, analytic, and writing skills. While the list of texts offers a wide intellectual and historical sweep, the teaching and reading will focus on the core issues listed on each Unit.

Unit I: Conceptualizing Human Collectives (10)

- A. From hoards to human groups
- B. Basic attributes of human groups: norms, rules, power, politics and authority
- C. Formal organizations and their basic characteristics
- D. The political community

Unit II: Foundational Classics (10)

- A. Emergence of political power
- B. The idea of state
- C. Government and Representation

Unit III: Political Traditions and Practices (15)

- A. Politics and power in tribal societies
- B. Nature of political leadership
- C. Pre-state formations
- D. Anthropology/sociology and the study of politics

Unit IV: Comparative Readings in Asian Political Systems (15)

- A. Confucian authority
- B. East Asian developments
- C. Hindu and Muslim authority
- D. South Asian politics

Unit V. Politics and Power Under Different Forms of Regimes (20)

- A. Despotic and dictatorial regime: Thomas Hobbes on the "Leviathan" State, prohibition of civic right of the population, political processes guided by the interest and control of a minority of the ruling population

- B. Democratic regimes under western liberal tradition: John Lock: the state as a defender of civic right of the population; J.S. Mills: representative government; Polyarchy, competitive process and majority support as the basis of establishing political legitimacy; political parties and interest groups as mechanisms of interest articulation and political socialization; role of civil society
- C. Socialist critique to the western form of democratic regime: Karl Marx: the instrumental role of the state; the concept of dominant class, power block and relative autonomy of the state; socialist regimes: a critique.

Unit VI. Political Violence and the Human Condition (15)

- A. Forms of violence
- B. Ethnonationalism
- C. State coercion
- D. Transitional conflicts

Unit VII. Patterns of Political Transitions and Consolidations (15)

- A. Regime change
- B. Social movements and intensity of change of the regime
- C. Transitional challenges

Unit VIII. State order, state capacity and authority (15)

- A. Establishing the rule of law
- B. The culture and politics of corruption
- C. Forms of state control: coercion, hegemony and hegemonic formations
- D. Society- state interface
- E. Limiting state capacity

Unit IX. Discourses and Critique of Power, State, Development, and Governmentality (20)

- A. Embodied power
- B. Pre-modern and modern logics of power
- C. Bureaucratic reason and unreason
- D. Emergence of a development state
- E. International development regime

Unit X. Globalization and Governance (15)

- A. Historical context of globalization and global connection of developing societies
- B. Shift from 'govern' to governance
- C. Public administration reform
- D. Global governance

REQUIRED READINGS

Unit I. Conceptualizing Human Collectives

1. Elbert W. Stewart and James A. Glynn (1981). *Introduction to Sociology (3rd Edn)*, Chapter 15: Political Institutions. Pp. 353 – 380. New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company Ltd.
2. Harry M. Johnson (1984). *Sociology: A Systematic Introduction*. Chapter 12: Formal Organizations, Pp. 380 – 322. New Delhi: Allied Publishers Private Ltd.
3. Chapter I, II & III. In *History of the Ancient World*. F. Korovkin. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1985.
4. I. Schapera. (1956). *Government and Politics in Tribal Societies*. Chapter 1: The Political Community, Pp. 1 – 37. London: CA Watts and Co. Ltd. 1956.
5. Kate Nash (ed.) (2000). *Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology*. Chapter 1: The Subject of Power (Michel Foucault), Pp. 8 – 25. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers, 2000.
6. A.M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (Translated) (1947). *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Chapter V.III: The Types of Authority and Imperative Coordination. Pp. 324 – 406 (Also in *Max Weber...*). New York: Free Press of Glencoe.
7. Charles E. Lindblom (1978). *Politics and Markets: The World's Political and Economic Systems*. Chapter 9: Politics: The Struggle over Authority. Pp. 119 – 130. New Delhi: Ambica Publications, (Printed in India) 1978. (First published by Basic Books Incorporation, 1977).

