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## Howard J. Wiarda: Political Development in Emerging Nations: Study Guide

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# HOWARD J. WIARDA: POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN EMERGING NATIONS: STUDY GUIDE, 2009

Steven Alan Samson

## PREFACE

### Study Questions

1. When did the concepts of the developing nations and the Third World emerge? When was the literature that dominates the field of development written? What major changes have occurred subsequently? (vi-x)

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION: THE WIDE WORLD OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS

### Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION (1-15)
  1. Gauge of Underdevelopment
    - a. Per capita income
    - b. **World Bank: fourfold classification**
      - (1) Low-income (LIC): \$755 or less per capita per annum
      - (2) Lower middle income (LMC): \$755-\$2995
      - (3) Upper-middle-income (UMC): \$2996-9265
      - (4) High-income (HIC): \$9266 or higher
    - c. Arbitrary categories
      - (1) thresholds
    - d. Flaws
  2. New Index: **Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)**
    - a. Problem of Dumbing Down: extreme poverty in many formerly socialist countries of the "Second World"
  3. Social and Economic Indicators Reinforce Each Other
    - a. Social and political dimension
  4. Political Development
    - a. Definition
  5. Correlation Between Economic, Social, and Political Development
  6. Failed States
- B. THE GEOGRAPHIC AND REGIONAL BASES OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT (15-22)

Patterns of Underdevelopment:

  1. High-Income Countries
    - a. Western Europe: Portugal at the lowest end of the scale is \$11,000
    - b. North America
    - c. Asia: Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong (HICs); South Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia are at the lower end
    - d. Three Other Patterns
      - (1) Former Colonies: British
      - (2) Former Colonies: French and Dutch
      - (3) Oil-Rich Countries
  2. Central and Eastern Europe
    - a. Baltic and other upper-tier states (UMCs): down to Croatia

- b. Balkans (LMCs)
    - c. East
    - d. Central Asia and the Caucasus
  - 3. Poorer Countries of Asia
    - a. South Asia: Maldives and Sri Lanka are the only LMCs
    - b. East Asia and the Pacific: Philippines, Thailand, Papua New Guinea, and some other islands are LMCs
  - 4. Latin America: all are LMCs in this transitional area except Haiti and Nicaragua
  - 5. Middle East: Some Gulf states, Libya, and Lebanon are UMC; only Yemen is LIC
  - 6. Sub-Saharan Africa: Botswana, Gabon, Mauritius, Mayotte (Fr.), Seychelles, and South Africa are UMC; Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea, Namibia, and Swaziland are LMC
  - 7. Conclusions: **Arc of Poverty** (Robert D. Kaplan)
- C. UNGOVERNABILITY, FAILED STATES, AND FOREIGN POLICY (22-24)
  - 1. Vicious Circles
  - 2. Chronic Instability
    - a. **Failed States**
    - b. Chief Causes: poverty, political unraveling and disintegration
  - 3. Vortex of Great Power Politics and Rivalries
  - 4. Robert Kaplan's Arc of Poverty
    - a. Intervention
- D. FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, AND OTHER WORLDS OF DEVELOPMENT (24-27)
  - 1. Social Science Nomenclature
  - 2. Inadequate Categories
    - a. Enormous differences within the **First World**
    - b. Second World
    - c. Latin America
  - 3. End of the Cold War
    - a. Political and ideological differences
    - b. Disappearance of the Second World
    - c. **Third World** makes no sense today
  - 4. Need for New Categories
    - a. World Bank figures
  - 5. New Model
    - a. **Three categories** of developing nations
      - (1) Stable democratic regimes that are "making it"
      - (2) In-between countries
      - (3) Failed States
  - 6. Qualifiers
    - a. The categories are fluid
    - b. Imprecision
    - c. Ambiguity of the middle category of transitional regimes
    - d. Biases

## Review

World Bank	fourfold classification	Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)
HICs	UMCs	LMCs
LICs	Arc of Poverty	First World
Third World	new model	

