

# CP 075-A – Teoria Política Contemporânea II

Prof. Andrei Koerner  
Prof. Álvaro Bianchi

## MÓDULO: PLURALISMO (PROF. ANDREI)

### **Programa:**

1. Teorias “pluralistas” do Estado e da ação política;
2. A ciência política do século XX e o pluralismo;
3. A vertente européia (Laski, Cole, Hirst);
4. A vertente norte-americana (Truman, Dahl, Lindblom);
5. O pluralismo e seus críticos;
6. O Pluralismo revisitado.

### **Cronograma:**

- **Apresentação do curso**
- **A vertente européia: G.D.H. Cole e Laski**

### **Leitura:**

Laski, Harold, “The Foundations of Sovereignty...”, em Hirst, Paul (org.). *The pluralist theory of the state*, London ; New York : Routledge, 1993. pp. 131-194.

### **Leituras complementares:**

Laski, H. “Law and the State”, em Hirst, Paul. *Ob. cit.*, pp. 197-227

Cole, G.D.H., “The Social Theory”, em Hirst, Paul. *ob. cit.*, pp. 51-108.

Hirst, Paul. “Introduction”, em \_\_\_\_\_. *Ob. Cit.*, pp. 1-45.

Laborde, Cécile “Contractual Integration”, em \_\_\_\_\_. *Pluralist Thought and the state in Britain and France, 1900-25*, pp. 69-100.

- **A vertente norte-americana: a ciência política após a Segunda Guerra Mundial**

### **Leituras:**

Purcell, Edward *The Crisis of Democratic Theory*. Caps. 13 e 14, pp. 235 a 272;

Katznelson, Ira. *Desolation and Enlightenment, Political Knowledge after Total War, Totalitarianism, and the Holocaust*. Caps. 3 e 4, pp. 107-176.

### **Leituras Complementares:**

Ball, Terence “American Political Science in Its Postwar Political Context, em Farr, J e Seidelman, R. (eds.). , pp. 207-221.

Ricci, David. *The Tragedy of Political Science*, New Haven : Yale Univ., c1984. “Introduction” e 1ª Parte “The Early Years”, pp. 3-99.

Purcell, Edward *The Crisis of Democratic Theory*. Caps. 1 a 6, pp. 3 – 114; e Caps.7 a 12, pp. 115 a 232.

- **A vertente norte-americana 1 – Uma abordagem realista do processo governamental: David Truman**

**Leitura:**

David Truman - *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion*, New York : A. Knopf, 1960. 1ª 2ª e 4ª partes;

**Leitura complementar:**

David Truman - *The Governmental Process*, 3ª Parte.

- **A vertente norte-americana 2 – Robert Dahl**

**Leitura:**

Dahl, Robert. Um Prefácio à Teoria Democrática;

**Leituras complementares:**

Held, David. *Models of Democracy*, 2a. ed., cap. 6, pp. 199-216.

Ricci, David. *The Tragedy of Political Science*, 2ª Parte – The Mid-Century Liberal Matrix, caps. 4 a 6, pp. 99-208

- **A vertente norte-americana 3 - a democracia em perspectiva comparada**

**Leitura:**

Robert Dahl. *Poliarquia*. Caps. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7.

**Leituras Complementares**

Lindblom, Charles E., *Política e Mercados*, Rio de Janeiro, Zahar Editores, 1977, Caps. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; pp. 185-264.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, 2000. "Democracy, Law and Comparative Politics". *Working Paper Series N° 274*. Notre Dame: The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame.

Santos, Wanderley Guilherme dos. "Poliarquia em 3D", *Dados*.

- **O Pluralismo e seus críticos**

**Leitura:**

Peter Bacharach e Morton S. Baratz. *Power and Poverty*, pp. 3-63.

**Leituras Complementares:**

*1. Os limites do Behaviorismo*

Easton, David. "The New Revolution in Political Science", *APSR*, 63, 1969:1051-61 (arquivo eletrônico JStor)

Easton, David. "The Future of the Postbehavioral phase in Political Science", em Monroe, K.R. *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory*, pp. 13-46

- Dahl, Robert. “The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest”, em Farr, James e Seideman, R. (eds.) *Discipline and History – Political Science in the United States*. Michigan UP, 1993, pp. 249-266.
- Grofman, Bernard. “Seven Durable Axes of Cleavage in Political Science”, em Monroe, K.R. *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory*, pp. 73-86.

## 2. Crítica política e revisões

- Edelman, Murray, “Veiled Uses of Empirical Theories”, em Monroe, K.R. *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory*, pp. 100-112
- Lowi, Theodore e Harpham, Edward, “Political Theory and Public Policy: Marx, Weber and a Republican Theory of the State”, em Monroe, K.R. *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory*, pp. 249-278.
- Lowi, Theodore. “Political Scientists, Disenchanted Realists, and Disappearing Democrats, em Farr, J. e \_\_\_\_ (eds.). *Discipline...*, 311-326
- Lindlbom, Charles “Another State of Mind”, em Farr, J. e Seideman (eds.) *Discipline...*, pp. 327-343.