Unit II. Foundational Classics

1. John Stuart Mill (2001). *Utilitarianism*. Representative Government, Pp. 188-277. London: Everyman.
2. Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes (1985). *Of Commonwealth*, Pp. 223-274, Part II. London: Penguin.
3. Frederick G. Weiss, ed. (1974). *Hegel: The Essential Writings*. Chapter VI: Objective Spirit: Human Conduct and Philosophic Truth, Pp. 253-313, New York: Harper Torch Books.
4. Max Weber (1978). *Economy and Society. Political Communities*, Pp. 901-1005, Vol. II. Berkeley: University of California Press.
5. Marx and Engels (1978). Manifesto of the Communist Party. In Robert C. Tucker (ed.) *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company pp. 469-483.

Unit III. Political Traditions and Practices

1. Frederick Barth (1965). *Political Leadership Among Swat Pathans*. London: The Athlone Press.
2. F. Bailey (1980). *Stratagems and Spoils: A Social Anthropology of Politics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
3. Frank McGlynn and Arthur Tuden, eds (1991). *Anthropological Approaches to Political Behavior*. Introduction, Pp. 3-44. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press.

4. Borgstrom, Bengt-Erik (1980) *The Patron and Panca: Village Values and Panchayat Democracy in Nepal*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

Unit IV. Comparative Readings in Asian Political Systems

1. Lucian W. Pye (1985). *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority*. The Evolution of Asian Concepts of Power, Pp. 31-54 and, *East Asia: Varieties of Confucian Authority*, Pp. 55-89. Cambridge: The Belknap Press. 1985.
2. Erza F. Vogel (1991). *The Four Little Dragons: The Spread of Industrialization in East Asia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
3. John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman. *China: A New History. The Post-Mao Reform Era*, Pp. 406-450. Cambridge: The Belknap Press.
4. Lucian W. Pye (1985). *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority. Hindu and Muslim Power and the Rewards of Narcissism*, Pp. 133-157. Cambridge: The Belknap Press.
5. Craig Baxter, Yogendra K. Malik, Charles H. Kennedy, and Robert C. Oberst. Boulder (1993). *Government and Politics in South Asia*. Westview Press.
6. Gunnar Myrdal (1968). *Asian Drama: An Inquiry into the Poverty of Nations. A Third World of Planning*, Pp. 707-799. New York: Pantheon.
7. Sharma, Prayag Raj (2004) *The State and Society: Historical Foundations and Contemporary Trends*. Kathmandu: Himal Books pp 151-166

Unit V. Politics and Power Under Different Forms of Regimes

1. Alex Van Den Berg (1988). *Immanent Utopia: From Marxism on the State and the State of Marxism*. Chapter 1: Marx and Engles on the State and Politics, pp 14 - 95. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
2. Barrington Moore (1966). *Social Origin of Democracy and Dictatorship: Lords and Peasants in the Making of the Modern world*. Revolution From Above and Fascism, pp. 433-452. JR. USA: Penguin University Books.
3. John Keane (ed.) (1988). *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspective. Despotism and Democracy: the Origin and Development of the Distinction Between Civil Society and the State, 1950 - 1850*. London: Verso.
4. Charles E. Lindblom (1978). *Politics and Markets: The World's Political and Economic Systems*. Chapter 10: Plyarchy. Pp. 131 - 143, Chapter 18: Communist Systems. Pp. 237 – 246, NewDelhi: Ambica Publications, (Printed in India) (First published by Basic Books Incorporation, 1977)
5. Bill Jordan (1985). *The State: Authority and Autonomy*. Chapter 2: Hobbes. Pp. 23 – 30, Chapter 2: Locke. Pp. 30 – 40, Chapter 15: Liberalism and Alternative Liberal Designs. Pp. 281 -299, Chapter

- 16: Socialism and Alternative Socialist Designs. Pp 300 – 329, New York: Basil Blackwell.
6. Nicos Poulantzas (1973). *Political Power and Social Classes*. Chapter 4: The Power Block. pp 296 – 303, London: NLB.
 7. Ralph Miliband (1969). *The State in Capitalist Society*. Chapter 1: Introduction, pp 1 – 22, Chapter 2: Economic Elites and Dominant Class, pp 23 -48, New York: Basic Books.
 8. Larry J. Ray (1996). *Social Theory and the Crisis of State Socialism*. Chapter 5: Systemic Crisis in State Socialism. Pp. 100 – 133, UK: Edward Elger.
 9. Anthony M. Orum (1978). *Introduction to Political Sociology: the Social Anatomy of Body Politic*. Chapters 8.9.10...: Parties and Participation. Pp. 195 -302, Part III, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Unit VI. Patterns of Political Transitions and Consolidations

1. Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Part I: Theoretical Overview, Pp. 3-37, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University. 1996.
2. Thomas Carothers (2002). *The End of the Transition Paradigm*. Journal of Democracy 13:1.
3. Anthony M. Orum (1978). *Introduction to Political Sociology: the Social Anatomy of Body Politic*. Chapter 12: Social and Political Movements. Pp. 339 – 374, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1978.
4. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol (eds.) *States and Transitional Relations*. Pp. 167 – 256, Part II.. Bringing the State Back Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
5. Kate Nash (ed.) (2000). *Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology*. Social Movements and the Politicization of the Social. Pp. 123 – 202, Part III. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers,
6. Theda Skocpol (). *Social Revolutions in The Modern World*. Chapter 6: France, Russia, China: A Structural analysis of Social Revolutions. Pp. 133 – 168, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
7. Anthony M. Orum (1978). *Social and Political Movements*. Pp. 339 – 374, Chapter 12. In *Introduction to Political Sociology: the Social Anatomy of Body Politic*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Unit VII. Political Violence and the Human Condition

1. Arthur Kleinman (). *The violence of Everyday Life: The Multiple Forms and Dynamics of Social Violence*, Pp. 226-242.
2. Emma Tarlo (2000). *Violence and Subjectivity*. Veena Das et al (eds). Body and Space in a Time of Crisis: Sterilization and Resettlement during the Emergency in Delhi, Pp. 242-270. Berkeley: University of California Press.
3. Stanley Tambiah (1996). *Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia*, Pp. 3-20, 221-244, 309-342. Berkeley: University of California Press.
4. Edward Mansfield D. and Jack Snyder (2001). *Democratic Transitions, Institutional Strength, and War*. International Organization. 56(2): 297-337.

5. Atul Kohli. In Alex Hadenius (ed.) (1997). *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*. Chapter 4: On Sources of Social and Political Conflicts in Follower Democracies. Pp. 71 – 81, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
6. Atul Kohl (1997). On Sources of Social and Political Conflicts in Follower Democracies. In Alex Hadenius (ed.). *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*. Cambridge. Pp. 71 – 81, Chapter 4. i.: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
7. Taylor, Christopher C. (2002) Cultural Face of the Terror in the Rwandan Genocide of 1994. In Alexander Laban Hinton (ed.) *Annihilating Difference: The Anthropology of Genocide*. Berkeley: University of California Press pp.137-178

Unit VIII. State Order, State Capacity and Authority

1. Susan Rose-Ackerman (2001). *When States Fail: Causes and Consequences*. Establishing the Rule of Law, Pp. 182-221. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2. Diane E. Davis (2006). *Undermining the Rule of Law: Democratization and the Dark Side of Police Reform in Mexico*. *Latin American Politics and Society* 48 (1).
3. Richard Burghart (1996). *The Conditions of Listening: Essays on Religion, History and Politics in South Asia*. Corruption - Its Causes and Effects, Pp. 937-958. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
4. Gramsci (1985). *The State Authority and Autonomy*. Chapter 6: Bill Jordan. Pp. 119 -121, New York: Basil Blackwell.
5. Bob Jessop (1990). *The State Theory: Putting the Capitalist State in Its Place*. Chapter 7: Hegemony and Hegemonic Project. Pp. 207 – 211, Cambridge: Polity Press.
6. Kate Nash (ed.) (2000). *Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology*. Chapter 15: Hegemony and New Political Subjects: Towards a New Concept of Democracy. Pp. 295 – 309, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
7. Joel S. Migdal (2001). *State in Society: Studying How States and Societies Transform and Constitute One Another*. Strong States, Weak States: Power and Accommodation, Pp. 58-96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
8. Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue (eds.) (1994). *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*. Chapter 11: State Power and Social Forces: on Political Contention and Accommodation in the Third World. Pp. 294 – 325, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
9. Peter B. Evans, et al (1994). *Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research*. Theda Skocpol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
10. Shah, Saubhagya (2002). *State of Nepal*. Civil Society to Evil State. In Kanak Mani Dixit and Ramachandran Shastri (eds) Kathmandu: Himal Books.
11. Joel S. Migdal (1988). *The Politics of Survival: Why Weak States Cannot Overcome Strong Societies and What Happens to Them as a Result*. Chapter 6: Strong Societies and Weak States: State –

- Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World. Pp. 206 – 237, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
12. Kate Nash (ed.) 2000., *Hegemony and New Political Subjects: Towards a New Concept of Democracy*. Pp. 295 – 309, Chapter 15. In Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers,
 13. Geertz, Clifford (1963). *Agricultural Involution: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia*, Berkeley: University of California Press. pp124-143

Unit IX. Discourses and Critique of Power, State, Development and Governmentality

1. Judith Justice (1989). *Policies, Plans, & People: Foreign Aid and Health Development*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2. Akhilesh Gupta (1998). *Postcolonial Developments: Agriculture in the Making of Modern India*. Chapter I: Agrarian Populism in the Development of a Modern Nation, Pp. 33-105, Durham : Duke University Press.
3. Arturo Escobar (1995). *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
4. Adrian Leftwich (2000). *States of Development: on the Primacy of Politics in Development*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
5. Greenfeld, Liah (2001) **The Spirit of Capitalism: Nationalism and Economic Growth**. Cambridge: Harvard University Press pp1-20
6. The Body of the Condemned, Pp. 3031, Part I.
7. Michael Foucault (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Part III: Panopticism, Pp. 195-230. New York: Vintage Books.
8. Michael Foucault (). *Governmentality*, Foucault Effect, Graham Burchell et al, eds. Pp. 87-104. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
9. James C. Scott (1998). *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. Chapter I: State Projects of Legibility and Simplification, Pp. 1-53. New Haven: Yale University Press.
10. Adrian Leftwich (2000). *States of Development: on the Primacy of Politics in Development*. Cambridge: Polity Press
11. Gutmann, Mathew C. *The Ramonce of Democracy: Compliant Defiance in Contemporary Mexico* Berkely: University of California Press pp xv-xxx

Unit X. Globalization and Governance

1. Merilee S. Grindle (2000). *Governance in a Globalizing World*. Joseph S. Nye and John D. Donahue, eds. Introduction, Pp. 1-44. Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, and Ready or Not: The Developing World and Globalization, Pp. 178-207. Globalization Public Administration Reform, Pp. 229-252. Elaine Ciulla Kamarck. In Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute Press.
2. Dev Raj Dahal, Hari Uprety and Phanindra Subba (2002). *Good Governance and Decentralization in Nepal*. Kathmandu: GDS.

3. Mary Kaldor (2001). *Global Civil Society*. Chapter V: A decade of Humanitarian Intervention: The Role of Global Civil Society, Pp. 109-146. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
4. Jagadis Bhagwati (1997). *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, Alex Hadenius (ed.). Chapter 12: Globalization Sovereignty and Democracy. Pp. 263 – 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
5. Kate Nash (ed.) (2000). *Readings in Contemporary Political Sociology*. Chapter 16: Democracy, the Nation State and the Global System. Pp. 310 – 335. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
6. Bill Jordan (1985). *The State Authority and Autonomy*. Chapter 10: The Development of the World Economy. Pp. 188 – 218. New York: Basil Blackwell.
7. Harry Magdoff (1982). *Introduction to the Sociology of "Developing Societies."* Hamza Alavi and Teodor Shanin (eds. Chapter I: Imperialism: A Historical Survey. Pp. 11 – 28. USA: The Macmillan Press.
8. Jagadis Bhagwati. In Alex Hadenius (ed.). *Globalization Sovereignty and Democracy*. Pp. 263 - 81, Chapter 12. *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
9. Shah, Saubhagya (2008) *Civil Soceity in Uncivil Places: Soft State and Regime Change in Nepal*. Washington D.C: East West Center