## CHAPTER TWO: THE CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT: ORIGINS AND MAIN THEMES

## Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION (29-30)
  - 1. **Enlightenment**: Concept of Individual and National Development
  - 2. Cyclical View of History
  - 3. Idea of **Progress**
    - a. First great economists: Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo
  - 4. Great **Alternative Developmentalist Theories**
    - a. **Karl Marx**: primitive communism, feudalism, capitalism, socialism
    - b. **Auguste Comte**: theological, metaphysical, and scientific stages
    - c. **Emile Durkheim**: division of labor (specialization)
    - d. **Max Weber**: traditional, charismatic, and rational authority
- B. THE FOCUS ON DEVELOPING NATIONS (30-33)  
The Reasons for the New Focus
  - 1. The Emergence of New Nations
    - a. Post-WWII decolonization
    - b. Problems of new nationhood
    - c. Latin America shared similar problems
  - 2. Strategic Reasons for the New Focus
    - a. Cold War
    - b. Castro revolution
    - c. Cold War competition
  - 3. Economic Factors
    - a. Actual or future markets for manufactured goods
    - b. Emerging middle class
    - c. U.S. foreign policy interests
  - 4. Intellectual Excitement
    - a. Living laboratories
    - b. New government agencies: Peace Corps, AID, Alliance for Progress
  - 5. New Technologies and Their Funding
    - a. Jet travel
    - b. Educational and research grants
- C. THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT LITERATURE: THE ECONOMISTS (33-35)
  - 1. The Classic Tradition
  - 2. Karl Polanyi
  - 3. Developmentalist Economists: Robert Heilbroner, **Walt W. Rostow**, *et al.*  
[P. T. Bauer, who was contemporary with these Americans but dissented from them, is overlooked]
    - a. Biased, Mistaken, Incomplete Assumptions
      - (1) Economic growth seen as the driving force
      - (2) Social change seen to flow from economic development
      - (3) Assumed universality of the European model of development
      - (4) The formula as regarded as automatic and inevitable
  - 4. Rostow's *Stages of Economic Growth*
  - 5. Economic growth
- D. THE ANTHROPOLOGISTS (35-36)
  - 1. Assumed Uniqueness and Particularity of All Cultures
  - 2. Patterns in the Development Process
    - a. Tendency statements
  - 3. Developmental Anthropology
    - a. **Francis X. Sutton**
      - (1) Influence on Gabriel Almond
      - (2) Indicators of **Modern Society**: broadly accepted legal standards, social mobility, differentiation of specialized structures and functions
      - (3) Indicators of **Traditional Society**: time-honored custom and

fatalism, rigid hierarchical status considerations, absence of  
specialization

- E. THE SOCIOLOGISTS (36-39)
  - 1. Max Weber
  - 2. **Talcott Parsons'** Grand Theory
    - a. **Pattern variables**
      - (1) **Ascription** vs. merit (**achievement**) [cf. Sir Henry Maine, *Ancient Law*: movement from **status** to **contract**]
      - (2) **Particularistic** vs. **universalistic** values [cf. sacred vs. secular]
      - (3) Functionally **diffuse** vs. functionally **specific** authority [cf. traditional vs. rational-bureaucratic leadership]
    - b. Criticisms
  - 3. Daniel Lerner's *The Passing of Traditional Society*: one-way development
    - a. Khomeini's Iranian revolution and Osama bin Laden's use of the Internet as contrary examples
  - 4. **Karl Deutsch's** "Social Mobilization" and **Seymour Martin Lipset's** "Social Requisites of Democracy"
  - 5. Ideas of Causative Relationships
    - a. Rostow's economic development
    - b. Idea that political change follows from economic change
- F. THE POLITICAL SCIENTISTS (39-41)
  - 1. **Roy Macridis**: informal processes vs. formal structures
  - 2. **Gabriel Almond**
    - a. Framework for Studying Development
      - (1) Comparison (Macridis)
      - (2) Systems approach (**David Easton**)
      - (3) Pattern variables (Parsons)
      - (4) Functionalist model: four input and three output functions
  - 3. Critique
    - a. The model is a disguised picture of the American political system
  - 4. Skepticism about Almond's Approach
  - 5. Its **Attractions**
    - a. Logical, coherent outline
    - b. It provides a map
    - c. Its apparent neutrality
    - d. Moral dimension
    - e. Promise of fellowships, grants, and opportunities to study abroad
- G. THE PROLIFERATION OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES (41-46)
  - 1. A Series of Trailblazing Books
    - a. *The Politics of Developing Areas*, 1960
  - 2. U.S. Assistance Programs and Policy
    - a. Walt W. Rostow
      - (1) Architect of AID, Alliance for Progress; served as NSA
    - b. Stages of foreign aid and development assistance
  - 3. Regional Development Banks
    - a. IMF
    - b. Peace Corps
    - c. Assumptions
  - 4. U.S./European Model
  - 5. Sequencing of Development
    - a. Rostow's view
    - b. Corrupt rulers, oligarchies, rulers [kleptocracies]
  - 6. Economists' Alleged Error: Corruption and Authoritarianism Were Subsidized
    - a. New View: Democracy-first approach substituted
    - b. Asian "exceptionalism"
  - 7. Sociologists' Alleged Error: Social Mobilization Produced Reaction

