**UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH**

**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

**PIA 2528**

**COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT:**

**GOVERNANCE, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

**Professor Louis A. Picard**

**Instructor**

**Spring Semester, 2023**

**Time: Thursday 3:00-5:55**

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**Office Hours:**

# Wednesday, 2:00-3:00

# Thursday, 1:00-3:00

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### Background to the Course

### “Governance and Society”

**by**

**Louis A. Picard**

**Political scientists, development theorists and human security practitioners in developed and developing countries need to be careful that their formulas for social and economic change do not do more harm than good. A balance exists between the extremes of the command economy and centralized planning on the one hand and the libertarian approach advocated by radical public choice theorists on the other.**

**In the twenty first century, and as we recover from a world-wide pandemic, it has become clear that it is not possible to divorce development and human security concerns from issues of governance and civil society. Nor can the policy debates and selection of policy choices be detached from the capacity of institutions to implement policy. Without good governance and legal norms, development and human security is not possible.**

**Here we will attempt to define this balance by looking at issues of local government, governance and civil society in developed societies (North America, Western Europe and East Asia-Japan and Korea), and in developing, transitional and emerging societies (Latin America, the Caribbean, Eastern Europe, Central, South and Southeast Asia, China and Africa).**

**We focus in the class on the dynamics and theories of governance with primary attention being the grass roots base of democracy and their relationship to institutionalized state structures. Focus is on the nexus between philosophies of governance and the practical implications of that theory on political behavior.**

**The institutional state can be defined as the set of structures and processes, including conflict mitigation, the nature of social relationships within government units, between public sector institutions and the private and non-profit sector and internal organizational dynamics within state organizations. These evolve over time. These relationships form a permanent if evolving part of the dynamics of government. Essential to this dynamic is the role of civil society.**

**Formal institutions are defined as organizationally or socially based units that have effective authority over aspects of policy and implementation. They are based on formal rules, common values, and standard modes of behavior as well as regulations that are widely accepted.**

**Informal institutions can be embedded in socio-cultural institutions, norms and standards, and include 'Customary' or 'traditional' political institutions (e.g. chiefdoms, religious organizations and local village councils). They are sometimes criticized for being undemocratic and non-participatory. That said informal, or as some label them, non-formal institutions, are an important part of the governance process.**

**For the state to serve society, both politicians and the bureaucracy must see themselves as parts of the institutional system with concerns that are broader than group defined needs. Distorted institutional relationships occur when state affiliated groups and individuals identify only, or primarily, with their own immediate interests or communities.**

**This disjointed institutionalism, once installed, is difficult to change. A state, once institutionalized (even if imperfectly), has a formidable capacity for its own reproduction and strengthening across time. Often systematic efforts by new regimes, to uproot prior forms and build new blueprints over state and society, will fail.**

**The state, defined by the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, is identified by territorial integrity and authoritative control. As an analytical concept it refers to an idea or set of ideas as to how government relates to society. The state system, by the nineteenth century, had acquired its modern form as a steering mechanism over societal and economic forces and an institutional apparatus with human and structural characteristics.**

**The contemporary capitalist state makes and influences social, legal and public investment decisions. It is often the mission of the state to sustain conditions in its economic management conducive to investment, while simultaneously pursuing revenue-consuming distribution policies indispensable to its legitimization.**

**Critics of state analysis complain of the "black box" problem. Rather than reifying the state as a single actor, the argument here is that the state is characterized by both a structural complexity and an institutional fragmentation of the government of the day based on the interaction of individuals, sometimes organized in groups. Institutional approaches have suggested that it is important to analyze issues of personal characteristics and the psychological influences that circulate within the state and its bureaucracy.**

**It is my position that the state, even the authoritarian state, is not a unitary actor but is made up of human and organizational components which cooperate and compete, and which link up with and influence the private sector and civil society. To repeat: the state is no unitary instrument. Rather, it is a complex social system shaped by the integration of political officials, civil servants, external actors, and gender, social, ethnic and racial divisions.**

**Stable democracies require social strength to maintain a civil society and a bureaucracy that sees itself as part of an institution and as having interests wider than its own organizational or class interests. It is important that "institution building" rather than "nation building" take precedence, particularly in an ideologically divided or in a multi-ethnic country.**

