

**Alienation** – assumption 2 classes (working and capitalist) – nature of work in capitalist society alienating for workers – potential for revolt

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**Gramscian Hegemony** – ideals/ideology of capitalist class become 'hegemonic' through persuasion/propaganda. Dominant class rules through consensus, rather than coercion.

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**Politics of Power** –ideological contests expressed by parties and other political groups – e.g. socialist vs capitalist

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**Politics of Support** – Western style democracies – attempts by non-ideological parties to win votes

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**Politics of Failure** – cycle of coups d'etat and democracy in poor countries

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## Jürgen Habermas

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Crises of the state and Peripheral Capitalism

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Key roles of the state in capitalist societies

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- a) Promote capitalist interests
  - Internally
  - Externally
- b) Defense
  - Internally
  - Externally
- c) Reduce alienation
  - Prevent revolt by working class

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## Habermas: Three crises of the state

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1) **Crisis of Legitimation** – the working class revolts

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2) **Crisis of Rationality** – the capitalist class revolts against socialist government

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3) **Crisis of Motivation** – both classes revolt; state has lost all credibility to all classes in a society

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States and crises of legitimation

- State has no control over global market price of commodities
- As price fluctuates state revenue does as well → may have to make choices on spending → one or more groups may feel alienated
- If alienation is great enough → electoral change or violent revolt
- New regime typically faces same problem → it too as legitimacy problems → *Politics of Failure*

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Ghana politics:

INDEPENDENCE 1956

Kwame Nkrumah – pan African socialism (CPP)

Kofi Busia – neoliberalism – foreign investment  
(United Party) cadre-ethnic party (UGCC)

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Ghana politics of failure

- 1956 Nkrumah’s party won pre-indep elections
- April 1958 independence
- 1957 – 1966 Nkrumah’s elected rule
- 1966 military coup
- 1966-1968 military rule
- 1969 elections Busia – won 104 of 105 seats
- 1972 military coup
- Busia party in power
- 1978 military coup – Busia party out
- 1979 military coup (pro-Nkrumah)
- 1981 military coup – Jerry Rawlings
- 1986 attempted CIA coup
- 1987- present – IMF neoliberal regime

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Ghana conclusions

- 1. Politics operates at all scales simultaneously (as a single process)
- 2. Politics & economics are *linked*
- 3. Ethnic voting reflects means of voter mobilization

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Defining democracy

- 1) **FORMAL DEMOCRACY:**
  - a) elections, free and fair, secret ballot, multi-party
  - b) near universal suffrage
  - c) protection of civil rights: speech, press, right to organize
- 2) **SUBSTANTIVE DEMOCRACY:**
  - equality of political influence and participation
- 3) **ILLIBERAL DEMOCRACY:** elections, but executive abuses of power & civil rights violations
- 4) **CIVIC DEMOCRACY:** independent society, free from govt. control – social organizations, community groups, civically-engaged population

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Democracy and economic development

- 1) DEMOCRACY LEADS TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT?
- 2) ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS LEADS TO DEMOCRACY?
- 3) THIRD FACTOR? - CAUSING BOTH DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN CORE AREAS

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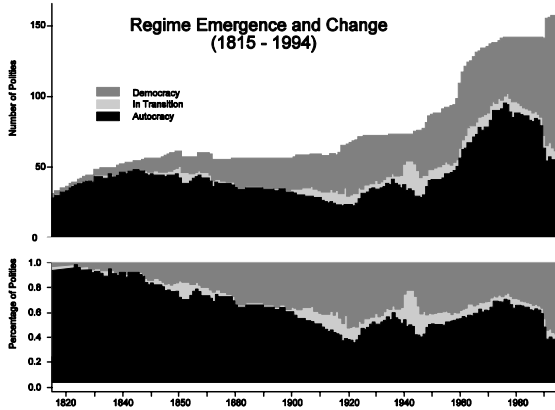
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### Huntington's Waves of Democracy

- 1<sup>st</sup> long wave: 1828-1926      French and American Revolutions
- Reverse: 1922-1942      States that adopted democracy after WWI reversed (Weimar Republic and Hitler's rise)
- 2<sup>nd</sup> short wave: 1943-1962      Turkey, Latin America—states moving in direction of victors of WWII  
Coups in Turkey and Latin America
- 3<sup>rd</sup> wave: 1974-      Culmination of decolonization trends, creates new democratic states.  
Portugal, Brazil and Spain first  
In fifteen years, 30 countries shift from authoritarian to democratic regimes.

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### FOUR CAUSES OF DEMOCRACY WAVES (HUNTINGTON)

1. MAJOR CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF POWER
  - ALLIES VICTORY IN WWII
  - RISE OF US HEGEMONY
2. PARALLEL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
  - SET OF STATES PASS GNP THRESHOLD AT ONCE
3. SNOWBALLING OR DIFFUSION
  - EVENTS IN ONE STATE TRIGGER EVENTS IN ANOTHER
4. PREVAILING ZEITGEIST (*spirit of the times*)
  - GLOBAL MOOD
  - IMMEDIATE CAUSES DIFFER, BUT DEMOCRACY RESULTS DUE TO COMMON FAITH

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