

Curriculum “POLITICAL POWER: THEORETICAL DISCOUSE AND RESEARCH MODELS”

Approved by the Academic Council, department of sociology
05.06. 2018, protocol 3.

	Valeri Ledyayev
Credits	3
Lessons (hours)	32
Home- work (час.)	82
Course	MA program “Complex social analysis”, 39.04.01 Sociology
Format of the discipline	Without online course

I. AIM OF THE COURSE, OUTCOMES OF THE COURSE, PREREQUISITES

The course aims to give students basic knowledge of political power and the way it is studied in contemporary political science and sociology. The course is intended to build up a critical awareness of the different approaches to the study of power, and the difficulties in explaining political events through an examination of various forms and manifestations of political power. The course will help students to form their analytical skills, abilities to define and operationalise social concepts, prepare research programs and instruments for the empirical study of power and political influence.

By the end of the course the students will have learned about

- (1) political power, its basic forms, bases and uses;
- (2) main theoretical perspectives on power;
- (3) research methods used in the study of power;
- (4) some forms and manifestations of political power in Russia;
- (5) interrelations between conceptual analysis, theoretical explanations and the outcomes of empirical studies of political power.

Prerequisites: political science, modern sociological theories, sociological research methods

II. CONTENT OF THE COURSE

1. Basic views on power.

The nature of conceptual debates on power. Essential contestability of political concepts. Guidelines for the conceptual analysis of power. Basic problems in defining power. Actual/potential problem. Dispositional vs episodic conceptions of power. “The rule of anticipated reactions”. Power and intention. Outcome of power. “Power to”, “power over”, “power with”. Power and luck. Power and conflict. Asymmetry and balance in power relations. Power and interests. Agency, structure and power. Principles and logic of the conceptual analysis of power.

Two traditions in defining power. Hobbes’ conception of power. Weber on power and authority. Behaviouralist view on power. Power as a special case of the exercise of influence (H. Lasswell). Dahl’s “intuitive” definition of power (A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do”). Debates over “faces of power”. (P. Bachrach and M. Baratz, S. Lukes). Modern contributions to the conceptual analysis of power (P. Blau, S. Clegg, T. Wartenberg, P. Morriss, G. Debnam, K. Dowding). The alternative tradition in conceptualizing power (T. Parsons, H. Arend, J. Habermas, A. Allen, J. Hearn, M. Haugaard). M. Foucault on power. The bridge-building approaches (Allen, Haugaard, Gohler).

Forms of power. Individual and collective power. Force, coercion, inducement, persuasion, manipulation, authority. Power and authority. Power and domination. Power and empowerment.

2. Modern theories of political power

“Political power” as subcategory of “power”. Forms of political power. State power. Political coercion. Political authority. Political influence. Political manipulation. Resources of political power. Political mobilisation. The assessment of political influence. Who governs? Who benefits? Who sits? Who shines? Who exercises control over ideas? Who determines political agenda? Political power and political institutions.

Marxist and Neo-Marxist theories of political power. Classical Marxism. Evolution of Marx’ explanation of political power. State as an instrument of the dominant class. Relative autonomy of the state. “Functionalist” model of the state in capitalist society. Neo-Marxism (A. Gramsci, L. Althusser, N. Poulantzas). Instrumentalist interpretation of the state in capitalist society (R. Miliband). “State in capitalist society”. Structuralist interpretation of state as a capitalist state (N. Poulantzas, C. Offe). “A capitalist state”. Strategic-relational approach (B. Jessop). Tripartite typology of “levels of power” (R. Alford and R. Friedland). “Situational power”, “institutional power”, “systemic power”, their manifestations and interrelation (E.O. Wright). Class interpretations of domination in the USSR and modern Russia. Relevance of Marxist explanations of political power to modern Russian politics.

Elitism. Classical elitism. (W. Pareto, G. Mosca, R. Michels). Democratic elitism (M. Weber, J. Schumpeter, J. Higley). J. Higley on the types of elites. Elites and democracy. Ch.W. Mills “The Power Elite”. Institutional elitism (T. Dye). Non-Marxist class-domination theories of power (W. Domhoff). Corporatism and neo-corporatism (Ph. Schmitter). Elitism in Russia (O. Gaman-Golutvina, O. Krystanovskaya).

Pluralism. Classical pluralism (A. Bentley, D. Truman, D. Riesman). Absence of power elite in modern democracies. Institutional pluralism (R. Dahl, G. Sartory, N. Polsby). Society is a struggle of competing groups within an arena refereed by the state. Polyarchy. Multiply memberships. Conflicting allegiances to diverse groups. Multiply sources of power. Non-cumulative resources of power. The separation of economic from political power. “Competitive equilibrium”. The neutrality of the state. Separation of governmental power: plurality of competing governmental agencies, divisions and branches, existence of political parties Absence of dominant ideology. Modern pluralism. Hyperpluralism (T. Lowi, D. Yates). Stratified pluralism (Truman II, R. Dahl, R. Waste). Privatized pluralism (G. McConnell, R. Bauer). Reformed pluralism (J. Richardson, A. Jordan). Neo-pluralism (Ch. Lindblom). Consociationalism (A. Lijphart). Relevance of pluralist explanations to modern Russian politics. The convergence between theoretical perspectives on power.