**Democratic stability requires both a strong state and societal strength based upon the values of civil society and democratic institutions imbedded in a wider network of state and social organizations that are decentralized throughout the state system and particularly at local government level.**

**The "local state" is not synonymous with local government. The former reflects the local control mechanisms of the central authority. The latter reflects a bottom up process of political influence and control based on principles of democratic government.**

**Course Expectations**

**The basic source of our understanding about governance will be the reading materials identified below. It is lengthy and various. The categories under which reading is assigned are somewhat arbitrary and as we go along the re-examination of earlier readings will be essential when we get further into the course.**

**Because of the length of each week's reading assignment, it is essential that students keep up with the reading from week to week. Failure to do so will result in academic "overload" as the course draws to an end.**

**Participants are expected to do as much reading as they can each week. Clearly, *a mastery of the literature, and ability to discuss it, will be a major measure of how I assess your class performance,* particularly if you aspire to receive higher than a “B” in the course.**

**Though this is an ambitious course, the required readings as such are minimal. Beyond the required materials listed, each individual will have to decide how much and which readings are most important for him or her in any given week. Students should note which of the three topics, governance, local Government or civil society each individual plan to focus on.**

**The rule of thumb is that the student should plan to work on a minimum of two hours of reading for each one hour in class. That suggests a minimum of six hours a week for a three-credit class. Keep in mind I grade up from a minimum performance (“B Grade”) and not down. Do the best you can, and you will be able to more than “survive” the course.**

**The course will be a mixture of in-class discussions and lectures. The lectures, it should be noted, are not intended to summarize the reading but rather give the independent views of the instructor. All students in the class should read the core readings. Each student should also read from at least one of the three topic lists.**

**I do not expect anyone to be able to read all of the material on the syllabus but you should read as much as you can. My lectures will complement but not duplicate the reading. Be prepared to discuss the reading that you have completed every class session.**

**Course Requirements**

**There will be four assignments for the successful completion of the course. The two big assignments are a TAKE HOME FINAL EXAM and a RESEARCH PAPER.**

**ALL WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS ARE TO BE E-MAILED TO THE INSTRUCTOR.**

**1. The first assignment will consist of a bio statement and a “self-designed” plan of study. This assignment asks each student to submit a two to three page, third person biography including: 1) your background/bio, 2) a discussion of your interests in the course and what you hope to get out of it, 3) a picture of yourself; 4) a self-prepared study plan based on this syllabus that identifies key conceptual issues of interest and professional area (governance, local government and civil society) that you are interested in exploring (15% of the Grade). DUE: WEEK TWO- January 19, 2023.**

**2. Participation in discussion. Students should be prepared to discuss and critique the reading each week. In assessing your performance, great weight will be placed on the extent to which you are able to discuss the assigned reading in both your oral and written presentations.** **Please be sure that all readings have been read by the beginning of the date for which they are assigned. There will also be an oral presentation of your second paper (April 13). Participation. (25%).**

**3. First Essay (10-15 pages). This essay is due the last day of the semester (April 17). It functions as the Take Home Final Exam The question to be addressed is “Assess and critique the literature on democracy and governance.” Include in your discussion the utility of the democracy and governance concept and how it relates to public affairs, human security, development theory, and political institutions and conflict mitigation. Be sure to refer specifically to the readings in the course in your answer. Students must read all required reading. (30%). This is not a research paper but students should present it with references and citations in the manner of one. The goal is to show that you have read broadly and deeply into the materials.**

**4. Second Essay (10-15 pages). This essay is due the last day of the semester. This is a limited research paper. Each student will select a literature topic and assess and critique the literature.**

**The paper should be based on an in-depth reading of one of the three topics in the course 1) Governance, 2) Local Government and 3) Civil Society) and may address a particular part of the world. Each student will present their paper proposal in mid-semester (March 2). Be sure to refer specifically to the readings in your presentation and paper. Each person must read at least six books on their topic (30%) and refer to four reserve references. There will be an oral presentation on this paper at the end of the semester (April 20).**

**Both papers must use the references provided in the syllabus but may use additional materials as well. You may request to substitute up to two books for those on the list for the second paper. Send the request to me and I will let you know if I think that it is an appropriate substitute or suggest that you use it for an additional resource.**