- a. Frightened elites push back
- b. Right-wing military takeovers
- 8. **Samuel P. Huntington**
  - a. Critique of the developmentalist model, which loses its luster
- 9. Other Biases in the Model: Omissions
  - a. Lack of market understanding
  - b. Absence of studies of the role of elites
  - c. Failure to recognize other paths to development
- 10. Contradictory Definitions of Development
- 11. Political Development: What Criteria?
- 12. Developmentalist Approach's **Continued Dominance**
  - a. Academic criticism had little impact on programs

## Review

idea of progress	Karl Marx	Auguste Comte
Emile Durkheim	Max Weber	Walt W. Rostow
Francis X. Sutton	traditional society	modern society
Talcott Parsons	pattern variables	Karl Deutsch
Seymour Martin Lipset	Roy Macridis	Gabriel Almond
David Easton	attractions of Gabriel Almond's approach	
Samuel P. Huntington	developmental approach's continued dominance	

# CHAPTER THREE: DISILLUSIONMENT WITH DEVELOPMENT: MILITARY COUPS AND THE EMERGENCE OF BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM

## Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION (47-48)
  - 1. **Paradigm Shift** from NATO/Europe to the Third World
  - 2. Causes of the **Eclipse of Developmentalism**
    - a. Withering critique of its assumptions and models
    - b. Wave of military coups
  - 3. Actual Development Continued to Go Forward
    - a. Paradox
- B. CRITICISMS OF THE DEVELOPMENTALIST APPROACH (48-51)
  - 1. Abstract, Deductive Models
    - a. How actual practice differs
  - 2. War in Vietnam
    - a. Programs tried in South Vietnam
  - 3. Huntington's Critique
    - a. **Social modernization** leads to increased expectations, disappointment, and **frustration** [cf. James C. Davies: the J-curve theory of political violence]
    - b. Social mobilization causes **reaction** by frightened elites
    - c. Focus on institution-building [cf. Lieber's Anglican and Gallican Liberty]
  - 4. Bias and Ethnocentrism
  - 5. Changed International Context: **Autonomous Development** Is Now Impossible
    - a. Powerful global currents
  - 6. Unrepeatable Experiences of the West
    - a. Timing
    - b. Sequences
    - c. Stages

7. Misrepresentation of Traditional Institutions
8. Other Generalizations
  - a. Underestimating the time frame
  - b. Overgeneralization
- C. ALTERNATIVES TO DEVELOPMENTALISM (51-53)
  1. Cultural Approach
  2. **Dependency Theory**
  3. The **New Institutionalism**
  4. Implications of the New Approaches
    - (1) Undermined 1960s consensus
    - (2) Greater diversity
    - (3) Government policy remained fixed on the 1960s consensus
- D. A RECONSIDERATION OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH (53-54)
  1. A Number of Countries Did Develop
  2. Many Made Impressive Transitions to Democracy
- E. ON THE GROUND: **BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITARIANISM** (54-57)
  1. Coups in the 1950s-60s
    - a. Latin America
    - b. Elite-directed democracies
    - c. Latin America as a test case
  2. Sub-Saharan Africa
    - a. Initial optimism
    - b. Single-party regimes  
Henry Brennan: "paper parties"
    - c. Forms of authoritarianism in Africa  
Characteristics and context
  3. Asian Diversity
    - a. China
    - b. India
    - c. Japan
    - d. Southeast Asia
    - e. B-A regimes
  4. General Characteristics of B-A Regimes
  5. Causes of the Shift
    - a. Guillermo O'Donnell
      - (1) Crisis of **import substitution industrialization (ISI)**
    - b. Alternative political explanation
    - c. Africa: sheer disorder
    - d. Asia: **export-led growth**
- F. THE AUTHORITARIAN ROUTE TO DEVELOPMENT (57-62)
  1. A Compelling **Case** Can Be Made in Its Favor
    - a. Its provision of order, discipline, and stability
    - b. Keeping leftists under control
    - c. Democracy may be divisive and destabilizing
    - d. Good at large infrastructure projects [e.g., Egypt's Aswan High Dam]
  2. The Literature of Authoritarianism
  3. National Security Argument
    - a. Overthrow of Fulgencio Batista
  4. Some of the Negatives
    - a. Repression
    - b. Mistakes and corruption
    - c. Succession crises [Turkmenbashi died late December 2006]
  5. Variations on the Theme
    - a. Nicaragua: The Somozas
    - b. Brazilian generals
    - c. Chile's Augusto Pinochet