## 3. O Pluralismo e disciplina de ciência política

- Ricci, David. *The Tragedy of Political Science*, 3ª Parte – “The Community of Political Scholars”, “Conclusions” e “Epilogue on Political Theory”, pp. 209 – 323

### • O Pluralismo revisitado:

- Paul Hirst - *A democracia representativa e seus limites*, pp. 7-94
- Suzanne Berger (org.). *La organización de los grupos de interes em Europa Occidental: el pluralismo, el corporativismo y la transformación de la política*. Madrid : Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social, 1988.

## MÓDULO : TEORIAS DA ESCOLHA RACIONAL (PROF. ÁLVARO)

### Programa:

1. A teoria da escolha racional e a escolha social
2. A Teoria econômica da Constituição
3. A teoria econômica da democracia
4. A Teoria das Coalizões Políticas
5. Paradoxos da Ação Coletiva
6. A Teoria da Escolha Racional em debate

### Cronograma:

- A teoria da escolha racional e a escolha social

### Leituras:

Elster, J. "Introduction", em \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) *Rational Choice*, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ., 1989, c1986.

Arrow, K. *Social Choice and Individual Values*, 2a ed., caps. 1 a 7, pp. 1-91.

### **Leituras Complementares:**

Amadae, S.M. *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy – The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism* cap. 2, pp. 83-132

Avinash K. Dixit e Barry J. Nalebuff Pensando estrategicamente : a vantagem competitiva nos negócios, na política e no dia-a-dia /; tradução Marcelo Levy. São Paulo: Atlas, 1994. (Biblioteca do IE 658.4012 D642p)

Green, Donald & Shapiro, Ian. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory.*, New Haven ; London : Yale University Press, 1994.caps. 1 a 3, pp. 1 a 46

Amadae, S.M. *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy – The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism*, Introdução e cap. 1, pp. 1-14 e 27-80

Elster, J. "Going to Chicago" e "Economics", em \_\_\_\_\_ *Economics*, Barcelona: Gedisa, 1997, pp. 9 a 109.

### **• A Teoria econômica da Constituição**

#### **Leitura:**

Buchanan, James e Tullock, Gordon, *The Calculus of Consent – Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democracy*, caps. 5 a 10 e 16, pp. 43-146 e 233-248

#### **Leituras Complementares:**

Amadae, S.M. *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy – The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism*, cap. 3, pp. 133-55

Weingast, Barry. "Political Institutions: Rational Choice Perspectives, em Goodin, R. & Klingemann, H.-D., *A New Handbook...*, pp. 167-190.

Moe, Terry, "Political Institutions: the neglected side of the Story, em Rowley, Charles (ed.) *Public Choice Theory, Volume III*, pp. 65-103.

Landes, W. & Posner, R. "The Independent Judiciary in an Interest-Group Perspective", em Rowley, Charles (ed.) *Public Choice Theory, Volume III*, pp.109-138.

Kimenyi, M.S., Shughart, W.F. & Tollison, R.D. "What do Judges Maximize?", em Rowley, Charles (ed.) *Public Choice Theory, Volume III*, pp. 139-146.

### **• A teoria econômica da democracia**

#### **Leitura:**

Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Caps. 1, 2 4, 5 e 7

#### **Leituras Complementares:**

Downs, Anthony. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Caps. 3, 8, 9, 11 e 13.

Carmine, Edward & Huckfeldt, Robert . "Political Behavior: An Overview"

Pappi, Franz U. "Political Behavior: Reasoning Voters and Multi-Party Systems", em Goodin, R. & Klingemann, H. *A New Handbook of Political Science*, pp. 223 a 275

Green, Donald & Shapiro, Ian. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory.*, cap. 4, "The paradox of voter turnout", pp. 47-71

### **• A Teoria das Coalizões Políticas**

**Leitura:**

Riker, W. *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. Caps. 1, 2, 4 a 6, pp. 3-46 e 77-146.

**Leituras Complementares:**

Amadae, S.M. *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy – The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism*, cap. 4, pp. 156-175

Green, Donald & Shapiro, Ian. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory.*, cap. 6, “Legislative Behavior and the paradox of voting, pp. 98-146

Strom, Kaare. *Minority Government and Majority Rule*, caps. 1 e 2, pp. 1-55.

Almond, G. “Rational Choice Theory and the Social Sciences, em \_\_\_\_\_. *A Discipline Divided*, pp. 117-137.

- **Paradoxos da Ação Coletiva**

**Leitura:**

Mancur Olson – *Lógica da Ação Coletiva*. Introd, Cap. 1, 4, 5, 6. (pp. 13-33 e 113-193

**Leituras Complementares:**

Amadae, S.M. *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy – The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism*, cap. 5, pp. 176-89

Green, Donald & Shapiro, Ian. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*. New Haven; London : Yale University Press, 1994., cap.5 “Social Dilemmas and Free Riding”, pp. 72-97.