**Both essays may be turned in early. Requests for joint papers will be entertained with a commiserate paper length for the second essay. All materials in both papers should be referenced and should be cited in either the correct APA, Harvard Style or University of Chicago style. Incorrect citations will cause your submissions to be downgraded and impact on your final grade. Be sure to ask questions about the course requirements.**

**A note on the dates of books. You will find very old books (1940) and new books in the lists. They should be seen within their time frame and judged by what they tell you historically. Please feel free to consult the instructor if you have questions.**

**Books**

**Several books have may be purchase through the University Bookstore. They should also be available in the Hillman library on reserve. Increasingly materials are also available on line. These plus other suggested readings are listed at the end of this syllabus. A number of other books we are using in the course are of recent publication (last four years) and can also be purchased by special order from the bookstore or through the Internet at amazon.com, ebay or other book ordering sites.**

**Required Books**

**Robert H. Bates, Prosperity and Violence: The Political Economy of Development (New York: Norton, 2010).**

**Daniel Bergner, In The Land of Magic Soldiers: A Story of White and Black in West Africa (New York: Picador, 2003).**

**Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).**

**Steve Levitzy and Daniel Ziblatt, How Democracies Die (New York: Crown Publishing, 2018).**

**Daniel Okrent, The Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition (New York: 2010).**

**Fareed Zakaria, The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad (New York: W.W. Norton, 2007).**

**READING ASSIGNMENTS**

**January 12: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW**

**Louis A. Picard, “Background to the Course,” from this syllabus, pp. 2-4 (Please ask questions).**

**Dahl, Forward and Chapter 1**

**Levitsky and Ziblatt, Introduction and Chapter 1**

**January 19: BACKGROUND TO DEMOCRACY**

**\*\*\*ONE PAGE BIO AND STUDY PLAN TO BE TURNED IN TO INSTRUCTOR**

**Okrent, Prologue and 1-3**

**Rudyard Kipling, “How Fear Came” in Green and Walzer, pp. 21-32**

**Nadine Gordimer, “Town and Country Lovers,” in Gordimer, A Soldiers Embrace, pp. 74-93**

**January 26: THE LOCAL STATE, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND DEMOCRACY**

**Zakaria, Introduction and Chapter 1**

**Dahl, Forward and Chapter 1**

**Okrent, Chapters 4-5**

**Charles Dickens, “The Election for Beadle,” in Archer and Bainbridge, pp. 64-71 (or 67-65)**

**Wang Meng, “Kite Streamers,” in Solomon, pp. 156- 180**

**February 2: HISTORICAL PATTERNS OF CONFLICT**

**Levitsky and Ziblatt, Chapter 2**

**Okrent, Chapters 6-7**

**Dahl, Chapter 2**

**Dixson, Chapter 3**

**Zakaria, Chapter 2**

**Cameron Diuodu, “The Tax Dodger,” in Larson, pp. 107-127**

**February 9: HISTORICAL PATTERNS OF LOCAL CONTROL**

**Okrent, Chapters 8-9**

**Bates, Chapter -2**

**Dahl Chapter 3**

**Mark Twain, “The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg, in Archer and Bainbridge, pp. 9-63**

**February 16: CIVIL SOCIETY: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

**Okrent, Chapters 10-11**

**Okrent, Chapters 14-15**

**Zakaria, Chapter 3**

**Rudyard Kipling, “The Law of the Jungle: How Fear Came,” in Green and Walzer, pp. 21-34.**

**Bergner, Chapter 1**

**February 23: THE PROBLEMS WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

**Okrent, Chapters 12-13**

**Berger, Chapters 2 -3**

**Levitsky and Ziblatt, Chapter 3**

**Robert Penn Warren, “Morality in Politics,” in Green and Walzer, pp. 228-236**

**March 2: Presentation of Second Paper Proposal and Submission to Instructor.**

**March 9: SPRING BREAK**

**March 16: LAND, TRADITIONAL SOCIETY AND**

**ECONOMIC CHANGE**

**Dahl, Chapter 4**

**Bates, Chapter 5**

**Zakaria, Chapter 4**

**Okrent, Chapters 16-17**

**Levitsky and Ziblatt, Chapter 4**

**Bessie Head, “The Collector of Treasures,” in Soloman, pp. 52-73**

**Lu Wenfu, “The Man from a Peddler’s Family” in Soloman, pp. 195-213.