6. Dilemmas of Trade-Offs
    - a. African kleptocracies
    - b. Ideological regimes
  7. Institutionalized Systems
    - a. These avoided the five most egregious faults of the authoritarian model
  8. Mexico as a Model
    - a. Revolutionary Institutional Party (**PRI**)
    - b. Foreign investment
  9. Taiwan
    - a. **Kuomintang** (KMT)
      - (1) **Chiang Kai-shek**
      - (2) Chiang Ching-kuo
  10. Attributes of This Model
    - a. Authoritarian
    - b. Single-party stability
    - c. Long-term economic growth
    - d. Evolution toward democracy
  11. Failure of Imitators (S. Vietnam, Greece, Iran, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Philippines, Indonesia, Paraguay, Chile, Zaire, Pakistan, and Brazil)
    - a. Major problems
  12. Special Cases: South Africa and Turkey
- G. **AUTHORITARIANISM AND CORPORATISM (62-64)**
1. **Corporatism**
    - a. Definition
    - b. Types
  2. Classical Sources
    - a. Organic and integral view of the state
  3. A Third Way
  4. Its Attractions
    - a. It avoids anarchic competition
    - b. It structures interest group activities
    - c. Cooptation of new social sectors spurred by modernization
  5. Fear of Unfettered Pluralism
    - a. Limits of repression: too much abuse engenders public wrath
  6. Its Heyday in Europe Was Between the Wars [cf. Thomas Molnar's Counter-Revolution and Philip Bobbitt's Shield of Achilles]
  7. Resilience and Persistence of Corporatism
  8. Transition to Democracy
- H. **FRIENDLY TYRANTS: AN AMERICAN DILEMMA? (64-66)**
1. Support of U.S. Strategic Interests During the Cold War
  2. The Debate
    - a. **Idealist** view
    - b. **Realist** view
  3. Jimmy Carter and Human Rights
  4. What We Learned
    - a. Hard to engineer the transition to democracy
    - b. Foreign aid is a weak lever
    - c. Human rights supersedes national security interests
  5. The Issue Faded Away
  6. Nearly Global Triumph of Democracy

## Review

paradigm shift  
 Samuel P. Huntington  
 New Institutionalism

criticisms of developmentalism  
 autonomous development  
 bureaucratic authoritarianism

social modernization  
 dependency theory



import substitution industrialization (ISI)  
Kuomintang  
ideal view

Chiang Kai-shek  
realist view

export-led growth  
corporatism

## CHAPTER FOUR: DEVELOPMENTAL SUCCESS STORIES: THE RISE OF THE NICs

### Outline

- A. INTRODUCTION (67-68)
  - 1. Few Success Stories
  - 2. Asian NICs
  - 3. Japan
    - a. The first non-Western nation
  - 4. Countries That Float on Oil [Brunei is a Muslim state but not Arab]
- B. THE TIGER AND THE FOUR LITTLE TIGERS: SEARCHING FOR THE REASONS FOR ASIA'S SUCCESS STORIES (68-72)
  - 1. East Asia
    - a. Japan
    - b. South Korea and Taiwan
    - c. Singapore
    - d. Hong Kong
  - 2. The Second Tier
- C. LIST OF **POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS** FOR THESE SUCCESSES
  - 1. A Long History of Development
    - a. Early leaders: Britain, France, United States, Germany
    - b. Japan
  - 2. Defeat in War and Military Occupation: Germany and Japan
  - 3. U.S. Aid and Influence
    - a. Priming the pumps: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, but not Singapore or Hong Kong
  - 4. The Right Economic Model
    - a. All five pursued the **industrial export market model**
    - b. By contrast, most of Latin America followed the Import-Substitution-Industrialization (ISI) model
  - 5. Authoritarianism
    - a. The four little tigers were all governed by authoritarian or top-down regimes in the early decades
    - b. Japan was formally a democracy but functioned as a one-party, statist, top-down regime
  - 6. Institutional Design
    - a. **Coordinated, integrated growth model**
  - 7. Culture
    - a. Confucianism
  - 8. Resources
    - a. The United States, France, Germany, and others are all resource-rich
    - b. Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the Asian tigers are all resource-poor
    - c. Vast resources are both unnecessary and insufficient [but I would add that none of them were among the first industrial powers]
  - 9. The Neighborhood
    - a. It helps to have rich neighbors
  - 10. Conclusions

