

## **Week 4, Alternative Perspectives on Modernization**

Professor Joe Jupille, Comparative Core

Rapporteur: Eamon Aloyo, February 8, 2007

### Required Readings:

- J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Comparative Politics* 10, 4 (1978): 535-52 (E-JOURNALS);
- Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley, Institute of International Studies, 1979), pp. 1-111 (E-RESERVES).

### **Background:**

- both are responding to Lipset (1959) and both are more historical
  - o they take sequencing seriously
  - o look at a film rather than a snapshot (O'Donnell)
- both are critical of modernization
- continue the analysis of how economics and politics and societal aspects all relate
- both depart from a linear view of modernization or development (Rostow 1960, who we didn't read)
- both have Latin American emphasis
  - o this is largely true of today as well: Latin America is one of the most vibrant areas of comparative politics and was a precursor to the globalization concentration

### **Class Discussion:**

- is it (1) useful and (2) correct to have dichotomy between modern and not modern? (I think – on what the dichotomy was I took poor notes, so I apologize)

### **(Valenzuela and Valenzuela 1978)**

#### **Modernization**

- individuals and states are main actors
- universal in that it assumes a linear view of history moving from less developed to more
- not historically oriented: "time is not fundamental" (Valenzuela and Valenzuela 1978: 550); takes a slice in time and tries to explain it
- values are paramount: part of the reason less developed countries (LDCs) are in that state, are that LDC individuals hold traditional values; to modernize, then, requires a change in values

#### Critiques:

- o Is the assumption about (ir)rationality correct, given new research?
- o Must all states and all societies follow roughly equivalent paths to become modern? What if some societies reject Western style modernity?
- o What does modernization theory have to say about colonialism's legacy for today's LDCs and DCs?

### **Dependency**

- classes are main actors

- historical, especially in relation to colonialism
- assumes individuals are rational (at least according to Valenzuela and Valenzuela), but that they live under different constraints and therefore actions vary
- systemic theory
- Jupille argues this theory is largely dead within U.S. academia\
- 

#### Critiques:

- o Does it actually have a theory of change? In other words, is it static?
- o Does it explain, or just describe?
- o Is it an approach, and Valenzuela and Valenzuela claim, or is it theory, or some “squishy” (Jupille) mix
- o How can dependency theory explain the East Asian Tigers (S. Korea, Taiwan, et. al.)?

#### General Discussion

- many theories make explicit their scope so failure outside of this area does not necessarily mean the theory fails or is bad, but may mean that it’s less relevant if there is an ever shrinking scope to which the theory can be applied
- “new corporatism”: tripartite bargaining between State, Labor, and Capital
  - o Mussolini supported

#### (O’Donnell 1979)

##### Reader’s Digest version:

- (Justin) Proposition 9 (p.47): in South America, high and low levels of modernization correspond to non-democratic systems, while intermediate levels of modernization correspond to democracies
- (Jupille): like Huntington (1968), modernization does *not* necessarily produce democracy and all other good things, like some liberals believe
- Urbanization, an aspect of modernization, leads to new pressures on government and after import substitution industrialization (ISI) ran its course, new pressures were put on government. This lead to technocrats taking power and, to varying degrees, oppressing the groups that opposed their narrow, quantifiable, goals, e.g. GDP growth and low inflation.
- bureaucratic authoritarianism is another type of government, different than both democracy and totalitarianism
- Critiques:
  - o how theoretically useful is O’Donnell, or, in other words, how well does he explain why some countries develop into Bureaucratic-Authoritarian states, while others don’t, even within his scope of South America?
  - o Can his “theory” travel?
  - o (Justin) Does O’Donnell set up a blueprint for how to become a bureaucratic-authoritarian government?

Other Readings And Questions:

- (Elaine) – how does modernization relate to dependency theory? Are they necessarily mutually exclusive? In all ways or just in some aspects?

Gerschenkron, Alexander. *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*. Belknap Press, 1962