**

**March 16: Donors, Grants, and Contracts: The Privatization Debate**

**Zakaria, Chapter 5**

**Bergner, Chapter 5-7**

**Levitsky and Ziblatt, Chapter 5**

**Okrent, Chapters 18-19**

**Blaine Harden, “Good Intentions,” in Africa, pp. 177-216**

**Nick Kotz, Jamie Whitten, Permanent Secretary of Agriculture,” in Peters and Rothchild, pp. 84-98**

**Jean Geono, “The Social Contract,” in Green and Walzer, pp. 48-56**

**March 23: INTERNATIONAL DONORS, GOVERNANCE AND CIVIL SOCIETY**

##### **Dahl, Chapter 5 and Afterward**

##### **Bates, Chapter 6**

**Zakaria, Chapter 6, Conclusion and Afterward**

**Bergner, Chapters 8-10**

**Okrent, Chapters 20, 21 and Epilogue**

**Paul Theroux, “Scenes from a Curfew” and “Tarzan Is an Expatriate , in Theroux, pp. 23-39.**

**March 30: INSTITUTION BUILDING, CONFLICT AND GOVERNANCE**

**Bergner, Chapters 11-14**

**Mahasweta Devi, “Dhowli” in Solomon, pp.230-257**

**Picard and Moudoud, “The 2008 Guinea Conakry coup: Neither inevitable nor inexorable”**

**Nadine Gordimer, “Oral History, in Gordimer, A Soldier’s Embrace”**

**April 6: Catch up on discussion and readings.**

**April 13: \*\*\*ORAL PRESENTATIONS AND SUBMISSION OF RESEARCH PAPER**

**April 20: \*\*\*FINAL EXAM ESSAYS DUE- NO CLASS**

**Governance Reading List**

**Sunil Bastian and Robin Luckham, eds. Can Democracy Be Designed? The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-torn Societies (London: Zed Books, 2003).**

**Karen Dawisha and Bruce Parrott, The Consolidation of Democracy in East-Central Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).**

**Larry Diamond, et al., Democracy in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences with Democracy-Latin America, Asia and Africa Three volumes (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1988, 1989, 1989, 1990).**

**Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960).**

**Merilee S. Grindle, Challenging the State: Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).**

**Michael Lund, Engaging Fragile States: An International Policy Primary Primer: Lessons from Recent Research and Practice** **(Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2009).**

**Peter H. Merkl, The Rift between America and Old Europe: The Distracted Eagle (New York: Routledge, 2005).**

**Louis A. Picard, The State of the State: Institutional Transformation, Capacity and Political Change in South Africa (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2005).**

**Robert Pinkney, Democracy in the Third World (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 1994).**

**Robert D. Putnam, Robert Leonardi and Raffaelia Y. Nanetti, Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).**

**Robert D. Putnam, The Comparative Study of Political Elites (Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976).**

**Michael Roskin, Other Governments of Europe: Sweden, Spain, Yugoslovia and East Germany (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977).**

**E.E. Schattschneider, Party Government (New York: Rinehart, 1942).**

**Kathleen Staudt, Women, International Development and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997).**

**Ali Mari Tripp, Women and Politics in Uganda (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2000).**

**David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951)**

**Mark Turner and David Hulme, Governance, Administration and Development: Making the State Work (Boulder, CO: Kumarian Press, 1997).**

**Local Governance Reading List**

**Avrom Bendavd-Val, Regional and Local Analysis for Practitioners (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1991).**

**Robert J. Bennett (ed.), Local Government in the New Europe (New York: Belhaven Press, 1993).**

**G. Shabbir Cheema ed., Local Governance: Reforms Innovations in Asia (Tokyo: United Nations University Books, 2013).**

**G. Shabbir Cheema and Dennis A. Rondinelli, eds. Decentralizing Governance: Emerging Concepts and Practices (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007.**

**Ed Connerley, Kent Eaton, and Paul Smoke, eds. Making Decentralization Work: Democracy, Development and Security (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010).**

**Andrew Coulson, ed. Government in Eastern Europe (Aldershot, Brookfield: E. Elgan, 1995).**

**J. Tyler Dickovick and James S. Wunsch, eds. Decentralization in Africa: The Paradox of State Strength (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2014).**