- C. JAPAN (72-74)  
Began Its Military/Industrial Development in the 1870s
  - 1. Post-WWII Rebuilding
    - A. Patronage and party politics
    - b. Closed system [corporatism]: **interlocking directorate** of banks, party leaders, business groups, and government officials
  - 2. Liberal Democrats
    - a. Positive factors
  - 3. Export-Led Growth, 1950s-early 1990s
    - a. "Miracle" growth rates
    - b. High productivity
  - 4. Slippage in the 1990s
  - 5. Resurgence
- D. SOUTH KOREA (74-75)  
Japanese Occupation, 1910-1945  
Inconclusive Civil War, 1950-1953
  - 1. **Syngman Rhee**
    - a. Crash economic development
    - b. Replaced Japan in low-tech areas
    - c. Student/labor protests overthrew him in 1960
  - 2. **Park Chung Hee**
    - a. Coup, 1961
  - 3. Chun Doo Huan
  - 4. Pattern: Stable Authoritarianism Followed by Democracy
- E. TAIWAN (75-76)
  - 1. History
    - a. Japanese occupation of Formosa, 1895-1945
    - b. Chinese Nationalist (KMT) forces took over in 1949
  - 2. **Chiang Kai-shek** and son
  - 3. Phenomenal Growth under Authoritarian Rule
  - 4. Political Model
    - a. Democracy, which tends to divide and fragment, was seen as a luxury that could not be afforded
    - b. Several factors aided the transition
    - c. Formula for success: economic development *first, then* democracy later on
- F. HONG KONG (76-77)
  - 1. British Trading Post, 1840s
    - a. Long-term protection of the British Crown
    - b. Privileged gateway to the China market and the rest of Asia
  - 2. Phenomenal Economic Accomplishments
  - 3. Transfer of Sovereignty, 1997
- G. SINGAPORE (77-78)
  - 1. British Trading Post with a Strategic Location
  - 2. Independence, 1965
  - 3. **Lee Quan Yew**
  - 4. Asian Model ["Asian values"]
- H. OTHER ASIAN CASES (78-80)
  - 1. Reasons Why Some Countries Have Not Had Comparable Success
  - 2. **Variables**
  - 3. Indonesia
    - a. Sukarno
    - b. Gen. Suharto
    - c. Divided nation
    - d. More relaxed culture
  - 4. The Philippines
    - a. Ferdinand Marcos

- b. Less disciplined
- 5. Malaysia
  - a. Muhammed Mahathir
- 6. India
  - a. Democracy
  - b. Socialist model
  - c. Rise of free market activity in the last few years
  - d. Disadvantage of having democracy first
- 7. China
  - a. Warlords and colonial interventions
  - b. Communist revolution, 1949
  - c. Evolution from totalitarianism to authoritarian model
  - d. Rising social and political pressures
- I. OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES (80)
  - 1. Pakistan
  - 2. Southeast Asia
  - 3. Burma (Myanmar)
  - 4. Thailand
- J. OTHER NICs (81-82)
  - 1. Most NICs Are in Asia
  - 2. No NICs Are in the Arab World or Africa
  - 3. Argentina
    - a. High per capita income
    - b. Deeply divided
    - c. Economic tailspin: no longer an NIC
  - 4. Brazil
    - a. Authoritarian rule
  - 5. Chile
    - a. Augusto Pinochet
    - b. Niche markets
  - 6. **Mexico**
    - a. PRI
    - b. Export-oriented economic model
  - 7. Venezuela [which illustrates the J-curve]
    - a. No longer an NIC
    - b. Polarization
- K. CONCLUSIONS (82-85)  
List of Hypothesized Explanations
- L. FINAL COMMENTS (85)
  - 1. New Rules of Openness and Transparency May Undercut the Most Successful Model
  - 2. Authoritarianism Is Becoming Discredited
    - a. Tradeoffs between democracy and economic growth

## Review

explanations for successes of the tigers	industrial export market model
coordinated, integrated growth model	interlocking directorate
areas with and without NICs	Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong Kong
Syngman Rhee	Park Chung Hee
Lee Quan Yew	Chiang Kai-shek
	variables
	Mexico

## CHAPTER EIGHT: THE FUTURE OF THE DEVELOPING AREAS

## Study Questions

1. What are some of the important roles various new nations have assumed? Summarize the theories of development. What appears to come before economic development? [cf. David Chilton and David Landes]. What was behind the successful Asian model? What have been the most successful areas of development? The most laggard? What two major problems remain? (159-65)
2. What are the major ingredients for reforming development policy? (165-67)

## Review

two purposes of the early development literature      early direction of development policy  
other strategies      Asian cultural tradition      successful and laggard areas  
major ingredients of development