3. Community power studies

Distribution of political power in cities, towns and communities as a subject of study in political science and sociology. Early empirical studies of power in local communities (R. and H. Lynd, W. Warner, A. Hollingshead). Floyd Hunter’s study of Atlanta. Reputational method. The structure of power in Atlanta: polity-makers and policy-executors. Indicators of elite’s unity. Wealth as the main resource of power. Informal mechanisms of power. Criticism of the elitist methods of studying power in communities (R. Dahl, N. Polsby). Robert Dahl’s study of New Haven. Decision-making approach. Pluralist patterns of power in New Haven. Indicators of pluralism. Absence of the ruling elite. Specialisation of influence in major institutional sectors. G.W. Domhoff vs R. Dahl. Network analysis as a method of studying power. Synthetic approaches to the study of power in communities (R. Presthus, R. Agger, D. Goldrich, B. Swanson). The community power continuum. Diversity of urban regimes and types of power structure in communities. Variables in community decision-making (T.N. Clark). International comparative studies (D. Miller). Multidimensional conceptions of power in community power studies. Matthew Crenson’s study of the pollution issue. Manifestations of non-decisionmaking in community power. John Gaventa’s test of three-dimensional power in Appalachia.

Modern power studies in American and European communities. Political economy of “place”. “Growth machines” thesis (H. Molotch, J. Logan). “Rentiers” and other key actors in urban growth coalitions. “Regime theory” (S. Alkin, C. Stone). Clarence Stone’s study of regime in Atlanta. Building

regimes and collective action problem. Urban regime and governance. Types of urban regimes. Criticism of political economic approaches. Urban political regimes in European cities. Relevance of machine and regime models for the study of urban and regional politics in Russia. Empirical studies of power in Russian regions and local communities (A. Chirikova, V. Gelman, N. Lapina, V. Ledyayev, D. Seltser, R. Turovsky).

III. EVALUATION

Course grade consists of three parts:

final test (exam)	(50 %)
classes	(30 %)
presentation	(20%)

Final grade = exam *0.5 + classes *0.3 + presentation *0.2

Evaluation of the participation at the seminars (30%) consists of:

frequency of attending classes;
level of preparation for seminars;
degree of activity at the seminars;

Exam score:

9-10: deep and detailed answer to the question; the student demonstrates knowledge of all the relevant information and ability to use it for the analysis of political processes.

7-8: The student demonstrates knowledge of the major relevant ideas; but not all the aspects of the explanation are considered with sufficient completeness.

5-6: not deep enough and/or a systematic review of the topic or errors in the presentation.

4: many important aspects of the topic are not disclosed; serious mistakes in the presentation.

1-3: the topic is not disclosed.

Rating scale:

100-point scale	10-point scale
0-19,99	1
20-27,99	2
30-37,99	3
38-42,99	4
43-53,99	5
54-60,99	6
61-67,99	7
68-77,99	8
78-85,99	9
86-100	10

Grades 0, 1, 2, 3 correspond to a 'fail'; 4, 5 - 'satisfactory'; 6, 7 - 'good'; 8, 9, 10 - 'excellent' performance on the 10-point scale.

IV. PRELIMINARY LIST OF QUESTIONS FOR FINAL EXAM:

1. Basic problems in defining power.
2. Basic forms and manifestations of power.
3. Main traditions in defining power.
4. Debates over "faces of power".
5. Basic forms and indicators of political power
6. Marxist theories of political power.

7. Elitism.
8. Pluralism.
9. Robert Alford and Roger Friedland: Tripartite typology of “levels of power”.
10. C.W. Mills on power in America.
11. W.Domhoff on power in America.
12. History of community power studies.
13. Floyd Hunter’s study of Atlanta.
14. Robert Dahl’s study of New Haven.
15. Growth machines and urban regimes.
16. Basic methods of identifying community leaders.

V. RESOURCES

5.1 Main texts

Domhoff G.W. Who Rules America? [electronic resource] Access mode: <http://sociology.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica>

Haugaard M. (ed.) Power: A Reader. Manchester University Press, 2002.

The Handbook of Political Sociology. States, Civil Societies, and Globalisation / Ed. by Thomas Janoski, Robert R. Alford, Alexander M. Hicks and Mildred A. Schwartz. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. [electronic resource] Access mode: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hselibrary-ebooks/reader.action?docID=237595&query=The+Oxford+The+Handbook+of+Political+Sociology.+States%2C+Civil+Societies%2C+and+Globalisation+%2F+Ed.+by+Thomas+Janoski%2C+Robert+R.+Alford%2C+Alexander+M.+Hicks+and+Mildred+A.+Schwartz.+Cambridge%3A+Cambridge+University+Press%2C+2005>

The Wiley Blackwell companion to political sociology / Ed. by [E. Amenta](#), [K. Nash](#), [A. Scott](#). – Malden; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012. – 611 c. Access mode: <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hselibrary-ebooks/reader.action?docID=865177&query=The+Wiley+Blackwell+companion+to+political+sociology>

5.2 Supplementary reading

Lukes S. Power: A Radical View. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior /Ed. by Hans-Dieter Klingemann and Russell J.Dalton, Oxford: Oxford Handbooks online, 2007. Access mode: http://82.179.249.32:3326/oso/public/about_oho.html

Ледяев В.Г. Власть: концептуальный анализ. М.: РОССПЭН, 2001.

Ледяев В.Г. Социология власти. М.: Издательский дом НИУ ВШЭ, 2012.

Хедрик Д. Власть над народами: технологии, природа и западный империализм с 1400 года до наших дней. М.: Дело, 2018.

5.3 Software

№	Name	Access
1.	Microsoft Windows 7 Professional RUS	<i>From the internal network of the university (contract)</i>

5.4

5.5. Professional databases, information reference systems, Internet resources (electronic educational resources)

Name	Access

.	e-Library	https://elibrary.ru
.	Electronic library system Urayt	URL: https://biblio-online.ru/
.	Open education	URL: https://openedu.ru/
.	Electronic resources of the HSE Li- brary	https://library.hse.ru/e-resources

5.6 Material and technical support of the discipline.

PC with Internet access (operating system, office programs, anti-virus programs);
multimedia projector with remote control;
equipment for Power Point presentation.