**Milton Esman and Norman T. Uphoff, Local Organizations: Intermediaries in Rural Development (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).**

**Emilia Kandeva, ed. Stabilization of Local Governments: Local Governments in Central and Eastern Europe (Budapest: Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, 2001).**

**Mahmood Mamdani, Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).**

**Alfred Montero and David J. Samuels, eds. Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004).**

**John D. Montgomery, Bureaucrats and People: Grassroots Participation in Third World Development (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).**

**Andrew R. Nickson, Local Government in Latin America (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995).**

**Elinor Ostrom, Crafting Institutions for Self-Governing Irrigation Systems (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies, 1992 or latest edition).**

**Elinor Ostrom, Governing the Commons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).**

**Kenneth Davey and Gabor Peteri, Local Government Finances: Options for Reform (Nagykovacsi, Hungary: Local Government Know-How Program, 1998).**

**Louis A. Picard, The Limits of Democratic Governance in South Africa (Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2015).**

**Norman Uphoff, Local Institutional Development: An Analytical Sourcebook with Cases (West Hartford, CN: Kumarian Press, 1986).**

**James S. Wunsch and Dele Olowu, eds. The Failure of the Centralized State (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990).**

**Civil Society Reading List**

**Mary B. Anderson, Do No Harm- How Aid Can Support Peace or War (Boulder,Co.: Lynn Rienner, 1990.**

**Helmut K. Anheier, Non-Profit Organizations: Theory, Management, Policy (London: Routledge, 2014).**

**Peter L. Berger, Pyramids of Sacrifice (New York: Anchor Books, 1976).**

**John Clark, Democratizing Development: The Role of Voluntary Organizations (Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1991).**

**Andrew Clayton, NGOs, Civil Society and the State: Building Democracy in Transitional Societies (London: INTRATEC, 1996).**

**Hernando De Soto, The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World (New York: Harper and Row, 1989).**

**David Gies, J. Steven Ott and Jay M. Shafritz, eds. The Nonprofit Organization (Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole, 1990 or most recent edition).**

**Craufurd D. Goodwin and Michael Nacht, eds. Beyond Government: Extending the Public Policy Debate in Emerging Democracies (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995).**

**Thomas H, Greene, Comparative Revolutionary Movements (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1974).**

**John W. Harbeson, Donald Rothchild and Naomi Chazan, Civil Society and the State in Africa (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1994).**

**Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress (New York: Basic Books, 2000).**

**Leslie Holmes, Post-Communism: An Introduction (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).**

**National Research Council, Improving Democracy Assistance: Building Knowledge Through Evaluations and Research (Washington D.C.: The National Academies Press, 2008).**

**Samuel P. Huntington, The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).**

**Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East (New York: The Free Press, 1958 or latest edition).**

**Louis A. Picard and Terry F. Buss, A Fragile Balance: Re-examining the History of Foreign Aid, Security, and Diplomacy (Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, 2009).**

**Robert Putnam, Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of the American Community (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).**

**Dina Rasor and Robert Bauman, Betraying Our Troops: The Destructive Results of Privatizing War (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).**

**Materials Available on Reserve**

**Jeffrey Archer and Simon Bainbridge, eds. Fools, Knaves and Heroes: Great Political Short Stories (New York : Norton, 1991).**

**Bob Dixon, Catching them Young: Political Ideas in Children’s Fiction, (2) (London: Pluto Press, 1977).**

**Nadine Gordimer, A Soldier’s Embrace: Stories (London: Penguin, 1980).**

**Philip Green and Michael Walzer, The Political Imagination in Literature (New York: The Free Press, 1969).**

**Blaine Harden, Africa: Dispatches from a Fragile Continent (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1990).**

**Charles R, Larson (ed.), African Short Stories (New York: Collier Books, 1970).**

**Charles Peters and John Rothchild, eds. Inside the System: A Washington Monthly Book, 2nd Edition (New York: Praeger, 1973).**

**Louis A. Picard and Ezzeddine Moudoud, “The 2008 Guinea Conakry coup: Neither inevitable nor inexorable” Journal of Contemporary African Studies, vol. 28, n. 1 (2010) pp. 51-69.**

**Barbara H. Solomon, ed., Other Voices, Other Vistas (New York: Mentor, 1992).**

**Paul Theroux, Sunrise With Seamonsters: A Reader (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985).**