Ostrom, Elinor. “Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms”, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, v. 14, n. 3, 2000, pp. 137-58

- **A Teoria da Escolha Racional em debate**

**Leituras:**

Amadae, S.M. *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy – The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism*, cap. 8, pp. 251-90

Green, Donald & Shapiro, Ian. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory.*, cap. 8, pp. 179-204.

Green, Donald & Shapiro, Ian. “Pathologies Revisited: Reflection on our Critics”, em Friedman, Jeffrey. *The Rational Choice Controversy*, New Haven [Conn.] : Yale University Press, 1996. pp. 1- 33; pp. 235-76

**Leituras Complementares:**

Chong, Dennis, “Rational Choice Mysterious Rivals”, em Friedman, Jeffrey. *The Rational Choice Controversy*, pp. 37- 57;

Diermeier, Daniel. “Rational Choice and the role of Theory in Political Science”, em Friedman, Jeffrey. *The Rational Choice Controversy*, pp. 59-70;

Fiorina, Morris. “Rational Choice, Empirical Contributions, and the Scientific Enterprise”, em Friedman, Jeffrey. *The Rational Choice Controversy*, pp. 85-94

Lane, Robert. “What Rational Choice Explains”, em Friedman, Jeffrey. *The Rational Choice Controversy*, pp. 107-126

Smith, Rogers. “Science, Non-Science, and Politics”, em McDonald, Terrence (ed.) *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences*, pp. 119-159.

## BIBLIOGRAFIA

- Amadae, S.M. *Rationalizing Capitalist Democracy – The Cold War Origins of Rational Choice Liberalism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Arrow, K. *Social Choice and Individual Values*. New Haven, Yale UP, 1963, 2ª ed.
- Avinash K. Dixit e Barry J. Nalebuff Pensando estrategicamente: a vantagem competitiva nos negócios, na política e no dia-a-dia /; tradução Marcelo Levy. São Paulo: Atlas, 1994
- Berger, Suzanne (org.). *La organización de los grupos de interes em Europa Occidental:el pluralismo, el corporativismo y la transformación de la política*. Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Seguridad Social, 1988.
- Buchanan, James M. E Tullock, Gordon. *The calculus of consent*. Logical foundations of constitutional democracy. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Democracia limitada o ilimitada. *Estudios Públicos*, n. 6, 1982, p. 37-51. Clarke, Simon. *The State Debate*. Londres, MacMillan Press Cuellar, Oscar. “Influencia, poder y dominación. Notas sobre el problema del “estatuto teórico” de la noción de poder” *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciência Política.*, vol. II, no. 2, 1971.
- Dahl, Robert . *Um Prefácio à Teoria Democrática*. RJ. Ed. Zahar, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Poliarquia*. SP: EDUSP, 1997
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Who governs? : democracy and power in an American city*. New Haven : Yale Univ., 1961.
- Downs, Anthony. *Uma teoria econômica da democracia*. São Paulo: Edusp, 1999.
- Easton, David. “ The New Revolution in Political Science”, *APSR*, 63, 1969:1051-61
- Elster, Jon. *Economics*, Barcelona: Gedisa, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.) *Rational Choice*, Cambridge : Cambridge Univ., 1989, c1986.
- Farr, James e Seideman, R. (eds.) *Discipline and History – Political Science in the United States*. Michigan UP, 1993,
- Goodin, R. & Klingemann, H.-D., *A New Handbook...*, Oxford Univ, Oxford ; New York: 1998, c1996.
- Green, Donald & Shapiro, Ian. *Pathologies of Rational Choice Theory*. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Hirst, Paul (org.). *The pluralist theory of the state*, London ; New York : Routledge, 1993.
- Katznelson, Ira. *Desolation and Enlightenment, Political Knowledge atfer Total War, Totalitarianism, and the Holocaust*. NY: Columbia U.P., 2003
- Paul Hirst. *A democracia representativa e seus limites* Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1991.
- McDonald, Terrence (ed.) *The Historic Turn in the Human Sciences*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, c1996.
- Monroe, K.R. (ed.). *Contemporary Empirical Political Theory*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.). *Perestroika! The Raucous Rebellion in Political Science*. New Haven: Yale U.P, 2005.
- Moraes, Reginaldo. *Neoliberalismo*. De onde vem, para onde vai. São Paulo: Senac, 2001.
- Mueller, Dennis C. *Elección pública*. Madrid: Alianza, 1984.

- O'Donnell, Guillermo, 2000. "Democracy, Law and Comparative Politics". *Working Paper Series N° 274*. Notre Dame: The Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame.
- Olson, Mancur. *A lógica da ação coletiva*. São Paulo: Edusp, 1999.
- Ostrom, Elinor. "Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms", *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, v. 14, n. 3, 2000, pp. 137-58
- Rowley, Charles (ed.) *Public Choice Theory, Volume III*. Oxford : Blackwell, 1987, c1986.
- Nelson W. Polsbu, "How to Study Community Power: the Pluralist Alternative. In Purcell, Edward *The Crisis of Democratic Theory*. University of Kentucky Press, 1973.
- Ricci, David. *The Tragedy of Political Science* New Haven: Yale U.P, 1984.