Modernization theory and its critics
The Lipset model
(\textit{Political Man,} 1961)

- Economic complexity
- Bureaucracy/rationalization
- Increased state capacity
- Economic development
- More modern upper class
- Crosscutting cleavages
- Fewer Extremist parties
- Democratic effectiveness
- Political democracy
- Larger middle class
- Less relative deprivation
- Democratic legitimacy
- Education/literacy
- Cognitive sophistication
- Tolerance and similar norms
- Growth of intermediary organizations
- Training in politics
- Main emphasis
- Secondary emphasis
- Mentioned but not emphasized

The Lipset model: State capacity may be a mixed blessing…

Problems
- Increased state capacity that promotes economic growth benefits any incumbent regime, regardless of whether it is democratic (Linz; Bermeo)
- Increased state strength could allow authoritarian regimes to suppress opposition groups (Tocqueville; Ruescemeeyer, Stephens and Stephens)
….all good things may not go together…

Problems
- Economic development does not necessarily lead to larger middle class or less relative deprivation in short term (Wolf, Gurr, Kuznets)
- Economic development does not necessarily lead to larger middle class or less relative deprivation even in long term (Gunder Frank, Evans, Wallerstein)
- Certain forms of economic development might not lead to more modern upper class (Moore, Karl, O’Donnell, Baloyra-Herp)
- Middle classes may support extremist parties when faced with threat from Left (Marx, Orwell, Lipset, O’Donnell, etc.)

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...and civil society may not be so civil

Problems
- Increased social mobilization multiplies the demands on the state and can cause anarchy (Huntington)
- Increases in education and social organization may activate ethnic, racial, or religious cleavages, rather than trigger cross-cutting cleavages (Ozbudun, Diamond, etc.)

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